"THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANT IN KENYA:
A STUDY OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF PERSONNEL
AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT"

by

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ABSTRACT

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

The history of the organisation is briefly outlined. This is followed by an analysis of the factors within the organisation which tend to produce fragmentation and, conversely, integration. It is argued that the tendencies towards fragmentation are strong, and those which might make for a more integrated organisation are not as effective as they might be. The consequence of this is that the organisation finds itself placed in an insecure position. The self-help movement in Kenya is likely to be weakened as a result.
Our concern in this paper is to look at the way in which a particular formal organisation operates. The focus is on the Social Services department of Kenya's Ministry of Housing and Social Services, and, in particular, upon the Community Development Division within it. The approach employed is primarily derived from two books: Herbert Simon's 'Administrative Behaviour' (20) and Herbert Kaufman's 'The Forest Ranger' (13). The latter's study is what may be described as an attempt at 'administrative anthropology' (13pp 6,7). By focusing attention on a particular 'front line actor' in an administrative system, he succeeds in throwing a great deal of light on how that system functions. He in turn, derives his approach for Herbert Simon, quoting the latter's view that, "In the study of organisation, the operative employee must be at the focus of attention, for the success of the structure will be judged by his performance within it. Insight into the structure and function of an organisation can be gained by analysing the manner in which decisions and behaviour of such employees are carried out" (20, p.3).

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

Similarly, the focus of this paper is upon an "operative employee" - in this case, the Community Development Assistant (CDA) whose role in Kenya's rural development is, at least in theory, an important one. The approach used is, to some extent, derived from Kaufman. The usual methods were followed, but, in addition, a large element of participant observation also entered. This was made possible by the Ministry of Housing and Social Services and UNICEF, for whom I played a consultancy role on the training of CDAs. Similarly the Ministry enabled me to look at other programmes of theirs, especially within the Special Rural Development Programme (SRDP). This, too, gave a vantage point through which to examine the behaviour of CDAs and to relate this to the objectives of the organisation.
The history of the CDA in Kenya goes back at least as far as the 1940's. This was a period when, throughout the areas colonized by the British, what was variously called "mass education", "basic education", and, later, "community development" became something of a fetish. It was, to some idealists, a magic wand which, once waved, would solve a very large number of problems then facing colonial systems. Its greatest appeal was that it was both a political and an economic instrument. It was political in its naïve belief in the 'good African' practising village democracy and blissfully unaware of any larger issues. It was economic in its emphasis on making better use of existing resources available to the community and the use of inexpensive technology. In both its economic and political aspects, it was regarded as a means by which colonial stability could be achieved.

For our more immediate purposes it has to be noted that, in Kenya and elsewhere, some kind of organisation had to be developed in order to carry out these ideas in the field. This is how the role of the CDA came into being. In 1945 a few so-called "african welfare workers" were appointed (p.34) and worked directly under the provincial administration, there being no separate welfare or community development organisation at that time. Although in each district they took orders from the D.C. or a D.O. their salaries were paid by the local authorities (the African District Councils). In 1950, the job title was changed to "community development assistant" and the post of D.O. (CD) was created - i.e. a District Officer who was supposedly a specialist in community development work. Only a few districts, however, received the services of these officers - Kisumu, Kakamega, Kisii, Fort Hall Kamba, Kitui, Machakos and Nyeri. The employment of the CDAs was similarly concentrated in these areas. Thus, there was little attempt at this time to bring Community Development to such areas as the present Coast, NorthEastern and Rift Valley provinces. It is not mere coincidence that these latter provinces were those considered the more politically "stable" from the colonial point of view. They were thus regarded as less in need of "mass-education".

The nature of the CDA's work at this time was manifestly political. Community Development was never very far away from "propaganda" and the CDA was the "operative employee" concerned with its transmission. In a legislative debate in 1951, the chief Native Commissioner (then the senior civil servant in charge of community development) betrayed this ambiguity rather vividly:
On the Community Development side I would say that the Commissioner (for CD) is now responsible for discovering the particular need of the districts for material, educational material. I can never get the word for this, educational is the best word I can give. I loathe the word 'propaganda', it is not propaganda, it is information, education, whatever you like to call it" (14).

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

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

In the same letter this CDA added that his work involved literacy clubs (evening classes run by volunteers), women’s clubs, locational sports meetings and film-shows. Much of the work of CDAs at this time seems to have centred on the community hall, a building where the CDA could organise shows and “leaders” courses concerning such matters as nutrition, public health, current affairs, farming and so on. Thus, from the earliest days, the CDA was something of a multi-purpose worker, with the related possibilities of “border-disputes” arising with other field-workers. If he had any special competence, this was in adult education, a field for which most of them received considerable training.

In 1950 23 CDAs attended a 12 month training course at the then James school (now K.I.A.), the emphasis in the curriculum was “placed on the practical aspects of mass education, mass literacy, projection work, and information services” (5,p.35). In that year there were 53 CDAs and 10 D.O (C.D.) posts (5,p.1).

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

The purpose behind these courses was summarised as follows:
1. To acquaint individuals considered to be of influence in their respective communities with the complexity of modern local government and administration.

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

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

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

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

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

Special emphasis in the programme was placed on the "affected areas", and also on those felt to be 'potentially' "mau mau", notably Machakos district where the first 'pilot-project' on community development lines was run in Mbooni location under the leadership of an African administrative assistant (1, ch. 3). It is noteworthy that no CDO was involved in the exercise, but CDAs played an important role. The important principle was the development of a locational "team", consisting of CDAs, departmental staff, and the chief and his headmen. More CDAs than the usual locational complement of one were made available by sending a party of CDAs in training at Jeeves school at Mbooni for their fieldwork. The objective was to use community methods to achieve home improvement, the idea being that "by working together more work could be done than by working individually. Leaders were brought together and given instructions by this team. Unfortunately, it is not clear how these leaders were selected, except that, in some sense, they were "chosen by the people" (1,p.20). These leaders, having received training, would then return to their area and convince their people of the value of this approach, and also organise the work with the assistance of the locational team. The scheme seems to have been a success (1,p.21), its strength apparently lying in the way it combined traditional patterns of
behaviour ("mwethya") with newly created administrative inputs (back-up work by
the locational team, the organisation of training courses etc.). Askwith,
the commissioner for community Development at this time undoubtedly thought
that his department had made a real contribution to keeping the Kamba,
at least to some extent, out of mau mau (1, p.22):

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

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

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

These circumstances, which were primarily political, gave rise to
the growth of a large and complex government department employing a large
staff. In turn, further organisational complexity stemmed from the close
involvement of the local authorities who were the employer of the CDAs -
the central government department employing the more senior officers from
CDO upwards. By 1957, there were 97 CDOs in the field (four of these were
Africans, the first to be appointed). There were also 163 CDAs, 447 women
leaders and 89 Training staff (ie. instructors attached to District Training
Centres). There is little doubt that this expansion was a direct consequence
of the political situation at the time. The emergency did not formally end until 1960, but by 1957 or 1958 the urgency of the situation had diminished considerably. Hence a large part of the organisation's rationale (combating mau mau) was eliminated by the late 1950's. New goals, however, arose with the coming of independence. The meeting of these new goals, however, was considerably facilitated by the capacity of the organisational framework which had been bequeathed to independent Kenya during the emergency period.

**Community Development since Independence**

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

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

The work of the CD underwent considerable changes during the 1960's. In his capacity as a virtual 'registrar' of self-help projects, the sheer quantity of work increased greatly. Furthermore, the CD's crucial role in channelling aid (not just from Government sources) expanded greatly. Also, as time went on, new programmes were added (e.g. village polytechnics,
Act as secretary and Executive officer to village Development Communities and sub-locational self-help committees.

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

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

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

Help people identify and fully utilise local resources.

Organise local leadership training courses aimed at local leadership development.

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

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

Advise and service youth programmes - that is, village polytechnics, centres and youth clubs.

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

Help in the development of sport and culture.

CDAs are employed by local authorities - some by area councils until they were abolished earlier this year and by County Councils. This is a direct continuation from the situation prior to independence when they were employed by the then African District Councils. However, their day-to-day supervision is carried out by officers within the social services department of the Ministry of Cooperatives and social services.

At district level, the senior officer is the CDO, who shares office facilities at headquarters with such officers as the Adult Education officer, the sports officer, the District Nursery supervisor, and so on. All of these officers depend on CDAs to carry out work for them at divisional and locational levels.

The C.D.O. and his district level colleagues, in turn, are responsible to provincial headquarters which is headed by the provincial director of social services. The chain of command then passes upwards to central headquarters in Nairobi. An organisational 'chart' can be drawn, thus:
But charts do not tell us very much about how organisations work. Such an undertaking may be enhanced by looking more directly at how the CDAs themselves perceive and enact their roles. In doing this, I wish to employ two concepts derived from Kaufman's work [13] - tendencies towards (a) fragmentation and (b) integration. By looking at CDAs in action, it is hoped that the way both these tendencies manifest themselves in Kenya's community development organisational network will be clarified.

**Fragmentation**

All organisations contain centrifugal tendencies, i.e. which weaken unity, and hence reduce the capacity of the organisation to operate in line with its stated objectives. Any organisation requires a system of communication and methods of enforcing compliance down the hierarchy; the larger it becomes the more difficult it is to find satisfactory ways of doing so.
This makes it likely that the organisation will show symptoms of fragmentation. In the case of the organisational framework within which the CDA operates, these tendencies are more marked than in most organisations in Kenya. There are a number of reasons why this is so.

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

The problem in Kenya has been that a very large number of organisations, such as Leonard (15) and Morris (17) on the administration of agriculture indicate the existence of a number of organisational difficulties but these are not as severe as those experienced in community development.
A large number of CDAs in the field have not received training. In other words, this particular device for fostering organizational unity has been under-utilized. A survey carried out in April 1974 shows that, in some districts (e.g. Machakos, Kiambu) well over half of the CDAs have not had any professional training (23). Of the total of 650 CDAs, about 220 have not been trained for the job. It is clear that this raises considerable difficulties in the field. All of the CDOs perceive a very considerable gap between the performance of trained and untrained CDAs. Each of them were presented with a series of statements concerning the possible differences between the two groups. Where less difference was perceived was in such areas as discipline, practicality and initiative - all qualities less amenable to manipulation through training. The strongest agreement was with the statement that "If, in talking to a trained CDAs, I use such terms as "felt needs" or "human relations", he understands me, but an untrained CD does not", twenty-eight CDOs agreeing strongly, seven agreeing and none disagreeing. Other statements where agreement was strong were:-

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

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

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

Having made this point, it is necessary to explain how this situation arose. The two main training institutions, the Kenya Institute of Administration and the Government Training Institute, Maseno, seem to have placed their emphasis on quality rather than quantity. Only 25 CDAs per year have been passing through each of these institutions. Furthermore, no training has taken place since 1972 as UNICEF, which had been subsidizing the courses, withdrew its support, having spent approximately ½ million shillings.
over a fourteen year period. The problem was that no systematic evaluation of CDA training had been carried out during that period. In fact, UNICEF had very little idea what this money had been spent on. The net result is that there are no longer adequate financial resources for CDA training. Negotiations are now underway to see whether funds can be found and training resumed. Meanwhile, the 'backlog' of untrained CDAs is swelling since recruitment, although it has slowed down, is continuing.

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

Whilst training/in gearing employees to behaviour which meets the organisation's needs, financial incentives may be expected to be of greater importance. Until March 1971 the local authorities all determined rates of pay for their employees. In 1970 negotiations began between the Kenya local government workers union (KLGWU) and the local authorities to coordinate terms and conditions of service throughout Kenya. It was agreed that locational CDAs throughout the country should start at £210 per year, rising to £390. Divisional CDAs would be in the range £350 - £570, and District CDAs £660 - £840. It is clear that, although these are the agreed rates, they are not being honoured by all the local authorities. Some CDAs in fact start at £50 per year; this is £40 less than the minimum for an assistant chief before the implementation of the Ndegwa Report on Civil service salaries, and over a £100 less than the current rates. It is not surprising that the morale of many CDAs is low.

The situation in many districts is even more serious. In some districts (admittedly a minority) CDAs are not being paid their salaries at all. Several county councils, mainly in western Kenya, are virtually bankrupt. Thus, the county council of Gusii has not paid its staff salaries for at least two years (11,22) In other parts of the county a similar situation exists in some districts, e.g. Kony, Tana River, and Lamu. Under these circumstances, the CDAs feel that they have to refrain from ordering their CDAs to do anything at all. So even the routine statistics collection procedures are unlikely to be followed. It is clearly unwise to attach
much credence to official statistics in view of the fact. Even in areas where non-payment of salaries has not occurred (e.g. Embu, Kwale), the CDAs know that the local authorities are in difficulty and naturally feel very insecure as a result. None of this helps morale, as is clear from the writer's observations in the field.

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

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

This leaves open the issue of whether the self-help movement suffers greatly from this staffing deficiency. Nationally, it should be possible to establish this, but the process would be a most complex one since a number of other variables are involved. However, from our point of view, the main significance lies in the fact that this situation clearly affects the internal operations of the organisation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Total no. of CDAs</th>
<th>Ratio of pop. to CDa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kiambu</td>
<td>475,576</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15,833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muranga</td>
<td>445,310</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>10,358</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kirinyaga</td>
<td>216,988</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>9,474</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nyeri</td>
<td>360,845</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10,934</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nyandarua (K/N)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embu</td>
<td>178,912</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7,778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitui</td>
<td>342,953</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15,569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machakos</td>
<td>707,214</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>18,134</td>
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<tr>
<td>Meru</td>
<td>596,506</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>11,930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isiolo</td>
<td>30,135</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7,534</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marsabit</td>
<td>51,581</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12,865</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kilifi</td>
<td>307,569</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>37,446</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kwale</td>
<td>205,602</td>
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<td>20,560</td>
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<td>Kumu</td>
<td>22,401</td>
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<td>11,201</td>
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<tr>
<td>Taita</td>
<td>110,742</td>
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<td>9,229</td>
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<td>Tana River</td>
<td>50,696</td>
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<td>Kisii</td>
<td>675,041</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>15,699</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kisumu</td>
<td>400,643</td>
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<td>25,040</td>
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<tr>
<td>Siaya</td>
<td>383,188</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>14,738</td>
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<tr>
<td>South Nyanza</td>
<td>663,175</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>15,790</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Table 1 continued.
### Rift Valley Province

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Area (km²)</th>
<th>Density (people/km²)</th>
<th>Settlement Type</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baringo</td>
<td>161,741</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23,106</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elgeyo Marakwet</td>
<td>159,265</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14,479</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kajiado</td>
<td>85,905</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12,272</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kericho</td>
<td>479,135</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>34,224</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lugipin</td>
<td>66,506</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6,651</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakuru</td>
<td>290,853</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18,171</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nandi</td>
<td>209,068</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11,004</td>
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<td>Narok</td>
<td>125,219</td>
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<td>15,652</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samburu (N/A)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trans-Nzoia</td>
<td>124,361</td>
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<td>17,766</td>
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<td>Turbienn</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>82,613</td>
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<td>Uasin-Gishu</td>
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<td>15,920</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>West Pokot</td>
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<td>8,246</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Western Province

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Area (km²)</th>
<th>Density (people/km²)</th>
<th>Settlement Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bungoma</td>
<td>345,926</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>9,864</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busia</td>
<td>200,486</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20,049</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakamega</td>
<td>762,586</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>37,266</td>
<td>1</td>
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</table>

### North-Eastern Province

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Area (km²)</th>
<th>Density (people/km²)</th>
<th>Settlement Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Garissa</td>
<td>64,521</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9,217</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandera (N/A)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wajir</td>
<td>66,230</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10,179</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: 1969 Census and UNICEF Survey)
It is also possible to establish differences between districts in terms of the ratios of CDAs to projects. Table 2 shows the pattern for Eastern province:

### Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>CDA/Project Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Machakos</td>
<td>65.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitui</td>
<td>34.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embu</td>
<td>25.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isiolo</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meru</td>
<td>24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marsabit</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

Kennedy (13,p.66) draws our attention to another variable which is likely to produce organisational fragmentation. Internal communication problems are bound to arise in the CDAs' usual field situation. In most districts, the available means of communication are limited. Furthermore, given the nature of CDA work, face to face contact seems to be necessary in order to ensure that the content of the communication is well understood. We have already made reference to the transport problems confronting CDO workers (the CDO, although provided with a Land Rover, also faces constraints); face to face contacts are thus bound to be limited. The CDO, furthermore, has to communicate with a geographically far-flung staff. In Kwale, not one of the country's largest districts, some CDAs are posted to locations as much as 80 miles from district headquarters.
Another communication difficulty can arise from the fact that the local authorities, not the social services department, if the employees of the CDAs. This gives ample room for the 'conflicting directives' problem to arise (13). Whilst the CDA's formal job-description may indicate that his responsibility in the field is to the CDO, the issue may not always be perceived this way in reality. In some districts, especially those reckoned politically 'sensitive', this can be a real problem. Councillors may find strong incentives to 'use' the CDA against rival politicians, and justify this on the ground that the CDA is, in any case, an employee of the local authority. At the same time, the CDO may have received policy guidelines from his superior which run counter to objectives of the councillor concerned. The CDA is then, liable to be caught in the 'cross fire', a situation which can be exacerbated by the fact that he is himself part of the community in which the political contest is taking place.

Three main factors tending to give rise to fragmentation within the administration of community development have now been discussed -

1) The large number of untrained CDAs 2) The large number of unpaid CDAs 3) communication difficulties of various kinds. Devices are, however, available to organisations to develop a degree of unity. The discussion in this paper now turns to the ways in which this can be done.

Integration

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

In Kauffman's terms, organisations like the U.S. service or the Kenya Community Development Division require a method of "performing decisions" (13, ch.14). If field officers make entirely independent decisions, the organisation can collapse. Thus, methods are required to ensure that when CDAs make decisions they more or less know in advance the applicable decision for each specific situation. At the same time, it should be stressed that the CDA must make most decisions himself; the organisation would also be in severe difficulty if the CDA came to rely too heavily on the CDO to make them for him.
A variety of methods can be used to achieve this purpose. These are (a) procedures (b) Supervision (c) training (d) recruitment.

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

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

A similar difficulty arises with respect to reporting from junior to more senior levels. It appears that reporting by CDAs is not as regular or as useful, as it might be. Although reports should be either monthly or quarterly, some CDAs rarely report at all, others might report once in six months. Oftentimes the reports are vague and lack sufficient detail on which to base any form of administrative action. Also, these reports often contain unexplained inconsistencies, e.g., the number of women’s groups in a particular location might be reported as varying greatly from one month to another, but with little or no explanation as to why this is so. However, the reports do contain some information which may be of use to senior officers. The writing of them also provides an opportunity for CDAs to express their
views on the situation in their locations, e.g. to point out that the cattle dip programme is suffering because adequate technical assistance has not been forthcoming from the "department concerned". Also, many CDAs feel isolated; and suggest, in their reports, that more visits from senior officer would be valuable. So reporting can be a vehicle for expressing frustration - as 'outlet' or 'safety valve', and, in that sense, rather than the opposite.

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

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

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

c) Is there a real need for this project in terms not only of the local community, but also in terms of wider planning criteria?

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

b) Supervision. In the community - development field situation, opportunities for close supervision are rare. This is not, however, to say that supervision is impossible; some face to face contact does occur, and plays a useful role in organisational integration. Surveys were carried out in Mombasa and Ewende to discover the extent of contact between the CDA and other officers. In this way, information was obtained for 61 'CDA weeks'. We take here the three most important departmental officers who rely on the CDA to carry out work for them in the field - the CDO, the
Adult Education Officer and the Social Welfare Worker. The following table indicates the frequency of contacts between the CDA and these three officers.

Table 5
CDA contact with other personnel in social services Dept.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CDA in contact with:</th>
<th>3 or more times per week</th>
<th>1 or 2 times per week</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CDO</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AEO</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.W.W.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

A typical staff meeting might have on its agenda such matters as:
Reorganisation and Recruitment of "Lamdaeleo ya Janawake"
- Social Problems survey reports (carried out by CDAs)
- Adult Education Classes
- Self-help registration procedures
- Transport for field staff.
- Sport and recreation
- K.I.A. and Maseno courses for CDAs
- Tour of another district by self-help leaders.

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

c) Training

We have earlier drawn attention to the fact that a large number of CDAs in Kenya are untrained. However, the majority of them have undergone training either at the Kenya Institute of Administration or the Government Training Institute, Maseno. Between 1957 and 1972 UNICEF sponsored training for 520 trainees (combined total for both institutions). The length of the courses has varied considerably. In 1972 both K.I.A. and Maseno offered 7 month courses; in 1971, KIA offered 1 year and Maseno 7 months. In theory, K.I.A. was to provide training for 'senior' CDAs, and Maseno for more 'junior' ones, but the evidence suggests that this distinction has not been observed in practice. The content of training and the background of the trainees has not varied greatly from one institute to another.

Evaluation of training is a hazardous exercise. In view of this, it is understandable that neither the training institutions or the Community Development Division have tried to undertake such an exercise other than in a very
impressionistic way. Under UNDP auspices, however, a workshop was held in Karen in July 1974 with the intent of improving somewhat on this pattern. Asking CDAs whether they have found their training useful is not a fruitful exercise. The answer is invariably 'yes', and among the reasons for this that training produces confidence and compensates for what are perceived as inadequate levels of attainment in the educational system. A degree of prestige is attached to having attended a course at ZDA. Further, training, at any rate in theory, can lead to promotion and salary increases. So, there are a lot of reasons independent of the content of either the training given on the job which lead trained CDAs to describe the courses they have attended as "very useful".

Whilst there is unanimity among CDAs about the usefulness of the training given, that does not mean that there are not ways in which training can be improved. At the end of 1972 the emphasis remained fairly firmly upon the inculcation of the CD 'idea' to the relative neglect of certain practical skills which the field situation appears to require. Thus, a J.J. CD adviser lecturing at Maseno in 1988 (12):

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

Admittedly, not all the training of CDAs was like this, but a far larger portion of it was along these lines rather than on such technical matters as the construction of nursery schools etc. The emphasis in training has been to encourage CDAs to work according to what are generally agreed to be the 'correct' CD principles, i.e. the opposite to the 'directive' approach which, it is argued, is too often used, with changing results, in other kinds of extension work. Mbindo’s work in Machakos (18) and careful observation of the kind of work CDAs are doing in the field suggests very strongly that these attitudes are carried by CDAs into the field. An article by two CDA students at Maseno in 1970 portrays this point vividly (21):
C.D.A. (to Veterinary Scout and Agricultural Instructor):
You know, our CD working principles are somewhat different from yours.
Veterinary Scout: How?
Agricultural Instructor: You tell us how they are different.
CDA: Your programme is directed from above - from the Government whereas ours is from down. It springs from the people.
Veterinary Scout: Do you mean to say that people can plan any sensible programme? I mean, can they plan a project which will be a success in the end?
CDA: Why not?
Agricultural Instructor: Oh no! That isn't possible. It is like putting the cart before the horse. People do not have any leadership knowledge so as to make any progressive programme without our presence.
CDA: Look here, my friends. Our working principles are that people's own development begins with:
Their level of living
What they have
What they give priority, need most, and which they can give full support and take participation in voluntarily according to their own resources and leadership.

Perhaps this is a caricature, and it must be noted that the Ministry of Agriculture is moving nearer now towards what may be described as a 'human relations' approach (the curriculum of the newly created Bukura Institute of Agriculture in Western Kenya indicates this). But, like all good caricature, the above quotation focusses strongly on an important point - that CDA training has had an emphasis which differentiates it from other kinds of extension work. This does not mean that CDAs do not manipulate or propagandise in order to make their perception of what should be a community's felt need equate to a need which is then actually
articulated in the community. Nor does it mean that, in certain programmes, the CDA's approach does not have to give way to that of other officers (e.g. Chiefs) who have a different attitude towards these matters (in a later paper, I wish to deal more fully with these issues).

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>No. of CDAs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below 20</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 30</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 40</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 50</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

As far as formal education is concerned, the figures show little inter-district variation. Most CDAs have completed primary school; few have been to secondary school. More of the latter, however, are likely to emerge in the next few years if CDA work continues in its present form.
scope and complexity of CD work. Other factors also contribute to the situation which has been described in this paper so far.

Burton Clark (7) employs the concept of "precariousness of values" to explain the problems experienced by the adult education movement in California. Where the values and norms which affect members of the organisation are ambiguous or unstable, the organisation itself is likely to become insecure. Within the heterogeneous network which is the bureaucracy in Kenya, various pressures have come to be exerted on Community-development which have contributed to these difficulties.

The planners, for example, are concerned with the mushrooming of projects without a proper (in their view) degree of control (9, P. 523/524) Other affected Ministries (e.g. Health) have felt the same way. The community-development approach is not well geared to the function of control; it is much better when what is needed is motivation and guidance. This seems to explain some of the problems that the organisation has had in obtaining resources (for two years, no CDA has been trained as no resources have been obtained from the treasury so that training can be resumed).

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

Another obvious destabilising element in the overall picture is that the organisation is heavily dependent upon local authorities to fulfil its staffing requirements in the field. It is not necessary here to describe in detail the financial difficulties being faced by such
bodies. Suffice it to note here that since the late '60's Central Government controls over local authorities have greatly increased to the detriment of the resource base of the latter. The most recent measure was the abolition of the area Councils (24), bodies which up till then were the employers of many of the CDAs (the County Councils may well prove unable to take over their employment). All these problems certainly reinforce the feeling that the present organisation in Kenya for the fostering of community - development is in an insecure position. Can it be rescued? Following the October 1974 Election, an ex-CDO was given the Social Services portfolio. In a speech at Kericho Club the new Minister, Mr. Arup Towett, pointed out that this background well qualified him for the job (25). An organisation in such a precarious position requires a skillful, knowledgeable and committed leadership. If this is forthcoming, CDAs may still contribute something to rural development in Kenya.

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


3. CDA, Mwala to DO, Machakos, 8th March 1952 (KNA DC, MKS, 8,12)


25. The Standard, Nov 5, 1974