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Policy Review Through the Lenses of Urban-Rural Linkages in Kenya

REPORT KENYA

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Foreword

The century-long colonial era spatial and sector policy approaches remains an underpinning structural divide the urban-rural (areas) relation in Kenya. An urban system that evolved along the Mombasa-Kisumu railway and the national trunk road serving the agricultural rich areas that also has is base of mainstream money economy formed the core economic region. In contrast, the arid and semi-arid regions the urban system did not affectively serve remained the backwash on the core region.

These two spatial phenomena represents the dichotomy in the national and regional development space economy that overlays the century old urban-rural divide, defied policy, legislation and governance responses that Kenya has prescribed over time. Over the years, the commitment of successive governments of Kenya to bridge the divide informed the policies, strategies and programmes it implemented. Some were inspired by selected regional development models of the time.

Still others were informed by pragmatic government effort to address urban-based development interventions focusing on enhancing the role of towns in the urban-relations.The government of implemented the growth and service centres policy in the 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s resting on Walter Christaller's enunciation of the central place model.

Implementing investment projects informed by the model to address Kenya's urban-rural development disparities corundum at national, regional and local areas in rural communities.The investments augmented investments that the national and local urban governments deployed through urban services, infrastructure, and technology and communication projects at the close of the 1990s and through 2000s.

This report has discussed growth centre and service centres policy and rural development policies, and the transportation infrastructure and services projects implemented in the Nairobi Metropolitan Region aimed at the narrowing of the urban-rural divide. The authors have focused on bringing out the inspiration the readers could draw from the policies and projects.

The lessons and conclusions the report makes, therefore, are useful contributions to approaches for addressing the urban-rural divide. The inspiration the lessons and conclusions on the policy practices and investment packages can with commitment of appropriate legislation and good governance provide for the flourishing as well as sustaining urban-rural linkages functional "soft" infrastructure for sustainable development.

Executive Summary

The central message of this report is that Kenya Government has, since 1963, when the country became an independent nation, committed to removing regional development imbalances that were left behind by the colonial government. Government policy initiatives such as construction of trunk transport and communication networks throughout the country, and designation of urban and service centres throughout the country as focal points from which people living in rural areas could be provided with services are part of Kenya Government commitment to removing regional imbalances in Kenya.

During the colonial period, development priority was given to areas that had reliable rainfall and high agricultural potential. Areas that received low rainfall and which comprise about two thirds of the country were given low priority in government spending. As a result, these areas were marginalized. A research carried out by Professor Edward Soja in 1968, showed that areas that receive low and unreliable rainfall were given limited attention during the colonial period. As a result, there were parts of Kenya which according to Soja were functionary not part of the Kenya nation. The Shifta war in North-East Kenya in the early 1960s testifies to this fact.

The African Kenya government that took instruments of power in 1963 had to do everything possible to demonstrate to people living in previously marginalized areas that they were Kenyans and that the government would do everything possible to ensure that people living in previously marginalized parts of Kenya would enjoy the same levels of services as other Kenyans.

During the colonial period, Kenya development initiatives were directed towards improvement of levels of services in townships and in the former White highlands where White farmers carried out farming. Rural areas where majority of African population lived were largely neglected except in maintenance of law and order. The policy framework for organizing economic development and provision of services to Kenyans across the country was laid out in the 1970-1974 Development Plan. That Development Plan expected that Public sector and private sector projects and community projects such as schools, health facilities would be located in Designated Growth and Service Centres.

The Government expected that when public sector and private sector investments were located in designated centres that approach would support the growth of thriving urban centres that could attract more investors to the centres thereby creating opportunities for people living in urban and rural areas. Kenya Vision 2030 envisions that more than fifty percent of Kenyans will be living in urban areas by 2030. Synergetic Urban- rural linkages can be the vehicle for realization of that policy objective. Other policy initiatives included tapping African traditions such as the Harambee Philosophy in which community members pool their resources- labour, materials and finances to put up and maintain community projects.

The African tradition of Mutual Social Responsibility was adopted in 1965 as the philosophical foundation on which planning in Kenya would be based. This tradition has remained instrumental in guiding allocation of resources in post-colonial Kenya and over time complemented by other policies.

The Kenya Government has since independence in 1963, been commi tted to linking urban and rural areas as a means of bringing previously marginalized areas to the mainstream of Kenya's socio-economic and political space.

The people living in urban and rural areas are Kenyan citizens who need to be supplied with services that Kenyans living in more developed parts of the country such as urban areas enjoy. Improved transport and communication networks have enabled Kenyans living in previously marginalized areas take their livestock to urban markets and obtain higher order goods and services that are available in urban areas. As population in urban areas continues to grow, all things remaining constant, demand for livestock products from these areas will grow thereby facilitating transfer of money from urban areas to rural areas.

The government expects that development of urban centres in previously marginalized areas will result in greater interaction between urban and rural areas as well as diffusion of innovation from urban areas to rural areas. Development of vibrant urban centres in previously marginalized areas as increasing numbers of Kenyans move to urban areas will create opportunities for talents development, innovations and jobs.

The current urban-rural linkages follow a framework of designated urban and service centres policy that was spelt out in the 1970-1974 National Development Plan. While that framework has informed major private sector investments in cities and the large municipalities, it does not appear to have informed investment decisions of small scale entrepreneurs in rural areas many of whom have invested their savings in non-designated centres.
The result has been proliferation of small market centres in the rural areas rather than the anticipated vibrant urban centres, which over the years could have grown into major urban centers and cities in every county.

County Governments should leverage on devolution to correct the above anomaly. Looking back at how development has taken place in urban and rural areas throughout the country, it is clear that there is weak development control in urban areas and in rural areas with the result that many Kenyans living in urban areas now live in unplanned settlements and slums occasioned by informal and unguided urbanization. There has been rapid and widespread conversion of high potential agricultural land in areas that previously were food baskets of Kenya into uneconomical land holdings that are not producing adequate food and the government should not allow the country to drift into a food insecure nation.

There is an urgent need for Kenyans to come together for national and county levels dialogues to discuss how best to stimulate development of thriving towns, urban areas and cities so Kenyans consider them home as envisioned in Vision 2030 instead of looking to the rural areas where their parents were born as home and how best to stop subdivision of land in high and low potential agricultural areas in order to make Kenya food secure.

The dialogue should also explore reorganization of rural settlement patterns into clusters to reduce the cost of providing high order services to Kenyans who are currently living in scattered settlements in the rural areas. COVID-19 is a wakeup call for a paradigm shift in the way Kenya has been planning her urban and rural areas. Planning and service delivery challenges that have been brought about by COVID-19 cannot be effectively addressed with a business as usual planning approaches. Recommendations on contours of a new planning paradigm for Kenya are discussed in part two of this report.

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Acronyms

AAP	Annual Action Plan
AIE	Authority to Incur Expenditure
ASAL	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
GCS	Growth and Service Centres
GoK	Government of Kenya
RTPC	Rural Trade and Production Centres
DDC	District Development Committee
DEC	District Executive Committee
DFRD	District Focus for Rural Development (DFRD)
LAPSSET	Lamu Port and Lamu-Southern Sudan–Ethiopia Transport Corridor
NLC	National Land Commission
NSP	National Spatial Plan
NSP	National Spatial Plan
GOK	Government of Kenya
FYNDP	Five Year National Development Plan
RAC	Revenue Allocation Commission
RDA	Regional Development Authority
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
NUP	National Urban Policy
NUA	New Urban Agenda

Organization of the Report

PART 1: Review of Policies in Kenyan through the lense of urban-rural linkages. It is comprised of 7 sections which highlight the urban-rural linkages trend in Kenya and the policies thereof a described below

- **Section 1.1: Introduction.** introduces the policy review by defining urban-rural linkages and what the subsequent policy review entails.

- **Section 1.2:** Emergenecy of urban-rural linkages in Kenya. Presents the emergence of urban–rural linkages from the pre-colonial period through the colonial period to the present period and explains how market centres including traditional periodic markets acted as focal points where people from surrounding areas came together to trade in food commodities, livestock and other items such as farming tools. As time went by, some of these market centres grew into some of the modern urban centres in Kenya today. What emerges from this sub-section is that the concept of urban-rural linkages has a long history in Kenya and is therefore, not a new phenomenon that has come to be appreciated with the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic.

- **Sub-section 1.2.1:** Presents the state of Kenya at independence. The most prominent feature of that Kenya was the skewed nature of colonial development policies that neglected areas occupied by Africans in the rural areas, an anomaly that the post-independence Kenya government has relentlessly striven to correct, hence the various policies reviewed in this report.

  Many of the towns and the transport networks that were established during the colonial period were concentrated in the then high potential White Settlers' areas, i.e. areas occupied by European farmers in high potential farming areas in Kenya during the colonial period commonly referred to as the ('White Highlands'). The White Highlands produced the bulk of food supplies and commodities such as coffee, tea, sisal and livestock products that were used in urban areas in Kenya and for the East African urban markets as well as for export.

- **Section 1.3: Policies Review.** This section focuses on the policies that Kenya has implemented since independence to address regional imbalance and inequalities. The section is further divided into sub—sections that discuss major policies that address urban-rural linkages looking at their success and shortcomings. Where the policies did not deliver as expected, that formed the basis for policy recommendation.

The section looks at the following policies

- Harambee philosophy and its contribution to narrowing the gap in accessing social services such as schools and health facilities in the rural areas.
- African Socialism and its application to Planning in Kenya that was introduced in 1965.
- Growth and Service Centres (GSCs) policy that was launched in 1970-1974 Development Plan;
- Rural Trade and Production Centres (RTPC) policy,
- District Focus for Rural Development (DFRD) policies that were introduced in the 1983-1989 National Development Plan.

- Vision 2030, which projects that more than a half of Kenya's population will be living in urban areas by 2030The 2010 Constitution.
- National Spatial Plan (NSP) covering the period 2015-2045 who interpretations are related to linkages between urban and rural areas as well as national transportation systems and the development of human settlements in line with environmental and natural resources conservation in order to improve living conditions for all Kenyans.

- **Section 1.4:** This sub-section highlights challenges that face Kenya in developing symbiotic rural and urban linkages. Scarcity of resources at the national and county levels to support development of requisite infrastructure, mismanagement of rural institutions such as cooperative societies, increasing levels of poverty among peasant farmers in rural areas and poor governance have resulted in limited benefits from linking rural and urban areas. Limited capacity of rural communities to effectively negotiate with developers and investors who locate industrial enterprises in the rural areas is another challenge.

- **Section 1.5:** This sub-section presents some of the negative consequences of linking rural and urban areas. Given the asymmetrical relationship between rural communities and the more enlightened urbanites, rural communities often suffer exploitation because of their limited negotiating capacity so that they exchange their assets such as land and community works of art for trinkets as happened when colonial administrators came to Kenya.

  In more recent times, rural communities in previously marginalized areas have sold their land to urban entrepreneurs at throwaway prices. Destabilization of traditional institutions due to exposure of rural communities to urban lifestyles has left many rural communities exposed to forces beyond their capacity to manage. Outflows of manpower, skills, capital and primary resources from rural areas to urban areas with limited benefits to rural communities is not only associated with the opening of rural areas without adequately preparing rural communities and their institutions to manage change, but also to poor leadership.

  Nevertheless, by opening rural areas to urban areas' influences, this policy has contributed to exposure and redress of some inhibitive cultural practices that often hold members of rural communities such as women and the girl child down. Opening rural areas to urban markets has had positive impacts such as enhancement of incomes of the rural communities, improved accessibility to specialized services located in urban areas and provided people in rural areas with opportunities for self-development.

- **Section 1.6:** Presents how rural-urban linkages can be strengthened. A raft of measures can help achieve strengthened urban-rural linkages. All the 47 counties have urban centres that could be developed as alternative investment, employment and high quality services delivery centres around which communities with common interests and identity at county levels can be mobilized to ensure that people do not move out of their counties for services except for specialized services.

- Strengthening growing urban centres in the rural areas by supplying them with infrastructure, quality services and employment opportunities will reduce the need, espemcially the youth to move from rural counties to urban counties in search of opportunities. County governments should direct increasing amounts of funds to improving not only quality of services but also access to well-planned and serviced housing in urban areas.

Industries that add value to resources that counties have comparative advantage in producing and processing should be developed in each county.

- **Section 1.7: COVID-19 and the transportation of food in the urban-rural continuum.** Discusses COVID-19 and transportation of food in the urban rural nexus. The section highlights the negative impacts of COVID-19 on both urban and rural sectors of the economy as areas of production, processing and consumption patterns have been affected by COVID-19. education system has been disrupted.The link between urban areas and rural areas was working well until COVID-19 hit the country, with the first confirmed COVID-19 case being reported on March 14, 2020.

  Between March 2020 and March 2022, many Kenyans have lost jobs, sources of livelihoods and the Families have lost loved ones and industrial enterprises where Kenyans previously worked have been closed leading to loss of employment and incomes and hope. The section calls for a paradigm shift in the way urban and rural areas interact with each other in the light of lessons learnt from the COVID-19 epidemic. The section calls for a paradigm shift in the way urban and rural areas interact with each other in the light of lessons learnt from the COVID-19 epidemic.

  The raft of containment measures implemented including lockdowns, restriction of movements of people from rural areas to urban areas, social distancing in workplaces, working from home, a fourteen-day quarantine among others as a means of controlling the spread of COVID-19 exposed the interdependence of rural and urban areas. The impacts of COVID-19 on Kenya's people and economy calls for a relook at planning approaches and provision of critical infrastructure at county levels to build counties' resilience to future pandemics and natural disasters.

Part II:

Presents policy recommendations based on the reviews of government policies in the nexus of urban rural linkages discussed in Part I. The recommendations suggest how positive urban-rural linkages in Kenya can be enhanced. There is need for more applied research to better understand how best to develop and sustain synergetic urban-rural linkages.

PART 1.

REVIEW OF POLICIES IN KENYA THROUGH THE LENS OF URBAN-RURAL LINKAGES

1.1. INTRODUCTION

For the purpose of this report, the term urban-rural linkages is used within the context of the definition of urban-rural linkages by the UN-habitat. UN-Habitat defines urban-rural linkages (URLs) as non-linear, diverse urban-rural interactions and linkages across space within an urban-rural continuum, including flows of people, goods, capital and information but also between sectors and activities such as agriculture, services and manufacturing. In general, they can be defined as a complex web of connections between rural and urban dimensions (UN-Habitat, 2020:4). These linkages and interactions between urban and rural areas are described to include diverse aspects, such as:

- Population and human capital;
- Investments and economic transactions;
- Governance interactions;
- Environment and amenities;
- Products and services; and
- Information and data together with supportive or constraining supportive structures be they infrastructures, economic structures, territorial structures and/or governance systems.

This report notes that, the urban-rural linkages framework was first articulated comprehensively in the five-year National Development Plan (FYNDP) for the period 1970 to 1974, which the Government of Kenya prepared (Kenya, 1970). Subsequent national development plans emphasized the need for building strong rural-urban linkages as a means of removing the glaring disparity between rural and urban areas.

Although some the challenges that faced Kenya in the early years of independence such as ignorance and disease have significantly been reduced, others such as poverty alleviation are still a challenge. During the 1970s the economy was growing and Kenyans were engulfed by mood of optimism.

For instance, coffee was a great source of income. Farmers used incomes to educate their children, invest in income generating enterprises. Today, the situation is different. For instance income from agriculture for many small scale farmers whose livelihoods is dependent on farming is low as they are not able to sell their commodities in traditional markets due to decline in purchasing power in those countries from the impact of COVID-19.

The need for policy review is predicated on the following three considerations, that:

- New government systems have been introduced in Kenya following the promulgation of the 2010 Constitution. This established a two tier devolved system of governance covering urban areas in Kenya namely national government and county governments.

  Since it covers urban and rural sectors involving the sociocultural, economic system and resource base, this has occasioned the need to review urban-rural linkages focusing on capturing the aspirations of people, county government as well as the national government.

  Critically, it is considered important to synthesize policy concerns of the two governments in order to build synergetic urban-rural linkages.

- Kenya's population has been growing and will continue to grow with more people living in cities, intermediate and small towns. The development of urban areas that will accommodate this growing population and guarantee those requisite social-economic opportunities and services and help them live in dignity cannot be overemphasized.

Vision 2030 anticipates over 50% of Kenyans will be living in urban areas by 2030. The need to plan urban areas that will accommodate this population even before it arrives is urgent. On account of the growing population, lack of advance planning and provision of requisite services such as planned serviced urban land and trunk water and sewerage systems before those who chose to move from rural to urban areas resulted in the development of slums and unplanned settlements in urban areas.

- Policy review requires understanding contexts, needs and timing of actions taken by the public sector actors in order to forestall possibilities of feeling excluded from sharing the benefits of social transformation, cultural change and economic development at national and regional levels as well as in local communities where families and individuals live, recreate and make decision and choices about their lives.

The review of policies and recommendations in this report is compiled on the understanding that since the government is currently basing her development policies on Vision 2030, (Kenya 2007), which anticipates that over fifty percent of Kenyans will be living in urban areas, the government and the people of Kenya must secure, plan and service adequate supplies of land in rapidly growing urban regions in each of the 47 counties where, investors will be directed to, where specialized services will be located , where serviced industrial parks will be developed, affordable housing built around industrial parks so that people moving out of the rural areas, especially the youth within counties can work within their home counties.

After honing their skills and establishing markets for their products, they can move to cities and other urban areas if they choose.

The methodology applied in the policy review is a historical approach, which entails examining key government policies since independence. This perspective highlights the chronological progression of efforts directed at building synergetic urban-rural linkages.

1.2. EMERGENCE OF URBAN-RURAL LINKAGES IN KENYA

Before Britain established towns as administrative centres from which law and order in the interior of the Kenya territory could be maintained and taxes collected, there were few towns which had been established by the Portuguese and Arabs along the Indian Ocean. Interactions between African communities in the interior and traders living in those towns, were triggered by the search for markets for goods that came from Asia and the Middle East and search for commodities from the interior such as ivory and slaves for external markets.

During the colonial period therefore, British administrators established towns in the interior along the Kenya Uganda Railway to facilitate the opening of the territory and maintenance of law and order, and supply of food items such as cereals and other commodities needed by those who lived in the towns. Rural areas were therefore primary suppliers of labour for White Settler farmers who came to Kenya and support staff for enterprises and government administration that were established in the towns. Rural areas also supplied raw materials for industries in those towns such as wattle, sisal, coffee and tea after cash crops were introduced to African farmers.

1.3. KENYA AT INDEPENDENCE

Kenya became an independent country in 1963 when Britain handed instruments of power to an African government under the leadership of President Jomo Kenyatta. When an African government looked at the Kenya that Britain left behind, it became clear that there were great inequalities between urban areas where non-African population lived and the rural areas where Africans lived. The Kenya that Britain left behind is captured in research carried out by Edward Soja in 1968. That research shows that areas occupied by Africans did not play an important role in the colonial economy.

However, those areas became theatre of operation for missionaries who wanted to proselyte Africans and to give them education and health services. The majority of towns established during the colonial period and the transport network that was developed were concentrated in the high potential areas where White settlers established large scale farms which produced food supplies such as wheat and maize for the Kenyan and East African market as well as coffee, tea, sisal and livestock for export. Figure 1 presents the Kenya that Britain handed over to Kenya at independence.

Figure 1. Evolution of Urban Systems in Kenya
Source: Edward W. Soja (1968, 31)

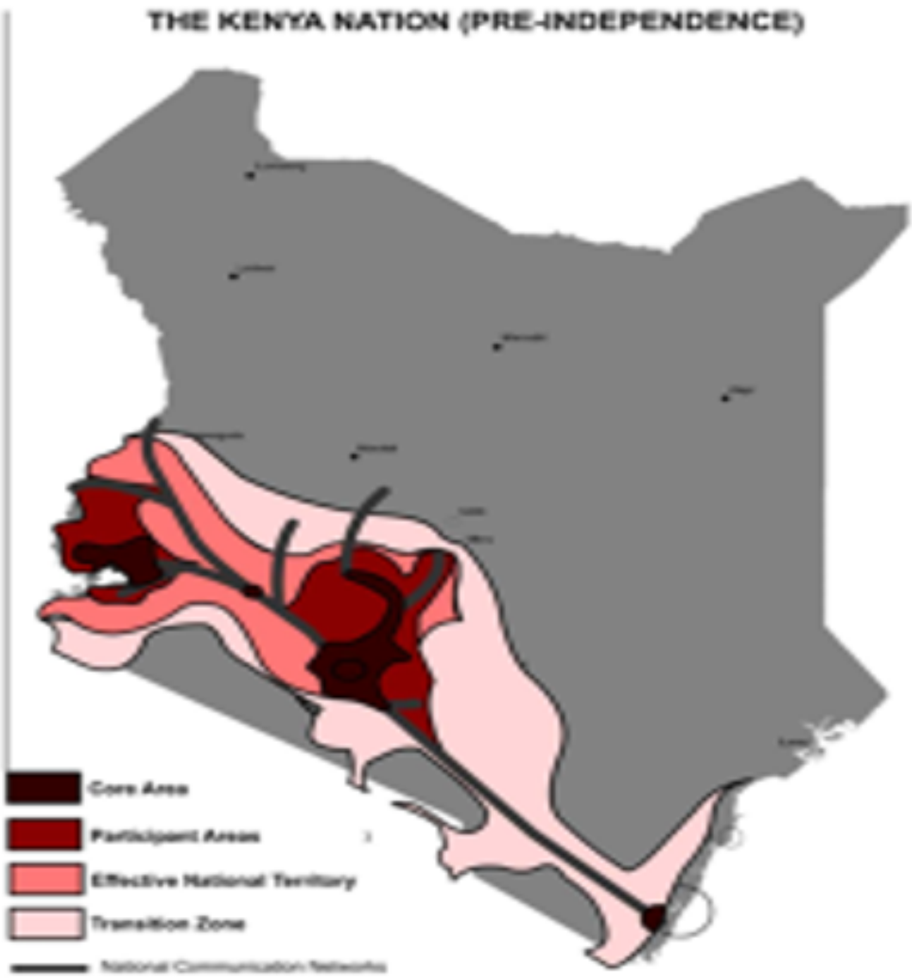


Figure 1 shows that Kenya's urban system closely followed the Mombasa-Kisumu railway line and its branches. This part of the country contained the entire mobilized and nationally conscious population and the bulk of the monetary economy and national infrastructure. However, there was that part of the country within the ASAL regions that lay beyond the effective national control and was therefore, functionally not part of Kenya.

This part of the country has been marginalized and is the frontier region of development in the 21st century. According to Soja (1968), the Kenya territory that Britain handed over to African leaders in 1963 comprised three development typologies:

- National Nuclei centred around the city of Nairobi, the former Central Province of Kenya, Mombasa municipality, Kisumu municipality and immediate rural areas as well as the areas settled by White farmers;
- Next to this national nucleus was an area that Soja (1968) characterized as the effective national territory comprising the parts of Kenya which contained virtually the entire mobilized and nationally conscious population; that also covered the bulk of the developed economy and national infrastructure that owed sufficient allegiance to the central government;
- The next area as one moved further away from the national nuclei was an area that Soja (ibid) termed as areas beyond effective national control, and therefore functionally, as it were, not part of the Kenya nation in that the critical level of consciousness that would permit centralized planning to be accepted and take effect had not been reached.

President Jomo Kenyatta's African Government took over from Britain in 1963 this Kenya nation. The task of the Kenya government was to transform that territory into a nation with common development aspirations. This report looks at policy frameworks through the lens of urban-rural nexus that the Kenya government consultatively with her people guided by Harambee Philosophy has adopted over the years to achieve that goal.

1.4. THE POLICIES THAT KENYA HAS IMPLEMENTED TO CORRECT SKEWED DEVELOPMENT

1.4.1. HARAMBEE PHILOSOPHY

Immediately after independence, the Kenya government adopted the Harambee Philosophy of self-help development as a key feature of development planning aimed at meeting the needs and expectations of the indigenous populations. The tradition of mutual social responsibility brought members of Kenyan communities together regardless of whether they were rich or poor when looking for solutions to problems that faced a community.

The philosophy guided people to pool their resources in order to build community facilities such as schools and health facilities so that every Kenyan, regardless of their economic standing in society could gain access to education and health care services among other services. Kenya was then known as the Harambee country where members of society worked together for the common good. The Harambee movement that operated on a 'pool together' doctrine was responsible for the mobilization of large financial capital for a wide variety of basic needs (Mutiso and Chesire, 2015).

The self-help spirit also saw the formation of many land buying groups that pooled meagre resources together and facilitated access to land by the majority poor (Musyoka, 2004) and to purchase former White settlers farms after White farmers who were not sure of their security under an African Government left Kenya. The self-help philosophy lives on though not as robust as in the early years of independence and remains in practice particularly in the farming sector and when communities mobilize funds for welfare issues.

Is it possible that the African tradition of mutual social responsibility can be revived in a broader sense and used in mobilizing resources for creating employment and income generating opportunities through establishment of value addition enterprises. Currently in many parts of the country communities wait for the government to supply them with services.

This is contrary to the African tradition of mutual social responsibility in which the State, the people and communities work together for the common good. This has contributed to disengagement of the people from even local development projects with the result that many Kenyans in both urban and rural areas believe that projects funded by the government belong to the government.

The result has been that when the projects for instance break down or are vandalized the people look aside because the projects are, mali ya serikali i.e. government projects even when it is the people who use services brought about by such projects. When Kenya was known as the Harambee country community members mobilized money, materials, labour and ideas for community projects. Nobody could interfere with such community projects without communities moving in to protect such projects because community projects belonged to the people even when funds for such projects had been contributed by the people and their leaders, the national government, Non-Governmental Organizations and the donor agencies. The clarion call at independence was, 'united we stand, divided we fall'. Today, it appears the clarion call is 'everyone for themselves'. This has resulted in a situation where there are as many Kenyas as there are Kenyans. Kenyans should revisit this African heritage to identify the Kenya all Kenyans want as Kenya aspires to become a middle-income country. The Kenya government that was formed in 1963 identified poverty, ignorance and disease as the three major problems that people faced.

These problems were mainly experienced by Kenyans of African origin whether they lived in urban or rural areas. Negotiations that took place between the British government and African leaders that led to Kenya becoming an independent nation came up with a constitution that was based on a devolved system of governments with two tiers of governments namely, a central government and seven regional governments namely, the Coast region government, Eastern Region government, North eastern region government, Central region government, Rift Valley region government, Nyanza region government, Western region government and the Nairobi extra province regional government.

Regional governments had their own Regional Assemblies, own Presidents and had power to make laws and raise money for the development of their regions. The central government was not apparently happy with this arrangement. When Kenya became a Republic in 1964, the central government introduced a series of constitutional amendments that abolished the regional governments, with power reverting to the central government.

That system of government remained in force for the next 46 years until a new governance framework was put in place following the promulgation of the 2010 Constitution that saw the return of two tier of governments namely a national government and 47 county governments that are distinct and interdependent.

1.4.2. AFRICAN SOCIALISM POLICY FRAMEWORK

The first broad policy framework that was to guide development planning in Kenya was the Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 on African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya (Kenya, 1965). In that policy document the national government acknowledged that financial resources at the disposal of the central government were not enough to address development challenges and inequalities that faced Kenya. The policy direction that Kenya government took at independence is summarized below:

> "To make the economy as a whole grow as fast as possible, development money should be invested where it will yield the largest increase in net output. This approach will clearly favour the development of areas having abundant natural resources, good land and rainfall, transport and power facilities and people receptive to and active in development. A million Pounds invested in one area may raise net output by 20,000 pounds while its use in another may yield an increase of 100,000 Pounds. This is a clear case in which investment in the second area is the wise decision because the country is 80,000 Pounds per annum better off by so doing and is therefore in a position to aid the first area by making grants or subsidized loans" (Kenya, 1965:46-47)

That policy direction was informed by a belief in the efficacy of "trickle- down" economic theory. Experience has however, shown that trickle down processes on their own do not bring about regional balance, which Kenyans were expecting after Africans took power in 1963. Writing on the principle of circular cumulative causation, Gunnar Myrdal (1957) citing C.E.A. Winslow noted that:

- ...poverty and disease formed a vicious circle. Men and women were sick because they were poor, they became poorer because they were sick, and sicker because they were poorer...

This is an interesting statement because in 1963, Kenyan leaders observed that the three development problems that faced Kenya then were ignorance, poverty and disease. Myrdal (1957) goes further to cite Ragnar Nurkse who in (1952) observed that:

- ...a poor man may not have enough to eat, being under-nourished, his health may be weak; being physically weak, his working capacity may be low, which means that he is poor, which in turn means that he will not have enough to eat.

The impact of policy choice that the Kenya government made was that the areas that the colonial government had developed continued to grow further while areas that were marginalized during the colonial period continued to lag behind.

For trickle-down process to bring development in lagging regions, there is need to develop countervailing forces that have the capacity to reduce outflows of surplus value from under-developed areas and commitment by the public sector toprioritize programmes that empower leaders and people from such regions to participate in the national economy and to ensure that sufficient resources are channeled to such areas to create opportunities in resource frontier regions (Friedmann, 1966).

If trickle down processes are to have effects on frontier regions, there should be strong voices from such regions that the government cannot ignore because of those regions' contribution to the national economy. This does not appear to have happened in the case of Kenya's marginalized areas, yet these areas were and still are the major meat producing areas in Kenya.

This could be attributed to three reasons: First, the lack of enlightenment of the people in these areas on their rights as entrenched in the 2010 Constitution. Second, people's representatives from these areas must champion the needs of the people with evidence and this can only happen if and when leaders live with the people they represent. This way leader will experience and appreciate the challenges their people live with. The African Socialism policy report stated that it drew its inspiration from two African traditions, namely, Political Democracy and the tradition of Mutual social responsibility. Commenting on the tradition of political democracy, the 1965 sessional paper noted that:

- In African society, a man was born politically free and equal and his voice and counsel were heard and respected regardless of the economic wealth he possessed. Even where traditional leaders appeared to have greater wealth and hold disproportionate political influence over their tribal or clan community, there were traditional checks and balances including sanctions against any possible abuse of such power (Kenya, 1965:3). These concerns are reiterated in the 2010 Constitution. The Kenyan people must ensure that these commitments are delivered to all Kenyans.

Regarding the tradition of mutual social responsibility, the sessional paper noted that:

- Mutual social responsibility is an extension of the African family spirit to the nation as a whole, with the hope that ultimately the same spirit can be extended over larger areas. It implies a mutual responsibility by society and its members to do their very best for each other with the full knowledge and understanding that if society prospers its members will share in that prosperity and that society cannot prosper without the full cooperation of its members (Kenya, 1965:4).

From this perspective, Kenyans must ensure that when Kenya prospers no one in Kenyan is left in poverty.The policy advocated in the African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya had twenty key policy considerations but for the purpose of this review, only five considerations that have a bearing on urban-rural nexus are listed below, namely:

The need to plan and control how resources are used;

- Planning as a comprehensive exercise designed to find the best way in which the nation's limited resources – land, skilled work force, capital should be used for the benefit of all Kenyans; Three important aspects of planning include physical, social, financial and economic. Physical planning deals with land use and layout, ad locational, transport and design problems in both rural and urban areas; social planning is concerned with welfare and social ad social services, cultural development, the modification of traditional attitudes, the alleviation of social problems, self-help and community development; financial planning involves the determination of government revenues, recurrent expenditures and capital budgeting; economic planning has the task of organizing all of the nation's real ad monetary resources into a concerted and coordinated development effort.None of these aspects of planning can be carried out without close coordination with the others even on apparently routine matters (Kenya, 1965:49).

- Planning would be extended to provinces, districts and municipalities to ensure that in each of these levels of administrative and development territories progress towards desired change and development was made (Kenya, 1965:49,50,51);
- The need to revitalize education and training to enhance the capacities of indigenous Kenyans in preparing them to take up positions previously held by expatriate workers;
- Strengthening consumer co-operatives and need to foster development in the less developed areas of the Kenya to ensure equity in regional development (GOK, 1965).

The five main strategies designed for promoting development in the context of the policy considerations included:

- Addressing the factors hindering growth especially weak capacity in financial capital and skilled manpower.
- Designing programs to revolutionize agriculture production in Kenya by assisting farmers to use sustainable farming methods, bringing more land under irrigation and supporting establishment of large scale community conservancies and ranches organized around the principles of African communal management practices of resources for the benefit of all.
- Facilitating establishment of agro-processing industries for crop and commodity raw materials, livestock and forestry resource. This saw the establishment of the Kenya Co-operative Creameries (KCC), Kenya Meat Commission (KMC) and the Pan Paper Mills and private leather processing firms among others.
- Developing public infrastructure including road, rail and waterways transport network, generation of electric power, marketing systems and other development accelerator services.
- Provide for a more equitable distribution of benefits of development which today include Revenue Allocation Commission (RAC), the National Land Commission (NLC) and National Constituencies Development Fund (NCDF)) (Mutiso and Chesire, 2015).

Some of the policy proposals in the African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya have largely been implemented as exemplified by the establishment of institutions of higher learning such Universities to provide the much needed skilled manpower. Others are the Kenya Utalii College to train manpower for the tourism industry, the Co-operative College of Kenya to train manpower for cooperative societies and the Kenya Polytechnic to train technical manpower for industries.

When the African government took power, it was the considered opinion of African leaders that rural areas where Africans lived should be brought into the mainstream of the Kenyan socio-economic space. Areas that according to Soja (1968) lay outside effective national territory (see Figure 1), were to be brought into the effective territory of socio-economic and politics in Kenya. The need to integrate these previously marginalized areas with the more developed parts of the country accessioned implementation of another four policies in subsequent years towards this end. These were: (1) growth and service centres (GCSC) Policy, (2) rural trade and production centres (RPTC) policies, (3) District focus for rural Development (DRFD) policy and (4) Vision 2030. Growth and Service Centres Policy

1.4.3. GROWTH AND SERVICE CENTRES POLICY

The government launched the growth and service centres (GCSC) policy out of a conviction that if development projects were scattered across the Kenya territorial space, it was going to be difficult for the country to develop rapidly and for a sufficiently and for a robust urban system that could attract further investments into urban areas (Kenya, 1974). A national growth and service centres policy was presented in the 1970-1974 National Development Plan. The policy proposed a hierarchy of four categories of urban centres that was informed by Walter Christaller's enunciation of the central places (Guo, 2018:1206-2107), namely; Urban Centres that were intended to serve a catchment area of 120,000 people, Rural Centres that would serve a catchment population of 40,000 people, Market Centres that would serve a catchment population of 15,000 people and Local Centres that would serve a catchment population of 5,000 people.

As the government was identifying centres throughout the country which could be designated as growth and service centres, the government was at the same time improving and building a network of roads to link the more developed urban centres with emerging urban centres in different parts of the country (Kenya, 1970), water and sewerage systems, housing and airstrips in urban areas. It was expected that opening previously marginalized areas would give Kenyans living in those area a sense of belonging to Kenya and link those areas to national markets and other opportunities. Once lagging regions were opened up through improved roads network, opportunity could be opened for the government to send professional and technical staff to work with communities in previously marginalized areas. The government articulated a policy of identifying market centres throughout the country that could be developed as service and growth centres in which higher order services such as secondary schools and hospitals could be located. In the 1970-1974 (Kenya, 1970:15) the government stated that:

- Rural life cannot be complete without towns any more than towns can be complete without access to the countryside, and it will be the objective of Government policy to promote the growth of a number of towns to a size where they are large enough to provide the people of the surrounding districts with many of the facilities and amenities available in a modern city. Work on the identification of centres with high growth potential has been in progress over the last two years and this plan contains a provisional list of towns and growth centres, which will provide the basic urban framework for the future. New factories and other enterprises will be grouped in the designated growth centres and thus act as a stimulus to the further growth of output and employment, instead of being increasingly concentrated in Nairobi or scattered at random around the country-side (Kenya, 1970).

The government further stated that:

- It was determined to ensure that the rapid growth of urban centres shall not result in the mushrooming of shanty towns and urban slums with all the dangers inherent in the inadequate provision of new housing, health and education facilities, water and sewerage systems, road networks and power supplies. Accordingly, considerable resources will have to be spent by the central government, parastatal organizations, and by the municipal authorities in the towns concerned, in providing the necessary facilities and in coordinating the growth of these facilities with the growth of population (Kenya, 1970).

In the 1984-1988 National Development Plan, the government reiterated its commitment to ensuring that all parts of Kenya were linked to the national socio-economic and political space (Kenya, 1983) This was to be achieved through intensified opening of previously marginalized areas of the country by developing gateway towns and linking them with the nation's larger urban centres through the national transport system so that Kenyans living in these areas could access national markets and high order goods and services.

The government further observed stated that the main objectives of physical planning are to establish a more even geographical spread of development in order to promote a more balanced economic growth and an equitable standard of social services throughout the nation. Second, the policy was expected to encourage the expansion of several large towns in addition to Nairobi and Mombasa, thereby providing more alternatives for the absorption of the migrant population. Third, the policy was also to result in the development of a network of communication that linked centres of economic and social development. Finally, the policy was expected to help identify urban areas that had great opportunities that could attract public and private capital investment (Kenya, 1983)

Within the service centre strategy a number of urban centres were identified as having potential to grow into growth centres on account of their administrative functions, high agricultural potential in their hinterlands, tourist and industrial potential, proximity to population concentrations, levels of existing infrastructure and accessibility. Nine centres were identified. These were, Kakamega, Nyeri, Kisumu, Nakuru, Eldoret, Thika, Kitale, Embu and Meru, were selected for priority consideration in the provision of infrastructure and other inputs to enable them to develop at a faster pace (Kenya, 1983).

Policy commitment to build and strengthen urban rural linkages was continued in subsequent National Development Plans. However, due to limited investment in the designated urban centres, young people in search of employment opportunities continued to move to cities and the large urban centres.

In developing the transports network and other infrastructure facilities in lagging regions, the government expected that development of urban centres in previously marginalized areas would provide employment opportunities and social services that were previously provided from other counties so that people would be able to get requisite services from within their counties thereby building a sense of belonging and identity. Although the GCSC policy was launched in the 1970-1974 Development Plan as a framework for rural development, the cost of implementing the policy was not indicated in that plan.

Consequently, the urban centres that were designated as growth centres (GC) and service centres (SC) did not grow as anticipated. In subsequent development plans in national budgets, there has not been specific allocation of resources for the development of designated urban centres. Mayors of municipalities in partnership with the then Ministry of Local Government and in a number of cases with the help of donor agencies worked together in improving levels of services in cities and municipalities. It cannot be proven that designation of centres into various categories has helped the development of strong synergetic linkages between urban centres and their rural hinterlands.

1.4.4. THE RURAL TRADE AND PRODUCTION CENTRES POLICY

In the 1989-1993 National Development Plan, the government introduced a programme referred to as Rural Trade and Production centres (RTPCs) which was to be a springboard from which lagging regions in Kenya could be assisted to take off economically (Kenya, 1986:42 and 45-46 and Kenya, 1988). The programme entailed identification of growing small urban centres in different parts of the country especially in previously lagging regions to which investment in critical infrastructure could be directed in order to make selected urban centres more attractive to investors. Once the centres were made attractive to investors, entrepreneurs could locate industries in those centres where unemployed persons could find jobs instead of going to cities and urban centres that are far from home. This policy was a continuation of the rural-urban balance policy that was articulated in 1979-1983 National Development Plan (Kenya, 1983, 77-78) which had noted that:

- Pursuant of the goal of rural-urban balance, Government will promote the development of a dynamic set of smaller towns and other urban settlements designated as RTPCs. Government is fully aware that due to serious budgetary constraints, it will be difficult to establish more such facilities from public resources. The government set up a District Development Fund (DDF) within the Ministry of Planning and National Development to act as a catalyst for attracting both local and foreign financial resources for establishing the necessary infrastructures, particularly in the RTPCs. These resources will be supplemented by funds from the existing Rural Development Fund (RDF) administered by the Ministry.

The RTPC programme was expected to expand from the already selected 8 centres during the 1988/89 financial year, to 12, 16, and 18 in subsequent years, adding up to the targeted figure of 70 by the financial year 1992/93 (Kenya, 1989). The government expected that a variety of employment generating opportunities would be created as a consequence of the development of RTPCs and supportive infrastructure in such areas and primary products processing, service industries, livestock marketing infrastructure, seasonal food-for-work programmes, public works, mining and tourism were introduced in previously marginalized areas. (Kenya, 1989). The Rural Trade and Production centres policy does not appear to have been linked to the earlier Designated Service centres policy. Besides, because the policy was dependent on donor funding, when donor support ceased, the RTPC programme faded away. This policy disconnect shows how the Ministries of Lands and Settlements and the Ministry of Planning and National Development did not work together in addressing the same development challenge.

1.4.5. DISTRICT FOCUS FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY

In the 1983- 1989 National Development Plan, the government introduced the District Focus for Rural Development policy (DFRD) as part of Kenya's decentralization development initiatives (Mackenzie & Taylor, 1987).. According to this policy, District Specific projects were to be managed and coordinated by District Development Committees (DDCs) that were chaired by District Commissioners. These committees had mandate of ensuring that development projects that were earmarked for specific districts whether funded by the Kenya Government, donor agencies, local authorities, self-help organizations and NGOs were coordinated to reduce duplication of efforts and to ensure efficient management of resourcesthat came to specific districts.

District Focus for Rural Development had positive contributions towards district development processes. For instance, the launch of District Focus for Rural Development was accompanied by transfer of senior civil servants to districts as a means of enhancing the human capacities at district levels as part of Kenya Government decentralized development initiatives (Rutten, 1990). Secondly, District Development Committees, were cascaded down to sub-location levels, the lowest administrative territorial unit in Kenya, thereby giving the people a voice in the development of their areas.

Every district was required to prepare Five Year Development Plans as well as annual action plans. Furthermore, Ministerial budgets were to be disaggregated to district levels so District Development Committees knew budgetary allocations for each district. Besides, District float funds was increased from Kenya pounds 1.3 million in the 1983-84 Financial Year to Kenya Pounds 5.15 in the 1989 Financial Year (Rutten, 1990). According to Rutten (ibid), District Treasuries were strengthened and Heads of Departments given Authority to Incur Expenditure (AIE).

Despite high expectations of the District Focus for Rural Development policy, there were challenges that faced the policy. First, resources available to the National Treasury were declining because of declining revenue from coffee exports, one of the most important foreign currency earner for Kenya then. Secondly, oil prices were rising (Rutten. 1990) thereby reducing the amounts of funds that the Treasury could disburse to districts. Thirdly, governance concerns raised by international donor agencies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank led to a decline of donor funds inflows into the country. Fourthly, communities at grassroots levels were getting disillusioned by the screening of projects as proposed projects went up the bureaucracy ladder. lastly, majority of District Development Committee members were civil servants. Political leaders considered District Development Committees as avenues for rubberstamping government development agenda. Political leaders appear to have believed that real decisions were made in District Executive Committees, (DECs) which were attended only by heads of government departments at district levels.

This perception made many politicians skip DDC meetings thereby sowing seeds of conflict between local leaders and government officials. On account of these perceptions among other factors, District Focus for Rural Development (DFRD) did not deliver as promised. (Ndegwa, 2022)

The 1983-1989 National Development Plan continued to emphasize the role of urban centres in national development processes. The National Development Plan noted that Physical planning in its broadest sense is concerned with the organization of land use, distribution of activities and the movement of people and goods in territorial space in order to achieve a sound and harmonious spatial system.

This is the concern of urban rural linkages whose focus is:

- To establish a more even geographical spread of development in order to promote balanced economic growth and equitable access to social services and economic opportunities throughout the country;
- To encourage the development more cities and large urban centres in every county for the accommodation of population that moves from rural areas to urban areas thereby providing more alternatives for the absorption of the migrant population

- To develop a network of infrastructure and communications systems that link the people with centres of economic opportunities and social services;
- To establish a national urban development system that reflect a balance between population and resource areas without undermining the integrity of the environment;
- To regulate the relationship between industrial, commercial, residential and public land use areas so as to minimize conflicts in land use and the cost of providing services;
- To minimize movement of people from home to work, social amenities, shopping areas, recreation and public open spaces, and;
- To ring-fence agricultural land for food production and food security.

In the 1984-1988 Development Plan population in urban areas that are defined as centres with populations of 2,000 and above, were projected to grow at an average of 5.0 per cent per annum. It was estimated that the urban population will be about 3.58 million by the end of the Plan period, doubling the 1979 urban population. The number of towns will reach 130 as new towns emerge to meet the needs of rural areas. In order to improve the regional development balance in the arid and semi-arid lands, the Government has formed regional development authorities to plan and implement projects and programmes in these areas.

In order to support regional balance, the Government focused on developing 17 towns including the gateway towns through deliberate planning for optimal land use and investment. These towns are Lodwar, Kapenguria, Maralal, and Kitilu in the Kerio Valley region, Mandera, Wajir, Moyale, Marsabit, Garissa, Isiolo and El Wak in the North-Eastern Kenya, and Kitui, Bura, Kajiado, Lamu, Narok and Voi in the Southern region. The towns were selected because of the strong relationship they had with their rural hinterlands.

Designation of these urban areas as gateway towns was however not accompanied by allocation of funds for infrastructure development and provision of high order services. The result was that these centres were left to grow organically which negates their initial purpose of their designation as gateway towns guided urban development.In the 1997-2001 Development Plan, the government stated that rural industrialization strategies would be focused on small towns.

The rural industrialization strategy would foster economic growth in the rural areas through the strengthening of economic linkages between urban areas and their rural hinterlands. The Government indicated that during the Plan period, the Government would continue to pursue a strategy to promote the development of an urban system that supports the growth of agriculture, industry and the development of rural areas to generate productive employment opportunities.

1.4.6. KENYA VISION 2030

Kenya Vision 2030 is one of Kenya's broad policy frameworks that provides a roadmap on how Kenya will become a globally competitive and prosperous middle income country providing high standards of life for all citizens by 2030 (Kenya, 2006). The policy is built around three pillars namely an economic pillar, a social pillar and a political pillar.

The economic pillar aims at maintaining a GDP growth rate of ten per cent per annum over the next 25 years. The social pillar aims at building "a just and cohesive society with social equity in a clean and secure environment. The political pillar aims at realizing democratic political system founded on issue-based politics that respect the rule of law, and protects the rights and freedoms of every individual in the Kenyan society. Rights that Kenyan citizens should expect the government to safeguard are indicated in the 2010 constitution which will be discussed below.

The vision will be implemented in successive five-year Medium Term Plans, (MTPs) beginning with the 2008-2012 plan period. Within the economic pillar, key drivers of Vision 2030, were to be tourism; increasing value addition in agriculture; better and more inclusive wholesale and retail trade sector; manufacturing for the regional market; Business process off shoring and financial services. The social pillar will be driven by high quality education and training; the health sector; water and sanitation; the environment; housing and urbanization; gender, youth and vulnerable groups; equity and poverty elimination; science, technology and innovation.

The Political Pillar seeks to make Kenya a democratic country that reflects the aspirations of Kenyans. The drivers of the political pillar will be six strategic thrusts namely: rule of Law; electoral and political processes; democracy and public service delivery; transparency and accountability; public administration and service delivery as well as security, peace building and conflict management. Vision 2030 aims to provide the country's population with adequate and affordable decent housing in a sustainable environment. This policy concern is captured in the 2010 Constitution which requires the government to make sure that every Kenyan has right to accessible and adequate housing and to reasonable standards of sanitation and a right to be free from hunger, and to have adequate food of acceptable quality, (Kenya, 2010).

All weather transport infrastructure that links food producing areas and urban areas is part of this so that all Kenyans will have access to food supplies. But transport facilities are only one aspect of making Kenyans have access to food supplies. Capacity to afford adequate food of acceptable quality requires that every Kenyan will have sufficient incomes to purchase food required by their families.

The situation has become more challenging by COVID-19. The economic pillar is directed at making Kenyans have adequate incomes to enjoy high standards of living that compare well with other middle income countries. Despite this policy framework, Kenya's urban areas have over the years suffered from poor planning, which has resulted in the proliferation of informal settlements with poor housing and little or no infrastructure services (Kenya, 2007:159).

The result has been proliferation of unplanned informal settlements. Urban areas have grown haphazardly, most without physical development plans, which have caused economic inefficiency and environmental degradation and led to poor living conditions. Planning, when done, has tended to react to urban development, rather than direct development. Although most urban areas have development plans many of them have not been updated while others were prepared after developments had taken place which contravenes the purpose of planning which is to guide development. In addition, some emerging urban areas do not have Development Plans.

Another factor has been jurisdiction rivalries between local authorities and the Physical Planning Department. Physical planning law up to 2010 vested responsibility to plan urban and regional areas in the Director of Physical Planning. However, the Department of Physical Planning had limited human capacity and the resources allocated to the Department by the Treasury for planning were also limited. This is unfortunate because countries that have experienced rapid and orderly development have foundations solidly built on sound planning, good governance and provision of sufficient resources.

1.4.7. THE 2010 CONSTITUTION

The 2010 Constitution is the game changer in development planning in Kenya. One of the most significant policy decisions in Kenya since independence was the promulgation of the 2010 constitution. The 2010 constitution vests all sovereign power to the people of Kenya. Another major feature of the 2010 constitution is the re-introduction of devolved system of governance that created 47 county governments with powers to make and enforce laws at county levels and autonomy in delivering services to people living at subnational levels.

Article 184, states that:

- National legislation shall provide for the governance and management of urban areas and cities and shall, in particular- (c) establish the principles of governance and management of urban areas and cities;

Article 204 (1) of the Constitution established an equalization fund into which shall be paid one half per cent of all the revenue collected by the national government each year. Article 204 (2) provides that the equalization fund will be used only to provide basic services including water, roads, health facilities and electricity to marginalized areas to the extent necessary to bring the quality of those services to the level in those areas to the level generally enjoyed by the rest of the nation, so far as possible.

The authors of this report note that the list of beneficiaries of Equalization Fund does not include Kenyans living in marginalized areas within cities and urban areas. This is despite the fact that those living in marginalized urban areas could be more than those living in some of the beneficiary counties. Unlike previous policy commitments by the government, this policy commitment to minimize inequality in Kenya is enshrined in the 2010 constitution.

Following the adoption 2010 constitution, the national government has a legally binding commitment to ensure that all Kenyans whether living in urban or rural areas have a right to enjoy the same quality of services like the people living in previously more developed areas that are shown in Figure1.

1.4.8. NATIONAL SPATIAL PLAN 2015-2045

Interpretations of the commitment by the national government policies in context of the urban rural nexus are given by the Ministry of Lands and Physical Planning in the National Spatial Plan covering the period 2015-2045 (Kenya, 2016). The policy interpretations are related to linkages between urban and rural areas as well as national transportation systems and the development of human settlements in line with environmental and natural resources conservation policies. The Spatial Plan states that grain basket areas shall be prioritized and protected to ensure food security.

The Spatial Plan states that major urban areas shall be planned and provided with appropriate infrastructure to enhance efficiency and quality of life and that Rural Growth Centres shall be rationalized and supported to act as central places and settlements clustered to free the rich agricultural areas. The message contained in the National Spatial Plan 2015-2045 is similar to that contained in earlier National Development Plans except that this time, a spatial dimension of where development activities will take place is broadly indicated in the National Spatial Plan. While the above policy statements capture planners' desired outcomes of the National Spatial Plan, reality on the ground is that it is likely to be difficult to deliver desired outcomes.

To realize delivery of some of these policies will require more than pronouncement of desired outcomes.

For instance, while the National Spatial Plan prepared by the Ministry of Lands and Physical Planning proposes that grain basket areas shall be prioritized and protected to ensure food security, many large scale farms in the former White highlands that were bought by cooperative societies after White farmers left Kenya soon after independence are no longer productive, due to poor management.

Many of those farms have now been subdivided into individual land holdings and the sub-division continued to second and third generations rendering the resultant sub-plots uneconomical. The result has been that only farms that are owned by the government or by multinational corporations, or by individuals or registered companies have remained as large scale farms.The result is that many former large scale farms that previously constituted the grain basket of Kenya are producing at subsistence levels after they were subdivided to provide land for family members to accommodate second and third generation male heirs. Some of the factors that have contributed to this eventuality are related to cultural values of communities that bought these former large scale farms.

After more than fifty years of operations under laissez-faire willing buyer willing seller regime, it will be difficult to implement some of the policies proposed in the 2016 National Spatial Plan. There are likely to be challenges in bringing, about a paradigm shift in the world views of those who own land in the former grain basket of Kenya as well as in traditional African farming areas where land has also been extensively subdivided. This is not to say that a paradigm shift cannot be achieved. Kenyans are willing to accept change if proposed changes are beneficial to their livelihoods.

However, dwindling returns from farming due to lack of markets, poor marketing services and climate change are likely to continue driving many farmers and peasants out of agricultural activities to more profitable land uses such as real estate. A case in point is the uprooting of coffee and tea in Kiambu County in favour of urban land uses. Similarly, many mango growers in Makueni County have uprooted their mango trees out of disillusionment occasioned by poor prices and marketing challenges.

A second challenge that will face Kenya in implementing policies contained in the National Spatial Plan is the declining inflow of foreign currency into Kenyan economy, as a result of shrinking market opportunities in traditional Western European market which has been major export market for Kenya due to the impact of COVID-19. Another challenge that is likely to face planners at the national level under the 2010 constitution, is that planning is a now devolved function. Consequently, there will be need for negotiations and consultations with the 47 county governments in the implementation of policy proposals that touch on planning for cities, intermediate and nodes of rural services.

Most importantly, planning the organization of rural homesteads and farmlands against competing uses of the pre-dominantly smallholder household land in rural Kenya will require deliberate land use planning and control that is supported by equally deliberate provision of water, waste disposal, all weather rural access roads, connection to communication network, power supply and domestic energy as well as government and economic services. Planning and provision for these and others will be contextualized within the 2010 Constitution, especially Article 43 of the constitution guarantees all Kenyans a number of rights including right to: (a) the highest attainable standard of health which includes the right to health care services, including reproductive health care;

(b) accessible and adequate housing and sanitation; (c) freedom from hunger and to have adequate food of acceptable quality; (d) clean and safe water in adequate quantities; (e) social security; and (f) education.

These services can most efficiently and effectively be provided to the people in cities, towns and nucleated rural settlements that have well-developed urban-rural linkages based of deliberate policy for urban and rural planning. Currently, a majority of households in rural areas are living in scattered settlements, making it difficult to ensure that every Kenyan has access to rights promised in the 2010 Constitution. In our opinion, if urban areas are planned, and provided with basic infrastructure, high quality social services and affordable housing it is unlikely that people will want to have family land subdivided so they can build houses for their families. Kilimo biashara i.e. commercial farming, has shown that Kenyan youth are not hostile to farming as a source of income generation.

However, small parcels of land in rural areas are not likely to support commercial farming. Young people can develop small and medium scale industries, which can create employment opportunities and skills improvement in well planned and serviced urban centres. Urban housing is one of the greatest challenges that people who move from rural areas to urban areas face. Kenya is committed in the Big Four agenda to providing affordable housing in urban areas. In order to achieve this policy objective, the government should commit herself to providing or establishing a Housing Development Fund from which Kenyans can draw funds to provide themselves with housing in the context of affordable housing agenda.
The government should also acquire and service land banks around the 47 county headquarters and in sub-county headquarters so that Kenyans youth who opt to build homes in urban areas close to their homes instead of sub-dividing rich agricultural family land and building homes for their families.

1.5. CHALLENGES IN IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICIES ADDRESSING URBAN RURAL LINKAGES

Implementation of symbiotic relationships between urban and rural areas in Kenya has been affected by a number of factors, include these:

- Inadequate allocation of requisite public funds by the government to facilitate provision of infrastructure and social services in urban areas/centres as was anticipated in the Rural Trade and Production Centres (RTPCs).

- Failure to conduct periodic reviews of urban rural linkages every five years as new development plans are prepared in every county at the national level. Such reviews can inform the national and county governments on how best to strengthen symbiotic relationships between urban and rural areas. Whereas the national government and donor agencies have since independence worked together towards improving standards of living for Kenyans in improving food production and in providing housing in urban areas, there are still a big shortfall of staple foods and housing especially for low income families. There is need to continue with research on appropriate housing designs and the use of local, materials in house construction and explore innovative land development financing tools such as land value capture in order to make affordable urban housing accessible to low income families.

- Limited human capacity for gathering up to date data based on which development plans for both urban and rural areas can be based.

- Public land in cities and urban areas is limited and since population is growing. There is need to reserve sufficient public land based on population projections that can be released to developers and public agencies for urban development as need arises.

- Limited use of traditional African knowledge and practices in planning and designing our cities and urban areas.

1.5.1. CHALLENGES IN DEVELOPING SYMBIOTIC URBAN-RURAL LINKAGES

It has been noted above that the government identified centres that were to be developed as growth and service centres throughout the country and expected local investors to direct their investments to those centres (Kenya, 1986). Unfortunately, the government did not allocate sufficient funds for the development of identified centres as part of a national urban policy so that selected growth and service centres would grow rapidly and by growing rapidly have an edge over non-designated centres.

Because this did not happen, when people in rural areas saved money from sale of cash crops, livestock farming and from trading activities, they invested in centres close to their homes. Thus the designated centres strategy did not have the desired effect. There was need to stimulate growth of the designated centres by putting into place requisite infrastructure and creation of linkages between them and their hinterlands/rural areas, but this was not well addressed. At the same time, institutions such as farmers' cooperative societies that were established to assist farmers realize better returns from farming soon became conduits for misappropriation of money earned by farmers from export crops.

Due to mismanagement of cooperative societies, income earned from collectively marketed produce ended up in the pockets of managers of such cooperatives. Once again, the expected enhanced incomes for farmers in rural areas were not realized. Levels of poverty among peasant farmers in rural areas continued to increase. Poor governance has been the root cause of limited benefits from linking rural and urban areas. Income generated in rural areas in particular, were captured and carted out of rural areas and in some cases out of the country by powerful syndicates. This has undermined rates of development in rural and urban areas. Other challenges include limited capacity of rural communities to effectively negotiate with developers and investors who locate enterprises in rural areas so that significant amounts of revenue generated in rural areas could be used for the improvement of infrastructure and services in rural areas.

1.6. NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF LINKING RURAL AND URBAN AREAS

When rural areas are opened up for interactions with urban areas without adequate preparation of rural communities to receive and know how to negotiate with entrepreneurs from urban areas, the results are sometimes disastrous. In Kenya, when areas that were previously closed to the outside world during the colonial period were opened up, rural communities did not have the skills to negotiate for beneficial terms with urban based entrepreneurs. The result was sometimes exchange of the assets of rural communities such as land and community works of art for trinkets as happened when colonial administrators came to Kenya. In more recent times, rural communities in previously marginalized areas have sold their land to urban entrepreneurs at throwaway prices.

Exposure of rural communities to urban lifestyles has been associated with destabilization of traditional institutions leaving many rural people exposed to forces beyond their capacity to manage. It is likely that opening of rural areas without adequately preparing rural communities and their institutions to manage change and without creating opportunities for sustaining people in rural areas is the primary cause of outflows of manpower, skills, capital and primary resources from the rural areas to urban areas.

However, in rural areas where high population densities are a threat to ecological sustainability, outflow of people from rural areas to urban areas can have beneficial effects. In overpopulated rural areas, properly managed, outmigration of people from rural areas to urban areas can open opportunities for rationalization of resources use in rural areas.In other cases, exposure of rural communities to urban areas can lead to loss of community values and adoption of lifestyles previously unknown to rural communities leading to community destabilization. In other instances, improved transport and communication networks between rural and urban areas has made rural areas hideouts for urban criminals evading justice. Even though rural urban linkages can at times have negative consequences, opening rural areas to urban influences can positively contribute to reduction of physical, social and economic distances between rural and urban areas.

By opening rural areas, urban areas can help address inhibitive cultural practices that can hold rural communities down. By exposing such practices for public debate and collective search for solutions, such public debate has led to liberation of people in rural areas. Opening rural areas to urban markets has contributed to enhancement of rural communities' incomes, improved accessibility to specialized services located in urban areas and provided people in rural areas with opportunities for self-development. There is, therefore, need for holistic planning that integrates both the needs of the urban and rural areas in order to forestall negative impacts triggered by isolated planning favoring either of the localities (Mulongo, et al; 2010).

1.7. STRENGTHENING SYNERGETIC URBAN-RURAL LINKAGES

Many people migrating from rural areas to urban areas are mainly young people looking for opportunities to improve their knowledge and skills as a way of enhancing their chances of employment and better incomes in the future. In Nairobi, many young people have moved to the city except those who are attending institutions of higher learning such as colleges and universities, are engaged in petty trades that earn them low incomes. Currently, most counties in Kenya have either a university or a university college besides other tertiary learning and training institutions.

- County governments can work with such universities to conduct research on problems that face the people in their counties and direct increasing amounts of funds in improving the quality of education given to students in such institutions so that young people would not have to travel out of the counties to acquire specialized knowledge and skills that could make them secure jobs not only within their counties or regions but also at the national and international levels. Identified focal urban centres in every county could also be provided with requisite infrastructure and services so that value addition industries and quality consumer goods can be manufactured in every county. Value addition industries at county levels could be hinged on comparative advantage that each county has in production of raw materials for local and external markets.

There is an emerging but growing numbers of middle and high income earners in Kenya who are looking for opportunities to enjoy gifts of nature such as wildlife, areas of scenic beauty or spiritual nurture in shrines in the rural areas.

This group is similar to a global community of tourists who, after having made it in life desire to experience different cultures, gifts of nature in different parts of the world as part of enhancing their knowledge and experiences of global heritage. All these groups of people take with them money, goods, services and ideas to rural areas with the hope of improving standards of living for people in rural areas.

When opportunities are created in rural areas where rural people can obtain goods and services close to their homes that they seek in urban areas, the current large volumes of rural to urban migration could be reduced. However, in rural areas with high population densities in Kenya, if rural people could be encouraged to move to urban areas with high quality of services and housing, it is possible to release large amounts of land that could be used to produce food for the nation and a surplus for export.

This will require change from current scattered rural settlement patterns to nucleated settlement patterns. Such a change will facilitate release of agricultural land for food production and other commodities. The move to nucleated settlements will make more cost effective in provision of services ad attractive for none-farm investments. Currently many of the densely populated parts of the country are, on account of their small farm sizes producing only for subsistence which in many cases is not enough to sustain families during times of natural disasters such as droughts and floods. In addition, cultural practices particularly those that encourage parents to bequeath their male children with land, have led to subdivisions of family land to uneconomical farm sizes.

The authors of this report are aware there has been discussions on the government enacting a law that would regulate land sizes for different ecological zones in Kenya.

This, however, has not been realised and the result has been increasing subdivision of land into uneconomical land sizes. The situation can be addressed by: (a) sensitizing the population on bequeathing children other forms of wealth such as converting their family land into shares so that each child could receive a share of returns from collectively farmed family land instead of subdividing family land into uneconomical farm sizes that do not get people out of poverty; (b) consider reorganisation of rural settlement patterns with a view to developing clustered settlements where housing can be located and release the rest of the land for agriculture.

The government should bring stakeholders together to explore possibilities of moving from scattered settlements to nucleated ones in line with vision 2030 which envisions more than 50% o Kenyans will live in urban areas. The case that is being made in this report is that: when rural people are provided with income earning opportunities such as jobs, high quality services and security, they will rarely want to uproot themselves from their rural homes to go and settle in urban areas where livelihoods are often precarious and support networks tenuous.

When the government envisions more than fifty percent of Kenyans living in urban areas, we believe it envisions people moving to urban areas nearest to them where affordable housing will have been constructed, high quality medical care available and where opportunities will have been created for them to live in dignity. These rural urban linkages and sustainable development synergies are postulated and illustrated by Ndegwa (2015) in Figure 2.

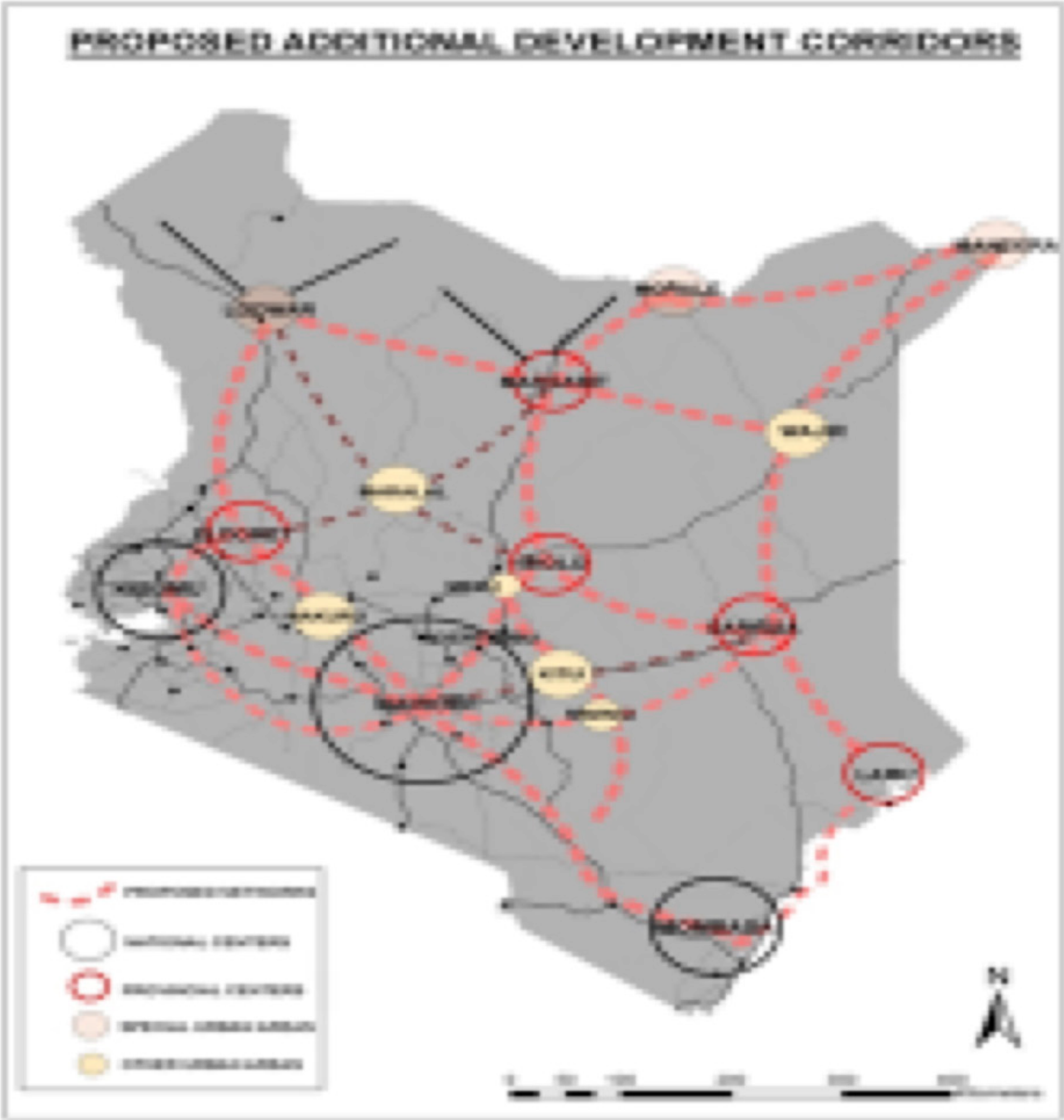
Figure 2. Evolution of Urban Systems in Kenya
Source. E. Ndegwa 2015

- Agro-based value adding industries Storage/bulking of primary produce
- Depots for consumergoods
- Adaptation of innovations for rural use
- High levels of services

Among the proposals by Ndegwa (2014) on urban system developments are those illustrated in Figure 3. They include the incorporation of Northern Kenya into the National space economy and the western corridor being extended beyond Eldoret to Lodwar to enhance linkages with Sudan.

In addition, the central corridor link through Nyeri, Marsabit and Moyale towards Ethiopia should be further developed and there be a prioritization of resource allocation to urban centres. The Lamu-Mombasa-Tanga-Dar es salaam corridor facilitate incorporation of blue economy with the dry land-based economy.

Figure 3. Evolution of Urban Systems in Kenya
E. Ndegwa (2009)



The study of rural-urban linkages has engaged researchers and policy makers for a long time because up to this time. Yet nobody seems to know how best to develop complementary and synergistically mutual and reinforcing interactions between rural and urban areas. Studies however, have shown that when rural areas are linked with urban areas there are positive outcome but also negative consequences.

Negative consequences include growing inequalities in levels of incomes and services between urban and rural areas.

The unequal interaction is attributed to low levels of education among rural communities that places rural actors at a disadvantage when development programs and projects are negotiated. As a result, returns from rural investments have tended to benefit urban actors than rural communities.

Other studies have shown that linkages between urban and rural areas have been a significant force behind rural development especially when urban workers with roots in the rural areas remit money to family members left behind in rural areas to undertake development projects there. This cultural bond that Kenyans have with their rural homes can be harnessed or strengthened for more balanced urban-rural linkages. Again, the opening of rural areas enables rural communities to take their produce to urban markets where they are likely to earn more income than if they sold their produce in rural areas where many community members would be producing similar products thereby reducing chances of money-rural goods transitive exchange.

When well-managed, rural- urban linkages can be beneficial to both rural producers of primary products and to urban based entrepreneurs. Avenues that can enhance benefits for rural communities and urban-based investors include location of value addition industries in the rural areas close to where primary products are produced. This way, opportunities for jobs creation could be taken to rural areas thereby reducing the volume of people especially the youth who move to urban areas in search of jobs. A complementary approach would be to invite rural communities to become partners in value addition processes of primary products by offering them opportunities to buy shares in rural based industries. In this way, incomes earned in rural areas can be retained within the rural areas.

A further strategy would be to improve levels of infrastructure and services in the urban areas so as to make them attractive places for people to live in and, in so doing, releasing land in the rural areas for commercial production as opposed to widespread subsistence farming that characterizes most rural areas in Kenya. Another complementary measure would be to enhance the skills of rural communities not only in technical skills required for them to be hired in industries located in the rural areas but for enhanced production and negotiation skills so that significant returns from rural industries can be used to improve standards of living in the rural areas. This can be achieved through deliberate affirmative action by both National and County governments offering scholarships to youth in rural areas.

Increasing numbers of people throughout the world will be living in cities and urban areas. A paradigm shift in the way cities and urban areas are planned, developed and provided with services, is needed. Cities and urban areas must be planned so people living in cities can enjoy the free gifts of nature such as fresh air, sunshine and open spaces where city residents can interact in unconfined spaces. In many counties in Kenya, planners, developers and city managers appear to be working towards making our urban centres and our cities brown and concretized. The city of Nairobi was for instance planned and developed as the green city in the sun. The Director General of the World Health Organization (2020) has noted that:

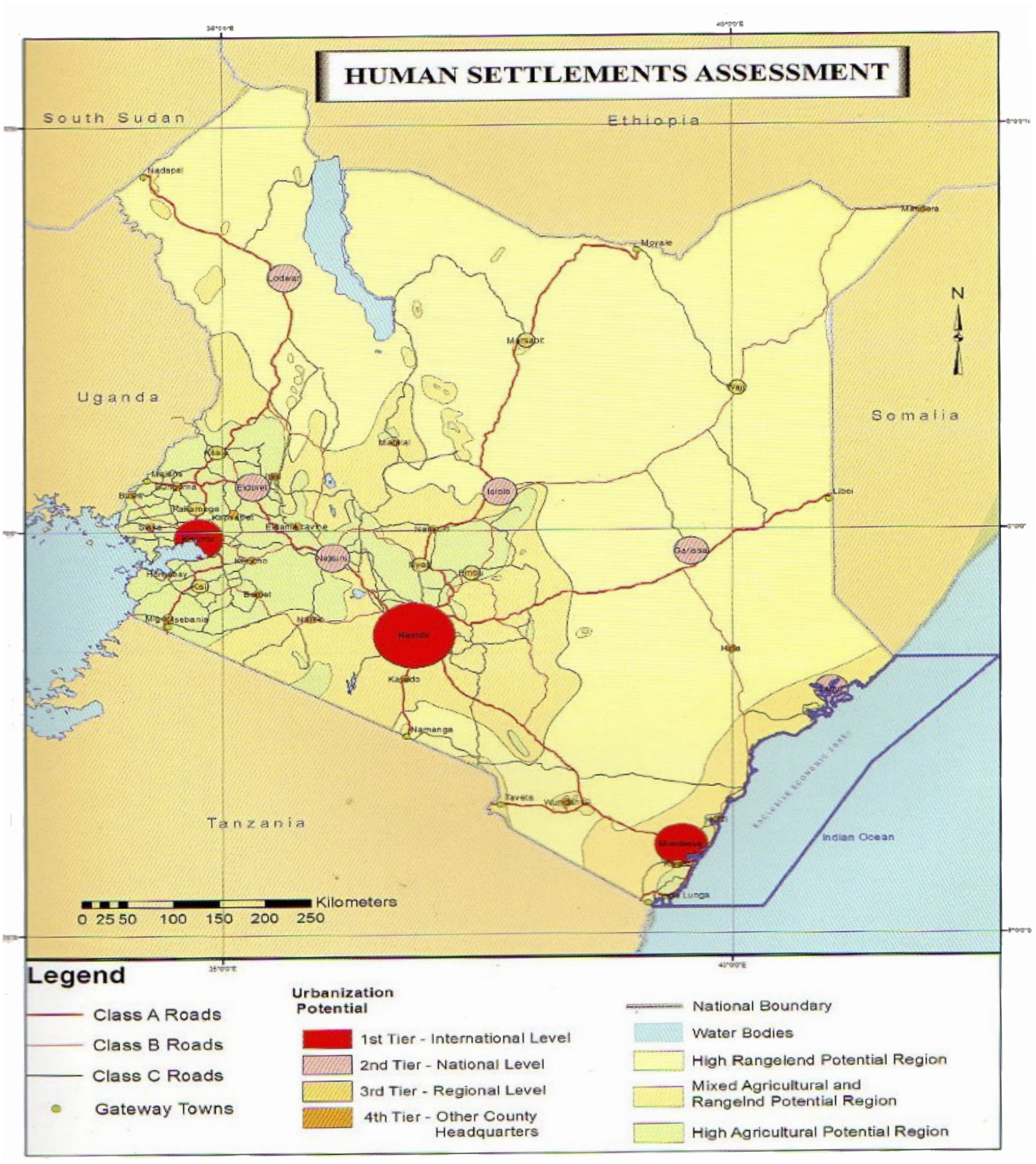
- Many of the largest and most dynamic cities in the world, such as Milan, Paris, and London, have reacted to the COVID-19 crisis by pedestrianizing streets and massively expanding cycle lanes - enabling "physically distant" transport during the crisis, and enhancing economic activity and quality of life.

There is still a lot that remains to be done to make urban areas attractive places to live in and identified as home for many Kenyans. However, in the last three decades, the Government of Kenya has made great policy strides in linking previously marginalized parts of the country through infrastructure development. Today Kenya is replete with infrastructure projects funded by both national and county governments and development partners and no county has not benefited from infrastructure development.

These initiatives, especially the road network have linked urban centres in previously marginalized areas with the mainstream of Kenya's socio-economic and political space. These policy initiatives have enabled the government to bring services and socio-economic opportunities closer to the people in all parts of Kenya. Yes, a lot still, remains to be done, particularly with respect to the levels of linkages, but a good infrastructure foundation has been laid out.

The map below shows progress made in linking different parts of Kenya with what Soja (1968) had referred to as the modernized parts of Kenya at independence. That perception of what development is about has changed but Soja's work helps us to compare what Britain bequeathed to Kenya in 1963 and what the people and the government of Kenya have achieved since. Figure 4 present what the Ministry of Lands and Physical Planning sees in the potential for urbanization and major infrastructure linkages in Kenya.

Figure 4. Proposed Urban system for Kenya
Source: Kenya (2016)



1.8. COVID-19 AND TRANSPORTATION OF FOOD IN THE URBAN RURAL NEXUS

To many Kenyans, it appears policy frameworks in Kenya that link urban areas and rural areas were working well until COVID-19 hit the country. The first confirmed COVID-19 case was reported on March 14, 2020. Between March 2020 and March 2022, many self-employed Kenyans lost jobs, sources of livelihoods and incomes from the scourge of the pandemic. Families have lost loved ones, industrial enterprises where Kenyans previously worked have been closed leading to loss of formal employment and regular incomes and hope.

A paradigm shift in the way urban and rural areas interact with each other is needed in the light of lessons learnt from the COVID-19 epidemic. Restriction of movements of people from rural areas to urban areas as a means of controlling the spread of COVID-19 exposed the near dependence of rural areas on urban areas. While it is true that for many value addition enterprises, economies of scale are critical, nevertheless, some of the supplies that rural areas look upon urban areas to provide can be produced in rural areas. In so doing opportunities for employment and value addition can be created in the rural areas as happens in primary products such as coffee, tea and dairy products value addition enterprises.

In the first few months after COVID-19 was reported in Kenya, the government adopted a number of containment measures including restrictions on movement, social distancing in workplaces and encouragement of heightened restrictions in most non-essential social spaces to gatherings; encouragement of teleworking where possible; establishment of isolation facilities; declaration of night curfew and limitations on public transportation passenger capacity.

Some of the containment measures have since been relaxed. Domestic flights commenced on July 15th 2020, while international flights commenced on August 1st 2020.

All international arrivals passengers had to take COVID-19 tests failure to which they would be quarantined for two weeks. Test result notwithstanding, passengers from counties that were experiencing high cases of COVID-19, were required to undergo a fourteen-day quarantine. The first batch of the vaccine covering 0.5 percent of the population arrived in the country in early March 2021. A rapid resurgence of infections in March 2021 led to reversal of relaxation measures introduced since mid-2020. On March 26th 2021 the authorities re-imposed containment measures in Nairobi and four neighboring counties, including a ban on movement in and out of the area; cessation of in-person meetings, worship, and dining; closure of bars; extension of curfew hours and withdrawal of curfew passes; directing employees to work from home; sending the Parliament on recess; and closure of schools and universities again[1].

In the remaining counties, physical participation in places of worship, funerals, and weddings was allowed with restrictions on the number of participants. Easing of reported cases of infection from the recent third wave's peak led to relaxation of some containment measures on May 1st 2021. Cessation of movement in and out of the five zoned counties was lifted; bars were allowed to operate until 7:00pm; schools re-opened; suspension of sporting and recreational activities was lifted. After a steep fall of infection cases at the end of May 2021, infections started edging up again in June 2021 driven by an upsurge of cases in the western Kenya region. In response, the government placed 13 counties in the region under partial lockdown. Whenever lockdowns were imposed free movement of people and goods was affected.

1 Primary and secondary schools had started planned 7-week recess the week before.

In order to facilitate transportation of food and other essential supplies to people in urban and rural areas, the government allowed issuance of special permits to take food supplies to urban areas.

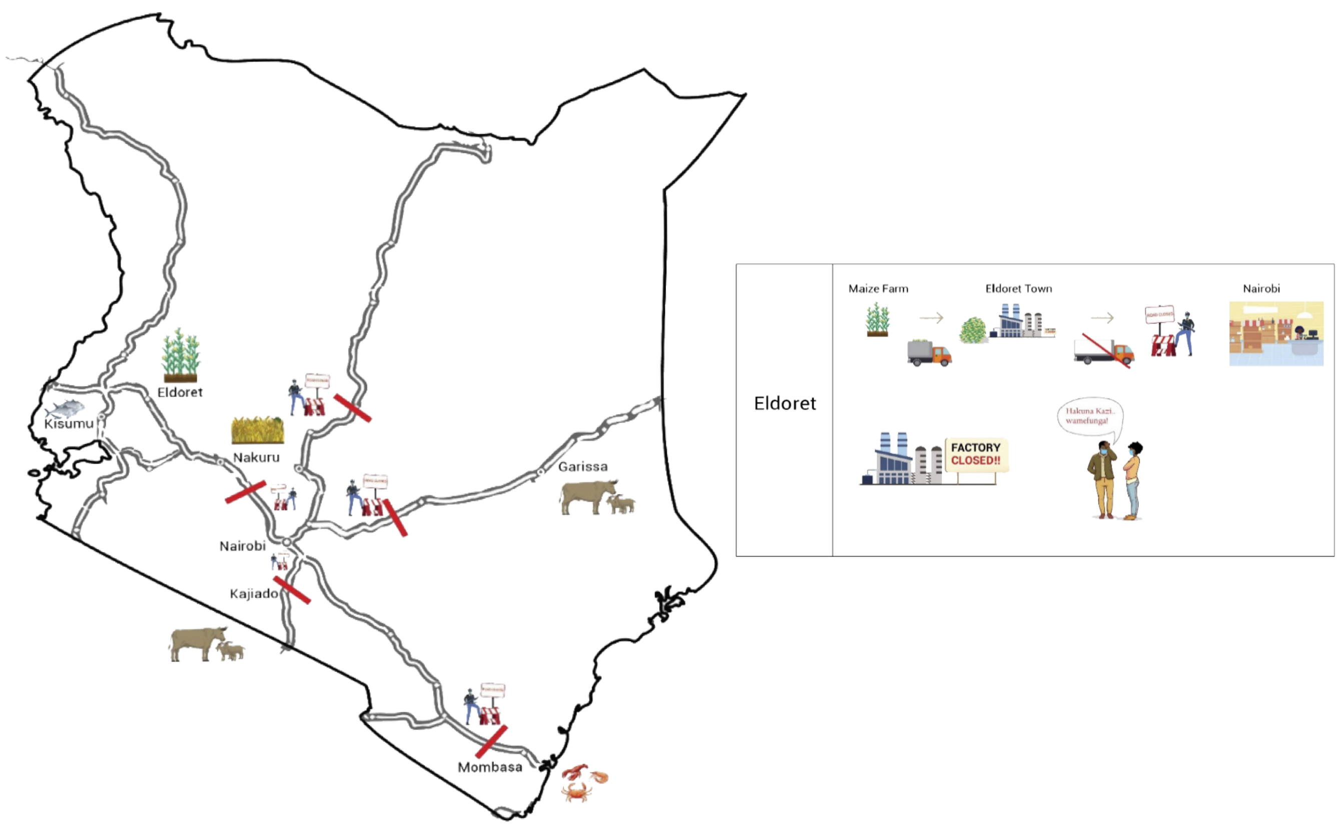
1.8.1. IMPACT OF COVID-19

Twelve impacts of COVID-19 relevant to the relations between urban and rural areas that this policy review has identified are listed below as follows:

- COVID-19 pandemic has replaced optimism and enthusiasm with doubts and a sense of pessimism that development goals that Kenya had set for herself including implementation of Sustainable Development Goals could be implemented by 2030.
- COVID-19 pandemic adversely affected the ability of many low-income families to make incomes as a result of lockdowns, travel restrictions and closure of enterprises where they previously worked leading to loss of employment.
- COVID-19 exposed the fragility of the informal sector, which employs over 85% of Kenyans. Because many informal activities such as retailer and food traders in urban areas depend on rural areas, restrictions on transportation of food and related commodities in the urban-rural nexus, many food retail traders were not able to get food items to sell with the result that their incomes fell, exposing their families not only to food insecurity but also pushed them lower into poverty.
- COVID-19 exposed low investment in health facilities at County levels since 2010 when health care became a devolved function under the 2010 Constitution. When corona virus pandemic broke out, County hospitals many of which are located in urban areas could not admit COVID-19 patients because they had no wards that could be used as isolation units, protective equipment or capacity to supply oxygen to patients who needed oxygen to survive. Indeed, most of the health facilities in the counties lacked Intensive Care Units and the same had to be fixed during COVID-19.
- COVID-19 has challenged Kenyans and indeed, the global community to rethink their view of provision and use of open spaces. Until the outbreak of COVID-19, Kenyans did not associate open spaces with mental health. The pandemic exposed the lack of and or under provision of recreational open spaces in urban informal settlements where it was most difficult to observe social distancing.
- The traditional view about hard currency has been challenged. Hard currency whether notes or coins was now a transmitter of the virus. This led to increased use of mobile money to minimize contact with hard currency.
- In order to cushion Kenyans from the impact of COVID-19, the government introduced a raft of measures including packages of economic stimuli such as income tax relief so that low income families could afford to buy food supplies. A package of tax measures was adopted, including full income tax relief for persons earning below the equivalent of $225 per month, reduction of the top pay-as you earn rate from 30 to 25 percent, reduction of the base corporate income tax rate from 30 to 25 percent, reduction of the turnover tax rate on small businesses from 3 to 1 percent, and a reduction of the standard VAT rate from 16 to 14 percent.
- COVID-19 exposed Kenya's limited capacity to handle pandemics of the magnitude of COVID-19. COVID-19 has adversely affected all sectors of the economy. However, government's prompt and decisive response to the challenge has given Kenyans confidence that, together with Kenya's friends Kenya can handle future challenges. The entry of Moderna into Kenya's medical research and vaccine development initiatives will go a long way in preparing Kenya for any possible future pandemics.

- COVID-19 has forced many Kenyans to rethink about their view of work and use of home space. Up to 2019, Kenyans considered that work is carried out in factories and offices not in homes. When COVID-19 pandemic broke out, many employees were asked to work from home thus converting home space into work space. Those who did not have internet at home were hard pressed to continue working. These measures had serious effects on employees' ability to buy food for their families.
- COVID-19 exposed deficiencies in urban water infrastructure systems in urban areas in Kenya. Citizens were required to frequently wash their hands to reduce the spread of the virus. Besides wearing face masks, frequent washing of hands with soap under running water was recommended by the Ministry of Health as a key practice in controlling the spread of COVID-19. However, because many urban centres in Kenya do not have operational public water and sewerage systems, many people especially those living in slums and unplanned settlements had challenges observing these protocols.
- COVID-19 resulted in closure of learning institutions as a measure of reducing spread of the virus to children and the youth. Because many children did not have access to internet services at home a lot of learning time was lost.
- Tourism industry has been affected adversely by corona virus. Kenya Airways estimates that it was losing at least Ksh 800 million a month. As a result, Kenya Airways sent home non-critical staff on annual leave, cancelled 65% of its flights, and put 50% of aircraft on long-term storage.

Figure 5. Summary of the Impacts of COVID-19 in Kenya
Source: E. N. Ndegwa (2022) Personal interpretation of the impacts of COVID-19



1.9. CONCLUSION FROM POLICY REVIEW

A review of major Kenya Government policies relating to relationships between urban and rural areas has shown that the government has since independence in 1963, been committed to linking urban and rural areas as a means of bringing previously marginalized areas to the mainstream of Kenya's socio-economic and political space. The people living in these areas are Kenyan citizens and the government has since independence brought development programmes to these areas as a way of showing people living in these areas that they are as much Kenyan citizens as the people living in urban areas and the high potential agricultural areas where development programmes were concentrated during the colonial period.

Development programmes such as transport networks improvements have enabled Kenyans living in previously marginalized areas to take their livestock to urban markets. As population in urban areas continues to grow, all things remaining constant, demand for livestock from these areas will grow thereby facilitating transfer of money from urban areas to these rural areas. The government expects that development of urban centres in these areas that are linked to the national transport system will result in greater interaction between urban and rural areas as well as diffusion of innovation from urban areas to the rural areas. Development of vibrant urban centres in these areas will also create opportunities for development of talents and innovations.

Previously marginalized areas that lie within the arid and semi-arid regions of Kenya, which the colonial government considered unproductive have potential for generating revenue for the county treasuries and the national treasury from livestock marketing since the largest stocks of livestock in Kenya are reared in these areas. At the same time, development of the tourism industry in Kenya, has made these previously marginalized areas one of the major pillars of vision 2030. The current urban-rural linkages follow a framework of designated urban and service centres that was spelt out in the 1970-1974 National Development Plan. While that framework informed investments in the cities and the large municipalities, it does not seem to have informed investment decisions of small scale entrepreneurs many of whom have invested their savings in non-designated centres. The result has been proliferation of small market centres in the rural areas rather than the anticipated growth of small urban centres, which over the years could have grown into major urban centers and cities in every county. Looking back at how development has taken place in urban and rural areas throughout the country, it is clear that there is weak development control in urban areas and rural areas with the result that many Kenyans living in urban areas now live in unplanned settlements and slums. There has been rapid and widespread conversion of high potential agricultural land in areas that previously were food baskets. Although Kenyans are known for their creativity, it is doubtful they will be able to build homes and be able to produce enough food for their domestic consumption and some for the market on 40 feet by 80 feet plots in the rural areas.

There is an urgent need for Kenyans to come together for national and county levels dialogue on how best to manage land in high potential areas and extend land under irrigation in low potential areas in order to make Kenya a food secure nation. There is also need to build strategic food reserves in every county. The foregoing urban-rural linkage policies review show that Kenya is committed to achieving strong urban-rural linkages. However, this report concludes that policy contexts in which rural –urban linkages are taking place in Kenya need to be re-examined in order to ensure synergetic relationships between urban and rural areas continuum. Section two of the report gives recommendations on how urban-rural linkages in Kenya can be further strengthened.

PART 2.
POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

2.1. INTRODUCTION

From the review of Kenya Government policies that touch on urban-rural linkages, a number of inadequacies of earlier and current policies have been identified. That review forms the basis for policy recommendations in the context of COVID-19 pandemic as follows:

2.2. APPLICATION OF THE UN-HABITAT GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF URBAN-RURAL LINKAGES

UN-Habitat (2020:4-5) proposes ten guiding principles in strengthening of urban and rural linkages, which Kenya as a member State United Nations Organization could benefit from by fully adopting and implementing. Some case studies have also been documented in compendiums of case studies from different contexts that have applied these principles and Kenya can learn from them. It is worth noting that some of the actions implemented in the foregoing case studies are also under implementation in Kenya. Most notable is development of infrastructure, technology and telecommunication systems that to some extent has opened up rural areas and made it possible for workers to work from their homes in the rural urban centres during the COVID-19 pandemic restrictions. However, more needs to be done.

2.3. CHANGE IN PLANNING APPROACHES IN KENYA

From the colonial period Urban and regional planning in Kenya has been perceived as the preserve of planning experts. With the promulgation of the 2010 Constitution, that perception is no longer tenable. Whereas Planning in Kenya today is a devolved function under the 2010 Constitution, many County Governments do not have sufficient manpower with skills to plan.

The 2010 Constitution vests sovereign power in the people. Article 1(1) of the 2010 constitution states that:

- All sovereign power belongs to the people of Kenya and shall be exercised only in accordance with this Constitution. Article 1(2) states that: The people may exercise their sovereign power either directly or through their democratically elected representatives.

Working from this premise, planners must work with the people in planning how to optimally make use of land and territorial space without undermining environmental and ecological capacity to bear the load imposed on nature by human activities. Working with national and county governments urban and regional planners should work with other professional and stakeholders in search of solutions to problems facing people in different territorial and administrative units throughout Kenya.

This is indeed, what paragraph 139 of Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 envisages thus: 'No organization can operate efficiently so long as its right hand does not know what its left hand is doing. 'Planning cannot be done effectively unless every important activity is accounted for and every important decision-maker involved'. Planners should work with the people being planned for and with other professionals who possess expertise relevant to urban and regional planning in other disciplines in ensuring delivery of rights guaranteed to every Kenyan in Article 43 of the 2010 Constitution including:

- (a) The right to the highest attainable standards of health, which include the right to health care services, including reproductive health care;
- (b)The right to accessible and adequate housing and to reasonable standards of sanitation;
- (c) The right to be free from hunger, and to have adequate food of acceptable quality;
- (d) The right to clean and safe water in adequate quantities

- (e) The right to social security and
- (f) The right to education.

2.4. CREATING MULTI-AGENCY INSTITUTIONS

It is recommended that the national and county governments create multi-agency institutions at national and county levels where planners, civil society and other professionals and research institutions work together in conducting research that bring to the attention of policy makers any instances where Kenyan may not be enjoying any of these Constitutional rights.

2.5. TRAINING OF PLANNERS

It is recommended that the training of planners should include courses on search skills, scenarios development and mediation skills so that planners, besides having skills in plan preparations, monitoring, evaluation planners would be equipped with skills that enable them to serve as facilitators, and mediators in policy search initiatives.

2.6. PROVISION OF SPECIALIZED MEDICAL CARE

It was noted in section one of this report that when Lockdowns and travel bans were imposed across the country, as a measure to control spread of COVID-19, Kenyans who lived in counties where essential services such as such as critical / intensive care facilities and equipment were not available Kenyans in those counties suffered. In the light of the Constitutional right to the highest standards of health, it is recommended that specialized services that are currently only available in level six hospitals should be made available in at least one referral hospital in every county so that no Kenyan travels outside their county for health care.

2.7. APPROVED DEVELOPMENT PLANS

It was noted in part one of this report that many urban centres in Kenya do not have approved development plans to guide investors on where it is recommended that they can locate different categories of investment projects. It is, therefore recommended that:

- Parliament should, as part and parcel of attainment of balanced development in Kenya, allocate funds every financial year funds for acquisition of public land for urban development, infrastructure and basic services in every county so that regardless of where any Kenyan lives, all Kenyans can enjoy basic rights such as access to high standards of health, adequate housing, reasonable standards of sanitation, clean and safe water that are guaranteed to every Kenyan in the 2010 constitution.

2.8. PROMOTE GREEN CITIES APPROACH

Kenya is committed to reducing Green House Gas emissions as part of the country's measures to address impacts of climate change. The old planning models were premised on expectation that the car was the chief means of mobility within cities and between urban and rural areas. This approach to urban planning has contributed to urban sprawl as increasing urban residents move to the suburbs. This approach is changing even in many developed nations. Alternative approaches such as smart cities have been advocated. Many old cities in Europe for instance are being re-planned to accommodate footpaths and cycle routes.

Kenya has started incorporating the smart city concept in new towns such as the Konza Techno-city and Kenyan planners may wish to consider these alternative approaches to urban planning.

2.9. EXECUTE LAND-USE PLANNING

Traditional urban planning approaches in Kenya designated specific zones in urban areas and cities for single use such as the industrial area in Nairobi where most industries are located or low density residential areas such as Muthaiga. Urban planning is changing with incorporation of mixed land use development in previous single user zones. In the light of public travel challenges when COVID-19 hit Kenya, mixed land uses in urban areas reduces travel to work places and services delivery centres. In the light of this experience planners should prepare plans that reduce the need to travel to services delivery centres outside residential areas in the spirit of work-live-play neighborhoods.

2.10. COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN PLANNING

The Kenya 2010 Constitution in Article 10 entrenches participation of the people so that the people can give their views on issues that affect them such as policies. Sustainable urban-rural linkages can be achieved if the relevant policies shift their focus to the needs of the people in both rural and urban areas particularly with respect to planning, roads and service utilities (electricity, and communication), and strengthening of political institutional frameworks for the flourishing of accountable governance.

2.11. PROMOTE REDUCTION OF INEQUALITIES IN THE URBAN-RURAL CONTINUUM

The central message of this report is that promotion of urban-rural linkages through "functional territories interactions that help to reduce regional inequalities and increase resource efficiencies is key to developing synergetic relationships between urban and rural areas.

There is need to formulate and implement policies, and planning interventions that reduce territorial inequality and strengthen urban-rural territories links that could generate better and more sustainable development results that will meet many of the goals and targets in the SDGs, the NUA and other, international agendas (UN-HABITAT, 2019:1).

2.12. FOSTER SUSTAINABLE URBANIZATION

The adoption of a global goal for sustainable urbanization as one of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG 11) brought further attention to the topic of urban-rural linkages in SDG target 11a. The benefits of investing in connective infrastructure and services, while building capacity for inclusive and functional territories linking urban and rural communities, are immense in all three areas of sustainable development: economic, social and environmental (UN-Habitat, 2019) and Kenya needs to take advantage of this.

In line with the implementation of SDG 11 calling for sustainable urbanization, the indicator for 11.a.1 emphasizes interdependency, interconnection and complementarity of urban and rural areas. NUPs were identified as the tool for monitoring progress in the indicator for 11.a.1 and the New Urban Agenda (NUA).

Governments can use National Urban Policies (NUPs) to promote sustainable development that cuts across urban, peri-urban and rural areas. NUP should provide a national development framework that would promote stronger linkages between urban, peri-urban and rural areas (UN-Habitat, 2020). There is, therefore need for Kenya to strengthen the existing policy and legal frameworks on urban development and their application to achieve inclusive development.

2.13. INTEGRATED APPROACH THAT INCORPORATES VARIOUS DEVELOPMENT AREAS

The emergence of territorial approaches to sustainable development that includes small and intermediate cities, towns, villages and surrounding rural areas is critical in managing a comprehensive, interlinked and truly participatory approach to sustainable development.

There is need to adjust funding to meet objectives for integrated rural and urban economic, social and environmental development within the current system of devolution and divest investment from larger or capital cities to include smaller settlements, such as villages and market centres and peri-urban areas as these are the most underserved.

Both urban and rural sectors are replete with diverse formal and informal economic actors needing financial support, such as smallholder associations and new entrepreneurs. A policy that promotes fiscal strategies to address the current unequal access to public services and infrastructure investment should be formulated and implemented to achieve equity.

2.14. ADVOCATE FOR URBAN AND RURAL TRANSFORMATION SYNERGY

The partnership between urban and rural areas is imbalanced and this calls for policy shift to foster partnerships, alliances and networks that link urban and rural actors and provides a level playing ground. Such should ensure that urban sector actors do not exploit rural sector actors particularly, when the two have to negotiate about rural based investments and resources such as land.

For this to be achieved, it will be necessary to develop and harness capacities and skills across a wide range of stakeholders such as civil society, the private sector and academic institutions through inclusive and participatory processes as provided for in the Kenya 2010 Constitution. Urbanization and rural transformation can no longer be addressed separately. The processes must be mutually reinforcing (UN-HABITAT, 2019: 2).

There is, therefore, need for harmonious planning that integrates both the needs of the urban and rural areas in order to forestall negative impacts triggered by isolated planning favouring either of the localities (Mulongo et al, 2010). Specifically, there is need therefore for the government to provide adequate funds for all community development projects in order to fully implement community development policies to achieve equity. The government should also come up with policies to guide the proper management of devolved funds and reduce the interference of community development projects by political leaders i.e. civic and parliamentary leaders.

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POLICY REVIEW THROUGH THE LENSES OF URBAN-RURAL LINKAGES IN KENYA

The central message of this report is that Kenya Government has, since 1963, when the country became an independent nation, committed to removing regional development imbalances. Some of such initiatives by government include construction of trunk transport and communication networks throughout the country, and designation of urban and service centres where rural communities could access services. The methodology applied in the policy review is a historical approach, which entails examining key government policies since independence. This perspective highlights the chronological progression of efforts directed at building synergetic urban-rural linkages.

This report notes that, the urban-rural linkages framework was first articulated comprehensively in the five-year National Development Plan (FYNDP) for the period 1970 to 1974, which the Government of Kenya prepared. Subsequent national development plans emphasized the need for building strong rural-urban linkages as a means of removing the glaring disparity between rural and urban areas. The review of policies and recommendations in this report is compiled on the understanding that since the government is currently basing her development policies on Vision 2030, (Kenya 2007), which anticipates that over fifty percent of Kenyans will be living in urban areas. The government and the people of Kenya must secure, plan and service adequate supplies of land in rapidly growing urban regions in each of the 47 counties.

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