

- 61 D. J. Bradley, "Infective Diseases and Domestic Water Supplies" in *Water Supply*, edited by G. Tschannerl, Research Paper No. 20 (Dar es Salaam, BRALUP, 1971), pp. 115-30.
- 62 Cf. C. Eicher, T. Zalla, J. Kocher and F. Winch, *Employment Generation in African Agriculture* (East Lansing, Michigan, Institute of International Agriculture, Research Report No. 9, Michigan State University, July, 1970); also, the classic reference of Kenya is *Education, Employment and Rural Development*, edited by J. Sheffield (Nairobi, East African Publishing House, 1967).
- 63 D. P. Ghai, "Employment Performance, Prospects and Policies in Kenya", *East African Journal* (November, 1970), Vol. 7, No. 11, pp. 4-11, and J. R. Sheffield, *Education in the Republic of Kenya* (Washington, US Dept. of Health, Ed. and Welfare OE-14149, 1971).
- 64 Malima, op. cit.
- 65 As expressed several times before meetings of the TANU National Executive and the subsequent 15th TANU Biennial Conference in September, 1971. In his report covering the first ten years of independence, the President stressed: "Thus during the second stage we decided that we wanted to build a nation which was truly independent and truly socialist. Now our Party is entering into its third stage: and this is the stage of actually building and defending that kind of country". And, "Our problems now are those of combining organization for the common benefit with freedom to develop democratically at all levels. There is no simple solution to any of them, and certainly not one solution which can be quickly applied to them all. There is no short cut. We have to work out these problems as we deal with them". (The full text is given in *The Standard*, 19 and 20 September, 1971.) Cf. a headline from *The Standard*, 2 March, 1972, "No Substitute for Hard Work, Mwalimu Reminds Tanzania."

"Harambee" Self-Help: The Kenyan Approach

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INTRODUCTION

Recent research findings in Eastern and Central Kenya show that the traditional community development approach inherited from the colonial administration was and is fraught with difficulties and often sowed its own seeds of failure.

An analysis of the programme content and communication strategies used to convey development programmes to the rural communities shows a clear disharmony in the identification of local requirements and planning needs and in the identification, mobilization and allocation of local resources. The analysis shows that rural change programmes tended to be imposed upon rural communities irrespective of their expressed needs or abilities. The disharmony isolated Planning from Implementation so that planning was a centralized government activity and implementation was in the form of imposed programmes such as hillside terracing, livestock destocking and road making, on rural people. The disharmony between programme planning and implementation isolates the two participant categories in rural development: the government official and local progressive on the one hand and the rural household heads, clan leaders "The Ma Mbai", village notables and ritual experts on the other. The significance of these categories can be seen in Table 1 where they suggest a correlation between local initiative, and the success of the project. It shows the relationship between the nature of specific rural projects, the centre of decision-making and planning, the nature of participation and the success of the project.

Such findings appear to support the old community development truism, "Get the community and its leaders to think it is their idea." Yet anyone who is familiar with the informality of community action knows that what is portrayed above is not only a conflict of leadership but a conflict of definition of goals, strategies and degree of involvement between bureaucracies and local interest groups. Also the term "government official" gives a mistaken picture of inter-departmental co-ordination on any given programme. Hidden are the jealousies, the competitiveness, the conflicting expert prescriptions and the uncertainties arising from undefined strategies for achieving any one goal. For example, in one of the communities studied, agricultural experts recommended the use of fish in their irrigation channels. The following month the health officials sprayed DDT on the water to stop mosquitoes from breeding. All the fish died. Obviously, a local man witnessing this stupidity will be hard put to

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Table 1—AN EVALUATIVE APPROACH TO COMMUNITY PROJECTS IN FOUR COMMUNITIES IN E. KENYA

Decision Area	Group Origin of Decision and Plan Implementation	Participants	Period	Remarks
1. Construction Harambee High School	Clan Leaders in consultation with community development officials	Clans, family heads, individuals, and women age-groups	1964	Successful in all four communities
2. Building maternity clinic	Women leaders, clan leaders, officials	Clans, family heads, individuals, mainly women	1964	Successful
3. Compost-making	Extension officers	Communities, farmers	1948	Could not replace cattle manure—failed
4. Destocking	Government officials	Communities, homestead heads	1946–1960	Failed
5. Resistance to destocking and terracing	Local cattle owners and homestead leaders	Communities, family heads	1948–1960	Successful in all four
6. Adoption of cotton communal plantations	Government	Communities, farmers and their households	1965–1967	Failing
7. Maintaining irrigation channel	Government	Communities, individual plot owners and their households	1956	Failed
8. Adoption of early maturing maize	Government researchers and extension officers	Communities, individual farm households	1962–1967	Slow but successful
9. Maintaining irrigation channel	Village committee	Community households	1966–1968	Tottering
10. Land allocation to immigrants	Village committee	Community 'village committee'	1965	Successful

it to remove his hat next time he meets an "officer". Table 2 shows the structure of community consultation on important technical problems, such as: "When you wish to obtain a loan, or buy new seed, whom do you consult for advice?"

Table 2—A MEASURE OF COMMUNITY CONSULTATION ON AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS

Community	Consulted Chief Agricultural Officer	Local Farmer	Kinsman Friend	Himself
Machakos Central	30	25	30	15
Machakos New	56	20	22	2
Mbere New	50	10	35	5
Mbere Central	20	25	36	19

Table 2 indicates what most of us often refuse to see, that farmers do not consult government officials as often as we think they do. Given that over 60 per cent of the farmers studied have had less than two years formal education and the majority of these were above the age of 35 years, should it be surprising that they demonstrate overt and covert ties to the parental culture and systems of belief? Is it surprising that the choice of leaders to whom they go for consultation even on very technical matters shows a strong bias away from government officials?

The problem that needs emphasis here is, what beliefs and practices give *continuity* and *coherence* to the still prevalent indigenous "meaning areas" such as traditional kinship obligations and co-operation, and traditionally sanctioned rural interest groups and obligations as they are operative in Moslem and African rural life? What role can the harnessing of traditionally legitimate modes of compliance and discipline play in mobilizing rural people for effective involvement in development?

This has not only to do with motivating rural people. It also has to do with defining development in such a way that there will be no sharp cognitive and operational break between the present, the past and the future. Social reality has to have a consistent and coherent definition in relation to the people's own experience if planners are to avoid popular frustration, apathy or outright defiance. This neglected orientation dismisses the traditional/modern dichotomy as arbitrary and subjective and as causing great impediments to the developmental process.

The self-help movement analysed in the areas studied affords us a unique example of a socially defined development situation which demonstrates the utility of this neglected orientation. It also exposes to us a unique experience. One need attend only one night and day *Harambee* self-help session to realize the depth of commitment and even recklessness which grips the participants. The question which hounds one is; what driving force and whose disciplinary hand guides these people who hitherto have been labelled "conservative" and "apathetic"! What persuades and sustains such people to keep contributing the hard earned shilling after shilling, song after song, sweat drop after sweat drop to build public roads, cattle dips, schools, health centres, community buildings, youth centres, fish ponds and bridges? These questions can only be

answered after an empirical analysis of self-help activity that makes use of the past to create a new future.

SELF-HELP AS A MOBILIZING FACTOR

1. Organizational Principle

The basic organizational principle behind the self-help activity in the areas studied revolved around the traditionally sanctioned informal co-operative work group structure. In a traditional context, the Kamba group structures which appear to have special relevance to self-help activities are outlined below.

Age-Groups. These are groups which recruit membership on the basis of sex and age to form an age-set or *Iika*; that is those who have been circumcised together, attended dances together or school leavers who attended primary schools together. In the study areas, it was possible to distinguish nine functional age-sex groups i.e. *Tuvisi*—circumcised adolescent schoolboys; *Twilitu*—young adolescent girls; *Anake*—young men; *Eitu*—young girls; *Nthele*—middle-aged men; *Iveti Sya Muika*—young married women; *Iveti Sya Kilumi*—middle-aged women; *Atumia*—old men and old women.

The age-group normally has no hierarchy of authority or elected leaders. But members hold informally recognized roles—the jester, the opinion leader, the judge, the prosecutor, even the general. Also the senior age-group exercises the role of a mentor and disciplinarian to the younger ones.

Kinship Groups. The most important functional kinship group is the clan. A clan is normally a part of the tribe, the members of which are related or in some way connected by means of a common bond, such as a totem and/or a claim to common descent. In the area studied, it was possible to identify fifteen clans, although the Kamba tribe has about twenty-six clans. The chief obligation among clan members is to help one another in difficulty, especially in paying the traditionally imposed fines for manslaughter. But this obligation to help is most strictly observed among clan members who are also neighbours and will include an obligation to share in bridewealth duties, rituals and proceeds, to share in imposing family discipline especially among the young age-groups, and to help with labour whenever necessary. The clan name must be upheld and members often display open unity and love though friendship boundaries may transcend these blood lines, while mixing between the sexes in a given clan is kept to a minimum.

The kinship group has a more clearly defined hierarchy of overall control of clan members than other rural groups. This hierarchy roughly follows the pattern outlined below.

CLAN HIERARCHY

Neighbourhood groups. These include age-groups whose kinship base is discontinuous due to the pattern of settlement and number of kinsmen. Over a

given period, a rural locality of a certain size becomes a combination of social groups in a structured social pattern of interaction. Thus it will organize local circumcision ceremonies, form a coalescing base of age-groups, dance groups, beer parties and *Mwethya* groups, although the structure of neighbourhood groups is informal and can change.

CLAN HIERARCHY

Clan Chairman for locality

Convenes

General Clan Assembly for Locality

—Convenes mainly for major inter-clan disputes e.g. land cases, incest, manslaughter, feasts and disciplinary action
—reviews minor family disputes.

Elects

Empowers

Clan Committee for Locality

Coordinates

Age-Group Assemblies

—Coalitions of close age-grades or members of different age-grades from different localities. Mainly coalescing as a base for work groups.

Broken down into

Clan Age-Groups

—Mainly work groups, entertainment groups, training groups etc.

Regulated

by

The Family and Household Heads

—Continued family leadership.

Responsible for

Family Members

—Reciprocity among siblings and half siblings.

During the year of study 1967-68, all the groups listed above were involved at one time or other in their traditionally defined group activities, that is the *Mwethya*, the *ielo*, settling disputes, "dances", and most of them were being co-opted into *Harambee* self-help activities.

2. The Nature of Indigenous Self-Help

(a) *Mwethya* is a general term used for shared work which is of a voluntary nature and organized according to group rules so that each member plays his part. The tasks performed under this format include collecting firewood by young women, weeding, ploughing, house-building where the specific tasks like mixing the mud and fetching water are allocated to men and women respectively. In house-building, one asks for help in cutting building poles and sticks with the term *Ngiti*. This word *Ngiti* can nowadays apply to any help in construction of a building and includes monetary help even after the house is finished.

(b) *Ielo* is a general term used for group help in kind such as money, food, animals and ornaments. It takes two forms. The first kind is a form of a grant to the needy. This form has been exploited extensively in the past and in the present wave of pooling money together to enable promising students to go abroad for further studies. The second form is a kind of non-interest loan repayable to each member in prescribed amounts in periods arranged to coincide with good seasons.

Groups involved tend to be kinship age-groups where discipline is based on kinship obligations and age-group solidarity. Thus young married women of one clan will bring along water, firewood, and thatch-grass, and so on to the home of one of their members and contribute a sum of between one shilling and four shillings each and give it to their "sister" for her immediate, often unspecified, use. These women are called *Eitu ma mbai*—the united girls of the clan. The following weeks they repeat the same procedure at the home of each member until all have had their share of the round, when it all starts again. The contribution does not have to be in the form of money. It can also be eggs, or a bunch of bananas or a measured quantity of grain.

Young schoolboys who may be organized as a neighbourhood group will pool money together on the same principle, for parties, especially Christmas parties, but in one of the areas studied, such money is going towards a new village library located in the community hall.

During this period the author attended five meetings of the "girls of the clan" groups whose membership averaged between six and thirty-two, and the money contributed ranged from twenty shillings to two hundred shillings per meeting. As indicated earlier, these meetings do not take place very often and the size of minimum donations are set in advance according to circumstances.

(c) *Nduu ya Unyanya* is a general term used for friendship groups, mainly among women. Often these groups do not have more than five members and the more stable relationships are those between two or four individuals. The members are often recruited informally, either from the same neighbourhood or even from diverse agricultural regions. These groups start on a trade basis when individuals barter agricultural produce such as milk and bananas or maize and fruits or vegetables after failing to sell them off at the market. This often progresses to a stage where visits to the respective homes are exchanged as well as goods and even labour for weeding or harvest.

(d) *Dance Groups*. Dance groups are normally age-groups and neighbourhood groups but they can also co-opt more members because of the integrative consequences of any one project. Spontaneity and the emphasis on self-expression through songs, demonstrative dancing and work reveal the inseparable nature of work, music, and dance. The soloist and the song leader is probably as important as the dance conductor and both have been identified as key figures who influence group performance just as a football captain does, goading his team to greater and greater effort.

3. *Social Control and Self-Expression*

What gives a traditional group its group identity? What aspects come to the fore when it intensifies its boundaries? What holds these members together and maintains discipline at a level which no other rural mobilizing agency in the areas studied has been able to achieve?

Max Weber distinguished authority from other forms of social influence such as power, persuasion and influence. To Weber, authority was characterized by (a) the voluntary compliance with legitimate demands on the individual by the group or their recognized leaders and (b) the suspension of judgement in advance of command. This is often enhanced by social constraints and sanctions exerted by the collectivity of group membership and not primarily from the influence of one leader.

As Peter Blau has indicated in his comparative work on formal organizations, authority relationships can develop only in a group and not in isolated pairs because only group values can legitimize the exercise of social control and only group norms can serve as an independent basis for enforcing the pattern of compliance.

Tradition forms the most important basis for the legitimate use of power in a rural Kenyan setting. But other factors appear to motivate individual participation in these village groups. Participation in these informal settings is maximized through the diversity of opportunities for self-expression. Groups will compete keenly and desperately with others. For example, dance group competition often induces the use of magic and witchcraft. Individuals within a group are admired if they can outperform other members in the tasks of weeding, felling trees, singing, dancing, talking and admiring others. There is traditional as well as socialist emulation and in fact, the personalities valued in a neighbourhood are those who display a conspicuous living style and a high performance at all levels.

Any one group cannot be seen in isolation but must be related to other groups, and to the tribe. The origin of the driving force for any group is broader than the group's immediate goal. Its aspects are institutionalized within the various system levels—the family, the clan, the locality and the tribe. But such an analysis does not focus our attention on the influence of the world outside the village and its connection with regional and national development. This needs a closer study of the nature of *Harambee* self-help activities.

THE NATURE OF HARAMBEE SELF-HELP ACTIVITY

The Division of Labour in a Self-Help Project

Self-help groups on any project are identified on the basis of their clan composition. Members of any one clan normally work under one flag which has the clan totem or property sign prominently displayed. Any clan will have most of the official categories as displayed below. (See Scheme 1.)

Other Government Representatives

Community development Assistant
(Decides on nature of Government support with chief and Presidents).

Cooperatives Assistant

Agricultural Assistant
Medical Assistant

Political Representative (s)

Government Administration

Chief—

Caretaker of all moneys and contributions. Helps advice on utility of projects.

Headman—Liaison work with Vice-President and Chairmen.

In charge of maintaining order and security of women at night, and

Represents the President of Kenya whose call *Harambee* represents the rallying theme for this form of socialism.

Official Hierarchy

Clan and Inter-clan

President—In charge of coordinating all Clans in any one locality—often a Sub-location Location. Normally a woman. Boosts up Competitive Spirit. Normally elected and formally 'married' from her husband to the regional self-help movement.

Father of 'Girls' or Clan Chairman—

Elected by married women of the Clan who may include two or more age-grades. Represents the girls with the chief's self-help committee.

Vice-Presidents—One elected and 'married' by each clan whenever her duties on behalf of the clan warrant the title of 'Ambassador'.

Clan Committee—Senior women and men who participate most. Also consists of:—

- (a) *Ngui*—The Song Leader
 - (b) *Mutongoi wa mbesa*—Leader of Money, Treasurer and accountant.
 - (c) *Mwene Mwake, Mwene Muethya*—The member whose turn it is for whom the task is symbolically performed.
 - (d) *Mwandiki*—Secretary
- Members—All female members of the clan for one sublocation + most of the unemployed males.

The Presidents and Vice-Presidents and the Mwethya

These leaders are chosen as the most outstanding female personality within the most senior active age-groups. A president is often elected from clan nominees in a clan coalition which comprises all the clans which work on local projects together. She is the key co-ordinator of their activity and represents this almost wholly female movement in the chief's self-help committee. This committee often includes the district local government representative, all locational government representatives and some selected vice-presidents.

Vice-presidents play a more diversified role. They represent the clan in the chief's council but more often simply liaise with other vice-presidents. But their main function is to represent the clan of that locality in any activities of the clan elsewhere. Thus clan activity occurs in an ever widening projection of its image.

Local project leaders are termed *Ene ma Mwethya*—those for whom the task is symbolically performed. Each major clan will have one for each project. Thus, inter-clan participation in one project will be assumed to be a convergence of clans' interests just as though all happened to want to weed one field! These *Ene Mwethya* will ask their vice-presidents to contact other vice-presidents of that clan in other areas for help. The other vice-presidents of the same clan will seek donations from their members and travel to where the call for help came from and hand over their donations to the Master of Ceremonies and Clerk in the name of the local clan. These travelling vice-presidents are called ambassadors. The clan that invites more vice-presidents swells its membership, contributions and prestige on the project and jealously tries to maintain it in other projects.

The Marrying of Presidents and Vice-Presidents

It will be seen that these officials spend a lot of their time on clan and *Harambee* business. But these activities conflict with their duties as wives and mothers, and often their fields run wild. To compensate the husband for such a loss, the wife is assumed to hold the same place in her husband's life and family as a daughter occupies in her father's. Such demands by the movement on her services is equated with the demands a husband makes on his wife after marriage, and by fulfilling her presidential obligations she is still the good wife.

But before the "daughter" is taken away, there must be courtship. The period of courtship before marriage is very short and peculiar because it is the husband who is wooed by the wife's clansmen—his inlaws—on behalf of the "girls". He is approached in all kinds of situations, given beer and preferential treatment, persuaded with praises about his wife's indispensability to the clan's activity and to its pride. A husband reserves the right to refuse. But in the study area, all husbands in this situation admitted only to the use of delaying tactics since the wife could make life miserable if he refused. One asked the writer, "Who is not afraid of female inlaws dancing all night outside your

door, and singing about your unusual attachment to your wife?" On giving his consent, the husband is given token "bridewealth" which may amount to one or two goats, and invariably includes a warm blanket to warm his bed when his wife is away. The family which loses its mother is compensated with household items—utensils, clothing and promises of frequent help from the "girls" in weeding, thatching and so on.

The wedding ceremony is symbolic of a real wedding. The bride is dressed in black robes to denote her new ambassadorial rank, she is given wedding gifts *kwovwa miio* which include light clothing for travelling, head-dresses, a blanket, and a basket. There is the ceremony of "cutting the wedding cake" where the role of the bridegroom is played by the Senior Ambassador or the locational president. The vice-president has oil poured onto her head in the accepted way of swearing one into a sacred office. This is an awesome occasion and from then on, no one questions her commitment to the clan and the *Harambee* Self-Help movement. The meeting where the vice-president is married is called a BENZI meeting, which fully interpreted means a "MERCEDEZ BENZE" meeting—big, symbolic and uncommonly prestigious. It is possible that in other areas they may have a different prestige symbol. But the modern element in this symbol as opposed to "BULL" or "LION" should not escape our attention.

RELATION OF HARAMBEE SELF-HELP ACTIVITY TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT PLANS

Degree of Commitment as Measured by Value of Projects

The Government report for 1967 shows that the value of self-help projects in Kenya was K£1,995,900 for 39,863 projects under way.¹ In Eastern Province, 3,565 projects were under way then and 2,185 were completed and the total valuation of the projects was K£312,500 for the Province. The report added:

The statistical facts presented in this narrative summary cannot convey the excitement and enthusiasm of the people themselves. The story of working together, of the detailed planning, of the hours and hours of manual work, given freely and joyfully, of the collection of thousands of shillings from persons to whom each shilling represented a real sacrifice—statistics cannot give a true picture!

At Karaba, where people are moving away from the central village to the surrounding area, the need for roads and water was very keenly felt. The self-help movement was involved in the construction of four dams, two local roads and extensive bush clearing. At the same time, they were also constructing stone buildings for the local *Harambee* secondary school, and a nursery school. The chief and locational treasurer estimated that over 60,000/- worth of money and donations in kind, excluding labour, (the largest item of contribution) had been collected. For a sub-location of 1,500 household heads, this amounts to 40/- per household head. If one were to quantify the human energy sacrificed—that is toiling in dusty dry conditions with little water and often no food—the amount of personal sacrifice would be staggering.

Contributions from Machakos central are hard to estimate since the communities are not as geographically isolated as those in Mwea Plains. Up to date the clan units in this sublocation have been involved in over twenty projects most of which involve the construction of *Harambee* schools, dispensaries, bench terraces and pooling money together to send promising students overseas for further education. No careful inventory of these projects was taken but the degree of sacrifice was just as high as in the Mwea Plains.

Choice of Projects

In the draft report of the University of Nairobi survey team on Rural Development in Kenya that covers fourteen districts the author observes:

Local self-help committees and village development committees have sprung up (with active encouragement from the Community Development Department), out of a desire to undertake Community projects such as the building of schools, dispensaries, roads, etc. At present they are uninformed and unorganized. They tend to make their decisions in isolation, planning to build a school for example, because they would like to have more children in school; without being aware of the constraints on current expenditures, or of the alternative possibilities.²

Frank Holmquist's analysis of self-help groups in Kisii District characterized self-help activity as "pre-emption".³ What struck him forcefully in his analysis of the role of self-help groups in policy implementation was their peculiar disregard for and even rejection of official programmes. Thus they will build maternity clinics even when the government opposes the move on the grounds that there are no nurses and doctors; they will build schools even if government refuses to guarantee them teachers. The concept of pre-emption here refers to the tendency for self-help groups to "pre-empt" the field before defining their own goals and strategies sharply contrasting their needs with those defined by the policy makers.

During the period of study, the disregard for the Five-Year Development Plan 1966-1970 was very obvious. At meeting after meeting, speakers received ovations only when their words were relevant to the people's immediate needs. It was accepted that the *Harambee* call entreated everyone to define his needs and join together in an effort to meet these needs. The criticism that self-help disregards development plans therefore demonstrates the blind faith planners have in their programmes, when everyone knows that these plans are subject to wide margins of error and irrelevance to any local situation. The need for central planning cannot be over-looked. But the assumption that human action results from the operation of one single principle oversimplifies social reality.

A THEORETICAL INTERPRETATION OF HARAMBEE SELF-HELP ACTIVITY

Self-Help Groups as Solidarity Movements

It is widely accepted by students of "collective behaviour" that phenomena as diverse as nationalism, strikes, religious sects, and even women's fashions

share a common denominator. One way to characterize their similarity is to say they are all "reactive sub-groups". Regardless of their dissimilar characteristics, they all reflect a sharp contrast and often opposition to policies held by the larger incorporating structure of which they are a part.

Harambee self-help groups can be included among the above categories. Their "reactiveness" is reflected in their selection of project priorities in disregard of government plans and in their use of traditional patterns of interaction in a pro-modern setting. The term "reactive subgroup or subsystem" was coined by F. W. Young (1968) in a cross-cultural study of peasant and nativistic movements. The term was found useful as a classificatory term but not easy to incorporate into the language of variables and hypotheses. The term also tended to connote an extreme category of a solidarity movement. Therefore the term "solidarity" was substituted. It was defined as *the degree* to which the social symbols maintained by a group are organized to convey a unified and focused definition of the situation. This theoretical orientation is an integration of structural information and communication theories. This approach marries the works of Cooley, Mead, W. I. Thomas, Dewey and the more recent dramaturgical information framework of Goffman and Burke with the structuralists who derive from Durkheim. From the symbolic interactionists come the notions of "meaning", "communication strategy", and "information processing". Furthermore, all institutionalized behaviour is conceived as being the result of "collective definitions of the situation".

In terms of this frame of reference, there can only be one sphere which determines social interaction—the social sphere. Man is conceived as living in a dynamic and fluid environment and one that is full of cognitions, values, and beliefs. Man is a creative actor, attempting to cope with this teaming world through the best communication strategies which he is able to devise. These communication strategies are his social and cultural system. They are the loci of information. In this, format behaviour and its by-products are thought of as structural information as for example Erving Goffman illumines them in his book *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*.

By using the term "solidarity" instead of "reactive" and defining it in structural symbolic terms the emphasis is shifted to the formal patterning of the symbolically represented meaning areas of the group. Such words as "interlocking", "coherent", "unified" can be used interchangeably in denoting how meaning is patterned.

Neil Smelser's conception of the "Mobilisation of actors to redefine Social Action", Anthony Wallace's assumption that actors wish to "construct a more satisfying culture" or Egon Bittner's (1963:932) emphasis on finding, "a unified and internally consistent interpretation of the world" all turn on the idea of mobilization. However, our shift in emphasis from mere actions to a definition of collective behaviour in terms of symbolic patterns leads to an unexpected operational flexibility. All the ordinary stuff of social life, the patterned words, the institutionalized behaviour and even the artifacts in use can become the basis of measurement.

It is easy to imagine, at least in outline, a number of ways that symbols may

be organized so that a social "focus" appears. The structure may consist of a dominant symbol with other lesser ones as context, or all may reflect a single theme. This is probably the case with the indigenous groups. But in *Harambee* self-help, overarching or bridging symbols such as the name of *Mzee Kenyatta* or even such terms as *Harambee* or *Mwananchi* or *Eitu ma Mbai* may interlink the groups so as to create a coherent structure.

The institutionalized behaviour reflected in clan activity also reflects this pattern of focused meaning. The Guttman Scales presented in Table III show this increase in focused meaning.

Table 3—A GUTTMAN SCALE OF CLAN SOLIDARITY IN SELF-HELP KIMUTWA, KARABA AND RIAKANAU

Step	Item	Errors	% sample discriminated
1. (a)	Clan has a name and definite membership	0	100
(b)	Clan is competitive in project activity.	0	100
2.	Clan has uniform, badge, flag or conspicuously displayed totem or mark of membership.	0	80
3.	Clan activity is basically female activity supported by clan males and clan norms to enhance position of clan.	1	60
4.	Clan has definite area of activity or goal.	1	53
5.	Definite division of responsibilities	0	47
6.	Clan has ambassadors	1	27
7.	Clan has expanded membership by absorbing one or more smaller clans for self-help activities only	0	20
8.	Has won trophy or symbol of recognition from external political representative or the President of Kenya.	1	13

Total cases = $15 \times 3 = 45$ clans

Coefficient of scalability = 0.85

The table shows an increasing interpenetration of traditional symbols with activity and motivational symbols; beginning with the minimum indicator of solidarity—a name—to the maximum indicator—competition for external recognition. For example, in Table 3, Scale steps 1 to 3 are mainly traditional and true of non-focused clan grouping. But scale steps 4 to 8 show an increasingly focused definition of, and identification with, the programme activity. Scale step 8 on Table 3 reflects the relationship between the national political scene, through the *Harambee* concept which generates a coherent work ideology, and clan group activity. It is the final focal point; the ultimate challenge. Scale steps 1 to 3 will be common to all clan groups, but any additional scale step, which indicates increased solidarity, appears to occur only within the context of self-help activity.

Characteristics of Solidarity within Self-Help Groups

The solidarity concept can be carried further towards new generalizations as established as hypotheses by Frank Young in his study of reactive subsystems. The first generalization is that as solidarity increases, the delineation of group boundaries increases. The generalization can take many forms e.g. the ingroup-outgroup contrast, characterized by such phrases as "our clan has the best dancers", "we are daughters of Iluvya, who came directly from Heaven", "our house breeds chiefs and not common men". What it really means is that members of a solidarity group create or adapt symbols of group identity so that the social perception of group membership (which is what social boundaries consist of) is facilitated.

The second generalization is that solidarity entails the increasing subsumption of available structures. It is totalitarian. There are increasing attempts to "purify" belief, and to bring out what is unique and bright about the clan. There are increasing efforts to make sure that no part of the activity of clans or individuals is left free from co-optation or re-interpretation, and to proclaim all household female property, poultry, goats, food, etc. as open to appropriation.

Egon Bittner interprets these well known tendencies of solidarity groups in his work on radical movements and their organization. He exposes their hostility towards individualism and concludes that there is a threat to individual or subgroups in this ideological elaboration especially where there are frequent shifts in the basic assumptions of the ideological formula that come about when new projects, new leaders and so on emerge. This totalitarian characteristic of self-help groups makes them very unpopular with the educated young wives who are often forced to participate by sheer group pressure.

The third generalization is that dramatization increases with solidarity. Dramatization is the manipulation of symbols so that particular meanings become salient. It is a communication strategy that involves the arrangement of the components of a message so that a particular focus is achieved. But that, of course is what solidarity is—a group level communication strategy. The myriad empirical manifestations of dramatization have already been indicated: the use of uniforms for clan members; clan flags and totems; the Mercedes-Benz meetings and the "wedding ceremony", the elaborate verbal praise given to donors no matter how small the donation.

A fourth generalization is that increasing solidarity involves the formulation and sharpening of a calculus of group progress. Clan and neighbourhood groups tend to use such rhetoric as "educating our children", "bringing water to a starving land", "bringing back the pastures, the cows and the milk so that our children grow tall and happy". As solidarity increases, the calculus of progress increases, but at the same time the variation in meaning narrows. Clearly, the phenomena is simply another aspect of an increasing focus in the definition of the situation, but it is also a manufacturing ground for new values and value standards.

Solidarity structures are increasingly competitive. Lewis Coser, exploring the function of social conflict and following out the initial insights of Simmel, has stressed the tendency of solidarity groups to search for rivals and enemies and on occasions to invent them. The internal analogue of this is the tendency of solidarity groups to find scapegoats, often outside their group. In self-help activities former colonial masters, present government officials and local politicians fill this category quite nicely.

A previous low level of development and a high degree of relative isolation was the nursery condition for the elaboration of traditional practices. With the coming of nationalism, which was a new kind of solidarity movement, the relative isolation of rural communities was shattered. Political campaign after campaign entrenched into the thinking of rural people the possibility of new opportunities. This, as we all know, triggered off the phenomenon of rising expectations. But in the marginal areas studied, these expectations were not matched by the introduction of new programmes and new income-raising activities. The few programmes of cotton and maize growing and ranching did not meet the people's expectations or raise their incomes and the household level of living. To these were added problems of frequent famines and food shortages. The feeling of apparent stagnation in a national environment of change and of conspicuous regional progress in the high agricultural potential areas raised the sense of relative deprivation and acute frustration. The new political theme of *Harambee* redefined a new kind of activity and gave birth to a new outlet and a new mechanism for identifying with national development activity in *Harambee* self-help activity. It gave rise to a more localized solidarity movement that is at once the result and a reaction to modern nationalism and to central planning.

A Typical Self-Help Scene

In a typical self-help project the participants normally walk to the area of activity though ambassadors from distant locations are provided with transport by their clans. They will start assembling in the late afternoon and the first to arrive, normally the local hostesses, will start playing drums, singing and dancing short rhythms, just as traditional dance parties used to assemble. Each clan group assembles under its flag within the general dance formation. The dignitaries, such as the chief, headman, clan president, visiting politicians and citymen, government officials and so on often sit around the table of the Master of Ceremonies. The local clans normally prepare food, and local men, who identify with their sisters or wives, normally act as security guards, marshals and dance partners. They also help boost up their "sisters'" or "wives'" donations. Early in the evening dancing becomes fierce and the Master of Ceremonies will interrupt dancing to make announcements on the aim of the meeting, the nature of the problem, and the probable government help that may be forthcoming. He will introduce the dignitaries who may also make speeches. Then the Master of Ceremonies will invite donations. Each donation, whether it is for the sum of five cents or one hundred shillings, is recorded and an-

nounced to everyone. He would shout "stop dancing everyone, I have a surprise for you. Our local school committee, a body of men dedicated to our children's education, has donated a bull for all of you to eat"—general clapping, drum rhythm and dancing—"and has given to this building project sixty shillings". Or he would suddenly shout "Musau son of Muli, on behalf of his sisters Mbaa Munyambu" (lion Clan—Asii) "has donated fifty cents!" Clapping and Mr. Musau salutes, grins, or dances. Donations may be in the form of money, eggs, poultry, bags of cement, a lorry full of sand or even the land on which the project is sited. Donations will usually continue for most of the night with breaks for eating, speeches, and dancing. As people become exhausted, others take up the singing and dancing while the tired sleep or rest. Local men keep fires going and with the help of administrative police, keep women safe.

On the following day, more local people may turn up to start on the manual aspects of the project—fetching water and materials, digging, masonry, etc. Each clan is normally allocated a task and members normally single out a clan of equivalent size to compete with. As they work, they are interrupted by speakers and organizers who give estimates of contributions, progress in various project areas and announce visitors. As can be seen, it is an occasion of great social richness.

APPLIED IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The analysis of self-help as a strategy for rural development must be seen in the totality of the rural development situation. Self-help has not been proposed as an alternative but as a major part of the broad-based approach to rural development. The principle of total social development is seen emerging only vaguely and in an unstructured manner in the current Kenyan definition of a "broad-based" rural development strategy. The weakness is in the primacy given to economic determination and goals of change.

The applied implications of the dynamism of self-help are that other non-economic goals and means exist. A development strategy which in addition raises rural welfare and rural levels of living; a strategy that enhances equitable distribution of the income which accrues from the developmental effort must have the following additional aspects:

- (a) Optimum participation of all rural people in the widest possible assortment of tasks which are legitimized not only in terms of economic feasibility, but also by the current local social definition of the development situation.
- (b) Total participation of all people must be seen also as a goal since, by definition, participation increases individual commitment to the national development effort and increases national solidarity.
- (c) The motivation generated in meaningful participation leads to a greater degree of mobilization of rural people and leads to a new definition of development. Employment loses the poignant rural employer-employee

connotation and becomes participation in the national development effort where material gains have only secondary value, and individual energy and sacrifice is socially and psychologically defined.

The degree of capital formation as a positive economic aspect of self-help would obviously increase with increased individual incomes. As such, the success of self-help in this aspect must be seen relating directly to farm development.

It is possible to view self-help contributions as a form of taxation for financing local development efforts. Where the solidarity movement has intensified and become more totalitarian, the degree of individual sacrifice and "taxation" increases proportionately. In marginal areas where people can ill-afford to sacrifice egg after egg, hen after hen and shilling after shilling, this movement could become a negative factor as a protest movement that creates its own counter-protest.

The implications of the above are more serious when it is realized that the people "taxed" in this way are those who under a more rational approach would not be taxed anyway—the pro-traditional, illiterate poor whose motivation stems from a genuine desire to be included in the modernizing trend. It is a sad fact that the rural elites (progressive farmers, retired city men, educated young men and women and government officials) view self-help in a paternalistic and deprecatory way and often do not participate. At one time the church discouraged dancing in self-help activities as if it were participating in wicked songs for members of its congregation. This was later reversed but the harm had been done. The scorn on the one hand and the nostalgia on the other, with which the cosmopolite tends to view traditional or traditionally defined activities is a negative factor in creating more meaning for rural people. It isolates them as unique museum pieces, just as much as contempt and derision. Thus paternalism in terms of occasional bounty hand-outs by the elite demonstrates an existing social distance between the two categories which also negates the socialist aspirations of the rural people.

The implications of the relationship between self-help and farm development show another anomaly. Self-help takes from the farm mostly to finance consumer projects such as schools and community halls. This trend can yield results if this investment has tangible material benefits which could be ploughed back to the farm, even on a long term basis. But research shows that a certain degree of institutional complexity and increased infrastructure must be met with viable farm programmes if these benefits are to be experienced. The possibility of re-channelling *Harambee* self-help activity to undertaking farm projects on a more sustained basis must be considered urgently. This possibility is not remote. The traditional base for self-help was farm-orientated weeding, housebuilding, ploughing, etc. To rechannel thinking in this direction, we must reduce the size of projects and the number of participants without sacrificing their symbolic elements.

This fact is borne out even more strongly when we realize that increased solidarity has a tendency to become reactive and uncontrollable in terms of over-all national unity. Group solidarity can become fragmentary and pervaded

with intense zeal and fanaticism. This factor, viewed together with the need to reduce the taxation element and maximize more labour-intensive projects reinforces the argument for a farm-based approach to *Harambee* self-help.

The famine problem in those areas is a chronic issue. Very little has been done to evaluate the impact of the Katumani maize programme. Technical criteria for improved farm productivity are insufficient and lack credibility. A self-help approach needs to be devised to increase the legitimacy of technical programmes. The writer sees this as the next stage in this kind of research if *Harambee* fervour is not to recoil upon itself.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 See Department of Community Development and Statistical Division of Economic Planning Report called "The Output of Self-Help Schemes", Nairobi, 1967 (Mimeo). Also see Appendices I and II for the breakdown of these figures.
- 2 J. Heyer, *et. al.*, *Rural Development in Kenya, a Survey of Fourteen Districts* (University of Nairobi, 1969), p. 22.
- 3 Frank W. Holmquist, "Policy Implementation: A Case Study in Rural Development". Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Makerere, Kampala, 30 January, 1970, p. 22.

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The Public Service in a New State

Development Administration—the Kenya Experience

by Goran Hyden, Robert Jackson and John Okumu
(Oxford University Press, 1970)

B. A. N. COLLINS*

Many studies of new states have focused on the dramatic political and constitutional changes and the leaders who achieve them. The reading public everywhere soon learned to anticipate certain steps in the ritual of British decolonization; the return home of the ardent nationalist, his victorious struggle over other less radical local politicians, his new mass party, the inevitable arrest by the authorities on charges which, subsequently, appear ludicrous, his re-emergence as a proud "prison graduate" to accept the premiership, the Constitutional Conference(s) in London, and, soon after, the Independence Ceremonies graced by Royalty.

Less interesting, and yet possibly no less significant, is the change-over from a moderately "liberal" British-led Civil Service responsible to the British Governor for the maintenance of orderly rule, the provision of basic public services, and the advancement of exports of plantation-type commodities—to a larger, more "interventionist" administration, staffed by local citizens, and helping elected Ministers to perform the enlarged functions of an independent, innovating government.

Changes in public administration are much less visible than political or sociological evolution. Political theorists from Aristotle to the beginning of this century discoursed on the ends of Government, but generally ignored the executive process. Plato was concerned with the selection of rulers, Machiavelli with their tactics, and Montesquieu with their number, but the actual business of administration seemed unworthy of much note. Perhaps this attitude reflected the circumstances of societies which were predominantly agrarian.

Today we live in an age which is more "administered" because societies are, or seek to be, more "industrialized". The key to understanding the modern state, some theorists now believe, must be sought through the study not only of the prevailing political ideology, whatever it may appear or claim to be, but also of the administrative apparatus which supports the nation. In this age of managers, the principal focus of investigation should be their choice, development, deployment and performance.

A body of thoughtful writing on the public service in newer states is developing, largely through the efforts of scholars from advanced countries seeking fresh insights into aspects of political behaviour, and also through the reports

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The views expressed are the author's and should not be associated with those of the Organization in which he is currently employed.