RURAL DEVELOPMENT THROUGH LOCAL INITIATIVES: OBSERVATIONS ON KENYA'S EXPERIENCE WITH HARAMBEE PROJECTS IN SELECTED RURAL COMMUNITIES

By
Barbara Thomas

DISCUSSION PAPER NO. 270

INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
P.O. BOX 30197
NAIROBI, KENYA

APRIL, 1980

IDS/DP 270

Rural Development through Local Initiatives: Observations on 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 resource distribution, 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 organizational 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 is not characterized by an overall pattern of discrimination against the poor, and that costs and benefits are distributed among all socio-economic groups. Contribution levels are higher among more affluent socio-economic groups while benefits are enjoyed across socio-economic strata. Benefits accruing particularly to higher or lower socio-economic groups vary according to type of project.

Although heavily dependent on local official leadership, the Harambee project committee structure does provide some limited organizational experience as well as an 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.

Rural Development through Local Initiatives: Observations on Kenya's Experience with Harambee Projects in Selected Rural Communities

INTRODUCTION

Research Issues, Questions, and Methodology

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 governments 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, 1979, 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.

Several important concerns underly the 1979-1983 Plan. First is an emphasis on ensuring widespread participation in the development process in order to faciliate improvement in the welfare of all people. Second is an effort to decentralize patterns and levels of

decision-making and implementation so that they will involve more directly those who are affected by the Plan's policies and programmes. Third, an underlying concern about the social impact of development involves an examination of new forms of behaviour and new socio-economic patterns emerging in the development process.

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. This movement is defined here as the process whereby rural development projects are undertaken by communities on the basis of some sort of community or group consensus and initiative. 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 some questions concerning the impact of locally initiated and implemented projects and their potential contribution to national development.

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, an equitable means of resource distribution, 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?

This paper constitutes a preliminary examination of selected portions of data collected for a study of Harambee in Kenya. The hypothesis to be tested in the broader study 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. The study focuses on issues related to local participation, mobilization of local knowledge, resources and skills for development purposes, and decentralization of development efforts. Data has been collected which will permit analysis of:

1) the role of patrons in Harambee projects; 2) the nature and extent of the transfer of resources from centre to periphery for Harambee projects, including issues of regional equity; 3) the role of both the Central Government and donor

agencies in stimulating rural change; 4) the role of local elites in rural development; and 5) the relative effectiveness of various types of projects. These issues, however, will not be considered in this paper, but will be discussed in subsequent papers.

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, 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. 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 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. 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, No.1, 1974; or Philip M. Mbithi and Rasmus Rasmusson, 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.

1. LOCALLY INITIATED AND IMPLEMENTED PROJECTS AS THEY RELATE TO RESOURCE DISTRIBUTION.

One of the major criticism directed toward a policy of encouraging locally-initiated and implemented development projects is that such projects are easily misdirected and miused. 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.[2]

Evidence from the six Locations in Embu, Murang'a and Kericho Districts suggests that Harambee projects are a means for drawing higher levels of resources from the more affluent socio-economic groups than the poorest groups, and using these resources 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

1. Cash Contributions

a) Levels of cash contributions in the sample investigated Table 1 summarized 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

2. See Martin Hill "Self Help in Education and Development: A Social Anthropological Study in Kitui, Kenya" 1974 (cyclostyled report); and 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.

Table 1 Six Locations: Composite of Contribution Levels of Poorest Quintile and Richest Quintile of Total Sample for a Five Year Period

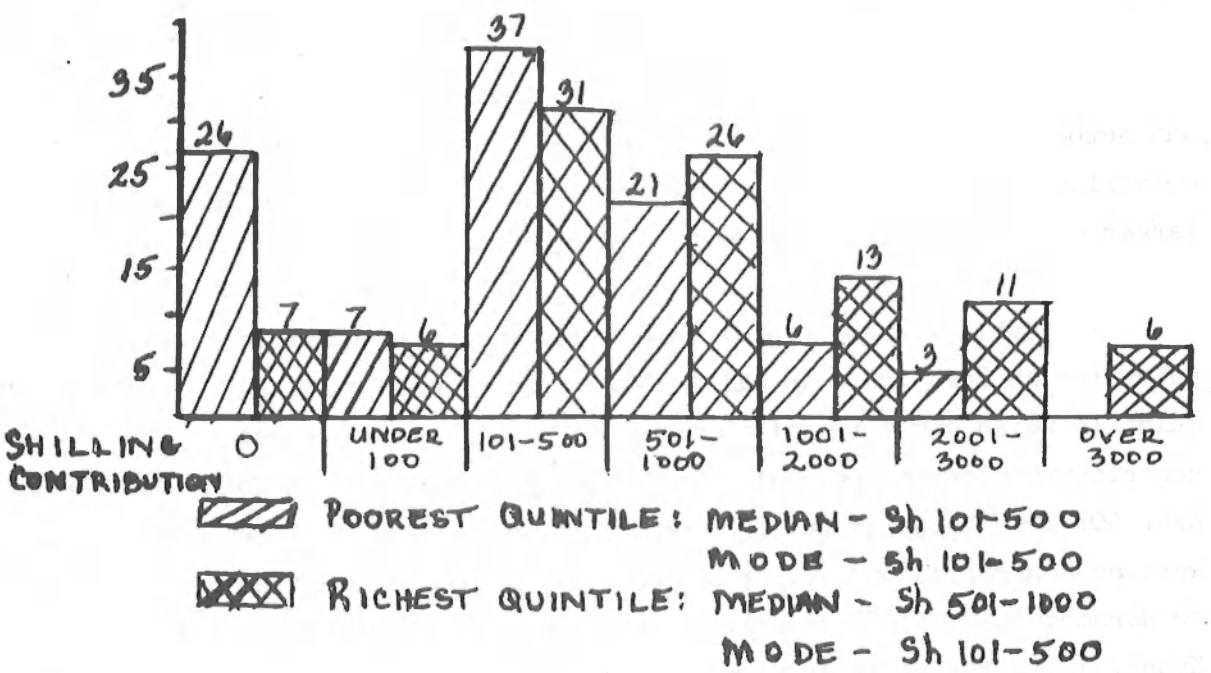
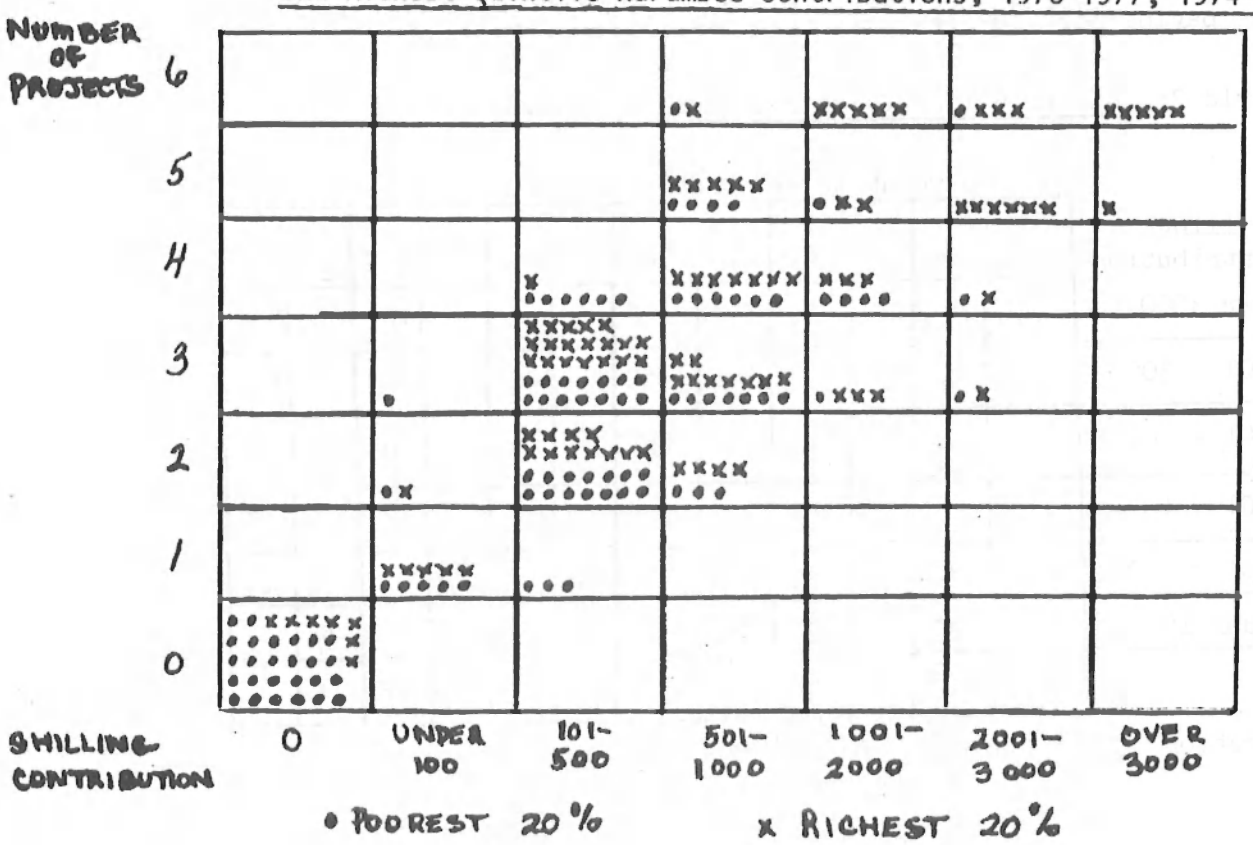


Table 2 Six Locations: Composite Summary of Poorest Quintile and Richest Quintile Harambee Contributions, 1973-1977, 1974-1978.



Ksh. 2001-3000 range. These figures on contribution levels do not include the school building funds which have been a de facto Harambee contribution, although they are not labelled as such and are not included in the Self-Help Statistics compiled at the District level by the Ministry of Housing and Social Services.

Table 2 is a scattergram which indicates the size of contributions 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.

Table 3 shows the distribution of contributions of the top and bottom quintiles by Location. 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 zero in Soin Location to Ksh. 501-1000 in Weithaga. In two of the three most affluent Locations, there were no households in the top quintile which 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. As Table 3 indicates, data from each individual Location support the conclusion that within the Locations, the wealthier strata are paying more for projects than the poorer strata.

Table 3: Distribution of Contributions by Location:

Shillings Contributions	The Top Quintile and the Bottom Quintile, per cent											
	P	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	Soin		Nthawa		Mbiri		Kisiara		Kyeni		Weithaga	

Poorer ——— Richer

B = Bottom Quintile

T = Top Quintile

A more precise understanding of the relationship between wealth and contribution levels can be developed by comparing measures of wealth and relative contribution sizes for the top and bottom quintiles. Since accurate assessments of income are extremely difficult to obtain through single interviews of rural residents, a proxy measure has been used. This is a measure of the size of land holdings. For each Location, average size of land holding and average size of cash contributions for a five-year period have been computed for the top and bottom quintiles. The resulting ratios, shown in Table 4 indicate that in all but the wealthiest location, Weithaga, the ratios of contribution levels between poor and rich exceed the ratios of differentiation in size of land holding. This, of course is a rough measure, but it does suggest that at least in terms of cash contributions, Harambee is mildly redistributive in five of the six Locations studied.

Table 4: Comparison of Average Size of Land Holding and Average Size of Harambee Contributions for the Richest 20% and Poorest 20%

	Soin	Nthawa	Mbiri	Kisiara	Kyeni	Weithaga
Ratio of average size of landholding Richest: poorest	3.8:1	2.3:1	1.4:1	1.5:1	2:1	2.5:1
Ratio of average size of contribution for 5-year period richest:poorest	5:1	2.5:1	3:1	3:1	3:1	1:1

The foregoing evidence indicates that the wealthier segments of the population within the Location are paying more for self-help projects than the poorer segments, both absolutely and relatively. 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 concern leads to a consideration 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 buildings, upgrading and maintenance of primary schools. In order to implement programmes 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 to a high of Ksh.210 per year per family. Some families have not sent

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 schools in late 1978.

In examining questionnaires from the 26% in the bottom quintile 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. Among those respondents, 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 2% of the non-contributors in the lowest quintile were being effectively banned from sending their children to school because of what was in reality a mandatory Harambee contribution. This would be 7% of the poorest quintile. This situation occured only in the three poorest Locations.

b) Assessment/Contribution 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 graduated tax; 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 not entirely 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 graduate assessment by imposed according to the wealth of the household. In general, the poorest communities almost always use a flat rate, whereas the more prosperous communities sometimes impose a scaled or graduated rate of payment.

c) Levels of Coercion. Problems of forced "contributions" have received some publicity in recent months.[3] 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. Evidence suggests, however, that the more prosperous communities tend to ignore or overlook instances of non-payment, particularly if the household is poor, whereas the poorer communities are more likely to take action against recalcitrant contributors.

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 embarassment 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 5: Percentage of Project Contributions for which Respondents Experienced Some Measure of Coercion

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

3. 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.

Clearly those Locations with a higher percentage of people on subsistence or living a marginal existence show 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.

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.

Is there a legal basis for the application of coercion in order to obtain Harambee "contributions"? Clearly there is not. One would not find among Kenya's legal statutes the basis for forced contributions. In fact, Attorney General Njonjo has recently reprimanded District Commissioners and Chiefs who have, by administrative fiat, forced people to make Harambee donations.[4] However, in many rural communities Harambee development exists in the interface between traditional customs or morales and statutory law. If the community has approved a project, the Chief, Sub-chief and/or project committee will act as if the force of the community, if not of the law, is behind them.

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 undertaken.

4. Statement by Attorney General Njonjo quoted in the Daily Nation, July 26, 1979.

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 contructing and maintaining semi-permanent 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, usually the women, are organized to do the agricultural tasks required according to season. 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.

b) Levels of labour contributions in the six Locations. One of the criticisms of the Harambee movement has concerned its use of community labour.[5] 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 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 6 shows the breakdown of contributions

---

5. P. Mbithi and C. BArnes, " A Conceptual Analysis of Approaches to Rural Development," Discussion Paper, No. 204, 1974.

for these two quintiles for cash and labour contributions. The cash category includes materials. These figures suggest that those who contribute labout 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.

Table 6: Contributions to Harambee Projects by Most Affluent Quintile and Least Affluent Quintile in Six Locations

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

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 over a period of time is sufficient input to a widely shared community responsibility. Typically, a woman with primary school children may contributed about 20 to 30 hours a year to the school, spending approximately ten mornings assisting with a variety of tasks. Costs to parents of such an arrangement are primarily in the alternative uses of time. 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:

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 major contributions which have been made by the respondents inberviewed and then to assess the percentage of contributions for which they have actually received benefits. Table 7 shows the percentage of contributions from the wealthiest and poorest quintiles for which the contributors have received benefits.

Table 7: Percentage of Individual Project Contributions Which are Benefiting the Contributors.

Location	Total Sample	Richest 20%	Poorest 20%
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%

Looking at the average given at the bottom of Table 7, it is evident that approximately $\frac{3}{4}$ of the contributions made by the total sample, by the richest 20%, and by the poorest 20% are yielding benefits. While there is considerable variation among the Locations, within each of them (except Nthawa) the percentage points vary little between the top and bottom quintiles. This 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. The family which is sick often benefits more from the nearby clinic

than the family which is rarely sick. 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 agricultural 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

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, youth 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 8 and 9 list water projects separately and omit domestic projects.

Evidence from the six Locations indicates that the distribution of contributions to various types of projects 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 8 shows the allocation of contributions according to project type for these two quintiles. Table 9 shows the percentages of benefits being received from contributions made to different categories of projects by the top and bottom quintiles.

Table 8: Project Choice for Major Contributions from the Top and Bottom Quintiles

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

Table 9: Percentage of Contributions Yielding Benefits

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

Table 9 shows 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 according to project type in each Location reveal remarkably similar percentages of contributions yielding benefits to both affluent and poor contributors.[6] In only one, Mbiri, are there significant differences in

6. Appendix 4 shows the percentage of contributions by project type which are yielding benefits to the top and bottom quintiles in each Location.

several project categories between the contributions yielding benefits to the top and bottom quintiles. 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 Mbiri which has already been mentioned.[7]

Benefits from water projects show substantial differences for contributions made by the most affluent and poorest quintiles. 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.

In connection with an assessment of the distribution of benefits in the six Locations studied, it is useful to look at one additional group: the non-contributors. Table 10 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 10: Benefits from Harambee Projects Enjoyed by Non-Contributors

Respondents	% Represented by Non-Contributors	% of Non-Contributors Enjoying Benefits from One or More Harambee Projects
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 $3\frac{1}{2}$ 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.

7. Mbiri 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 the development of factional politics within the area. These are important factors affecting Harambee activity and performance. For a few brief comments on Mbiri, see pages 29 and 30.

3. 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.

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. Such benefits, if difficult to quantify, are very important to the villagers involved, and were mentioned by many respondents to the questionnaire.

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. 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 Muchugucha. This group consists of 240 women who raise Ksh. 4800 each month through individual

Ksh 20 contributions. This money is then divided among eight members with each receiving Ksh 600. The majority of women are putting the money toward the purchase of grade or cross-breed cows.

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. According to the respondents interviewed in Kisiara Location, earnings from milk range from Ksh.100 per month to Ksh 800 per month. Clearly, in Kisiara Harambee efforts and Government services are complementing one another in ways advantageous to the local population.

Such linkages between Government support services and many Harambee efforts are, however, often inadequate or non-existent. The kind of integrated planning necessary to build a viable socio-economic infrastructure has frequently been lacking. In fact, in one District, only recently has there been any dialogue between District level officers of Ministries such as health, education, and agriculture, and those of the Community Development Office who regulate Harambee endeavors. A consistent effort to coordinate Harambee activities with the programmes of various Ministries could enhance the effectiveness of Harambee projects and ensure their utility in terms of national objectives.

4. 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. At the higher levels, Harambee contributions also compete with purchase of various luxury consumer items.

Respondents 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. Eight-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 endeavors is clearly evident among many of the respondents interviewed, as is a willingness to support them. However, very real questions remain concerning the machanisms for implementing these projects.

The first part 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 problems of rural development.

II. HARAMBEE AS A MEANS FOR FOSTERING LOCAL-LEVEL INITIATIVE, SELF-RELIANCE AND ORGANIZATIONAL CAPACITY.

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. Attention is 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.

A. OVERALL LEVELS OF RESPONDENT 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 II shows the percentage of respondents who indicated they had been involved in planning and decision-making about projects.

Table II: Respondents Participating in Planning and Decision-making in Self-Help Projects

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

Of those who had been involved, an average of 32% were respondents in the top quintile. This figure varied by Location 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. Among 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. 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. It seems that the risks are somehow greater than the possibility of change, and the opportunities for improvement resulting from one person's complaints are slim. Hence, the respondents indicated relative uninvolvement in evaluation and related action concerning projects.

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.

It is useful to observe rates of committee participation among the respondents to the questionnaire. 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 memberships is corroborated by the interviews with project committees.

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. In one Location, Soin, there were no female respondents who had participated in the management of any organization or committee.

B. FUNCTIONING OF PROJECT COMMITTEES

The fact that a Location may have a variety of committees functioning within its boundaries means that there should be 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, Subloctional, 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.

I. 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, a retired teacher or a retired civil servant. 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 school committees. 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. In some cases, women serve on committees because of their own achievements and the position they themselves occupy in the community.

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 (Gikuyu, Embu, Meru, Association).

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. Of male members of committees, from 31% to 40% are in the top quintile. 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 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.

2. 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. It is a 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.

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, among nine members of one primary school committee in Kyeni Location, two were 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. 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 committees. Numerous linkages exist among these committees.

2. 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."[8] Consequently, even though a person may be a committee member, he or she does not necessarily have a significant opportunity to play a 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, some committees are characterized by a disturbing absence of planning skills. Grandiose schemes are developed, 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. There are cases in which projects have dragged on interminably because committees 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

8. Respondent, Mbiri Location, June, 1978

are used up and the process continues. 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.

C. 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 the particular community service.

The structure for management is there, but there are often shortcomings which hamper 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 the 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.

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 interest and support of an outside agency or institution provides added assurance that the money is being used properly. 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. Example 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.

There are opportunities for fostering better management practices within these committees. 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. Accounts of Harambee secondary schools must now be audited and submitted to the Provincial Education Board, an important step in upgrading the management of these schools. 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 ways to strengthen the institutionalization of Harambee committees, to give these committees broader development-related functions, and to modify or expand their roles. 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 on project-related issues. 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 to be requested 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 regard to specific issues.

In some communities there is a developing nucleus of social infra-structure. 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, churches, or nursery schools Secondary schools have sponsored 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. Economic development does not seem to be diminishing the support for a rural social infrastructure, but rather seems to be enhancing it.

In addition to local institutions which support development efforts, some national institutions assist Harambee projects and provide a critical level of support, leadership and management, assuring a high rate of success. The Karurumo Village Polytechnic in Kyeni Location, which is sponsored by the Salvation Army, is an excellent example of a Harambee project which has benefited from outside institutional support. CARE, a voluntary organization with a particular commitment to local-level participation in development through Harambee projects has fostered successful completion of many projects through material support and follow-up supervision of its use. Links with outside institutions or agencies, as well as with local ones, can be important factors in the effective implementation and management of projects.

D. 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.

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 is the role of the Assistant Chief and Chief of an area. It is evident that in many Locations and Sublocations these officials have been instrumental in fostering development efforts. Under present administrative arrangements, 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.

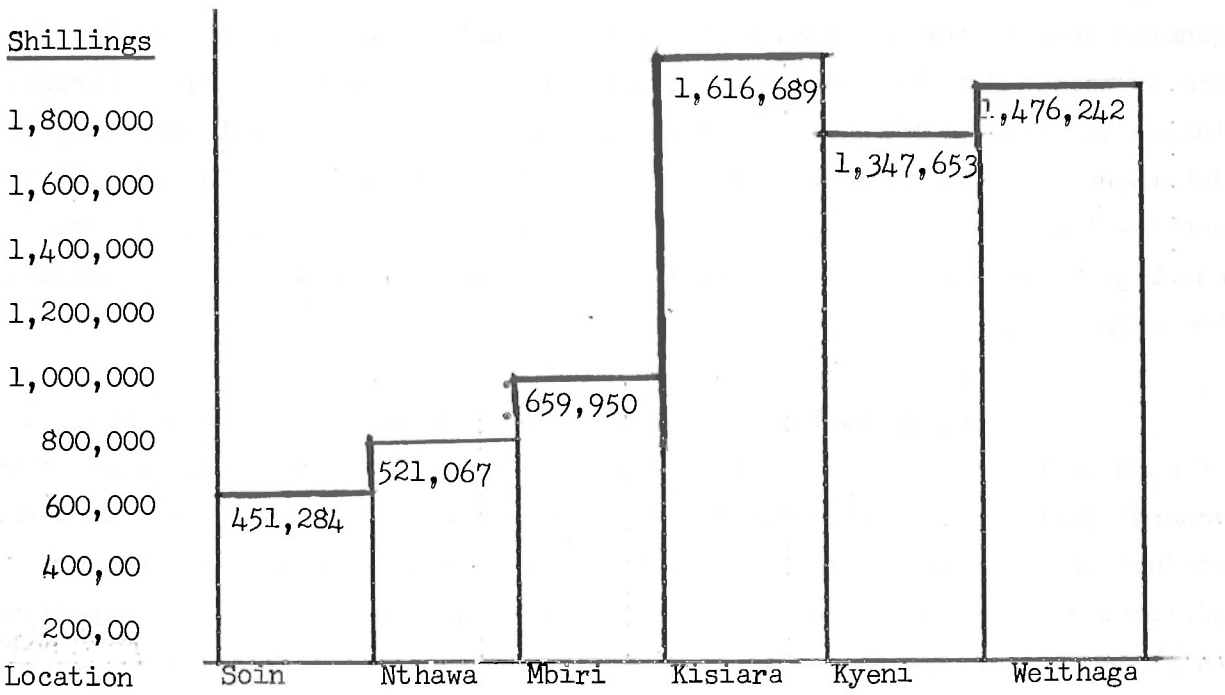
The centralization of power at the local level and the personalization of much that is official business leads to an unwillingness on the part of the general public to criticize publically when there is dissatisfaction with the conduct of projects. Evidence from this study shows that only in the more 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 Divisional 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

While this paper has focused on Harambee and socio-economic groups, the data have revealed that there are some interesting differences among the Locations in levels of Harambee activity, in the particular types of Harambee initiated projects, and in their performance. 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 household interviewed varies from 1.5 in the poorest Location to 3.4 poorest Location to 3.4 in the second most affluent with modal contribution levels at two and five respectively.

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.

Recent evidence suggests that Harambee projects are not decreasing in the more developed areas, as some analysts have observed.[9] It also suggests that Harambee is an important means for poorest communities to provide a minimum of services and opportunities primarily through their own efforts. Hence, in one

---

9. Winans and Haugerud, op. cit., p. 24

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.

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 observation. 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 are lower.

The complexity of projects is also an important factor in determining how rapidly benefits are received, and, to some extent, the proportion of contributors 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. In general, those Locations which have been involved in the least complex projects show the highest rate of contributors receiving benefits from 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 the 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. For [illegible] of a project than do those households in the more populous area 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 partially 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. Links with outside institutions and agencies, on a regularized basis, are likely to increase the chances for project success. Weithaga, Kyeni and Kisiara, the most affluent and developed Locations, have, to date, been most successful in forging such links. Of the six Locations studied, Mbiri is the one most clearly being drawn into a relationship of underdevelopment vis-a-vis Nairobi. There is in Mbiri a polarization based on the low productivity of the land, a large number of households on subsistence, and a withdrawal of labour to the cities. With the election approaching, Mssrs. Matiba and Kiano are bringing funds into Mbiri in support of Harambee projects, but until recently, Mbiri's relationship with Nairobi has drained it of resources.

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 question asked whether locally-initiated projects are an equitable means of resource distribution, providing benefits across social and economic strata and increasing the community's levels of welfare and productivity. Evidence from this study of Harambee projects suggests that in communities such as those under investigation where most are smallholders and where there is an egalitatian rather than a feudal heritage, local residents are quite capable of selecting projects with broadly based benefits. They are capable of organizing the type and amount of contribution so that individual contributions are equitably determined, and they can ensure equitable management of projects so that there is minimal discrimination in favor of some members of the community.

In the six Locations investigated, 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) benefits 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 fostering equitable resource distribution. Funds, labour, and material are directed from individual sources to community benefits in which the poorer strata partake as well as the higher income groups.

The second question asked in what ways Harambee develops 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 ahigh level of cooperative acceptance of an existing situation and its demands or inconveniences are widespread.

In sum, the preliminary evidence from this study suggests that Harambee does mobilize local resources for development and stimulate rural change for broad community benefit, thereby increasing that community's levels of welfare and productivity. While heavily dependent on local, official leadership, the committee structure provides some limited organizational experience and opportunity for the rural population to develop 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.

Finally, it is necessary to place Harambee within the context of Kenya's overall development efforts. Clearly the kinds of development projects

which have been undertaken by the Harambee are consistent with and supportive of national development priorities. The focus of Harambee on educational opportunities, medical services, water supply and rural economic infrastructure coincides with the current Five-Year Plan's emphasis on basic needs of Kenya's rural communities. While issues of timing, ordering of priorities, and geographical emphasis may exist, local development through Harambee does fit into national plan priorities. Moreover, the national Government and foreign donors contribute a relatively small percentage of the total Harambee effort. According to 1977 statistics, the Government and foreign aid contribution was six per cent of the total.[10] As an incentive to fund raising, Government seed money or "toping up" money is extremely important. Nevertheless, the potential for mobilizing resources in the rural areas clearly exists, as does a keen interest in improved community services. The nation is committed to Harambee as an approach to development. Of utmost importance, then, is ensuring its effectiveness. That necessitates forging the links between Harambee projects and other support structures, upgrading management procedures to ensure proper use of funds and effective implementation of projects, and fostering the leadership skills within the rural areas which will be capable of promoting effective and equitable development efforts.

---

10. Government of Kenya, Ministry of Housing and Social Services, Community Development Office, Annual Self-Help Statistics, All Kenya Statistics for 1977.

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 assistant 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 Sub-locational 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

Location	Soin	Nthawa	Mbiri	Kisiara	Kyeni	Weithaga
District	Kericho	Embu	Murang'a	Kericho	Embu	Murang'a
Province	Rift V.	Eastern	Central	Rift V.	Eastern	Central
Area in Square Kilometers	227	369.8	48	223	99	50
Population-1969 Census	10,500	11.085	12,707	38,800	21,427	20,154
Population Density Per Square Kilometer	46	30	264	174	263	403
Major Tribe	Kipsigis	Mbere	Kikuyu	Kipsigis	Embu	Kikuyu
Major Cash Crop (Established)				tea maize	coffee tea	coffee
Major Cash Crop (Beginning)	Sugarcane	cotton sunflower seed	coffee			

Poorer.....Richer

Appendix 3 Comparisons of Cash and Labour Contributions among the Wealthiest Quintiles in Six Locations

Location	Nature of Contribution			No Contribution
	Cash/Labour	Cash	Labour Only	
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

Appendix 3 Cont:

Comparisons of Cash and Labour Contributions among the Poorest Quintiles in Six Locations

Location	Nature of Contribution			No Contribution
	cash/labour	cash only	Labour only	
Kyeni	25%	45%	0	30%
Nthawa	50%	10%	5%	35%
Kisiara	70%	10%	0	20%
Soin	40%	10%	0	50%
Weithaga	70%	10%	0	20%

Appendix 4

Percentage of Contributions to 5 Project Categories which are Yielding Benefits to Respondents in the Top and Bottom Quintiles in Each Location

	Kyeni		Nthawa	
	Top	Bottom	Top	Bottom
Education	83%	100%	100%	89%
Economic	100%	83%	27%	25%
Water	88%	83%	54%	42%
Health	38%	17%	-	-
Social Welfare	56%	70%	100%	-

	Kisiara		Soin	
	Top	Bottom	Top	Bottom
Education	90%	75%	86%	100%
Economic	100%	100%	100%	100%
Water	-	-	-	-
Health	80%	85%	60%	67%
Social Welfare	70%	-	100%	-

Appendix 4 Cont:

	Mbiri		Weithaga	
	Top	Bottom	Top	Bottom
Education	44%	69%	70%	67%
Economic	82%	59%	100%	93%
Water	20%	0%	55%	0
Health	-	-	45	55%
Social Welfare	60%	60%	63%	58%