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RURAL DEVELOPMENT THROUGH LOCAL INITIATIVES: AN ASSESSMENT.....
OF KENYA'S EXPERIENCE WITH HARAMBEE PROJECTS IN
SELECTED RURAL COMMUNITIES.

BY

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Rural Development through Local Initiatives: An Assessment
of Kenya's Experience with Harambee Projects in
Selected Rural Communities

By

Barbara Thomas

A B S T R A C T

This paper on Harambee in Kenya focuses on two questions: 1) Are locally-initiated Harambee projects an equitable means of resources distribution, diminishing class and social distinctions, providing benefits across social and economic strata, and increasing the community's levels of welfare and productivity? 2) In what ways does Harambee foster local-level initiative, self-reliance and organisational capability? It draws on data collected in six locations in three Districts of Kenya during 1978 and 1979. Evidence from this study suggests that local development through Harambee efforts does constitute a redistributive mechanism operating within local communities. Contribution levels are higher among more affluent socio-economic groups while benefits are enjoyed across socio-economic strata. Although heavily dependent on local official leadership, the Harambee project committee structure does provide some limited organizational experience as well as opportunity for the rural population to develop management skills. However, at present these experiences are enjoyed primarily, although not exclusively, by the more affluent members of rural communities.

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Research Issues and Questions

In many nations throughout the Third World, rural poverty is both chronic and widespread. Problems in fostering rural economic and social change often seem intractable, and opportunities for rural development minimal. Despite the efforts of national government and many international organizations, there has been little improvement in welfare and productivity of vast numbers of rural people.

Now in the late 1970's, many economies are struggling to keep up with rapid population growth. Many nations are experiencing a variety of constraints derived from economic dependency relationships. Foreign aid efforts are often ineffective. Difficulties in national planning are frequently encountered. The inadequacies of many institutional mechanisms for generating growth and development are apparent. Consequently, new interest is being directed toward decentralized planning for development, toward local participation in planning and implementation, and toward the use of local level institutions for development purposes. It is hoped, thereby, to mobilize local knowledge, resources and skills to augment national development efforts. Development plans are being modified to incorporate procedures for fostering participation, and donor agencies are establishing criteria for ensuring local-level participation.

Kenya is at the forefront of this exploration of new approaches for dealing with some of the problems associated with rural development and social change. The Development Plan for 1979-1983, launched by President Moi in March of this year, focuses on the theme of "alleviation of poverty," with particular emphasis on meeting the basic needs of

Kenya's rural communities. These include increased income per capita, increased employment opportunities, expanded educational opportunities, improved medical services and water supplies, improved extension services and credit facilities, and the development of rural infrastructure in both its economic and social dimensions.

There are several important principles underlying the 1979-1983 Plan. These include, first, an emphasis on widespread participation in the development process in order to ensure improvement in the welfare of all people. A second principle is decentralization, the "modus operandi" which emphasizes patterns and levels of decision-making and implementation which will involve more directly those who are affected by the Plan's policies and programmes. Third, there is an underlying concern about the social impact of development. This involves an examination of new forms of behaviour and new socio-economic patterns emerging in the development process, including an analysis of who benefits from this process and in what ways they benefit.

There is, to date, a lack of definitive empirical evidence indicating how to implement these principles and objectives. Kenya does have, however, an unusual and widespread experience with decentralized, small-scale development efforts in the form of the Harambee movement. It is the purpose of this paper to examine selected aspects of the Harambee effort in several rural communities for the insights they offer to questions concerning the impact and potential contribution of locally initiated and implemented projects to national development. Numerous questions arise. How do such projects contribute to specific development objectives? Do they provide a means for obtaining broad-based rural participation? Are they effective in generating otherwise untapped resources? What is the impact on issues of equity and income distribution? Kenya's Harambee movement is an important rural institution at the interface of traditional social organization and modernizing needs and

should contribute to an understanding of these, and other, issues.

The hypothesis to be tested is whether locally organized development efforts, implemented through local-level institutions, can be effective in mobilizing local resources for development and in stimulating rural change for broad community benefit. Two specific questions related to the Harambee movement are addressed in this paper:

1. Within a community are locally-initiated projects, such as Harambee projects, a useful means of resource distribution, diminishing class and social distinctions, providing benefits across social and economic strata, and increasing the community's levels of welfare and productivity?

2. Does Harambee, as is widely acclaimed, foster local-level initiative, self-reliance and organizational capability? What are the implications of these findings for policies fostering decentralization of project decision-making and implementation?

This paper constitutes a preliminary effort to examine data collected for a larger study of Harambee in Kenya as it relates to issues of local participation, mobilization of local knowledge, resources and skills, and decentralization of development efforts. Issues which will be discussed elsewhere, and which are not considered in this paper, include analysis of the role of patrons in Harambee projects, an examination of the transfer of resources from centre to periphery as it affects the success of locally-initiated projects, the role of both the Central Government and donors in stimulating rural change and the role of local elite in rural development.

To date, most analyses of the Harambee movement have focused on 1) specific categories of projects such as secondary schools or institutes of technology; 2) data collected from single projects on a

random basis across the nation; or 3) data concerning project involvement aggregated at the District level.¹ This paper shifts the unit of analysis away from the District or the individual project to the Location as the central point of inquiry. The purpose is to test this method of local participation and decentralized decision-making and implementation of development projects within the context of a particular community, in order to assess its impact over time upon the local residents. To do this, six Locations in three Districts were selected for an in-depth longitudinal consideration of local development efforts through Harambee, as well as a cross-sectional consideration of specific types of projects commonly found at the local level.

Data for the study was collected during 1978 and 1979. Districts were selected on the basis of contrasting approaches and performance in regard to Harambee projects, according to the statistical data aggregated at the District level and published by the Ministry of Housing and Social Services. Two Locations within each District were selected on the basis of contrasting characteristics of land potential, land use, population density, and general levels of well being. Locations included in the study are Kyeni and Nthawa in Embu District, Kisiara and Soin in Kericho District, and Weithaga and Mbiri in Murang'a District. For a more detailed statement of methodological procedures followed see Appendix 1. For

1. See, for example, J.E. Anderson, "The Harambee Schools: The Impact of Self-Help" in Richard Jolly, (ed), Education in Africa, Nairobi East African Publishing House, 1969; or E.M. Godfrey and G.C.M. Mutiso, "The Political Economy of Self-Help: Kenya's Harambee Institutes of Technology" Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol.8 # 1, 1974; or Philip N. Mbiti and Rasmus Rasmussen, Self Reliance in Kenya, The Case of Harambee. Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1977; or Edgar V. Winans and Angelique Haugerud, "Rural Self-Help in Kenya: The Harambee Movement," Human Organization, November, 1976.

information on contrasting characteristics of the Locations studied, see Appendix 2. Much of the data used in this paper is based on findings from the top quintile and the bottom quintile of the 500 respondents interviewed in the six Locations.

1. Locally initiated and implemented projects as they relate to resource distribution

One of the major criticisms directed toward a policy of encouraging locally-initiated and implemented development projects is that such projects are easily misdirected and misused. In Kenya it has been suggested that the Harambee movement is a method for taking cash and labour resources from the poor and using them to serve the purposes of the wealthier segments of the community. Several studies from Eastern Province support this perspective. Hill, drawing on his work in Kitui, suggests that it is the rural progressives who tend to benefit from self-help projects.² Musyoki, utilizing evidence from Mbooni Location in Machakos District, states that "the poor are most active in self-help efforts and contribute the most in cash, labour and materials, while the elites are the ones who benefit, with the consequence that the Harambee movement enhances and perpetuates inequalities within the rural areas."³

2. Martin Hill, "Self Help in Education and Development: A social anthropological study in Kitui, Kenya," 1974 (cyclostyled report).
Nairobi: University of Nairobi, Bureau of Educational Research.

3. Rachel Musyoki, Socio-Economic Status of Families and Social Participation: A Multi-dimensional analysis of commitment and Alienation in Rural Kenya. Nairobi: University of Nairobi, Department of Sociology, thesis, 1976.

Evidence from the six Locations in Embu, Murang'a and Kericho Districts supports a different perspective on the role of self-help in rural communities. It suggests that Harambee projects are a means for drawing higher levels of resources from the more affluent socio-economic groups and using them for the benefit of the entire community. To permit such an assessment, a method of rating a household's economic position within the community was established. This drew on information concerning sources of income, existence of a cash crop, and the presence of various household amenities and furnishings. Information concerning contributions to Harambee projects and benefits received from them was then evaluated for the most affluent 20% and the poorest 20% within each location. Following is a discussion of the sources of contributions and the distribution of benefits within the six Locations investigated during the course of the study.

A. Contributions

Contributions to Harambee projects are in the form of cash, labour or materials. Labour is noted as either skilled or unskilled and is given a cash value accordingly. The material category includes not only contributions to the actual building process, such as sand, stones, timber or transport, but contributions in kind which may be auctioned off at a Harambee fundraising event. The contribution-in-kind, perhaps a goat or chicken, baskets, mug or torch, is given a cash value and is entered in the books as a material contribution. The cash received for each of these items is entered into the computation of cash received. Hence, when cash, material and labour contribution are totalled, there is a form of double book keeping, which leads to inflated values in the self-help statistics. Because the material listings include both actual contributions to building as well as auction items, without

distinguishing between the two, it is impossible to determine the size of the double counting procedure. This makes the district level statistics quite difficult to use, but it is nevertheless possible to make some useful comparisons and to suggest the relative magnitudes of local-level self-help contributions. Donations from the Government of Kenya or from outside agencies such as CARE, Danida or Charity Sweepstakes are listed separately. Contributions brought by guest speakers at fundraising events are included under "peoples" contribution.

1. Cash contributions.

a) Levels of cash contributions in the sample investigated

Table 1 summarizes in the form of a histogram the data collected from the six locations on the contribution levels of the most affluent 20% of the sample and the poorest 20%. This table shows clearly that the modal contribution for both the most affluent quintile and the poorest quintile is Ksh.101-500 for the five year period preceding the administration of the questionnaire. The median contribution for the poorest quintile was Ksh. 101-500, whereas the median contribution for the wealthiest quintile was Ksh.501-1000. Among the poorest, the second largest category of respondents did not contribute at all. Among the most affluent the second largest category was in the Ksh.501-1000 range; the third largest in the Ksh.1001-2000 range, and the fourth largest in the Ksh.2001-3000 range.

Table 2 is a scattergram which indicates the size of contribution and number of projects assisted over the five-year period by both top and bottom quintiles. It shows clearly that respondents in the top quintile have contributed larger donations to more projects than have those in the bottom quintile.

Six Locations: Composite of Contribution Levels of Poorest Quintile and Richest Quintile of Total Sample for a Five Year Period

HOUSEHOLDS

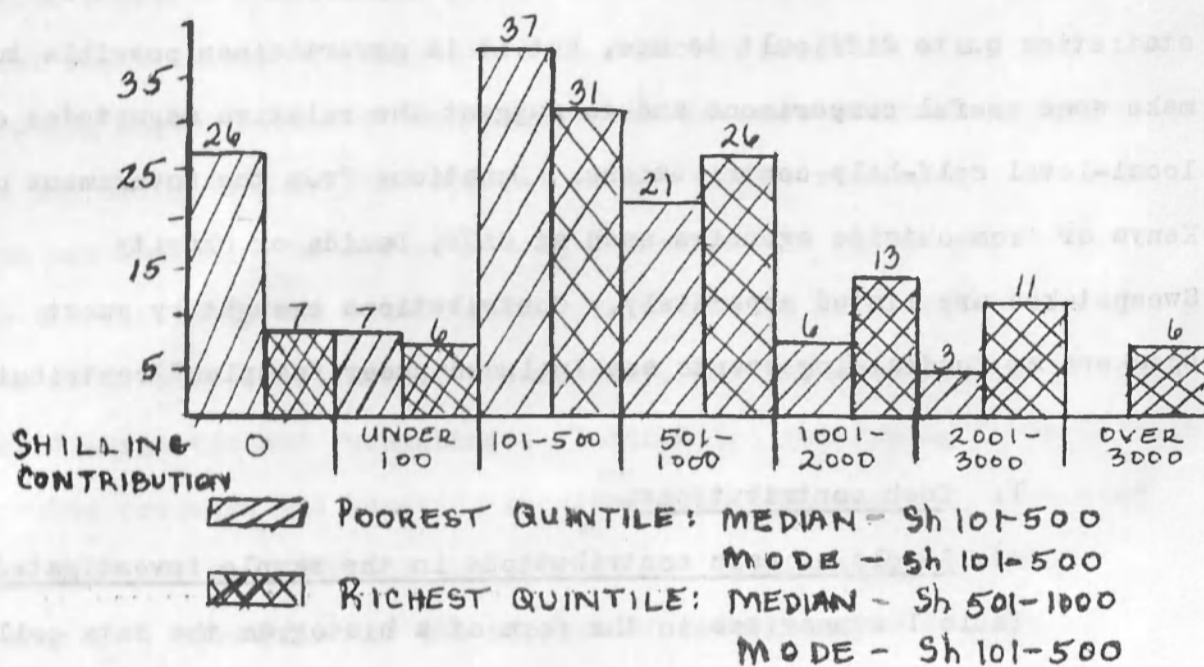


Table 2:

Six Locations: Composite Summary of Poorest Quintile and Richest Quintile Harambee Contributions, 1973-1977, 1974-1978.

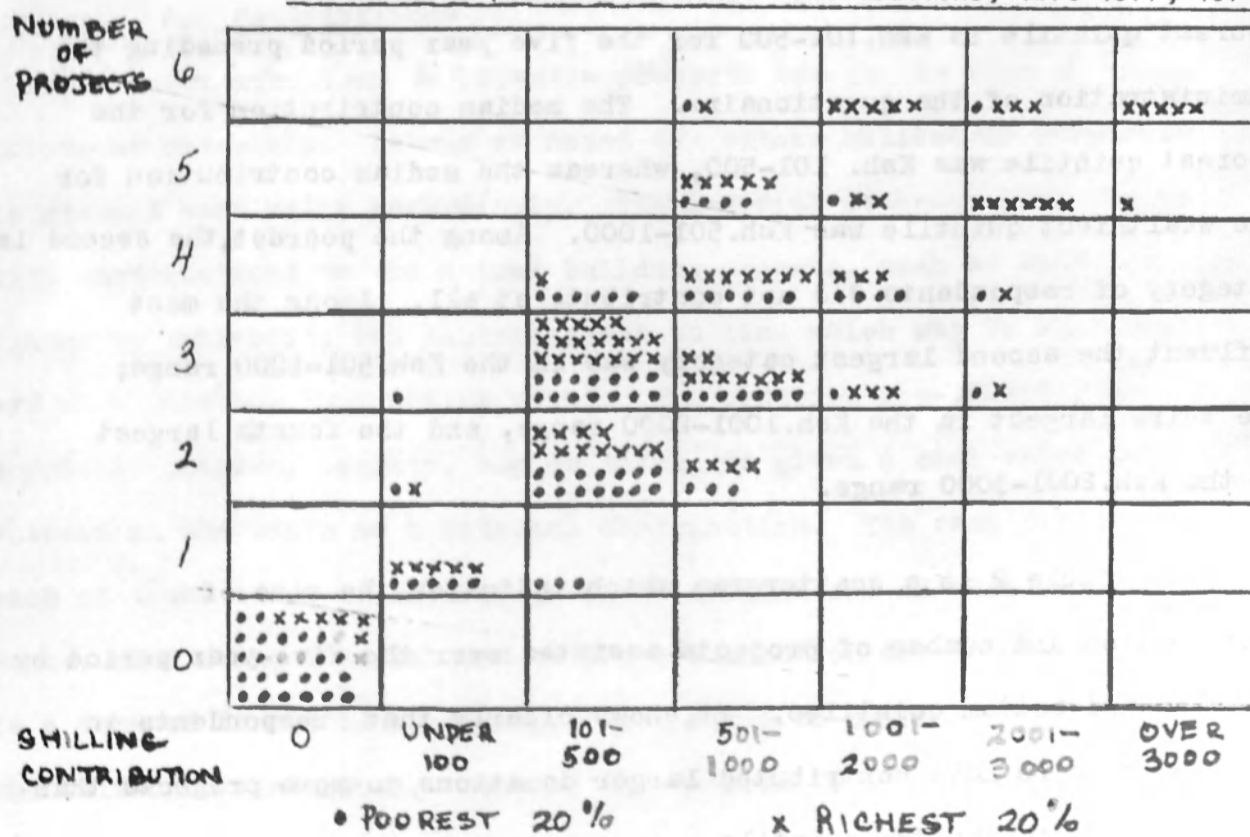


Table 3 shows the distribution of contributions of the top and bottom quintiles by Locations. In all Locations there were households in the poorest quintile which did not contribute at all to Harambee projects. The median contribution for the poorest quintile ranged from Z in Soia Location to Ksh.501-1000 in Weithaga. In two of the three most affluent Locations, there were no households in the top quintiles who had contributed less than Ksh.100 to Harambee projects during the past five years. In three of the Locations, Kyeni, Weithaga and Mbiri 10% of the most affluent had made contributions exceeding Ksh.3000. In Kisiara and Nthawa the largest contributions were in the Ksh.1001-2000 range.

Table 3

Distribution of Contributions by Location:

Shillings Contributions	The Top Quintile and the Bottom Quintile, per cent											
	Soia		Nthawa		Mbiri		Kisiara		Kyeni		Weithaga	
	B	T	B	T	B	T	B	T	B	T	B	T
Over 3000						10%				10		10%
2001 - 3000						15%			25%	15%	15%	
1001 - 2000				5%		10%		30%	10%	30%	20%	5%
501 - 1000			5%	15%	30%	25%	20%	40%	40%	30%	20%	40%
101 - 500	40%	70%	45%	45%	50%	30%	60%	30%	20%		20%	30%
Under 100	10%	10%	15%	20%	10%	5%						5%
0	50%	20%	35%	15%	10%	5%	20%		30%	5%	20%	

Location Soia Nthawa Mbiri Kisiara Kyeni Weithaga
 Poorer Richer
 B = Bottom Quintile
 T = Top Quintile

Data from each individual Location support the conclusion that within the Locations the wealthier strata are paying more for projects than the poor strata.

The foregoing evidence indicate that the wealthier segments of the population within the location are paying more for self-help projects than the poorer segments. It is necessary however, to look more closely at the 26% who did not participate in any project. In particular, it is important to know whether this group has been in any way barred from participating in and benefiting from Harambee projects.

This query leads to a discussion of the school building funds. The building funds have, until recently, been in an anomalous position vis-a-vis the Harambee movement. The public was informed shortly after independence that the Government would provide faculty at the primary level but that each community was responsible for the building, upgrading and maintenance of primary schools. In order to implement programs for improving facilities, most schools have established building funds to which each family with children in the school has had to contribute. These fees have ranged from a low of Ksh 60 per year (Ksh 20 per term) to a high of Ksh 210 per year per family. They have been in addition to any school fees which parents have had to pay and usually they have been payable at the beginning of the term. Often there is tolerance of payment over a period of time; rarely is a family exempt. Some families do not send their children to school simply because of the building fund requirement. This fact was noted by President Moi when he banned the imposition of building funds in primary school in late 1978.

The school buildings-in-progress are listed as Harambee projects, and these schools often conduct fund-raising activities in addition to the collection of the building fund. The regular building fund, however, is not included in the self-help statistics, in spite of the fact that the

school may be listed as a project and in spite of the parents understanding that this is a form of Harambee contribution.

When respondents were asked to indicate the magnitude of cash contributions to Harambee projects over the past five years, they did not include the building fund, although this is in reality a major Harambee contribution. For those with primary school children, this fee raises the average annual contribution levels by a range of Ksh.60 to Ksh.210, depending on the school. For secondary schools, building funds are handled a bit differently. A day secondary school built by the community will often charge only outsiders a building fund fee. Residents of the area do not pay it. Others have a fee per family with school children which is then divided among the nursery, primary and secondary school of the community. The tuition fees at the secondary level, however, can effectively deter poor families from sending children.

To return to the 26% who did not participate in any project, it is useful to see if any of them were prohibited from sending their children to school by the mandatory building fund fees. Of the 26 non-contributors in the Bottom Quintile, 15 were not in a position to contribute to or to benefit from several types of Harambee projects. This group included very young households with children under school age; it included old people without school age children, without cattle and without social affiliations which might have led them to participate in Harambee projects. Also in this group were several widows and widowers or bachelors obviously living a marginal existence. Of the remainder, seven households did not send their children to school because of the costs, primarily in the form of the building fund. Hence, it

seems fair to state that 27% of the non-contributors in the lowest quintile are being effectively banned from sending their children to school because of what is in reality a mandatory Harambee contribution. This would be 7% of the poorest quintile. This situation occurred only in the three poorest locations.

b) Assessment Procedures

The pattern whereby the wealthier members of the community are contributing more to Harambee projects than are the poorer members of a community can be attributed to three factors: 1) an increasingly sophisticated form of assessment closely related to a type of progressive taxation; 2) an informal skill which both officials and the general public have developed for "squeezing" a bit more out of their wealthier neighbours for the benefit of the community; and 3) the clear benefits they can receive from some types of projects.

A typical procedure for selecting projects and determining the method of funding is as follows: The Chief or Assistant Chief holds a public meeting for the residents of the Location or Sublocation. At this baraza and perhaps at successive ones, the need for some particular service such as a dispensary, secondary school or a cattle dip is discussed. If there is agreement to move ahead with a project, a committee is selected and funding methods determined. For projects selected in this manner, the local population is normally assessed a specific amount per household. That is, a minimal contribution is normally not voluntary - it is an expected payment for the purpose of providing a community service, one which the community has collectively agreed is desirable.

Assessments vary according to two patterns. A flat rate may be charged per household or a graduated assessment may be imposed according to the wealth of the household. In general the poorer communities almost always use a flat rate, whereas the more prosperous communities sometimes impose a scaled or graduated rate of payment. Two schools in Kericho District are illustrative. One, a school in Soin, is being constructed by two remote villages in order to reduce the distance their children must walk to school from five miles to about three miles. Parents in these two villages are eager to have the school, and each family is committed to a contribution of Ksh. 300, not all of which is paid at once. In Kisiara an established primary school is expanding the number of classrooms. The Assistant Chief and the residents of the Sublocation drew up a committee of 44 members with an equal number from each village involved. This committee was then responsible for a careful assessment of funds required from each household for the construction of the classrooms. Each man and each woman were assessed. In the case of the men, assessments ranged from Ksh.100 to Ksh. 500, and for women from Ksh. 30 to Ksh.200, the Ksh.200 being required from the one woman in the Sublocation who has a salary. In addition, each adult was required to bring a specified item to the fundraising event scheduled in August, 1978. These items ranged from a hammer to a cow for men, and from a cup to a goat for women. These items were specified according to a careful consideration of ability to pay or contribute. Typed records were available for all to see, and public support for the procedure was widespread. Almost all persons had paid the amount requested; a few women had paid less than the amount asked. It was felt that these were the poorer families in the community and no steps were being considered to ask them to pay the remainder of their assessment. This was no doubt in part because the August fundraising had been very successful. In

general, however, the more prosperous communities tend to ignore or overlook those instances of non-payment, particularly if people are poor, whereas the poorer communities are more likely to take action against recalcitrant contributors.

In the case of the Kisiara school, the community in effect established an advisory council with broad-based community support for the purpose of developing an equitable procedure for obtaining funds. The procedure is not dissimilar from those used by local communities in other parts of the world where revenues collected are based on size of landholding, valuation of buildings on the property, and, perhaps, a percentage of earned income.

c) Levels of Coercion

Problems of forced "contributions" have received some publicity in recent months⁴. Project committees generally believe that they have community support for obtaining payment for those projects agreed upon by the community and for which an assessment has been specified. One committee in Ntlawa, for example, indicated that it would soon have to make an effort to collect the Ksh.40 outstanding from several households in payment for a water project. In this case, the community is endeavoring to raise Ksh.10,000 as its share of a District Development Committee Grant to bring water to the Sublocation. The community is eager to get the water; the Government does not begin work until the community's portion is in hand, and there is a general feeling that insufficient payment on the part of a few should not deny the community its water supply. Obviously this attitude creates hardships for some households.

4. See for example The Daily Nation, November 6, 1978 or The Daily Nation, May 1, 1979. Both newspapers have articles about coercive practices regarding Harambee fundraising in Western Province.

Action toward those who are not making their payments may include outright forcible extraction of payment through confiscation of personal goods, denial of services such as the use of a cattle dip or fairly gentle verbal reminders. Personal pressure by leaders, public embarrassment of non-contributors, and subtle reminders of favours or services to be withheld are also "coercive" measures sometimes used. The following table indicates the percentage of project contributions made by the total 500 respondents in the six Locations, about which the respondents indicated they experienced a measure of coercion.

Table 4
Percentage of Project Contributions for which
Respondents Experienced Some Measure of Coercion

<u>Location</u>	<u>Percentage of Project Contributions</u> <u>which respondents felt were "coerced"</u>
Kyeni	4%
Nthawa	15%
Kisiara	3%
Soin	12%
Mbiri	13%
Weithaga	2%

Clearly those Locations with a higher percentage of people on subsistence or living a marginal existence show a comparatively high level of coercion in regard to Harambee project payments. Again, these figures exclude the building fund which has been, in effect, a mandatory fee for a Harambee project. This obvious has prevented some children from attending school. It has also had both coercive and punitive aspects, particularly for primary school children. In most cases, partial payment or indication of intent to pay is sufficient to keep a child in school, but there have been instance in which children have been sent home until the parent appears with the fees.

In the six Locations studied, forcible extraction seems to have been an uncommon procedure (building fund aside) and people did not expect to see committees appearing at their doors ready to take any object in sight. Persuasion, with reminders of coercive sanctions which could be imposed, was a more commonly used approach.

In general the more immediate the project and the greater the sense of urgency, the more likely it is that some coercion will be applied. Those projects for which the community is trying to raise a specified amount in order to meet the requirements of a grant more easily lead to measures for assuring the money will be forthcoming, than do open-ended projects, such as dispensaries, or social welfare projects in which there is no outside aid component. On the other hand, communities are usually eager for any outside assistance they can get and welcome the incentive which that assistance provides for collecting larger amounts. While the more affluent may contribute more funds and may give more rapidly than the poorest groups, such an approach does create difficulties for poorer households.

2. Labour Contributions

(a) Nature of the Labour Contribution to Self-Help Projects

Contributions to Harambee projects are also given in the form of labour, both skilled and unskilled, though primarily the latter. In all six Locations the community is involved in providing unskilled labour for projects which are being built. This includes such tasks as assisting masons in building cattle dips, constructing nursery schools, clearing bush and digging the foundation for village polytechnics or dispensaries making bricks, ^{or} constructing and maintaining semi-permanently buildings. For the most part, the community assists until the project is completed. This, however, is an intermittent and occasional process. On a more regular basis the community of parents with primary school children is responsible for providing labour for the school. This may be used for building purposes; it may be used for maintenance or it may go into income-earning activities generating funds for the school. Fifty per cent of the schools visited in the six Locations had agricultural income-earning activities. In two of the most affluent Locations, Weithaga and Kisiara, the common procedure is for the school to employ labourers to cultivate the land. In the other four Locations, parents are organized to do the agricultural tasks required according to season. All families are expected to send one parent, normally the woman, and a fine varying from KSh. 2 to KSh. 7 is imposed upon the family which does not participate. Some schools have a scheme whereby a family may contribute a sum ranging from KSh. 20 to KSh. 50 in order to be excused from participating in the labour force for the school year, but not many families in these four Locations avail themselves of this opportunity. Depending upon the nature and size of the task, all families may be asked to participate on a given day, or parents may be divided into groups which rotate their services to the school.

In general, if there is a good cash crop, parents are more reluctant to work at the school and are eager to provide cash for the employment of labourers. Nthawa is illustrative of both viewpoints. In one school the parents stressed their willingness to work since they had no cash crop and could not possibly afford to pay additional funds to the school. In another, where cotton is becoming an important cash crop for many families, parents have just recently voted to pay an additional sum so that they do not have to come to the school to work weekly. Normally the money earned is put into a

general fund and used for school expenses such as paying askaris, purchasing supplementary textbooks, or meeting furniture or equipment needs.

(b) Levels of labour contributions in the six Locations

One of the criticisms of the Harambee movement has concerned its use of community labour. It has been suggested that Harambee projects demand labour from the poor whereas the more prosperous do not have to contribute in this manner. Evidence from the six Locations studied shows that labour and cash contributions are not interchangeable. A cash contribution and a labour contribution may both be required from a household. A labour contribution cannot be substituted for a cash contribution. A fine may be imposed if the family fails to provide the labour contribution. A community may decide that it is permissible to make a cash payment instead of contributing labour; the option is not normally available for making a labour contribution instead of cash.

It is useful to make some comparisons between the top quintile in affluence in each Location, and the poorest quintile, in terms of their labour contribution to Harambee projects. Table 5 shows the breakdown of contributions for these two quintiles for cash and labour contributions. The cash category includes materials. These figures suggest that those who

Table 5

Contributions to Harambee Projects by Most Affluent Quintile and Least Affluent Quintile in Six Locations

	<u>Poorest 20%</u>	<u>Wealthiest 20%</u>
Cash and Labour	56%	58%
Cash only	17%	35%
Labour only	1%	0%
No contribution	26%	7%

contribute labour to self-help projects come from a broad spectrum of the community. Among those who give cash only, twice as many are found in the affluent group as in the poorest group. Both top and bottom quintiles contain approximately the same number of respondents making contributions of labour to projects.

The use of community labour for purposes of providing unskilled labour for building programmes has, of course, both benefits and costs for the individual while providing quite significant benefits for the community. Normally five or six days of effort per household is sufficient input to a shared responsibility. This excludes the work done for primary schools. Parents assist in the building process in 90% of the schools. The value of their contribution per classroom is difficult to estimate since parents may be working on a number of projects at a school during the time a classroom is being built, and there is no breakdown on the basis of job or responsibility in the duty roster.

Records for a six-year period suggest that the people-hours of unskilled labour contributed to primary schools on an annual basis varies from close to zero to 6838, the largest figure noted for a single year. More typical figures are in the 1632 to 3844 hours per year range. There are peak periods in terms of building facilities, and there are periods when bad weather or agricultural requirements mean fewer people attend. Given that people work two to three hours at a stretch and that there are on average 100 families associated with a school, this would mean that at the higher levels families are contributing approximately 20 work days per year to the development of the school. More typically, a woman with primary school children may contribute about 20 to 30 hours a year, spending approximately ten mornings at the school assisting with a variety of tasks.

Costs to parents of such an arrangement are primarily in the alternative uses of time. It has been mentioned earlier that in those areas where parents are becoming involved in cash crops with a labour intensive component, they are beginning to substitute financial support for labour support of the school. Respondents were asked in the questionnaire what they felt they would prefer to be doing during the time they were contributing labour to schools and other projects. Some indicated that they would prefer to be cultivating their fields, but most expressed willingness to give this kind of assistance to developing community services.

Thus, evidence from this study of Harambee projects in six locations suggests that within a community contributors come from across the spectrum of socio-economic groups with the larger contributions coming from the more affluent rather than the poorer segments of rural society. This is a different perspective from the widely held view that Harambee takes labour and cash from the poorer groups to support the interests of the wealthier

segments of society. It is important, of course, to look at the other side of the question. That is, who benefits from Harambee projects? Having determined that contributors do not come primarily from the poorest groups in the six Locations studied, the next section of this paper will address the question of benefits. Who benefits and how do they benefit from Harambee projects?

B. Benefits

The preceding section of this paper has argued that in terms of source and level of contributions, Harambee does not exploit the poorest groups within a community. This section explores evidence from the questionnaire administered in the six Locations in order to determine the distribution of benefits from Harambee projects and the nature and scope of these benefits.

1. Distribution of Benefits according to the respondents in the interview sample

Respondents were asked to give specific information concerning their contributions and the benefits received for the three projects to which they had contributed the most cash or labour. In cases where respondents had contributed to less than three projects, they simply reported on those to which they had contributed. Thus, the data concerning benefits received by respondents is based on their views concerning no more than three projects.

One useful way of addressing the question of benefits from Harambee projects is to look at the total number of important contributions which have been made by the respondents interviewed and then to assess the percentage of contributions for which they have actually received benefits. Table 6 shows the percentage of contributions from the wealthiest and poorest quintiles for which the contributors have received benefits.

Observing the averages of the six Locations as shown in Table 6, it is evident that project benefits are enjoyed on approximately $\frac{2}{3}$ of the contributions to projects for the total sample, the richest 20% and the poorest 20% of the populations in the Locations investigated. While there is considerable variation among the Locations, within each of them the percentage points vary little between the top and bottom quintiles. This

Table 6

Percentage of Most Important Individual Project Contributions Which are Benefiting the Contributors.

<u>Location</u>	<u>Total Sample</u>	<u>Richest 20%</u>	<u>Poorest 20%</u>
Kyeni	83%	77%	79%
Nthawa	61%	67%	52%
Kisiara	81%	97%	89%
Soin	94%	94%	86%
Mbiri	49%	54%	56%
Weithaga	65%	68%	70%
Average:	72%	76%	72%

suggests relative uniformity in numbers of project contributions bringing benefits across socio-economic groups. It does not suggest that the benefits received are identical. Obviously, the family with six children in the primary school benefits more than the family with one child in the school. The household with ten cattle benefits from the cattle dip more than the household with one cow, though that does not imply that the one cow is any less important to that family than the ten cows are to the first family. Likewise, the family which is sick often benefits more from the nearby clinic than the family which is rarely sick. The woman who carries water from a distant river for the use of a family of ten benefits more from the installation of a community water project than does the woman who has been carrying water for a family of four. There are important distinctions in nature and scope of benefits received, but they are exceedingly difficult to quantify.

It is useful to consider briefly the nature of assets being created by benefits introduced through Harambee projects. These assets might be healthy cows which are producing milk in sufficient quantity for the household to sell some. They might be improved employment opportunities for children or time saved which can be used for abricultural labour. Naturally, those who have more productive capital will benefit more from the project.

In this sense some kinds of projects have a bias toward the more affluent members of a community. However, it seems that most communities attempt to strike a balance between providing services through a widespread community effort and requiring additional payment from those who are benefiting the most. In effect, there is a user tax on some of these services. A cattle dip may be built by contributions from all members of the community, but there is a small fee per animal for those who use the dip. Those who benefit the most from the use of the dip are paying somewhat more for the service than those who benefit minimally. In another example, students at village polytechnics pay a fee for their training while the community puts up the buildings and the Government provides funds for teacher salaries. Thus, there is an effort to find a middle ground whereby some basic services are provided to a community, quite equitably across the population and not just to a limited income-group. Yet, acknowledging that some may benefit more than others, charges are made accordingly. Moreover, it is evident that many of the respondents, whether currently benefiting from a project or not, welcome the opportunity to keep their options open in preparation for the day when they might have children in secondary school, cattle to be dipped, or sick family members needing medical care.

2. Distribution of benefits by project type

It is useful to look at specific categories of projects to assess levels of benefits received by type of project. For example, what percentage of total contributions is represented by educational projects or economic projects, and what is the percentage of benefits received on contributions to such projects. There are two major categories of projects according to which self-help statistics are gathered. These are social projects and economic development projects. Within the former category are those related to 1) education, including nursery schools, primary schools, secondary schools, village polytechnics and teachers' houses; 2) health, including dispensaries, health centers and maternity wards; 3) social welfare projects, including churches, young centres, community halls, sports' grounds and women's group centers; and 4) domestic projects such as latrines and kitchens. Economic development projects include 1) water supply; 2) transport and communications; and 3) agricultural projects of considerable variety including cattle dips and crushes, terracing, tree planting, hedging and fencing. In the Locations studied, water projects are becoming increasingly important and domestic projects have been negligible. Therefore, Tables 7 and 8 list water projects separately and omit domestic projects.

Evidence from the six Locations indicates that the distribution of contributions to various types of project is quite similar for both the top quintile and the bottom quintile. The only significant difference is in contributions for social welfare projects, especially churches, for which the most affluent have contributed nearly twice as often as the poorest group. For both quintiles approximately one-third of contributions have gone into educational and economic projects. Table 7 shows the allocation of contributions according to project type for these two quintiles.

Table 7

Project Choice for Major Contributions from
the Top and Bottom Quintiles

<u>Project Type</u>	<u>Richest 20%</u>	<u>Poorest 20%</u>
Educational	34%	32%
Economic	32%	35%
Water	13%	13%
Health	10%	13%
Social Welfare	11%	6%

It is important to ascertain whether or not there are any significant differences among the levels of benefits received by each quintile for the different types of projects. Table 8 shows the percentages of benefits being received for the different categories of project contributions made by the top and bottom quintiles.

Table 8

Percentage of Contributions Yielding Benefits

<u>Project Type</u>	<u>Richest 20%</u>	<u>Poorest 20%</u>
Education	79%	83%
Economic	85%	77%
Water	54%	31%
Health	56%	56%
Social Welfare	75%	80%

This table suggests that contributors in the poorest quintile are benefiting somewhat more from educational projects than those in the top quintile, while the wealthiest quintile is benefiting somewhat more from economic projects. Figures analysed Location by Location reveal remarkably similar percentages of contributions yielding benefits to both affluent and poor contributors. In only one, Mbirri, are there significant differences between the contributions yielding benefits to the top and bottom quintiles.⁵ In half the Locations, the poorest 20% benefit slightly more from educational projects than the wealthiest group, and the reverse is true for the other three Locations. In terms of economic projects, the wealthiest group benefits marginally more than the poorest in four Locations. Some important differences exist among the Locations themselves, but not among socio-economic groups within the Locations, except for the case of Mbirri which has already been mentioned.

Benefits from water projects show substantial difference for contributions made by the most affluent and poorest quintiles. Among the wealthiest, 54% of the contributions were bringing benefits, whereas among the poorest, 31% of contributions were yielding benefits. In only one Location were returns on water project contributions approximately the same for both quintiles and that is in Kyeni where the water project has been completed for some time.

Health projects have a low return on contributions made with just over half the project contributions yielding benefits for both groups. Contributions for social welfare projects yield somewhat greater benefits for the poorest quintile, in part because those households are not as involved in building complex and expensive stone churches as are the more affluent households.

5. Mbirri Location shows a polarization among those existing at a subsistence level on agriculture and those who have been drawn to employment opportunities in Nairobi and elsewhere, often at a low-level of income. This polarization has been complicated by intense political competition and development of factional politics within the area. These are important factors affecting Harambee activity and performance. For a few brief comments on Mbirri, see pp. 46 and 47.

In connection with an assessment of the distribution of benefits in the six Locations studied, it is useful to look at one additional group: non-contributors. Table 9 indicates the percentage of non-contributors in the total sample, as well as in the top and bottom quintiles. It also gives the percentage of non-contributors who indicated that they had benefited personally from one or more Harambee projects in their area.

Table 9

Benefits from Harambee Projects Enjoyed by Non-Contributors

<u>Respondents</u>	<u>% Represented by Non-Contributors</u>	<u>% of Non-Contributors Enjoying Benefits from One or More Harambee Projects</u>
Total Sample	14%	68%
Top Quintile	7%	57%
Bottom Quintile	26%	65%

It is evident that non-contributors in the poorest quintile are nearly twice the percentage of the total sample and approximately 3½ times that of the richest quintile. As a group those households are receiving benefits from Harambee projects at a rate slightly below that of the total sample average, and eight percentage points higher than that of the top quintile.

4. Spin-off Benefits from Projects

The above assessment of benefits being received from project contributions made by respondents does not give much indication of the nature of these benefits or their spin-off effects. We may know that a respondent has children in the local primary school, receives health advice and medicines from a local dispensary, or takes a cow to the dip regularly. However, the real return on educational investments and improved health care may be quite long-term and diffuse for the families involved. Benefits from economic projects and water projects can be quite immediate and direct. Benefits from churches or other social welfare projects may be ^{of} great personal importance. Many respondents spoke of the value of their efforts in building a church for their children and grandchildren.

Several types of economic projects constitute great labour-saving services particularly for rural women. Water projects which bring a water supply to a communal tap represent an important saving in time for women who, in this sample, walked anywhere from a few meters to 10 kilometers for water, depending upon the area and the season. Posho mills represent another saving in time for many women carry headloads of maize to a mill several times a week, and a nearby mill can greatly reduce the time involved for this task. Feeder roads for villages, another type of Harambee project, can greatly ease problems such as bringing supplies into the village or taking quantities of milk or produce out. Iron sheets, for example, can be brought in by vehicle rather than by foot. Such benefits, if difficult to quantify, are very important to the villagers involved, and were mentioned by many respondents to the questionnaires.

Perhaps the economic projects most readily assessed are the cattle dips. They can bring significant benefits to the individual households. Two Sublocations, one in Mbiri, Muchungucha, and one in Kisiara, Cheborge, give some indication of the full measure of these benefits. In 1973 there were no grade cows in Muchungucha Sublocation. A few people in Muchungucha were interested in acquiring superior breeds, and at a baraza organized by the Chief and Assistant Chief, they persuaded the residents to build a cattle dip in order to ensure the survival of cross-breeds and grade cattle. At first, many people were reluctant to contribute, but the Assistant Chief was persistent and got permission from the District Officer to collect KShs. 26 from each home for the construction of the dip, as well as permission to organize the community for the unskilled labour component of dip construction.

By 1974 the cattle dip was in operation and households began to acquire grade cattle and cross-breeds. Now, in 1978, approximately two-thirds of the cattle in the Sublocation are grade or cross-breeds with the remaining third being local cattle. They are owned by just about every family in the Sublocation. Should the cross-breed be a second cow for the family with most of the milk going for sale, the minimum cash return per month in this Location is approximately KSh. 430 and the average is KSh. 500, an important supplement to a family's income.

The benefits of acquiring cross-breed or grade cattle have been so evident in such a short time that one off-shoot of the construction of the cattle dip has been the formation of the Kabanga Women's Group in

Muchungucha. This group consists of 240 women, many of whom have husbands working elsewhere or who are widows managing on their own. Each month the group raises KSh. 4800 through individual KSh. 20 contributions from its members. This money is then divided among 8 members with each receiving KSh. 600. The majority of women are putting the money toward the purchase of grade or cross-breed cows.

In the area surrounding the Muchungucha cattle dip approximately 150 families now have grade or cross-breed cattle. They did not have these cattle five years ago. For some, it is a second or third cow providing a source of regular cash income unavailable to these families in 1973. Those who were reluctant or unwilling contributors are now eager users of the services provided by the cattle dip.

Cattle dips are illustrative of a type of Harambee project which can link closely with Government support services in developing a productive economic infrastructure with high benefits to the local population. For example, Kisiara has smoothly-functioning, community-operated cattle dips. There is an active AI programme in the Location and easy access to a KCC factory. From the area surrounding Cheborge's Mekunyet cattle dip approximately 850 cattle are brought, per week, for dipping. In 1973 when the cattle dip was built, approximately 20% of the cattle were cross-breeds and there were no grade cattle. Now, approximately 70% are cross-breed, 20% local, and 10% grade cattle. Farmers have made liberal use of the Smallholders Credit Scheme for purchases of improved livestock. In an adjacent sublocation, the Assistant Chief estimates that now more than half the cattle are cross-breeds. According to the respondents interviewed in Kisiara Location, earnings from milk range from KSh. 100 per month to KSh. 800 per month. Clearly, Harambee efforts and Government services are complementing one another in ways advantageous to the local population.

5. Respondent View of Benefits versus opportunity costs

What are the opportunity costs engendered by the contributions to Harambee projects? For the family contributing under KSh. 100 a year, in small amounts, it is difficult to specify the nature of a trade-off in utilizing household funds. For a household making larger contributions, it is likely that Harambee contributions bite into funds that might otherwise be spent with greater economic utility on fertilizer, improved seeds or other agricultural inputs. Respondents, however, were not inclined to weigh

immediate economic benefits against long-term social or economic returns on their cash or labour contributions to Harambee projects. In fact, the vast majority of respondents in the communities visited were eager to develop social services as well as economic opportunities within their area. Eighty eight per cent of the entire sample favoured further development of their communities through the implementation of self-help projects. First choice for projects included health services for two Locations, water supply for two, schools for one, and cooperative agricultural projects for one. Many respondents suggested very specific types of economic projects they would like to implement through self-help processes, projects such as construction of coffee factories, posho mills, or jointly owned and managed sugar cane farms. The interest in new directions for self-help endeavours is clearly evident among many of the respondents interviewed, as is a willingness to support them. However, very real questions remain concerning the mechanisms for implementing these projects.

The first section of this paper has suggested that in the six Locations studied contributions to Harambee projects come from a broad spectrum of rural society with greater levels of support from the more affluent groups than from the poorer groups. This section has offered evidence to suggest that benefits from projects do reach all levels of rural communities. The next section will explore questions concerning Harambee as a means for fostering initiative, self-reliance and organizational capacity for dealing with rural development problems.

B. Harambee as a means for fostering local-level initiative, self-reliance and organizational capacity

Critical to the success of development projects are processes of planning, decision-making and evaluation. It is important to assess the impact of experience with Harambee projects on overall organizational capability in the rural areas with particular reference to aspects of project planning and implementation. Field work related to these questions involved interviews with over 80 project committees in addition to interviews with District and Location level officials and community leaders. Attention focused on indicators of initiative and self-reliance, evidence of the development of organizational and leadership skills, indications of institutionalization of project committees and their functions, and evidence of attitudinal change which may be attributed to experience with Harambee projects. It is useful first to assess the responses to the questionnaires for respondent views concerning their involvement in planning, decision-making and evaluation, and then to examine the normal working procedures of the committees for evidence they provide on these points.

1. Overall Levels of Participation in Project Planning, Decision-making and Evaluation

Involvement in planning projects is not widespread, but a portion of the respondents in each Location felt that they had had adequate opportunity to discuss project objectives and to be involved in the planning process. Table 10 shows the number of respondents who indicated they had been involved in planning and decision-making about projects.

Table 10

Respondents Participating in Planning and Decision-making in Self-help Projects

<u>Location</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Kyeni	12%	88%
Nthawa	31%	69%
Kisiara	36%	64%
Soin	10%	90%
Mbiri	22%	78%
Weithaga	28%	72%

Of those who indicated they had been involved, an average of 32% were respondents in the top quintile. This figure varied from a low of 20% to a high of 39%. Respondents from the bottom quintile who had been involved in planning and decision-making regarding projects constituted only 6% of the total. Of those who had been involved, satisfaction with the planning procedures was widely expressed: only 1% indicated any dissatisfaction with the discussions of objectives and planning for implementation of Harambee projects.

Respondents were also asked what actions they took when they were dissatisfied with the way a project was being handled or when it was not providing the services intended adequately. More than half the respondents who indicated how they had handled an unsatisfactory situation said that they had done nothing. Somewhat less than half, 45%, specified a variety of options, the most common of which were to talk with the Chief or Assistant Chief about the problem. Several indicated they would go directly to the project committee chairman, and several also indicated they would raise the question in a baraza. Evident in a number of responses was a reluctance to be critical or to make suggestions. Some felt it was not their position to do so; others clearly felt they did not care to antagonize the Chief or the Assistant Chief in any way and believed that negative comments might be taken amiss. A respect for Government officials, particularly the position of Chief and Assistant Chief, was apparent in many questionnaires. This respect is sometimes tinged with fear, a fear which seems to be based less on experience than on potential forms of reprisal should the key government figure in the location or sublocation turn an unfavourable eye upon the respondent. It was a concern about favours not being granted, services not to be rendered, a denial of benefits at some future time. One might say that it was a desire to keep one's options open, and not to foreclose them by being indiscreetly noisy, critical or uncooperative. The malfunctioning of a project, the inadequacy of a service, the suspected misuse of funds, the delays in opening a dispensary, or the insufficiency of chemicals in a cattle dip may rankle a respondent, but they do not frequently bring him or her to a point of action. The risks somehow seem greater than the possibility of change, and the opportunities for improvement resulting from one person's complaints seem slim. Hence, the respondents indicated relative uninvolvedness in evaluation and related action concerning projects.

In addition, many project committees meet irregularly and infrequently. Often there is not an opportune time to register concerns as a group. Thus, the procedure of informal comment to an official or a committee member is the one which must be followed. Obviously this does happen, but more often, a complaint or a concern remains unregistered. The channels for doing so remain, for the most part, at a personal, unofficial, and non-routinized level.

While the general public is involved in the initial decision to begin a project and is kept informed of project commitments and progress through barazas, the project committees are responsible for day-to-day planning, decision-making, implementation, and management of projects. This latter, the management, usually means overseeing the work of paid employees, some of whom may be paid by the committee and some of whom may be paid by the Government.

It is useful to observe rates of committee participation among the respondents to the questionnaire in the six Locations. On average 18% of the men had had committee experience. The largest single group was involved with committees managing cooperative societies, and this was followed by participation on school committees. Church project committees ranked third. Approximately 20% of the men who have committee experience are serving on more than one committee and several of the total sample were serving on three or four. This evidence of multiple committee membership is corroborated by the interviews with project committees. Members were asked to specify the other groups and project committees to which they belonged, and many had multiple committee responsibilities. The highest level of committee involvement on the part of males, 21% was in Kyeni with school and church committees claiming the most membership. The lowest level was in Soin where 13% of the sample have some organizational experience. (These figures exclude ordinary membership in cooperatives or in churches.) Weithaga has the largest number of males and females with multiple committee responsibilities - 19% of the men and 4% of the women.

Among the women, 9% of the respondents interviewed had committee experience. Of these, service on church committees ranked as the most common, with membership on school committees following in second place. Weithaga, Mbiri and Kyeni all showed female participation at roughly equivalent levels, 12%, 13%, and 11% respectively. There were no female respondents in Soin who

participated in the management of any organization or committee.

Thus the evidence from the questionnaires administered in the six Locations suggests that the public is kept informed on projects and participates widely in terms of cash and labour contributions, as well as in the receipt of benefits, but is not closely involved in the planning, decision-making and evaluative portions of project development and management.

2. Functioning of Project Committees

The fact that a Location may have a variety of committees functioning within its boundaries should mean that there is ample opportunity for the local population to develop organizational and leadership skills. In the six Locations there were between 20 and 40 project committees each. These figures include school-related committees comprised of a membership from the community, some of whom are elected by the parents and some of whom are appointed by the Government and by the school's sponsor, frequently a religious denomination. In addition to these, there are cooperative committees, Sublocational, Locational and Divisional Development Committees, and in some instances, Community Development Committees. An inquiry into the functioning of these committees reveals information concerning the development of organizational and leadership skills at the local level, and the potential for developing these skills through the Harambee project committees.

a) Committee Membership

Typically, a committee member will be an older man with position and status within the community. In Kenyan parlance, he is an 'mzee.' Usually, in the Locations studied, he is a farmer, often with some side business interests such as a canteen or transport, but he may also be a minister, retired teacher or retired civil servant. In many instances these men bring a mature and thoughtful experience to the efforts of the project committee and clearly hold the interests of their community paramount. In other cases, motivation seems more closely related to "filling time" or "being where the action is." In most cases, young men or middle-aged men are serving on such committees primarily because of a particular position or function related to the project. For example, the Headmaster of a school is always on the committee, and normal procedure is for him or her to serve as secretary of the committee.

Sometimes women are elected to a committee or appointed to one as a matter of "a reserved seat" providing formal assurance that a woman will have a position and can present the "women's point of view." This happens most frequently with primary schools. In some cases, women are chosen to serve on committees because they are the mother or wife of an important male in the community. The position may be given to her to honor her, or it may be given for more political reasons. She can provide information to or convey the views of her relative. Finally, in some cases, women serve on committees because of their own achievements, and the position they themselves occupy in the community. This latter seemed to be most often the case in Kyeni. Committees in Mbiri Location showed, on average, a higher proportion of female involvement than did the other locations. In this Location many women are heads of household with husbands working outside the Location, and perhaps they have had more opportunity to take on such responsibilities than have women in other areas.

Finally, the Assistant Chief sits on all committees within his Sublocation, and he may or may not serve as chairman, depending upon his inclination and the committee's decision. Frequently the Councillor from the area is a member of a committee. A major project such as a secondary school may also enjoy the membership of the Chief of the Location and the MP for the area. A KANU representative for the area may also be on a committee, and sometimes there is a member affiliated with a tribal organization such as GEMA. Boards of Governors of secondary schools often have a distinguished group of members including the directors of various important institutions in the district, as well as persons from the community who have become well known in Nairobi or elsewhere.

Respondents to the questionnaire were asked about membership on Harambee project committees. Among those who indicated they were members of these committees a disproportionate number were in the top quintile of respondents. Table 11 shows the percentage of respondents, among those active on committees, who were from the top and bottom quintiles within each Location.

Clearly men in the top quintile are well represented on project committees. Among male members of committees they represent from 31% to 40%. Add to them, the local officials who are automatically members of committees, and it is evident that many committees have a majority of their members from this

Table 11

Respondent Participation on Project Committees

<u>Location</u>	<u>Top Quintile</u>		<u>Bottom Quintile</u>	
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Kyeni	31%	19%	6%	36%
Nthawa	35%	40%	-	-
Kisiara	38%	50%	-	-
Soin	33%	-	13%	-
Mbiri	40%	36%	-	27%
Weithaga	31%	23%	-	8%

quintile. Among women 28% of those who participate on project committees are from the top quintile, while 19% are from the bottom quintile. Membership on church committees accounts in large measure for the relatively high representation from the bottom quintile among female committee participants. Men in the bottom quintile among respondents were not represented on project committees in four of the six Locations. Thus, committee membership is definitely skewed toward the more affluent socio-economic groups.

b. Change in Committee Membership

There are frequent elections varying in scheduling from one to four years. In actuality, however, the composition of committees changes relatively little over time. The same people are often re-elected to serve on the committee. In one case, a committee member of a school had served on that committee for twenty years. In many instances, members had served for a number of years and showed every indication of continuing their service. There is, of course, a certain prestige and status involved in serving on various committees. Many members of committees seem to be oriented more toward the position than toward the task involved. There is no notion of rotation of service, and of encouraging new ideas and new energy to surface within a committee structure. Rather, it is a more common procedure to re-elect a person unless there is specific evidence that he or she is doing the job badly or there is specific cause for discontent. Hence, preserving the status quo in committee structures is a widespread phenomenon.

A second and most interesting aspect of committee membership concerns the network of committee members. A high percentage of members of one committee

are serving on other committees. Thus, for example, on one primary school committee in Kyeni Location, of nine members, two were also serving on the cattle dip committee, five were on a total of three church committees, and one was a prominent member of a local self-help group. In another primary school the chairman of the committee was on the Location Development Committee and was also chairman of the Salvation Army Church Committee. Among his colleagues, two members were on AIC church committees, two were on CPK committees, one was on the cattle dip committee, and one was on the dispensary committee and the Catholic Church committee. Clearly, there is a circulation of local notables among the various committees within a Location. Usually, the leadership varies and the chairman of one committee is not likely to be the chairman of another. He may hold a different position, however, such as secretary or treasurer. This is a frequent occurrence.

Thus the committee structure emphasizes continuity and stability with a minimum of changeover in personnel. Methods for facilitating innovation and change are not built into the project committee structure.

c. Style of operation of project committees

Two characteristics seem typical of many committees. First, there are what many would consider authoritarian leadership patterns. The chairman is accorded great respect, and along with two or three key members, he often determines committee policies. The other committee members may concur willingly, but they often do so in silence. A widespread exchange of views is not a common occurrence. One respondent to the questionnaire, commenting on the lack of opportunity to participate in discussions about projects, stated, as explanation, "even if I am on the committee, I am not the chairman."⁶

6. Respondent, Mbiri Location, June, 1978.

Consequently, even though a person may be a committee member, he or she does not necessarily have a significant opportunity to play leadership role or to develop skills associated with project decision-making or management. Those functions are often monopolized by a few who make the decisions for the committee.

Second, many committees are characterized by a disturbing absence of planning skills. That is, grandiose schemes are developed, often requiring vast sums of money and bearing no relationship to the reasonable ability of the community to meet the objectives specified. In other words, there is often a gap between means and ends. A very small congregation of fifty families may decide to put up a large stone church bearing little relationship in size to their needs or to their ability to pay for it. Stone by stone, year by year, they manage to construct it, often at considerable cost and frustration, although, it should be added, often with considerable satisfaction as well to the families involved. In the case of a church, it is of course a personal decision as to whether a family gets involved. In the case of schools, maternity wards, or other public services, it is not customarily a matter of personal choice once the decision has been approved in baraza by the community.

'Thinking big' has advantages, but thinking realistically has some too. There are cases in which projects have dragged on interminably because committees really had no idea what was involved in the construction and management of a project, and communities have followed along somehow hoping for the best but not expecting much. Some of these plans have led to open-ended collections of funds. That is, money is collected in bits and pieces until there is enough to do something connected with the project. The funds are used up and the process continues in a somewhat demoralizing manner. In such cases, where specific, manageable objectives are not set and specific time frames worked out, it is very easy for funds to disappear under the

pressure of other needs of the project or other interests of some of the committee members.

In some ways it has been easiest for primary school committees to determine realistic objectives and time frames for meeting them. The Committee can determine fairly accurately the need for additional classrooms over time and can assess the cost of building them within the next year or two. The community is involved in the process of constructing the classrooms and can ascertain whether or not the various stages are being reached according to schedule. Delays, misuse of funds or other abuses of leadership positions are quite visible. Moreover, the Headmaster is linked into the District Education Board, and, while the system has loopholes, it does provide for additional supervisory mechanisms.

Harambee secondary schools have not had the benefit of outside supervision until the last several years. Now accounts must be audited and submitted to the Provincial Education Board, an important step in upgrading the management of these schools.

Committees have approached the work of building a secondary school in a variety of ways. In some cases, large schemes have been spelled out before a dazzled, though perhaps sceptical, community. In others, the community has systematically added a new form each year, in a building put up near the primary school, so that by the end of four years, they can accommodate Forms I through Form IV. They have done so by assessing the families of primary school students or by assessing the entire community for funds to be used in replacing the primary school rooms, in those instances where they have been allocated for secondary school use. Hence, the burden of funding the project is spread over a large group of people. Some communities in Kisumu Location have so successfully spread the cost of adding school

building for day secondary use, that they have been able to use tuition funds for teacher salaries and acquisition of textbooks, to a greater extent than many Harambee secondary schools find possible. In Weithaga several secondary school committees have focused on providing the facilities for boarding students. A prosperous community, Weithaga has made rapid strides in building such facilities, and secondary educational opportunities in the location which have been provided by Harambee effort include several schools with boarding facilities.

In the Locations visited, those Harambee secondary schools which have been in existence for eight to ten years have stabilized at an effective level of operation. Those which are relatively new are often beset with financial problems which lead to substandard teaching, inadequate materials and facilities, and general malaise. Those schools which have both Government and Harambee streams get sufficient outside support, that they are able, for the most part, to maintain a slow but steady process of continually upgrading their facilities and their educational programme. Committees for the newer day secondary schools struggle and cope with very little guidance and outside support of an educational administrative or technical nature.

3. Institutionalization of project committee functions

In many cases project committees established for the purpose of building a project become, in effect, management committees once the project is constructed. Thus cattle dip committees, water project committees, and dispensary committees may take over the job of overseeing the use of community services.

The structure for management is there. There are often, however, sever several shortcomings which prevent effective management. One has been mentioned: the absence, in many cases, of an effective planning process. A second is the lack of technical expertise to ensure that building standards are being met. For example, four of six cattle dips put up in Nthawa under the SRDP have not functioned from time they were completed. The dips cracked before or in the first days of use, indicating faulty workmanship or improper use of materials.

A third problem is poor record keeping. Some committees keep thorough and detailed records; many more are quite careless in this regard. The records might be maintained or they might not; they might be at the chairman's home; or they might not. Often arrangements are quite haphazard.

These three problems lead to questions concerning effective management of funds. Evidence suggests that the narrower the scope of the project, the easier it is to assure that the money, or most of it, reaches its objective. Concrete evidence of a classroom going up or the cattle dip being built means that the committee has not "eaten the funds" as one respondent indicated.

sometimes happens. The most difficult kind of project to control is that which is long-term and open-ended. Some communities start with the idea of a project such as a dispensary or a maternity ward, begin collecting funds in a rather vague manner with the objective of starting the building when they have collected enough, and indulge more in wishful thinking than in concrete planning. This may go on for years with little or no progress being made. Financial arrangements are apt to be haphazard, and money is likely to slip through fingers.

A problem which, if not ubiquitous, is certainly not uncommon is "skimming" or pilfering of funds or supplies. Examples would be a few iron sheets for the headmaster's house while the classrooms are being roofed or a kickback for a committee chairman when purchases of stone or sand are being made. A related problem is shortchanging of supplies, such as cement, on the part of unscrupulous contractors or workmen.

The required use of bank accounts for Harambee projects has made financial management on a fair and sound basis easier to accomplish than has been the case in the past. Nevertheless, the honest use of funds depends to a great extent on the reliability of the project committee, and, in particular, on the project committee chairman and the Assistant Chief of the Sublocation. In those instances where the "skimming" is not kept within limits found tolerable by the community, it is the rare community which takes action to address the problem. Among more than 80 projects visited in the six Locations, there was only one instance encountered in which members of the community, in this case parents associated with a school, had indicated their dissatisfaction with its management and requested new sponsorship for the institution.

There are opportunities for fostering better management practices within these committees. There are also ways to begin institutionalizing committees representative of broad sections of the community and to give these committees new functions. One example can be found in Kisiara where many committees have a geographically-based membership which includes all the villages involved in a project. These committees seem to function effectively, representing the interests of the various sections of the population and carrying the support of the community with them. Thus, the committees are not comprised of a coterie of friends of the Assistant Chief as sometimes happens. In several cases, these committees function almost as a council which can advise the Assistant Chief and which can bring to him the views of persons residing in different parts of the Sublocation. In some cases these committees have served virtually as tax assessors, determining

the funds required from residents on an individual basis as their share of support for community services. This is not a widespread phenomenon. It is, however, an important step away from the centralization of power in the hands of the Chiefs and Assistant Chiefs at the local level, and the beginning of a broader-based authority advising the Assistant Chief and speaking on behalf of the community.

In some communities there is a developing nucleus of social infrastructure. These various groups, organizations and committees begin to support one another in a variety of ways. Churches, for example, have a history of support for the construction of schools. Women's groups have made financial contributions to the construction of dispensaries or churches. Secondary schools have sponsored teenage activities such as 4-K Clubs. A women's group in Weithaga is planning to open a library in its social hall. A women's group in Kisiara is operating a posho mill, a service provided to the community on a commercial basis. The Coffee Cooperatives in Kyeni have helped finance two secondary schools. Slowly a new social infrastructure is emerging and beginning to operate in ways beneficial to broad sections of the community. This seems to be happening most particularly in areas which are more affluent and developed. Among the six Locations, Weithaga stands out as the one in which there is the greatest strengthening of social institutions and organizations within the local community. Contrary to what some analysts have suggested, economic development does not seem to be diminishing those ties, but rather seems to be enhancing them.

4. Attitudinal Change

Clearly important attitudinal changes on the part of the rural population have come about in regard to community projects developed through Harambee efforts. The majority of respondents see Harambee as a viable means for providing basic needs such as water supply, health services and schools. This attitude exists, according to respondents, primarily because they have experienced the benefits of these services, and they are eager to obtain more of them for themselves and their families.

Discussions with project committees attest to an initial conservatism regarding some projects, followed by a later enthusiasm of almost overwhelming proportions. For example, in Mbiri, the Chief and some Assistant Chiefs struggled in barazas to persuade the population that cattle dips would be beneficial to them. Many did not want to take a chance on them and opposed the building of dips. Five years after the dips have been in operation, many people in several of Mbiri's Sublocations are enthusiastically experiencing the benefits of the dips and are increasing their purchases of cross-breed and grade cattle. However, without the leadership and persistence of the Chief and Assistant Chiefs in the relevant sublocations, such benefits would not be forthcoming.

Another similar example comes from Soin. The Chief and various field officers struggled in the late sixties and early seventies to persuade the residents to plant sugar cane. It was a difficult job and they spent long hours at barazas trying to convince people of the merits of sugar cane farming for the purpose of increasing their cash income. Now, there is virtually runaway enthusiasm for growing sugarcane in Soin and the nearby sugar factory cannot handle the supply of cane coming from the area. Respondents in that Location, furthermore, are very interested in devising self-help groups for sugar cane cultivation, and several such groups are already operating successfully.

There is indeed a momentum operating for self-help projects. It is generated by several factors. These include the efforts of national leaders to encourage the rural population to participate in development efforts. They include the widespread ownership of radios and the attention given to public speeches and news events which link rural communities with outside areas. Perhaps most important, however, is the role of the Assistant Chief and Chief of an area. It is evident that in some Locations and Sublocations these officials

have been instrumental in fostering development efforts. In many cases they actually initiate development programmes; in some cases they merely reflect the interests of the community but move effectively to see that community concerns lead to action. In one Sublocation in Kyeni, for example, there were enough Standard 7 students who passed the CPE in 1977, but who were not admitted to government schools, to begin four Form I classes with only students from that Sublocation. Parents in this community are very interested in establishing a day secondary school, and the Assistant Chief is attempting to facilitate and organize this endeavor.

Thus, it is clear that the Assistant Chiefs play a key role in initiating development efforts, in fostering interest and enthusiasm, and in responding to the concerns of the community. As the present administrative arrangements now exist, without a competent Assistant Chief who is motivated by a genuine concern for his community, little of benefit happens in the area. Should the Assistant Chief be unconcerned, unmotivated or inclined to place personal interests before public ones, a situation not only stagnant but exceedingly detrimental to the community can develop. The mechanisms for change existing outside the persons of the Chief and Assistant Chief are few, and are only now beginning to develop in a still marginal way in some of the more affluent Locations.

The centralization of power at the local ^{level} and the personalization of much that is official business leads to an unwillingness on the part of the general public to criticize publically when there is dissatisfaction with the conduct of projects. Evidence from this study shows that only in the more affluent areas with higher levels of education and somewhat greater experience in projects, were people becoming willing to assert themselves and to question the actions of a committee or its leadership. This willingness is both limited and tenuous.

In sum, Harambee projects are not, at present, providing widespread scope for the development of initiative, self-reliance and organizational skills at the local level.

Initiative tends to come from Government officials, and committee work is often centralized in the hands of a few more affluent committee members. Nevertheless, project committees are structures in which it is possible to make improvements, and these structures have stature and long-term function within the community. A thoughtful effort to regulate the work of these committees, perhaps at the District level, should yield new benefits which would enhance the planning, decision-making and evaluative mechanisms

of the Harambee project committees and ensure that they provide broader organizational experience of a higher calibre to residents of the community.

Summary Observations

The data from this study of the Harambee movement in six locations show that both contributors and benefactors come from a broad range of socio-economic groups. Interviews with project committees and local-level officials, as well as with respondents to the questionnaire, have shown that many aspects of committee function, membership and style of management are quite similar in all the Locations. The data have revealed, however that there are some interesting differences among the Locations in the particular types of Harambee-initiated projects, and in their performance.

In 1976, Winans and Haugerud, using District level data, suggested that prior levels of development substantially affect self-help activity⁷. Table 12 provides supporting evidence at the Locational level for their findings. The magnitude of funds raised in the six Locations between 1971 and 1978 is substantially higher for the more affluent Locations than for the poorer ones.

The Winans and Haugerud study further indicates that in 1967 project frequency was highest in areas with good land potential and high population densities, but by 1972, the reverse was true. They suggest that Harambee may be contributing to a regional equalization of services, particularly educational opportunity. Their district-level data indicated that self-help activity is tapering off in many of the more developed areas and therefore, "if this trend continues, self-help activity would contribute to the equalization of development level between the regions of Kenya."⁸

Data collected in the six Locations suggest that the trend noted by Winans and Haugerud may not be continuing throughout the '1970's. Total, cumulative contributions in the 1971-1978 period are significantly higher in the three more prosperous Locations as Table 12 indicates. The number of projects varies between 18 and 39 in each of the six Locations. Average involvement per

7. Winans and Haugerud, op.cit p. 16.

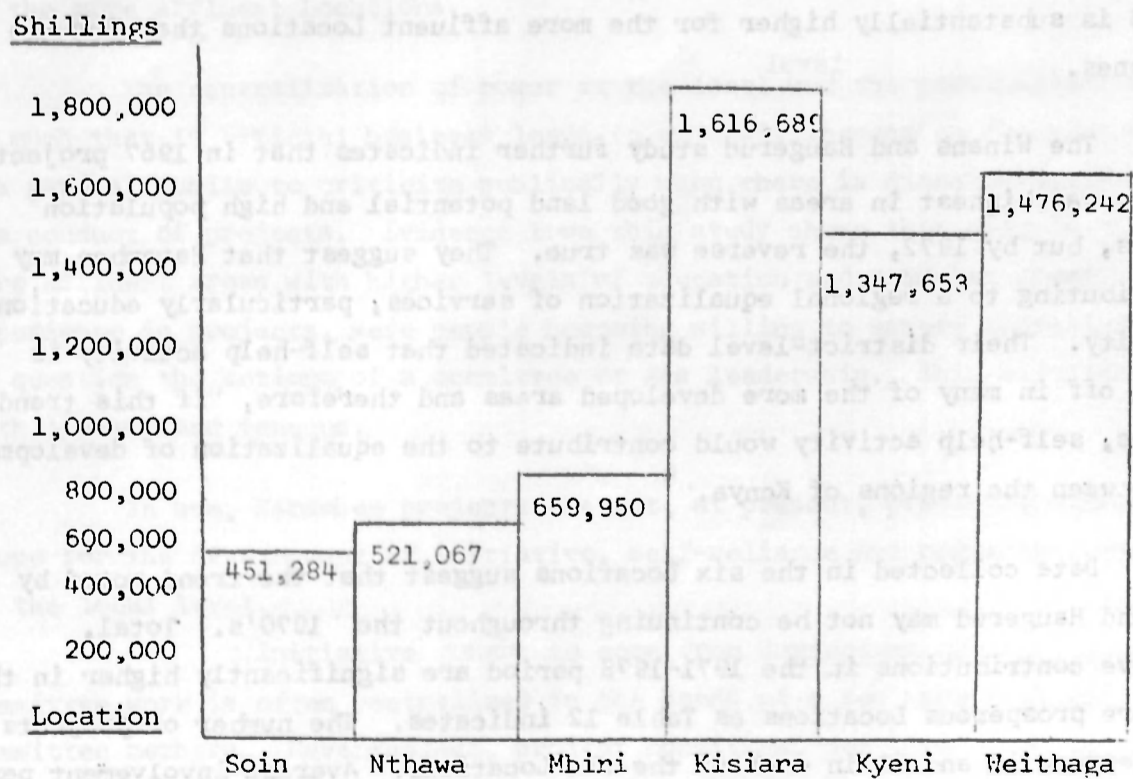
8. ibid. p. 24.

household interviewed varies from 1.5 in the poorest Location to 3.4 in the second most affluent with modal contribution levels at 2 and 6 respectively.

Recent evidence suggests that Harambee projects are not decreasing in the more developed areas. It also suggests, however, that Harambee is an important means for poorer communities to provide a minimum of services and opportunities primarily through their own efforts. Hence, in one sense geographical inequities are decreasing. Basic medical facilities or primary schools are increasingly available throughout the country. On the other hand, the more affluent areas are not standing still; many are involved in a continual effort to extend and upgrade the quality of their services. The variation in Harambee project choice and performance suggests that inequities among Locations will remain, though the "floor", the basic minimum of facilities and opportunities available in any community, will rise. Several factors emerge as important explanations of these differences in Harambee activity and performance among Locations.

Table 12

Harambee Funds Raised for a Five-Year Period Between 1971 and 1978*



* All Locations had gaps in their statistical records, but it was possible to gather information for a five year period for each Location between the years 1971-1978.

1. As projects become more diverse and complex, the percentage of contributors benefiting personally from the project is likely to decrease. There is considerable evidence from the six Locations to support this conclusion. Table 13 shows the percentage of contributors benefiting from all their major contributions.

Table 13.

Percentage of Contributors Benefiting from all Major Contributions

Kyani	62%
Nthawa	23%
Kisiara	63%
Soin	94%
Mbiri	17%
Weithaga	29%

Soin has the highest percentage of contributors receiving benefits from all major contributions. This is in part because it has focused on primary schools and cattle dips and has undertaken few projects with long term, open-ended commitments. Mbiri has the lowest rate of respondents benefiting from all major contributions, and it is followed quite closely by Nthawa and Withaga. In Mbiri and Weithaga people are working on long-term projects such as churches or dispensaries for which a great deal of money is needed, and progress is slow. Mbiri as well has collected for several projects, a village polytechnic and a social hall, which, while not officially declared "abandoned," nevertheless have made little progress.

In general those communities focusing on primary education show widespread benefits for educational projects. Benefits narrow as communities begin to concentrate on secondary schools. Most families send some children to primary school for several years or more and consequently get some return on contributions to building primary schools. However, families may contribute to the construction of a day secondary school regardless of whether or not they have children in the school and in such situations the returns on contributions to educational projects will be lower. They ranged from 44% to 75% in those Locations, while percentages of contributors receiving educational benefits were over 85% in Locations concentrating on primary schools.

The complexity of projects is also an important factor in determining how rapidly benefits are received, and, to some extent, the percentage of people enjoying the benefit. For example, building maternity hospital facilities is a more expensive and complicated undertaking than building a dispensary.

A primary school classroom can be built with technical expertise obtainable within the local area, but a new laboratory facility requires specialized knowledge. A communal water supply requires more complex technology and organizational skill than does a cattle dip. In general, those Locations which have been involved in the least complex projects show the highest rate of contributors receiving benefits from all their contributions. Those at the other end of the spectrum have become involved in a variety of complex, open-ended, long-term projects.

2. Internal Politics have a major effect upon the level and performance of Harambee projects. Among the six Locations, there was considerable difference in local-level politics. Two in particular are characterized by internal politics which were significantly affecting levels of local development through Harambee efforts. In one Kyeni, there have been exceedingly tense conflicts over location, cost and maintenance of coffee factories and the division of profits and responsibilities with the consequence that the coffee society has splintered and cooperation is minimal. In the other, Mbiri, factional politics at the Locational level have become intricately involved in the competition between Mr. J.G. Kiano, the MP from the area, and Mr. K. Matiba, the principal contender for power and position. This rivalry has led to high pressures to contribute to specific projects, often with relatively low returns being enjoyed by the contributors.

3. The relationship with important leaders or patrons affects the performance of self-help projects. Among the Locations included in the study, there was considerable difference in established relationships with the MP of the area or with other patrons whose status and position might bring benefits to the community. The relationship clearly serves mutual needs: the patron brings funds, organizational skill and motivation to the local community. In return, he acquires their political support and is accorded power, position and affection within the community. Such a relationship can lead to significant levels of outside assistance for the community and to high rates of project completion resulting from internal levels of motivation and contribution as well as increased levels of outside aid.

4. The nature of local-level leadership affects the level of Harambee activity and the performance of the projects. In this paper the important roles of the Chief and Assistant Chief in local development efforts have already been discussed. Those Locations in which projects have been rapidly and successfully completed have not lacked unified and dedicated leadership. Those in which projects have failed or lagged have often been characterized by factionalism or inadequate levels of leadership exercised vis-a-vis development projects.

5. Some Harambee projects are more easily undertaken by the more densely populated areas than by sparsely populated areas. The capital costs of constructing some types of projects, such as a dispensary or a cattle dip, are relatively constant, given some variation for distances from which building materials must be transported and for type of materials used. Thus the more densely populated areas can spread funding requirements among a much larger group of households to be served by the particular facility than can the more sparsely populated areas. Hence, it is sometimes the case, that households in the less populated areas pay more for construction of a project than do those households in the more populous areas for a comparable project. This accounts in some measure for the greater levels of coercion experienced by some respondents in the poorer Locations which are less densely populated, than in the wealthier Locations. It also accounts for the greater willingness in the more affluent Locations to overlook non-payment on the part of its poorer inhabitants.

6. Center-periphery relationships affect level and performance of self-help activity. Obviously all the Locations studied are affected by their relations with the center and by their ability to obtain and utilize funds, personnel and other resources from Nairobi. Of the six studied, however, Mbiri is the one most clearly being drawn into a relationship of underdevelopment vis-a-vis Nairobi. There is developing in Mbiri a polarization based on the low productivity of the land, a large number of households on subsistence agriculture and a withdrawal of labour to the cities.

The above six points suggest an intriguing mix of political/economic and organizational factors which shape local development efforts. It is useful to keep them in mind while returning to the two queries posed at the outset of this paper in order to link the preliminary findings of the study to the broad context in which they are set.

The first related to the question of locally-initiated projects as a means of resource distribution, diminishing class and social distinctions, providing benefits across social and economic strata and increasing the community's levels of welfare and productivity. Evidence from this six-Location study of Harambee projects suggests that in communities where most are smallholders and where there is an egalitarian rather than a feudal heritage, local residents are quite capable of selecting projects with broadly based benefits. They are also capable of organizing the type and amount of contribution so that individual contributions are equitably determined. Some communities do so by a flat per household assessment; others organize payments on the basis of ability to pay, a method which seems to be quite popular within those communities.

The communities studied have also been able to ensure equitable management of projects so that there is minimal discrimination in favor of some members of the community. In fact, discriminatory practices were mentioned by respondents in only one Location and that was in regard to ill-managed cattle dips.

Recognizing that educational projects tend to favor the poorest quintile and economic projects tend to bring greater benefits to the wealthy quintile, it is possible to state that in the six Locations studied, there were no biases built into the Harambee system which consistently favoured the wealthier members of a community over the poorer members in terms of contribution levels or benefits received. If anything, there is a bias in favour of the poorest quintile in self-help projects, for in the sample surveyed, 26% of the poorest never contributed to self-help projects and of that figure, 65% (17 of 26 respondents from the six Locations) benefited from one or more Harambee projects. This is very close to the 68% of non-contributors in the total sample who received benefits from Harambee projects, but non-contributors represent, as a group, only 14% of the total sample. These figures, as well as other evidence presented in this paper, suggest that Harambee projects do play a role in resource distribution. Funds as well as labour are directed from individual sources to community benefits in which the poorer strata partake as well as the higher income groups.

Second, in that ways does Harambee develop initiative self reliance and organizational capability? Evidence from the six Locations suggests that effective decision-making tends to be concentrated in the hands of a few people within a project committee. These may include the Assistant Chief, the committee chairman, and other officials, and perhaps a few senior male, more affluent members of the

community. Participation in planning and decision-making by the remaining committee members and by the community at large tends to be minimal. Members of the community are apt to be informed of decisions by leaders and asked to ratify these decisions, as opposed to being included in a process whereby these decisions are made. A critical approach toward the functioning of projects, a willingness to determine how they might better serve the community, and in general, an evaluative attitude toward community services are not commonly found. Instead, an acquiescence to the suggestions of community leaders and a high level of cooperative acceptance of an existing situation and its demands or inconveniences are widespread.

Thus, levels of development and social change within a Sublocation depend very heavily on the quality of leadership it possesses. Locally initiated projects and the committees which organize and manage them are obviously characterized by modes of participation and involvement typical of the area. If there are fundamentally centralized patterns of leadership existing at the local levels, then decentralization may lead merely to devolution of power to new hands without effectively broadening the mechanisms of participation or providing new opportunities for a wider rural constituency to have a voice.

In sum, the preliminary evidence from this study suggests that Harambee does constitute a redistributive mechanism operating within local communities. While heavily dependent on local official leadership, the committee structure does provide some limited organizational experience and opportunity for the rural population to develop some management skills. At present these experiences are enjoyed primarily, although not exclusively, by the more affluent rural socio-economic groups. Whether there is interest on the part of the rural public in broader committee participation is a moot point. Most of the respondents interviewed seemed quite willing to let others handle planning and management of projects. However, there was a clear interest in developing new kinds of self-help projects responsive to emerging interests and concerns, and there was a clear consensus on the value of Harambee efforts as an instrument for local development.

Appendix 1

Methodology

Four methods were used for gathering data in the Locations under investigation. These include the following:

1. Questionnaires were administered by research assistants to 500 residents of the Locations. The questionnaires focused on a) participation of respondents in Harambee projects both as contributor (cash, labour, materials, or committee involvement) and as benefitor, b) attitudes toward various local development issues, and c) personal background of the respondent including such facts as land ownership, organizational involvement, educational level, employment, standard of living. These questionnaires were administered according to sampling procedures based on stratification of the population to be interviewed.

2. Information was collected in interviews/meetings with more than 80 project committees and 50 self-help groups, concerning the work of the committees or groups, the successes and problems of the project and the role of the project within the Location.

3. Interviews with a variety of District, Locational and Sublocational officials were conducted to ascertain their views about local development concerns, and self-help activities, and to obtain specific information about economic and social change within their area.

4. Statistical information concerning the six Locations was collected from quarterly reports, monthly reports and annual reports found in the District Community Development Offices. Information was collected whenever possible for the years 1971-1978. It is important to note that most Districts do not have complete records of activity in the Locations for that period. However, cross-checking data from a variety of sources has made it possible to develop a picture of self-help activities within each of the Locations for the period specified.

Appendix 2.

Background Information on Locations Included in the Study

<u>Location</u>	Soin	Nthawa	Mbiri	Kisiara	Kyeni	Weithaga
<u>District</u>	Kericho	Embu	Murang'a	Kericho	Embu	Murang'a
<u>Province</u>	Rift V.	Eastern	Central	Rift V.	Eastern	Central
<u>Area in Square Kilometers</u>	227	369.8	48	223	99	50
<u>Population-1969 Census</u>	10,500	11,085	12,707	38,800	21,427	20,154
<u>Population Density Per Square Kilometer</u>	46	30	264	174	263	403
<u>Major Tribe</u>	Kipsigis Mbeere		Kikuyu	Kipsigis	Embu	Kikuyu
<u>Major Cash Crop (Established)</u>				tea maize	coffee tea	coffee
<u>Major Cash Crop (Beginning)</u>	sugar cane cotton		coffee			
			sunflower seed			

Poorer..... Richer

Appendix 3.

Comparisons of Cash and Labour Contributions

among the Wealthiest Quintiles in Six Locations

<u>Location</u>	<u>Nature of Contribution</u>			<u>No Contribution</u>
	<u>Cash/Labour</u>	<u>Cash only</u>	<u>Labour Only</u>	
Kyeni	40%	55%	0	5%
Nthawa	55%	30%	0	15%
Kisiara	80%	20%	0	0
Soin	50%	30%	0	20%
Mbiri	50%	45%	0	5%
Weithaga	75%	25%	0	0

Comparisons of Cash and Labour Contributions

among the Poorest Quintiles in Six Locations

<u>Location</u>	<u>Nature of Contribution -</u>			<u>No Contribution</u>
	<u>cash/labour</u>	<u>cash only</u>	<u>labour only</u>	
Kyeni	25%	45%	0	30%
Nthawa	50%	10%	5%	35%
Kisiara	70%	10%	0	20%
Soin	40%	10%	0	50%
Mbiri	80%	10%	0	10%
Weithaga	70%	10%	0	20%