



muticon

muticon limited
thika / garden estate roads
p.o. box 14333 nairobi, kenya
telephone : 254-2-860772
facsimile : 254-2-860771

PARLIAMENTARY STAFF **STRATEGIC PLAN 1998**

PARLIAMENTARY **STAFF VISION**

**A supreme, effective,
efficient and self
sustaining Parliament
as a major participant
in the process of
governance is the
vision of the
Parliamentary Staff.**

29/05/98

PARLIAMENTARY **STAFF MISSION**

The Mission of Parliamentary staff is to facilitate legislators to fulfil their mandate effectively by the staff regularly improving their problem solving capacity.

This will be achieved through: renewing staff; improving research, information gathering, use and dissemination by utilising Information Technology; contracting; providing security, plant and equipment and their maintenance.

29/05/98

PARLIAMENTARY STAFF SWOT

STRENGTHS

1. A professionally well trained parliamentary staff.
- 1.a. Good leadership.
- 1.b. Varied skills available across divisions.
2. Availability of physical structures and equipment.
- 2.a. Appropriate technology.
3. Serving one core client within the same precincts.
4. The role of staff is clearly defined as assisting the legislators to fulfil their mandate.
- 4.a. Work rules and regulations are clear:
 - i. *The Constitution of Kenya.*
 - ii. *National Assembly (Powers and Privileges) Act.*
 - iii. *Standing Orders of the House.*
 - iv. *Speaker's Rules.*
 - v. *Civil Service Regulations.*
5. Minimal bureaucratic red-tape.
6. There is regular interaction among parliamentary staff.
7. Security in the work-place.
8. Staff are committed to the institution.
- 8.a. Security of employment.
9. Sound staff discipline.
10. Staff serve Members of Parliament in a non-partisan manner (behavioural).
11. Co-operation and team-work exist.

WEAKNESSES

1. Terms and conditions of service are not commensurate with the work load.
- 1.a. Under-staffing in some Divisions.
- 1.b. Problem of retaining trained staff in some Divisions.
- 1.c. Insufficient staff welfare incentives.
2. Inadequate training in management.
3. Lack of adequate funds.
4. Lack of institutional housing for staff.
5. Lack of opportunities for vertical job mobility in certain Divisions.
6. Institutional slow response to change.
7. Lack of effective communication in certain areas.
- 7.a. Use of informal communication channels for favours.
8. Inadequate in-house training.
9. Lack of proper orientation for new members of staff.
10. Inadequate research and library facilities and appropriate information technology.
11. Inadequate equipment and working tools.
12. Inadequacy in staff transportation.
13. Lack of understanding on the part of some legislators as to what the parliamentary staff should do for them.
14. Lack of mechanism for stress management.

OPPORTUNITIES

1. De-linking of Parliamentary Staff from the Civil Service.
2. External training opportunities.
3. Use of donor funds.
4. Utilising training facilities offered by interested organisations.
5. Interaction with the top leadership in society.
6. Interacting with other associations/institutions.
7. Taking parliament to the people.
8. Contracting some services e.g. cleaning, maintenance and consultants.

THREATS

1. Unstable political environment.
2. Economic constraints which affect resource mobilisation.
3. Competition with other organisations for resources.
4. Civil Service retrenchment programmes.
5. Constant changes in technological development.
6. Better opportunities available for staff in the open market.
7. Interference by politicians on staff matters could bring instability to the institution.
- 7.a. Lack of autonomy may expose some staff to undue pressure from the Executive.
- 7.b. Existence of autonomy may lead to politicisation of staffing norms and practices.
8. Possibility of sabotage.

ELEMENTS OF STRATEGIC PLAN

THE TEN PRIORITY AREAS

1. Behavioural and Quantitative Performance Evaluation.
2. Staff Development Training Plans.
3. Staff Job Realignment.
4. Financial Management.
5. Management Information System.
6. Utilisation of Information Technology.
7. Security.
8. Financing the Maintenance and Replacement of Plant and Equipment.
9. Staff Welfare.
10. Promoting Parliament.

1. BEHAVIOURAL AND QUANTITATIVE PERFORMANCE EVALUATION

(i) POLICY:

Establish quantitative and qualitative evaluation system.

(ii) STRATEGY:

- (a) Set-up performance bench-marks and establish clear and objective performance evaluation criteria.**
- (b) Setting and agreeing on work loads and standards.**
- (c) Continuous Evaluation and Regular Appraisals.**
- (d) Encourage Team-work.**
- (e) Introduce performance related remuneration and training.**

2. STAFF DEVELOPMENT TRAINING PLANS

(i) **POLICY:**

- (a) Establish staff skills inventory.
- (b) Establish retraining needs of current staff.
- (c) Establish bench-marks for recruitment.

(ii) **STRATEGY:**

- (a) Establish new staffing norms, terms and conditions of service and training policy.
- (b) Conduct training and skills development programmes for managers in key areas such as leadership, management, financial/budgetary processes.
- (c) Enhance training in appropriate technology.
- (d) Sponsor staff to courses relevant to their professions locally and overseas.
- (e) Enhance on-the-job training programmes.
- (f) Establish exchange training programmes with other specialised institutions.
- (g) Recruitment be biased towards trainable staff.
- (h) Encourage self-initiative by staff.
- (i) Introduce a focused orientation programme for new staff.

3. STAFF JOB RE-ALIGNMENT

(i) **POLICY:**

- (a) Establish an optimal organisational structure which is cost-effective and efficient.
- (b) Review staffing needs to ensure appropriate distribution of skills and professions.
- (c) Rationalisation of jobs to determine vacancies and over-staffing.

(ii) **STRATEGY:**

- (a) Review and assess the available skills and professions necessary to execute the mission of parliamentary staff.
- (b) Review job descriptions/ specifications in relation to the functions of each unit.
- (c) Re-train staff to play multi-disciplinary functions.
- (d) Down-sizing versus re-allocation versus re-training.

4. FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT

(i) **POLICY:**

- (a) Review budgeting and budget presentation processes.
- (b) Establish an efficient financial/stores system which allocates expenditure to the various cost centres.
- (c) Identify priority funding areas by cost centres.

(ii) **STRATEGY:**

- (a) Identify cost centres, analyse their needs and allocate budgetary provisions for each personnel and other overheads to be apportioned per centre.
- (b) Set up manual/computer store management system which can identify and allocate an expenditure to each cost centre.
- (c) Each cost centre to have an authorised person to requisition and account for each item issued to it.
- (d) To produce regular reports per cost centre.

5. MANAGEMENT INFORMATION SYSTEM

(i) **POLICY:**

- (a) To set up a management information system that will provide accurate information for decision making.
- (b) To facilitate free flow of information within the management ranks.

(ii) **STRATEGY:**

- (a) Set up a proper reporting structure - who reports to who -. Put in place internal checks to verify the accuracy of the information supplied.
- (b) Set up a team to understudy the work of each unit so as to ascertain the nature of information generated.
- (c) Obtain necessary soft-ware to process and consolidate the data from various units.
- (d) Set deadlines for the production of reports and a feed back system by holding regular meetings to discuss the reports.

6. UTILISATION OF INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY

(i) POLICY:

- (a) Establish an efficient and effective information gathering, use, storage and retrieval system.
- (b) Assess available information technology capacity.
- (c) Ensure effective management of House records and management data.
- (d) Enhance Research and Library Services.
- (e) Create interactive data banks.

(ii) STRATEGY:

- (a) Strengthen the institution's information technology capability through acquisition of current hardware and software.
- (b) Provide adequate physical and data processing facilities and enhance their security.
 - (i) The information strategy should address practices at every stage of the life cycle of information.
- (c) To train library staff in research for handling of a well equipped library for effective flow of information.
 - (i) Automate library services.
 - (ii) Provide adequate library and research facilities.
- (d) Set up on-line facilities with local databases.
- (e) Require staff to utilise information technology.
 - (I) Intensive training of staff in the use of IT.
 - (ii) Engaging an expert in IT to conduct computer literacy seminars for staff.
- (f) Provide access to e-mail and internet.
- (g) Enhance internal net-working.

7. SECURITY

(i) POLICY:

- (a) Review the security infrastructure of Parliament Buildings.
- (b) Protection for legislators, staff, equipment and other facilities in and outside Parliament Buildings.
- (c) Establish National Emergency Procedures for National Assembly.
- (d) Trained manpower to man and service security equipment and installations required for effective and efficient security services in Parliament Buildings.
- (e) Establish disaster procedures for National Assembly.

(ii) STRATEGY

- (a) Implement an integrated approach to protect life, property and information while maintaining public access to Parliament Buildings.
 - (i) Security measures should promote user-friendly, secure and unobtrusive tools and processes.
- (b) Provision of appropriate security equipment.
 - (i) Recruit and train staff to effectively man security equipment.

8. FINANCING MAINTENANCE AND REPLACEMENT OF PLANT AND EQUIPMENT

(i) POLICY:

- (a) Analyse the economic life span of the existing equipment and plant.
- (b) Plan replacement of equipment after its economic life.
- (c) Adequate budget to finance/replace/maintain plant and equipment.
- (d) Streamline the procurement processes and procedures.

(ii) STRATEGY:

- (a) Set-up a system for acquisition, replacement, maintenance and disposal of equipment and allocate resources on priority basis.
- (b) Each Unit Head to assess his/her equipment needs regularly.
- (b) (i) Prepare a plan of replacement of unserviceable and uneconomical plant and equipment.
- (c) Contract for the maintenance of plant and equipment.
- (d) Utilise Government and donor funds to purchase appropriate plant and equipment.

10. PROMOTING PARLIAMENT

(i) **POLICY:**

- (a) Enhance society's awareness of the role of Parliament and its operations.
- (b) Map out plans for Parliament outreach.

(ii) **STRATEGY:**

- (a) Establishment of an information centre.
- (b) Production of specialised materials on Parliament for distribution to the public.
 - (i) Production of a newsletter on Parliament.
- (c) Use of print and electronic media to educate the public on the role of Parliament in society.
- (d) Encourage organised tours and visits to Parliament Buildings.
- (e) Organise lectures and visits to schools, colleges and universities.

CONSULTANT'S RECOMMENDATIONS

Having worked with your senior managers, the Consultant would like to make the following recommendations for your consideration:-

- Ø First, there is an urgent need to train the bulk of your senior staff in general management for it is clear they have not had opportunities to get such training. No doubt such training will have positive impact on the operations of the National Assembly.
- Ø Two, it is important that all senior staff be trained in Objective Oriented Programme Planning. This will help standardise work plans as well as individual and unit outputs for evaluation.
- Ø Third, most senior staff need to be trained on the use of computers. This will increase their efficiency over and above enabling them to manage more effectively.
- Ø Fourth, the Consultant recommends that a security study be undertaken soon to assist in designing an expanded security system to include the new buildings which now form part and parcel of Parliament Buildings.
- Ø Fifth, the Consultant recommends that the output of this seminar be introduced to the middle management and lower cadres systematically by a team of some of the senior managers who took part in developing elements of the Strategic Plan.
- Ø Sixth, the Consultant recommends that the Senior Management, with the assistance of the Consultant or others, review these outputs in a year's time so as to finalise a strategic plan which will be operative at least to the year 2010. This will allow participants to have implemented some of the major recommendations.

APPENDIX 1: OUTPUT OF PROCESSING PRESENTED PAPERS

1. Autonomy of Parliament

- (a) Parliamentary autonomy and its advantages.
- (b) Independence on decision making on the running of Parliamentary Secretariat (de-linking).

2. Environment

- (a) Enabling Parliamentary Officers to understand the changes in their working environment.
- (b) Democratisation.
- (c) Civic Education.
- (d) Improved Service to Members.

3. Library and Research Services

- (a) Importance of information in empowering the Parliamentarian to effectively perform his/her role. There is need for well equipped library and research facilities.
- (b) Information.

4. Parliamentary Leadership

- (a) Legislature to give direction on fundamental critical issues.
- (b) National vision given by the Parliament.
- (c) Preparation for managing the future.
- (d) Anticipation and planning on how to deal with issues likely to improve on functions of Parliament.

5. Managerial Leadership

- (a) Organisational/structural job description of the legislative staff.
 - (b) Managing Change.
 - (c) The need to recognise the value of team work in the management of change.
6. Autonomy of Staff
- (a) De-linking of the Parliament Staff from mainstream civil service.
 - (b) Autonomy of Parliament is vital if it has to recruit and train its own staff conveniently. Independent terms of service will attract and retain qualified staff.
 - (c) The role that the staff play in National Assembly could be greatly enhanced if they were operating in an autonomous environment.
 - (d) National Assembly has to be de-linked from the main civil service.
7. Financial Management
- (a) Management of the fiscal resources.
 - (b) Effectiveness in service provision at minimum cost.
8. Team Work
- (a) To cultivate team-work in Parliamentary challenges.
 - (b) Communications.
 - (c) To improve staff and the legislature; communication and working relations.
 - (d) Enhancement of management of Parliamentary affairs require team effort and support from all those involved.
 - (e) The need to manage change through involvement of all the stake-holders.
9. Human Resources
- (a) Train Legislators and Staff.
 - (b) The Parliament to be effective and efficient. Both the staff and the Members have to be educated to appreciate their role.

- (c) The staff of National Assembly are also very important aspects in the running of the affairs of Parliament.
- (d) Improve on staff welfare so as to motivate and improve on efficiency.
- (e) Human resource management and planning.
- (f) Economically empowered Parliamentary staff/necessary skills.
- (g) Total Quality Management approach in the management and planning of Parliament - customer/client approach.

10. Improving Legislative Process

(a) Legislative Issues

- (i) Well informed legislature
- (ii) Need for deliberate strategy to empower staff to facilitate appropriate response by Members to the demands and needs of enlightened electorate.
- (iii) Enabling the civil society to be involved in the legislative process - i.e. public hearings.
- (iv) Physical facilities.

(b) Staff Issues

- (i) Management of human resources in provision of support services to the legislature.
- (ii) Improve on service to Members.
- (iii) Development of human resources for strategic planning of Parliament.
- (iv) Physical facilities.

(c) Legislative Issues

- (i) Enlighten citizens through civic education.

- (ii) Members of Parliament require physical facilities like transport.
- (iii) Information technology and its management for quality services to Members of Parliament.

11. Subjects Not Covered in Processing

- (a) Security.
- (b) Accountability.
- (c) Transparency.
- (d) Staff/Member Welfare.

APPENDIX 2: LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

1. J. K. Masya	Clerk of the National Assembly
2. P. G. Gichohi	Principal Clerk
3. M. Werunga	Principal Clerk
4. P. C. O. Omolo	Principal Clerk
5. K. Mukiira	Under Secretary/PF & EO
6. R. A. Nyanjom	Senior Principal Personnel Officer
7. J. Machanje	Chief Hansard Editor
8. J. M. Mwanja	Hansard Editor
9. J. M. Muchira	Chief Accountant
10. S. Obudo	Senior Accountant
11. E. Musunga	Catering Manager
12. W. W. Makate	Senior Supplies Officer
13. Michael Ole Kirusua	Chief Sergeant-At-Arms
14. B. K. Mwendwa	Sergeant-At-Arms
15. I. K. Songoro	Librarian
16. E. Kamau	Librarian

LIST OF TEAM MEMBERS

TEAM MENTALIS

Gichohi
Kirusua
Machanje
Muchira
Musunga
Nyanjom
Omolo
Songoro

TEAM MELLIFERA

Kamau
Makate
Masya
Mukiira
Mwanja
Mwendwa
Obudo
Werunga

THE ROLE OF THE MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT IN
THE PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT PROCESS:
ISSUES IN CONSTITUENCY STRATEGIC PLANNING

J-C.M. Mutiso

Orientation Seminar for Members of the
Seventh Parliament August 3-5, 1993

INTRODUCTION

In this paper we discuss some planning and development strategic issues which confront an MP now and into the twenty first century. Strategic issues are issues which must be addressed if a person, a role or an organisation is to respond to a changed environment. If a strategic issue is not mediated the person, role or organisation does not survive in the new environment. A key strategic issues in Kenya is the role of the MP. We address this in historical perspective and suggest how MPs should restructure their role through addressing pressing national planning and development issues at the constituency level. In other words MPs have to create a strategic purpose for their role before they can address other strategic issues. In our opinion, there are other planning and development strategic issues crying out for attention. These are sustainable agriculture, education, technology, AIDS, and, perhaps the most important, community organising. The role of an MP has changed dramatically since Eliud Mathu went to the colonial Legislative Council in 1944.

ELIUD MATHU'S ROLE

When Eliud Mathu went into the legislative council, he was legitimised as a legislator by the nationalism process. His planning and development role was clear. He did not have to campaign in the wider African community for all of us who were around then saw him as our own. He could not do wrong for any issue he sought to pursue was in our view legitimate for our development. It

may not have been an issue from which each one of us derived direct development benefits but we were convinced that he was fighting for us. The issues which we, Africans, were interested in were obvious. We wanted colour bar to end. We wanted Uhuru. So we supported him fully. We also did not expect to benefit directly from his activities. It was all right if he focused on the needs of some. Our turn would come. We hoped. Hope in this sense is defined in the original Greek meaning of having the possibility of less evil in the future. Colonialism was evil and anti-development. Mathu would fight it and thus reduce it, we believed. for proto-nationalism informed us that one day we would be free and, according to Kwame Nkrumah, all things would be added to us. Mathu was a hero. Heroes do not make mistakes. Heroes are adulated.

Mathu's world fell apart when the Mau Mau war started. We got other heroes who appeared to want to deliver us from bondage quicker. They acted rather than talked. Those in the forest and in prison were the new leaders for some of us. Others were convinced that these were not leaders. We, the Africans, split. Therefore the role of a legislative leader changed. It was diminished. It was contested.

Legislative leaders who followed Mathu, the Ohangas, the Amalembas and the like, had a hard time leading us not only because they were chosen for us but more fundamentally since we, the Africans, were split in our demands on leadership. Until the legislative leaders selected after the Lyttleton Constitution, in 1955, the role of a legislative leader was essentially illegitimate for some of us, maybe the majority. It was only to be legitimised by the nationalists.

THE ROLE OF A LEGISLATOR 1955 TO 1963

From 1955 to 1963, the role of a legislator is the role of the tribal representative as a nationalist. The interpretation is based on the phenomena which led to public interest being calculated by legislators in terms of what development was to go to the mythical *my people*. We, the Africans, were now thinking in terms of what our immediate communities could get from our representative at the meeting of the tribes, the colonial legislative council. Indeed one can argue that the legislative council was no more than a gathering of all the tribes. The Mzungu tribe, ably represented by settler parties, sought to acquire national power. Their interest is to be seen as different from the colonial government's interest which sought to control the legislature through the preponderant representation of mzungu bureaucrats in the legislature and the all powerful executive, the Governor.

Initially, many legislators created little political parties which only covered their tribe. It is true that pan tribal political parties were not initially recognised by the colonial government. This does not diminish the point that the legislator only organised the tribe. The legislators did not use the model of pan-tribal organising initially.

Along the way though, some adventurous legislators began to create organisations which were wider than the tribe. The momentum was in Nairobi logically for it was, and continues to be, the most cosmopolitan of our towns. It consequently had a crowd. A crowd could be turned into political operations. However, the organising by Mboya in Nairobi did not mean that

fundamentally we, Africans, agreed that he was the leader we could all access. He was a leader but the way to him was through the tribal legislator leader. Witness the patronage of Mboya scholarships or Odinga scholarships. They were handed to us locally by the tribal leader legislators who got them as part of their patronage. Since our sons and daughters were being sent overseas to study, the tribal leader as legislator was development conscious.

The legislator role also suffered from our questions on the detained. Legislators had to declare their position on Kenyatta, the triple proxy for forest fighters, detainees and nationalism. The strategic question by us, the Africans, was how we could be free while some of us were detained. In the future, Kenyan historians and political scientists will have to revisit the struggles for African leadership in the legislative council between 1958 and 1961 to give us more light on the posturing on the detainees issue. Publicly all African legislators were in favour of releasing Kenyatta. In party formation and political tactics, many knew he could dominate the nationalist movement and thereby diminish the tribal representative role in the gathering of the tribes. Consequently, during the formation of both KADU and KANU, the primary representation issue was not ideological but geographic tribal. There was little discussion on the meaning of development. What was important was to mobilise the tribe. If the tribes were to gather, the one with the most tribals, or are they indigenous?, would carry the day. This was also clearly understood by the colonial government, more than settlerdom. After all the colonial anthropology institutes in Makerere and Salisbury had done their intellectual justification of focusing supposedly nationalist political organisation along tribal lines for a generation of colonial rulers.

It is important in our understanding of the historical roots of the role of a legislator to go behind the veneer of nationalism, the call for independence, and to see the kind of development issues raised by legislators in the period. They concentrated on schools. Schools were development.

Our images of the leaders were also graphically portrayed by them. They wore, in the name of Africanity from their point of view, the regalia of tribal bosses. We, the Africans, saw them as affirming that they were tribal leaders. This was reinforced for us by their harassing the local petty tyrants be they missionary, white or black administrators or traders. They stopped communal labour. We therefore stopped terracing. We stopped protecting watersheds. We stopped making roads. We waited for *serikali* to do these things as they preached to us. In their understanding the things they stopped were not developmental!

The majority of the legislators of the period were ex school teachers. This explains their concern with development as meaning only expansion of the educational facilities and their preachy style, derived from misguided colonial pedagogy of producing parrots. After all, they knew. We were supposed to respect the teacher. We obeyed the teacher. We, the Africans, agreed. Since they were teachers mainly, most of them had earned community leadership roles for colonial teachers were special. They were likely to also be local church leaders, local business leaders, local leading farmers and the like. They were the best and brightest of the colonial products. They did not tolerate tradition for it represented everything they were escaping from, although some had joined the tribal associations, started as part of the colonial counter-

insurgence measures of the fifties, to defend traditions most did not know!

Community leadership for development, during this last phase of colonialism, was however not with the legislator. Depending on different parts of the country, it was either traditionalist or a mixture of traditionalist and modern elements. Colonial chiefs feature in community development leadership of the period heavily for they wielded immense colonial state and community power. The immediate followers of the legislators, the youth wingers obeyed Nkrumah's dictate of being recruited from the *verandah boys*. If one is a *verandah boy*, one is neither employed nor employable. They were likely to be not very literate. They also were not likely to be propertied or even highly motivated people. Many of the youth wingers created a new profession called *mwanasiasa*, a person who had no occupation other than talking at the various market places. Some become legislators in later years. They were a major huddle in teaching that development was a process of communities and not an activity undertaken by just a ministry or government.

THE ROLE OF A LEGISLATOR 1963 TO 1969

One of the ironies of all African independence was the belief that after independence all things shall be added to us, Africans. We were so busy believing this that we, Africans, did not take part in defining ourselves as Kenyans. Neither did we understand that the *Kenya We Want* in development terms would only be possible if communities defined their development needs and struggled for them. Instead we left the definition of our development needs and our Kenyanness to the ex colonial bureaucrats. An explanation is

in order.

First, we believed that politics was over. After all we, Africans, were ruling ourselves. The first decade of our independence is the decade of bureaucratic rule par excellence. State bureaucrats believed that the business of running the government, in their view equivalent to developing the country, was solely theirs. They did not need us. They needed legislators only to enact what they had studied and recommended. They would plan development. They created a ministry to coordinate planning in 1966. By 1970s, they were so arrogant about their development achievements in ruling, planning and dominating society that they wrote into one report that they had created modern Kenya and it was now time for them to go into business. They were henceforth allowed to own businesses. We sanctioned this and the regulators became owners of what they were regulating. This bore public corruption which still haunts us. It was the basis of bureaucratic accumulation.

In the merging of KANU and KADU and APP, the regionalisation of KANU in Limuru, the founding and banning of KPU and general de-politicisation of the first decade of independence, we, the Africans, were transformed into Kenyans essentially under bureaucratic rule with the erstwhile tribal legislators marginalised. In this rulership, provincial administration ran riot. The tribal legislator was a development spectator who occasionally kneeled at the foot of the many bureaucrats. Power came from the office of a bureaucrat. Bureaucrats planned settlement schemes, schools, dips, roads and the like. The tribal legislator had to know the rounds of the different ministries if he was to get any services, in the name of development, for his tribals who were indigenous or migrants!

The origins of the legislator is no longer the teacher during this period. Most of the new entrants are youth wingers whose specific point is to get even with the historically established local leaders. Hell hath no fury like a youth winger become a *Mheshimiwa*! Matters public became issues of personal accumulation of influence, power and wealth. Representation, in the sense of taking local issues to the national level, became peripheral. The relationship between locally identified development needs and national government planning outputs was at best dubious. Given that the local community distrusted the legislator, he spent inordinate amount of time in Nairobi with matters of state! We, Kenyans or tribals, were supposed to understand. We did. The MP became irrelevant in our development activities. We began to look for leadership elsewhere.

THE ROLE OF THE LEGISLATOR IN THE SEVENTIES AND EIGHTIES

Beginning with the seventies, we, Kenyans, tribals and indigenous, became disillusioned with the bureaucratic and depoliticised state which planned development without involving us. We disengaged. A *Mheshimiwa* was a mortal. He was not even a tribal leader. We could exist without him as long as we could corner the DC and the PC and all other bureaucrats for our development needs. After all, we had our eyes and ears in the civil service also. Each one of ours, and the others we could bribe, could deliver a particular development service. After all, the *Mheshimiwa* was just a youth winger before he sold a licence!

The second point is that we, Kenyans, tribals and indigenous, became Harambee fanatics in the seventies, for this was development we could plan and control locally. In the process, our tribal legislators forgot about us other than just showing up to shout to us "me and my friends" during harambees! Through the seventies it was not too bad, we could organise our own harambees. We even built colleges of technology.

However, by the eighties, the state with a highly politicised and wealthy bureaucracy, took over harambee. Our little harambees for each village or sublocation were now centralised. The big leaders wanted to compete nationally and harambees had to be constituency or district wide to show off who had more friends within the one party, one bureaucracy and one government. Our *Mheshimiwa* would not accept that we plan our little developments. Of course money collected by all these big leaders was kept by them and we never even got it back. It was centrally planned and administered! We innovated though. We started collecting money for our schools and used it and only reported what we spent in the big harambees so that our *Mheshimiwa* could announce his millions! You see we Kenyans, tribals and indigenous are not exactly stupid. We do not like being looted. We also made so much noise on the harambee land buying companies that they had to be abolished and our plots given to us. We also forced politicians out of our cooperatives. This way we deepened our local development planning so much that the national development plans began to assign a role for our harambee contributions!

Since the seventies, many of us, Kenyans, tribals and indigenous, do not really

select our legislators. They were vetoed by the one party and financed from outside our areas. Who became a *Mheshimiwa* was a function of the single party factionalism. This is why we concentrated on eating campaign money. It was not ours! It was the one major service we got from our *Mheshimiwa*. We did not confuse this eating with development other than when we forced those who wanted to go to be elected to contribute to our small projects. We kept them out of our cooperatives, school boards and local development activities. They did not like it. They fought us. The more they fought, the more we articulated that we needed change. That others picked our ideas and created other parties is a detail. We rebelled. We looked for other development leaders locally.

THE ROLE OF A LEGISLATOR AND THE MULTI PARTY ERA

Part of current reality is that the social and economic environments have changed thereby changing our planning and development needs. Strategically speaking then the development role expectation of a legislator is being redefined. First, members of the Seventh Parliament have extremely diverse backgrounds. Some naturally come from the leadership of the 1950s. Others are former bureaucrats par excellence who have been radicalised to question the *arcana imperii* they operated so well. Other legislators are ideologues, uncomfortable in the talking shop, to use their language. Many are from the professions. Others are self made businessmen. Others are farmers. Others are academics. Some are just local leaders.

Several points need to be made. First, the many backgrounds offer an

opportunity for articulating many development alternatives if tolerance is accepted. The risk exists that the assorted backgrounds will only lead to cacophony. Second, the purely political struggles within the house can diminish the possibility of debating alternative planning and development options. This can marginalise the legislature's role in making policy on planning and development to address current strategic concerns.

This Parliament and the ones to come is confronted by different Kenyans from those of the past. We, Kenyans, are different. We are young. It is estimated that only 8% of the national population is above fifty years old! This is to say that only a tiny minority of the nation has an adult experience of pre-independence. Only about 24% of the nation's population is above 30 years old. This is to say that more than three quarters of the national population has been born since independence! In most constituencies, more than 80% of the registered voters in the last election were under twenty five! By the next election, it is estimated that more than 90% of the voters will be between eighteen and twenty five!

We do not understand what the political fights in the past thirty years are all about. We are Kenyans and do not have our development reference on tribes. We aspire to modernity. Our leaders are many for development cannot just be economic. Some are dancing stars. Others are athletes. Still others are religious leaders. Some are bankers, teachers, pimps, farmers, rugby players, engineers and so forth. We are not locked into seeing leaders only in Kenya. For us a *mwana siasa* is a contradiction in terms for one has to have a profession. For us political leadership is what one does to fulfil community obligations and not an occupation. We look for solutions to specific personal

and community development problems. Jobs and inflation are currently priorities. For us the legislator is just one of the many in society who are in leadership positions and not necessarily the supreme leader. We are aware that the old folk do not share our vision of poly leadership for development. We also do not understand how they are basically locked in thinking that legislators are primary to the development process.

To complicate matters, for us Kenyans, tribals and indigenous, legislators are now organised into many parties. Each party seeks to direct its legislators to some policies. These have been codified into documents. There are obvious divergencies from the statements of party policy and the behaviour of the parties. More important though is the feeling we have that the parties are still locked into some of the fights of the last thirty years for many of the national party officials are creatures of that period. All of them articulate past concerns primarily. It can be stated that the parties still see the legislators as the most important of their officials. Put it another way, the validation of a successful party leader is to be elected to parliament. Perhaps this will change. Perhaps it needs to change quickly for local level leadership in some development activities is what the young need more than politics.

THE LEGISLATOR AS A LOCAL LEVEL ORGANISER

In summary then, the development role of a legislator enjoys fairly low status now. Martin Shikuku caught part of the spirit of this when he said they are *Miserable Persons*. He did not capture all of it for he should have added that they are ignored by the bulk of the population. Not many of the young voters know their MP. Many do not go to the MP for any particular service. It seems to me then the challenge for the legislator is to redefine the role of an MP in

the local community to become a development leader. This assumes an organisational role. It also assumes a listening role. A listening role for the silences of the community. For me this is strategic thinking about the role of a legislator in the future.

The historical roles are over and done with. What is called for is for a development organiser at the local level primarily. There are several reasons for this. First, the state is increasingly being marginalised especially in development and economic sectors. As state roles diminish, communities will have to organise themselves to do many of the things, which Africa and indeed the world, assumed can only be done by the state. Some of these development activities will be done by community organisations and others by self interest groups and organisations, for example business groups or professional organisations.

The second reason has to do with competing development leaders. As Kenyan local communities become more complex and need services, which are increasingly bought outside the public sector, other individuals, professions and organisations have become more important than the legislative leader. They command more skills, influence, power and wealth than most legislators can command even when cash flowed by political parties for electoral reasons. Thus legislators are not going to be the only important development power brokers in the future. They can though become important development organisers of different local influence, power and economic fractions. The strategic purpose of an MP will therefore be that of a local organiser. In this role the legislators will be dealing increasingly with equals, and, at times, superiors at the local level. District Focus institutions give a framework within

- HK -

which legislators can actualise the new role.

One of the most creative actions by the state was to start District Focus for Rural Development in the early eighties. It anticipated some of the planning and development problems now confronting the country where communities are divorced from the state and government development activities. At the local level DF was supposed to draw communities and development agencies, be they state or donor driven into dialogue about local development priorities. Yet at the local level, the institution has not been used to its fullest potential primarily since MPs have not paid attention to the problem. The Sublocational Development Committees have not really been formed in most parts of the country. At the next level, the Locational District Development Committees are still dominated by the lowest level bureaucrats and coteries of local influentials. By the time one gets to the Divisional Level, one is lucky to hear any community voices. It is my submission that the legislator can use this framework to get serious community discussion of development as well as mediating the conflicting local interest groups. This framework is more useful than utilising either a party or state bureaucracy for it allows for many voices to be represented. Any attempt to keep issues in one party will definitely lead to local fragmentation and heighten conflicts to the detriment of development as well as the shortening the public life of the legislator.

In creating and playing out the development organiser role, the legislator will have to confront some of the key issues confronting this society for which Kenya needs strategic thinking. The priority one will be to assure food production.

STRATEGIC THINKING ON SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURE

Kenyan agriculture has generally been able to feed the national population over the past fifty or so years. However, this was achieved by high energy agriculture limited to high potential areas. It is clear now that we will not be able to feed ourselves with food grown under high energy agriculture in the high potential areas given our exploding population. It is estimated that average land holding in agroecological zone three is less than an acre now! We must begin to produce food surpluses in the ASALs which form 82% of the land mass.

Sustainable agricultural practices which need to be implemented are stopping erosion on crop and pasture land, soil nutrient enhancement on crop and pasture land, expansion of food production, reduction of land under cash crops, emphasis on production and utilisation of grain proteins, adoption of natural pest management, reduction in reliance of artificial inputs and conservation of water for food production. These are synergistically related but clearly the most important is conservation of soil.

If Kenyan agriculture does not become sustainable, we will use massive national resources to buy food. Since we cannot finance such imports, the external financiers will impose controls on our nation. We shall be involved in the global politics of food which have replaced cold war politics.

Central in sustainable agriculture is the need to save the soil from erosion. In the Athi Catchment, one study estimated that on average 400 tons of soil per square kilometre is lost through erosion annually. In the Tana catchment,

another study estimated that 4.600 tons of soil were lost annually from each square kilometre of cropped land. The other catchments clearly have similar if not higher losses. It is deplorable that we have spent little money to establish what national erosion patterns are! In any case if the few existing studies are indicative, the nations soil resource is endangered. At this rate we will have to import soil in less than a hundred years! Those who do not believe this conclusion should visit Ethiopia and see how similar erosion patterns have turned agricultural areas to desert in less than fifty years.

It should be clear to every legislator that a key development issue is to ensure that each local area saves its soil and produces the maximum amount of food possible to enable the nation to survive. This is not to deny comparative advantage in agricultural production but to emphasise that each locality will have to maximise production of food. This is not just a role to be delegated to the Ministry of Agriculture and the many inefficient institutions and processes in the agricultural sector. It is a problem for national legislative and community leadership for it is such a major strategic issue that those legislators who do not address it will fall on the wayside. It is a matter all parties must address publicly rather than keeping it under wrap of the policy documents. It is a matter for the community to conserve every farm and plot eroding. It calls for total approach rather than seeing erosion as a plot owner's responsibility. Students of soil structure know that the benefits of soil and water conservation accrue to the community rather than only to individual plot owner. This needs to be ingrained to every Kenyan. This should become central in the educational system.

STRATEGIC THINKING ON EDUCATION

Traditional education systems of the many Kenyan peoples was located within the community and included conservation of natural resources which has been lost. Such an approach was overtaken by the colonially derived educational system which specified what skills were to be rewarded socially and at the market place. Post-colonial education follows the basic dictates of its colonial roots for its end objectives are to produce consumers. It is anti-development. It is not ecologically specific and it has little on natural resources utilisation, especially soil and water, conservation.

The strategic issue though is not to go back to pre-colonial education although there is a sense in which the dictates of local ecology demand that an aspect of traditional education, that is local resources utilisation and conservation skills, be taught. One strategic development issue is to create an educational system which utilises local resources for technicalising production. A second issues is local financing of components of the formal educational system. Current Ministry of Education practice demands that communities provide classrooms, laboratories and the like. Communities will need to be organised not only to produce these capital developments but also to pay school fees and uniforms and the like for the poor members who are increasingly not able to provide for the education of significant numbers of their children. AIDS orphans will need to be financed. It may sound unrealistic, but there already is partial data to suggest that many more Kenyans will not be able to attend school simply because their parents are not going to be able to finance the fees, uniforms, exercise books and the like. Already there are many constituency educational development funds. This is indication of where the

communities are in terms of future needs.

The planning of education for specific communities presents an opportunity for leadership. If legislators do not incorporate it in their role redefinition, they will be marginalised.

The content of education needs to be made local natural resources specific over and above catering for local human resources. This is not to say that there should not be a national curriculum for all people. All that is being argued for is that those learning in an area which has crop potential should get extra education on crops. Where fishing is important, we should build up on it in the local school system and so forth. In this way Kenya will begin to struggle with the integration of the educated to the local production systems. To date we educate for the towns, a colonial education hang over. To educate for the community is to begin to identify specific technologies for utilising available local resources.

STRATEGIC THINKING ON TECHNOLOGY

By getting an educational system to think of how it supports local resources base, it is then possible to define technical production needs and technologies relevant to the particular areas. To date, the issue of technology has been badly handled at both the macro-policy level and at the micro level. Nationally we have failed to support local machine tool industry. Consequently, all sorts of machines are imported. Variety here is costly for all replacement has to come out of foreign exchange.

We also do not upgrade our skills. At the macro-level, technology related to production should be supported by policy and finance especially if it seeks to modify, generate or design more relevant technology.

At the micro-level, we have sought homogenisation. Thus we find the improved maize technology for ecological zone three in zone five. Water harvesting techniques needed for zone five have yet to be designed since our farmers and agriculturalists still think of high rainfall agriculture. Jua Kali production systems are similar in Lokichoggio and Lamu.

In thinking about technology, it should be understood one is not only talking of making better pangas but also locally attenuated tractors, computers and software systems for peculiarly Kenyan applications. We should not be conventional in our thinking. New technologies offer opportunities. The area of information technology offers some lucrative returns. Making communication equipment is participating in one of the growth areas of the future. Biotechnology is another. Training in these sectors now is important. It sounds esoteric but there are very cheap ways of using biotechnology to improve our production now. For example cloning more drought resistant plants, making nitrogen fixing bacteria as substitutes for petroleum derived fertilisers or fermenting food to improve its nutritive value and to preserve it as many of our ancestors knew.

These future growth technologies are no longer issues to be left to the state. They have to become issues of the local communities. Kisii women tea farmers know how to vegetatively grow tea plants. It is a small step to the tissue culture production of tea plants.

To date the only technology education institutions, other than the self driven *jua kali* artisanal production systems, which have filtered to the local levels are village polytechnics. The village polytechnics were started in the late sixties under the auspices of the NCCK, to train carpenters, masons, typists and tailors. These are over supplied now. By the seventies, various colleges of technology were started, essentially by non-politicians, for training at a higher level. It can be argued that these formed the root of the state driven expansion of university education along technical fields by the late 1970s and early eighties.

All these systems have not made technologies of the future central. For the next century, African society will have to technicalise much more than it has done in the past one. To remain competitive in this, leadership and investment will not only need to come from the state but will have to be generated in the local communities. That will surely be one of the issues each legislator will have to address in their area. It is not enough that a community just produces classrooms and supports the poor in its community who cannot go to school. Communities will have to put into place technical education feeding into the national production stream. The most efficacious way of doing this is to begin with technical and technology needs of local production and stream the local human and material products to the nation.

In some ways leadership on the technology issues is the most elusive in Kenya public life, legislators included, for we do not have a tradition on it. This is precisely why all legislators should, as a matter of urgency, find ways of establishing local resource persons knowledgeable on the issues to begin to address them locally. These local resources should identify what teaching

institutions are needed and come up with ways of organising them. It also is a question of entrepreneurs investing in technology. The resources put in bars are more than sufficient to create teaching institutions with good incomes for the investors. This should be explored locally. The state on its part needs to put in policies which support investing in twenty first century technologies. A good beginning would be to abolish duty and taxes on computers for example or financing of biotechnology products for use in food production.

Until the local communities debate and discuss their technology needs, the national macro-policy level will still remain confused for no real demands in technology will be put on it in the same way no pressure has been put on macro-policy on AIDS.

STRATEGIC THINKING ON AIDS

In 1987, a group of Africans, meeting in Kericho to look into the future of the African continent, predicted that portions of this continent will be totally depopulated by AIDS. This was treated as a joke by the local media and many African Governments. This has come to be in several African countries where whole villages have been wiped out. AIDS is the crises which will not go away. It is killing people. Nationally, there is not enough information on it for it is argued that such information will scare tourists away among other perceived problems. It is time AIDS got discussed as a problem in each constituency for it is a strategic issue which threatens the very fabric of society.

If legislators understand that the trained young are a community and national development resource, they have no choice but to discuss AIDS in their communities and to make legislation to handle the problem. If a community wants to survive, it has to discuss AIDS. All communities are vulnerable in different degrees. The disease is not only on the Malaba/Mombasa Road as was argued in the past. Since nationally we did not get into public education on the crisis effectively, it has got into every corner of the republic. After all, we met in Nairobi and Mombasa among other towns and return to the assorted villages spreading the scourge.

AIDS knows no classes. Politicians, paupers, professors, prisoners, priests, prostitutes, pathologists, prophets, police persons, poets, prospectors, printers, prosecutors and others have died and are going to continue dying if we do not push public education on the disease. AIDS will even spread faster as our nutritional standards fall since we are not producing enough food.

Communities will have to decide how they are going to handle AIDS orphans. Traditional mechanisms which saw orphans farmed out to immediate relatives seems to be failing in many African countries as the crisis deepens. There are tentative steps on new ways of handling orphans suggested by all the local church related orphanages, which are supported, to some degree, by local communities. This though is not the way for if the AIDS pandemic continues exploding, the numbers of orphans will be more than can go to public institutions. They will have to be spread to non-relative families for adoption. These are hard decisions to confront voters with but they need to begin to think about them.

Each legislator has an obligation to educate his local public for there will be no public for him to lead unless Kenyans, tribals and indigenous, begin now to change sexual practices. This must be done in public and not in the closed manner of past AIDS discussions. This obligation comes from traditional African morality which strategically specified that a leader who does not inform the community of its imminent death forfeited community leadership. Nothing threatens the integrity of communities making up this nation as AIDS does.

COMMUNITY ORGANISING

In development studies community organising has specific meaning which refers to creating organisations and processes in a community which reflect on development problems and find solutions to them. In our jumbled history of the past hundred years, we have not organised our communities for problem solving since we were always looking outside these communities for solutions to development problems. Over the past fifty or so years, the solution lay in politics. Politics was in Nairobi. Government was also in Nairobi. Both were not part and parcel of our community. These comments are what we understood as *siasa* and *serikali*. They were not of us for they were far away.

It is clear these days that each community must do for itself some of what it had always assumed will be done by *siasa* and *serikali*. This means that the legislator must be involved in defining what development is to be done at his local level by the community as well as what is to be done by the government. It is clear though that the government will be doing much less

than it has done in the past. There are several reasons for this. First, it cannot raise more resources from the nation to do all the things expected until national productivity rises. Of course raised resources should be more efficiently used. Second, it is no longer fashionable to expect it to. Therefore donors will look for other channels of giving assistance. In this environment, communities will have to do for themselves what in the past was expected of the state. Communities will have to be organised for this.

In these communities, there are many forces organising. They range all the way from international and national NGOs, through modern interest groups to traditional groups. All local terrains are full of organisers and organisations. It is inconceivable that anybody will be elected a legislator if they do not find ways of coordinating these diverse community processes.

Already some of the more creative legislators have targeted women organisations, cooperatives and teachers associations among others. This has been easy for these do not conflict directly. In the future though, it is expected that trader associations will clash with cooperatives, especially the fast growing sacco's, organised labour, conservation groups and consumer groups in the market place. Conflicts will not necessarily be bounded locally but can be nationalised and/or internationalised. Pointers to future conflicts are Coffee Industry struggles, Tana Delta, Times Complex, Teachers Strike Threats or Tea Farmers Price Struggles. Whoever wants to be a legislator will have to mediate local interests for they will have the potential of blocking his election and role. New and non-traditional organisational forms still clash with

traditional organisations like clans. Much is made in some constituencies that elections are won on clan basis. Whatever the veracity of this, modern competing organisational forms will need to also address traditional organisational forms for they can bloc decisions at the community level.

It should also be noted that the organisations above are for less than 24% of the national population! Legislators will have to think how they access the under thirty who form more than 75% of the population. Their organisations are transitory, usually not apparently economic and mainly entertainment or socially oriented. They can only be accessed by the young. This will mean that legislators have to find young activists for organising their peers.

There is also the issue of many political parties at the local level. This is new. Many see it as fragmentary. Others see it as potentially liberating for it allows for debate and airing of dark closets. What is clear is the fact that the legislator will not afford to ignore members of other parties and other party officials in the local community. These are constituents who must be mobilised and wooed for development objectives if for nothing else. The existence of many parties calls for skills in persuasion on what is to be accepted as local development positions whatever parties do nationally. The legislator would be jeopardising his position if he does not see his role as one of persuasion about development and other public matters. Above we have discussed the historical role of the legislator and some of the other strategic issues which must be addressed.

CONCLUSION

The current economic and social environments are a minefield for the legislator for society is rapidly changing and the state's development role is being scaled down. Individuals and communities, through new institutions, are redefining survival roles for themselves, public bodies and political leadership, including legislative leadership. Within this minefield, the legislator who wants to be elected to Parliament, to last and to lead, must begin to debate local development with the local power brokers be they individuals, self interest organisations or parties. It is a working hypothesis that those who do not maximise on discussing strategic issues for their communities will loose their public role.

In a past era characterised by high inflation, nascent parties and confusing national goals, Dietrich Bonhoeffer wrote: "A leader would certainly become a misleader so long as he does not clearly refuse to become the idol of the led." This is a fitting summary to the discussion of local level strategic planning and development issues confronting the legislative leader now and into the twenty first century. In the past adulation was sought. Local level leadership in planning and development was not taken seriously. Adulation is no longer relevant for we do not believe in heroes any more. The leader must articulate the hard choices confronting his constituents. There is no room for being idolised in that work.

PARLIAMENT GOVERNANCE IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMME 1993-1997

1. BACKGROUND

Parliament has been aware of the need to improve its operations especially in human and physical resource planning, research and data handling capacity. In the past attempts at improvements have not attracted resources for the institution was not viewed in developmental terms. Fortunately current concern with governance have created possibilities for there is interest in supporting Parliament to improve itself in the country as well as in the donor community. Parliament's needs have been discussed within Government and with some interested donors over the past year.

Parliaments work load is going to increase and diversify as in the multi party era as new demands are put on the institution. It is therefore important that its internal management process be put on long term sound basis by developing a strategic plan which will review past operations, physical and human resources and systematically identify solutions for anticipated growth of the institution.

2. PROJECT OBJECTIVES

Primary Objective

The project's primary objective is institutional strengthening of Parliament.

Sub-objectives

1. Train Senior Staff on issues of organisational development related to producing a working strategic plan.
2. Improve the production of Hansard by training staff in desk top publishing and acquiring equipment for it.
3. Increase the library research capacity by training staff and modernising equipment.
4. Train staff to increase their effectiveness.
5. Expose MPs to other legislative systems with a view to improving their effectiveness.

3. PROJECT ACTIVITIES

A. SENIOR STAFF ORGANISATIONAL DEVELOPMENT SEMINAR

Parliament recognises that one area it needs to improve and soon is the management of the institution. Perhaps nothing will contribute to the improvement of services within Parliament than training in organisational development where the 10 key management staff (including the Clerk to Parliament) will review their operations, discuss improvements and set targets for their work.

It is proposed that the 10 senior staff hold a 3-4 week seminar within country during January /February 1994. This seminar should address inter alia 1. Distribution of work 2. Staff and staffing needs 3. Financial needs 4. Space and Equipment needs 5. Organisational decision

making processes 6. Human resources needs 7. Research needs. 8. Management of Parliament's plant and 9. Management of the Chamber 10. Management of Committees. It is expected that out of the month long seminar a strategic plan would emerge.

It is proposed that the training be conducted by two consultants, preferably one with experience of OD training locally and one with OD training experience of American legislatures. It is estimated that this activity will cost US\$ 90,000.

B. TRAINING RESEARCH LIBRARIANS

Parliament has, like the rest of Government, been losing a lot of Librarians in the recent past. There apparently is great demand of Librarians in the national market. Yet the operation of Parliament Library is crucial for research. To date, Parliament has not had the capacity to do research outside its own past operations. It is clear that this is not satisfactory for the future. There will be need to get Parliamentary Library staff to do research outside its past records. The key need therefore is to train library research staff. No formal systems for training in this area exist in the country. It is therefore proposed that this training be in the United States and it be for a year long period. The training programme should be essentially by attachment to Congressional Staff and should concentrate on research on matters coming to Congress.

Although bonding of trained personnel is not the current norm, discussions with the Directorate of Personnel Management and Parliament are afoot seeking a solution to the losses. Perhaps by upgrading the job status will lead to retention of staff.

The demand is for six librarians over and above clerks who will be involved in some research. Since there is need for specialisation, it is proposed that the six will be recruited from individuals with background in economics, sociology, political science, environment, science and information science. It is proposed that two of them go for training in 1994, 1995 and 1996 respectively. The total training package will cost around US\$ 210,000

C. STAFF TRAINING

Parliamentary administrative staff are usually trained on the job for there is no formal training institute which is able to train them before they join the institution. Some of the staff who have been on the job have essentially picked enough experience to fulfil their roles. There is need to upgrade their knowledge. Second and perhaps more critical for the functioning of Parliament, is the need to induct new staff into the legislative processes. New staff have to be recruited since the establishment was never fulfilled. The increase in numbers is targeted towards improving the performance of Parliament. The third reason for thinking of new training programme is the increase in work load related to the multi-party Parliament. It is expected that the demands which will be put on the staff by Parliamentarians will increase. There will also be the need for understanding the functioning of multiparty legislatures.

Training areas desired are essentially in procedures and practices of Parliaments; drafting of questions; research on debates and handling of enquiries. Advise to Members on all of these issues is a critical skill for the Clerk's Office staff.

It is planned that 30 staff be trained through short internships in the US. It is proposed that 8 staff be attached to state legislatures over the next three years and 6 staff in the fourth year. Attachments should be for a period of 3 months. The bulk of the time should be spent in state legislatures with limited period spent with Congressional staff. When they are on this attachment, they should also be attached to the Canadian Provincial Parliaments or the Canadian Parliament in Ottawa. It is estimated that this training will cost about US\$ 270,000 for the four year period and about US\$ 72,000 during the first year.

D. UPGRADING THE PRODUCTION OF HANSARD

Currently Hansard production is based on taping debates, transcription of the tape, word processing of the text and final copy production at Government Printer, where Parliament competes for attention with all other business. The word processing system needs updating. Its work stations have no memory. This system cannot produce final hard copy Hansard, Order Paper and Votes and Proceedings for the business of the House expeditiously. Sources of inefficiency are at word processing where existing capacity is not adequate and having to rely on Government Printer for final copies.

It is proposed that Five stand alone computers be procured for the purpose of desk top publishing of Hansard to final copy. These computers should be at least a 486 machine, have at least 250 MB tape drive, CD ROM, scanner, desk top publishing software and have ports for future external memory expansion. Four laser printers and one dot matrix printers and a quality high speed photocopier are ancillary equipment. Local companies should be considered to assure servicing. This activity is of great urgency and it is proposed that the procurement be undertaken during 1993. It is estimated that the total cost of this process including training of staff in the equipment will cost US\$ 200,000.

E. UPGRADING LIBRARY DATA HANDLING CAPACITY

Normal operations in Parliament require extensive reference and use of old Hansard and other national policy documents. This involves significant amounts of research and handling of stored materials. Experience in many legislatures points out that having these materials in CD ROM aids utilisation as well as cutting research time. One of the key requirements in the Library is the ability to put past Hansard records on CD ROM to facilitate their retrieval, to improve storage and to facilitate use. The equipment required will be two 486 computers, CD ROM, scanner, writer, converter and peripherals. The second computer will be used for general administrative support. Experience with past equipment suggests that the suppliers should have local outlets to facilitate maintenance. It is estimated that the whole package, including training and consultancy will cost US\$. 50,000.

F. MP TOURS

Slightly more than half of the Members of Parliament have no legislative experience. It is important that they be exposed to other legislatures especially those which operate in multi party situations. This will facilitate their thinking through the MP role and understanding alternative organisational formats and processes of legislating since this is one of the issues under debate in the country.

Parliament has already had a seminar for all the Mps on procedures and practices in country. Thirteen Parliamentarians have already gone to United States under USAID sponsorship for a period of three weeks. This initial group spent some time in Congress and some with state legislators. Generally, the experience in state legislatures seems to have been more useful. It would be desirable that future tours be biased to Mps spending more time in state legislatures. On the way to and back from the US, it would be useful if Mps can get exposure to Commonwealth Parliaments, say in Canada, UK or Caribbean for procedures and practices in the Commonwealth tend to be similar.

The target for these tours is to expose as many as 130 Mps to other legislatures. From a programming point of view, there is a problem since the only times they can go are in January/February; May/June and August/September. The Public Accounts and Public Investments Committees meet during the later period and this could present problems. It is proposed that one lot of two lots of 15 go for the three week tour in 1994, 1995 and 1996. The total cost for this activity is estimated as US\$ 720,000

4. BUDGET SUMMARY

SENIOR STAFF ORGANISATIONAL DEVELOPMENT SEMINAR	US\$ 90,000
UPGRADING THE PRODUCTION OF HANSARD	US\$ 200,000
UPGRADING LIBRARY DATA HANDLING CAPACITY	US\$ 100,000
TRAINING RESEARCH LIBRARIANS	US\$ 210,000
STAFF TRAINING	US\$ 270,000
MP TOURS	<u>US\$ 720,000</u>
TOTAL	US\$1,590,000

ANNEX 1: PARLIAMENT STAFF AS AT 2/9/93

DESIGNATION	JOB GROUP	NUMBER EST.	NUMBER IN POST	SHORT FALL
1. CLERKS OFFICE				
Clerk, National Assembly	R 1	1	0	
Deputy Clerk	P 1	1	0	
Principal Clerk Assistant	N 4	4	0	
Senior Clerk Assistant	M 5	1	4	
Clerk Assistant I	L 6	2	4	
Second Clerk Assistant	K 4	1	3	
Clerk Assistant III	J 6	0	6	
Cadet Clerk Assistant	H 2	2	0	
				17
2. HANSARD PRODUCTION				
Chief Hansard Editor	N 1	0	1	
Deputy Chief Hansard Editor	M 1	1	0	
Ass. Chief Hansard Editor	L 2	2	0	
Senior Hansard Editor	K 4	3	1	
Hansard Reporter I	J 6	3	3	
Hansard Reporter II	H 7	7	7	
Assistant Hansard Reporter I	G 4	1	3	
Assistant Hansard Reporter II	F 5	1	4	
Hansard Reporter Trainee	E 7	0	7	
				26
LIBRARY SERVICES				
Senior Librarian	L 1	0	1	
Librarian I	K 1	0	1	
Librarian II	J 2	0	2	
Librarian III	H 2	1	1	
Senior Library Assistant	G 2	2	0	
Library Assistant I	F 3	1	2	
				7
COMPUTING SERVICES				
Chief Systems Analyst/Progr.	L 1	0	1	
Senior Systems Analyst/Progr.	K 1	0	1	
Systems Analysts/Programmer	J 2	0	2	
Computer Programmer	H 2	0	2	
Key Punch Operator	D/E 4	0	4	
				10

PERSONNEL SERVICES

Principal Personnel Officer	N	1	1	0
Senior Personnel Officer	L	1	0	1
Personnel Officer I	K	1	0	1
Personnel Officer II	J	1	1	0
Personnel Assistant	H	2	2	0

2

ACCOUNTING SERVICES

Accounts Controller	N	1	0	1
Chief Accountant	M	1	1	0
Senior Accountant	L	1	0	1
Accountant I	K	2	1	1
Accountant II	J	3	3	0
Accounts Assistant	H	8	8	0

3

SECURITY

Chief Sergeant At Arms	M	1	1	0
Senior Sergeant At Arms	L	1	1	0
Sergeant At Arms I	K	1	0	1
Sergeant At Arms II	J	1	1	0
Sergeant At Arms III	H	1	0	1
Sergeant At Arms Assistant	G	1	0	1
Senior Commissionaire	F	1	0	1
Commissionaire	E	7	5	2

6

SUPPLIES SERVICES

Senior Supplies Officer	L	1	0	1
Supplies Officer I	K	1	2	+1
Supplies Officer II	J	1	1	0
Supplies Assistant I	H	1	1	0
Storeman	E/F	4	4	0

0

SECRETARIAL SERVICES

Executive Secretary	L	2	0	2
Senior Personal Secretary	K	1	0	1
Shorthand Typists	G/H	8	8	0
Copy Typist	E/F/G	15	13	2

5

CATERING SERVICES

Senior Catering Manager	L	1	0	1
Catering Manager	K	1	1	0
Food & Beverage Assistant I	J	1	0	1
Chef	H	1	0	1

Food & Beverage Assistant II	H	1	0	1
Food & Bev. Ass. III A & B	G/F	2	2	0
Senior Cook	G	1	1	0
Cook I	F	2	1	1
Waiter	C/D/E	18	18	0
Cook	C/D/E	8	8	0
Kitchen Attendant	A/B	2	2	0

5

BROADCASTING SERVICES

Senior Inspector Broadcasting	H	1	0	1
Inspector Broadcasting	G	1	0	1
Senior Technician	G	1	0	1
Machine Operators	C/D/E	4	4	0
Assistant Studio Technician	C/D/E	3	3	0

3

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

Executive Officer II	J	1	1	0
Executive Assistant	H	2	2	0
Senior Clerical Officer	G	14	14	0
Clerical Officer	E/F	34	32	2
Driver	D/E/F	8	7	1

3

PHONE SERVICE

Telephone Supervisor	G	1	1	0
Telephone Operator	E/F	6	5	1

1

SUBORDINATE STAFF

Subordinate Staff	A/B/C/D	89	86	3
-------------------	---------	----	----	---

3

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM PROGRAMME

CONSULTING REPORT FOR UNDP AND GOK

MUTICON

muticon
nairobi
box 14333
phone 860772
fax 860771

UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

Programme of the Government of

The Republic of Kenya

PROGRAMME SUPPORT IMPLEMENTATION ARRANGEMENT

Calendar Year 1994-1995

Country : Republic of Kenya

Programme Support Document Number:

Programme Title: Civil Service Reform Programme

Duration of UNDP Support: 1994-1995

Source of Fund: IPF and Cost sharing

Executing Agent: Government

Total Programme Support earmarking: US\$... million

Agreed on behalf of Government

Date

Agreed on behalf of the Executing Agency

Date

Agreed on behalf of the UNDP

Date

NAIROBI
OCTOBER 1994

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. BACKGROUND	4
II. COMPONENT OBJECTIVE	5
III. PROGRAMME COMPONENTS	5
IV. BENEFICIARY INSTITUTIONS	5
V. CAPACITY BUILDING TARGETS	6
VI. REASON FOR UNDP ASSISTANCE	6
VII. PRIOR AND ON-GOING ASSISTANCE	7
VIII. SUPPORT FOR CIVIL SERVICE REFORM	8
IX. PROGRAMME COST	10
X. IMPLEMENTATION MECHANISM	10
XI. MONITORING AND EVALUATION	11
XII. AUDIT PROCEDURES	11
XIII. EQUIPMENT	12
XIV. OUTPUT BUDGET AND WORKPLAN	12
XV. INPUTS	12
XVI. LEGAL FRAMEWORK	12
ANNEX 1: OUTPUT BENCHMARKS	14
ANNEX 2: PROGRAMME FINANCIAL TABLE	17
ANNEX 3: CSRS WORKPLAN 1994-1996	18

1. BACKGROUND

The Civil Service Organization has grown both in size and complexity owing to ever rising public demands on the Government. This has led to lack of synchronization between the Civil Service Establishment and Ministerial workloads. There is need to re-examine the hierarchy of authority, spans of control, and job descriptions with a view to streamlining organizational network for increased efficiency and productivity.

Staffing levels are sometimes not linked to overall objectives or establishment levels nor properly controlled. There is therefore need to tighten recruitment procedures. Rapidly rising percentage of personnel emoluments, in relation to allocations for operations and maintenance, adversely affects the management of the recurrent budget. This has serious implications on efficiency and productivity of the Service.

Given the rapidly growing size of the wage bill, compensation levels have eroded. This denies retention of professional and managerial staff. The obtaining housing policy is expensive and severely distorts the national housing market. A multiplicity of allowances, which do not meaningfully contribute to enhanced satisfaction, motivation or productivity are found across the service.

Individual performance has not been properly linked to organizational performance and reward systems. Individual performance appraisal systems are ineffective for there is inadequate use of MIS and performance indicators. Underlying this is the lack of policy/priority driven budgeting and inadequate links between programme/activity performance management and financial management.

The Personnel Management system is fragmented and is operated by a multiplicity of agencies. This leads to delays in assignment, disciplining and supervision. The service attracts few external applicants for senior posts although there is an open structure allowing it to recruit for specialised services. There is an oversupply of pre-service graduates. Training within the service is no longer driven by work and performance given that few resources are allocated to it internally. Weak personnel records management and the attendant eroded discipline and work ethics compounds the problem of preparing proper manpower plans with well thought out programmes for capacity building.

On 15th February, 1994, the Government found it necessary to restate that the scope of the CSRP was to be increased so as to improve co-ordination, effectiveness and utilization of public resources. It also stated that harmonization of all reform efforts, currently under implementation in the public sector, would be unified and expanded to cover all State Corporations including public Universities, Local Authorities and the Teachers Service Commission. Reform efforts in these

institutions will now be undertaken within the already established institutional framework of the Civil Service Reform Programme.

II. COMPONENT OBJECTIVE

The component objective will be to strengthen the capacity of the state for good governance and for faster and participative economic and social development through enhanced efficiency and productivity in the Civil Service, State Corporations, Teaching Services, Local Authorities and other public agencies.

III. PROGRAMME COMPONENTS

- i) Improved capacity of the Civil Service Reform Secretariat and various Reform Committees of the Programme to conceptualize, operationalize, coordinate and implement all aspects of the GOK Civil Service Reform Programme.
- ii) Improvement, through training, of retrenched civil servants's ability to adjust to post-retirement life in fruitful income generating activities in the private sector.
- iii) Enhanced capacity of Management Development Institutes, especially Kenya Institute of Administration, to identify and analyze the major training needs of the Civil Service Reform Programme.
- iv) Streamlined Civil Service Organization, structured for functional efficiency and effectiveness with well defined Ministerial and Departmental functions, hierarchy of authority, spans of control and accurate job descriptions.

IV. BENEFICIARY INSTITUTIONS

The immediate beneficiaries of a more efficient and productive Civil Service are the various Kenya publics who look to the Government for provision of a variety of services. This is in line with the current global emphasis on good governance, transparency and accountability.

The entire Civil Service will benefit from the savings arising from downsizing which will be utilized to boost operations and maintenance budgets for more effective service delivery.

Senior and middle level officials, the cadres most affected by salary erosion during the last decade, will benefit from the review of pay and benefits and from the capacity building initiatives envisaged by the programme.

Civil Servants with entrepreneurial inclinations in Job Groups A - G will also benefit from the Safety Net payments and retirement benefits under the Voluntary Early Retirement Scheme. The package is geared towards enabling them engage in productive income generating projects in the private sector.

Management Development Institutions, especially Kenya Institute of Administration, will benefit from exposure to effective organisational development programmes geared towards sustaining reform gains.

V. CAPACITY BUILDING TARGETS

To strengthen the effectiveness of the civil service which would contribute to good governance, faster and participative economic and social development, the following capacity building targets will need to be supported:

- a. Strengthening Civil Service Reform Secretariat and Civil Service Reform Committees;
- b. Enhancing the capacity of civil service through training to increase productivity;
- c. Assisting retirees to initiate income generating activities;
- d. Enhancing capacity of Management Development Institutes especially Kenya Institute of Administration to plan relevant and sustainable training for the Civil Service.

VI. REASON FOR UNDP ASSISTANCE

The UNDP 6th Country Programme for Kenya, approved by the Executive Board in May 1994, emphasizes capacity building for improved governance and participative development as a key element in the process of democratization. The 6th Country Programme places a sharp focus on the civil service reform and human development.

It is for this reason that UNDP remains committed to work with other cooperating partners to mobilize resources to assist the Government in the realization of its aspirations of enhancing effective operations of the civil service. UNDP has also had a long standing collaboration with GOK in improving public sector management. This started in 1980 culminating in the formulation of the project KEN/89/010 - National Management Policy Development. UNDES's expertise in civil service reform initiatives at national, regional and global level will continue to be sought throughout the implementation of this programme.

1. BACKGROUND

The Civil Service Organization has grown both in size and complexity owing to ever rising public demands on the Government. This has led to lack of synchronization between the Civil Service Establishment and Ministerial workloads. There is need to re-examine the hierarchy of authority, spans of control, and job descriptions with a view to streamlining organizational network for increased efficiency and productivity.

Staffing levels are sometimes not linked to overall objectives or establishment levels nor properly controlled. There is therefore need to tighten recruitment procedures. Rapidly rising percentage of personnel emoluments, in relation to allocations for operations and maintenance, adversely affects the management of the recurrent budget. This has serious implications on efficiency and productivity of the Service.

Given the rapidly growing size of the wage bill, compensation levels have eroded. This denies retention of professional and managerial staff. The obtaining housing policy is expensive and severely distorts the national housing market. A multiplicity of allowances, which do not meaningfully contribute to enhanced satisfaction, motivation or productivity are found across the service.

Individual performance has not been properly linked to organizational performance and reward systems. Individual performance appraisal systems are ineffective for there is inadequate use of MIS and performance indicators. Underlying this is the lack of policy/priority driven budgeting and inadequate links between programme/activity performance management and financial management.

The Personnel Management system is fragmented and is operated by a multiplicity of agencies. This leads to delays in assignment, disciplining and supervision. The service attracts few external applicants for senior posts although there is an open structure allowing it to recruit for specialised services. There is an oversupply of pre-service graduates. Training within the service is no longer driven by work and performance given that few resources are allocated to it internally. Weak personnel records management and the attendant eroded discipline and work ethics compounds the problem of preparing proper manpower plans with well thought out programmes for capacity building.

On 15th February, 1994, the Government found it necessary to restate that the scope of the CSRP was to be increased so as to improve co-ordination, effectiveness and utilization of public resources. It also stated that harmonization of all reform efforts, currently under implementation in the public sector, would be unified and expanded to cover all State Corporations including public Universities, Local Authorities and the Teachers Service Commission. Reform efforts in these

institutions will now be undertaken within the already established institutional framework of the Civil Service Reform Programme.

II. COMPONENT OBJECTIVE

The component objective will be to strengthen the capacity of the state for good governance and for faster and participative economic and social development through enhanced efficiency and productivity in the Civil Service, State Corporations, Teaching Services, Local Authorities and other public agencies.

III. PROGRAMME COMPONENTS

- i) Improved capacity of the Civil Service Reform Secretariat and various Reform Committees of the Programme to conceptualize, operationalize, coordinate and implement all aspects of the GOK Civil Service Reform Programme.
- ii) Improvement, through training, of retrenched civil servants's ability to adjust to post-retirement life in fruitful income generating activities in the private sector.
- iii) Enhanced capacity of Management Development Institutes, especially Kenya Institute of Administration, to identify and analyze the major training needs of the Civil Service Reform Programme.
- iv) Streamlined Civil Service Organization, structured for functional efficiency and effectiveness with well defined Ministerial and Departmental functions, hierarchy of authority, spans of control and accurate job descriptions.

IV. BENEFICIARY INSTITUTIONS

The immediate beneficiaries of a more efficient and productive Civil Service are the various Kenya publics who look to the Government for provision of a variety of services. This is in line with the current global emphasis on good governance, transparency and accountability.

The entire Civil Service will benefit from the savings arising from downsizing which will be utilized to boost operations and maintenance budgets for more effective service delivery.

Senior and middle level officials, the cadres most affected by salary erosion during the last decade, will benefit from the review of pay and benefits and from the capacity building initiatives envisaged by the programme.

UNDP will also promote effectiveness of the civil service through support to such programmes as: building capacity in district and local governments; improvement in the training of the civil servants; and strengthening CSRS.

In addition to the interest that has been shown by UNDP on the issue of governance, several other donors have indicated willingness to cooperate with Government in funding development aspects that can lead to improved governance and effective participation in the process of development. This programme is therefore designed to be financed jointly between UNDP and other cooperating partners through cost sharing or parallel financing of the activities of the task forces.

VII. PRIOR AND ON-GOING ASSISTANCE

The current Civil Service Reform Programme has no precedent in the history of Kenya's Civil Service. It was launched only in August, 1993. However, it will benefit from the background work done by the several commissions and committees that have in the past examined various aspects of the Civil Service.

There have been six such Presidential Commissions and Committees since independence that have examined the management of the Civil Service and the Public Service in general.

The Reform Programme has so far been greatly assisted by ODA which recently provided equipment and facilities to the Civil Service Reform Secretariat, funded Ministerial, Provincial and District Civil Service Reform Committee Seminars, and is currently considering funding a proposal on the training of retirees.

The World Bank has developed a Project Preparation Facility for the Programme, which has been included in the 1994/95 budget.

The Kenya Government has set aside some US \$ 27.8 million (K.£76.6 million) in its 1993/94 budget to be paid out as Safety Net payments to the retirees under the Voluntary Early Retirement Scheme. It is also funding the Civil Service Reform Secretariat operations and other maintenance items.

The above notwithstanding, requests for funding of the various components of this Programme have been sent out by the Government of Kenya to various donors whose support is critical to the successful implementation of the Reform Programme.

Over the years, the Kenya Government has benefited substantially from a number of Policy Management and Human Resources Development technical assistance programmes whose contribution to capacity building in the Civil Service is significant. Among these are:

(i) Training for Development (TAD) Project.

(ii) Human Resources Development Assistance (HRDA) Project.

The two projects have been funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) since 1987/88.

(iii) General Training Fund

Since 1982, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) has funded the General Training Programme (GTP). It was known as the Kenya-Canada General Training Fund (GTF) before 1991.

(iv) The British Council offers more scholarships annually to the Kenya Government than any other donor agency. The number of Scholarships is about 400 per year, with 80% of them being tied to the British aided projects in Kenya.

(v) The Japanese Government offers about 140 short courses annually through the Japanese International Co-operation Agency (JICA).

(vi) The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has since the early 1980s worked closely with the GOK in programmes geared towards improvement of public sector management.

(vii) Other donors announce Scholarships from time to time.

While the listed packages contribute variously to the Civil Service's Management Development, they do not focus on Reform and Policy Management, nor are they geared to Organisational Development for self-renewal and revitalization. The challenge now is to harness these and other resources in a way that will dynamically contribute to the necessary Civil Service reorientation.

VIII. SUPPORT FOR CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

The Kenya Government has set aside some US \$ 27.8 million (Ksh. 1,532 million) in its 1993/94 budget to be paid out as Safety Net payments to the retirees under the Voluntary Early Retirement Scheme. It is also funding the Civil Service Reform Secretariat operations and other maintenance items.

The Reform Programme has so far been greatly assisted by ODA which recently provided equipment and facilities to the Civil Service Reform Secretariat, funded Ministerial, Provincial and District Civil Service Reform Committee Seminars, and is currently considering funding a proposal on the training of

retirees.

The World Bank has developed a Project Preparation Facility for the Programme, which has been included in the 1994/95 budget.

Over the years, the Kenya Government has benefited substantially from a number of Policy Management and Human Resources Development technical assistance programmes whose contribution to capacity building in the Civil Service is ongoing. Among these are:

USAID's a. Training for Development (TAD) Project. b. Human Resources Development Assistance (HRDA) Project.

CIDA's General Training Fund/Programme .

BRITISH COUNCIL offers more scholarships annually to the Kenya Government than any other donor agency. The number of Scholarships is about 400 per year, with 80% of them being tied to the British aided projects in Kenya.

JICA offers about 140 short courses annually.

UNDP has since the early 1980s worked closely with the GOK in programmes geared towards improvement of public sector management.

ROYAL NETHERLANDS EMBASSY has requested for funds to fund activities within the area of human rights and democracy.

ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION does not have a programme on Governance but has given the Institute of Policy Analysis, which is supposed to get financing from a variety of donors, a small US\$ 10,000 grant.

IX. PROGRAMME COST

It is estimated that donor funding requirements for the Civil Service Reform Programme will be in the order of US \$ 74.5 million. Most of the staffing level will be picked by the Government or is to be financed through bilateral funding. This programme will thus focus on the remaining elements. The activities under the component are estimated to cost US\$ 4.0 million. Table 2.2.2.7. shows breakdown by key elements.

Table 2.2.2.7: Budget for Civil Service Reform

	US \$ 000	%
Staffing Level	70,841	95.10
Personnel Management and Training	1,889	02.51
Financial and Programme Management	14	0.02
Civil Service Reorganization	429	0.60
Pay and Benefits	543	0.73
Increased Scope of the Programme	<u>786</u>	<u>1.05</u>
TOTAL	74,502	100.00

X. IMPLEMENTATION MECHANISM

A National Steering Committee (NSC) under the Chairmanship of the Permanent Secretary to the Cabinet and Head of the Public Service does the overall co-ordination of the Civil Service Reform Programme (CSRP), providing policy guidance and strategic leadership. This Committee is answerable to the Cabinet on all matters related to the Programme.

The operational arm of the National Steering Committee is the Civil Service Reform Secretariat (CSRS), an inter disciplinary team of officers headed by a Programme Director. It is answerable to the National Steering Committee through the Permanent Secretary/Director, Directorate of Personnel Management, Office of the President.

Ministerial, Provincial and District Civil Service Reform Committees which are answerable to National Steering Committee, were constituted in October, 1993 to handle various aspects of the Civil Service Reform Programme in their respective areas.

The DPM, through the CSRS, will be responsible for the financial monitoring and administrative back-stopping of the programme activities through review meetings, programme and financial auditing and regular progress reports.

The CSRS will be in charge of the day-to-day management of the programme activities. The secretariat will appoint a senior officer to direct programme activities, officer in charge of programme funds and a logistics officer.

The CSRS will be responsible for:

- a. Ensuring smooth implementation of programme activities according to plans of the various sub activities units.
- b. Arranging regular review meetings on the on-going activities under the programme.
- c. Planning training for various government departments.
- d. Making recommendations to DPM and line ministries for remedial measures for specific units of the service.
- e. Conducting seminars/workshops as planned under the programme.

XI. MONITORING AND EVALUATION

Specific activities under the programme will be monitored by the National Steering Committee. The committee will seek to ensure that inputs, work-schedules, the production of targeted reports and other required actions are proceeding accordingly to plan. It will also closely monitor the budgets and expenditures of each of the programme components.

Records of the performance of each of the activity groups, in terms of resource utilization, will be maintained by the secretariat which will be reporting this to the NSC on regular basis for review by the DPM.

Programme Performance Evaluation Report (PPER) will be produced at each year to be reviewed by the parties concerned to ensure that the inputs are being used as intended. A terminal review will be held during the last month of the programme operations and a terminal report will be produced.

It is estimated that funding requirements for the Civil Service Reform Programme will be in the order of US \$ 74.5 million. Table 2.2.1.1 shows breakdown by key elements.

XII. AUDIT PROCEDURES

The objective for an audit of the programme is to obtain reasonable assurance that donor resources are being managed by the implementing agents in accordance with the financial regulations, rules and practices and procedures, the programme document and the work plan as agreed to with the executing agent (DPM).

In managing the programme resources the agents will have fiduciary and compliance responsibilities to the funding institution. They also have compliance responsibility for funding institutions reporting procedures.

Thus, an audit of this programme, whose components would be implemented by the implementing units must fulfil the following sets of objectives: programme disbursements are made in accordance with the programme document; programme disbursements are valid and supported by adequate documentation, an appropriate control is maintained by the programme secretariat and can be relied upon, programme reporting are fair and accurately presented; and that the programme monitoring and evaluation reports are prepared as required.

XIII. EQUIPMENT

After the delivery of equipment, it becomes the property of the Government as soon as the transfer formalities are completed unless the equipment is of highly specialized nature and must be retained by the donating institution.

XIV. OUTPUT BUDGET AND WORKPLAN

Annex 2 provides summary of the financial details related to the UNDP support during the 1994 to 1996 period. Output budgets are presented for the whole project period. The output budgets are subject to revision over a period of time.

A workplan covering three years showing the nature and timing of activities to be implemented under the programme is presented on Annex 3. The workplan, based on planned targets will be reviewed on regular basis.

XV. INPUTS

UNDP will provide US\$... for the programme activities. This will be utilized mainly for hiring consultants to undertake specific tasks, procurement of equipment and preparation of seminars and workshops.

Other cooperating partners will contribute about US\$... This will be in the form of either cost sharing or co-financing. The use of the funds will be flexible to reflect the needs of the Government while taking into account the interest of the donating institutions.

XVI. LEGAL FRAMEWORK

This programme document shall be the instrument referred to as such in Article 1 of the Standard Basic Assistance Agreement (SBAA) between the Government of Kenya and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) signed by the parties on 17th January 1991. The host country implementing agency shall, for the purpose of the Standard Basic Assistance Agreement, refer to the government cooperating agency described in the

Agreement.

Revisions may be made to this programme document with the signature of the UNDP Resident Representative only, provided he or she is assured that the other signatories of the programme have no objection to the proposed changes.

1. Revisions which do not involve significant changes in the immediate objectives, outputs or activities of the programme, but are caused by re-arrangement of inputs already agreed to or by cost increases due to inflation; and

2. Mandatory annual revision which re-phases the delivery of the agreed programme input or reflecting increased expert or other costs due to inflation or take into account agency expenditure flexibility.

ANNEX 1: OUTPUT BENCHMARKS

TARGET NO. 1: STRENGTHENING CIVIL SERVICE REFORM SECRETARIAT			
	BENCHMARKS		
OUTPUTS	1994	1995	1996
1.1 Improved capacity of CSRS and implementation of reform programme	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Short courses for members of CSRS -Analysis of needs of CSRS -Initiate improved personnel planning and management system -Procurement of equipment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Courses and workshops for Provincial/District Civil Service Reform Committees -Establish improved performance evaluation instruments -Comprehensive studies on Ministries/Departments to rationalize their functions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Component evaluation report -Implement suggested re-organization of the Ministries and Departments
NON-UNDP FINANCIAL OUTPUTS			
1.2 Offices allocated to the secretariat 1.3 Staff redeployment to the Secretariat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Offices partitioned, furnished and basic hardware installed -Staff recruited/redeployed to serve in CSRS 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Review further staff requirement for the Secretariat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Procurement of office supplies

TARGET NO. 2: ENHANCING CAPACITY OF CIVIL SERVANTS THROUGH TRAINING			
OUTPUTS	BENCHMARKS		
	1994	1995	1996
2.1 Staff development capacity within the civil service	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Study training needs for civil servants -Streamline institutional framework for Human Resources Management -Develop curriculum for in-service training 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Workshop for top level civil servants on Human Resources Management -Workshops for middle-level civil servants -Deployment of trained civil servants - Establishment of a competitive Government pay and benefits policy 	
2.2 Training of retirees to enhance capacity for income generating activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Develop curriculum for training of trainers -Conduct training for 238 trainers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Initiate training of retirees at the rate of 10,000 per year 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Training of retirees continue -Follow-up and evaluation of the training and monitoring post-retirement performance of trainees

TARGET NO. 3: ENHANCED CAPACITY OF MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTES			
OUTPUTS	BENCHMARKS		
	1994	1995	1996
3.1 Assessment of the needs for strengthening Management Development Institutes	-Analysis of the needs of KIA	-Analysis of needs of other Management Development Institutes (MDI) -Assess how the MDI can influence civil service productivity and reform -Greater focus on the training of trainers	-Training of selected civil servants
NON-UNDP FINANCIAL OUTPUTS			
3.2 Premises of KIA rehabilitated 3.3 Equipment for Libraries		-Offices/ Lecture theatres adequately furnished	-Library books purchased

ANNEX 2: PROGRAMME FINANCIAL TABLE

BUDGET OUTPUT	TOTAL		YEAR1		YEAR2	
	EAR-MARKED	BUDGET	EAR-MARKED	BUDGET	EAR-MARKED	BUDGET
KEN/94/ 1.1						
KEN/94/ 1.2						
SUB/T* TARGET1						
KEN/94/ 2.1						
KEN/94/ 2.2						
SUB/T TARGET2						
KEN/94/ 3.1						
SUB/T TARGET3						
TOTAL						
UNBUDGETED EAR-MARKING						
SOURCE OF FUNDS						
IPS						
AOS ON IPF						
COST SHARE -						
GOVT						
COST SHARE -						
OTHER						
SPR INCL. AOS						
OTHERS (CO-						
FINANCING)						
TSS2						
TOTAL RESOURCES						
See Notes under Annex 4						

ANNEX 3: CSRS WORKPLAN 1994-1996

ANNEX 3: WORKPLAN BY OUTPUTS

OUTPUT/ACTIVITIES	RESPONSIBLE PARTY	1995	1996
Improved Capacity Implementation of Reforms			
Allocate Offices			
Staff Redeployment			
Staff Dev Capacity Civil service			
Training Retirees			
1 Assessment of Needs Training Magt Dev. Inst.			
Rehabilitation of			
3 Equipping Libraries			

MUTICON

Orientation Seminar for Members of the
Seventh Parliament. August 3-5, 1993

**THE ROLE OF THE MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT IN
THE PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT PROCESS:
ISSUES IN CONSTITUENCY STRATEGIC PLANNING**

INTRODUCTION

In this paper we discuss some planning and development strategic issues which confront an MP now and into the twenty first century. Strategic issues are issues which must be addressed if a person, a role or an organisation is to respond to a changed environment. If a strategic issue is not mediated the person, role or organisation does not survive in the new environment. A key strategic issues in Kenya is the role of the MP. We address this in historical perspective and suggest how MPs should restructure their role through addressing pressing national planning and development issues at the constituency level. In other words MPs have to create a strategic purpose for their role before they can address other strategic issues. In our opinion, there are other planning and development strategic issues crying out for attention. These are sustainable agriculture, education, technology, AIDS, and, perhaps the most important, community organising. The role of an MP has changed dramatically since Eliud Mathu went to the colonial Legislative Council in 1944.

ELIUD MATHU'S ROLE

When Eliud Mathu went into the legislative council, he was legitimised as a legislator by the nationalism process. His planning and development role was clear. He did not have to campaign in the wider African community for all of us who were around then saw him as our own. He could not do wrong for any issue he sought to pursue was in our view legitimate for our development. It

may not have been an issue from which each one of us derived direct development benefits but we were convinced that he was fighting for us. The issues which we, Africans, were interested in were obvious. We wanted colour bar to end. We wanted Uhuru. So we supported him fully. We also did not expect to benefit directly from his activities. It was all right if he focused on the needs of some. Our turn would come. We hoped. Hope in this sense is defined in the original Greek meaning of having the possibility of less evil in the future. Colonialism was evil and anti-development. Mathu would fight it and thus reduce it, we believed, for proto-nationalism informed us that one day we would be free and, according to Kwame Nkrumah, all things would be added to us. Mathu was a hero. Heroes do not make mistakes. Heroes are adulated.

Mathu's world fell apart when the Mau Mau war started. We got other heroes who appeared to want to deliver us from bondage quicker. They acted rather than talked. Those in the forest and in prison were the new leaders for some of us. Others were convinced that these were not leaders. We, the Africans, split. Therefore the role of a legislative leader changed. It was diminished. It was contested.

Legislative leaders who followed Mathu, the Ohangas, the Amalembas and the like, had a hard time leading us not only because they were chosen for us but more fundamentally since we, the Africans, were split in our demands on leadership. Until the legislative leaders selected after the Lyttleton Constitution, in 1955, the role of a legislative leader was essentially illegitimate for some of us, maybe the majority. It was only to be legitimised by the nationalists.

THE ROLE OF A LEGISLATOR 1955 TO 1963

From 1955 to 1963, the role of a legislator is the role of the tribal representative as a nationalist. The interpretation is based on the phenomena which led to public interest being calculated by legislators in terms of what development was to go to the mythical *my people*. We, the Africans, were now thinking in terms of what our immediate communities could get from our representative at the meeting of the tribes, the colonial legislative council. Indeed one can argue that the legislative council was no more than a gathering of all the tribes. The Mzungu tribe, ably represented by settler parties, sought to acquire national power. Their interest is to be seen as different from the colonial government's interest which sought to control the legislature through the preponderant representation of mzungu bureaucrats in the legislature and the all powerful executive, the Governor.

Initially, many legislators created little political parties which only covered their tribe. It is true that pan tribal political parties were not initially recognised by the colonial government. This does not diminish the point that the legislator only organised the tribe. The legislators did not use the model of pan-tribal organising initially.

Along the way though, some adventurous legislators began to create organisations which were wider than the tribe. The momentum was in Nairobi logically for it was, and continues to be, the most cosmopolitan of our towns. It consequently had a crowd. A crowd could be turned into political operations. However, the organising by Mboya in Nairobi did not mean that

fundamentally we, Africans, agreed that he was the leader we could all access. He was a leader but the way to him was through the tribal legislator leader. Witness the patronage of Mboya scholarships or Odinga scholarships. They were handed to us locally by the tribal leader legislators who got them as part of their patronage. Since our sons and daughters were being sent overseas to study, the tribal leader as legislator was development conscious.

The legislator role also suffered from our questions on the detained. Legislators had to declare their position on Kenyatta, the triple proxy for forest fighters, detainees and nationalism. The strategic question by us, the Africans, was how we could be free while some of us were detained. In the future, Kenyan historians and political scientists will have to revisit the struggles for African leadership in the legislative council between 1958 and 1961 to give us more light on the posturing on the detainees issue. Publicly all African legislators were in favour of releasing Kenyatta. In party formation and political tactics, many knew he could dominate the nationalist movement and thereby diminish the tribal representative role in the gathering of the tribes. Consequently, during the formation of both KADU and KANU, the primary representation issue was not ideological but geographic tribal. There was little discussion on the meaning of development. What was important was to mobilise the tribe. If the tribes were to gather, the one with the most tribals, or are they indigenous?, would carry the day. This was also clearly understood by the colonial government, more than settlerdom. After all the colonial anthropology institutes in Makerere and Salisbury had done their intellectual justification of focusing supposedly nationalist political organisation along tribal lines for a generation of colonial rulers.

It is important in our understanding of the historical roots of the role of a legislator to go behind the veneer of nationalism, the call for independence, and to see the kind of development issues raised by legislators in the period. They concentrated on schools. Schools were development.

Our images of the leaders were also graphically portrayed by them. They wore, in the name of Africanity from their point of view, the regalia of tribal bosses. We, the Africans, saw them as affirming that they were tribal leaders. This was reinforced for us by their harassing the local petty tyrants be they missionary, white or black administrators or traders. They stopped communal labour. We therefore stopped terracing. We stopped protecting watersheds. We stopped making roads. We waited for *serikali* to do these things as they preached to us. In their understanding the things they stopped were not developmental!

The majority of the legislators of the period were ex school teachers. This explains their concern with development as meaning only expansion of the educational facilities and their preachy style, derived from misguided colonial pedagogy of producing parrots. After all, they knew. We were supposed to respect the teacher. We obeyed the teacher. We, the Africans, agreed. Since they were teachers mainly, most of them had earned community leadership roles for colonial teachers were special. They were likely to also be local church leaders, local business leaders, local leading farmers and the like. They were the best and brightest of the colonial products. They did not tolerate tradition for it represented everything they were escaping from, although some had joined the tribal associations, started as part of the colonial counter-

insurgence measures of the fifties, to defend traditions most did not know!

Community leadership for development, during this last phase of colonialism, was however not with the legislator. Depending on different parts of the country, it was either traditionalist or a mixture of traditionalist and modern elements. Colonial chiefs feature in community development leadership of the period heavily for they wielded immense colonial state and community power. The immediate followers of the legislators, the youth wingers obeyed Nkrumah's dictate of being recruited from the *verandah boys*. If one is a *verandah boy*, one is neither employed nor employable. They were likely to be not very literate. They also were not likely to be propertied or even highly motivated people. Many of the youth wingers created a new profession called *mwanasiasa*, a person who had no occupation other than talking at the various market places. Some become legislators in later years. They were a major huddle in teaching that development was a process of communities and not an activity undertaken by just a ministry or government.

THE ROLE OF A LEGISLATOR 1963 TO 1969

One of the ironies of all African independence was the belief that after independence all things shall be added to us, Africans. We were so busy believing this that we, Africans, did not take part in defining ourselves as Kenyans. Neither did we understand that the *Kenya We Want* in development terms would only be possible if communities defined their development needs and struggled for them. Instead we left the definition of our development needs and our Kenyanness to the ex colonial bureaucrats. An explanation is

in order.

First, we believed that politics was over. After all we, Africans, were ruling ourselves. The first decade of our independence is the decade of bureaucratic rule par excellence. State bureaucrats believed that the business of running the government, in their view equivalent to developing the country, was solely theirs. They did not need us. They needed legislators only to enact what they had studied and recommended. They would plan development. They created a ministry to coordinate planning in 1966. By 1970s, they were so arrogant about their development achievements in ruling, planning and dominating society that they wrote into one report that they had created modern Kenya and it was now time for them to go into business. They were henceforth allowed to own businesses. We sanctioned this and the regulators became owners of what they were regulating. This bore public corruption which still haunts us. It was the basis of bureaucratic accumulation.

In the merging of KANU and KADU and APP, the regionalisation of KANU in Limuru, the founding and banning of KPU and general de-politicisation of the first decade of independence, we, the Africans, were transformed into Kenyans essentially under bureaucratic rule with the erstwhile tribal legislators marginalised. In this rulership, provincial administration ran riot. The tribal legislator was a development spectator who occasionally kneeled at the foot of the many bureaucrats. Power came from the office of a bureaucrat. Bureaucrats planned settlement schemes, schools, dips, roads and the like. The tribal legislator had to know the rounds of the different ministries if he was to get any services, in the name of development, for his tribals who were indigenous or migrants!

The origins of the legislator is no longer the teacher during this period. Most of the new entrants are youth wingers whose specific point is to get even with the historically established local leaders. Hell hath no fury like a youth winger become a *Mheshimiwa*! Matters public became issues of personal accumulation of influence, power and wealth. Representation, in the sense of taking local issues to the national level, became peripheral. The relationship between locally identified development needs and national government planning outputs was at best dubious. Given that the local community distrusted the legislator, he spent inordinate amount of time in Nairobi with matters of state! We, Kenyans or tribals, were supposed to understand. We did. The MP became irrelevant in our development activities. We began to look for leadership elsewhere.

THE ROLE OF THE LEGISLATOR IN THE SEVENTIES AND EIGHTIES

Beginning with the seventies, we, Kenyans, tribals and indigenous, became disillusioned with the bureaucratic and depoliticised state which planned development without involving us. We disengaged. A *Mheshimiwa* was a mortal. He was not even a tribal leader. We could exist without him as long as we could corner the DC and the PC and all other bureaucrats for our development needs. After all, we had our eyes and ears in the civil service also. Each one of ours, and the others we could bribe, could deliver a particular development service. After all, the *Mheshimiwa* was just a youth winger before he sold a licence!

The second point is that we, Kenyans, tribals and indigenous, became Harambee fanatics in the seventies, for this was development we could plan and control locally. In the process, our tribal legislators forgot about us other than just showing up to shout to us "me and my friends" during harambees! Through the seventies it was not too bad, we could organise our own harambees. We even built colleges of technology.

However, by the eighties, the state with a highly politicised and wealthy bureaucracy, took over harambee. Our little harambees for each village or sublocation were now centralised. The big leaders wanted to compete nationally and harambees had to be constituency or district wide to show off who had more friends within the one party, one bureaucracy and one government. Our *Mheshimiwa* would not accept that we plan our little developments. Of course money collected by all these big leaders was kept by them and we never even got it back. It was centrally planned and administered! We innovated though. We started collecting money for our schools and used it and only reported what we spent in the big harambees so that our *Mheshimiwa* could announce his millions! You see we Kenyans, tribals and indigenous are not exactly stupid. We do not like being looted. We also made so much noise on the harambee land buying companies that they had to be abolished and our plots given to us. We also forced politicians out of our cooperatives. This way we deepened our local development planning so much that the national development plans began to assign a role for our harambee contributions!

Since the seventies, many of us, Kenyans, tribals and indigenous, do not really

select our legislators. They were vetoed by the one party and financed from outside our areas. Who become a *Mheshimiwa* was a function of the single party factionalism. This is why we concentrated on eating campaign money. It was not ours! It was the one major service we got from our *Mheshimiwa*. We did not confuse this eating with development other than when we forced those who wanted to go to be elected to contribute to our small projects. We kept them out of our cooperatives, school boards and local development activities. They did not like it. They fought us. The more they fought, the more we articulated that we needed change. That others picked our ideas and created other parties is a detail. We rebelled. We looked for other development leaders locally.

THE ROLE OF A LEGISLATOR AND THE MULTI PARTY ERA

Part of current reality is that the social and economic environments have changed thereby changing our planning and development needs. Strategically speaking then the development role expectation of a legislator is being redefined. First, members of the Seventh Parliament have extremely diverse backgrounds. Some naturally come from the leadership of the 1950s. Others are former bureaucrats par excellence who have been radicalised to question the *arcana imperii* they operated so well. Other legislators are ideologues, uncomfortable in the talking shop, to use their language. Many are from the professions. Others are self made businessmen. Others are farmers. Others are academics. Some are just local leaders.

Several points need to be made. First, the many backgrounds offer an

opportunity for articulating many development alternatives if tolerance is accepted. The risk exists that the assorted backgrounds will only lead to cacophony. Second, the purely political struggles within the house can diminish the possibility of debating alternative planning and development options. This can marginalise the legislature's role in making policy on planning and development to address current strategic concerns.

This Parliament and the ones to come is confronted by different Kenyans from those of the past. We, Kenyans, are different. We are young. It is estimated that only 8% of the national population is above fifty years old! This is to say that only a tiny minority of the nation has an adult experience of pre-independence. Only about 24% of the nations population is above 30 years old. This is to say that more than three quarters of the national population has been born since independence! In most constituencies, more than 80% of the registered voters in the last election were under twenty five! By the next election, it is estimated that more than 90% of the voters will be between eighteen and twenty five!

We do not understand what the political fights in the past thirty years are all about. We are Kenyans and do not have our development reference on tribes. We aspire to modernity. Our leaders are many for development cannot just be economic. Some are dancing stars. Others are athletes. Still others are religious leaders. Some are bankers, teachers, pimps, farmers, rugby players, engineers and so forth. We are not locked into seeing leaders only in Kenya. For us a *mwanasiasa* is a contradiction in terms for one has to have a profession. For us political leadership is what one does to fulfil community obligations and not an occupation. We look for solutions to specific personal

and community development problems. Jobs and inflation are currently priorities. For us the legislator is just one of the many in society who are in leadership positions and not necessarily the supreme leader. We are aware that the old folk do not share our vision of poly leadership for development. We also do not understand how they are basically locked in thinking that legislators are primary to the development process.

To complicate matters, for us Kenyans, tribals and indigenous, legislators are now organised into many parties. Each party seeks to direct its legislators to some policies. These have been codified into documents. There are obvious divergencies from the statements of party policy and the behaviour of the parties. More important though is the feeling we have that the parties are still locked into some of the fights of the last thirty years for many of the national party officials are creatures of that period. All of them articulate past concerns primarily. It can be stated that the parties still see the legislators as the most important of their officials. Put it another way, the validation of a successful party leader is to be elected to parliament. Perhaps this will change. Perhaps it needs to change quickly for local level leadership in some development activities is what the young need more than politics.

THE LEGISLATOR AS A LOCAL LEVEL ORGANISER

In summary then, the development role of a legislator enjoys fairly low status now. Martin Shikuku caught part of the spirit of this when he said they are *Miserable Persons*. He did not capture all of it for he should have added that they are ignored by the bulk of the population. Not many of the young voters know their MP. Many do not go to the MP for any particular service. It seems to me then the challenge for the legislator is to redefine the role of an MP in

the local community to become a development leader. This assumes an organisational role. It also assumes a listening role. A listening role for the silences of the community. For me this is strategic thinking about the role of a legislator in the future.

The historical roles are over and done with. What is called for is for a development organiser at the local level primarily. There are several reasons for this. First, the state is increasingly being marginalised especially in development and economic sectors. As state roles diminish, communities will have to organise themselves to do many of the things, which Africa and indeed the world, assumed can only be done by the state. Some of these development activities will be done by community organisations and others by self interest groups and organisations, for example business groups or professional organisations.

The second reason has to do with competing development leaders. As Kenyan local communities become more complex and need services, which are increasingly bought outside the public sector, other individuals, professions and organisations have become more important than the legislative leader. They command more skills, influence, power and wealth than most legislators can command even when cash flowed by political parties for electoral reasons. Thus legislators are not going to be the only important development power brokers in the future. They can though become important development organisers of different local influence, power and economic fractions. The strategic purpose of an MP will therefore be that of a local organiser. In this role the legislators will be dealing increasingly with equals, and, at times, superiors at the local level. District Focus institutions give a framework within

which legislators can actualise the new role.

One of the most creative actions by the state was to start District Focus for Rural Development in the early eighties. It anticipated some of the planning and development problems now confronting the country where communities are divorced from the state and government development activities. At the local level DF was supposed to draw communities and development agencies, be they state or donor driven into dialogue about local development priorities. Yet at the local level, the institution has not been used to its fullest potential primarily since MPs have not paid attention to the problem. The Sublocational Development Committees have not really been formed in most parts of the country. At the next level, the Locational District Development Committees are still dominated by the lowest level bureaucrats and coteries of local influentials. By the time one gets to the Divisional Level, one is lucky to hear any community voices. It is my submission that the legislator can use this framework to get serious community discussion of development as well as mediating the conflicting local interest groups. This framework is more useful than utilising either a party or state bureaucracy for it allows for many voices to be represented. Any attempt to keep issues in one party will definitely lead to local fragmentation and heighten conflicts to the detriment of development as well as the shortening the public life of the legislator.

In creating and playing out the development organiser role, the legislator will have to confront some of the key issues confronting this society for which Kenya needs strategic thinking. The priority one will be to assure food production.

STRATEGIC THINKING ON SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURE

Kenyan agriculture has generally been able to feed the national population over the past fifty or so years. However, this was achieved by high energy agriculture limited to high potential areas. It is clear now that we will not be able to feed ourselves with food grown under high energy agriculture in the high potential areas given our exploding population. It is estimated that average land holding in agroecological zone three is less than an acre now! We must begin to produce food surpluses in the ASALs which form 82% of the land mass.

Sustainable agricultural practices which need to be implemented are stopping erosion on crop and pasture land, soil nutrient enhancement on crop and pasture land, expansion of food production, reduction of land under cash crops, emphasis on production and utilisation of grain proteins, adoption of natural pest management, reduction in reliance of artificial inputs and conservation of water for food production. These are synergistically related but clearly the most important is conservation of soil.

If Kenyan agriculture does not become sustainable, we will use massive national resources to buy food. Since we cannot finance such imports, the external financiers will impose controls on our nation. We shall be involved in the global politics of food which have replaced cold war politics.

Central in sustainable agriculture is the need to save the soil from erosion. In the Athi Catchment, one study estimated that on average 400 tons of soil per square kilometre is lost through erosion annually. In the Tana catchment,

another study estimated that 4,600 tons of soil were lost annually from each square kilometre of cropped land. The other catchments clearly have similar if not higher losses. It is deplorable that we have spent little money to establish what national erosion patterns are! In any case if the few existing studies are indicative, the nation's soil resource is endangered. At this rate we will have to import soil in less than a hundred years! Those who do not believe this conclusion should visit Ethiopia and see how similar erosion patterns have turned agricultural areas to desert in less than fifty years.

It should be clear to every legislator that a key development issue is to ensure that each local area saves its soil and produces the maximum amount of food possible to enable the nation to survive. This is not to deny comparative advantage in agricultural production but to emphasise that each locality will have to maximise production of food. This is not just a role to be delegated to the Ministry of Agriculture and the many inefficient institutions and processes in the agricultural sector. It is a problem for national legislative and community leadership for it is such a major strategic issue that those legislators who do not address it will fall on the wayside. It is a matter all parties must address publicly rather than keeping it under wrap of the policy documents. It is a matter for the community to conserve every farm and plot eroding. It calls for total approach rather than seeing erosion as a plot owner's responsibility. Students of soil structure know that the benefits of soil and water conservation accrue to the community rather than only to individual plot owner. This needs to be ingrained to every Kenyan. This should become central in the educational system.

STRATEGIC THINKING ON EDUCATION

Traditional education systems of the many Kenyan peoples was located within the community and included conservation of natural resources which has been lost. Such an approach was overtaken by the colonially derived educational system which specified what skills were to be rewarded socially and at the market place. Post-colonial education follows the basic dictates of its colonial roots for its end objectives are to produce consumers. It is anti-development. It is not ecologically specific and it has little on natural resources utilisation, especially soil and water, conservation.

The strategic issue though is not to go back to pre-colonial education although there is a sense in which the dictates of local ecology demand that an aspect of traditional education, that is local resources utilisation and conservation skills, be taught. One strategic development issue is to create an educational system which utilises local resources for technicalising production. A second issues is local financing of components of the formal educational system. Current Ministry of Education practice demands that communities provide classrooms, laboratories and the like. Communities will need to be organised not only to produce these capital developments but also to pay school fees and uniforms and the like for the poor members who are increasingly not able to provide for the education of significant numbers of their children. AIDS orphans will need to be financed. It may sound unrealistic, but there already is partial data to suggest that many more Kenyans will not be able to attend school simply because their parents are not going to be able to finance the fees, uniforms, exercise books and the like. Already there are many constituency educational development funds. This is indication of where the

communities are in terms of future needs.

The planning of education for specific communities presents an opportunity for leadership. If legislators do not incorporate it in their role redefinition, they will be marginalised.

The content of education needs to be made local natural resources specific over and above catering for local human resources. This is not to say that there should not be a national curriculum for all people. All that is being argued for is that those learning in an area which has crop potential should get extra education on crops. Where fishing is important, we should build up on it in the local school system and so forth. In this way Kenya will begin to struggle with the integration of the educated to the local production systems. To date we educate for the towns, a colonial education hang over. To educate for the community is to begin to identify specific technologies for utilising available local resources.

STRATEGIC THINKING ON TECHNOLOGY

By getting an educational system to think of how it supports local resources base, it is then possible to define technical production needs and technologies relevant to the particular areas. To date, the issue of technology has been badly handled at both the macro-policy level and at the micro level. Nationally we have failed to support local machine tool industry. Consequently, all sorts of machines are imported. Variety here is costly for all replacement has to come out of foreign exchange.

We also do not upgrade our skills. At the macro-level, technology related to production should be supported by policy and finance especially if it seeks to modify, generate or design more relevant technology.

At the micro-level, we have sought homogenisation. Thus we find the improved maize technology for ecological zone three in zone five. Water harvesting techniques needed for zone five have yet to be designed since our farmers and agriculturalists still think of high rainfall agriculture. Jua Kali production systems are similar in Lokichoggio and Lamu.

In thinking about technology, it should be understood one is not only talking of making better pangas but also locally attenuated tractors, computers and software systems for peculiarly Kenyan applications. We should not be conventional in our thinking. New technologies offer opportunities. The area of information technology offers some lucrative returns. Making communication equipment is participating in one of the growth areas of the future. Biotechnology is another. Training in these sectors now is important. It sounds esoteric but there are very cheap ways of using biotechnology to improve our production now. For example cloning more drought resistant plants, making nitrogen fixing bacteria as substitutes for petroleum derived fertilisers or fermenting food to improve its nutritive value and to preserve it as many of our ancestors knew.

These future growth technologies are no longer issues to be left to the state. They have to become issues of the local communities. Kisii women tea farmers know how to vegetatively grow tea plants. It is a small step to the tissue culture production of tea plants.

To date the only technology education institutions, other than the self driven *jua kali* artisanal production systems, which have filtered to the local levels are village polytechnics. The village polytechnics were started in the late sixties under the auspices of the NCCK, to train carpenters, masons, typists and tailors. These are over supplied now. By the seventies, various colleges of technology were started, essentially by non-politicians, for training at a higher level. It can be argued that these formed the root of the state driven expansion of university education along technical fields by the late 1970s and early eighties.

All these systems have not made technologies of the future central. For the next century, African society will have to technicalise much more than it has done in the past one. To remain competitive in this, leadership and investment will not only need to come from the state but will have to be generated in the local communities. That will surely be one of the issues each legislator will have to address in their area. It is not enough that a community just produces classrooms and supports the poor in its community who cannot go to school. Communities will have to put into place technical education feeding into the national production stream. The most efficacious way of doing this is to begin with technical and technology needs of local production and stream the local human and material products to the nation.

In some ways leadership on the technology issues is the most elusive in Kenya public life, legislators included, for we do not have a tradition on it. This is precisely why all legislators should, as a matter of urgency, find ways of establishing local resource persons knowledgeable on the issues to begin to address them locally. These local resources should identify what teaching

institutions are needed and come up with ways of organising them. It also is a question of entrepreneurs investing in technology. The resources put in bars are more than sufficient to create teaching institutions with good incomes for the investors. This should be explored locally. The state on its part needs to put in policies which support investing in twenty first century technologies. A good beginning would be to abolish duty and taxes on computers for example or financing of biotechnology products for use in food production.

Until the local communities debate and discuss their technology needs, the national macro-policy level will still remain confused for no real demands in technology will be put on it in the same way no pressure has been put on macro-policy on AIDS.

STRATEGIC THINKING ON AIDS

In 1987, a group of Africans, meeting in Kericho to look into the future of the African continent, predicted that portions of this continent will be totally depopulated by AIDS. This was treated as a joke by the local media and many African Governments. This has come to be in several African countries where whole villages have been wiped out. AIDS is the crises which will not go away. It is killing people. Nationally, there is not enough information on it for it is argued that such information will scare tourists away among other perceived problems. It is time AIDS got discussed as a problem in each constituency for it is a strategic issue which threatens the very fabric of society.

If legislators understand that the trained young are a community and national development resource, they have no choice but to discuss AIDS in their communities and to make legislation to handle the problem. If a community wants to survive, it has to discuss AIDS. All communities are vulnerable in different degrees. The disease is not only on the Malaba/Mombasa Road as was argued in the past. Since nationally we did not get into public education on the crisis effectively, it has got into every corner of the republic. After all, we melt in Nairobi and Mombasa among other towns and return to the assorted villages spreading the scourge.

AIDS knows no classes. Politicians, paupers, professors, prisoners, priests, prostitutes, pathologists, prophets, police persons, poets, prospectors, printers, prosecutors and others have died and are going to continue dying if we do not push public education on the disease. AIDS will even spread faster as our nutritional standards fall since we are not producing enough food.

Communities will have to decide how they are going to handle AIDS orphans. Traditional mechanisms which saw orphans farmed out to immediate relatives seems to be failing in many African countries as the crisis deepens. There are tentative steps on new ways of handling orphans suggested by all the local church related orphanages, which are supported, to some degree, by local communities. This though is not the way for if the AIDS pandemic continues exploding, the numbers of orphans will be more than can go to public institutions. They will have to be spread to non-relative families for adoption. These are hard decisions to confront voters with but they need to begin to think about them.

Each legislator has an obligation to educate his local public for there will be no public for him to lead unless Kenyans, tribals and indigenous, begin now to change sexual practices. This must be done in public and not in the closed manner of past AIDS discussions. This obligation comes from traditional African morality which strategically specified that a leader who does not inform the community of its imminent death forfeited community leadership. Nothing threatens the integrity of communities making up this nation as AIDS does.

COMMUNITY ORGANISING

In development studies community organising has specific meaning which refers to creating organisations and processes in a community which reflect on development problems and find solutions to them. In our jumbled history of the past hundred years, we have not organised our communities for problem solving since we were always looking outside these communities for solutions to development problems. Over the past fifty or so years, the solution lay in politics. Politics was in Nairobi. Government was also in Nairobi. Both were not part and parcel of our community. These comments are what we understood as *siasa* and *serikali*. They were not of us for they were far away.

It is clear these days that each community must do for itself some of what it had always assumed will be done by *siasa* and *serikali*. This means that the legislator must be involved in defining what development is to be done at his local level by the community as well as what is to be done by the government. It is clear though that the government will be doing much less

than it has done in the past. There are several reasons for this. First, it cannot raise more resources from the nation to do all the things expected until national productivity rises. Of course raised resources should be more efficiently used. Second, it is no longer fashionable to expect it to. Therefore donors will look for other channels of giving assistance. In this environment, communities will have to do for themselves what in the past was expected of the state. Communities will have to be organised for this.

In these communities, there are many forces organising. They range all the way from international and national NGOs, through modern interest groups to traditional groups. All local terrains are full of organisers and organisations. It is inconceivable that anybody will be elected a legislator if they do not find ways of coordinating these diverse community processes.

Already some of the more creative legislators have targeted women organisations, cooperatives and teachers associations among others. This has been easy for these do not conflict directly. In the future though, it is expected that trader associations will clash with cooperatives, especially the fast growing sacco's, organised labour, conservation groups and consumer groups in the market place. Conflicts will not necessarily be bounded locally but can be nationalised and/or internationalised. Pointers to future conflicts are Coffee Industry struggles, Tana Delta, Times Complex, Teachers Strike Threats or Tea Farmers Price Struggles. Whoever wants to be a legislator will have to mediate local interests for they will have the potential of blocking his election and role. New and non-traditional organisational forms still clash with

traditional organisations like clans. Much is made in some constituencies that elections are won on clan basis. Whatever the veracity of this, modern competing organisational forms will need to also address traditional organisational forms for they can bloc decisions at the community level.

It should also be noted that the organisations above are for less than 24% of the national population! Legislators will have to think how they access the under thirty who form more than 75% of the population. Their organisations are transitory, usually not apparently economic and mainly entertainment or socially oriented. They can only be accessed by the young. This will mean that legislators have to find young activists for organising their peers.

There is also the issue of many political parties at the local level. This is new. Many see it as fragmentary. Others see it as potentially liberating for it allows for debate and airing of dark closets. What is clear is the fact that the legislator will not afford to ignore members of other parties and other party officials in the local community. These are constituents who must be mobilised and wooed for development objectives if for nothing else. The existence of many parties calls for skills in persuasion on what is to be accepted as local development positions whatever parties do nationally. The legislator would be jeopardising his position if he does not see his role as one of persuasion about development and other public matters. Above we have discussed the historical role of the legislator and some of the other strategic issues which must be addressed.

CONCLUSION

The current economic and social environments are a minefield for the legislator for society is rapidly changing and the state's development role is being scaled down. Individuals and communities, through new institutions, are redefining survival roles for themselves, public bodies and political leadership, including legislative leadership. Within this minefield, the legislator who wants to be elected to Parliament, to last and to lead, must begin to debate local development with the local power brokers be they individuals, self interest organisations or parties. It is a working hypothesis that those who do not maximise on discussing strategic issues for their communities will loose their public role.

In a past era characterised by high inflation, nascent parties and confusing national goals, Dietrich Bonhoeffer wrote: "A leader would certainly become a misleader so long as he does not clearly refuse to become the idol of the led." This is a fitting summary to the discussion of local level strategic planning and development issues confronting the legislative leader now and into the twenty first century. In the past adulation was sought. Local level leadership in planning and development was not taken seriously. Adulation is no longer relevant for we do not believe in heroes any more. The leader must articulate the hard choices confronting his constituents. There is no room for being idolised in that work.