

SOME BACKGROUND TO PROPOSALS FOR DEVELOPMENT PLAN
IMPLEMENTATION AT PROVINCIAL AND LOWER LEVELS IN KENYA¹.

National development planning is among the most important initiatives taken in Kenya in recent years. Philosophically, it has provoked the working out in some detail of the ideas of African Socialism, with which planning has been closely associated, and of the goals towards which the Government is working. Organisationally, it has led to the formation of a new ministry whose machinery for influence and control over other parts of the Government is still being created but which may have implications for the future functioning and style of Government activity right down to the grass roots. This paper attempts to outline the ideas of planning that are current, some aspects of the social, economic and organisational context out of which they arise and into which they are being injected, the proposed machinery for implementation in the provinces, and the emerging definition of the roles of civil servants and of politicians in implementation.

In the official Kenya orthodoxy, planning has been closely related to African Socialism. In the words of the Development Plan:

"A fundamental characteristic of African Socialism is its strong commitment to central economic planning as the organization and technique for marshalling the nation's resources in efficient pursuit of Government's economic and social objectives".²

This statement has been elaborated in the Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 "African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya",³ a statement both of philosophical background and of Government intentions. The strength of the acceptance of the idea of national planning is clear throughout the Sessional Paper, and can be understood in the light of the implicit argument that planning is not only socialist, which needs no explanation, but also, in the context of the modern state, African. The argument can be interpreted as follows. The essential basis for African Socialism lies in the traditions of political democracy and mutual social responsibility (8)⁴. The mechanisms whereby a member contributes to society, and society shares its benefits among members, change with the nature of the economy (14). Thus, mutual social responsibility in the context of African Socialism involves an extension of the African family spirit to the nation as a whole (11). The rights, duties and sanctions which obtained in traditional African society have been transferred, with suitable adaptations, to the modern state. Thus, just as African society had the power and duty to impose sanctions on those who refused to contribute their fair share of hard work, or who misused resources, so African Socialism expects the members of the modern state to contribute willingly and without stint to the development of the nation (13), and has the power and the duty to control resource use. But this can only be done through planning and a range of controls to ensure that property is used

1. This paper discusses the position towards the end of December, 1965. The author is grateful for assistance and comments from a number of people, but bears sole responsibility for the views expressed, which are in no way official.
2. Development Plan 1964-1970, Government Printer, Kenya, 1964, p.3.
3. "African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya", Government Printer, Kenya, 1965.
4. Ibid, paragraph 8. Here and subsequently, figures underlined in brackets refer to the paragraphs of the Sessional Paper relevant to the preceding statement.

in the mutual interests of society and its members (48). The conclusion is that "... it is a fundamental characteristic of African Socialism that society has a duty to plan, guide and control the uses of all productive resources". (30). Without national planning, in fact, there could and would be no African Socialism.

The idea of national planning is so widely accepted in developing countries that it is easy to fail to appreciate its implications for Governmental style, organisation and function. In Kenya before Independence there was no planning in the sense of comprehensive national planning. There were, rather, a series of individual projects at different levels, many of them the result of the enthusiasms or even eccentricities of individual officers or ministries, co-ordinated on an ad hoc basis by bodies responsible for the administration of development funds such as the African Land Development Board or the Joint Irrigation Board, with the Treasury exercising a general oversight through its traditional controls. There were some plans covering parts of sectors, such as the Swynnerton Plan of 1955 for the development of agriculture in African areas, but there was no overall plan which tested projects and ministerial plans for consistency, which set targets, or which laid down a co-ordinated strategy by which they should be attained. Nor was the civil service geared or oriented towards achieving centrally determined development targets. In contrast, the policy now is that "Planning is a comprehensive exercise ... Any activity that uses resources is a proper subject of planning" (138). Communication and co-ordination within Government are essential:

"No organization can operate efficiently so long as its right hand does not know what its left hand is doing. Planning cannot be done effectively unless every important activity is accounted for and every important decision-maker involved." (139)

Indeed, the Minister for Economic Planning and Development has summed it by saying that "... it is important that planning pervade the entire Government machine."¹.

The implications for Government organisation and functioning are potentially far-reaching. At the centre, where the emphasis until recently was necessarily on drawing up and revising, rather than implementing the plan, some reorganisation has already taken place. The Development Plan 1964-1970 was prepared by the planning staff of the Treasury, who were formed into a Directorate of Planning within the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning. However, towards the end of 1964, these planners were taken over by the newly created Ministry of Economic Planning and Development under Mr. T.J. Mboya as Minister. Though this Ministry has remained physically in the Treasury Building, and its relations with the Ministry of Finance have been close, the act of creating a special ministry has raised the priority and status of planning and drawn greater attention to the Plan. It was indeed with the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development that responsibility lay for drafting Sessional Paper No. 10.² It leaves no doubt about the decisive new approach that is intended to rule the relations of ministries on development matters:

"If planning itself is not to be a waste of resources, discipline must be firm and enforced. And discipline is not simply something that the Government imposes on the private sector. It is also a discipline that Government imposes on

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1. "Economic Development Planning and the Kenya Plan". Speech by Hon. T.J. Mboya, Minister for Economic Planning and Development, delivered at the Kenya Institute of Administration, 4th March, 1965.
 2. The procedure followed was outlined by Mr. Mboya in his speech to Parliament delivered on 4th May, 1965, when he introduced the Sessional Paper. After various discussions in the Development Committee of the Cabinet and the Cabinet itself, a final version was unanimously approved by the Cabinet.

itself at every level and in every Ministry. With planning, no ministry is free to act as an undisciplined, unrestricted entrepreneur promoting funds and projects to maximize the status of the ministry. Instead all must accept the discipline of planning and join in maximizing the resources available for development, determining the best use for these resources, and ensuring that resources are in fact used as planned. If DISCIPLINE is rejected, so is planning and with it - African Socialism." (141)

The principal means of exercising this discipline are first, through liaison between the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development and planning units in other Ministries such as Agriculture and Animal Husbandry, Education, and Health; and second, through the Development Committee of the Cabinet which has the Minister as Chairman and the Chief Planning Officer of the Ministry as Secretary, and which receives progress reports and approves development proposals.

The purpose here, however, is to consider not the operation of planning at the centre, not the economic policy instruments which can be employed at the centre to achieve the targets of the Plan, but the problems and methods of implementation in the Provinces. The latter assume particular importance in Kenya because of the great stress placed both in the Plan and in official pronouncements on the development of agriculture. The Plan states: "The major burden of ensuring Kenya's economic growth during the 1964-70 period will continue to be borne by the agricultural sector"¹ and a recent article² has pointed out that both technically and in its relevance to national aspirations, the agricultural sector is the best formulated part of the Kenya Plan, while it is the weakest in both respects in the plans of Ghana, Nigeria and Tanzania. Further, this focus on agriculture has been repeatedly emphasized by President Kenyatta in his call of "Back to the Land", as for instance in a speech of 29th August, 1964:

"... to make money, we must return to the land. It is often laughable to see a man with some acres of land going off to the town to seek employment, sometimes for a hundred shillings a month as a cook. If a man can effectively cultivate his own farm, it can prevent him being dependent on employers. What you want to do is return to the land ..." ³

Part of the strength of this appeal lies in its overtones of security: both personal, in that a man with land feels secure, and national in that a landed population is more stable than a floating population of landless unemployed. But the main benefits of this emphasis on agriculture are economic and more strictly social: economic because of the lack of minerals and prime movers in Kenya, and the recognition by economists that, to quote one, "Agricultural development is vastly more important in modernizing a society than we used to think"⁴, and social because the agricultural sector is predominantly African, so that developing agriculture provides a quick means of increasing the African share in the economy. These economic and social arguments combine when it is understood that "The high potential areas, 80 per cent of which are in areas of African smallholdings, promise the greatest return on investment ..." ⁵ While plan implementation at

1. Development Plan, 1964-1970, p.45.
2. Reginald H. Green: Four African Development Plans: Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria and Tanzania. The Journal of Modern African Studies 3, 2 (1965) p. 259.
3. Harambee! The Prime Minister of Kenya's speeches 1963-1964, Nairobi. Oxford University Press 1964, p. 63. Pages 60-74 are devoted to "Back to the Land" speeches.
4. W.W. Rostow: Economic Development - The Importance of Agriculture. Kenya Weekly News, March 26th, 1965.
5. Development Plan, 1964-1970, p.45.

provincial and lower levels has other aspects, such as the co-ordination of projects, the allocation of funds for self-help activities, and the control of educational development, the most important function may well be Government penetration of rural society, reaching down to the people to stimulate increased agricultural production.

Some problems of penetration result from the particular nature of rural society in Kenya. It should be a platitude that Kenya is a nation of smallholders, but this obvious fact has tended to be obscured. The community development ethos imported from Asia, Latin America and West Africa concentrates on "the village" and "the village level", phrases which are frequently used in Kenya in areas where nucleated villages do not exist. Further, the survival of the rumps of Emergency villages in Central Province, the existence of villages near the Coast, and the prominence given by community development workers and journalists to the larger Masai manyattas, have distracted attention from the reality that the vast majority of the rural population of Kenya outside the former Highlands live not in villages but on individual homesteads. This is, however, implicitly recognised in both the Plan and the Sessional Paper in the attention they pay to land consolidation and registration, and the importance of the security of individual title to land. The criticism that the Plan and the Sessional Paper are too "capitalist" misses the point that they are appropriate to the social and agricultural conditions of Kenya. It is through individual accumulation and consumption (33) and the adoption by smallholders of entrepreneurial attitudes that a predominantly smallholder economy will develop. While co-operatives, particularly for marketing, fit into this framework well, the basic values are individualistic. The effect will be to produce a sturdy yeomanry (to draw on the mythology of Europe), a rural bourgeoisie, a nation whose style of living combines land-rootedness and physical dispersal on individual homesteads with the attitudes of the small shopkeeper or businessman.

Reaching smallholders is more difficult than reaching villagers. Accepting simplifications, and recognising that there are many exceptions, it is generally true that village societies demonstrate a syndrome of characteristics: physical concentration of population, frequent interaction, a hierarchy with relatively clearly defined status differences and structure of authority, and often communal control over agricultural activities. Smallholder societies demonstrate a contrasted syndrome: physical dispersal on farmsteads, less frequent interaction, a tendency towards democratic egalitarianism with relatively weakly defined differences of status and structure of authority, and individual choice and control of agricultural activities. In villages, change may be induced by converting the leaders. Among smallholders, change has to be induced much more by individual persuasion. In villages, more people can be expected to listen to a radio or to read a newspaper; news may circulate more quickly by word of mouth; and meetings can be called more easily and quickly. With a scattered smallholder population, both radios and newspapers can be expected to reach fewer people. In Kenya, certainly, there is evidence that both are unimportant at present as sources of information about farming. A recent Marco Survey¹ of heads of rural households found that only 17% ever read newspapers,² and only 66% ever listened to the radio³. While the radio was an important source of information about Kenya, and might therefore be used effectively in a general national campaign for development, neither the newspaper nor the radio was found to have been an important source of information of economic value. What the Survey suggests is that most economic information reaches the farmer through the civil service. The increases in income and food supply that he achieves depend mainly on his own efforts and the services and advice he receives from junior Government servants. The point of commun-

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1. A Baseline Survey of Factors Affecting Agricultural Development in Three Areas of Kenya, June-August, 1965, prepared for the Ministry of Labour and Social Services by MARCO Surveys Limited. A summary of some findings is given in Appendix A.
 2. Ibid. p.93.
 3. Ibid. p. 91.

ication between the junior extension officer and the small farmer is thus the main point at which the development intentions of Government engage with the producer. Although little is known of the motivation, behaviour and effectiveness of agricultural instructors, veterinary scouts, community development assistants, the lowest co-operative inspectors, headmen and chiefs, they are the key figures without whom the development plan would have little bite in the rural smallholder areas.

Their problem is not new. The Colonial regime in Kenya had difficulty in organising control over society both because of the lack of indigenous chiefs, and because of the scattered nature of the population. Chiefs had therefore to be created, and Chiefs' barazas, which could collect the population together for the purposes of communication and control, were instituted and attendance was made obligatory in law. As the Marco Survey shows, these barazas remain a most important source of information to the smallholder. However, attendance at these barazas, which in some areas are held weekly, is often sporadic, and it may be necessary for the Government either to insist on greater attendance, which might be difficult politically, or to tackle the problem by initiating on-going groups with which the extension staff can communicate, in both cases the object being to get advice and information across to many people at once, rather than to dissipate effort entirely on individual visits. Some groups have already been formed, mainly by the Agricultural Department, including farmers' clubs, the 4K Clubs for young farmers, co-operative societies, and agricultural self-help groups, but less has been achieved than had sometimes been hoped. Further, KANU, which might have fulfilled this function, did not appear during 1965 to exist at the grass-roots in a sufficiently predictable form to be a suitable medium for agricultural extension. To achieve the production targets of the Plan, the Kenya Government may, therefore, have to create new groups to facilitate communication between junior Government staff and smallholders.

An initiative in creating such groups has been taken by the Department of Community Development which, in October 1963, before Independence, submitted a National Policy for Community Development. This plan sought a considerable expansion of community development staff and called for political support to stimulate the self-help movement. The primary function of the community development worker was seen as through the use of his specialised skills in human relations to create a mental climate conducive to the acceptance of new ideas in all aspects of rural development and to bring to the specialised extension worker communities that were eager to adopt new methods of production and new ways of living. In this sense, the object was to assist penetration by Government, and the groups through which this was to be achieved were to be formed around the idea of collective self-help. A whole hierarchy of committees from the "village", through the location, the county (district) and the region was to be formed, with a National Committee for Community Development at the apex. Progress has been made in forming these committees particularly at the lower levels.

The self-help movement, however, raises the central problem of the mix and knit between the desires of the people and the intentions of the planners. The essence of community development is that people should discover for themselves what they want. The essence of planning is the controlled achievement of objects that would not come about on their own. Thus the National Plan for Community Development stated that: "Priorities for self-help schemes cannot be made (in) advance as priorities will be assessed by the communities that conceive and execute their own community development."¹ On the other hand, the Sessional Paper is categorical that "self-help is an integral part of planned development and must be subject to the same discipline as other parts of the development effort." (100) The problem is to work out at what level, through whom, and in what way, the upward flow of the wishes of the people can be reconciled and integrated with the intentions of the planners.

1. This isolated quotation is a little misleading: the dangers of unregulated self-help were foreseen in the National Policy for Community Development and measures suggested to overcome them.

The problem is exacerbated by the bad fit between the felt needs of the communities and the targets and direction of the planners. The people in the rural areas, particularly the more densely populated rural areas, have had little difficulty in feeling their needs: they want more services, most notably health services and secondary schools. At the same time they have often received strong encouragement from politicians to go ahead and start building in the spirit of Harambee. In the spirit of nation-building - an unfortunate and misleading phrase with its structural instead of organic connotations - ad hoc groups have formed to build dispensaries and schools. Unfortunately, this well-intentioned dynamism, inevitably uncontrolled during Regionalism, has often misfired. Self-help, like aid, has a propensity to leave behind monuments. Just as an aid-giving agency retires when its monument is built, leaving the recurrent costs and maintenance to the luckless recipient, so self-help groups expect the Government or the local authority to take over the running and staffing of the would-be institutions they have created. In Kenya, by July 1965, there were thought to be at least 80 Harambee secondary schools¹, nearly all of them built illegally, without laboratories, poorly equipped and staffed, facing grave problems over meeting recurrent expenditure, and providing a low standard of education.² It is not suggested that the building of these schools was the responsibility of the Department of Community Development. The Education Commission found two reasons for "the breakdown of the sanctions of the law" which allowed the building of these schools: the administrative confusion produced by Regionalism, and the popular response to the contraction of opportunity for secondary education in 1964 and 1965. In 1965, as a result of the difficulties faced by these schools, there was a danger of serious disillusion. In the view of the Commission:

"The survival of a spirit of self-help in our communities is of the utmost importance to the future of Kenya, but it will be quickly destroyed if, by undertaking tasks that are too big for them, communities experience the frustration of failure. We consider it essential - for the sake of the spirit of self-help as much as for the sake of its objectives - that the impulse towards self-help should be diverted into the performance of tasks that lie within the capacity and resources of a community to discharge successfully."³

The Commission concluded that "Central Government Planning and uncontrolled community enterprise cannot exist side by side."⁴

The problem of co-ordination of wishes and plans is complicated by the functioning of local government. In theory, it would appear that local government, which is responsible in law for maintaining many health and educational facilities, should act as the reconciling and controlling mechanism, both between local wishes and local resources, and between central government planning direction and local implementation. Indeed the Development Plan, published during Regionalism, indicated that the Government depended upon local authorities to carry out both their own programmes and those of the Government for which they had executive responsibility⁵. But many local authorities, and most notably the County Councils responsible for rural areas, have run into multiple difficulties as a result of which services have often had to be curtailed. Dissatisfaction with this position was voiced by a Member of Parliament in October 1965 when he gave notice of a motion in the House of Representatives calling on the Government, in view of the incompetence of some local authorities in Kenya, to take over from them direct

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1. Kenya Education Commission Report, Part II, 22nd July, 1965, Government Printer, Kenya, p.21.
 2. For a full and critical discussion of this problem see ibid. pp.21-32.
 3. Ibid. p.24.
 4. Ibid. p.23.
 5. Development Plan, 1964-1970, p.101.

responsibility for education and public health¹. President Kenyatta himself recognised this unfortunate state of affairs:

"... we deplore a position in which people in many areas are blaming their local authorities for inefficiency, while the councils blame the local people for not paying taxes that are due. All this means in effect that thousands of families are unable to enjoy all the services they need. We shall therefore continue to examine the whole local government position and see how present difficulties can best be met and put right."²

Some of the reasons for this ineffectiveness of County Councils illustrate the problem of Government penetration in relation to local authorities. In the first place, most of the councillors who were elected around the time of Independence were new, and most of their generally better educated and more experienced predecessors either did not stand for re-election, or, when they did stand, were not re-elected. Secondly, the electoral promises made by these councillors tended to inhibit any leadership they might otherwise have shown in encouraging the payment of local government taxes. Thirdly, local government staff, confined to their tribal areas by the strong demand that all staff should be local people, were subject to strong pressures, felt insecure in their jobs, and often left the local government service to find more amenable, less exacting and more rewarding work. Fourthly, during Regionalism, County Councils were largely, in law, subject to the supervision of the regional assemblies; but those bodies, themselves new and engaged in working out their own organisation and functions, were unable to carry this out effectively. And finally, during Regionalism the reaction, part nationalist and anti-Colonial, and part tribal or local, against the Provincial Administration was at its strongest. County Councils, anxious to assert their independence, almost without exception resolved to abandon the practice of using the offices of the Provincial Administration, its District Officers, Chiefs, Headmen and Tribal Police, to collect their taxes, despite the fact that the Councils usually had neither the staff nor the machinery to do this effectively themselves. The resulting financial and administrative crises provoked a growing civic awareness among the electorate, and a number of reforms. In 1965, tax collection was restored to the Provincial Administration, and training courses for councillors were held at the Kenya Institute of Administration. Nevertheless the conclusion was inescapable that County Councils were not suitable organisations for close integration into the direct lines of action and reporting necessary for implementation of the Plan. In any case, County Councils were principally concerned with the provision of services of a social and welfare nature, while the targets of the Plan were likely to emphasize production and therefore involve the local officers of the Central Government more than the local authorities.

The co-ordination and implementation of the Plan in rural areas is, in fact, to be entrusted neither to the Department of Community Development nor to the local authorities, but to the Provincial Administration (hereafter termed, as it is colloquially, "the Administration") in conjunction with departmental officers and officers of the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development. In order to understand this, the changes which have taken place in the Administration, and in its relationships with the rest of Government, will be summarised.

In the Colonial period in Kenya the Administration was both powerful and political: Provincial and District Commissioners and their staffs combined executive, judicial, and assumed representative functions. The Administration, being responsible for law and order, was strengthened by

1. Hansard, 14th October, 1965, column 1056.
2. Main Address by His Excellency The President Mzee Jomo Kenyatta at the State Opening of Parliament on 2nd November, 1965. Government Printer, Kenya, p.3.

the Emergency. Its seniority over other departments was formalised in that the District Commissioner was Chairman of the District Education Board, the District Agricultural Committee, the District Security Committee, the District Intelligence Committee, the District Team where there was one, and, above all, the African District Council. A circular as late as 1960, after stating that officers of the Administration must respect the rights and obligations of departmental officers, went on to say:

"The Provincial Commissioner is, within the limits of his province, the principal executive officer of the Government. It is his duty to supervise not only the work of his administrative staff, but also what is done in his province by all Departmental Officers."¹

This circular did not, however, prevent a steady erosion of influence. District Education Boards and District Agricultural Committees became more representative, and District Commissioners often ceased to be chairmen. More important, District Commissioners began to be replaced by local persons as chairmen of African District Councils. Then, before Independence, the ultimate responsibility for law and order, and with it the chairmanship of the Security and Intelligence Committees, was transferred to the Kenya Police. Regionalism further weakened the Administration. Provincial Commissioners became Civil Secretaries, working, in theory at least, to the elected Presidents of Regional Assemblies, and District Commissioners became Regional Government Agents. There was uncertainty about career prospects, powers, roles and responsibilities.² At the same time the Administration was the first department to suffer the inevitable disruptions of rapid postings resulting from resolute Africanisation. In 1964, one district had at least ten Regional Government Agents, and Kisii District, which may have been typical, had three. Towards the end of 1963, the average length of time a District Commissioner had been of District Commissioner rank was 7 months, and his average length of service in his district 4 months.

In this situation, the role of the administrative officer was bound to change. Departmental officers were also affected: less subject to the control and influence of the Administration, they acted more on their own. An example of what was happening can be provided by the Local Committee of the Mwea Irrigation Settlement, which was chaired by the District Commissioner. In the three years 1961, 1962 and 1963, there were six different District Commissioners as chairmen, but the Manager of the Scheme, a departmental officer, was unchanged. During this period, the function of the Committee shifted from direction of the Scheme, in which the District Commissioner had played a large part, to advice and assistance to the Manager, particularly in handling problems of a political nature. Indeed, during the period 1963-64, jealousy of the Administration on the part of other departments ceased to be a serious issue. Departmental officers, who were still often expatriates, welcomed a new role assumed by administrative officers, who were during this period usually Africans. Before, the administrative officer had sought to represent the civil service to the people and the people to the civil service. This traditional "political" role was now adapted, and he became a buffer and a broker between the departmental officer and the politician. It was now to the politician that he represented the civil service, while to the civil service he represented and interpreted the views of the politician.

Since December 1964, however, with the ending of Regionalism and the reorganisation of ministries, the roles and position of administrative officers changed again on the rebound. Following its transfer from the

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1. Circular No. 12 of 1960. reproduced in The Journal of African Administration, Vol. XIII, No.1, January 1961, pp. 50-52.
 2. For a summary of the position of the Administration in 1964, see C.J. Gertzel "Regional Administration in Kenya 1964: Precis", delivered to the EAISR Conference, Makerere, in December, 1964.

Ministry of Home Affairs to the Office of the President, the Administration worked direct to the Permanent Secretary to the President, who was also Secretary to the Cabinet and Head of the Civil Service. Provincial and District Commissioners were restored to their original titles and, as the personal representatives of the President in their areas, gained high prestige. They were again chairmen of Security and Intelligence Committees, and responsible for the licensing of public meetings. They appeared in uniform with senior members of the Government, and were publicly recognised as the principal representatives of Government in their areas. On important occasions, Provincial and District Commissioners held parades and made speeches of a national character which were reported in the Press. Working direct to the President, and usually in areas other than those in which they were born, Administrative Officers were able, and indeed required, to assume an important role in national integration which was in keeping both with their continuity of aspiration to lead and with the policies of the Government. Further, particularly through its ability carefully to organise the detail of visits for Ministers, the Administration displayed decisiveness and a capacity for effective action.

In view of this re-emerging primacy of the Administration on the one hand, and the high priority of plan implementation on the other, the Administration was the obvious choice for a co-ordinating and implementing agency for the Plan. The first involvement was in the preparation and submission of Provincial Development Plans by Provincial Commissioners. However, at the end of 1965, the degree to which it would prove possible to incorporate these plans in the first revision of the National Plan remained to be seen, though the indications were that it would be difficult. In May 1965, the Minister for Economic Planning and Development, after emphasizing the importance of provincial planning as a training exercise and means of involving field officers in the planning process and encouraging local enthusiasm, said:

".... However, the provinces do not at this stage have enough personnel, information or experience for effective planning. In any case planning for the nation as a whole could not be left to the provinces - for they are likely to produce unco-ordinated programmes. It is therefore important that planning in the provinces be done under guidance and direction from the Central Planning Organization in my Ministry, so that attempts can be made towards the most efficient allocation of resources of the country as a whole."¹

To achieve this guidance and direction, the Ministry intended to recruit a Provincial Planning Officer for each province.² While much communication with the centre and responsibility for the detail of planning and reporting would rest with this Provincial Planning Officer, the ultimate responsibility for the co-ordination and implementation of the Plan would lie with the Provincial and District Commissioners, working through Provincial and District Development Committees which were being set up and had in many cases already met by the end of 1965. These were civil service bodies, chaired by the Provincial and District Commissioners. The Provincial Planning Officer was to be secretary and the appropriate Community Development Officer alternate secretary, with the local heads of the departments concerned with development as members.³ It was intended that the Community Development Self-Help Committees should be fitted into the structure as sub-committees of the development committees. The development committees were to be charged with inter-departmental co-ordination, planning and controlling major self-help projects, achieving the targets of the Plan, and making recommendations about the Plan and its implementation.

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1. "Economic Development Planning and the Kenya Plan". Speech delivered by the Hon. T.J. Mboya, Minister for Economic Planning and Development, at the Kenya Institute of Administration on March 4th, 1965.
 2. By the end of 1965 no Provincial Planning Officers had yet been recruited.
 3. For the full proposed membership see Appendix B.

These committees were a new departure, in keeping with the newness of national planning and the setting and achievement of area targets in development. Any superficial resemblance to the Provincial and District Teams before Independence is misleading. The Teams were bodies of varying composition and frequency of meeting, depending on the inclinations of the administrative officers; they often included the Police, who will not be on the development committees; they often did not keep minutes; and above all they were not subject to central direction, the achievement of targets, or regular reporting, all of which can be expected to make the development committees more influential and effective bodies.

It is intended that local political representation shall be provided on Provincial and District Development Advisory Committees, again chaired by the Provincial and District Commissioners respectively. These Advisory Committees will include Senators, Members of Parliament and others¹, as well as all the members of the Development Committees. The purposes of these Advisory Committees are to provide a forum to discuss general economic and social problems of the area concerned, to provide M.P's, Senators and leading citizens with an opportunity to participate in the Plan, and to enlist the support of the politicians in securing mass enthusiasm and participation in planned and co-ordinated development. The Development Committees will report to the Advisory Committees from time to time on targets and projects planned for the area. By mid-December 1965, although some Development Committees had met, few, if any, of the Advisory Committees had been convened. It is too early to guess how this system will work in practice.

These two types of committee, one for civil servants only, and one including politicians, reflect the official and explicit separation of politics, politicians and the Party on the one hand, and the civil service on the other. Much was said on this subject during 1965. The official view was that civil servants were subject to the discipline of their ministries and must carry out the policies of the Government loyally, enthusiastically and impartially. They might not join any political party (Kenya is not constitutionally a one-party state, although KANU is the only party). They should never criticise Government policies in public, and should not get into the position of defending themselves and their actions on political platforms. But the civil servant had a duty to explain policies to the people, to persuade and to lead them. The civil servant "should not be a passive sponge, a routine implementer of Government policy", but "dynamic and an innovator full of ideas."² His neutrality was from personal political activity, not from taking an interest in the political activity of his country, since he must avoid an "island mentality" and must become personally involved in the hopes and aspirations of his country.

The intended role of the politician in rural areas will not be discussed at any length here. Actual roles vary with the level of the politician, Ministers being involved to a greater extent in supporting Government programmes, Senators and Members of Parliament with representing the interests of the constituencies, and junior local politicians with less clearly defined local activities. Emphasis has been placed on the intended role of the Member of Parliament in mobilising the people for development and encouraging them to follow the advice of civil servants. Members have, for instance, been told that they have a special responsibility for persuading people to adopt modern methods of farming and development on the land.³

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1. See Appendix B for proposed membership.
 2. Hon. T.J. Mboya, Minister for Economic Planning and Development - "The Role of the Civil Service in Developing Countries": a talk to the East African Staff College, 25th November, 1965.
 3. Hon. T.J. Mboya, Minister for Economic Planning and Development, reported in the East African Standard of 18th December, 1965.

There is, however, an overlap of the roles in rural areas of civil servants and politicians. Both are required to encourage development, both are in a position to receive and act on grievances and both can hold meetings, and calling them "barazas" for civil servants and "public meetings" for politicians does little to distinguish them in reality. It is partly as a result of this overlap that, at a local level, there have been difficulties between civil servants and politicians, as the newspapers and Hansard have shown from time to time. In order to iron out these differences and improve relations in the interests of development, a seminar for Members of the KANU Parliamentary Group with senior civil servants on the implementation of the national development plan was held in December 1965 at the Kenya Institute of Administration. Part of the purpose of the seminar was that civil servants and politicians should avoid blaming one another, should meet more often informally, and should assist one another in the development effort in which both had an interest. The seminar appeared to be a successful move towards better understanding, and further seminars, at the same and lower levels, were to be held. But the basic problem remains: that the Member to be re-elected needs to appear to the people to be the person whose efforts have brought about development, while the proposed structure of authority and committees directs attention to the administrative officer as the person responsible.

It is interesting to compare Kenya's proposals for Plan implementation with Tanzania's experience. Although Tanzania lacks Kenya's explicit separation of the civil service and politics, it has evolved at regional level a committee system remarkably similar to that proposed for Kenya. The Tanzanian Regional Development Committees are large bodies, sometimes reaching attendances of over forty people, including politicians, civil servants, local government officials, businessmen and prominent citizens. When these bodies were found to be too large and diffuse for detailed technical work, smaller civil service committees, with a membership of about ten, and including Regional Heads of Departments, were formed. While these two bodies in Tanzania correspond roughly in their composition with those proposed for Kenya, Kenya's civil service Provincial Development Committees will probably carry more weight with the Provincial Development Advisory Committees than their Tanzanian civil service counterparts with their Regional Development Committees. A further difference can be found in the types of targets set for implementation. In Tanzania, regional targets for the Five Year Plan are for investment as well as production¹. It has proved difficult, however, to schedule investment realistically, to assess farming investment particularly with smallholders, and to obtain the figures for private sector investment. In addition, the opportunity cost of the staff and time absorbed in obtaining such figures is high. Again, the focus on investment, on spending, has the disadvantage of diverting attention away from the services or production that is the purpose and justification of the investment. In Kenya, in contrast, if targets are allocated to Provinces and Districts they will probably be mainly for agricultural production. Whether they will be subdivided below District level - a task that would fall principally to the Agricultural Department - is not yet clear, but the fact that in Tanzania targets have not always reached the Village Development Committees may be a warning that subdivision is difficult to carry out within districts and to make meaningful at the lower levels.

Another significant difference between Kenya and Tanzania lies in the degree of individual specialisation. In Tanzania, partly because of the pervasiveness of TANU, partly because of the shortage of trained manpower, there has been a tendency towards fusion of different offices and functions in the same persons. In Kenya, partly as a result of the historical position of the Administration and departmental attitudes to it, partly as a result of the sustained formal separation of politics and the civil service, there has

1. G. Karmiloff: Regional Plan Implementation: Tanzania's Experiment. The East African Economic Review, Vol. 1. New Series No. 2. June 1965, pp. 85-93 passim.

been a tendency towards a protective idea of specialisation which allows each individual and organisation its own particular role. In the words of the President:

"The role of the civil servant is that of the professional. He is employed by the Government to get things done - both in the process of planning and in the process of execution ... District Commissioners are as much professionals as are doctors and engineers."¹

Equally, politicians are seen as professionals who should have distinct roles. A corollary of this functional pluralism is a plethora of committees. For development matters alone, at District and Provincial levels, there are, in theory at least, to be four streams of committees: the Agricultural Committees which have been established for many years and which mainly concern the Agricultural and Veterinary Departments; the Self-Help Committees, of relatively recent formation, run by the Department of Community Development; and the Development Committees and Development Advisory Committees which are to be run by the Administration in conjunction at the higher levels with the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development. In addition, at County and lower levels, there are various local government committees concerned with development. There are several different channels through which requests, suggestions and complaints can move upwards: through the Party and the Member of Parliament; through the local government councillor to the Ministry of Local Government; through the Administration; through the Department of Community Development; or through a specialist department. Similarly, there are several different channels through which the Government can penetrate to the people. Whereas Tanzania may be in danger of under-specialisation, Kenya is running a risk of the duplications and ambiguities which arise from over-specialisation.

Against this background, the effects and form of Plan implementation in Kenya can only be a matter for speculation. The historical trend of separatist professionalism may continue. On the other hand, if there is clear and powerful direction from the top, the authority of the Plan and its targets could have a focussing and disciplinary effect at Provincial and District levels and below. Appeal and communication upwards within technical ministries could be reduced as technical officers accepted the Plan and the Development Committees in their areas as sufficient authority for decision and action. Similarly, civil servants and politicians could find more of a common interest when there were specific development goals to be achieved. Much will depend on how effectively it will be possible to tackle the problems that have already had to be faced in Tanzania: recruiting planning staff for the major geographical areas; involving the Administration and technical ministries, particularly Agriculture, in implementation; reconciling popular demands for services with the requirements of the Plan; and above all making the Plan mean something to all those - politicians, civil servants, and the public - whose effort is needed for it to be carried out.

The success of Plan implementation in the Provinces depends partly on political factors and the future of KANU. The Government has, however, made it clear that it is mainly through the civil service that the Plan will be carried out. Mr. Mboya has put it that "In the final analysis the initiative on the part of the civil servant rather than the local politician can decide whether or not an area will develop"², and the President himself has said:

"From now on civil servants' merits will be judged by their contribution to the development plan. They will be called to explain any failure to achieve their targets. The best district

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1. President Kenyatta, as reported in the Daily Nation of 16th December, 1965.
 2. Hon. T.J. Mboya, Minister for Economic Planning and Development, "The Role of the Civil Service in Developing Countries", a talk to the East African Staff College, 25th November, 1965.

is no longer the quietest one, but the one which makes most progress towards its development targets. The Civil Service is under my control and I can reward good work and punish bad work in this field. I give warning that judgment will be based on development achievement."¹

For the future there are many imponderables, not least the evolving position of the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development within the Government, and it would be rash to make predictions. But much will depend on the capacity of the Civil Service to effect policies, and this is less imponderable. The Kenya Civil Service has a combination of loyalty, honesty and ability that is exceptional among modernising countries. This has been shown since Independence in an ability to innovate effectively, for instance in the Tripartite Agreement to create additional employment, the launching of the National Youth Service, and the million-acre settlement scheme. For some years, however, this ability has largely been locked up in constitutional and structural changes: in boundary alterations, elections, commissions, the confusions of Regionalism, and the rapid postings and disruptions of Africanisation. The progressive release of this capacity to act coincides with the promise of moves towards plan implementation in rural areas. If there is clear direction from the top, and political support at all levels, even the more optimistic planners may be surprised by what the civil servants achieve.

1. President Kenyatta, as reported in the Daily Nation of 16th December, 1965.

APPENDIX A - FROM "A BASELINE SURVEY OF FACTORS AFFECTING AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THREE AREAS IN KENYA"

MARCO SURVEYS June-August 1965, pp. 66, 67.

Q. To whom do you go or from where do you get your information about?

	Self-Help Activities %	News about Kenya %	Cash Crop Market Prices %	Livestock %	Land Consolidation %	Farming %
Extension Officer	56	20	56	78	52	72
Chief's Baraza	42	29	31	37	41	50
Friends/Neighbours/Word of mouth	26	36	20	14	22	19
Chief/Sub-Chief	32	17	19	28	29	36
No source of Information	2	5	17	6	18	3
Local Co-op. Society	5	-	7	1	3	2
Radio	4	41	4	4	4	5
Newspaper/Magazine	1	12	2	2	2	3
Teacher	1	1	-	1	-	-
Mission Station	-	1	-	-	-	1
TOTAL	169%	162%	156%	171%	171%	191%

There were 624 informants.

The three areas were - Bomet, Samia and Kabondo Locations.

APPENDIX B

MEMBERSHIP OF DEVELOPMENT AND DEVELOPMENT ADVISORY COMMITTEES

(a) Provincial and District Development Committees

Membership

Provincial

the Provincial Commissioner (Chairman);
the Provincial Planning Officer (Secretary);
the Provincial Agricultural Officer;
the Provincial Veterinary Officer;
the Provincial Education Officer;
the Provincial Medical Officer;
the Provincial Co-operative Officer;
the Provincial Community Development Officer (to act as Secretary in the absence of the Provincial Planning Officer);
the Provincial representative of the Ministry of Works, Communications and Power.

In addition, Provincial representatives of other Ministries may be co-opted at the discretion of the Chairman and will be required to attend meetings when matters to be discussed lie within their portfolios.

District

the District Commissioner (Chairman);
the Provincial Planning Officer (Secretary);
the District Community Development Officer (alternate Secretary);
the District Agricultural Officer;
the District Medical Officer;
the District representative of the Ministry of Works, Communications and Power;
the Chief Administrative Officer of the Local Government Authority;
the District Co-operative Officer.

In addition, District representatives of other Ministries may be co-opted at the discretion of the Chairman, and will be required to attend meetings when matters to be discussed lie within their portfolios.

(b) Provincial and District Development Advisory Committees

Membership

Provincial

the Provincial Commissioner (Chairman);
all Members of the Provincial Development Committee;
one M.P. and one Senator from each District (the M.P. to be selected by the M.P's of the District);
the Chairman of the Provincial Advisory Council;
two Provincial Advisory Council members (to be selected by the Council);
two leading citizens (to be nominated by the Provincial Commissioner in consultation with the Provincial Development Committee).

District

the District Commissioner (Chairman);
all Members of the District Development Committee;
all M.P's and Senators in the District;
the Chairman of the County Council;
two Members of the County Council (to be selected by the County Council);
the Chairman of the KANU District Branch;
two or three eminent citizens (to be selected by the District Commissioner in consultation with the District Development Committee).

co-ordination, planning and controlling major self-help projects, achieving the targets of the Plan, and making recommendations about the Plan and its implementation.

These committees are a new departure, in keeping with the newness of national planning and the setting and achievement of area targets in development. Any superficial resemblance to the Provincial and District Teams before Independence is misleading. The Teams were bodies of varying composition and frequency of meeting; depending on the inclinations of the administrative officers; they often included the Police, who will not be on the development committees; they did not normally keep minutes; and above all they ~~were~~ not related to central direction, the achievement of targets, or regular reporting, all of which can be expected to make the development committees more influential and effective bodies.

Local political representation is to be provided on Provincial and District Development Advisory Committees, again chaired by the Provincial and District Commissioners respectively. These Advisory Committees will include Senators, Members of Parliament and others,¹ as well as all the members of the Development Committees. The purpose of these Advisory Committees are to provide a forum to discuss general economic and social problems of the area concerned, to provide MPs, Senators and leading citizens with an opportunity to participate in the Plan, and to enlist the support of the politicians in securing mass enthusiasm and participation in planned and co-ordinated development. The Development Committees will report to the Advisory Committees from time to time on targets and projects planned for the area. By mid-December 1965, although some Development Committees had met, few if any of the Advisory Committees had been convened. No doubt this was largely because Provincial and District targets for development had not yet been worked out. It is too early to guess how this system will work in practice.

These two types of committee, one for civil servants only, and one including politicians, reflect the official and explicit separation of politics, politicians and the party on the one hand, and the civil service on the other. Much has been said on this subject during the past year. The official view is that civil servants are subject to discipline of their ministries and must carry out the policies of the Government loyally, enthusiastically and impartially. They may not join any political party (Kenya is not constitutionally a one-party state, although KANU is the only party). They should never criticise Government policies in public, and should not get into the position of defending themselves and their actions on political platforms. But the civil servant has a duty to explain policies to the people, to persuade and to lead them. The civil servant "should not be a passive sponge, a routine implementer of Government policy", but "dynamic and an innovator full of ideas."² His neutrality is from personal political activity, not from taking an interest in the political activity of his country, since he must avoid an "island mentality" and must become personally involved in the hopes and aspirations of his country.

1. See Appendix B for proposed membership.
2. "The Role of the Civil Service in Developing Countries": a talk by Hon. T.J. Mboya, Minister for Economic Planning and Development, to the East African Staff College, 25th November, 1965.

The intended role of the politician in rural areas will not be discussed at any length here. Actual roles vary with the level of the politician, Ministers being involved to a greater extent in supporting Government programmes, Senators and Members of Parliament with representing the interests of the constituencies, and junior local politicians with less clearly defined local activities. Recently, emphasis has been placed on the intended role of the Member of Parliament in mobilising the people for development and encouraging them to follow the advice of civil servants. Members have, for instance, been told that they have a special responsibility for persuading people to adopt modern methods of farming and development on the land.¹

There is, in fact, an overlap of the roles, in rural areas, of civil servants and politicians. Both are required to encourage development, both are in a position to receive and act on grievances and both should call meetings, and calling them "barazas" for civil servants and "public meetings" for politicians does little to distinguish them in reality. It is partly as a result of this overlap that, at a local level, there have been difficulties between civil servants and politicians, as the newspapers and Hansard show from time to time. In order to iron out these differences and improve relations in the interests of development a seminar for Members of the KANU Parliamentary Group with senior Civil Servants on the implementation of the national development plan was recently held at the Kenya Institute of Administration. Part of the function of the seminar was that civil servants and politicians should avoid blaming one another, should meet more often informally, and should assist one another in the development effort in which both had an interest. The seminar appears to have been a successful move towards better understanding, and further seminars, at the same and lower levels, are to be held. But the basic problem remains: that the Member, to be re-elected, needs to appear to the people to be the person whose efforts have brought about development, while the proposed structure of authority and committees directs attention to the administrative officer as the person responsible.

What is emerging in Kenya, partly as a result of the historical position of the Administration and departmental attitudes to it, partly as a result of the sustained separation of politics and the civil service, is a protective idea of professionalism which allows each individual and organisation its specialist role. Thus:

"The role of the civil servant is that of the professional. He is employed by the Government to get things done - both in the process of planning and in the process of execution... District Commissioners are as much professionals as are doctors and engineers."²

The politician equally is a professional. A corollary of this functional pluralism is a plethora of functional committees at all levels. Thus in relation to development alone, the indications at present are that there will be three main streams of committees - Self-Help Committees, run by the Department of Community Development; Development Committees run by the Administration in conjunction at the higher levels with the

1. Hon. T.J. Mboya, Minister for Economic Planning, reported in the East African Standard of 18th December 1965.
2. President Kenyatta, as reported in the Daily Nation, 16th December 1965.

No. 381.

Robert Chambers.

SOME ASPECTS OF PLANNING AND
PLAN IMPLEMENTATION IN KENYA

National development planning is among the most important initiative taken in Kenya in recent years. Philosophically, it has provoked the working out in some detail of the ideas of African Socialism, with which planning has been closely associated, and of the goals towards which the Government is working. Organisationally, it has led to the formation of a new Ministry whose machinery for influence and control of other parts of the Government is still being created but which may have implications for the future functioning and style of Government activity right down to the grass. This paper attempts to outline and discuss the ideas of planning that are current, some aspects of the social, economic and organisational context out of which they arise and into which they are being injected, the proposed machinery for implementation in the provinces, and the emerging definition of the roles of civil servants and of politicians in implementation.

In this official Kenya orthodoxy, planning has been closely related to African Socialism. In the words of the development plan:

"a fundamental characteristic of African socialism is its strong commitment to central economic planning as the organization and technique for marshalling the nation's resources in efficient pursuit of Government's economic and social objectives".¹

This statement has been elaborated in the Sessional Paper No.10 of 1965 "African Socialism and Its Application to Planning in Kenya",² a statement both of philosophical background and of Government intentions. The strength of the acceptance of the idea of national planning is clear throughout the Sessional Paper, and can be understood in the light of the implicit argument that planning is not only socialist, which needs no explanation, but also in the context of the modern state, African. The argument can be interpreted as follows. The essential basis for African Socialism lies in the traditions of political democracy and mutual social responsibility (8).³ The mechanisms whereby a member contributes to society, and society shares its benefits among members, change with the nature of the economy (14). Thus, mutual social responsibility in the context of African Socialism involved an extension of the African family spirit to the nation as a whole (11). The rights, duties and sanctions which obtained in traditional African society have been transferred, with suitable adaptations, to the modern state. Thus, just as African society had the power and duty to impose sanctions on those who refused to contribute their fair share of hard work, or

1. Development Plan 1964-1970, Government Printer, Kenya, 1964. p.3.

2. Government Printer, Kenya, 1965

3. Ibid, paragraphs 8, The figures in brackets refer to the paragraphs of the Sessional Paper relevant to the preceding statement.

who misused resources, so African Socialism expects the members of the modern state to contribute willingly and without stint to the development of the nation (13), (29), and has the power and the duty to control resource use. But this can only be done through planning and a range of controls to ensure that property is used in the mutual interests of society and its members (48). The conclusion is that "It is a fundamental characteristic of African Socialism that society has a duty to plan, guide and control the uses of all productive resources". (30). Without national planning, in fact, there could and would be no African Socialism.

The idea of national planning is so widely accepted in developing countries, that it is easy to fail to appreciate its implications for Governmental style, organisation and function. In Kenya before Independence there was no planning in the sense of comprehensive national planning. There were, rather, a series of individual projects at different levels, many of them the result of the enthusiasms or even eccentricities of individual officers or ministries, coordinated on an ad hoc basis by bodies responsible for the administration of development funds such as the African Land Development Board or the Joint Irrigation Board, with the Treasury exercising a general oversight through its traditional controls. There were some plans covering parts of sectors, such as the Swynnerton Plan of 1955 for the development of agriculture in African areas, but there was no overall plan which tested projects and ministerial plans for consistency, which set targets, or which laid down a coordinated strategy by which they should be attained. Nor was the civil service geared or oriented towards achieving centrally determined development targets. In contrast, the policy now is that "Planning is a comprehensive exercise ... Any activity that uses resources is a proper subject of planning" (138) Communication and coordination within Government are essential:

"No organization can operate efficiently so long as its right hand does not know what its left hand is doing. Planning cannot be effective unless every important activity is accounted for and every important decision-maker involved."

Indeed, the Minister for Economic Planning and Development has summed it by saying that "It is important that planning pervade the entire Government machine."¹

The implications for the Government machine are far-reaching, involving new systems of operation affecting matters concerning development. At the centre, where the emphasis until recently was necessarily on drawing up and revising, rather than implementing the plan, some reorganisation has already taken place. The Development Plan 1964-1970 was prepared by the planning staff of the Treasury, who were formed into a Directorate of Planning within the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning. However, towards the end of 1964, these planners were taken over by the newly created Ministry for Economic Planning and Development under Mr. T.J. Mboya as Minister.

1. "Economic Development Planning and the Kenya Plan". Speech by Hon. T.J. Mboya, Minister for Economic Planning and Development, delivered at the Kenya Institute of Administration, 4th March, 1965.

Though this Ministry has remained physically in the Treasury Building, and its relations with the Ministry of Finance have been close, the act of creating a special ministry has raised the priority and status of planning and drawn greater attention to the plan. It was indeed in the Ministry for Economic Planning and Development that Sessional Paper No.10 was originally drafted.¹ It leaves no doubt about the decisive new approach that is intended to rule the relations of ministries on development matters:

"If planning itself is not to be a waste of resources, discipline must be firm and enforced. And discipline is not simply something that the Government imposes on the private sector. It is also a discipline that Government imposes on itself at every level and in every ministry. With planning, no ministry is free to act as an undisciplined, unrestricted entrepreneur promoting funds and projects to maximize the status of the ministry. Instead all must accept the discipline of planning and join in maximizing the resources available for development, determining the best use for these resources and ensuring that resources are in fact used as planned. If DISCIPLINE is rejected, so is planning, and with it - African Socialism."²

In pursuing this policy, the Ministry for Economic Development and Planning intends to post its officers to other ministries to assist and advise their planning sections and to ensure close liaison. While it seems likely that in time procedures and conventions will develop, it is too early to be able to say exactly how this new organisation will work.

Initially, attention has been concentrated on formulating general policies, drawing up the plan, and then working on its first revision, activities mainly carried out by Ministers and civil servants at or near the centre of the Government machine. In the latter part of 1965, however, much thought has been devoted to implementation and control, and the choice of organizations, procedures and roles for the two way communications necessary for effecting and revising the plan. Without the machinery, will and ability to implement it, a plan is merely a statement of objectives and a public relations handout. Considering "penetration", in Pye's sense of "reaching down into the society and affecting basic politics",³ the remainder of this paper will be concerned with problems and proposals for implementing the plan in rural areas. This will involve considering the Kenya "agricultural ideology", the nature of rural society, means of communication, self-help and Community Development, local government, and the roles of the civil servants, particularly the Administration, and politician in the provinces.

1. The procedure followed was stated by Mr. Mboya in his speech to Parliament delivered on 4th May 1965 when he introduced the Sessional Paper. After drafting, the paper was discussed and amended by both the Development Committee and the Cabinet, which finally approved it unanimously.
2. Sessional Paper No.10, paragraph 141.
3. Pye: An Analytic Study of Political Development p.80 quoted by Audrey Wipper in her working paper.

The implementation of the plan and the achievement of plan targets in the provinces assumes greater importance than in most countries because of the great stress placed both in the plan and in official pronouncements on the development of agriculture. In a recent article¹ Reginald Green considers that both technically and in its relevance to national aspirations, the agricultural sector is the best formulated part of the Kenya Plan, while it is the weakest in both respects in the plans of Ghana, Nigeria and Tanzania. This is partly at least because of the priority placed upon agriculture, and the attention paid to agriculture by the planners. Both economically, and in terms of social aims, this emphasis is easy to understand: economically, because of lack of mineral and prime movers and the recognition by professional economists that, to quote one, "Agricultural development is vastly more important in modernizing a society than we used to think",² and socially, because the agricultural sector is predominantly African and developing African agriculture provides a quick means of increasing the share in the economy. The social and economic arguments combine when it is understood that "the high potential areas, 80 per cent of which are in areas of African smallholdings, promise the greatest return on investment."³ Indeed, this focus on agriculture has been repeatedly emphasized by President Kenyatta in his call of "Back to the Land".

"... to make money, we must return to the land. It is often laughable to see a man with some acres of land going off to the town to seek employment, sometimes for a hundred shillings a month as a cook. If a man can effectively cultivate his own farm, it can prevent him being dependent on employers. What you want to do is return to the land" ⁴

This emphasis on agricultural development gains further strength from the overtones of security - both personal, in that a man with land may always feel that he had something to fall back on, and national, in that a population with land is felt to be stabler than a floating population of landless and unemployed. Given this priority for agriculture, the most important targets for rural areas are likely to be for production, rather than investment, since investment on small farms is difficult to measure.

The majority of the families to be reached in an effort to increase agricultural production in Kenya live on individual smallholdings. With the principal exception of the Coast, the remnants of the Emergency villages in Central Province and perhaps the larger Masai manyattas, most rural Kenyans do not live in villages, a fact which tends to be obscured by the Community Development literature originating from Asia, Latin America, and even West Africa, which speaks of the village and the village level as the object of attention in development. Furthermore, most of

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1. Reginald H. Green: For African Development Plans; Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria and Tanzania. The Journal of Modern African Studies 3, 2 (1965) p.259.
 2. W.W. Rostow: Economic Development - the Importance of Agriculture. Kenya Weekly News of March 26th, 1965.
 3. Development Plan 1964-1970 p.45.
 4. Harambe! The Prime Minister of Kenya's Speeches 1963-1964. Nairobi Oxford University Press 1964, p.63. Pages 60-74 are devoted to "Back to the Land" speeches.

Kenya's smallholders live in areas of high potential and dense population and have a sense of land shortage whereas there have been moves towards national ownership of land, in Tanzania where outside a few areas there is an abundance of land, and in Ghana where, in addition, the rural population mostly live in villages. In Kenya it has been natural in both the Plan and the Sessional Paper to stress individual land tenure, land consolidation and registration, and the security of individual title. If the Plan and the Sessional Paper are even against this background, the criticism that they are too "capitalist" seems to fail to appreciate that they are appropriate to the social and agricultural condition in Kenya: it is through provision for individual accumulation and consumption¹ and the adoption by smallholders of entrepreneurial attitudes, that a predominantly smallholder economy will develop. While co-operatives, particularly for marketing, fit into this framework well the basic values are individualistic. The effect will be to produce a sturdy yeomanry (to draw on European mythology), a rural bourgeoisie, a nation whose style of living combines land-rottedness and physical dispersal on individual homesteads with some of the attitudes of the small shopkeeper or businessman.

Reaching smallholders in order to stimulate increased production is more difficult when they live on individual holdings than when they are concentrated in villages. In villages, more people can be expected to listen to a radio, or to read a newspaper; news may circulate more quickly by word of mouth; and meetings can be called more easily and quickly. With a scattered smallholder population, both radios and newspapers can be expected to reach fewer people. In Kenya, certainly, there is evidence that both are unimportant at present as sources of information about farming. A recent Marco Survey² of heads of rural households found that only 17% ever read newspapers, and only 66% ever listened to the radio. While the radio was an important source of information about Kenya, and might therefore be used effectively in a general national campaign for development, neither the newspaper nor the radio was found to be an important source of information of economic value. What the Survey suggests is that most economic information reaches the farmer through the civil service. The increases in income and food supply that he achieves depend mainly on his own efforts and the services and advice he receives from junior Government servants. The point of communication between the junior extension officer and the small farmer is thus the main point at which the development intentions of Government engage with the producer. Although little is known of the motivation, behaviour and effectiveness of agricultural instructors, veterinary scouts, community development assistants, the lowest co-operative inspectors, headmen and chiefs, they are the key figures without whom the development plan would have little bite in the rural smallholder areas.

1. Sessional Paper No. 10, paragraph 33.
2. A Baseline Survey of Factors Affecting Agricultural Development in Three Areas of Kenya, June-August 1965, prepared for the Ministry of Labour and Social Services by MARCO Surveys Limited. A summary of some findings is given in Appendix A.

Part of the problem facing these officials lies in the difference between what might be postulated as the village and smallholder syndromes. In a village syndrome, the population is bunched in villages; there is a tendency towards frequent interaction, a hierarchical society with relatively clearly defined status differences and structure of authority, and often some communal control over agricultural activities. In a smallholder syndrome, as found in Kenya, there is physical disposal on individual farmsteads, less frequent interaction, a tendency to democratic egalitarianism with relatively weakly defined differences of status and structure of authority, and individual freedom in agricultural activities. While there are over-simplifications and there are many varieties and exceptions, it is useful to consider Kenya in terms of the smallholder syndrome. The Colonial regime had difficulty in organising minimal control over society in Kenya because of the lack of indigenous Chiefs - one part of the syndrome. Chiefs had therefore to be created. But the Chiefs needed to be able to communicate with a scattered population. The Chief's barazas, attendance at which was obligatory in law, were therefore instituted, and remain, as the Marce Survey shows, a most important source of information for the smallholder. However, attendance at these barazas, which in some places are held weekly, is nowadays often sporadic, and it may be necessary for the Government either to insist on greater attendance, which might be difficult politically, or to tackle the problem by forming new on-going groups with which extension staff can communicate. A good deal has been attempted in forming groups - through farmers' groups, the 4K Clubs for young farmers, co-operative societies, and self-help groups, but less has been achieved than had sometimes been hoped. Further, the Party, which might have fulfilled this function, does not appear to exist at the grass-roots in a sufficiently permanent and predictable form to be a suitable medium for extension. To achieve the production targets of the Plan, the Kenya Government may, therefore, have to create new groups to facilitate communication between junior Government servants and smallholders.

An initiative in creating such groups has been taken by the Department of Community Development, which, in October 1963, before Independence, submitted a National Policy for Community Development. This plan sought a considerable expansion of community development staff and called for political support to stimulate the self-help movement. The primary function of the community development worker was seen as "through the use of his specialised skills in human relations to create the mental climate conducive to the acceptance of new ideas in all aspects of rural development and to bring to the specialised extension worker communities that are eager to adopt new methods of production and new ways of living. In this sense, the object was to assist penetration by Government, and the groups through which this was to be achieved were to be formed around the idea of collective self-help. A whole hierarchy of committees from the "village", through the location, the county (district) and the region was to be formed, with a National Committee for Community Development at the apex. Progress has been made in forming these committees particularly at the lower levels.

The self-help movement, however, raises the central problem of the mix and knit between the desires of the people and the intentions of the planners. The essence of planning is that people should discover for themselves what they want. The essence of planning is the controlled achievement of objects that would not come about on their own. Thus the National Plan for Community Development stated that: "Priorities for self-help schemes cannot be made (in) advance as priorities will be assessed by the communities

that conceive and execute their own community development".¹ But Sessional Paper is categorical in that: Self-help is an integral part of planned development and must be subject to the same discipline as other parts of the development effort".² The problem is to work out at what level, through whom, and in what way, the upward flow of the wishes of the people can be reconciled and integrated with the intentions of the planners.

The problem is exacerbated by the bad fit between the felt needs of the communities and the targets and direction of the planners. The people in the rural areas, particularly the more densely populated rural areas, have had no difficulty in feeling their needs: they want more services, most notably health and secondary schools. At the same time they have often received strong encouragement from politicians to go ahead and start building in the spirit of Harambee. In the spirit of nation-building - an unfortunate and misleading phrase with its structural instead of organic connotations - *ad hoc* groups have formed to build dispensaries and schools. Unfortunately, this well-intentioned dynamism, inevitably uncontrolled during Regionalism has misfired. Self-help, like aid, has a propensity to leave behind monuments. Just as an aid-giving agency retires when its monument is built, leaving the recurrent costs and maintenance to the luckless recipient, so self-help groups expect the Government or the local authority to take over the running and staffing of the would-be institutions they have created. In Kenya, by July 1965, there were thought to be at least 80 Harambee secondary schools³, nearly all of them built illegally, without laboratories, poorly equipped and staffed, facing grave problems over meeting recurrent expenditure, and providing a low standard of education.⁴ It is not suggested that the building of these schools was the responsibility of the Department of Community Development. The Education Commission found two reasons for "the breakdown of the sanctions of the law" which allowed the building of these schools: "the administrative confusion produced by the Majimbo interval" and the popular response to the contraction of opportunity for secondary education in 1964 and 1965. Now, as a result of the difficulties faced by these schools, there is a danger of serious disillusion. In the view of the Commission:

"The survival of a spirit of self-help in our communities is of the utmost importance to the future of Kenya, but it will be quickly destroyed if, by undertaking tasks that are too big for them, communities experience the frustration of failure. We consider it essential - for the sake of the spirit of self-help as much as for the sake of its objectives - that the impulse towards self-help should be diverted into the performance of tasks that lie within the capacity and resources of a community to discharge successfully."⁵

The Commission concluded that "Central Government Planning and uncontrolled community enterprise cannot exist side by side."⁶

1. This isolated quotation is a little misleading: the dangers of unregulated self-help were foreseen in the National Policy for Community Development and measures suggested to overcome them.
2. Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965, paragraph 100.
3. Kenya Education Report Part II, 22nd July 1965, Government Printer, Kenya, p.21.
4. For a full and critical discussion of this problem see *ibid.* pp.21-32.
5. *Ibid.*, p.24.
6. *Ibid.*, p.23.

The problem of co-ordination of wishes and plans is complicated by the functioning of local government. In theory, it would appear that local government, which is responsible in law for maintaining many health and educational facilities, should act as the reconciling and controlling mechanism, both between local wishes and local resources, and between central government planning direction and local implementation. Indeed the Development Plan, published during Regionalism indicated that the Government depended upon local authorities to carry out both their own programmes and those of the Government for which they had executive responsibility.¹ But many local authorities, and most notably the County Councils responsible for rural areas, have run into multiple difficulties as a result of which services have often had to be curtailed. The widespread dissatisfaction at this position was voiced by a Member of Parliament in October 1965 when he gave notice of a motion in the House of Representatives calling on the Government, in view of the incompetence of some local authorities in Kenya, to take over from them direct responsibility for education and public health.² President Kenyatta has recently himself recognised this unfortunate state of affairs:

"...deplore a position in which people in many areas are blaming their local authorities for inefficiency, while the councils blame the local people for not paying taxes that are due. All this means in effect that thousands of families are unable to enjoy the services they need. We shall therefore continue to examine the whole local Government position, and see how present difficulties can best be met and put right."³

Some of the reasons for this ineffectiveness of County Councils will help to illustrate the problem of Government penetration in relation to local authorities. In the first place, the councillors who were elected around the time of Independence were usually new and made a clean sweep of their generally better educated and more experienced predecessors. Secondly, the electoral promises made by these councillors tend to inhibit any leadership they might otherwise have shown in encouraging the payment of local government taxes. Thirdly, local government staff, confined to their tribal areas by the strong demand that all staff should be local people, are subject to strong pressures, feel insecure in their jobs, and have often left the local government service to find more amenable, less exacting and more rewarding work. Fourthly, during Regionalism, County Councils were largely, in law, subject to the supervision of the regional assemblies; but those bodies, themselves new and engaged in working out their own organisation and functions, were unable to carry this out effectively. And finally, and crucially, in the reaction, part nationalist and anti-Colonial, and part tribal, or local, against the Provincial Administration which occurred at its strongest during Regionalism, County Councils almost without exception resolved to abandon the practice of collecting their taxes through the offices of the Provincial Administration, its District Officers, Chiefs, Headmen and Tribal Police, and to do it themselves, despite the fact that they had neither the staff nor the

1. Development Plan, p.101.

2. Hansard, 14th October 1965, column 1056.

3. Main Address by His Excellency The President Mzee Jomo Kenyatta at the State Opening of Parliament on 2nd November 1965. Government Printer, Kenya, p.3.

machinery. The resulting financial and administrative crises have provoked a growing civic awareness among the electorate, and a number of reforms. Tax collection has been restored to the Provincial Administration, and training courses for councillors have been held at the Kenya Institute of Administration. Nevertheless, the conclusion is inescapable that at this stage the County Councils are not suitable organisations for close integration into the direct lines of action and reporting necessary for implementation of the plan. In any case, County Councils are principally concerned with the provision of services of a social and welfare nature, while the targets of the plan are likely to emphasise production, and therefore involve the local officers of the central government more than the local authorities.

The co-ordination and implementation of the plan in rural areas is, in fact, to be entrusted neither to the Department of Community Development nor to the local authorities, but to the Provincial Administration (here after termed, as it is colloquially, "the Administration") in conjunction with the departmental officers and officers of the Ministry for Economic Development and Planning. In order to understand this, the changes which have taken place in the Administration, and in its relationships with other parts of Government will be summarised.

In the Colonial period in Kenya the Administration was both powerful and political: until the few years before Independence the District Commissioner and his immediate staff were not unlike an unrepresentative one party in a one party state, combining in their persons a fusion of executive and assumed representative functions carried out through the hierarchy of Provincial and District Commissioners, District Officers, appointed Chiefs and Headmen, and Tribal Police. The Administration, partly through its responsibility for law and order, was strengthened by the Emergency in the 1950's, and its seniority over other departments was formalised in that the District Commissioner was chairman of the District Education Board, the District Agricultural Committee, the District Security Committee, the District Intelligence Committee, the District Team, where there was one, and above all, the African District Council. In 1960, perhaps because the mainly expatriate Administration was being weakened at the roots by African political activity, and was losing its ability to claim to represent the people, it was found necessary to define the position of the Administration vis-a-vis other departments:

"...Departmental Officers should remember that upon the Administration rests the primary responsibility for the progress and welfare of the people of all races in their charge, the maintenance of peace and good government, and the general working of the machinery of government in conformity with the policy laid down by the Council of Ministers. Provincial and District Commissioners for their part must remember that the officers of other Ministries are qualified professionally and technically and are responsible for the implementation of their Minister's policies and their rights and obligations must be fully respected. The Provincial Commissioner is, within the limits of his province, the principal executive officer of the government. It is his duty to supervise not only the work of his administrative staff, but also what is done in his province by all Departmental Officers."¹

1. Circular No. 12 of 1960, reproduced in the Journal of Administration, Vol.XIII, No.1, January 1961, pp.50-52.

This circular did not, however, prevent the erosion of influence, as District Education Boards and District Agricultural Committees became more representative, and District Commissioners often ceased to be chairmen. More important, District Commissioners began to be replaced by local persons as chairmen of African District Councils. Then, before Independence, the ultimate responsibility for law and order, and with it the chairmanship of the Security and Intelligence Committees, was transferred to the Kenya Police. Regionalism further weakened the Administration. Provincial Commissioners became Civil Secretaries, working, in theory at least, to the elected Presidents of Regional Assemblies, and District Commissioners became Regional Government Agents. There was uncertainty about career prospects, powers, roles and responsibilities.¹ At the same time the Administration was the first department to suffer the inevitable disruptions of rapid postings resulting from resolute Africanisation. In 1964, one district had at least ten Regional Government Agents, and Kisii District, which may have been typical, had three. Towards the end of 1963, the average length of time a District Commissioner had been of District Commissioner rank was 7 months, and his average length of service in his district 4 months.

In this situation, the role of the administrative officer was bound to change. Departmental officers were also affected: less subject to the control and influence of the Administration, they acted more on their own. An example of what was happening can be provided by the Local Committee of the Mwea-Tobere Irrigation Scheme, which was chaired by the District Commissioner. In the three years 1961, 1962 and 1963, there were six different District Commissioners as chairmen, but the Manager of the Scheme, a departmental officer, was unchanged. During this period, the function of the committee shifted from direction of the scheme, in which the District Commissioner had played a large part, to advice and assistance to the Manager, particularly in handling problems of a political nature. Indeed, during the period 1963-1964, jealousy of the Administration on the part of other departments ceased to be a serious issue. Departmental officers, who were often still expatriates, welcomed a new role assumed by administrative officers, who were usually Africans, a role adapted from the traditional political functions of the Administration: that of acting as an intermediary and a broker between the politician and the departmental civil servant. The Administration had found a new "constituency"; for whereas before the administrative officer had represented the people to the rest of the civil service and the rest of the civil service to the people, he now represented the rest of the civil service to the politician, and the politician to the rest of the civil service.

Since December 1964, however, with the ending of regionalism and the reorganisation of ministries, the roles and position of administrative officers have changed again on the rebound. Following its transfer from the Ministry of Home Affairs to the Office of the President, the Administration works direct to the Permanent Secretary to the President, who is also Secretary to the Cabinet and Head of the Civil Service. Provincial and District Commissioners have been restored to their original titles and, now as the personal representatives of the President in their areas, have gained high prestige. They are again chairmen of Security and Intelligence Committees, and are responsible for the licensing of public meetings. They organise visits for Ministers and Assistant Ministers, appear in uniform

1. For a summary of the position of the Administration in 1964, see C.J. Gortzel "Regional Administration in Kenya 1964: Precis", delivered to the EAISR Conference, Makerere, in December 1964.

with senior members of the Government, and are publicly recognised as the principal representatives of Government in their areas. On important occasions, Provincial and District Commissioners hold parades and make speeches of a national character which are reported in the press. Working direct to the President, and usually in areas other than those in which they were born, Administrative Officers have been able, and indeed required, to assume an important role in national integration which is in keeping both with their continuity of aspiration to lead and with the policies of the Government. Further, particularly through its ability to carefully organise the detail of visits for Ministers, the Administration has displayed decisiveness and a capacity for effective action.

In view of this re-emerging primacy of the Administration on the one hand, and the high priority of plan implementation on the other, the Administration is the obvious choice for a co-ordinating and implementing agency for the Plan. The first involvement has been in the preparation and submission of Provincial Development Plans by Provincial Commissioners. However, the degree to which it will prove possible to incorporate these plans in the first revision of the national plan remains to be seen, though the indications are that it will be difficult. In May 1965, the Minister for Economic Planning and Development, after emphasising the importance of provincial planning as a training exercise and means of involving field officers in the planning process and encouraging local enthusiasm, said:

"...However, the provinces do not at this stage have enough personnel, information or experience for effective planning. In any case planning for the nation as a whole could not be left to the provinces - for they are likely to produce unco-ordinated programmes. It is therefore important that planning in the provinces be done under guidance and direction from the Central Planning Organization in my Ministry, so that attempts can be made towards the most efficient allocation of resources of the country as a whole."¹

To achieve this guidance and direction, the Ministry intends to recruit a Provincial Planning Officer for each province. While much communication with the centre and responsibility for the detail of planning and reporting will rest with this Provincial Planning Officer, the ultimate responsibility for the co-ordination and implementation of the Plan will rest with the Provincial and District Commissioners, working through Provincial and District Development Committees which are being set up and have in many cases already met. These are civil service bodies, chaired by the Provincial and District Commissioners, with the Provincial Planning Officer as secretary and the appropriate Community Development Officer as alternate secretary, and the local heads of the departments concerned with development as members.² It is intended that the Community Development Self-Help Committees shall be fitted into the structure as sub-committees of the development committees. The Development Committees are charged with inter-departmental

1. "Economic Development Planning and the Kenya Plan". Speech delivered by the Hon. T.J. Mboya, Minister for Economic Planning and Development, at the Kenya Institute of Administration, on March 4th, 1965.
2. For full membership see Appendix B.

Ministry for Economic Planning and Development; and Development Advisory Committees. In addition, at District and Provincial level there are Agricultural Committees, and at County (District) level various local government committees. There are, in fact, a number of alternative lines of communication available for the upward stream of grievances, requests and suggestions: through the party and the Member; through the councillor of the local government to the Ministry of Local Government; through the Administration; through the Department of Community Development; through a specialist department. Equally, there are several alternative ways for the Government to reach the people.

The effects of the Plan and the organisation for carrying it out in rural areas are a matter of speculation. The position is rapidly evolving. However, the following developments are possible:

(i) In view of the proposed key position of the Administration in implementing the Plan, and the centralising and disciplinary effect of the allocation of targets by the Development Committees, there may well be a sort of magnetic orientation and drawing closer to the Development Committees, and so to the Administration, of all other local bodies concerned with development. If this does not happen, implementation and control may not be effective.

(ii) Similarly the mutual desire to achieve development could unite the civil servants and politicians to a greater degree, and increase contacts between them, reducing the number of questions about local grievances going up the line and leading, in the end, to questions in Parliament.

(iii) The circles of communication may be closed at a lower level. The authority of the plan targets may mean that departmental officers will need less, and be inclined less, to refer decisions up the line.

(iv) Politicians, most notably Senators and Members of Parliament may develop new sources of support in their constituencies. The Minister for Economic Planning and Development has recently urged Members of Parliament to "try to establish contact with local leaders like the officials of co-operatives, women's groups and religious leaders because these people could play a useful role in stimulating mass enthusiasm for development".¹ They will also have to gain the support of civil servants if they are to be able to take credit for progress in the districts.

(v) In view of the greater ease with smallholders of measuring production than investment and hence perhaps a greater emphasis on production rather than investment targets, there may be a national shift of attention away from welfare services, which usually involve capital formation or investment in their initial stages (building the school, buying the Land-rover), towards services which are more closely related to production.

(vi) If the development committees and plan targets spread downwards to the locational (chief) and sub-locational (headman) levels: (a) the Development Committees at these levels may subsume the self-help and advisory committees, since the membership of all these committees would tend to overlap, and functional specialisation is less divisive at these levels. Further, some Chiefs have semi-political appointments, thus uniting in their persons a representative origin and an executive function, which may blur the distinction between the political "advisory" and the civil service executive functions.

1. Hon. T.J. Mboya, as reported in the East African Standard, 18th December, 1965.

(b) Various approaches may be used to overcome the problem of communication in the smallholder syndrome. Information and exhortation may pass through Chiefs' and Headmen's barazas, extension officers, self-help groups, and so on. But it may be that the Chief, Headman, Agricultural Instructor, or whoever it is who has responsibility for achieving the production targets, in seeking to divide their targets up, will create entirely new production-orientated groups, a sort of agricultural "kumi-kumi", production cells working to and advised by the civil service.

Some of these speculations may make more sense when it is recognised that it is mainly through the civil service that the Government intends to implement the Plan. Mr. Mboya has put it that "In the final analysis the initiative on the part of the civil servant rather than the local politician can decide whether or not an area will develop".¹ And the President himself has said:

"From now on civil servants' merits will be judged by their contribution to the development plan. They will be called to explain any failure to achieve their targets. The best district is no longer the quietest one but the one which makes most progress towards its development targets. The Civil Service is under my control and I can reward good work and punish bad work in this field. I give warning that judgment will be based on development achievement."²

The patterns of organisation, roles and procedures that evolve will depend upon many inponderables, not least the relations of the Ministry for Economic Planning and Development with the President's Office, other Ministries and the Provincial Administration, and the future of KANU. But much will also depend upon the capacity of the civil service to effect policies. This is less inponderable. The Kenya Civil Service has a loyalty, honesty and ability that is exceptional among modernising countries. This was shown before Independence in, for instance, the land consolidation programme in Central Province, and since Independence in the Tripartite Agreement to create additional employment, the launching of the National Youth Service, and the million acre settlement scheme. For some years, however, this ability has largely been locked up in constitutional and structural changes: in boundary alterations, elections, commissions, the ambiguities of Regionalism and the rapid postings and disruptions of Africanisation. The progressive release of this capacity to act coincides with the promise of moves towards plan implementation in rural areas. If there is clear direction from the top, and political collaboration at all levels, even the more optimistic planners may be surprised by what the civil servants achieve.

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1. Hon. T.J. Mboya, Minister for Economic Planning and Development, as reported in the East African Standard, 18th December 1965.
 2. President Kenyatta, as reported in the Daily Nation of 16th December 1965.

APPENDIX A FROM "A BASELINE SURVEY OF FACTORS AFFECTING AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THREE AREAS IN KENYA"
MARCO SURVEYS June-August 1965, pp.66, 67.

Q. To whom do you go or from where do you get your information about.....?

	Self-help authority %	News about Kenya %	Cash crop Market prices %	About Livestock %	About Land Consolidation %	About Farming %
Education Officer	56	20	56	78	52	72
Chief's Baraza	42	29	31	37	41	50
Friends (writing word of mouth)	26	36	20	14	22	19
Chief / Sub-chief	32	17	19	28	29	36
No source of information	2	5	17	6	18	3
Local Co-op. Society	5	-	7	1	3	2
Radio	4	41	4	4	4	5
Newspaper/ Magazine	1	12	2	2	2	3
Teacher	1	1	-	1	-	-
Mission Station	-	1	-	-	-	1
TOTAL %	1169	162	156	171	171	191

The averaged % totals for the three locations in which the questions were administered are the figures given here.

APPENDIX B

MEMBERSHIP OF DEVELOPMENT AND DEVELOPMENT ADVISORY COMMITTEES

(a) Provincial and District Development Committees.

Membership
Provincial

the Provincial Commissioner (Chairman);
the Provincial Planning Officer (Secretary);
the Provincial Agricultural Officer;
the Provincial Veterinary Officer;
the Provincial Education Officer;
the Provincial Medical Officer;
the Provincial Co-operative Officer;
the Provincial Community Development Officer (to act as Secretary in the absence of the Provincial Planning Officer);
the Provincial representative of the Ministry of Works, Communications and Power.

In addition, Provincial representatives of other Ministries may be co-opted at the discretion of the Chairman and will be required to attend meetings when discussion items lie within their portfolio.

District

the District Commissioner (Chairman);
the Provincial Planning Officer (Secretary);
the District Community Development Officer (alternate Secretary);
the District Agricultural Officer;
the District Medical Officer
the District representative of the Ministry of Works, Communications and Power;
the Chief Administrative Officer of the Local Government Authority;
the District Co-operative Officer

In addition, District representatives of other Ministries may be co-opted at the discretion of the Chairman, and will be required to attend meetings when discussion items lie within their portfolio.

(b) Provincial and District Development Advisory Committees

Membership
Provincial

the Provincial Commissioner (Chairman);
all members of the Provincial Development Committee;
one M.P. and one Senator from each District (the M.P. to be selected by the M.P.s of the District);
the Chairman of the Provincial Advisory Council;
two Provincial Advisory members (to be selected by the Council);
two leading citizens (to be nominated by the Provincial Commissioner in consultation with the Provincial Development Committee)

District

the District Commissioner (Chairman);
all members of the District Development Committee;
all M.P.s and Senators in the District;
the Chairman of the County Council;
two members of the County Council (to be selected by the
County Council);
the Chairman of the KANU District Branch;
two or three eminent citizens (to be selected by the
District Commissioner in consultation with the
District Development Committee).