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DISTRICT PLANNING AS A STRATEGY FOR
RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN KENYA.

(SIAYA DISTRICT CASE STUDY).

BY

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This thesis was submitted
with our

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DECLARATION:

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A B S T R A C TDISTRICT PLANNING AS A STRATEGY FOR RURAL
DEVELOPMENT IN KENYAA Case Study of Siaya District

It is the Kenya Government's policy that most of its development efforts will be directed towards the rural areas where most of the national problems such as poverty, disease, ignorance and unemployment are most acute. The Government's problem in this regard has been how to design a suitable strategy or method of approach for the development of the rural areas. As a result, it has tried strategies such as The Swynnerton Plan, the settlement schemes, Special Rural Development Programme, a scheduled network of service and growth centres and more lately, District Planning.

The aim of the study was therefore to evaluate how District Planning, as a strategy for rural development can satisfy the various issues involved in rural development. The critical issues involved in rural development are identified by the study as:

- 1) Land Tenure and Agricultural Development.
- 2) Rural settlement patterns and the provision of Government services such as water, schools, health services, roads and electricity. How are these services channelled into the rural areas to benefit the majority of the people in the rural areas.

- 3). Peoples' participation in their development. Is there sufficient institutions for peoples' participation. How are people mobilized to participate, what is the level of participation?

These issues are looked at with regard to the Government's existing policies concerning them and how district planning is capable or not of resolving them to lead to material benefits for the people in the rural areas.

The study therefore examines how district plan projects are formulated, how they are co-ordinated, the way they are financed, peoples' participation in the planning. All these are considered with the background of the district resource endowments.

The focus of the study is therefore on rural development and the issues involved in it. Given such issues, is District Planning capable of resolving them so that the problems of poverty, disease, ignorance and unemployment are minimized or eventually eliminated?

After such analysis, the problems are identified and alternative policies and strategies for rural development are suggested. A model for the development of policies and strategies for rural development is suggested.

The thesis of the study is that District Planning, far from being a strategy for rural development in Kenya, will only be a way of representing the Ministry of Finance and Planning down the district level to co-ordinate the programmes of other operating Ministries.

After the study and analysis, there was sufficient evidence to prove this contention. This is because:

- (i) Planning has no legal backing in Kenya, and so cannot be as effective.

- 1) The machinery for planning below the district in Siaya for example, were found to be very weak or non-existent.
- 2) Peoples' participation in development planning at the District and even national level is almost non-existent. In fact most people do not know that there is district development committee devoted to district development. There is absolute lack of knowledge on the part of the people of what the government is doing. This is because of the absence of an instrument for mobilizing the people and through which nation policies and programmes can be formulated, be discussed and their rationale explained to the people to embrace and carry them out. The inactivity of the National Party.
- 3) Rural problems such as poverty, disease and unemployment are likely to continue and to intensify because national policies that could help alleviate them, ironically encourages more of these problems. These are policies such as:
 - a) Land Policy - only helps to create landlessness in the rural areas.
 - b) Settlement Policies - makes government services reach only few people.
 - c) Industrial Policy - is aimed more at protecting foreign interests. Even industrial development based on growth centres policy is difficult to achieve because the private sector is not controlled by the policy makers.
 - d) Planning has no legal backing in Kenya, and so can not be effective.

And there is very little that can be done at the district level to influence these policy areas. These are policies that would be decided on at the nation level and not the district level.

As a result, it is suggested that only a transformational approach to rural development that interferes increasingly with the lives of the people in the rural areas will succeed in resolving rural development problems of poverty, disease, ignorance and unemployment.

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S E C T I O N I

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

The idea of Rural Development is a noble and attractive policy for Governments especially Governments of developing countries. In Kenya, even the colonial Government was concerned about rural development and designed a strategy to achieve it. However, the stated objectives between the two types of Governments, colonial and independent, about rural development differ. This can be seen by a look at the objectives of the strategies adopted by these two types of Governments.

The colonial Government's reason for developing the rural areas can be found in their notion of a type of society they intended to achieve. This was ably articulated during the rule of Governor Philip Mitchell¹. Mitchell wanted a Kenya where the interests of the British would be durable, where development was to be inspired by values and standards of Britain. The society and the institutions were to be modelled in the British style. Once this was possible, then power could be handed to the Africans with "civilized standards" who would form a stable middle-class. To achieve such a situation, Mitchell believed the colonial Government had to undertake "a radical transformation of the subsistence society in which the African masses were still enmeshed"². Such an approach, he believed could help create the required civilized Africans needed to run a "civilized government". Once this group was achieved (and it was to be a substantially small group), the others who form a large section of the African society was of no account. He made the distinction when he talked of:

result of the Mau Mau
peasant struggle against the unjust British rule
which developed in the reserves because

a substantially and constantly growing body of Africans who must be distinguished from the great backward masses of ignorant tribesmen.³

Thus, the main objective of developing the rural areas was the creation of "civilized Africans" who could run the country in a manner that British interests would be maintained for "generations to come".⁴ The few chosen Africans would have substantial interests in the economy to prefer to preserve it and not to temper with it. Infact they were to act as a buffer to the upheavals of "the great backward masses of ignorant tribesmen" - who might want to agitate for their rights in the economy.

Initially, the Government was not willing to institute a transormation of the subsistence society as advocated by Mitchell and later by the Ministry of Agriculture.⁵ However, when it became apparent that upheaval could, in the long-run be disastrous if it was carried out by the entire African population to whom the colonial rule was unjust, this Mitchellian doctrine was acted on. The colonial government then designed a strategy to improve the lot of Africans in the reserves. The strategy, called "A plan to intensify the development of African Agriculture in Kenya",⁶ came out in 1953. It was written by the then Assistant Director of Agriculture Mr. R.J.M. Swynnerton, and was popularly known as the Swynnerton Plan. This plan seemed to translate the values and beliefs of Mitchell into an action programme. This is apparent when we look at its objectives.

1:1 SWYNNERTON PLAN 1953

The Swynnerton Plan was a result of the Mau Mau peasant uprising against the unjust British rule which demoralized the Africans in the reserves because

of land alienation in Central Province of Kenya. It was also a result of a debate which had been going on within the colonial government circles especially between the department of Agriculture on one hand and the departments of Legal Affairs, Provincial Administration and native affairs on the other.⁷

The department of Agriculture had come up with the idea that Agriculture in the reserves should be developed. They also argued that for the reserves, to develop land reforms was needed as a prerequisite. The African had to be provided with a legal title so as to enable him to have access to credit to develop his holding. Africans could then be allowed to grow cash crops which they were prohibited from growing by legal means.

The reason why the other authoritative departments opposed this idea was to be found in the strong racial attitude of the time. Such a programme would enable the Africans to successfully compete with the Europeans! It would enable him to join the cash economy by growing cash crops and so substantially increase his standard of living. This was politically unacceptable to the racialists. For political reasons also, they thought such a move would introduce an alien tenure system to the African and would create landlessness among them. This they thought would create problems to the colonial government.

However, with the Mau Mau revolt, they took the advice of the agriculture department and commissioned Swynnerton to design a plan purportedly to intensify the development of African agriculture in the colony. The plan argued that agricultural development in the reserves was necessary. But before agricultural development could take place, land reform

was needed as a prerequisite. It therefore provided that scattered plots of land farmed under customary tenure by each individual farmer be consolidated into one piece for which he would receive his own registered title. The government would then assist him with credit and advice to grow cash crops such as tea, coffee and pyrethrum.

The plan therefore advocated far reaching changes in the African land tenure system, namely, that of transforming the tribal tenure system from communal to individual tenure through land consolidation and registration. The farmer in the reserve was therefore to become a private capitalist farmer along the lines of Western European models especially the Minor System of France. This point was elaborated on by a special Commissioner for Central Province in 1956, Mr. C.M. Johnson when he talked to the members of the Kenya Regiment who were to be seconded to land consolidation work in June 1956. He said:

We have embarked on what amounts to an agrarian revolution in Kikuyu, Embu, Meru districts. Its nearest equivalent is the 18th and 19th century enclosures in England ----- it will have the effect of creating a solid middle class Kikuyu population anchored in land who has too much to lose by revising the Mau Mau in another form.

The plan also advocated that the Africans be "allowed to create institutions similar though parallel to those of the Europeans".⁹ Such institutions would include African Land Development Board (ALDEV), Kenya Farmers Association (KFA) Provincial and District Agricultural Boards. These institutions were to help provide credit to the African farmers and market its products.

In economic terms, the plan envisaged the raising of living standards of some 600,000 Africans (then the population was about 9 million people). The income levels of these selected Africans were expected to rise ~~from~~ ^{to} £100 p.a. by the late 1960s.
from f10 p.a.

The plan was to be financed by British and America at a total cost of £6,450,584. This, in a nutshell was what Swynnerton Plan was about. Its major objectives were political and economic. In some cases they conflict or overlap. The conomic objective was aimed at the raising of incomes of some few Africans by allowing them to grow cash crop and enabling them to establish agricultural institutions similar though parallel to those of the Europeans.

Politically, the plan aimed at creating a conseated rural kulak (large rural land owners) and to divert attention ^{of} ~~to~~ the Africans from seeing the European colonialist as his enemy. It is to be noticed here that the agricultural development was to be within the African reserves. Swynnerton's preoccupation was not the alienated land which brought about the Mau Mau revolt, but a need to discover and apply a system of land usage in the reserves. He seemed therefore to advocate a kind of "separate development" in Kenya. While members of other departments in the colonial government with racial attitudes saw the development of Africans in the reserves as detrimental to European interests, he saw it, otherwise and tried to convince them in that light. He stated the plan objectives as follows:

The 11-

In the long run, the greatest gain from the participation of the African community in running his own agricultural industries would be a politically contented and stable community. 10

Thus, while economically the plan envisaged creating few rich land owners in the rural areas, with a stake to defend in the economy, politically, it aimed at suppressing nationalism in politics by creating a politically contented and stable community. The long-term danger of these objectives is that policy formation with nationalistic inclination becomes weak.

Socially, the plan intended to create division among the African population by creating a landed and a landless class. Here also Swynnerton seemed to answer critics of his Ministry that individual land tenure through land consolidation and registration would create landless multitudes who would be a political threat. He dismissed such a threat as being of no account especially when Africans themselves become a landed gentry. He argued:

In future, if these recommendations are accepted, former government policy will be reversed and able, energetic or rich Africans will be able to acquire more land and bad or poor farmers less, creating a landed and landless class. This is a normal step in the development of a country.

However, this could not be a normal step in the development of a country like Kenya which being an agricultural country can not find alternative employment for the displaced landless.

It could happen in England because industrial and agrarian revolutions took place almost at the same time. People displaced ^{from} agriculture joined the industrial sector. In Kenya, such a process of land reform can only serve to fuel the problem of increased landlessness and unemployment. The plan therefore seemed to ensure the position of the larger African landholder while leaving the majority landless.¹²

Since the Swynnerton Plan has been adopted as the basis of the land policy in independent Kenya (this was done on 1965),¹³ without even altering the objectives, much of its evils continue namely, landlessness, the strengthening of the progressive farmer who enjoys all agricultural services at the expense of the subsistence farmer, and increased unemployment.

Settlement Schemes

Settlement Schemes, like the Swynnerton Plan was a rural development programme started during the colonial period (just on the eve of independence (1961) and inherited by the independent government. It differs however, from the Swynnerton Plan in that the nationalist leaders participated in it and in fact their acceptance of this programme was the condition for their being granted independence.

Land was a highly political issue during the independence struggle in Kenya. The African nationalists believed their land had been unfairly alienated from them and they fought for its return. Nationalists like B. Kaggia, Paul Ngei, believed that with independence, the alienated lands in the scheduled areas would be given back to the Africans free of charge.¹⁴

However, during independence negotiations, this opinion did not prevail. The nationalists were required to guarantee the European land safety as a price for granting independence. This they did by accepting two most important European conditions namely:

Organizationally, the schemes were to be managed by the Department of Settlement in the Ministry of Lands and Settlement. The department of

(i) That landless Africans be settled in European mixed farms (the European ownership in the plantations were to remain intact) and that they were to pay for being settled in these farms.

(ii) The policy of resettling poor African landless was to be started before independence could be granted.¹⁵

From 1961-1970, the Kenya Government embarked on the settlement scheme programme. The British provided grants and loans to give Africans to buy one million acres of European owned mixed farm land and were divided into small holdings to be settled by African farmers. Another 13,000 families were settled under the squatter settlement started in 1963. There were also other schemes such as Harambee, Haraka. By the beginning of 1975, a total of 63,000 families had been settled in more than 17,000 acres of land at a cost of Shs.362 million.¹⁶

The settlement scheme is important for us here because it was aimed at the poor landless Africans in the rural reserves. They were designed as a comprehensive integrated exercise in rural development. Nearly every Ministry was represented in the settlement schemes and provided their services to the settler. The schemes were therefore meant to raise the incomes and productivity of the settler who came from the African reserves where he was unemployed, landless and poor. Although this was the objective, two factors militated against its full achievement; namely the interests of the colonial authority and the cost involved in the schemes.

Organizationaly, the schemes were to be managed by the department of settlement in the Ministry of Lands and Settlement. The department of

settlement has been found to be completely autonomous and isolated from the Kenya Government in its operation, although it provided services to it. Colin Leys,¹⁷ attempting to explain this, found out that such an autonomy was necessary because the bodies that were to finance the schemes such as the Governments of Britain and West Germany, The World Bank insisted that they wanted an autonomous body from the Government. They argued that "an isolated operation might not be adversely affected in its economic structure by the political pressures of an independent Government".¹⁸ Commenting on the programme of transferring land to Africans through the settlement schemes, Herbeson J.W. argued that in independent Kenya "land policy has been separated from nationalism, and politics from economic development in building the nation."¹⁹ This, notwithstanding the fact that during the independence struggle the question of land was a highly political thing.

Thus, by allowing external agencies to administer the schemes, Kenyan interests were sacrificed. The concern did not become so much with the uplifting of the living standards of the poor settlers, but loan repayment. The question of cost therefore affected the objective of rural settlement schemes. This is clearly shown by evidence from the national plans.

The 1970-74 development plan shows that between 1963-1969 the Million Acre Scheme expenditure by the Government was between Shs.11,000 to Shs.15,000 p.a. while targeted income from these families was Shs.2,200 p.a. per family. This expenditure on each family by the government far outstripped income the settler family was to raise by more than Shs.10,000 p.a. It was therefore very expensive. Besides, it

created a bad attitude of dependence on the Government by the settlers and not that of self-reliance. The Government admitted this fact of the schemes being expensive in this particular plan. It says:

even though the average level of performance on the settlement schemes may be satisfactory, far too high a proportion of the settlers obtained substantially below average results.²⁰

To the individual settler, the benefits that his programme meant for him did not accrue. The programme seemed to benefit the bought out farmer than the African settler. This is because the African poor landless settler had to pay the rich British settler through a loan system that was highly exploitative. Loan repayment arrangements were like this:

Development Loans - For a period of 10 years
Land Purchase Loans - For a period of 30 years
Interest rate - 6½% p.a.²¹

This interest rate was equivalent to the one obtaining in the international market when the loans were being negotiated. More than this, the settlers had to pay taxes on co-operative society management and produce processing. The settler was to pay all these out of his/her farm produce. Small wonder then that some settlers defaulted and were evicted. Colin Leys,²² has therefore argued convincingly that the settlers in the schemes were not better than their colleagues outside the schemes i.e. people in the non-scheduled areas. Thus, the settlement schemes proved expensive to the Government and accordingly, the Government shifted strategy from settlement to that of promoting agricultural development in the peasant areas i.e. the former African reserves through the Swynnerton plan of land adjudication and registration. Land transfer programme therefore remained only that of

willing buyer, willing seller and not that of settling the poor. Only those with money could buy land in the former Whitehighlands. The 1970-74 plan underlined this shift in emphasis.

"In the years before and immediately after independence, much of the Government's efforts in the agricultural sector was devoted to the land transfer and settlement programmes in the former scheduled areas. Subsequently, it was decided to give much greater emphasis to development of the traditional African farming areas".²²

Thus, the independent Government have tended to inherit the colonial strategies for rural development without questioning their objectives. This have made their achievements minimal.

1:3 POST - INDEPENDENCE STRATEGIES

Thus, upto independence time, there were two strategies that had been designed to increase the production and incomes of the rural people. These were the settlement schemes and the Swynnerton Plan for agricultural development in the African reserves. The independent Government inherited these strategies and added new ones.

While the colonial Government embarked on rural development in Kenya after carefully thinking out the type of society it wanted for Kenya as articulated by Governor Philip Mitchell and translated into an action plan by Swynnerton, independent Kenya has not answered this question of what society it is aspiring for and how rural development is to be tailored to suit it. The nearest that independent Kenya came to, to answering this question was in Sessional Paper No.10 of 1965.²³

However, this 'ideological' paper has been attacked rather correctly for only confirming the philosophy of the colonial authorities.²⁴ It therefore seemed superfluous to ask the question of what society to develop the rural areas for since the values and beliefs of former Governor Mitchell still holds. The independent Government has therefore assumed the status quo of the colonial philosophy. Its reason for developing the rural areas therefore are:

- (i) 91% of the population live in the rural areas and so development must take place there.
- (ii) To attack inequality in development between urban and rural areas.
- (iii) Stem rural to urban drift by making the rural areas more liveable and attractive as urban areas.
- (iv) Rural development is the thing to do by any developing agricultural country.

These are the major reasons why the Government want the rural areas developed. To do this, it has designed its strategies and inherited wholesale, the two strategies designed by the colonial Government. Three such strategies are important for the purposes of this paper.

- (i) Regional Physical Development Plans.
- (ii) Special Rural Development Programme (SRDP).
- (iii) District Planning.

1:3.1 Regional Physical Development Plans

Regional planning started in 1966 at the time following the sessional paper on "African Socialism

and its application to planning in Kenya;"²⁵ in 1965. It was at this time that the functions of the department of Town Planning (now Physical Planning Department) were revised and expanded to include both urban and rural planning at the National, regional and local levels.

This department was charged with the duty of preparing all the national physical plans on which to base the nation's economic plans prepared by the Ministry of Economic Planning and development. The department started by preparing a regional plan for every region. The plans show, in a regional context, a strategy for the location of capital investments. Side by side with regional plans were planned small and large towns in detail to produce a co-ordinated economic land use for development projects within a satisfactory environment.

The plans are complete with maps and all physical data which may influence investment decisions, such as population distribution, the location of existing structures and the pattern of settlements, roads, railways communications and the agricultural potential. They also show the physical constraints of the regions such as topography, climate, and soil types. At the moment, the department has prepared plans for all the provinces in the country.

The aim of this planning exercise is to expand the urban areas so as to create cash markets for farm products and that their growth would provide stimulus for the rural economy. It has therefore created a comprehensive schedule of service centres in the rural areas where government service are provided. It was the most comprehensive exercise designed to tackle the question of rural settlement.

1:3.2 Special Rural Development Programme (SRDP)

Special Rural Development Programme (SRDP) was a strategy designed at the time when the Government's policy strategy was starting to shift from settling poor landless Africans in the former Whitehighlands (settlement schemes) to improving the living conditions of people in the African rural districts through the Swynnerton strategy. It was at this time i.e. 1965 when the Kenya Government approached the British Government for a loan of £3.4 million to increase agricultural development in the rural areas through the programme of land adjudication and registration. Background information to the designing of SRDP show that it was at the instigation of the Ministry of Overseas Development that the programme got off. The British Government was, at independence time, very much concerned with moulding a Kenya where their interests remain intact and not interfered with by national politics. J.R. Nellis giving background report on how SRDP was started "in the hope that such a factual account will provide a more sound basis for future planning efforts," wrote,

The earliest efforts of the programme are widely known and can be summarized briefly. In late 1965, at the suggestion of Mr. Guy Nunter and the late Sir Andrew Cohen, the Government of Kenya approached University College, Nairobi about the possibility of holding a major conference on the issues of education, employment, and rural development. 26

These two gentlemen, Hunter and Cohen, were working with the overseas development Ministry charged with administering overseas development assistance. Their suggestion was accepted and the University arranged a conference in September 1966. It came out with a blue-print of how rural areas should be developed in Kenya in a book edited by J. Sheffield; entitled "Education Employment and Rural Development".

However, more work was needed on how the government could go about the task of developing the rural areas and so, the government commissioned three University lecturers to research into the details of how the Kericho conference resolutions could be put into practice. They also came up with a book entitled, "Rural Development in Kenya" edited by Judith Heyer in which it was suggested that for a start, some rural areas with similar ecological conditions should be selected as pilot areas for testing strategies that could in future be used for developing Kenya's rural areas. From this study came out SRDP. From each province in Kenya, a division was selected as an SRDP area.

The important thing about SRDP as a strategy for rural development is that it was an experimental programme whose results were to be applied in other parts of the country with similar ecological conditions. The major objectives of the programme were increased rural production and incomes as well as employment opportunities in the rural areas. It also aimed at improved rural welfare. Programmes such as the provision of credits, extension, marketing were designed to achieve the objectives using the principle that as much as possible, local resources were to be used in achieving these objectives.

This strategy however, has not been very useful in developing the rural areas as research following its operation has shown.²⁷ Some of the reasons why it is thought SRDP was a failure are:

- (1) It gave inadequate emphasis on agricultural development. Agriculture MUST of necessity receive top priority in any rural development exercise. Infrastructure and social services have to follow.

As the case has turned out to be, the programme produced good progress on social services and the provision of infrastructural facilities but not agricultural development.

- (ii) The programme has been more of an exercise in area development with a weak agricultural base i.e. more of social services and infrastructure development than one of creating an agricultural base.
- (iii) The national Government has not been able to provide directions. A national Rural Development Committee was established to give SRDP operational guidance. This committee, consisting of permanent secretaries did not meet regularly as required.

Because of these reasons, the first and the last i.e. lack of agricultural focus of the programme as well as lack of national direction were the most important. It also proves that the suggestion for this programme came from outside the country and not a nationally formulated policy. As a result of these weaknesses of the programme, it has been found out by researchers that there has been no much differences between the people of SRDP pilot project areas and the non-pilot project areas in terms of uplifting their standard of living.²⁸

However, one useful lesson has been learnt from SRDP. This is the fact that a co-ordinated area-based plans can be prepared and be implemented by government staff at the local level as was done by the area co-ordinator in SRDP areas. As a result, the concept of District Planning was formulated and adopted by the government, as a strategy for developing the rural districts of Kenya. Its adoption started when, on a Madaraka day rally in 1972, the President announced that the planning machinery would be lowered down to the district level.

I have directed that, apart from national targets, there will be a plan for every district.

The 1974-78 plan acted on this directive by:

- (i) Instituting a rural works programme and allocated a sum of £4,000,000 towards its realization.
- (ii) Instituting District Planning by reorganizing the existing District Development and advisory committees by incorporating the peoples representatives in the planning machinery and so enhanced popular participation in planned development.

Besides, the 1974-78 plan defined the objective of district plans as that of identifying and defining local plans. A District Development Officer (DDO) trained in project preparation and development planning was also to be posted to every district to help co-ordinate district planning work and the implementation of approved projects. The district was designated as the basic operational unit for planning and implementation.

District Planning as is understood in Kenya therefore means the disaggregation of national development programmes and projects as laid out in the national development plan; and financed through the operating Ministries. It also means the implementation of projects identified by the District Development Funds (RDF) or District Grants, which is a special item in the vote of the Ministry of Finance and Planning. Such a strategy, it is hoped, will enhance rural development in Kenya.

1.4 Statement of the Problem

It has long been the Government's policy that the rural areas of Kenya must be developed, by directing an increasing share of the growth of the economy

to the rural areas. However, the problem that has always remained is that of designing a satisfactory method of approach to rural development. How do you go about developing the rural areas? What strategies do you adopt to fight poverty, disease and ignorance in the rural areas so that they become developed? What method do you use in directing an increasing share of the national wealth to the rural areas?

The Government has tried methods of how to develop its rural areas by adopting such strategies as SRDP and lately, District Planning. What this study intends to enquire into is the adequacy of District Planning as a way through which the living standards of the people in the rural areas can be uplifted. The experience of Siaya District in Western Kenya is used as an example.

1:5 Scope of Study

To ascertain the adequacy or not of such a strategy, the study focuses on the idea of Rural Development and the problems and issues involved such as land tenure and agricultural development; settlement patterns in the rural areas; the provision of rural welfare amenities such as schools, health facilities, water, both by the government and by people themselves through their efforts; and the idea of peoples' participation in their own development.

The study takes a specific case of Siaya district to examine how district planning operates and whether or not the planning process in the District like Siaya can help resolve the issues involved in rural development. Based on such a study, future policy areas are looked into that would help solve the problem of how the rural areas in Kenya can be developed.

The study is arranged into five sections. Section I introduces the study showing some of the previous strategies that the government, both colonial and independent designed to achieve developed rural areas. It also looks at their limitations and assess their achievements. The problem that prompted the study is stated, the scope of study, area of study and methods of study. It also reviews some literature on District Planning and Rural Development.

Section two has three chapters. The first chapter assesses the resources available to the district (Siaya) and how they can be exploited and utilized through the District machinery of planning. The next chapter looks at the question of land tenure and agricultural development. The argument here is that for rural development to be achieved, the development of agriculture in the rural areas is central, so that rural production, income and employment opportunities can increase. At the same time, the development of rural agriculture will depend on a sound tenure system on which to base agricultural programmes such as agricultural credits, inputs supply, extension, marketing and education. The country's land policy is critically examined with specific reference to the district of study. The last chapter looks at the question of settlement patterns and the policy of settlement. With particular reference to the district of study, this policy is examined critically.

Section three focuses more on District planning process in Siaya. It has two chapters. The first chapter looks at the DDC, i.e. the body charged with drawing up district plans. It also looks at the Rural Development Funds, i.e. the funds allocated to the DDC to help it draw up its local plans. The last chapter of the section looks at the nature of peoples' participation in the planning process.

Section four is basically concerned with policy formulation, it is in two chapters, the first identifies the problems of rural development in general and district planning in particular. The second and last chapter of the section looks at policy alternatives given such problems. The policies are both national and local in character. They emanate from the study and other works done on Kenya such as the World Bank Mission to Kenya in 1975 on Economic development of the country, the UNDP/ILD report of 1972 on Incomes, Employment and Equality in Kenya.

The last section, section five summarizes and concludes.

1:6 Study Hypothesis

The study is based on the hypothesis that for rural development to be meaningful and successful, it needs a transformational as opposed to evolutionary approach to development. To do so, transformational policies in critical areas such as land tenure, rural settlements are needed. It is only then that such strategies as District planning will be meaningful in achieving developed rural areas. Otherwise, District planning shall only be a way of representing the Ministry of Finance and Planning at the District level to perform the functions of co-ordination at the local level just as it does co-ordinate national plans of other Ministries at the national level.

1:7 The Study Area

(See map showing locational boundaries, service centres, roads maps 1 & 4).

Siaya District was created in 1967 following the split of the old Central Nyanza District into the new Kisumu and Siaya Districts. Administratively the district is divided into four divisions namely, Bondo, Boro, Ukwala, Yala. It has sixteen locations. Its northern limit forms the Nyanza Province boundary with western province. It is bordered on the east, north-east and south by Lake Victoria and to the west by Kisumu District. It is about 50 miles from Kisumu, the Provincial Capital. The district capital of Siaya, is well-connected by good passable roads to Kisumu, Busia in Western Province and other district market and rural centres like Ukwala, Asembo Bay, Usenge (see growth centre map), the two of which are major ports on Lake Victoria.

1:8 Review of Past Literature

The idea of District Planning is a recent phenomenon in Kenya. Not very much has been written on it. The few that one could lay hands on are, The Siaya, Kisumu, South Nyanza and other districts draft plans produced by the provincial planning officers and the District Development officers. These talk of projects included in the district plans and how they are financed. The other is the District Planning Manual produced by the University of Nairobi's (IDS) Institute for Development Studies which is intended to be a guide to the District Development Officers on how to prepare District plans and implement them. It also explains what is involved in District planning. On the field of Rural Development, it was found that some of the IDS papers were very useful in explaining what is involved in rural development. The development plans were also useful in this regard. Besides, a look at the standard texts such as Education, Employment and Rural Development edited by J.R. Sheffield

and Rural Development by Judith Heyer (etal) were useful in providing knowledge of how Kenya has attempted to go about developing her rural areas.

1:9 Methods of Study

My study method involved interviewing Government Officers in fields both in the District as well as in the Province and talking to others informally.

It was in the field from August to September 1975 during which time, I interviewed the officers, read official documents, files and statistics relevant to my enquiry into the nature of District Planning. The whole of August was spent in the provincial capital and the last month in the District capital. I was also able to attend some of the official meetings like the Provincial Development Committees, District Development Committee where District Plans were discussed. Besides these, I utilized the offices of field officers who had field journeys. For example, I was able to attend the Provincial Agricultural Board Meeting which discussed Siaya District Agricultural Development at Sega; a centre in the northern part of the District. The meeting was preceded by a whole day's extensive tour of the district during which time the progress of most of the agricultural projects in the district sponsored or funded by the DDC were examined.

The field work was coupled with an intensive library research where much of the invaluable information regarding such rural development issues like land tenure, rural settlement were available.

The study depended to a large extent on secondary sources of information since I did not have my own means of travelling to most parts of the district

for most of the first hand information. Funds could not allow for such a method of study. Secondly, the supervision work in the field was not arranged in time and so I collected most of the information without constantly considering them together with the supervisor. However, in this regard a questionnaire provided by the department for the field work was filled and constantly sent to the department to show the progress of work. The drawback here is that communication from the department was not made to show the department's or the supervisor's view over the data so far collected.

An attempt was however made to correct the mistake by making active and constant consultation with the supervisor when the field work was over and during the writing up of the work. This has enabled this work to be refined to make good the errors that could have happened during field study. These then are what form the basis of the findings of this study.

S E C T I O N I I

C H A P T E R 2

DISTRICT RESOURCE ASSESSMENT

1. PHYSICAL FACTORS OF DEVELOPMENT:

Siaya District lies along Lake Victoria. Attitudes rise from the lake level of 3,750ft to just about 5,000ft above sea level to the north and east of the area (see map 2).

Rainfall increases with altitude, exceeding 1,500mm in the higher areas of north Gem and parts of Ugenya locations, and falling away to under 750mm in the Uyoma Peninsula.

The highly indented lake shoreline, and the numerous lake-shore swamps such as Yala swamp, make north south road communication difficult in the western areas of the district. The Yala swamp ^{covering} ~~over~~-ring 39,000 acres, a quarter of which have already been drained by the World Health Organization (WHO) and other agencies at a low cost is an important potential agricultural asset at the hand of the district planning machinery.

Most of the district is lowland given the fact that it lies along the lakeshores. The soil type of the area therefore is that of sandy soil as well as loose loam and clay soils. The area is also rich in rich silt deposits brought about by the rivers that enter the lake here. These are rivers such

as Nzoia, Yala, Awach to mention only a few. As one moves northwards to the Western Province, the attitudes rise and you get most of the high lying lands of the district especially towards the north-eastern border with eastern Province, i.e. in Yala division. Most rivers in the district flow from this direction and drain in the lake. The type of soil is mainly loose loam soil.

The topography therefore mainly consists of ridged landscape especially in Yala division and parts of Ukwala division. The broad topographical zones can therefore be distinguished namely;

- (i) Agriculturally high potential areas with average rainfall ranging from 30-45 inches of rain which is fairly reliable. This includes all of Yala division, most of Ukwala division, on the northern part of Boro division.
- (ii) Medium potential areas i.e. with fairly reliable rainfall and amounts of upto 30 inches. This covers all areas along the lakeshores i.e. most of Bondo, parts of Boro and Ukwala divisions.

The drainage system is dominated by two major rivers which rise from western Province that is, rivers Yala and Nzoia, and enter the lake in the district. They have a lot of tributaries that join them before they enter the lake. These and other seasonal rivers and smaller lakes such as lakes

Sare and Kanyaboli, form the drainage system of the district.

These physical facts of the District such as the lakeshores, the rivers, and their basins, the northern fertile highlands and the lowlands along the lake are factors that if put together and rationally planned for can make Siaya be a very rich district. Planning efforts should aim at the exploitation of such potentials and harness them for the benefits of the peasants living in these areas. It is encouraging to see that already most of the District Development Committee's Agricultural Projects, seem to take this district resource endowments into account. For example the Yala swamp project (though now a national project), the Rarienda Minor Irrigation Scheme on the lakeshore, the Kathieno (A) and (B) vegetable growing along river Yala and Nzola, Nyaqjre fish pond on one of the seasonal rivers, the cattle dips projects along the lakeshore in Uyoma Location. The bush clearance schemes including planting of cleared areas with cash and/or food crops, all along the agriculturally medium potential areas of the district.

2. SOCIAL FACTORS OF DEVELOPMENT

(a) Population

The latest estimates of population in 1975 shows that Siaya has a population of 466,000 people ³⁰

while the 1969 census figures show that the district population is 383,000 people.³¹

Between 1962-1969, the population growth rate of Siaya was 2.3% p.a. This is considerably below the provincial average of 3.7% for the same period. Reason for this can be found in emigration to towns and to other parts of the District or to other districts such as South Nyanza.

(b) Migration: Apart from such locations as Yimbo, South Uyoma, South Sakwa, the whole of the district is an area of net outmigration. Urban area attractions and the incidence of sleeping sickness and other smaller causes such as family quarrels are generally cited as the reasons for emigration. According to the census figures, between 1962 and 1969, north and east Ugenya and west Alego locations showed zero population growth rates. Assuming that there had been a natural positive growth rate in these areas of as little as 2½%, the zero figure indicates that something like 14,000 persons must have left the locations between 1962 and 1969 to settle elsewhere.

On the other hand, between the same years, there has been higher-than-average population growth rate in other locations in the district such as Yimbo 5.6%, South Uyoma 4.3%, parts

of South Sakwa 4.4% and parts of South Central Alego 4.0%. This is because these are the areas which had experienced out migrations due to the incidence of sleeping sickness in these areas. With the campaign to eradicate tse-tse-fly infestation in these areas, people have been moving back to areas they used to live in before tse-tse-fly infestation. These facts also show that these areas have room for expansion of settlement and that this has encouraged migration from other areas of the district into them. A further fact is that these are also areas of low densities in the district.

One important aspect of migration to District Planning is the effect of migration on land-use. The incidence of sleeping sickness is one most important causal factor of migration within Siaya District. This left large tracks of land which were deserted by people as a result of the tse-tse-fly areas infestation. These are also areas with Medium Agricultural potential. The DDC has identified this fact and the resettlement of the tse-tse-fly areas is one of its major preoccupation. It has designed agricultural projects for these areas such as bush clearance and plantation with cotton blocks, 4-K clubs, Minor irrigation programmes. Some of the programmes by divisions are as follows:

TABLE 1: BUSH CLEARANCE PROJECTS

Division	Bush Clearance Project Name	Area In Acres	Location	Agricultural Project To Follow
1. Ukwala	a) Uholo-Usula	50	E. Ugenya	Vegetable growing
	b) Yiro-Iwala	50	S. Ugenya	Sugar cane growing
	c) Sulo	100	N. Ugenya	Cotton growing
2. Boro	Mur-Ng'iya	100	W. Alego	Cotton growing
3. Bondo	a) Usire	50	N. Sakwa	Cotton and Hybride Maize
	b) Nango	50	S. Sakwa	Cotton and Hybride Maize
	c) Mageta	50	Yimbo	Cotton and Hybride Maize.

All these are programmes that aim at increased cash and food crop growing that would increase the incomes of the people of the district. These programmes are also meant to increase cotton production which has been declining. The DDC has therefore rightly identified the potentials of the District and channelled agricultural funds into it.

(d) Population Density and Characteristics

The settlement patterns of the district are the form of

scattered or grouped homestead units. In addition, there are also the designated service centres like Ukwala, Asembo, Siaya, Bondo where there are small numbers of resident population.

The last census figures show that Siaya had a population density of 151 persons per square kilometer. Latest estimates made by a World Bank Mission in 1975³² show however that the density has risen to 184 person per kilometer.

Because the rural to urban migration the sex ration is high i.e. about 120%. The population is also youthful. 56% of the population is under 20 years of age giving a very high dependency ration.

The Siaya District draft plan calculation of farm carrying capacity show that only 111,446 farm families can be supported at a substance level in the District. This is because they assume that the area available for agriculture and livestock in the district is only 557,232 acres. This assumption is false because it excludes the area to be brought under agriculture by reclamation like Yala Swamp. It also does not take into account the area that has to be resettled after the eradication of tse-tse-fly areas. If these are taken into account, the land available for farming is still enough to support more people for example the Yala Swamp alone

would add 39,000 acres of land. Moreover if the question of settlement was one that would encourage dense living, more land would be released for farming. Therefore there seems to be quite sufficient land to support the population. And since the population is youthful in structure, if policies are designed that would stem rural to urban migration, there would be sufficient labour to work the land available in the rural areas.

3. ECONOMIC FACTORS FOR DEVELOPMENT

(1) Income and Employment

The majority of the employees in the rural areas are in agricultural employment. The ILO/UNDP Mission³³ has shown that casual employment is usually higher in the rural areas because of seasonal fluctuations in labour requirements in agriculture.

Siaya District being a typical rural district is no exception to this ILO finding about the pattern of employment in the rural areas. Most of the people in the district depend almost entirely on agricultural employment. Another World Bank agricultural programme, the "Integrated Agricultural Development Programme" (IADP) compiled the following data on employment and earnings in Siaya District.

TABLE 2: WAGE EMPLOYMENT AND ANNUAL EARNINGS
IN SMALL FARMS IN SIAYA - 1969-1971/72.

Type of Employment	No	Earnings (£)	% wage
Regular Employees	4,100	126,000	20
Casual Employment	5,200	460,00	81.1
Average Earnings per annum per employed person	-	63	-
Total Employees	9,300	560,800	101.1

It can be seen from the table that over 80% of those employed work on agricultural occupations while only 20% of people employed are on wage employment. Average income is about 105/= which is very low.

There are no large-scale farms in the District. It is still largely a subsistence farming district. There are few small-scale farmers with a marketable surplus. The table above show that the number of people in the category of small-scale farmers have been declining in income received since 1969.

The statistical abstract from which these figures are derived also show that income has been declining during the period from 1969-92, from 18,300 people to 9,300 people. This decline in number of people and income can be attributed to the decline of both coffee and cotton as main cash-crops. The incomes of the inhabitants come from a variety of sources. This can be shown division by division analysis.

1. In Yala Division:

Coffee is the major source of income especially in locations where it is grown such as north-east and south Gem. Other crops such as maize, sugar cane, vegetables sorghum also act as a source of income.

2. Other Division:

Bondo, Boro and Ukwala division grow cotton as the major cash crop. This constitutes the major source of cash income for the peasants in these divisions. Other food crops such as maize, sorghum, groundnuts, sugar cane, simsim, beans, vegetables also provide income.

Besides these incomes from farm products, there are other off-farm activities which earn income. These off-farm activities give proportionately higher incomes than farm sources.

Such activities include teaching, shopkeeping, Butchering, Hotel keeping, tinsmithing, shoe repair, bicycle repair.

(11) Agriculture:

The population of the District is almost wholly dependent upon agriculture and fishing (10%) for its livelihood.

93% of the agricultural land is high potential land and the remaining 7% medium potential,³⁴ there is no low potential land for the District. There is therefore a very favourable condition for agricultural development in the District. Soil erosion is the problem that would steal away this potential especially in the areas along the lakeshores.

(11) (a) Crops:

Only three cash crops are grown in the district namely maize, cotton, coffee. The major food crops are maize, bananas, vegetables, sorghum groundnuts, beans, simsim.

Cotton is the single major ^{cash} crop grown in the district except in the higher parts of Yala division. This is followed by coffee grown in Yala division and parts of Boro and Ukwala. By 1970 coffee covered about 69 hectares of land in the district, 36 hectares of which are well maintained. It is grown mainly by the cooperative societies. Other cash crops are Khenaf and

sugar cane grown in a small scale in Yala division, as well as parts of Ukwala division. In both divisions jaggery factories exist to process the sugar grown both for export and local consumption.

Maize and groundnuts are other major cash crops grown in the lakeshore region of the district. By 1970 groundnuts covered 1050 hectares, yielding 10-15 bags of shelled nuts. By then a bag weighing 90 kilo of groundnuts fetched \$113.75.

Rice is also grown in the Ukwala division in the Usonga/Busoga rice irrigation scheme. This covers about 50 hectares. Other food/cash crops are sorghum, cassava, Bananas, oranges, lemons, simsim, sweet potatoes. With the opening up of Yala swamp for sugar cane growing, the district ^{earning} ~~earn~~ from these crops will rise substantially.

Official reports show that the performance of most crops have been declining. This can be illustrated by the amount of acreage grown and income derived from two crops; maize and cotton, maize being the staple food and cotton the major cash crop.

TABLE 3: HECTRES UNDER COTTON IN THE DISTRICT³⁶

Division	Season	
	1973/74	1974/75
Bondo	1822	1236
Ukwala	662	1372
Boro	883	776
Yala	43	27

Thus except for Ukwala, total acreage planted in hectares declined in all other divisions. As a result revenue and production volume from cotton have/been declining. /also

TABLE 4: PRODUCTION VOLUME AND INCOME³⁷

Season	Kls	Revenue to Farmers.
72/73	1,125,301 or (2100 bales)	KSh.1,519,156/35
73/74	358,364 or (657 bales)	KSh.452,881/40

Thus, the loss to the peasant farmers in terms of income from cotton was over 1m shillings due to decline in production.

Between 1964/65 and 1973/74 planting seasons, cotton production declined by 47%.³⁸ This is a sad state of affairs given the fact that a yield of 120 klg/ha is possible in the district. At the moment few farmers secure a yeield of 400 kg/ha.

Maize growing has also been found to be on the decline. The growing of hybride maize is a recent phenomenon in the district and it is encouraging to note that its adoption by farmers is increasing substantially; as can be shown by this table.

TABLE 5: HECTRES OF HYBRIDE MAIZE GROWN³⁹

Division	Hectres Planted	
	1973	1974
Bondo	1079	1130
Ukwala	975	1365
Yala	657	625
Boro	386	555
Total	3097	3675

Thus overall the area planted with hybride maize increased by 578 hectres between 1973-4. The major increases is area planted came ^{from} Ukwala and Boro division. It is only in Yala

where there is a decline in hectares planted. This can be attributed to the increasing land shortage in the division. The division also adopted the hybrid maize growing earlier than the other divisions.

The decline in cotton production has been attributed to two factors:

1. Marketing Organization (farmers not paid in time)
2. Seed distribution (always distributed late).

These can be alleviated by a strong co-operative movement.

The cooperatives in the district are few and less active.

Agricultural services such as credits, farm inputs e.g. seeds, fertilizer, machinery and extension services are not strong.

Farm credits extended by the Agricultural finance corporation, and the cooperative societies and the District loan boards, go mainly to those with a registered title deed. Title deeds have been issued only in Yala division and parts of Ukwala. Moreover since the District is still mainly a subsistence farming district, most farmers in other divisions do not enjoy the credit facilities. It mainly goes to the few small scale farmers. The same thing happens with the extension work. Farm inputs is also a problem in that seed distribution is inadequate and has caused the decline in cotton production. There are

only 11 tractors in the district which are individually owned. The majority of these are in Bondo division. A farmers Training School is to be started in Siaya by next year hopefully.

Thus, agricultural services need strengthening in the District. This would increase agricultural production. It is encouraging to see the Siaya District Draft plan emphasizes this. They pay special attention to agricultural production both for crops and livestock development which they recognize have a very high potential in the lakeshore region of the District.

(iii) Industry:

There is very little industrial development in the District. The Yala and Buholo jaggery factories are the only industrial establishment of any significance. These process sugar grown in both Yala and Ukwala division and have a small-scale of operation. Besides, there are small-scale industrial activities going on in nearly all the service centres of the district such as bicycle repairs, shoe repair, pottery, tinsmithing and could be developed to form the basis of Rural industrial development. A Rural Industrial development ^{Programme Support} such small-scale industrial activities.

Yala Swamp (see map 2)

Yala swamp merits a special mention because it is a special development area with a vast potential that if properly utilized can feed the entire district and provide 'export' to other districts. When completely reclaimed, it would be the only large-scale farming area in the district.

The swamp is situated in the North-Western part of the district at the mouth of river Yala. It is bounded by Lake Victoria to the West, Western province to the north and lake Kanyaboli to the East. There is a ridge of island higher grounds running east to west along the southern border of the swamp.

With flooding, the inhabitants moved to neighbouring locations such as Yimbo, Usonge, Alego, Usonga, Bunyala. Crops that used to be grown here were, Bananas, Sugar cane, cassava, sweet potatoes and cabbages.

The area was flooded by discharge of Yala river and now has an impenetrable dense cover of papyrus and other lakeshore vegetation. The 39,000 acres of swampy land thus created is to be drained in three phases by diverting the Yala river in three stages as follows:-

TABLE 6: YALA SWAMP RECLAMATION PHASES

Phase	Area covered	Progress
1	7500-800 acres	All drained by 1970
11	15,000 acres	Not yet started
111	35,000 acres	Not yet started

When phase 3 is completed, the River Yala will flow direct into lake Sare (see map 2) and so into lake Victoria. Lake Kanyaboli is being retained as a source of irrigation water.

The scheme was started in 1966. The objective of the scheme is to test the feasibility of reclaiming land in the Yala Swamp for irrigated agriculture and to provide the government with plans for carrying out the drainage, irrigation and settlement of the area. This objective was to be achieved by the construction of Yala river diversion canal on the northern bank of the swamp.

The construction of this canal which runs for about 5½ miles was completed by 1970 and carried out by the FAD/UNDP and later handed over to the National irrigation Board and the Ministry of Water Development.

The importance of Yala Swamp Scheme to District Planning is that it brought out some very fundamental policy questions that are necessary to support the policy goal of

rural development. These are the land policy and the settlement policy.

The objective of the scheme was that the swampy area should be drained to provide land for agriculture by irrigation. This ^{has} clearly shown that before agriculture takes place land tenure questions must of necessity be settled first. And for agricultural development to follow, explicit settlement policy is necessary.

When phase one of the scheme was completed; and ready for agriculture, people who had moved out of the area due to floods immediately laid claim to the land! They simply moved in and started to cultivate the land organized along lineage groups under customary land tenure. The Government officials especially the Nyanza P.C. warned of the impending political danger if the claims on the re-claimed land is left to be entrenched. The Government acted swiftly and set all the Yala swamp land apart.⁴⁰ This act transferred all rights to land under the swamp to the Government, nullifying customary rights. People are still allowed to grow seasonal crops on the land they think they have a claim on. But only that. They can't grow permanent crops on it because legally the land is not theirs. Thus the question of tenure was to be settled as a pre-requisite to agricultural development in the scheme.

The next question to be answered was that of settlement. Agriculture was to be carried out in the scheme under certain settlement conditions. The settlement alternative were outlined as follows:⁴¹

- (i) To allow uncontrolled occupation of the drained area.
- (ii) To control occupation of the drained area.
- (iii) To develop and resettle the drained area like other settlement schemes in Kenya.
- (iv) To develop the drained area on a large-scale production farm basis.

Of these alternatives, the last one was recommended by the Kenya Government counterpart manager of the Yala swamp Reclamation Project. The implication of this recommendation is that settlement would take place in a specifically defined area of the reclaimed swamp and leave most of the scheme for large-scale farm production.

Further, a consulting body was commissioned to advice on the type of agriculture suitable and crop to be grown.⁴² The commission recommended strongly the growing of sugar cane by irrigation methods, and that this could be done by inviting international capital to do it. They also found out that other forms of agriculture could be possible e.g. growing of maize by irrigation but recommended sugar cane growing because they said, international capital would be

attracted which would increase employment in the district. Thus, the scheme would be like the sugar belt in Kisumu District. A dutch company is therefore expected to start the production of sugar in the scheme and build a factory there. Thus, the policy regarding foreign investment in the country is also revealed by the scheme.

The reasons infavour of accepting the growing of sugar cane in the scheme is that it will attract foreign investment. It is also argued that such foreign investment that will start a sugar factory would increase employment, and government revenue through taxation.

The reasoning here is faulty because it is now abundantly clear that foreign investments in Kenya are a burden to the economy. That far from benefits such as increased employment, or revenue to the Government and technical assistance accruing to the country because of their existance, such companies eventually turn out to be cheats and exploiters.⁴² The price to be paid by the economy by their unchecked operation as is the case in Kenya now is heavy. They are given tax holidays, investment allowances, easy repatriation of profits. They over-invoice the raw materials and intermediate goods they import and under-invoice exports. Their contribution to employment is very low and they continue to importt manpower rather the train local people.

The reason, I brought out this is that the scheme, that has a high potential for feeding the local population will now be exploited by a foreign concern largely to serve their interests and not the interests of Kenya. Moreover once the scheme is operated by the Private Company, the District plans will not direct it since the instruction is that District plans will not include the private sector.

The Yala Swamp is therefore a resource that District planning will not manipulate. This is unfortunate. This becomes apparent as we look at the process of District planning in Siaya.

C H A P T E R 3LAND TENURE AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

In rural areas, especially areas with high or medium potential land like Siaya, land is a very vital asset. Rural peasants will directly derive their income from land. This is the case in Siaya district. As has been shown in the previous chapter, more than 80% of the population in the district live off-land. It has also been shown that the district has no low-potential land. That it has high potential as well as medium potential land. The district draft plan for example identifies the fact that there are favourable conditions for agricultural development in the district, that what is needed is intensified agricultural development.⁴³

The basic aims of rural development are

- (a) Increase rural incomes
- (b) " " Production
- (c) " " welfare
- (d) " " employment opportunities

The achievement of all these will depend on the development of agriculture in the rural area. Here agriculture does not mean only farming but also fishing and livestock keeping.

Increased agricultural production both of food and cash crops will mean a well fed rural population that will be able to work more on land. Cash crop production will also mean rural people will get more cash to buy food they can't grow as well as other industrial goods. It would allow the rural masses to buy clothes for themselves and to contribute through harambee efforts, enough money to build for themselves welfare amenities such as health and educational institutions. It will also enable them to meet the cost of services such as rural water supply schemes, and electricity supply. Above all, increased agricultural production in the rural areas will stimulate the rural economy and create employment both on the farm as well as off-the farm.

Agriculture therefore is the base for rural development. Any development strategy that fallaciously misses this fact has favourable chances of failure.

However, if agriculture is the basis of rural development, sound agricultural development will depend on a sound land tenure system. Land tenure system is the infrastructure for any agricultural development programme. Any agricultural policy or programme will depend entirely on the type of tenure system that is thought to be necessary for the regime in power. In Kenya for example, the two national development

plans i.e., 1970-74 and 1974-78 plans argue out their case for the necessity of retaining the Swynnerton land reform programmes of land adjudication and registration along these lines. The 1970-74 plan argues:

It has long been Government policy that the land tenure system in traditional African areas of Kenya should be changed so that farmers can be provided with the title deeds to their lands, where necessary, so that scattered fragments of land can be consolidated into one holding.....The reform acts as a powerful stimulus to agricultural development. 44

The argument here is that land reform is not only necessary for agricultural development to take place in the rural areas, but that beyond this, it acts as a powerful stimulus to agricultural development.

The 1974-78 development plan defended this policy further asserting rather correctly that land reform is a prerequisite for agricultural development in the rural areas.

The land adjudication and registration programme is now larger than ever before and this expansion has been regarded as a prerequisite for faster agricultural development. 45

The belief that land reform is a necessary pre-condition for an accelerated agricultural development in the rural areas where a traditional tenure system is only favourable for shifting cultivation is correct. This is because all agricultural programmes that would increase agricultural production such as

Agricultural Credits

Agricultural Extension

Agricultural Marketing

Agricultural Education

utilisation of Agricultural research findings.

Agricultural inputs such as seeds, machinery pesticides, will all be based on a sound land tenure system.

The Kenya Government is infact explicit in stating the policy that its land reform programme is part and parcel of its agricultural policy and that the agricultural policy will be based on land policy.

The most important feature of agricultural development strategy will be to increase the rate of public expenditure on programmes aimed at helping large numbers of farmers to intensity production. These include programmes such as agricultural extension, training and research, farm credit and input supply programmes, land adjudication and registration.⁴⁶

As a result of this agricultural policy, the Government has established institutions that provide ^{credit such as} Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC), Co-operation Societies and Agricultural Loan Boards. These especially (AFC) are financed by outside loan donors such as USAID, West German Government, World Bank. These loan agencies insist that Loans can be extended only to rural farmers with a registered land title deed.

As concerns Agricultural extension service in Kenya, other research has found out that people with consolidated holdings i.e. the progressive farmer is visited more by the extension agent than a person without a registered farm and ~~have~~ ^{haven't} consolidated his piece.⁴⁷ In fact it was found out during the Provincial Board tour that the people we visited were the same people visited most by extension officers and agricultural Boards. Their visitors books were full with signatures of extension officers, Government Officers and other bodies visiting rural areas on agricultural missions. They are therefore the people who utilize more agricultural research findings since the extension officers meet them frequently and teach them modern agricultural techniques. There is therefore the division of farmers into progressive and the traditional ones. Infact even officials encourage this trend. During our tour of Siaya for example, the leader of the team, the Deputy Provincial Commissioner made a speech after we had visited one progressive farmer in Gem location of Yala division exorting him of his good work and pointing to him the fact that the board chose to go to his home and not to "the home of many others still enmeshed in traditional agriculture because you have understanding and because you have done good work in your consolidated farm". The farmer also had a complaint to make.

He had consolidated his farm, planned it, kept grade cows on it. His home was near the river and he has problem with taking these cows to drink water in the river-nearby because there was a communal path passing in front of his home which other people's cow (not grade cows) used. So he could not take his cows to drink in the river nearby because the cows can easily catch disease if they walk along the path used by ordinary cows. He therefore wanted the path closed to all other cows and be diverted elsewhere. The Deputy Provincial Commissioner was very sympathetic and ordered the Chief to look into the possibility of doing something about it soon. Thus, this man's wishes were to be looked into with greater urgency than those of the rest of the community: Such progressive farmers are also the ones that are selected to attend agricultural education institutions to further their agricultural knowledge. Thus, as it is now, the Government's agricultural services are based on the land tenure system.

In any case a tenure system where only shifting cultivation is the agricultural methods used, makes such agricultural programmes like the ones the Government had designed be irrelevant. To start with such farmers are credit risk that even the Government would not find it possible to extend ^{it to them.} them. Extension work is nearly

stagnant since extension officers do not have the means to travel to every household to advice on how to cultivate fragmented holdings.

In the case of Siaya district where the majority of the people are still subsistence farmers using traditional shifting methods of cultivation, these agricultural programmes are not fully used to benefit the rural people and as a result the Government has intensified land adjudication and registration as a prerequisite to increased agricultural development in the district.

This land policy of adjudicating, registering and if necessary consolidating fragmented holdings into one single individual holding was initiated in colonial period and has been inherited by the independent Government. It is regarded as an important element in the National objective of developing its rural areas. Reviewing its progress in Kenya since its inception in 1953, Collin Leys found that between 1956-1960 it had been implemented throughout the Kikuyu country; that it was extended to other districts like Meru, Embu, Nandi, Baringo between 1959-60. By 1965, it was in progress in all provinces of the republic. The following year 1966, the Kenya Government, disillusioned with its other aspect of land policy namely; the settlement schemes where landless people in the former non-scheduled

areas were settled by the Government. in former european mixed farms, was shifting policy to emphasise land registration. It invited a British Mission to review this land policy of adjudication, consolidation and registration of individual land holdings.⁴⁸ The mission recommended the acceleration of this programme through a British loan of £3.4m. Leys goes on to say that the total registered area more than doubled between 1965 and 1969. Acreage registered rose from 1.6. million hectors to 9m hectors between 1970-74. This covered most of the agricultural land area in Kenya as well as a large portion of the pastoral areas. He adds that during the 1970-74 plan, the implementation of this land policy was to consume 16% of Development expenditure devorted to Agriculture!

In Siaya, this land policy was officially implemented as from May, 1966, although in a division like Yala it had started much earlier. By 1973 land adjudication was completed in the two divisions of Yala and Ukwala. In the other divisions of Bondo, Boro, adjudication work is in progress. By the end of this year (1973) the total area registered in the District was 35,600 hectors or 1,015 sq.km of land; out of a total district land area of 2,523 square kilometers.⁴⁹

The 1974 statistical abstract gave the programmes progress in the District as follows:

TABLE 7: LAND ADJUDICATION PROGRESS IN SIAYA⁵⁰

Year	1956/67	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Hectors registered	4,600	1,900	14,300	12,700	21,600	8,500	36,600

By September, 1975, the 1973 figure had risen to 88,353.98 hectors and five more sub-locations had been adjudicated although these records had not been entered into the district records. All these help to emphasise the urgency with which the Government takes this programme given the belief within the Government that land adjudication and registration programme is a prerequisite to agricultural development in the rural areas.

Although the Government's policy has been to leave out the consolidation aspect of the land reform as was recommended by Swynnerton, this does not mean consolidation does not take place. In Siaya for example, there were by 1970 about 30 enclosed farms.⁵¹ In any case, once land is adjudicated and registered, there is always the tendency on the part of the owner to fence off his plot and develop it.

In most of Yala division where this programme started as early as 1956, nearly every plot is enclosed. Inevitably when the adjudication and registration is completed, every land will be enclosed and there will be the tendency of the part of "able energetic, or rich Africans" to buy off "bad or poor farmers" and thereby acquire more land as was predicted by Swynnerton. This is because, the registration of land makes it a commodity to be traded in.

In Slaya District for example where the reform intensified from 1969 and where you only have one division where title deeds have been issued to all plot holders, land transactions have started in earnest. Recorded transactions in the District stand at 279 cases leaving out unofficially transacted cases. Infact even the Government encourages the commercialization of land in the rural areas as is clearly stated in the 1974-78 Development Plan.

The land adjudication and registration programme will also be continued on a large-scale to create an active market in land.⁵²

Thus the Government sees land reform programme not only as a means of increasing agricultural areas but also as a means of creating land market: The whole of the Government's land policy is therefore found to be quite out of touch with sound development in the rural areas. It also seems to run

counter to the best parts of African Cultural attributes with respect to land holdings rather than taking such attributes into account when formulating a land policy. The reason why this is the case seems to me to be the fact that the type of land reform that the Government has adopted was initiated by the Colonial authority who was anti-african in development approach and whose aim was not to retain African culture but its destruction; There are alot of good aspects of the African land tenure system which if we can take into account when designing land policy especially for rural development then development would be much more meaningful. We can do this by looking at the two types of tenure system, the African tenure as well as the European tenure system.

There are only two kinds of tenure systems namely, individual and communal or in legal terms, freehold and leasehold tenure system.

An individual or freehold tenure system is one in which individual ownership is free and absolute. One's land is his and no one has any claim of any type on it. Infact theoritically even the Government has no claim to it. Only in exceptional circumstances can the Government lay claim to it e.g. under town and Country Planning Act, defence purposes. In such cases, the individual has to be paid full

and fair compensation. This is the (capitalist) European land tenure system. An essential feature of this land holding is that land is transferable by sale. Land is a commodity to be traded in.

Communal tenure system is one in which the individual's right to a piece of land is only the right to use and not to own land. He has an inalienable right to use land but not to own. For example, a person may have a piece of land where he lays claim. To the extent that he uses that piece of land to grow crops or to build his home in, it is his and no one can rob him of it or use it unilaterally without first getting his sanction.

However, though his, if he has not used it to grow crops or build a home, then ownership reverts to the community in which he lives in the sense that any member of the community can graze his cows on it or collect firewood from it. However, no other member of the Community can use his piece of land by growing crops on it or building a home on it without the "owner's" consent.

Land was also transferable within the community through mutual understandings between the two people involved. This transfer however did not involve a monetary transaction.

In the event of dire need by a member of the community, a person with enough plots can be asked by other members of the community to surrender one of his plots in favour of the one in dire need.

This was the African way of land holding. It was a communal tenure system. There were cases where the chief owned all land of the community and there are people who would like to argue that in such cases (the Kabaka of Baganda or the Asantehene of Ghana are good examples here) land was not communally owned. This is not correct because those were African societies with statelike organizations and a kind of Government. Their case represent a case in contemporary Africa with modern Government who has nationalized all land. More over these were only exceptions and not the rule.

It is therefore vitally important for a planner to understand such cultural attributes of the people he is to plan for and emulate policies and plans that take into account peoples beliefs and values.

What are the merits and demerits of these two kinds of tenure systems and which one should be adopted as the basis of a land policy that will form the backbone of Agricultural development policy in the rural areas?

The European individual tenure system is in most cases a faulty tenure to be adopted. It has far reaching social consequences chief of which is landlessness. Others are un-employment and excessive land sub-division which produces

un-economic units for exploitation and mechanization of agriculture to take place. The achievement of the overall objective of increasing rural agricultural production, incomes and employment will become difficult. The policy goal of achieving development rural areas will be lost sight of. Such a policy will only be successful in creating rural Kulaks.

In Kenya where individual tenure had been introduced during colonial times, accepted and intensified in post-independence time, these social evils live on. The Lawrence Commission appointed in 1965 to look into the land policy of adjudication, consolidation and registration and which recommended the intensification of this programme, was at pains to point out that

The criticism that consolidation initially creates unemployment and landlessness is a valid one.⁵³

Mbithi and Barnes⁵⁴ also arrived at the same conclusion in their study of the problem of squatter and infact like this particular commission, believes it has led to uneconomic land sub-division. On land sub-division, the commission wrote:

The commission found out for example that in Nyeri "34,500" of 43,200 holdings are of six acres or less."⁵⁵

The land reform in any case was meant by its author to create landlessness in Kenya as he seemed to confess that consolidating land would enable rich Africans to acquire land from poor Africans so as to create a landed and landless class. And he saw nothing wrong with such a trend:

Even the Government seem to want landlessness and land sub-division into uneconomic sizes if the 1974-78 plan is anything to go by. Under land use policies the plan says:

The land adjudication and registration programme will also be continued on a large-scale to create an active market in land. Contrary to previous practice, the land control boards will be encouraged to permit sub-division of farms.⁵⁶

Such a policy is regressive to say the least.

The other bad aspect of individual land tenure is that it makes planning ~~be~~ extremely difficult because of land speculation brought about by an "active market in land." Acquiring land for town and country planning becomes very expensive due to compensation that has to be paid.

What of the communal tenure system? What are its evils; and good aspects? Can it realistically form the basis of land policy given the fact that individual tenure is in many ways evilish and has no roots in the traditional African land law?

One major evil of communal land tenure is that land is held in fragments. It is also accused of creating land sub-division. That there is no incentive for the individual to invest in his land and as a result can not utilise Agricultural loans to increase investment in land like is the case with an individualised tenure. Because of this absence of investment in land, rural employment and production

declines or is non-existent. People start to drift to towns.

Most of these accusations are valid with a communal tenure except the one about land sub-division. However these are minor negative aspects of this tenure system. However, one very attractive aspect is that a member of the community is assured of a piece of land. There is very little or absolutely no landlessness.

As to the accusation that land is held in fragments and so an individual can not utilize Government credit system to obtain loans to develop his holding, this is something which can easily be corrected without destroying the principle of communalism in the African culture. For example clan lands could be consolidated as one whole unit that can be economically utilized and mechanization made possible. This would form the basis of agricultural production co-operatives. Agricultural credits would then be channeled through such clan production and marketing co-operatives. This will reduce the scourge of bureaucracy and inefficiency of the existing marketing corporatives in Kenya. A fully fledged Ministry of Co-operative Development as exists in Kenya now would strengthen and develop such rural clan production co-operatives.

In this way agricultural programmes such as extension will benefit the most number, marketing of the produce will

be done through such co-operatives. Some clan members would be selected to attend Agricultural education centres to come back and further agricultural knowledge in their common clan farm.

In short, any agricultural programme can be meaningful and land will no longer be fragmented or sub-divided since it is registered in the name of the clan and not in the name of the individual.

Had the designers of the existing land reform been aware that land tenure arises out of the social system obtaining in any society, which in Kenya at the time when this reform was being made, was a society based on communalism, the reform could have taken this into account. They could have advocated adjudicating and consolidating clan or lineage group lands and not individual land.

Unfortunately at the time this reform was being hatched out, there was an intensive racial hatred in Kenya and it was meant to destroy the bonds that held the African society together. It was "a bet the strong" type of land reform (that is a reform that glorifies the progressive farmer more) and was meant to reward the good "boys" (that is the conformist or loyalists to the colonial authority) to the colonial Government and to punish the people with nationalistic orientation and who wanted to retain their

African identity. Those who wanted development in dignity. The Mau Mau Militants. This land reform on which all agricultural programmes in Kenya are based is no longer consistent with our independent aspirations. It therefore needs to be reviewed and be replaced with a progressive land reform that takes into account the positive aspects of the African land tenure system. There are only two kinds of tenure as have been explained above. The system which glorifies individualism in land holding creates more national problems such as landlessness and unemployment. It also makes agricultural programmes be aimed only at some few rural 'Kulaks' (large rural land owners). It perpetuates inequality and so rural production might increase but poverty remains. Disease and ignorance will largely remain in the rural areas. Speculation in land will result. Development will be perverse. It will be only a bet the strong type of policy which no one would advocate.

On the other hand, a modified customary tenure where co-operative endeavour is encouraged in rural production, the agricultural programmes will increase rural production. Incomes will rise evenly as well as employment because plots are large and economic to exploit. This will enable people to have enough money to contribute towards the provision of rural amenities. With the provision of these amenities, such as

Schools, health centres, ignorance and disease incidence in the rural areas will be minimized. The result is a developed rural areas.

The starting point in analysing policy strategy for rural development is therefore land reform. This land reform must be egalitarian in character. It is for this that I find the existing land policy initiated during the colonial period incapable of meeting the aspirations of an independent nation. The objectives for which they were formulated, namely that of creating a conservative rather than a nationalistic approach to African political development, is not compatible with an independent nation; aiming at an egalitarian development.

Since Rural development would successfully depend on agricultural development which in turn depends entirely on a sound tenure system, the national land policy now need revision.

C H A P T E R 4

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The objective of increasing incomes production and employment calls for a strong, and well thought-out land and Agricultural policies. The other objective of increasing rural welfare need another additional policy to those of land and agriculture namely, the policy of rural settlement. The policy of settlement therefore becomes crucial for rural development.

The Government's policy of directing "an increasing share of the total resources available to the nation towards the rural areas" means, in terms of the national objective of aiming at a "high and growing per capita incomes, equitably distributed" that the Government will use the benefits of growth to finance social infrastructural services such as water supply, schools, shops, administration facilities, roads, electricity supply lines, health centres in the rural areas. For the Government to provide such services to all people at minimum cost and within the shortest time possible, the question of rural settlement must be given high priority. In rural Kenya, three main types of rural settlements can be distinguished.⁵⁷

(1) Scattered or grouped homestead units

These take about 70% of the rural population and is found

in Western, Nyanza, Central, Eastern, Coastal provinces and some parts of the Rift Valley Province. These settlements are said to be associated with Kin-based land tenure systems and semi-pastoral or mixed peasant farming. These are also areas of high population densities ranging from 150-600 persons per square Kilometre.

(2) The Normadic and Pastoralist Migratory Settlements

The economic activities of these kinds of settlements are centred around livestock and most of their communities move from one place to another in a seasonal manner in search of water, pasture and in order to control livestock diseases. Their settlements therefore take the form of temporary camps. They require large territories whose utilization are relatively exclusive to a given clan, age-set, and any neighbourhood. They account for 12% of the total rural population.

(3) Plantation estates and settlement schemes

These are significant as rural settlement types because of the labour lines where workers villages are. These are common especially in large-scale farms in the Rift Valley and the plantation estates. The other kinds of settlements in this category are the settlement schemes like Haraka, the Million Acre, Mwea-Tabere. Such schemes

represent about 4.5% of the total rural population.

These are the major settlements types that exist in Kenya. The first type that accounts for 70% of Kenya's population is the most typical rural settlement in Kenya. It is also the one found in Siaya.

It should also be recognized that the first two types of settlements represent the traditional patterns. Any meaningful rural settlement policy must be aimed at them especially the second category of the nomads and Pastoralists since they are the most backward and most scattered. They are controlled by the environment rather than they controlling the environment. They can not be left in their present form if Government Services is to reach all Kenyans. A method is to be designed of how the Government services can reach the people efficiently and at low cost.

The Government went about this task by adopting a comprehensive physical planning exercise. This exercise was incorporated in the 1970-74 Development Plan which set down a fully intergrated physical planning framework and established the principle that urban development would be channeled into the service centres and towns in accordance with the scheduled network of centres.

It is the view of the Department of Physical Planning,⁵⁶ Ministry of Lands and Settlement, charged with the preparation of national physical plans, "that the proposed network of centres in the current plan reflects the Government's aim of an equitable distribution of physical ingrastructure and social services in concentrated forms of settlements in any given district rather than be dispersed throughout the district."

The Department further explains this policy of developing the rural areas through a scheduled network of centres by arguing that

- (i) The most efficient way to provide Government services in the rural areas is to gather such things as schools, shops, administrative facilities, health centres into one place so that they can easily serve the people.
- (ii) The second advatage of grouping services is that water supplies roads, sewers, and electricity supply lines can be installed to serve these activities more cheaply than if they were scattered over a wide area.
- (iii) Having grouped the facilities enumerated above, the trunk and secondary roads can be built in

such a way to place the centres at a point which the people will find most convenient to reach the market their produce in.

- (iv) Grouping will also enable commercial growth of such centres and so activities will increase and the towns will grow.
- (v) The designation of centres is also meant to help the Government policy of encouraging foreign investment in the country. It is believed that if rural centres could be provided with necessary facilities, then foreign investors would be attracted to these areas. The 1974-78 Plan reinforces this point:

once a centre has its basic infrastructural facilities, it will tend to attract commercial and industrial development which will enrich the lives of people of the rural areas and provide improved employment opportunities.⁵⁹

The approach of the Government therefore, in the question of rural settlement has been one of selecting a centre where to provide services and not to organize rural people into centres where such services can be provided to all rural people at minimum cost and within the shortest time possible. The Government therefore recognizes four

such types of settlements which form the basis of its rural settlement policy. These are, in order of importance Urban centres, Rural centres, Market centres, local centres.

Local centre: This is supposed to be a centre serving 5000 people of the rural population.

Market Centre: Supposed to serve 15,000 rural people.

Rural Centre: Supposed to serve 40,000 people.

Urban centre: Supposed to serve 120,000 people.

In selecting these centres certain factors are taken in account such as:

- a) Needs of the area
- b) An examination of the local population distribution
- c) An analysis of existing infrastructure and transportation network.
- d) The needs arising from development of local records and consultation with the Provincial and Districts Development Committees.

In Siaya District, this aspect of Government policy has been operational and centres have been designated according to the categories and principles described above. There are three urban centres namely Ukwala Yala, Siaya. It has also 5 rural centres, 12 market centres 34 local centres.

The reason for the establishment of such services centres for the purposes of rural development is that they are the points where the Government will have to provide services to serve the designated number of people. For example an urban centre will probably be the District Headquarters or a divisional headquarters where Government functions are based. It might as well form the Chief's camp, have a police camp. Since in some cases they have a resident population, they will require a water supply, sewage system, electricity, a district hospital or a health centre, Post Office telephone service, schools, secondary and primary, Bank, Bus service, Mobile cinema and a Judicial service.

On the other hand, a rural centre may be a divisional headquarters or a chief's camp, requiring a Police post, water supply, sewage, Health Centre, Post Office, telephone, schools primary and secondary, Bus service, mobile cinema, Judicial authority.

A market centre may only provide chief's camp, dispensary, water supply health centre, post office, schools, Bus service.

The local centre provides lower level services such as Chief's camp, water supply, dispensary schools, bus services.

Thus according to this scheduling of centres, in a

hierarchical order, with the largest centre providing more services and a local centre lower level services, it is hoped more people will benefit from such an arrangement. It is also hoped that the growth of such centres will stimulate its agricultural hinterland by providing the social infrastructure and industrial raw materials. They are also to be the basis of rural industrialization since most of the small-scale activities such as shoe repair, bicycle repair, tinsmithing take place in such centres. Agricultural goods from the hinterland will be exchanged in such centres with industrial goods like clothes, unga, soap detergents, cooking oil. It is hoped this process will bring about rural modernization.

The important thing to emphasise about the service centre concept is that they are in themselves an exercise in rural development. That the Government seemed to aim at achieving three main development objectives namely

- (1) Decentralization of Urban development through the creation of growth points and service centres in the rural areas.
- (2) Government services provided in the designated centres in the rural areas and growth points such as educational institutions, medical

institutions, water supplies, electricity supply will adequately serve the rural masses.

- (3) Investment decisions will take into account the designation of centres and establish themselves in rural towns thereby creating employment in the rural areas as well as creating even industrial development in the country.

The first and second objectives, assumes that urban centres so designated will be generic to the rural surroundings in that they will create cash markets for the farm products and that they will modernize the rural economy by providing industrial goods plus government services, hence the decentralization of urban development through the designation of growth points and services centres where government services are directed.

Such a strategy can however be only meaningful if the economy is regionally intergrated and internally oriented. In Kenya, no attempt has been made toward such an arrangement of the economy. Evidence show that the element of centre-periphery relationship is still very strong in running the economic affairs of the country. The economy is highly externally oriented and tied to the Metropolitan economy. An example where the foetus feeds the Mother and not vice versa. As a result, the centres, starting from

the smallest in the rural areas to the national capital are parasitic to the surrounding hinterland. Infact this exercise of designated centres seems only to strengthen the exploitative relationship since they seem to act as gathering points for rural wealth (both human and material) for exploitation by the centre. Examples are not hard to come by, manpower allocations is done in Nairobi, and trained manpower usually has a lower preference to work in the rural districts.

Finanically, all financial institutions largely foreign controlled have their operational headquarters in Nairobi. Cases exist where ^{if} a Government officer for example is transferred to a District, his bank account still remains in Nairobi. Post Office Savings banks which can reach the rural masses because of the small deposit amount required, transfer their money to Nairobi where they are held in the Government Securities. Thus money in the rural areas is transfered to urban and not invested in rural areas.

Most big companies have their head offices in Nairobi and smaller branches in the designated growth points are controlled in Nairobi.

Thus, Nairobi the centra of the country controls the vital aspects of national life. Best brains are found here. Financial institutions operating in Kenya are controlled from

Nairobi, major foreign owned companies usually prefer to establish in Nairobi and controll all their branches from here.

But that is not the end, Nairobi act only as a gathering point for all these operation. Nairobi is only the centre for the exploitation of the periphery country which is inturn controlled by the Metropolitan country in this case Paris, London, Washington, Bonn.

This is what the open door policy with regard to foreign investment in Kenya mean, all these unrestricted operation of Foreign investments makes a big loophole in the Nations policy of decentralization of urban development.

The third assumption that investment particularly direct foreign investment will establish themselves in the rural areas because of the designation of growth centres where the provision of Government services has created some amenities, is fallacious to say the least. This is because the foreign investors do not come to Kenya for charity. Profits is their guiding star. The sooner they get if the better. And since in the negotiations they are in stronger bargaining position that the Government, directing them to invest in the rural areas can not be taken for granted.⁶⁰ Investment decision are taken by them and not by the Government.

As a result, the Government policy regarding settlement patterns especially in the rural areas need to be looked at a second time if the goal of rural development is to be achieved. The settlement patterns should not aim at designating centres where services will be provided, but should aim at encouraging people to live together in clusters where Government services are provided. This will be in line with the suggestion that land reform in the rural areas should aim at consolidating clan lands and not individual land. The policy regarding settlement need be accompanied by a realistic policy regarding foreign investment. Foreign investments need to be accepted on the understanding that they further national interest and not their interests only. Infact there are some vital areas of the national economy where foreign investment must be barred, for example the financial institutions. And in areas where they are allowed to participate, they should do so with the participation of the parastatal bodies established by the Government. It ought to be pointed out here that direct foreign investment is very useful for a developing country. It provides much needed foreign exchange they provide employment to nationals as well as technology. Besides, they boost Government revenue through taxation. However, if they are left uncontrolled or with very little control where they can easily manouver then all these

benefits they bring to a country will not accrue. They will take them all. For example the foreign exchange they bring into the country when they establish themselves will soon get out if they are given tax holidays, investment allowances, free repatriation of profits (which they should invest in the country). They will also not train local personnel and will continue to import manpower. National manpower development will not be their immediate concern. In short the host country loses control over a vital sector of the economy - the private sector. If that happens then investment will not easily be directed to centres designated as growth centres. Such centres will not easily grow although designated as growth centres. That is why the national policy should aim more at controlling foreign investments.

The other aspects of this policy of service centres as revealed by the example of Siaya is that the DDC members do not allocate their services according to this policy. Infact, talking to some of the district ministerial heads, they seemed not to be aware of all that is involved in the exercise.

An example to this is the case where the DDC (composed mainly of Government officials as well) wanted certain category of centres to be upgraded. One from a rural centre to an urban centre and the other from a market centre

to a rural centre. The reasoning for this proposal was that they were markets of long-standing and so needed upgrading. It took much arguments by correspondence between the Physical Planning Department's provincial office at Kisumu and the headquarters before they could be convinced that this was not possible because it would involve increased expenditure to the Government to accompany upgrading. Moreover the Department designates centres according to laid down criteria which is not that well understood at the local level.

The centres are meant to be points where the Government can provide its services to the rural people. They are also centres where industrial goods reach the agricultural communities and exchange take place. Does the DDC allocate its Government services like schools, medical facilities, posts and telecommunication, water, electricity according to the principle of the centres? Field observation shows that this is not the case.

This can be illustrated by the three most important project kinds that the DDC funds have been engaged in. These are agricultural projects, water supply and rural access roads.

Agricultural projects such as cattle dips e.g. in Uyoma location, minor irrigation schemes in Rarieda, 4-K clubs, bush clearance are fine example of projects allocated to groups of people along the settlement principles

as outlined at the beginning of this chapter.

The major water schemes in the District are the Ugunja rural water supply, Uyoma water supply, Bondo and Ukwala (all these are rural centres) water extensions and Asembo water supply. Minor water supply to institutions and development projects such as health centres and secondary schools.

However with the exception of the water supply to designated centres such as health centres where there is a resident population, the other rural water supply will not effectively reach the majority of the rural masses.

A different locational theory is needed for the majority to enjoy such services. Asembo and Uyoma water supply are cases in point. Asembo water supply is about to enter the construction stage. But a look at the consultant's plan for the supply of water in the location show that it will only benefit a few people where the major supply lines pass through. Most people are far away from where water passes. Yet it is expected to cost a total of £20 million to construct and maintain.

Uyoma water supply phase one is now complete and is to be provided to people at certain communal points along which the major water pipes pass. If one wants individual connections, he has to finance construction of supply from the main line to his/her home. This is expensive to most rural people.

They can not afford. The consultants for Asembo water supply for example established that the locational per capita income was £100 p.a. That can not be enough to finance the pipe laying to one's home leave along fitting it in the house. Yet a scheme like the Uyoma one is expected to cost £150,000 phase one alone. It means only few people will be able to get water at a reasonable distance. This fact coupled with the land reform which creates rural Kulaks, are policies which might only succeed in alienating a large number of rural peasantry from enjoying Government services. It is in the long term interest of the country to check it.

Government services with high overhead cost such as water supply, electricity supply would be easier to provide to rural people if the settlement policy encourages denser and close living in the rural areas, nearly the kind found in the urban patterns. This is believed to be what is meant when the Department of Physical Planning explains the policy that is aimed at "an equitable distribution of physical infrastructures and social services in concentrated forms of settlements."⁶¹

However, the loose aspects of this policy is that priority is given to the designation of centres where such services are provided giving scant attention to distance from such centres (population distribution is one of the criteria for designating centres) and NOT the organization of people

around such centres where the services are.

If people were organized at "concentrated" centres and then connection between the centres are made through an efficient network of rural access roads and other road categories (and the Siaya DDC spends alot of money on access roads) the services such as health centres, secondary schools, water supply will be easily provided. For example a location might have 10 major settlement clusters. These clusters are connected by access roads; and each of them is connected by these access road to a health centre of the division. All the clusters would be provided with water at a communal point in their cluster. The provision of these services will therefore be easier.

To prove further the inefficiency of providing services in places where people have not been organized into clusters, take the case of Bondo division with only one health centre. Take also a case of a person near Kisumu District 20 miles away falling sick. There is no direct route to Bondo from here, There is no vehicle. How can this man be treated as quickly as possible?

In places where people have been organized into rural clusters where services can be provided, e.g. Ujama Village in Tanzania, Fokonolonas in Madagascar (just underway) or rural neighbourhoods in Guinea, or Communal villages (underway in Mozambique) services with large overhead costs can be easily and cheaply provided. The Tanzania experience shows that because by the end of this year nearly everyone shall

have moved into Ujamaa Village, (by 1975 65% of the rural population in mainland Tanzania had moved into villages according to a report to the 17th Bienial National Conference of the ruling Party TANU. The report was presented to the conference by the Party President) they now hope to achieve universal primary education by the end of next year. Every household will now be provided with clean water by 1979 instead of by 1991 as previously targeted. According to the report presented to the conference by the party vice President these rural settlements have been given legal reconition by the Government through an act of Parliament.⁶² This enables the relationship in the rural areas to be formlized as is the case in urban areas. It makes them economic entities with legal powers to sue or be sued in a court of law. It also makes it possible for them to enter into legally binding transactions with other corporate bodies like banks. This is the kind of transformational approach to rural development that should be aimed at. Rural development is highly transformational to peoples lives.

Policies that make such transformations necessary should be aimed at otherwise rural development policies would have perverse results.

S E C T I O N I I I

C H A P T E R 5 P L A N N I N G P R O C E S S

5.1 REVOLUTION OF PLANNING IN KENYA

Much of what goes on in Kenya in the administrative structure of the civil service has its roots in the arrangements made in the colonial period. This is also true with the evolution of planning machinery in Kenya. Before we look at the District planning process, a look at what happened at the colonial period would be useful for our understanding of what goes on today.

During colonial times, planning was done on an ad hoc basis, it was also concerned with ensuring ways by which money allocated by the colonial authority could be spent by the various departments (equivalents of Ministries in independent Kenya) of the colonial authority. Colonial planning machinery consisted of committees such as Development and Reconstruction Authority (DARA) formed in 1945 which did not plan on a continuous basis. Moreover, these planning committees were mostly concerned with planning for the former scheduled areas and less with the African reserves except the plans of 1954-57 and 1957-60 which incorporated Swynnerton plan and designed committees such as, African Land Development Committee (ALDEV) which catered

for the Development of the African reserves.

Below the national level, i.e. the local level planning during colonial period, planning was mainly the prerogative of the individual government departments. There was no co-ordinating machinery to manage planning at the local level. It could be explained here too that the local level at the time was the province. It was very remote from the people to be served.

One important feature of colonial planning was that they excluded the private sector. They were not comprehensive plans, hence project by project.

The colonial planning machinery remained in force up-to 1962. With independence, changes were inevitably made. The changes were aimed at reaching and serving the people more than before. It should be remembered that during colonial period, many of the planning committees and departments, were headed by those who were anti-African advancement and as a result, very little was done to the Africans in the rural areas. This is the trend that was to be changed after independence. The planning machinery was therefore expected to serve the broader social and economic aims of the nationalist government. As a result, "since independence," as Robert Jackson has observed, "specialised planning structures and the associated committee system has gradually evolved."⁶³

In 1964 the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development was created, to help build an effective planning organization which could link the central government with individuals and groups in the countryside. This was to be done by the creation of specialized roles and structures as well as a host of committees at Provincial and District levels. However, despite this attempt, Robert Jackson contended that by 1969, 5 years after the establishment of these planning structures, that the "structures have only been partially successful in shaping and guiding development activities in Kenya and in the rural areas its impact has been clearly marginal.⁶⁴

It was a fact at the time, (and this could be true today) that probably less than 5% of rural development activities were initiated, and shaped or controlled by the formal planning structure. The highest planning organ at the time which controlled all these structures was the Cabinet Development Committee (CDC) headed by the Minister for Economic Planning and Development.

At the Local level there was no attempt to co-ordinate planning. Each Ministry went its own way, for example, Public Works Department (PWD) made rural roads based on their own plans. Agriculture department made their own plans. Planning was ad hoc, and discontinuous. This trend continued into the early periods of independent Kenya.

The 1966-70 plan sought to correct this mistake in national planning. It did this by creating at the provincial and District levels, Development Advisory Committees. The advisory committees included politicians, councillors as well as Civil Servants. The Development Committees were purely composed of Civil Servants. The functions of these committees were:

- (i) To co-ordinate and stimulate development at the local level by involving not only the Government officials but also the people through their representatives i.e. the M.P.s and Councillors.
- (ii) To implement plans.

These committees are chaired by a relevant head of the Civil Service at each level e.g. Provincial Commissioner, District Commissioner.

Besides these, there were also departmental committees both at the Provincial and District levels for example, Provincial Agricultural Boards, District Agricultural Board from the Ministry of Agriculture and Provincial Community Development Committee (PCDC), District Committee Development Committee (DCDC). All these committees are also chaired by the Provincial Administration people.

When the President announced that all districts were to prepare their own plans, all the existing District Development Committees and District Advisory Committees were merged into a reorganized District Development

Committees (DDC) for every district. All other committees like Agricultural Boards, Community Development Committees remained.

5.2 COMPOSITION AND FUNCTIONS OF THE DDC

(See appendix 1 for DDC Composition)

The DDC is composed of all district heads of the operating Ministries including Ministerial heads at the provincial level but are not represented at the district level. Other members are drawn from the district M.Ps, selected locational councillors, District Kanu Chairman, chairman and clerk to County Council. It is headed and chaired by the District Commissioner. Its composition is aimed at ensuring total commitment of local leaders to the planning process as well as to increase involvement.

In its desire to decentralize planning, the Government chose the district as the basic operational planning unit. Towards this end, the DDC was given the responsibility for the formulation of district plans. It is also the implementing agency of all district plans. The jurisdiction of the DDC is one and the same as that of the County Council.

The main objectives of the District plans are to identify and define local projects for: ⁶⁵

- (1) Agricultural production and activities such as livestock development, water and minor irrigation projects, afforestation, credit and marketing services.

- (ii) Development of Cottage Industries.
- (iii) Development of Co-operative Movement.
- (iv) Social Service Programmes, especially education, health services, sanitation and family planning.
- (v) Housing and Urban Development.
- (vi) Training Programmes, Village Polytechnics, Youth Development Centres.
- (vii) Minor roads.
- (viii) Utilizing and Assisting Voluntary agencies engaged in development such as National Christian Council of Kenya (NCCCK), National Freedom From Hunger Committee, Chief of Mission, Unesco, Unicef, Oxfarm.

5.3 PLAN FORMULATION

District plans have two component parts:

- (i) Disaggregated district development programmes from the national plan.
- (ii) Projects identified by the District.

Of these components, the first one is the most important.

The disaggregation of the national programmes into district programmes wherever they apply is done by the heads of the operational ministries. The Government usually has some objectives for every ministry for example the provision of a hospital for every district by say a certain year, the

provision of clean water for every district by a certain year. Programmes for the achievements of such aims are outlined in the development plan. We can take a typical case from the Ministry of Water Development. On "Rural Water Supply Programme," the plan says:⁶⁶

This is the programme through which basic water supplies for domestic and livestock are made available in the rural areas... In each district several schemes may be incorporated in the planned expenditure. In others none. Priorities and schemes to be undertaken will be determined in every case by the appropriate District Development Committee, in consultation with the Water Department.

The plan then goes on to list in a tabular form projects names and expenditure. A typical example is like this.⁴⁹

TABLE 8: RURAL WATER PROJECTS:

Project Name and	1973/74	1974/75	1975/76	1976/77	1977/78	Total
Rural Water Supply Siaya Total Expenditure	190.4	19.3	318.2	337.5	-	865.4
Import Content	41.7	4.2	69.7	74.1	-	189.7

The Nyanza, or Siaya Water Development Officer knows the allocation for its Ministry in the district till 1978. During DDC meetings, they can suggest for example the financing of Ugunja Water Project. For the acceptance of such a project, they will listen to the counsel from the ministerial head, whether the Ministry can be able to supply the required imports that would go into the construction of such a scheme. It will also depend on the extent of the local contribution for the project as well as the amount that can be devoted to the project from the Rural Development fund. The totality of this will result in accepting the Ugunja Water Project. This was the procedure when this project was being prepared by the Siaya DDC. Other Ministerial projects are also prepared in like manner. Such projects are mainly financed from the yearly Ministerial allocations. Most of the Government services such as schools, health centres, water supply electricity supply, classified roads are formulated in a like manner.

The second component of the District plans is that which show projects identified by the District. This is financed through special grants in the vote of the Ministry of Finance and Planning. They are meant to fill the gaps in the development needs of the district which are not satisfied by the Ministerial Programmes allocations to the District.

In selecting development projects for all the component parts of the District plan, the DDC works very closely and co-operates with its sub-DDC's such as the Divisional Development Committee (DDC). The Community Development Committee (DCDC), the District Agricultural Boards. Each of these sub-DDCs and other Ministerial heads, prepare their own programmes within the limitations of the yearly Ministerial allocations.

When for example, the DDC meeting is fixed for a certain time, the DDO sends letters to all its sub-committees, Ministerial heads of the District as well as to local level politicians, M.Ps, Councillors. All these sub-committees are required by such a letter to send in suggestions for development projects that they would require to be included in the District plan and asking them to discuss such projects with the local people. In most cases priority is to be given to projects which has agricultural bias and to be labour intensive.

When such a circular is sent, the District Officers (DO's) who are the heads of the divisions, are required to send word down to the sub-locational level i.e. to the sub-locational committees and the Harambee Project Leaders. They are in return required to discuss their projects thoroughly. The DCDC also discusses its projects which in most cases are

Harambee projects before they are sent to the DDC.

The sub-locational and Harambee Committees then send in their suggestions to the DDC and/or DCDC for discussion and sub-mission to the DDC.

In the official records in the office of the District Development Officer (DDO), this is the process by which district plans are formulated. However, further investigations revealed that this was not the case. To start with, the divisional development committees in the four divisions of Siaya district are not existing or are existing but weak. The study revealed that only Boro divisional sub-DDC was strong and met regularly. They also had a well drawn out membership. The Yala DDC was weak and the membership not well defined. The Ukwala and Bondo DDCs were almost non-existent. Talking to the DO of Bondo, he told me that he was not aware of such a committee as the (DIDC).

Locational committees were also found to be equally varied in strength and existence. In some locations, e.g. Asembo East Location of Bondo Division or West Alego in Boro division, the locational development committee existed but dealt directly with the DCDC through which they submitted their project proposals. Out of 16 locations, only four locations had locational development committees, which initiated projects and sent to the DCDC for submission to the DDC meeting. It is important to note that these projects are not sponsored by the DIDC but by the DCDC. District officers who attend the

DDC meeting do not go to the DDC after discussing projects with the members in the DDC but find it as part of his work to attend the DDC meetings and do not take the DDC meeting as a place where he should go to after thorough background work where the projects to be financed by the DDC should be discussed in the DDC.

The strong sub-committees of the DDC are the DCDC, headed by the Community Development Officer (CDO), the District Agricultural boards.

In 1975 for example, all the Siaya DDC projects financed by the Rural Development Funds were recommended by the DCDC. Before the DCDC recommends projects, the CDO or the DDO might have been approached by individual or Harambee Project Officials for their projects to be included. In this regard, the role played by individual personalities such as M.Ps, Councillors and other interested local pressure groups is very important in the selection of the projects to be financed by DDC grants. Examples here are the Rarieda Minor Irrigation Project where the canvassing of the M.P. for Rondo was very important for its inclusion, Sega Airstrip in which the M.P. for Ugenya played an important part, the Abir Fish Pond Project and the Tanga Poultry Project.

The Abir Fish Pond is a very interesting example of project being selected for DDC funding when you don't have the formal institutional framework through which to select

the project. The Fish Pond is a project in Gem Location of Yala division. It happened that the person who proposed the project was a fisheries officer and happened to come from this particular place called Abir. His cousin is the sub-chief of the area. The fisheries officer realized there was money with the DDC and he convinced the sub-chief that they could offer part of their land for a fish pond and ask for the DDC funds in the name of the people in the area. They succeeded in getting the project accepted as a DDC project and so were allocated a total of Rs.7,500 first instalment, with the promise of a further sum of equivalent amount. During the Provincial Agricultural board tour of the district headed by the Deputy P.C. of Nyanza, we found some trenches had been dug where water could flow to a proposed pond. This was all that had been done with Rs.7,500 which ^{we} were told had gone into the payment for the cost of labour! There is every reason to suspect the money was not correctly used. To make matters worse, there was no organization to be held responsible!

This example shows a case of what can happen if district plan projects are formulated on the basis of the campaign and manouvre of individuals and not through the formally established machinery where plans are discussed before being recommended by the people for adoption as a plan project.

This then is the way plans are formulated by the DDC. There is the other fact that have to be considered in formulating district plans. According to instructions issued by the Ministry of Finance and Planning to Provincial Planning Officers on District Planning in September 1974, the 'ideal' situation in district planning should be one in which they take into account all activities in the District including programmes initiated by:-

- (i) The private sector.
- (ii) Voluntary agencies.
- (iii) Local authorities.

The instruction further noted that the 'ideal' situation could not however obtain in the existing planning exercise and so for the moment, "district plans will only be a disaggregation exercise and so will not cover to any degree of detail the development programmes of the private sector and voluntary agencies."67

Two facts stand out here which reduces significantly the chances of district planning from becoming a good strategy for rural development.

The first is that the plans will mainly be a disaggregation exercise, and that this is the most important part of the exercise in district planning. The second fact is that the plans will, to a considerable degree, exclude the programmes of the private sector.

These two features of a district plan gives them the essential characters of the colonial plans. Since most of the plan component will consist of the programmes of the operational Ministries, the similarity with the colonial plans which was concerned only with ensuring that money allocated were spent by the departments is great. More over, with the representation of the Ministry of Finance and Planning at the district level it means that nearly all government departments are represented and have their expenditure programmes. The Ministry of Finance and Planning having the Rural Development Fund (RDF) as its Ministerial allocation. Secondly like the colonial plans, all district plans have to exclude the private sector. These two facts also prove the point made by Dharam Ghai⁶⁸ that planning in Kenya differs only in degree and not in kind from the colonial type. That if in colonial times, plans were project by project without the participation of the private sector, planning in independent Kenya is that of an integrated public investment programme without the full participation of the private sector. Because of this fact, planning in Kenya differs only in degree and not in kind to colonial planning. The kind of planning therefore is that of indicative planning where it is recognized that the private sector is underdeveloped and as a result has to be supported by the public sector. The state exists to help

the private sector to establish and expand itself (the protectionist industrial policy is one example of this kind). The public sector is there in other words, to provide the necessary economic infrastructures, capital and if need be the social overheads. That is the role expected of the public sector to play and nothing beyond that. This is the kind of national planning which take place in Kenya. It is mainly an integrated public investment plan consisting of all programmes prepared by the government ministries and co-ordinated by the Ministry of Finance and Planning. It excludes the private sector of the economy but it is hoped that their actions and behaviour would be influenced by the integrated public investment programmes and policies.

This is the same thing that is now to be done at the district level. All the operating Ministries at the district level including the Ministry of Finance and Planning will have their plans drawn up to form the District plan, which like the national plan will exclude the private sector. But the private sector will be expected to benefit profoundly from the programmes of the operational Ministries at the district level. For example, due to the favourable investment conditions in the country, a private investment establishing itself in the rural areas will be given tax concessions, investment allowance, as well as the provision of infrastructural facilities such as roads, electricity supply.

Part of the duty of the district plan will be to provide these facilities so as to allow the private sector to establish itself and to grow. As to where the benefits go, that will not be the concern of district planning; or indeed national planning for that matter. The private sector in Kenya is significant. The question that one could raise is why should they be left outside the planning process both at the national and district levels?

The answer to this question lies in the nation's historical past. The belief in the sanctity of private enterprise in Kenya's economic development is something which is inbuilt in the country's socio-politico-economic development with deep roots in the colonial period. For important documents are vital for the understanding of the nation's policy of unrestrained operation of private foreign investment in Kenya. These are ^{sessional} ~~essential~~ paper No.77 of 1956/57 and the development programme 1957/60, Swynnerton plan. The World Bank report 1963 on Economic Development in Kenya and the independence constitution.⁶⁹

Sessional Paper No.77 of 1956/57 clearly demarcated the private and public sectors in Kenya and assigned their functions. It laid out that the public sector was to be handled in such a way that it helps (and not in away that it jeopardizes) the operation of the private sector. The existence of the public sector, this paper urged, could only be justified if it helped the existence and growth of the

private sector since it recognized the private sector was in infancy. Development was to depend entirely on foreign private capital and personnel.

The Swynnerton plan on the other hand created a capitalist private land ownership in agricultural development. In the field of Agriculture also the sanctity of private enterprise was to be guaranteed.

The most notorious document in ascertaining the supremacy of private enterprise in Kenya's economic development is the independence constitution. A section of this constitution which unfortunately still operates precludes the act of planning in the country.

At independence, the over-riding interest of the metropolitan country was that foreign investment were to be protected at all costs before power could be handed over to the Africans. The colonial Government thought that an independent Government might be tempted to increase the size of the public sector at the expense of the private sector by nationalizing foreign concerns. To forestall such a move, they insisted on constitutional safeguards to private property in Kenya. This is well provided for in the country's constitution which speaks about ^{property} in the economy. Section 75(1) of the constitution reads.

No property of any description shall be compulsorily taken possession of, and no interests in or right over property of any description shall be compulsorily acquired, except where the following conditions are satisfied—70

The act then outlines these conditions such as defence purposes, public order, public health, town and country planning. However, even in such cases where it becomes in the national interest to acquire private property. The conditions for doing so are high. Section (2) lays down such conditions as:

Every person having an interest or right in or over property which is compulsorily taken possession of or whose interests in or right over any property is compulsorily acquired shall have a right to direct access to High Court for -----

- (a) The determination of his interest or right, the legality of taking possession or acquisition of the property, interest or right, and the amount of any compensation to which he is entitled.
- (b) The purpose of obtaining prompt payment of that compensation.⁷¹

These constitutional provisions are considerable legal barriers to any government wishing to nationalize any aspect of the Kenya economy for the benefit of the nation. This is because the interested parties are required to receive prompt compensation. Such a requirement is high to a government of a development country with poor liquid resources. It cannot pay prompt compensation. For example, should the Kenya Government decide, in the national interests, to nationalize a company like Lonrho, it has to pay them compensation promptly.

This the Government might not be able to do owing to its liquidly position and the scarce foreign exchange. Since this can not be done, the Government cannot nationalize because it has no resources to, pay compensation.

More than that the constitution, goes further and says No person who is entitled to compensation under this section shall be prevented from remitting within a reasonable time after he has received any payment of that compensation, the whole of that payment (free from any deduction charge, or tax made or levied in respect of its remission) to any country of his choice outside Kenya.⁷²

This part of the constitution is the most repugnant to any policy that is designed to promote national interests. It is to be remembered that at time this constitution was written, the protection of foreign interests (especially that of land in the highlands) was the overriding issue. The fact that this part of the constitution has not been amended after independence has made the country do with virtually no planning law or legal authority to any planning agency such as the Ministry of Finance and Planning: It is the reason why planning has no legal backing in Kenya. Private foreign investment is therefore entrenched in Kenya; and as has been urged in the previous chapter the nation does not seem to gain much from their unrestrained operation. The laws regarding their operation seem to be very liberal.⁷³

Nobody can force them to work according to the Government policies because they are securely protected by legal means as this part of the constitution reveals.

Just after the publication of this constitution, the Kenya Government invited a World Bank Mission to advise on the economic development of Kenya. The Mission reiterated the position outlined by sessional paper No.77 of 1956/57. It also went further and advised that Economic growth should be the prime aim of the government rather than general economic development. All the recommendations of the Mission were accepted by the Government which reassured the foreign investors by saying:-

The Government has no intension of nationalizing any existing industry. Furthermore, the new constitution with its bill of Rights, contain provisions ensuring the sanctity and security of private investment.⁷⁴

This policy statement of the government as well as the constitution show clearly the idea behind the directive given to the Provincial Planning Officers (PPOs) and (DDOs) that the District Plans are not to include the private sector. This is because the organization of the economy is such that the private sector is given absolute freedom of operation. The Government exists to facilitate the existance and operation of this sector despite the fact that is foreign owned by and large.

The belief in the sanctity of private enterprise would just be good but the question is, is it in the best interest of the nation? The fact of the matter is that it is not in the best interest of the nation. The nation does not have indigenous capitalists. What is being protected therefore are just foreign interest and not Kenyan interests.

Private investment should therefore be planned for both at the national and local levels. If District plans are to form the basis of the National plans then they must be comprehensive i.e. must include programmes both for the private and the public sector.

District plans prepared so far show that all of them are prepared under a format. A look at the plans drafted show the following format.

TABLE 9: DISTRICT PLANNING FORMAT.⁷⁵

Chapter	-	Basic Information
"	-	Assessment of on-going activities.
"	-	Sectoral Programmes drawn from the 1974/78 development plan.
Appendix	-	Population Rural
"	-	Population Urban
"	-	Service centres and Infrastructure.
"	-	List of classified roads.
"	-	Carrying capacity on Farm Family income.

Appendix - Rural Development Fund Project 1974/78

(1) District Development Grants

(2) Rural Works programme

" District Recurrent Expenditure by sector 1974/78.

Chapter three contain all the programmes that are to be financed through the financial allocations of all the Ministries except that of Finance and Planning. The programmes to be financed by this Ministry appear in Appendix VI where Rural development fund projects in the district are shown.

5.4 PLAN IMPLEMENTATION

When the Siaya DDC has agreed on the project that it will engage in, the next crucial stage is the implementation of such projects which form the plan.

In this regard, the District Development Officer's (DDO) work is crucial. The DDO is an employee of the Ministry of Finance and Planning, but seconded to the Provincial administration. He performs such duties as:⁷⁶

- (i) To act as secretary/co-ordinator in the various development committee in the District.
- (ii) Relays development information to and from the Provincial Planning Officer (PPO) and subsequently to the Ministry (Treasury) the District Development Committee and other authorities.

- (iii) Helps organize efficiently the District Mechanism of development and assist other committees.
- (iv) Guide DDC on the overall national plan.
- (v) Implement the development programmes.
- (vi) Performs functions as stipulated by the Ministry of Finance and Planning and the Office of the President.

When programmes and projects have been accepted by the DDC as district projects, the DDO sends letters to all concerned, to implement them. For example, if it is agreed that according to the 1974/78,

Siaya is supposed to have electricity, during 1975/76 financial year, the DDC might decide that this be implemented. The DDO sends a letter to the Officer concerned and a representative of East African Power and Lighting Company to act on the project. The Ministry of Power and Communication representative and that of the East African Power and Lighting Company replied that although that was the plan as laid out in the National Plan, there was as yet no funds to implement it and so it would have to be postponed to the following financial year 1976/77. The non-implementation of this project caused the non-implementation of others as well. For example, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry was willing to establish a Rural Industrial development centre (RIDC) just at the time. This could not now happen

because they intended to use electricity. The same happened with the Ministry of Health which intended to open the District Hospital by the time. They could not now open the hospital because the instalations at the Hospital were to use electricity.

The implementation of plans also brings with it the question of co-ordinating the plans both at the local and national levels. It is a fact that the DDC has no legal planning authority. For example if the DDC agrees on the building of access roads and it comes to a point when land has to be compulsorily acquired, it means the DDC will have to enforce such a decision through the country council who in this case is the representative of the Ministry of Local Government. This is because they are the people with whom powers for the enforcement of the Town Planning Act are vested. It will also need the co-operation of Ministry of Works.

At the local level therefore, this is done by the Office of the DDO who co-ordinates the implementation of the projects agreed on by the DDC. Once the DDC has agreed on projects, the responsible Ministry to take action is noted in the Minutes. The DDO then sends letter to all of them implement these decisions. For example in the July 1975 meeting of the Siaya DDC it was agreed that two of the Market Centres of the district be upgraded to rural centres. The DDO sent out letters to the Provincial Physical Planning Officer at Kisumu to implement this decision.

The other example was that requiring the implementation of a project involving the construction of 216 cattle dips in Uyoma Location of Bondo district. This was to be implemented by the District Livestock Officer. The DDO sends him a letter to this effect.

All projects agreed on by the DDC and which are to be financed by the District Grant Funds has to be approved by the relevant Ministerial head to show that such a project is feasible and viable. Without this approval, the treasury always finds it very difficult to allocate funds for them or accept them as project to be financed through it.

When all district plans have been formulated and accepted by the DDC, they are sent to the Provincial Development Committee where the Provincial heads together with the Provincial Planning Officer co-ordinate all the District plans to form Provincial Plan. These are in turn passed on to the Project Preparation and Evaluation Unit of the Ministry of Finance and Planning where they are evaluated and then adopted as district plans for the various districts. Money is then allocated to them accordingly for implementation. The money allocated goes through the Provincial Planning Officer. When this happens, then the officer concerned asks for the money to be released for the project in the district. Implementation therefore starts.

5.5 FINANCING DISTRICT PLANS

There are four sources of funds that the Siaya DDC uses to finance its projects. These are:

- (1) Rural Development Funds
- (2) Ministerial Allocations
- (3) Voluntary Organizations.
- (4) Harambee Collections.

The Rural Development Funds represent the official allocation of the Ministry of Finance and Planning which every district is given annually to help it identify the gaps in the development strategies which are not covered by the programmes of other Ministries in the district. They are supposed to stimulate willing and active participation and self-help contribution. One of the constituent parts of the RDF is the Rural Works Programmes Funds which are used to finance rural access roads, soil conservation, minor irrigation schemes, afforestation schemes, Bush clearance, flood control.

The other source of funds is the Ministerial annual allocation for programmes and projects which fall within the district. The most important Ministerial allocation is that of the Ministry of Housing and Social Services which provide self-help funds that go towards helping self-help projects which are near completion or about to be initiated. •

The other source of funds for district projects and programmes is the voluntary organizations such as corporation for American Relief everywhere (CARE), Chief of Mission Unesco, National Christian Council of Kenya (NCCK). Care is allowed to help any four projects any year in a single district. Application for help is usually channelled through the Community Development Officer (CDO). (NCCK) also helps projects which are supported by other Church Organizations especially village Polytechnic Projects.

Harambee Self-help contribution by the project initiators also form an important source of funds projects. However, the DDC only helps such projects to reach the final contribution. The reason why they are considered DDC fund source is that they meet part of the cost of some of the projects that the DDC engages in.

The point that should be emphasized here is that while the administration of planning was being decentralized to the district level, this is not the case with financial planning. Financial planning and control still remain centralized at the national level.

C H A P T E R 6 PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING:

People participation in planning has been used to mean peoples involvement in plan formulation and implementation for their own development. Participation or involvement means primarily involvement at the local grassroots level. In national development, the part played by people has no substitute. It has to be there or the plans are meaningless. The 1970-74 Development Plan for Kenya for example explains this fact as follows:

It must be recognized that the above measures, though significant, can achieve little by themselves unless the people fully participate in the development process. It is only through such involvement that development targets can be achieved and the resulting benefits enjoyed by the people.⁷⁶

It is one thing to talk of people involvement in development planning and quite another to get them involved. How do you make an old man in the reserve to understand the policy that the Government gives priority to rural development? Is he able to understand the intricacies involved?

For people to be directly involved in the planning of their own affairs within the context to national goals and objectives, it means people have to be aware of the national

policies and objectives. More importantly, it means people will be involved in the planning process so as to combine the technical (i.e. the Civil Servant aspect) and the popular (peoples views) aspects of planning in a more rational manner so as to maximize achievements. The 1970-74 plan, talking about how people are to be made to understand the plan says:-

But the interests of the people in development efforts must be stimulated through a sustained campaign.

Efforts will be made to ensure that the new plan is thoroughly understood, by the publication of a popular version of the plan and a country-wide campaign to publicize and explain at all levels the meaning, content and requirements of the plan.⁷⁷

What this paragraph really means is that political education of the general population to understand and appreciate the government development policies and objectives was to be mounted. Usually this is the only sure way to get people mobilized for national development. And this is done by constant political education. Unfortunately this scheme did not take place. The short version was published but not popularized. One single factor militating against the success of such a campaign is the inactivity of the national party which can give national direction.

The experience of Siaya can here be used explain how peoples participation in development is or is not possible, given the fact that there is no well established institutional framework within which this can take place.

7.1 PARTICIPATION IN THE PLANNING PROCESS:

The composition of the District Development Committee of Siaya (see appendix 1) as in any other district, is felt by the Government to be enough to ensure the participation of the public both in plan formulation and implementation. The views of the Provincial Planning Office at Kisumu is here representative of this position. In its 1974 annual report the Provincial Planning Officer wrote:

It is hoped that the non-official will feel themselves truly a part of the decision-making process and, understanding the reason for those decisions, will play an active part in ensuring the co-operation and participation of the public.⁷⁸

This opinion that you make people participate in the planning process through their elected representative was again echoed by the provincial Planning Advisor when this issue was discussed with him. He was sincere to the belief that since the KANU District Chairman, M.Ps and Divisional Councillors attended and participated, the people participated. This might be so in the face of it but in practice it may not.

Let us take the case of M.Ps. Most of them are elites who prefer to live in Nairobi. They can only occasionally attend the DDC meetings. When for example the Provincial Agricultural Board tour (lasting one day) of the District, followed by the Board meeting at Segga in Northern part of the district was to take place, all the Provincial M.Ps were invited and only two from Kisumu and one from Kisii District attended. It was only the M.P. from Kisii who went through the District tour exercise as well as participating in the meeting. No M.P. from Siaya attended either the tour or the Board meeting. The M.Ps from Kisumu district only attended the meeting but ignored the tour. The M.P. for Ugenya and Minister for Tourism for example came to the Board meeting venue at Segga on the night preceding the meeting and offered the members beers, drinks, but saw no point in attending the meeting itself! This poor attendance of the Board Meeting by MPs is also reflected in their attendance at the DDC. Minutes show that about half of them are usually absent from the DDC meetings. Yet they are supposed to discuss projects with their electors and then send them to the DDC meetings. The study found out that this is not the case.

However, the point to be raised here is not so much the attendance of these representatives but their interests in getting projects accepted by the DDC.

Kenya is developing a very strange type of society where individualism in man is running riot. Together with this is the individual acquisitiveness that go with it. This trend is most reflected in the MPs who form an important part of Kenya's elites.

It seems nowadays that people want to go to Parliament or become Councillors just because that would provide them with excellent opportunities for personal gain since these positions carry special privileges in the Kenyan Society. The objective therefore is not service to the people but using the people to get positions where their (the leaders' interests are served)

Examples of some of the district projects can help to illustrate the point here. One finds that nearly all Councillors, the MPs, and Government Officers know very well how to utilize loan facilities through such institutions as the District Loan Board, the Agricultural Finance Co-operation, (AFC) Industrial and Commercial Development Corporation for their self-advancement. They know for example that one of the purposes of land adjudication and registration is to enable people to use it as a mortgage for loan to develop their farms. This has also allowed them to use the loan they get to buy plots from the ignorant masses who as yet are conservative and ignorant. As a result, they acquire large fields becoming rural Kulaks (i.e. large landowners).

During our PAB tour of the District, we visited a farmer in East Ugenya location who had a fifteen acre mixed farm with grade cows and maize grown. He is a relatively elderly man about to retire from the Government Service (he is employed by the Ministry of Agriculture). The man had had a case in court with neighbours about his land which he had acquired and fenced off (i.e. consolidated). It is said that he bought part of his fenced plot with some people nearby. However other claimants to the land bought by this farmer came up and so were resisting his fencing the plot as his. The persons he had bought the Shamba from and who claimed to be the legal owners had moved to Nairobi. All the same he won the case and those who claimed the land lost. He has got AFC and District Agricultural Loans Board loans to finance his Shamba.

We also visited a progressive farmer who happened to be a Junior Agricultural Assistant in Maseno Division but had his home and plot in Buholo location. He had fenced off his plot, kept three grade cows, had planned his field very well and had a permanent house. In his particular sub-location, he was one of the few who had such an achievement mainly because he was an officer with the Ministry of Agriculture and had used the Ministry loans to fence off and develop his farm.

All homesteads around him still practised shifting cultivation and grew only subsistence crops. He tended to look down upon them alot. When asked by one of the team members why people around him had not emulated his example, he replied to the effect that it will take them even a hundred year to realize the benefits of modern farming. He added that short of that, they can only change to modern methods of farming through physical canning!

What was interesting to me here is that this particular person was a Junior Agricultural Assistant (JAA) who ought to know better how to defuse new ideas. And he could easily do that in his sub-location rather than look down upon the others, way while he was enjoying the fact that he was better than them.

We also visited a poultry farm belonging to an officer with the Municipal Council of Kisumu. He had received a loan to buy fencing wire and chicken as well as chicken feeds. At the end of the visit, the Deputy PC of Nyanza who was the head of the team advised members of the team who were Government Civil Servants to get loans to practice such business while they continue to work as Government or quasi-government officers like this man we visited had done.

A councillor of Asembo Location is also a trader in Ndori Market. He is an influential member of the Siaya Chamber of Commerce as well as a member of the District

Joint Loan Board which advances loan to traders. He uses his good offices to get loans from the Joint loan board and other parastatal lending agencies such as AFC, ICDC, to improve his business. He can not afford time, as he afforded to campaign, to explain to other traders and farmers on how they can benefit from Government services as he is himself doing.

A look at Siaya District Land Register shows that most of the District elites i.e councillors, MPs, Civil Servants from the District have utilized their registered title to obtain loan from Banks, Parastatals like ICDC, AFC.

A nominated member of Parliament from the area for example had utilized the loan from the Commercial Banks and other parastatals to buy peoples land near his home and this had led to dispute between him and these people. Infact he gave the people the impression that they could set aside their land for a ranch to be called 'Kapiyo Ranch'. People realized later on that ranch was intended to be his hence the dispute.

The point to be brought out by these empirical observations in the field is that the elites seem to know very well government programmes, policies and objectives and that they use their positions in society for individual benefit, and not to work for the benefit of society as a whole. Self-interest therefore is supreme. And the worst

aspect of it all is that they do not explain them to the people who elected them and whose interests they are supposed to serve. More so they are the ones to teach people about national development objectives as required by the 1970-74 plan. If during campaign time MPs and Councillors can traverse their whole constituencies over and over again, why can't they do this to teach the people government policies programmes and objectives?

The job of making people accept and participate in progress and change is inescapably the job of the politicians. They are the people to explain Government plans, their rationale, objectives and their timings. They together with the Civil Servants who fill up details of plans are duty - bound to teach the people what development is all about. They are the people to stimulate the interests of the people in the development process.

In fact, the country-wide campaign to "publicise and explain at all levels the meaning, context and requirements of plans"⁷⁹ in Kenya has not been carried out and has made peoples participation at the grassroots level be non-existent. This means, as the 1970-74 plan recognized that plans:-

Can achieve little by themselves unless the people fully participate in the development process.⁸⁰

Instead of educating the people, the leaders (MPs, Councillors) and peoples servants (the Civil Servants) have tended to see their positions as vehicles for personal gain and not as positions where they are supposed to serve people on. They do not use their positions to educate the people on how to utilize government institutions plus their efforts to achieve modernity.

This trend in Kenya is dangerous for development and will only succeed in popularizing social classes in the country. It has also tended to create in people the sense of dependence on government in implementing projects. This is also very evident in Harambee Projects. Most Harambee Projects, it was found, are started on the hope that the government will soon take them over and run them.

If by chance a government takes over a project, people tend to say "Huraah! "The Government has taken over our project now things will be done for us." The participation in the implementation of the project is therefore limited only to getting it decided on by the people and then the implementation is to be that of the government and not the people who thought it could be a good project.

One good example of this which revealed itself during the study was the case of the rural access road projects.

People have the mentality that the government is building a road passing through their area. And they are happy when a catapillar is used to make the road than when people are asked to work on making the road. One such road is the Akado-Asembo Bay access road where the population did practically nothing for its construction. Yet the access road programme is meant to be labour intensive!

Peoples' participation in development must therefore be worked for by the leaders. It does not come about spontaneously. People must be taught and be mobilized for its achievement. To do this, the people have to be made highly conscious of development. They must be increasingly aware politically (i.e. be aware of government policy objectives and programmes). At the same time the level of participation must be the smallest unit where people have face-to-face relationship. In this case the village level. That is why it is absolutely necessary now that for District planning to be efficient, the machinery below it i.e. the divisional development committee (DDC), the locational development committee (LDC) and the Village Development Committee (VDC) must all be instituted and be strengthened. This leadership should then be adequately politicized to be aware of government policies and programmes so that they together with the people formulate and implement plans that are in the line with national policy goals.

S E C T I O N IV POLICY FORMULATION

C H A P T E R 7

PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION

In the introduction, the problem that necessitated this study was stated. This is that in Kenya, it is agreed that rural areas must, out of necessity be developed. All the national development plans reiterate this policy. However, the problem has always been how it is to be done. The search for a suitable method of approach or strategy for rural development has been the main preoccupation of the Kenya Governments, both colonial and independent. Closely associated with this problem of how to develop the rural areas has been the question of rural development for what type of society. The study thus aimed at evaluating how District planning as a strategy for rural development has tried to satisfy the various issues involved in rural development such as agricultural development in the environment of a satisfactory tenure system; rural settlement patterns through which services both by the Government and voluntary agencies can be channelled to benefit the majority of the people, the participatory machinery for people in planning their own development in the rural areas. The problems identified by this study therefore are

associated with the strategies so far attempted by the Government in pursuit of its broad aims of improving the standards of living in the rural areas by the elimination of poverty, disease and ignorance.

7.1. PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH RURAL AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Rural agricultural development is found to be closely associated with the system of land tenure prevailing in the country. Here the analysis has shown that the land policy that has been adopted by the government has its roots in the colonial history. The problem is not that it has its origin in the colonial times, but that it perpetuates the aims and objectives of the policy as seen by the colonialists with regard to the development of the africans in the reserves. The policy's effect was to create landlessness (and its attendant evils of unemployment) among the peasantry in the rural areas. It was also meant to drive a wedge among the african society by creating two classes of africans, the landed and the landless africans. The landed africans were to be the allies of the colonial government or metropolitan country even after independence. The numerically strong landless africans were not to be the problem of any policy or programmes of the government.

In contemporary Kenya this has created two types

of farmers in the rural areas, namely, the progressive farmer and the traditional farmer. The progressive farmer is the one to whom all agricultural benefits and facilities such as credits, inputs supply, extension service, marketing and education are aimed at. The traditional or subsistence farmer is of no account and hardly gets any of these services. The hard reality is that the subsistence farmers are the majority in the rural areas. Therefore the government's programmes benefit a minority of the farmers. The other problem identified concerning the national land policy was that of land sub-division to small uneconomic sizes to prevent efficient utilization and exploitation.

Since all agricultural programmes designed by the Ministry of Agriculture such as agricultural extension service, agricultural credit and inputs supply, agricultural marketing and agricultural education are based on the land policy of individual parcels of adjudicated, registered and preferably consolidated holdings, the majority of farmers⁸¹ who still practice subsistence agriculture do not benefit from these services.⁸² This has made agricultural production lag behind especially in typical rural districts like Siaya where the bulk of the farmers are subsistence farmers. This is a basic failure since rural development depends almost entirely on increased rural agricultural production.

7.2. SETTLEMENT SCHEMES PROBLEMS

While the Swynnerton Plan on which the nation's land and agricultural policies are based were meant to affect the african rural areas (formerly the non-scheduled areas), the settlement schemes was meant for both the former scheduled and non-scheduled areas. The poor landless african in the reserves who faced such a predicament because of land alienation were to be settled in the former white highlands. The settlement schemes programme was an integrated rural development programme in that it aimed at settling the landless and providing them with all the necessary supportive services. It was hoped this exercise would alleviate the stress in the reserves when the landless poor are taken from there and settled elsewhere. The problem here was that the negotiations for the initiation of this scheme was done between unequal partners, the nationalists and the colonialists. The nationalists had to reject it or forego the granting of independence! The acceptance of the colonialist settlement policy was to be a pre-condition for granting independence, irrespective of whether the terms were not in favour of the africans or not. It was a matter of take it or leave it.

As it turned out the schemes, became very costly both to the Government and the african settlers. Instead of improving the lives of the african poor

who were settled in these schemes, it exploited their labour more. No doubt, the government had to shift policy from that of settling the poor to that of willing-buyer willing-seller so that the elites in the civil service, commerce, members of parliament and ministers could be enabled, with the help of loans from Agricultural Development Corporation (ADC) to purchase european owned mixed farms in fact without subdividing it among many people as was the case with settlement schemes such as Haraka, Harambee, Million acre. Moreover, the settlement schemes programme affected, strictly speaking, only mixed farms. Other large scale Ranches and plantations have as yet to be looked into.

The settlement schemes therefore has not eased the problem of landlessness. Since 1970 when there was a change in policy of not encouraging settlement schemes of the million acre scheme type and encouraging the willing-buyer willing-seller transactions the policy has had a perverse effect as an integrated rural development programme. Rural poverty, unemployment and landlessness will continue to the detriment of a stable country.

7.3. SCHEDULED NETWORK OF CENTRES

The scheduled network of service centres was a rational attempt to find a method of locating places where services, especially government financed

services, could be economically provided to the rural dwellers. Such centres were also meant to be areas which could stimulate the growth of their rural surroundings through mutual benefits between the hinterland and the centre. The centre was to provide industrial goods, employment and services (offered by the Government, the private sector and voluntary agencies) to its hinterland. The hinterland was on its part to provide labour and agricultural goods for exchange in the designated centres. The aim therefore was to expand the monetary sector in the rural areas and to considerably diminish the subsistence economy. In this way modernity was expected to be achieved in the rural areas.

The other aspect of this strategy was the decentralization of urban development through the designation of the growth centres (in some cases regional capitals and district headquarters). The designation of such growth centres was to enable investments to flow to such smaller towns outside the National primate cities of Nairobi and Mombasa.

By designating such centres, the government is to provide the necessary infrastructure that would influence the investors to establish their enterprises outside the already established urban areas such as Mombasa and Nairobi. Urban development would therefore be equitably distributed over the country. These centres would provide employment to people of the

region where they are. Planning problems of major towns such as Nairobi would be reduced since these growth centres would help absorb immigrants from the rural areas. Thus, the aim was two-fold, first it was to develop the rural areas by creating a money economy out of the subsistence sector, secondly to bring industrial development and hence employment opportunities in the rural areas in the service centres (the small-scale industrial activities) and the growth centres.

This policy has little chance of meeting its objectives because of ineffective implementation caused by lack of commitment and proper understanding. Government services are not allocated according to its principles. This includes the major services such as water, health services, roads especially rural access roads, schools. The evidence in Siaya shows that these services are not located according to the principle of the service centres. Moreover, it seems that scant attention if any is given to the immensely important factor of distance from where the people live to where the services are located. The other disturbing fact is that most Government officers who are in the fore front in providing these services are scarcely aware of the principles of the service centres policy! As a result, the services already provided reach or are utilized by very few people. Yet they are provided

at very high cost! Even future programmes may not extend to the majority unless the problem of distance is closely looked into. The problem therefore is still to find the most strategic settlement pattern for the rural areas of Kenya. Should the grouped or scattered homestead settlement be left as they are while services are provided miles away from where they are?

The other aim of this policy, that is, that of achieving a balanced urban development by the designation of growth centres where industrial development is to take place, so as to minimize the bad effects of the growth of the primate city is to say the least unimplementable in Kenya.

The achievement of such an aim in Kenya today depends to a large extent on the goodwill of the foreign investor. The foreign investor would establish itself in such centres only if it is absolutely sure it is going to get quick profits. This can be if raw materials exist in such centres where they are to invest, Otherwise No. And given the free hand that is given the private sector in their operation in Kenya, the Government can not force them to operate where they do not want. And even the ones who have the grace of establishing themselves in such regional centres such as the Sugar Companies in sugar belt of Western Kenya, Webuye Paper Mills, prove to be a burden to the

economy in that they are highly protected, they have very favourable tax relief and investment allowances and in some cases government subsidy. The government therefore loses revenue that it could have got from them through taxation. They continue to import personnel from home country under the pretext that there are no qualified manpower. Most of the decisions affecting their growth are made outside the country! This trend is incompatible with the national aspirations of placing the economy in the hands of Kenyans. The nation is therefore not capable of taking locational decisions. These are taken outside the country. This trend is incompatible with national sovereignty. Centres can therefore be designated as growth or service centres. Only the implementation of them becomes almost impossible to effect because locational decisions for industrial growth is not taken in Kenya. This is a big problem.

7.4. DISTRICT PLANNING

The major aim of district planning is that of achieving co-ordination in the development programmes of the ministries, voluntary agencies and the local authorities at the local level. To this end a machinery for this co-ordination at the local level was instituted i.e. the District Development Committee (DDC). The problem here is in the

formulation and implementation of projects in the district. The study found out that in Siaya, there is no well constituted Machinery for project formulation and implementation below the District. As such projects tend to be formulated through individual initiatives and/or pressure groups. This makes peoples participation in planning be marginal if not non-existent.

The fact that District plans are not to include the activities of the private sector save only in cases where the sector jointly run a project with the Government makes district plans ^{be} come merely an integrated public expenditure programme where all ministries participate together with the voluntary agencies. They are not as a result comprehensive plans, but programmes of the spending ministries. This makes planning look similar to the colonial type of planning. District plans therefore will not be meaningful unless they include the activities of the private sector. A case in point here is Kericho district with the growing of tea as its mainstay. The activities of the private tea companies operating there will not be the concern of planning of Kericho district! It means the plans will be a far cry from what would be meaningfully called a plan. In Siaya for example the Yala Swamp Scheme will cease to be the concern of District planning once it is taken over by a private company to grow sugar on. And

such a company will only benefit from the operation of the ministerial programmes in the district e.g. the electrification of the district. The problem therefore, in district planning is how to establish the machinery for participation of the people below the district; as well as how to incorporate the activities of the private sector in district plans. Otherwise, what district planning shall have done is to represent the ministry of finance and planning at the district level to co-ordinate the programmes of other ministries at the local level of planning just as it does at the national level.

found

7.5. POPLES' IGNORANCE OF GOVERNMENT'S DEVELOPMENT POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES

One greatest obstacle to rural development is that of absolute ignorance on the part of the people of government policies and programmes that affect rural development. What the bulk of the people seem to know or understand is that harambee projects can be started by them so that sometime after its initiation, the government can take it over and run it. And nothing beyond that. This fact does not affect only the uneducated and less sophisticated rural peasants, but even the urban dwellers and other urban elites. Even government officers are not fully aware of the government programmes and policies. For instance, the director of adjudication was interviewed during

the study to determine the extent of the programmes progress and whether there are any difference in objectives from the one postulated by Swynnerton some twenty three years ago. The starting result was that he did not see any objectionable part of the Swynnerton Plan as it was postitulated then. He therefore finds no problem with its operation in independent Kenya! Another example is the programme of scheduled centres where services are to be provided to people in the rural areas and to help introduce modernization to them by creating a cash economy out of the subsistence sector. The study found out that even some heads of departments in the district are not aware of the basic tenents of the programme! This makes the achievement of the aims of the policy be difficult however well conceived. As a result some government services are not located according to the principle through which they were intended but through individual and group pressure!

We have for example shown that the programme of agricultural credits through such institutions as Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC), District Loan Boards (DLB) and other credit systems to encourage commercial development such as those offered to traders by parastatal organizations such as Industrial and Commercial Development Co-operation (ICDC), Kenya National Trading

Corporation (KNTC), Industrial Estate and Rural Industrial Development centres go to the few who know how to utilize them. Their functions and operation are not explained to the people to understand and to utilize! So knowledge of government programmes and policies seem to be restricted only to some few elites to use and to dominate others. Supposing for example that the programme of land adjudication and registration were to be explained thoroughly to the people. How it started, why it was started, what it was meant to achieve, and why it was necessary to change the tenure system?

If honest explanations were given to the people and they accepted it, then it would be a very good basis for agricultural development just because it would more likely receive support of the people and they would participate in the programme because they understand it. And if they reject it because of its bad social evils and because it was designed by people who were anti-their welfare at the time, then a new programme with the support of the people would have been designed that would enable agricultural programmes to be enjoyed by all rural peasants and not only some few people. The fact is that although this programme was first implemented in central province, they could be the first people in Kenya to reject it because it was designed to the

specifically to punish the majority of them.

Explaining Government policies and programmes as well as their rationale is therefore a necessary prerequisite to the peoples' participation in their implementation and therefore their success. This is a fundamental fact in development.

The danger of the absence of such a practice in national development is that people become conceited and contented to matters that are of national development significance. Policies that are formulated will be ones that benefit not the nationals but foreigners: What Swynnerton called "a politically contented and stable community" without a sense of nationalism.

In development therefore, there is no substitute to peoples efforts and their involvement. Aid of any kind would be useful in development programmes but they should be only to supplement and not to replace peoples' participatory efforts in development. And for peoples' participatory efforts in development to be achieved, they must be mobilized by the government, especially a government of a developing country. To mobilize them and commit them, they must be given sufficient 'political education' to raise their development consciousness. Political education here does not mean 'industrination' but a conscious attempt to make the people understand and fully appreciate the

government's development policies and programmes and their rationale.

POSSIBLE RURAL DEVELOPMENT POLICIES AND STRATEGIES

The working hypothesis of this study was that rural development is highly transformational in character and operation and that as such the strategies as far adopted in Kenya fell far short of meeting even the potential requirements. From the above analysis, it has become evident that this hypothetical postulate holds.

Local development is the basis of national development in developing countries such as Kenya where the majority of the population live in the rural areas and where agriculture is the basis of the economy. Any development strategy that ignores the people of the rural areas, therefore is sure of failing. This is why nearly all the strategies adopted in Kenya have had minimal effect in uplifting the living standards of the broad masses of the people. For example, the development plan was only aimed at some few people who were lucky to benefit from the programme and not the broad masses. It was also meant to create a way to the rural masses and according to the plan, was to be rendered useless. The settlement scheme was not for the interest of the African settlers, but for the poor African landless. The settlement scheme started with an aim to

CHAPTER 8

POSSIBLE RURAL DEVELOPMENT POLICIES AND STRATEGIES

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of participation of the local personnel was the scheduled network of service centres in the rural areas and growth centres in major regional capital towns. However, glaring mistake made in this strategy was that there was no attempt made to reorganize the economy so that it becomes regionally integrated and internally oriented. This was the only way by which the centre-periphery relationship that is at the apex of this policy could help achieve the desired results. Instead, the economy has remained largely externally oriented. This had made the strategy of service centres create an exploitative infrastructure for international capitalists and industrial monopolies. The centres have only acted as gathering points for the rural wealth to be shipped to the national capital and thence to the international capitals of the metropolitan countries. The strategy has therefore had a perverse effect.

In principle, the strategy was sound, but it could be more effective if accompanying policies to effect it were designed to rearrange and re-orientate the national economy to give it a highly national character.

The other aspect of the policy which received scant consideration was that of distance from the designated centres. Instead of designating centres where services are provided, it could have been more

realistic if the strategy aimed at gathering people around the centres where the services are to be provided. In this way services could then be provided more cheaply and within the shortest time possible. This is because the question of Rural development demands a highly transformational approach and not token measures.

As for the idea of District Planning, the best it has done is that one ministry, the Ministry of Finance and Planning is now represented at the district level to co-ordinate the work of district ministerial operations together with its programmes funded by the rural development funds. It is not a strategy at all. Moreover, the fact that the machinery below it is ineffective or non-existent makes the idea hardly innovative. It is only a way of expanding and co-ordinating government services down the district level.

It may be concluded from this study that if Kenya is actually committed to the policy of rural development as is reiterated in the national development plans, then she must prove that she does not behave like the cat in the adage (The story, as told in Shakespear's MacBeth, is that of a cat who is sitting by the lakeshore and sees a dead fish but does not want to wet its feet by dipping it in water to catch the fish. The parallel here is that like a cat, the Kenya Government wants its rural

areas to be developed so that it achieves a well fed society with the national wealth equally distributed among the people. However, it is not at the same time willing to attempt policies that would transform the lives of the people in the rural areas. Instead it adopts colonial policies and initiates its own token ones and hopes that this will be enough to rectify the situation in the rural areas).

In 1975, a World Bank Mission was sent to Kenya to look into the economic development of the country. This Mission gave the warning that Kenya has reached a turning point in its development; and that to resolve some of its problems, it will have to take hard decisions. The report says for example that,

the Kenyan economy has reached a turning point in its development, and the job of mobilizing resources and using them efficiently is likely to become increasingly complex over the next decade ----- . The problems of widespread poverty and growing unemployment could grow even more serious unless there is a pronounced shift in the nature of the development process.²³

The Mission goes further to say that easy solutions to national problems of poverty, unemployment and landlessness such as the settlement schemes, the tripartite agreement are over and that for now only hard solutions remain! hence, the warning that Kenya has reached a turning point in its development.

In fact this kind of warning had been given by an earlier world body which studied the problem of poverty and unemployment in the country. The study

found that the problem of poverty in Kenya both among the urban poor as well as among the rural peasants were huge and deeply embedded in colonial past to which the existing government policies owe their origin, that unemployment and landlessness intensify in the country, that the benefits that the country could achieve from the existence of a large foreign private sector is negative. It then warned,

And nobody can say that these problems are merely like the mild toothache of an otherwise healthy person: they are more like the broken leg of an otherwise vigorous person, which prevents him from exercising his strength until the matter is put right.⁸⁴

These two studies made a clear distinction between rural and urban problems and point out that policy reorientation is needed to correct the imbalance which perpetuates rural underdevelopment as well as national underdevelopment.

The area where policy reorientation is needed most is in the area of rural development. This is because it is where the majority of Kenyans live (over 80% of the population). They are also areas where acute national problems of poverty, disease, ignorance and unemployment are pronounced.

To do this, the policy must accept the indispensibility of the people in development. Their ability to develop themselves given the correct guidelines for national development. The policies for rural development must of necessity be

transformational. They must aim at mobilizing the rural masses for development. It must also aim at organizing them and canalizing their creative genius to productive endeavours so that they develop themselves.

A prerequisite for mobilizing the rural people and channelling their energies to development is the creation of an instrument for mobilizing the people. In this case the party. A strong vigorous mass party that would act as the vanguard for national development policies and programmes will be discussed at all levels and their nature explained and discussed. Without this precondition, only token development intended for some few elites is possible.

Rural development policy objectives and strategies can therefore be formulated along these basic lines.

P O L I C Y F O R M U L A T I O N

POLICY GOAL	POLICY OBJECTIVES	STRATEGIES
--------------------	--------------------------	-------------------

Long term		Long term
-----------	--	-----------

Eliminating

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|--|---|
| <p>1. Developed Rural Areas</p> | <p>1. Rural poverty
2. Diseases
3. Ignorance</p> | <p>1. Highly developed agriculture</p> <p>f) Agric
market</p> |
|---------------------------------|--|---|

POLICY GOAL POLICY OBJECTIVES STRATEGIES

POLICY GOAL	POLICY OBJECTIVES	STRATEGIES
		2. Provision of an efficient social structure such as educational and health institutions
3.	Increasing rural income	3. Formalizing social relationships in the rural areas.

2. Immediate Objectives Immediate Strategies

	1. Increasing Agrucultural Production in the rural areas.	1. Reformed land tenure system. 2. <u>Intensifying Agricultural Programmes</u> such a
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4.	Increasing employment opportunities in the rural areas.	1. a) Increased agricultural credits to farmers. 2. b) Increased inputs supply such as farm machinery, seeds, fertilizer. 3. c) Extension service to farmers.
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5.	Provision of rural welfare amenities.	5. d) Constant research on agriculture to invent new production methods. e) Agricultural education. f) Agricultural marketing.
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POLICY GOAL	POLICY OBJECTIVES	STRATEGIES
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Immediate Strategies

f) Agricultural pricing policy.

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|----|-----------------------------|---|
| 3. | 2. Increasing Rural incomes | 1. Through increased agricultural production by an efficient agricultural programme to support agricultural development.
2. Increased rural welfare. |
|----|-----------------------------|---|
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- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| 4. | 3. Increasing employment opportunities in the rural areas. | 1. Increased agricultural production.
2. Increasing rural incomes
3. Increased rural welfare. |
|----|--|---|
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- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| 5. | 4. Provision of rural welfare amenities. | Such as
1. <u>Educational Institutions</u> nursery, primary and secondary schools; Adult education roads. |
|----|--|--|
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POLICY GOAL POLICY OBJECTIVES STRATEGIES

is because rural economies depend on Educational agriculture. Equally important is Institutions (cont/d.) on which to base the agricultural programme so as to credit, extension etc., which are required to achieve Universal Primary Education (UPE).

question of land tenure, (or land policy thus framed will be the basis of policy.

At the moment, the nation's land based on an individual land tenure system rural areas. It is suggested that this should be addressed because:-

- | | |
|--|-------------------------|
| 1. It encourages speculation | Such as dispensaries |
| 2. Creates landlessness and unemployment | health centres, |
| 3. Only succeeded in polarizing the population and the | hospitals, childcare |
| 4. Greater extreme sense of | preventive medicine. |
| 5. It is tearing away the social | Encouraging people |
| which the village society is | to eat nutritious |
| making the individual poor | food and balanced |
| permanently to society's interest | diet. |
| 6. It will only succeed in doing | 3.7 Rural water supply. |
| | 4. Electricity supply. |
| | 5. Small-scale |
| | industrial |
| | activities as well |
| | as other off-farm |
| | activities such as |
| | shop-keeping. |
| | 6. Rural Access |
| | (other) roads. |
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8.1. LAND POLICY AND IMPLEMENTATION MEASURES

Of the immediate objectives and strategies, the development of agriculture is the most crucial. This is because rural dwellers depend almost entirely on agriculture. Equally important is the tenure system on which to base the agricultural programmes such as credit, extension etc. which are responsible for agricultural development. The starting point in formulating a rural development strategy is the question of land tenure (or land reform). The land policy thus formed will be the basis of agricultural policy.

At the moment, the nation's land policy is based on an individual land tenure system in the rural areas. It is suggested that this land policy should be discouraged because:-

1. It encourages speculation in land ownership.
2. Creates landlessness and unemployment.
3. Only succeeds in polarizing farmers into the progressive and the traditional farmer.
4. Creates extreme sense of individualism in man.
5. It is tearing away the social fabrics in which the african society is based by making the individual consider his interest paramount to society's interests.
6. Will only succeed in creating misery in rural areas rather than development through

land sale (most people will be left landless) and land speculation which will hamper land development.

Instead the government should encourage a land policy that aims at adjudicating clan or sub-clan land in the rural areas. The Government changed policy with regard to land-use in the settlement schemes should be extended to the rural areas. This policy on land-use according to the 1974-78 development plan states

Most of the new settlement schemes will be of the 'Shirika' type where each settler has a small holding for food production with the rest of the land formed collectively as a large unit.²⁵

in the same way, what should be encouraged in the rural areas, especially in areas which have not yet been declared adjudication areas is that members of a clan (i.e. people of the same lineage or a kinship group) should have their land adjudicated and consolidated. After that, each family of the clan should be given (i.e. by the members of the clan), a small holding for food production while "the rest of the land is formed collectively as a large unit". If such a policy is adopted even for the rural areas, then land sale would be extremely difficult even before it is outlawed. One greatest social evil of a land policy is that of commercializing land! The large economic unit released for farming when a small part of the clan land is set aside for the ever increasing landless. It would also increase

residence, would help increase agricultural production and employment. All the agricultural programmes will therefore go to groups of people and not to individuals. Co-operative development would therefore be the basis of the nation's rural development embracing the nation's philosophy of development through harambee self-help work. Nowhere is this philosophy more fitting than in land use. This would also be the basis of co-operative development in the country. The clans so organized would then become rural production and marketing co-operatives.

In cases where land is already adjudicated and registered and/or consolidated, they should be encouraged to join up their plots to work together, using the registered titles as their shareholding in the rural co-operative agricultural venture. To those who do not want to listern to co-operate spirit, the extreme sense of individualism in them can be pruned by abolishing the sale of land and making it illegal for anyone to do so. Further, it could be a government policy that the government farm credits and other programmes go only to people with corporate clan farms to develop. Such a discriminative practice on the part of the government would easily kill the individualism in man as far as land holding is concerned and destroy the evils of the existing land policy without much hardships.

It would also have the effect of halting the ever increasing landlessness. It would also increase

employment in the rural areas because of the large economic farm units farmed jointly by the members of the clan. Agricultural services such as extension, credit, research, inputs will go to groups of people (and so, much more egalitarian agricultural development) and not only to few 'progressive' farmers. As a result shifting cultivation and subsistence agriculture shall have been effectively discouraged or eliminated. Land subdivision will also be eliminated in that the clan farm cannot be subdivided but is worked on by all the members of the clan (village) for their own good.

8.2. SETTLEMENT POLICY AND IMPLEMENTATION MEASURES

The next important aspect of policy to tackle is that of rural settlement specifically; i.e. the fourth policy objective of providing rural welfare amenities, as shown in the model above. These amenities are very expensive to provide especially water and electricity. The cost of providing water or electricity to every homestead in Kenya is prohibitively high. In Siaya for example the Asembo Water Supply is supposed to cost £19m; and yet it will not reach every household because the pipes will be passing far away from where people live and even communal points will not be near to where some people live. Hence only people near the communal points will get it. Others will not be catered for. Electricity

cannot be provided to people in settlements like those found in present day rural Kenya as outlined in section I. The most important consideration to be taken in providing these services such as educational and health institutions, settlement in the rural areas must, out of necessity be in concentrated clusters so that these services that would uplift their standard of living are provided cheaply and within the shortest time possible. Moreover, it is in such kind of dense cluster settlements that rural industrialization would be possible when people start to engage (in an organized way) in off-farm commercial and industrial activities. Such an arrangement would help create more off-farm activities so that even if the clan farm can not provide for all the members, then others will be supported by the off-farm activities that would mushroom in those dense settlement clusters. In fact, a deliberate policy to encourage their growth and make it the basis of rural industrialization that would ^{reinforce} ~~reinforce~~ agricultural development would be necessary. Other members will also be absorbed in the growth point centres and the national towns such as Nairobi and Mombasa. Dense settlement of people in the rural areas (i.e. in clusters based on clan lineages) is therefore absolutely necessary given the scarce resources that the nation has for the provision of these services to rural people and the

urgency that exist to attack rural poverty, disease and ignorance.

As a result, the existing rural settlement patterns have to be reorganized. The policy of scheduled network of centres in the rural areas must be reconsidered so that it aims at, organized cluster settlements from which to select centres for the provision of categories of services in a hierarchical order. The smallest cluster could in this case be a clan (or village) to follow closely the land policy reform suggested. The work of the physical planning department, together with the Ministry of Works would be to plan for such clans in away that suitable areas for residential purposes and for agriculture are designated. The department of lands and adjudication would then adjudicate and register the clan lands and give titles to the clan members (this would be a joint property in case of clan farm and family title for the small farm given to every household). The department of physical planning would also designate out of several clans a core area where services such as dispensary, health centre, schools (especially nursery, primary, adult education centre) would be located. The Ministry of Works together with the DDC would then work out a complete network of roads joining up the various clan groups (villages) and linking them with the designated area where the services are provided.

For example, a location can have 5-10 clusters of clan groups. All of them would be joined up by a network of access roads within the location; as well as a road leading to a core area where services such as schools, health centre or dispensary are provided. A water supply programme will only aim at reaching each of the clusters (say 8) where it will be available to every household of the cluster. Each cluster can be called a village (or clan).

The cost of this exercise is relatively cheap, compared to the cost of the programme of land adjudication. In fact all the funds that go into adjudicating individual plots in Kenya is enough to finance a rural settlement programme where people live in a cluster of villages, four times or more. The cost of providing services will even be much less. Development will be much faster.

Therefore the next important policy, (after that of land reform) to transform the rural areas is the policy of settlement which must encourage close and dense living based on the extended family system which characterize the african society, in the rural areas, where the modern society, with all its social evils have not significantly had great effect.

After the land and settlement policies have been adopted, the other most important policy to work out is that of the private sector and the role it is to play in the economy.

The importance of this is that firstly, it affects significantly the settlement policy especially that part of it that regards locational decisions. The growth points policy will depend almost entirely on the growth of the industrial and commercial sector that would enable such centres to grow to the sizes planned to provide services to the hinterland where people are organized and live in dense clusters to increase their agricultural production. The stimulation of the growth of the hinterland will depend a great deal on the modernizing influence of the industrial and commercial growth of the regional centre. It brings in the whole notion of the centre-periphery relationship that is the basis of the growth and service centre policy in Kenya.

To a poor developing country like Kenya without enough capital to invest in industrial establishment, foreign investment is very useful and must be encouraged. They would greatly help the nation's policy of bringing about even urban development by getting them establish in areas where growth is to be encouraged so as to prevent the growth of a primate city like Nairobi. However, good as they are to a nation's development, the costs and benefits of their operations must be closely examined.

This is always a scarce commodity to a developing country. When an investor is to establish itself in a

8.3. COSTS AND BENEFITS OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT TO THE SETTLEMENT POLICY

8.3.1. Benefits

Direct foreign investment to a developing country like Kenya is very useful to the development of such a country. Benefits that accrue to the country as a result of its operation are many such as:

1) Increased revenue to the Government

Company taxation brings in a lot of revenue to the government. This is more so when you have a lot of companies in the country be they foreign or local. Given the fact that the tax base for a developing country like Kenya is narrow, the encouragement of foreign services that it produces will be taxed, the employees as well as the company itself will be taxed. Thus with a good tax policy i.e. a progressive or redistributive tax system the host country will benefit from the existence of private foreign investment.

2) Employment opportunities

A new company will help increase the level of employment in the country. It will also train more people and help them acquire the new technology for production of the particular production process.

3) Foreign exchange

This is always a scarce commodity to a developing country. When an investor is to establish itself in a

country, it will have to bring in a lot of capital to invest. This capital in the form of money and machinery will add to the stock of the nation's foreign exchange reserve. For example when firestone or the paper mill were to establish themselves in Kenya, they had a working capital. This foreign money helped boost the country's foreign exchange reserves.

4) New products and technology

The foreign investment also brings in new technology for production in the country. For example the Cooper Motor Corporation that is to establish a motor assembly plant at Thika or the bolt and parts factory at Mombasa will help the employees acquire the technology for the making of these products and the development of the motor industry in general

Secondly the new investor will bring into the market, new products so that the consumer's choice is widened. His standard of living is also raise. These can be provided by direct foreign investment especially those of the multinationals.

These then are the major benefits to be derived from direct foreign investment by the host country. Perhaps what need to be emphasized here is that direct foreign investment is aid to the host country. It is aid in a package i.e. providing technical assistance through the management to

techniques that they impart to the nationals by training them and financial assistance as well because they bring with them the much needed foreign exchange.

However, what are the costs?

8.3.2. Costs

Useful as direct foreign investment is to a country, the costs are overwhelming and in some cases wipe out even the supposed benefits.

1) Foreign exchange

The foreign exchange that they bring into the country when they establish themselves can all be taken away from the country when they are allowed easy terms for the repatriation of profits. The investors do not invest in the country for charity but with the SOLE aim of acquiring huge profits. In fact they close down if they do not make profits! After say two years, the companies may be able to get back the money they invested. The remaining years will be just years of transferring much needed funds out of the country! So instead of the country gaining from the existence of a foreign company, they loose!

2) Revenue to Government

It is always believed that the Government will benefit because of taxation from the foreign companies. This is easier said than done. To

start with, if a company is to establish itself in a town outside the national capital, say Kakamega or Kisii or Meru where according to the policy have been designated as growth points, then the companies will demand tax relief from the Government to compensate them for the inconvenience of establishing themselves out of Nairobi. They will also be given investment allowance i.e. the initial investment they make when they establish themselves. In some cases they will demand government subsidies because, they argue they are in harsh operational conditions!

In the case of industries that are protected against competition, such as the paper plant at Webuye or firestone in Nairobi the government loses tax through the collection of customs and excise duties that it could have got from such goods, if imported. This in addition to tax allowance and/or subsidies given them!

More than that, the companies are the best tax-evaders through the system of over-invoicing of imports and under-invoicing exports. That is companies that are established and in Nairobi where they do not claim tax relief of any kind and/or Government subsidies evade tax by false declaration of profits and cheating on the price of materials they import from the parent company in the metropolitan company. For example, Firestone can import rubber from the parent company in America. They quote the

price to be say, shs5,000/- per ton while in actual fact the price is just shs1,000/- per ton. The Government cannot tax such imports because they are intermediate goods.

If the company also manufactures for export, say East Africa Industries, (Uniliver the parent company) then it will quote the price per item far much lower than the price it will be sold in the country where it is exported to by the parent company. They therefore evade tax.

Thus, instead of the government collecting more tax from such companies, the government pays them to operate in the country!

3) Employment opportunities

The employment opportunities in the private foreign companies can only rise to the extent that it does not interfere with their profits. Secondly, their training programme are not geared towards creating highly qualified manpower that can replace the manpower from the country where the investment comes from. They do not train people to replace the manpower that takes over but only people who appear as show cases. These and the manual labourers are the components that form the important part of their manpower development. Cases of frustrations of local personnel in private companies are frequent in Kenya.

As a result, their employment level is stagnant or rise at an extremely low pace. of development -

Unless deliberate policies are formulated to control the operation of the foreign investors then all the benefits they are supposed to bring to the country fade. They inturn benefiting from them.

8.4. POLICY REGARDING FOREIGN INVESTMENT AND THE OPERATION OF GROWTH CENTRES POLICY

The best stand to take with regard to foreign investors is that the nation welcomes them on the understanding that it benefits from their operation in the country and if this cannot be the case, then they are not welcome. They would try next door country. In other words they should be accepted in the country on the country's own terms and not on their (the foreign investor's) terms.

The public sector must therefore be made stronger and larger than the private sector. It has therefore to engage increasingly in the economic life of the country.

To this, there need to be a clear demarcation between the public and the private sectors and the roles assigned to each of them. There could be areas like the financial institution for example or the distributive and exchange sectors of the economy where they cannot be tolerated (it is in fact highly irresponsible nationalist behaviour to leave such sectors like the financial institutions - the area that absolutely controls the wheel of development -

largely in the hands of foreigners as is the case in Kenya now). Foreign investment should only be allowed in the manufacturing and the extractive sectors of the economy where their technological advance and necessary capital are required since these are not available for the nation. And even in such sectors they should not be left alone. They must enter into joint operation to make the public sector grow bigger and wider while the private sector becomes smaller and smaller and confined only to the role of providing technology to the local people. In this way, planning would be much more comprehensive and binding on all sectors of the economy.

Lastly and much more importantly, planning should be given legal backing in Kenya. At the moment planning has no legal authority for their enforcements. A planner can only rely on bits of legislation given to other authorities such as Public Health Act, Local Government Act and other by-laws as well as a very antique law of 1931! This fact of absence has made the country's planning exercise or its implementation be almost impracticable. One great obstacle to legalizing planning in Kenya is Section 75 of the Constitution of Kenya referred to in Chapter 6. A good start towards legalizing planning is to amend this section.

Recommended amendments especially those regarding land

recognition (to the new planning Act) as the lowest

8.5: DISTRICT PLANNING MACHINERY

One of the findings of this study with regard to Siaya was that the planning machinery below the district was extremely weak or non-existent and that peoples' participation in planning is minimal if not non-existent at all. The view that peoples' participation is enhanced by inviting their 'leaders' the DDC was found to be in error since most of the leaders, the councillors, the members of parliament and even civil servants look to those positions of leadership as avenues for serving their personal interests and not interests of those who elected them. As a result the 'leaders' understand the government programmes and use them to benefit themselves.

For District Planning to be meaningful therefore, the level of peoples' participation in planning should be lowered much further down. The lowest level should be the village (consisting of people of the same lineage i.e. members of a clan). The smallest unit of operation should therefore be the Village Development Committee. The VDC would be composed of all members of the village above the age of 18. The VDCs should also have the women and youth organizations as its affiliate members.

The VDC should be instituted in line with other recommendations here especially those regarding land reform and settlement. The VDC should therefore be recognized (in the new planning Act) as the lowest

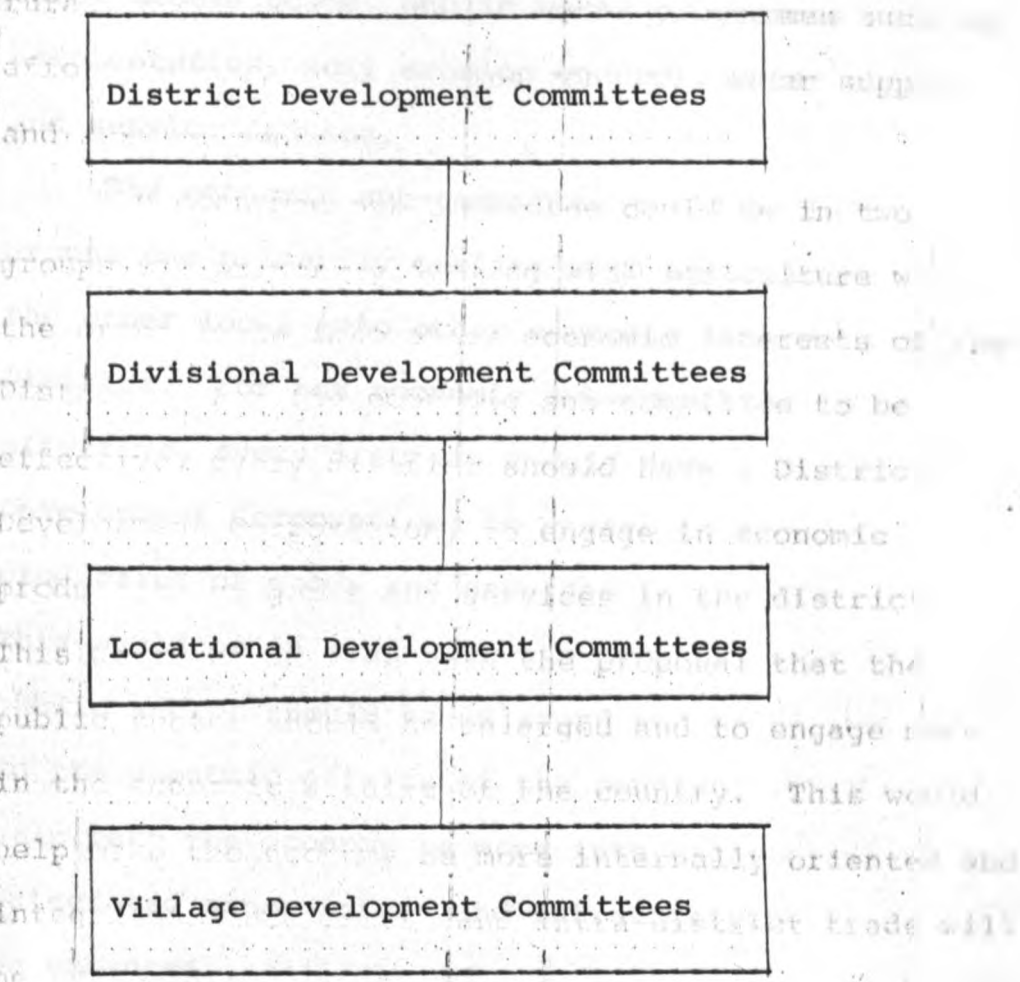
level of the planning machinery where peoples' participation would be total since all the members of the village will be characterized by face-to-face relationship.

To make the villages capable of formulating and implementing their plan, all VDC should have the services of the Community Development Assistants, who the Government should consider re-employing now. One CDA could be responsible for say 2-3 villages that form one sub-location. He would be the technical officer of the Assistant Chief. Most projects that are initiated on Harambee basis would be initiated after the deliberations of the VDC where the CDA is the secretary. CDAs would therefore be working very closely with the DDO in formulating District Plans. To this end the Government could start a programme of in-service courses for CDAs at Kenya Institute of Administration to train them in methods of project preparation and implementation.

The Locational Development Committees and the Divisional Development Committees would then be committees where village plans are co-ordinated before they are sent to the District Development Committee for final approval as District Plans. The machinery would then look like this:

centres, village polytechnics.

The physical sub-committee could discuss



The DDC would then work through several sub-committees that discuss plans before they are brought to the full DDC meeting.

These could be the economic sub-committee, the physical sub-committee, the social sub-committee.

The social sub-committee would discuss projects such as schools (nursery, primary, and secondary) as well as adult education, projects and childcare centres, village polytechnics.

The physical sub-committee could discuss and evaluate projects that are physical in nature such as

rural access roads, public works programmes such as afforestation, soil erosion control, water supply and service centres.

The economic sub-committee could be in two groups one primarily dealing with agriculture while the other looks into other economic interests of the District. For the economic sub-committee to be effective, every district should have a District Development Corporation; to engage in economic production of goods and services in the district. This would be in line with the proposal that the public sector should be enlarged and to engage more in the economic affairs of the country. This would help make the economy be more internally oriented and integrated since inter- and intra-district trade will be enhanced.

The corporation would run the commercial and distributive aspects of the district economy such as the supply of goods direct from the manufacturers to the traders, the running of bus and taxi companies, owning of commercial properties.

The agricultural section of the economic sub-committee would discuss projects of agricultural nature such as cattle dips, the introduction of certain cash or food crops in the district and the development of livestock.

The starting of the District Corporation that engage in the production of goods and services would

make it possible for district plans to include the activities of the private sector unlike the present practice. District plans would then become more comprehensive and meaningfully be the basis of national plans.

The initiation of District plans would start at the VDC and go through the Locational Development Committees and the Divisional Development Committees (DiDC). From DiDC they would go to the various sub-committees of the DDC that handle them. They analyse them, consider their technical aspects and their feasibility and/or viability before they send their recommendations to the DDC. The DDC adopted projects will then be sent to the Ministry of Finance and Planning (through the Provincial Development Committee after a co-ordination) for financial allocation. These would form the basis of the National Plan.

The study reveals that these strategies have had very minimal if any perverse effects in attacking the problem of rural development such as poverty, disease and ignorance. They have had the character of token attempts of doing something about these rural problems. As a result, the rural areas and the masses in them still live in abject poverty. rural district like Slayp.

The study then looks at the specific case

S E C T I O N V

C H A P T E R 9

S U M M A R Y A N D C O N C L U S I O N S

This study was an attempt to consider some of the major issues involved in rural development as a policy that the government is committed to. It was also aimed at evaluating the effectiveness of some of the programmes that the government has embarked on to achieve the policy goal of rural development especially that of district planning, taking Siaya district in Nyanza province as a case study.

The study started by evaluating the strategies so far adopted for the development of the rural areas in Kenya such as the Swynnerton Plan 1953, the settlement schemes 1961, the scheduled network of centres and growth points as well as District Planning. The study reveals that these strategies have had very minimal if not perverse effects in attacking the problems of rural development such as poverty, disease and ignorance. They have had the character of token attempts of doing something about these rural problems. As a result, the rural areas and the masses in them still live in abject poverty shs.162/- income per capita per month in a typical rural district like Siaya.

The study then looks at the specific case

district of Siaya, its resources both human and natural, the process of planning there and finds that while the district has abundant resources, they are not optimally used or no attempt is being made to utilize them especially the manpower resources. This is because of the absence of a mobilizing instrument to channel people into creative development. The strengthening of the national party is therefore considered absolutely necessary.

Chapter 7 to 8 identifies problems of rural development and suggest possible policy alternatives to the existing ones.

The problems are so immense that only a transformational approach to rural development that interferes increasingly with the peoples' lives can be of any hope to tackling the problems of poverty, disease, unemployment and ignorance in the rural areas. Particular policy areas are ones regarding land reform, rural settlement and industrial policies. These are highly nationalistic in character and which take foreign interest and those of their collaborators in the country (i.e. the elites) secondary. The purpose of this is to bring about an equitable distribution of national resources among nationals. Final recommendations for a transformational approach to rural development are:

1. Reformed land tenure system that abolishes the consideration of land as a commodity to

be traded in. It should also take into account the social system of the african society which stressed communalism in living and use of resources. As a result it is suggested that land consolidation should not be on individual basis but on clan (lineage group) basis.

2. Rural settlement policy should aim at dense clusters in the rural areas and not scattered or grouped homesteads with designated centres for the provision of services as is the case now. This would make the provision of services such as water electricity, agricultural services, health and educational services be provided easily to the majority if not all the people in a particular rural district within the shortest time possible and at the lowest cost. These dense rural settlements would then be the basis of designating centres where such services to the people are to be provided with high regard being given to the distance to where they are.
3. Industrial development policy especially with regard to direct foreign investment must assume a highly nationalistic posture. It must aim more at strengthening the public sector and its participation in

economic development of the country. The role that should be assigned to the private sector should be that of servicing the public sector, transferring technology to it so that it manages the economy on its own sometimes to come.

Public sector investment in the rural areas where they are needed most will increase since it is controlled by the policy makers.

Otherwise it would be naive to designate some centres as growth centres without being assured of the co-operation of the private sector in a case where this sector is larger and stronger than the public sector.

4. Of the utmost importance, people must be organized and mobilized to participate in development through the development of a strong national forum (the party) where policies and programmes for development and their rationale are explained to the people.

This is absolutely necessary because for development to be meaningful, peoples' participation and co-operation has no substitute.

5. All District programmes for development will derive from the national policy guidelines for development.

6. Planning should be given legal backing in Kenya through an act of parliament. This would require amending section 75 of the Kenyan Constitution. Without the legal authority planning in Kenya will not be very meaningful.

Further Research

Rural development is a very critical area for national development. More work need to be done on the concept of district planning especially on a national scale.

My work in this regard cannot claim to be very representative since it was based on only one district. The findings are therefore very tentative but pointers to the national trend since all Districts work within the national framework. They tend to show that District planning might only be a way of representing the Ministry of Planning down the District.

The other area which was of special significance to the study was that of the strategy of providing services in the rural areas especially government services, through a scheduled network of service centres. More research need to be done to evaluate the effectiveness of these service centres in adequately providing the services to their rural hinterlands. It is suggested, based on the Siaya

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44. Republic of Kenya: Development Plan 1970-74, Government Printer p. 210.
45. Republic of Kenya: Development Plan 1974-78. Government Printer p. 217. In both cases emphasis is added.
46. Ibid. p. 197
47. J. Ascroft (et al) Extension and the forgotten farmer. First Report on the Field. IDS University of Nairobi, 1973.
48. A report of the Mission on Land consolidation and registration in Kenya 1965-66. The Lawrence Commission. This Mission also included R.J.M. Swynnerton the person who was the author of the book advocating individual land tenure system in Kenya. What more could be expected from such a commission other than to recommend for the acceleration of the Adjudication, registration and consolidation. Henceforward referred to as The Lawrence Commission.
49. Republic of Kenya: 1974 Statistical Abstract.
50. Ibid.
51. Siaya District Annual Report 1970.
52. Republic of Kenya: Development Plan 1974-78, Government Printer p. 216. This policy is surprising to say the least. This is because the Kenya Government is committed to halting landlessness in Kenya. How can a policy that encourage landlessness and

speculation in land be encouraged at the same time.

53. The Lawrence Commission. Op.cit.
54. P.M. Mbithi & Caroline Barnes: Spontaneous settlement in Kenya (E.A.P.H.) 1974 p. 64
55. The Lawrence Commission. Op.cit. p. 19.
56. Republic of Kenya: Development Plan 1974-78, Government Printer p. 216.

C H A P T E R 4

57. P.M. Mbithi: National Policy for Human Settlement. Habitat National Seminar on Human Settlement 21st - 23rd May, 1975. Nairobi p. 4-6i.
58. Leo Poyck's letter DURP 400/IN/98 of 23rd May 1973 on service centres to the Provincial Planning Officer Kisumu on Upgrading of Service Centre in Siaya District Kisumu Physical Planning Office.
59. Republic of Kenya: Development Plan 1974-78 p. 120
60. For this argument see ILO/UNDP report on Employment, Incomes and Equality for Kenya. Geneva 1972 Pages 437-468.
61. Leo Poyck's letter. Op.cit.
62. See the report of the proceedings of the conference especially the report made by the Party Vice-President Rashidi Kawawa. The September papers of the "Daily News" and "Sunday News" especially the Daily News of 26th September 1975 reporting the report of the President and Vice-President.

C H A P T E R 5

63. Robert Jackson (et al): Development Administration. The Kenya experience (OUP) 1969 p. 177.
64. Ibid p. 177
65. Development Plan 1974-78. Republic of Kenya. Government Printer p. 112.
66. Ibid. Part II p. 35
67. Letter on 13/9/74 to Mr. Mashakhalia from Mr. Kaul on "District Planning Brief for PPO meeting" on 17/9/94.
68. See Dharam Ghai: Machinery of Planning in Kenya. He finds that planning efforts in independent Kenya continues to be centred around capital expenditure of the Central Government. He therefore calls them, "Planning Essay" An opposing view to this is that of Oyugi: Administration of Rural Development in Kenyan sub-district. Ph.D. Thesis unpublished.
69. (i) For these documents, see Sessional Paper No. 77 of 1956/70. The Development Programme 1957/60. Colony and Protectorate of Kenya. Government Printer.
- (ii) The Economic Development of Kenya. A report by IBRD. Hopkins Press. Baltinaire 1963.
- (iii) The constitutions of Kenya. Kenya Gazette supplement No. 27 (Act. No.3) 18.4.69. Leave after referred to as The Constitution of Kenya.
70. The constitutions of Kenya. Op.cit p. 80
71. Ibid p. 80
72. Ibid p. 81 emphasise added

73. Indeed so liberal that transfer of capital outside the country is so easy. They can easily evade tax. See for example KO/UNDP report p. 437-468.
74. Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1963: Observations on the report of Economic Survey Mission for IBRD. Government Printer 1963.
75. All District Draft Development Plans already prepared and sent to the Ministry have the same format.

C H A P T E R 6

76. Development Plan 1970-74. Republic of Kenya. Government Printer p. 78.
77. Ibid. p. 78.
78. Ministry of Finance and Planning. Kisumu Province Annual Report 1974 p. 4.
79. Development Plan 1970-74. Op.cit. p. 79.
80. Ibid p. 78.

C H A P T E R 7

81. Farmers can be put into three categories.

- (i) The large scale farmer with over 21 acres of land. Most of the crops are grown for the market.
- (2) Small-scale farmer with minimum of 2-7 acres and has a marketable surplus.
- (3) Subsistence farmer without a marketable surplus. These are the majority especially in Siaya.

82. For example AFC which gives agricultural loans to farmers, insist on title deeds as a security for granting loan. Most subsistence farmers do not have their security doubted because their acres are not planned or still exist in fragments.

C H A P T E R 8

83. Kenya

Into the Second Decade.IBRD. World Bank Country Economic
Report John Hopkins University Press
Baltimore 1975.

p. xii.

84. ILO/UNDP Report on Employment incomes and equality for Kenya.
Op.cit. p. 467.

85. Development Plan 1974-78. Republic of Kenya p. 216.

APPENDIX I

D.D.C. MEMBERS

D.C. Chairman

D.D.O. Secretary

All District Members of Parliament

Kanu District Chairman

Clerk to County Council

Chairman to Country Council

Divisional Councillors

All District Heads of Ministries

Church Organization

APPENDIX II

LOCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE MEMBERS

1. Chief Chairman
2. C.D.A. Secretary
3. Church Leaders
4. Divisional Ministerial heads
5. Elders
6. Kanu leaders