THE EFFECTIVENESS OF LOCAL - LEVEL MOBILIZATION STRATEGIES FOR PUBLIC PARTICIPATION: A CASE STUDY OF THE BUDGETARY PROCESS IN EMBU COUNTY

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C51/82163/2015

A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI.

2018

DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been submitted for an award of degree in any other institution.

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This project has been submitted with my approval as the supervisor.

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DEDICATION

This paper is devoted to my parents, Runyenje Daniel Kariuki and Margaret Muthoni Kariuki. I am forever grateful for your sacrifice.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am grateful to God for his ample providence and good health throughout this process. Indeed His grace is sufficient. I wish to recognize the timely assistance accorded to me by my supervisor and mentor, Dr. Patrick Asingo. This project couldn't be accomplished on time without his adept serenity, supervision and unending commitment. I am greatly indebted to all my post-graduate studies lecturers for their great wisdom which has enabled me to change my academic line, particularly Dr. Obuya Bagaka for his mentorship in the MPA program. Indeed this course has transformed me. The immense knowledge and experience gained during the program will forever be imprinted in my mind.

I am also grateful to the respondents who provided me with fundamental information that I used in this study. To my entire family, I am greatly indebted for accommodating my study schedule during this masters program, particularly my husband Jackson Kiiru for his unconditional support and to my three daughters, Kawira , Njeri and Samara. Thank you for your unending support. I am thankful to my colleagues who helped me in any way, and to those who read and criticized this work positively, your input is highly appreciated.

Finally, the support and assistance given to me notwithstanding, any omission and mistakes that may appear in this project paper are solely my own and I take full responsibility.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BAC	Budget and Appropriations Committee
BPS	Budget Policy Statement
CA	County Assembly
CBC	County Budget Circular
C-BEF	County Budget and Economic Forum
C-BROP	County Budget Review and Outlook Paper
CDF	Constituency Development Fund
CEC	County Executive Committee
CFSP	County Fiscal Strategy Paper
CGA	County Governments Act
CIDP	County Integrated Development Plan
CoG	Council of Governors
СоК	Constitution of Kenya
CRA	Commission on Revenue Allocation
CVT	Civic Voluntarism Theory
GEMA	Gikuyu, Embu and Meru Association
GNU	Grand National Union
IAP2	International Association for Public Participation
ICT	Information Communication Technology

IEA Institute of Economic Affairs

KANU	Kenya African National Union
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
LASDAP	Local Authorities Service Delivery Action Plan
LATF	Local Authority Transfer Fund
MCA	Member of County Assembly
MCC	Maendeleo Chap Chap
MNA	Member of National Assembly
MoDP	Ministry of Devolution and Planning
MP	Members of Parliament
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NPS	New Public Service
PB	Participatory budgeting
PFMA	Public Finance Management Act
PMCs	Project Management Committees
PPP	Public Private Partnerships
RTC	Rational Choice Theory
SCT	Social Capital Theory
SNS	Social Network Sites
TNA	The National Alliance
USA	United States of America
WHO	World Health Organization

ABSTRACT

This study aimed to explore the effectiveness of local-level mobilization strategies for public participation in the budgeting process of Embu County. Three mobilization strategies, Community Radio, Posters, and County Newspapers were examined. The study adopted a cross-sectional research design focusing on the 2016/2017 budgeting cycle. Through a survey technique, data for this study was collected. Only primary sources of data were used and quantitative analysis was employed to make sense of the data. In doing this, 34respondents across eight wards in Embu County were selected using simple random sampling as well as snowballing sampling technique while the seven County Officials were purposively sampled. Questionnaires which had both open ended and closed ended kind of questions were filled and returned. The raw data was analyzed using quantitative techniques like percentages, use of tables and charts and the like for data presentation. The study revealed that Newspapers, Community Radio, and Posters are effective means by which the County Government can employ to mobilize the community for Public Participation. This paper hopes to keep the participatory budgeting debate alive so that more citizens get involved in decisions that affect the economic well-being of their communities.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Study Background

Public participation has traditionally been associated with electoral actions such as voting in elections and drudging for movements in the political scene (Cornwall, 2007). Previously, democracies have involved citizens only during elections, but history now corroborates that modern democracies are built on representative principles (Tanaka, 2007). These representative principles have been advanced by others who acknowledge that participation now requires the input and feedback of citizens in developmental decision making. This new trend embroils citizens in public hearings, town hall meetings, community action groups, participatory budgeting (PB) and so on (Holdar and Zakharchenko, 2002). The aim of public participation is, therefore, to enable citizens to express their needs and this, in turn, leads to improved ownership of programs and enhanced legitimacy of government projects (Moodley, 2007). Furthermore, the New Public Service (NPS) advocates for collaboration between citizens and their government, where citizens are not just mere recipients of public service but rather partners in the development process (Denhardts, 2003).

According to Shah (2007), the notion of PB began in the municipality of Porto Alegre in Brazil in the late 1980s. He notes that the main aim of PB was to assist communities, who had been marginalized for decades receive capacious shares of municipal budgets. PB, in essence, lets citizen participate directly in the setting up and distribution of civic funds (Sintomer et al., 2008). Wampler (2000) terms PB programs as innovative policy-making processes where citizens get the opportunity to prioritize community social needs, allocate resources and keep an eye on public spending. Wampler acknowledges that before PB, Brazilian politics were dominated by mega corruption and rampant social exclusion but PB has rendered legislators powerless in policy-making processes ensuring better redistribution of resources. PB has also credited for awakening the social and political consciousness of citizens and in return better and improved communities in Brazil. In the municipality of Rosario in Argentina, local citizens spot their own wants together with potential solutions for those problems. In Albacore city of Spain, participation is by neighborhood associations and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) with discussions on local policy areas such as education, transport or housing. Bradford in Great Britain adopted PB in 2004 based on experiments with local community groups and projects were only funded if they met local priority needs discussed. In Entebbe Municipality of Uganda, the mayor is actively involved in outreach programs across the villages where local problems, needs, and priorities are ascertained. Mutoko Rural District of Zimbabwe uses traditional leadership structures to obtain grassroots input in the budgeting program. In all these cases, citizens input are valued, and local solutions for local problems have been sought (UN-Habitat and MDP-ESA, 2008). In the United States of America (USA) and Canada, PB has grown and spread widely and has resulted in a better distribution of resources and a stronger civic infrastructure (Hagelskamp et al. 2016). Across the globe, public participation had been adopted by many nations as a norm and feature of public policy making (Bingham et al., 2005).

The International Association of Public Participation (IAP2) has established a toolkit on mobilization strategies through media such as bill stuffers, central information contacts, field offices, feature stories, expert panels, hotlines, information kiosks, etc. (IAP2, 2006). Abers (1998) identifies that in Brazil, to call people to participate in the budgeting forums, the only avenue was through a mail directory to some renown neighborhood groupings but later on opinion leaders, loudspeakers, and groups such as church activists, students and professionals arose to organize communities. In advanced democracies such as the United States, the government informs the public via avenues such as websites, press conferences or even official speeches (Tanaka, 2007). European countries such as Germany, Spain, France and Poland, summoning participants has been via announcements in the media and personal invitation letters by the mayor (Sintomer et al., 2008). In Africa, mobilization has been through avenues such as distributing circulars, local press, loudspeakers on mobile trucks, plunking up public notices, posters, and pamphlets, radio, television, outreach visits as well as utilizing cultural institutions and festivities (UN-Habitat, 2008).

The Constitution of Kenya (CoK)-2010 gives public participation a statutory strength. With this in mind, the Ministry of Devolution and Planning (MoDP) in collaboration with the Council of Governors (CoG) has come up with public participation guidelines for counties. The main objective of these guidelines is to fulfill Article 10 of the CoK which recognizes that participation is a national value, article 35 which articulates the right to access information and article 174 on devolved governance which emphasizes that the object of devolution is to involve people in making decisions on issues that affect them. The guidelines propose the use of several media for public mobilization which includes; television, social media, brochures, information communication technology (ICT), websites, newsletters, community radio stations and so on. (MoDP, 2016). This study, therefore, sought to establish which of the many forms of mobilization strategies proposed by law is more effective in mobilizing citizens for participatory budgeting.

1.2. Statement of the Problem and the Research Question

Public participation requires that citizens engage in crucial decision-making routes such as legislation, policy-making, service delivery and even budget allocation. It is a collaborative interaction where the government conveys information promptly and the public articulates their expectations. There are many benefits of involving the community ranging from the increased legitimacy of government projects, meeting a community's priority needs, improved service delivery, efficient allocation of resources, promotion of transparent public finance management to the achievement of target outputs and outcomes. Public participation, therefore, empowers citizens by inviting them to engage the planning of government resources (Cornwall, 2007). In Kenya, the CoK-2010 provides a legal framework for Public Participation which is given more emphasis by several Acts such as the Public Finance Management (PFM) Act (2012) and the County Governments Act -2012 (CGA). This strengthens the fact that public participation is now a requirement in governance.

For meaningful public participation, the public must be informed and mobilized. In Part VIII subsection 91 of the CGA, several mobilization mechanisms for public participation have been prescribed. For the last four years, the most common strategies used by county governments for public mobilization include community radio stations, loudspeakers, notice boards where job

announcements, common appointments and other information of public relevance is displayed, social media, printed posters, opinion leaders and so on. In Embu County, the government uses newspapers, websites, road shows, social media and also ward administrators visit churches and other public meetings to make announcements inviting the public for public hearings. While there are many recommended mobilization strategies, their effectiveness is still unknown. This study, therefore, sought to investigate how effective the mobilization strategies have been in inviting the public for engagement in the budget-making cycle. This research was guided by the question; how effective have local-level mobilization strategies been in enhancing public participation in the budgetary process of Embu County? Since this was a broad study area, the following were the specific research questions;

i) How effective has the county newspaper been in mobilizing citizens for public participation in the budgetary process of Embu County?

ii) How effective has the community radio been in mobilizing citizens for public participation in the budgetary process of Embu County?

iii) How effective have posters been in mobilizing citizens for public participation in the budgetary process of Embu County?

1.3. Study Objectives

1.3.1. Main Objective

This study's main objective was to explore the effectiveness of local-level mobilization strategies for public participation in the budgetary process of Embu County.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

i) To investigate the effectiveness of the county newspaper in mobilizing citizens for public participation in the budgetary process of Embu County.

ii) To investigate the effectiveness of community radio in mobilizing citizens for public participation in the budgetary process of Embu County.

iii) To explore the effectiveness of posters in mobilizing citizens for public participation in the budgetary process of Embu County.

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1.4. Study Justification

1.4.1 Theoretical Justification

This study is justified on academic grounds. The study represented an important attempt to comprehend which mobilization strategies are more effective in encouraging public participation in Kenya, in an era of the new constitutional dispensation. Answering the question on the most effective mobilization strategy, therefore, aimed at contributing to the growing literature on citizenship which recognizes that public participation is one of the cornerstones of devolution. This knowledge would be necessary to advance citizens participation in their "own development." Even though people need resources to participate in civic matters as advanced by Brady, Verba and Schlozman's in their Civic Voluntarism Theory which guides this study, it seems people need more than just resources to engage in public participation. The study on mobilization. Furthermore, in the past, studies on public participation had focused on areas such as socioeconomic determinants of public participation, effects of public participation on development, methods of participation, quality of public participation or processes and platforms for effective public participation. Not much seems to have been done on mobilization strategies that are used to actually invite citizens to take part in participatory budgeting.

1.4.2. Policy Justification

On matters policy, the research paper will be helpful to the County elected officials and citizens in several ways. The findings could inform policies on citizen participation and put in perspective potential means of enhancing participation in local level developmental decision making. This means that identifying the most efficient way of mobilizing and communicating with the electorate would be well spelled out. Secondly, it would steer the Members of County Assembly (MCAs) in legislation and oversight of those activities that facilitate their electorates to choose their priority needs. The study would also enable the County government to implement better mechanisms of communicating with the community members which in return would lead to improved understanding of community expectation as well as improved relations between stakeholders and the community. Ultimately, this would translate to the ability to build community support for various development programs as well as minimize conflicts and delays in implementation of development projects. For the community, this participatory budgeting will deter leading local politicians from being dependent on the societies' economic woes and acquiring votes with cash and void promises. Mobilizing citizens will, therefore, provide civic opportunities that might enhance the political and social consciousness of the general populace which is a great recipe for development.

Since it is now widely accepted that public participation needs to be entrenched in governance, examining mobilization strategies for public participation is a crucial tool that will inform planning, prioritizing, organizing, funding and implementation of broad social policies. The policymakers can adopt effective strategies that would enhance public participation in the rural Kenyan communities. This will enhance grassroots democracy and aid in poverty alleviation at the local level of governance.

1.5. Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study covered Embu County. Embu County was purposefully selected by the researcher for two main reasons. First of all, it is a County that has been in the news for quite some time with the governor having been labeled a man of nine lives by the Kenyan media. This is as a result of heightened political instability since 2014. In fact, the County Assembly (CA) successfully moved motions to have the sitting governor impeached in 2014. This means that the governor was facing rebellion from the ward elected leaders. On the other hand, the political competition between the then-senator and the governor soared and the struggle continues to date. Despite having been impeached twice, the governor remained in office under reinstatement by the courts. More intriguing was the fact that all those leaders had all been elected by the voters. It was, therefore, necessary to investigate whether citizens of this County were carrying out their constitutional mandate despite the leadership wrangles. Secondly, despite this political turmoil, voters still stood with the governor and he was re-elected for a second term in office in the 2017 general election. With such political temperatures, it was easy for the Members of County Assembly (MCAs) to sabotage mobilization of the voters in order to acquire enough grounds to have the governor removed from office. How these dynamics affected public participation particularly mobilization for participatory budgeting gave this study a substantial base to be carried out in this County.

Since the area of interest was the budget-making process, the 2016/2017 financial year, was purposively selected to investigate the effectiveness of mobilization strategies used to invite citizens for public participation. This financial year was preferred because it is usually easier for respondents to recall occurrences that had happened within the year. Requiring respondents to recall their participation activities two or three years earlier would have resulted in ethical issues. Usually, if a similar event occurs after one that has passed, people tend to remember clearer details of the most current occasion. This meant that the researcher was avoiding the recall problem in research.

During the study, the researcher encountered certain limitations that may have influenced the interpretation of the data. For instance, there were a number of individuals who were uncomfortable in undertaking this survey and particularly touching on demographics. An area like "Karimari" in Ngandori ward, Manyatta Sub-county, respondents did not want to be interviewed because there exists no single County Government project known to them in the area. In fact, they attribute any development to Kenya Tea Development Agency (KTDA) factories because these factories maintain the roads for their heavy commercial vehicles. However, the researcher managed to convince two respondents to take part in the survey.

In other areas, some respondents did not also want to fill out the questionnaires so the researcher read and filled for them. Secondly, several programs require citizens to participate such as community health, civic education or political gatherings. The opinion leaders interviewed understood this study as participatory development because budgeting process was mainly deliberations on rural development projects. This means therefore that some respondents answered questions having participated in any development project meeting, and maybe not the budget cycle itself. All these forms of participated in another public participation forum other than the budget process itself. The researcher overcame this by emphasizing answers on projects proposed by the governor or MCA in the 2016/2017 financial year.

The researcher also found out that the County Newspaper, Embu Shines had ceased publication, but from the citizens, most of the information about Embu County appears mostly in the star newspaper. The County officials also confirmed that the County government often uses the star newspaper to post adverts particularly on budgeting and employment opportunities. The researcher therefore investigated use of newspapers as a mobilization strategy. On the other hand, due to the geographical vastness of the County, several data points were collected from diverse sources rather than in a standardized way which in itself was a threat to internal validity.

1.6. Definition of Terms

Community Radio: According to Villamayor, Lamas, and Stiftung (1998), community radio refers to a non-profit radio broadcasting service with an objective of searching for social change, fair system, and basic human rights advocacy as well as opening up participation by the masses. For purposes of this project, community radio refers to a radio station broadcasting in a dialect understood by the Embu community, Wimwaro FM. Community Radio and Wimwaro FM will be used interchangeably in this paper.

County Newspaper: Web Finance Inc defines a newspaper as a print media consisting of papers folded together and distributed every day or every week with content such opinions, advertisements, entertainment as well as general interest news. In this paper, a county newspaper refers to the Star Newspaper because that is what has been adapted after the County publication *Embu Shines* ceased publication.

Effectiveness: Wojtczak (2002) defines effectiveness as a measure of the extent to which a specific procedure, service, intervention or regimen, when deployed in the field does what it is intended to do for a population. In this paper, effectiveness refers to the degree by which a mobilization strategy enhances public participation.

Mobilization Strategy: The World Health Organization (WHO) defines community mobilization as a process of capacity-building where community members, groups, or organizations propose, execute, and evaluate activities on a participatory and sustainable manner. In this study, a mobilization strategy refers to the means by which members of the community are made aware and marshaled for public participation forums on county budgeting with the aim of informing and encouraging community-government partnerships.

Posters: According to Gosling (1999), a poster is a large notice or art on a sheet of paper that is usually stuck on a wall usually for advertising something. For purposes of this study, a poster

refers to any form of written notice (circulars, memos or print-outs) from the county government appearing on notice boards across the county in marketplaces, places of worship, hospitals or even schools.

Public participation: Creighton (2005) defines Public participation as a process by which public problems, wants are integrated into both corporate and government decision making agenda. In this paper, public participation is the ability of the community members to attend forums and discussions with county officials during the budgeting process with the aim of voicing their priority needs and their expectations from the county government. It is used concurrently with participatory budgeting (PB).

1.7. Literature Review

1.7.1. Introduction

This literature review is an extended examination of views and opinions regarding aspects of strategies used to mobilize citizens for public participation. It summarizes studies from various scholars who had carried out research on the same field. The section is developed by examining the literature on mobilization strategies available from a global perspective, from the African context and finally as experienced in Kenya.

1.7.2. Global Perspective of Mobilization Strategies

Saade et al. (1998) evaluated the effect of hand-washing in the prevention of diarrheal disease in South America focusing on the story of successful public-private partnerships. The study focused on a campaign that had been launched in March 1998 in Guatemala. The initiative of this campaign involved persuading soap companies to get involved in the drive by promoting handwashing in their soap adverts. In targeting low-income earners, newspaper, the radio, and use of posters, banners, and brochures were used to motivate consumers particularly mothers to wash their hands at the appropriate time. They attribute the success of the Public Private Partnership (PPP) to the use of existing networks and processes. In fact, in four years time, "I wash my hands for my health" had become a common slogan among the local people. The success of newspapers, radio, and posters in this campaign can be tied to mobilization for health which has personal benefits. It is of essence therefore to investigate whether the same mobilization mechanisms can be effective for public participation in the budgeting process which has no direct personal benefits. Secondly, their focus was on PPP which usually has strong working systems while this study will focus on citizen participation in resource allocation.

While evaluating public inputs in national parks management, Wouters et al. (2011) set out to evaluate the effectiveness of public participation in the New Zealand department of conservation statutory planning processes. The study focused on whether the participants were satisfied with the consultation opportunities provided as well as the methods used to suit them to participate. Respondents were consequently asked how they got involved in the review process. It was established that 28% of the respondents became involved through club membership after receiving hard copies directly from the department of conservation while 25% had seen a notice in the newspapers. This study also found some hindrances to public participation which include underrepresentation of the general public as well as some interest groups and that the review process was quite long. Their study did not concentrate on resource allocation rather it focused on six statutory management of parks while this study centered on participation in the budgeting process.

In China, Borus et al. (2009) examined mass media and HIV/AIDS correlation to attitudinal change. Their findings affirmed that contact with mass media was associated with attitudinal and behavioral changes in individuals. Their study sought to find out how the Chinese people received HIV/AIDS information and whether these sources led to a positive change in behavior in the general populace. The changes included attitudes on stigmatization towards individuals infected with HIV/AIDS. From their face to face surveys, they established that Television, Newspapers, and Magazines were more identifiable sources of HIV/AIDS information than friends and service providers. The majority of those interviewed had a change in behavior due to information obtained from the three sources. Since their study was on information for health knowledge, it was important to establish whether the same attitudinal change in health issues could be replicated in enhancing public participation in budgeting engagements. The fact that this study was carried out in China, a gap arises since China is not considered a democracy. Kenya is a known democratic state.

In their *handbook for public involvement*, Holdar and Zarkhachenko (2002) observe that some 15 NGOs in Ukraine united in a "freedom of choice" coalition which campaigned for honest and fair presidential elections in 1999. The main aim was to promote democratic principles, human rights, and individual liberties. Many projects intended to increase public responsiveness and mobilize voters were launched through media such as television, radio, and brochures. For persons with special needs such as the blind, distinctive voting material availed and conventional radio stations were used to broadcast appealing messages to the youth. The tiny villages of Ukraine also received posters and pamphlets. Findings from the coalition's work showed that the bulk of those interviewed experienced voter mobilization and awareness campaigns of the NGOs, either through the posters, TV or radio announcements. Their study was conducted in a different geographical region, and it is necessary to investigate whether the same could happen in Kenya. Secondly, their research was on mobilization for purposes of voting while this study was on purposes of public participation in the budgeting process.

1.7.3. African Perspective of Mobilization Strategies

In their study of participatory budgeting in Africa, UN-Habitat and MDP-ESA (2008) identified that Uganda used local government budget call circular which guided state departments in planning and execution of the budget cycle. The circular contained clear-cut timing of proceedings and actions to be executed throughout the budgeting process. It also had submission dates for budget documents from the stakeholders' contributions. Information was disseminated to the villagers through circulars, notice boards, posters and updated community-based management information systems. The study proceeded to identify a participatory prioritization process where village members would receive information, discuss and list projects as well as prioritize the list. Whereas their study goes beyond informing villagers to actual deliberations, this study seeks to identify effective means of getting villagers to the budgeting discussion table. This study also goes beyond use of circulars only to use of community radio as a mobilization mechanism for participatory budgeting.

Piotrow et al. (1990) embarked on a study in three Nigerian cities, Ilorin, Ibadan, and Enugu, to find out whether health promotion programs change behavior. The study focused on mass media family planning promotion and consequently, Television and radio use increased number of new

acceptors of family planning at family planning clinics. The campaigns were aired during favorite shows, and over half of those interviewed had seen the campaign on TV. A significant number recalled the message and some even the sites mentioned. The study used an enter - educate approach which can be simulated in diverse backgrounds to get new consumers to seek family planning assistance. The study failed to explore the impact of other media in promoting behavioral changes. Secondly, their sampling was done in three cities where it is expected that majority of city dwellers own a TV. This study sought to fill these gaps by exploring different forms of mobilization media and sampling rural wards to examine the most effective strategy for mobilizing citizens for public participation.

Mapuva (2015) sought to explore the synergy between citizen participation, mobilization and contested spaces. It was evident that participation had been enhanced by deepening democracy across the nations. Mapuva identified that mobilization came in a variety of ways; created spaces such as advocacy, persuasion or protests and invited spaces created through legislation. In Africa, he cited feminism and social movement theories as some of the epitome of mobilization. For instance, citizens had participated through what is commonly known as protest-participation, which included demonstration, resistance, industrial action, petitions, hunger strikes, mass action, etc. as means by which citizens participate. While his study focused on forms of participation, this study focused on how citizens are invited to participate in legislative requested spaces, specifically the budgeting process.

1.7.4. Kenyan Perspective of Mobilization Strategies

The Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) (2012), in their bulletin on public participation in the Constituency Development Fund (CDF), outlay lessons from this form of fiscal decentralization. Whereas the CDF Act, 2003 posits that citizens should identify and prioritize community needs, the Members of Parliament (MPs) still made roadside declarations in regards to projects being implemented. The Project Management Committees (PMCs), where members of the public have had opportunities to participate have not been successful in project implementation, monitoring and evaluation. Some members of the PMCs are illiterates and have been accused of colluding with their friends to win tender bids. Whereas the IEA examines the lessons from CDF, this study will explore the county budgeting process. Secondly, the CDF was managed under the patronage of the MPs where public participation was not emphasized. It will be of interest to

explore public participation in the county government budgeting process to fill the apparent gap in knowledge.

After the 2007 disputed general elections in Kenya, violence broke out, Makinen and Kuira (2008) sought to investigate how people communicated during and after the media ban. The media was widely blamed for fuelling ethnic tensions that led to the forceful eviction of masses and killing of over 1,000 people. During the period of the violence, the government banned mass media and social media emerged as a substitute information sharing medium or what the researchers called participatory journalism. The study focused on alternative methods of sharing information in the absence of conventional media such as radio and TV, and this study did not focus on alternative media, rather, it focused on how established media such as newspaper and radio were effective in mobilizing citizens. Secondly, the study examined the role of alternative media in a time of crisis. It was imperative to explore the efficacy of media in the budget process, a planned process.

The role of mass media exposure in a hand washing campaign in Kenya was examined by Schmidt et al. (2009). They focused on determinants of hand washing practices and how factors such as sanitation, reliable water supply, education and other social- economic factors limited the implementation of enhanced hygiene practices. Their methodology involved straight planned observation of hygiene methods at grave moments and structured interviews addressing potential behavioral determinants of hand washing. Due to the nature of this study design, it will not be possible to employ structured observation technique since the phenomenon under investigation has already taken place. Secondly, their study concluded that mass media plays a great role in encouraging hygiene. It is vital to investigate whether the effectiveness of the media in health campaigns will be similar in mobilizing citizens for public participation.

Mak'Ochieng (1996) undertook a survey with the intention of assessing the performance of Kenya's media in the democratization of the country. The clamor for multiparty politics had gained enough ground in the 1990's such that it yielded participation in the 1992 general elections. Against this backdrop, the media was expected and pressurized to support the powers of the day. In his study, Mak'Ochieng suggested opening up of the airwaves to make a valuable contribution to the democratic process in Kenya. His study was carried out under the old

constitution dispensation where the Kenya African National Union (KANU) regime was considered oppressive. This study will focus on budget cycles several years after the ouster of the KANU government and after the enactment of the new CoK (2010).

1.8. Theoretical Framework

1.8.1. Overview

This study will be guided by the Civic Voluntarism Theory (CVT) postulated by Brady, Verba, and Schlozman (1994). Besides CVT, there are several other theories that could be used in this study but possess certain limitations which make them inadequate for this study. One approach that can apply to this study is the Rational Choice Theory (RTC) advanced by economists such as Tiebout, Buchanan, and Musgrave. This is the view that people will only participate or act believing that performing their chosen actions has benefits which outweigh the costs (Downs, 1957). Rational beings choose the alternative that gives them the greatest satisfaction. The theory operates on the norm that all activities are rational in character. RTC proposes that rational actors will not participate to achieve common objectives but will instead ride on the efforts of others unless there are private incentives whose benefits outweigh the cost of participation.

This theory is criticized that it assumes societal reality is just a collection of individuals constructing rational choices freely and that it studies how individuals seek to maximize their preferences rather than question their preferences. Secondly, people rarely have perfect information because the information may be hard to access or take too long to arrive or even too many resources to get it. Thirdly, individuals rather than optimizing benefits while minimizing costs, they are often willing to choose an acceptable option rather than the optimal one. The theory, therefore, fails to explain collective action for public participation (Scott, 2000)

The other theory is the Social Capital Theory (SCT) which mainly comes from the works of James S. Coleman, Pierre Bourdieu and Robert Putnam (1993). SCT posits that the denser the civic associations are, the more efficient the democratic governance. In other words, in communities where there exist high-level interpersonal relations, citizens tend to accept collective action easily. Social capital stock according to Putnam is, therefore, trust, norms, and

networks. This theory, however, displays some weaknesses that make it unsuitable for this study. According to Hunter (2000), the sorts of consortiums that can produce social capital also possess the capability to leave out others. In other words, SCT fosters manners that degenerate economic performance rather than progress it, separates rather than amalgamate societies, impedes social mobility and inclusion, and ignores the notion of incentives for participation (Aldridge et al. 2002). Besides, the nature of social capital has not been decided upon in various works of literature to date (Ostrom, 2001).

1.8.2. Key Assumptions of Civic Voluntarism Theory

Civic Voluntarism Theory (CVT) is a structural based theory of participation which explains political engagement. Structural based explanations of citizenship view participation as a matter of socializing individuals into traditions, values, and attitudes of the social groups or the entire society. CVT posits that citizens get involved if they have resources and to some degree, an incentive to participate. In the words of Verba et al. (1994), people tend to participate because they can, or because someone asked them to participate or because they only want to participate. In their work, they highlight that previous studies have relied on social-economic factors such as education and income to predict participation. They argue that it has not been clarified why these social-economic variables should matter and they twist the debate to why citizens don't participate in politics of which they give three answers; they can't because they lack time, skills or money, they don't want to because they are disinterested and finally because nobody asked them because they are excluded from the networks that mobilize people. In short, there are three factors that influence citizens' political participation; Resources, Motivation (psychological engagement), and Mobilization.

The essential insight of CVT is that people will participate if they have resources. Verba, Schlozman, and Brady suggest three kinds of resources; time, money and civic skills. In this case, resources refer to things like education, skills, income, social class and leisure time. Individuals who lack these resources are less likely to participate, and those with more resources tend to be more motivated to participate. Education, therefore, is a key asset in enhancing civic engagement because it is the avenue through which these skills are advanced. Secondly, an individuals' level of interest in politics is an important determinant of civic engagement. This interest is developed from involvement in non-political establishments such as church, work, and social charitable organizations.

However, resources vary in their relationship to social economic status, for instance, free time doesn't correlate well with social economic status since the poorest have more time but income does. Political techniques influence how individuals participate, and citizens are more likely to participate when they have admittance to political recruitment associations. Political interest, therefore, matters in understanding voluntarism or put differently, spending free time on political activities such as public participation in the budgeting process. Finally, people will tend to participate if they are mobilized by others or if there are social ties within the community.

1.8.3. Application of Civic Voluntarism Theory to the Study

This study will test mainly the third assumption of CVT which is mobilization. CVT appears to be the best suited because it takes into account why citizens participate and how a mobilization technique influences participation. Even though recent studies have found a disparity in levels of education and involvement mainly in voting, education is a valuable tool that enables citizens to be decision makers in governmental agenda (Bengsston and StrÖmblad, 2015). This is because educated people are more confident and possess civic skills that make them more politically conscious. In cases where citizens are not able to articulate their ideas and apprehensions, mainly, it is because they have inadequacies in understanding their civic responsibilities (Holdar and Zakharchenko, 2002). This view leads us to identify potential participants in the budgetary process since CVT recognizes that an individual who lacks resources is less likely to participate.

In every community, there exist different forms and levels of association. CVT proposes that an individuals' level of participation can be analyzed from his or her social connections. In other words, people are likely to participate because they have been induced by others. Many nations still face the challenge of incorporating citizens into participation process and are therefore making considerable efforts to strengthen their democratic systems. Mobilization media such as newspapers, local radio stations, and ICT based platforms are viewed as essential tools in securing participation and ascertaining legitimacy among all stakeholders. This makes public participation an essential step in the formula for democracy. People will, therefore, participate if

they are recruited into networks that bring people into politics and have resources and incentives to join civic deliberations.

1.9. Hypothesis

1.9.1. General Hypothesis

Local-level Mobilization strategies enhance public participation in the budgetary process.

1.9.2. Specific Hypothesis

- i) Use of County Newspapers as a mobilization strategy enhances Public Participation in the budgetary process.
- ii) Use of Community Radio as a mobilization strategy enhances Public Participation in the budgetary process.
- iii) Use of Posters as a mobilization strategy enhances Public Participation in the budgetary process.

1.9.3. Operationalization of the Dependent and Independent Variable

Table 1.9 summarizes both the independent and dependent variables. It also displays actual indicators that were used to measure the effectiveness of the mobilization strategies under investigation.

Variable	Variable	Specific	Observable Indicators				
Туре	Name	variables					
			Number of people reading newspapers				
		County	The frequency of reading newspapers				
Independent	Mobilization	Newspaper	Clarity of adverts on the newspapers				
	Strategies		Accessibility of newspapers				
			The frequency of reading posters				
			Number of people reading posters				
		Posters Clarity of adverts on the posters					
		Accessibility of posters					
		Community Number of people listening to the radio					
		radio	The frequency of listening to the radio				
			Clarity of adverts on the radio				
			Accessibility of radio				
		Attendance	Increased awareness for the budgeting process				
Dependent	Public	Sending	Number of people participating				
	Participation	memorandum	The growth of public participation venues				
			Accessibility of public participation venues				

Table 1.9.: Operationalization of Variables

Source: Authors own interpretation

NB: A mobilization strategy is considered effective if it leads more citizens to public participation in the budgeting process. For example, community radio will be effective if the number of people who use it are relatively more mobilized to participate in the budgeting process. Although Embu County like many other counties receive almost all daily newspapers, the County had a paper called *Embu shines* which was distributed for free but is no longer in circulation. Embu County has technically adapted the Star Newspaper where all advertisements concerning the County appear. County newspaper in this case will refer to the Star Newspaper.

1. 10. Methodology

1.10. 1. Research Design

This research adopted a cross-sectional research design. A cross-sectional research design involves collecting data at a single point in time. The reason why this study qualified to be a cross-sectional type was because the researcher examined the County budget for the 2016/2017 financial year. This means that the phenomena were being observed at one point in time. Moreover, county governments began operating in the year 2013 and it was, therefore, easier for respondents to remember whether they participated in budget process now rather than four years ago. The research was basically an exploration of the effectiveness of the three mobilization strategies for public participation in the 2016/2017 budget process of Embu County.

1.10.2. Data Collection and Sampling Procedures

This study used primary sources to collect data. The primary sources included interviews and survey using questionnaires. The study population captured individuals aged eighteen and above within the sampled area of Embu County. Sampling involved use of both probability and non-probability sampling techniques mainly because of the nature of the study. For instance, the selected County government officials were purposefully sampled. This was essential in order to target county government officials based on the relevance of their offices to the study such as the ward administrators, MCAs in the budget committee and officials from the County Communication department. Consequently, snowballing sampling technique was used to reach those citizens who had participated in one way or another in the budgeting process. The interviewed County officials provided names and contacts of the some leaders who participated in this survey and in turn, they also led the researcher to other citizens who had attended public participation forums. Prior to this, simple random sampling had been employed to reach respondents and it emerged that majority had not participated in the 2016/2017 budget process. This informed the decision to interview County government officials.

Primary sources of data from public officials and local citizens captured both demographic and key points of public participation which were necessary to investigate the most effective mobilization strategies for public participation in the budgeting process. For the key informant interviews, the researcher targeted ten respondents but reached saturation before interviewing all. Five of the interviews were face-to-face while two were by a phone call. Two MCAs, two ward administrators, the director of early childhood education, two officials from the communication department and one manager of a community water project were interviewed. For the survey, the County was stratified into the four constituencies. The questionnaires were self-administered for the literate respondents while for the illiterate respondents the researcher read and filled them.

Constituencies	Number of
	Respondents
Runyenjes	10
Manyatta	10
Mbeere North	10
Mbeere South	10
County Government Officials	10
Total number of respondents	50

Table 1.10 : Distribution of Respondents Target Population

1.10.3. Data Analysis

The study used quantitative data analysis techniques. The data was from key informant interviews as well as the mobilization strategies survey. The analysis emphasized descriptive statistics such as percentages, frequency distributions as well as measures of central tendency. Yules measure of association (Q) was employed to examine the relationship between the independent and dependent variable. A two by two table was used to calculate the degree of association between a mobilization strategy and public participation in the budgeting process. This was essential to determine for instance whether there exists a relationship between those who read newspapers and public participation in the budgeting process and vice versa. The analyzed data was then displayed in, tables, charts, and graphs for better elucidation. For purposes of this project paper, a mobilization strategy was termed effective if; there are more people participating as implied by growth of participation venues, there was sufficient and clear

information on the participation message, time and venue for public participation and also if the breadth of outreach is wide.

CHAPTER TWO

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN KENYA: A HISTORICAL AND CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

2.1. Introduction

Chapter two of this paper highlights aspects of public participation. Section one explores Embu County, location and demography, economy and society, Embu politics as well as the County Government Structure. Section two of the chapter focuses on the budgeting process and public participation. It explores the contextual framework of public participation, the legal framework for public participation in devolved governance and county guidelines for public participation. It involves examination of the provisions of public participation in the CoK-2010 and further in specific legislations anchoring devolution such as the County Government Act (CGA, 2012) and the Public Finance Management Act (PFMA, 2012).

2.2. Understanding Embu County

2.2.1. Location and Demography

Embu County borders four main counties, to the North, there lies Tharaka Nithi County and to the South one finds Machakos County. To the East, Embu borders Kitui County while Kirinyaga County is in the West. Embu Town serves as the headquarters of the County and is approximately 120 kilometers from Nairobi. The town has served as the Eastern Province of Kenya Headquarters since independence. Embu County is 2,818 square kilometers with an estimated population of about 543,221 persons, based on the 2009 census. Local people are mostly of the Embu and Mbeere ethnicities. However, the county is also home to the Kamba and Kikuyu communities. A greater part of the population resides in the rural areas accounting for 80.3% of the entire population. Out of the four constituencies namely Runyenjes, Manyatta, Mbeere North (formerly Siakago Constituency) and Mbeere South (formerly Gachoka constituency), Manyatta Constituency has the highest population accounting for 30% of the entire population (*see the map of Embu appendix III*, Mbeere South p.71). It was also projected that the county would on average contain a population density of 210 people per square kilometer by 2017 (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS), 2013).

The County's population projections are shown in table 2.1 below.

Cohor	ts Age Col	ort 20	09 (Census))	2012 (pi	rojections)		2015 (pr	ojections)	201	l7 (projectio	ons)
Male	Female	Total	Male	Femal	e Total	Ma	le 1	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0-4	33,130	32,579	65,709	34551	33976	68527	36033	35434	71467	37056	36440	73496
5-9	33,344	32,793	66,137	34774	34200	68974	36266	35667	71933	37296	36679	73975
10-14	31,007	30,982	61,989	32337	32311	64648	33724	33697	67421	34682	34654	69336
15-19	27,212	24,988	52,200	28379	26060	54439	29597	27178	56775	30437	27949	58386
20-24	22,206	23,467	45,673	23159	24474	47633	24152	25523	49675	24838	26248	51086
25-29	20,880	22,368	43,248	21776	23327	45103	22710	24328	47038	23355	25019	48374
30-34	18,066	18,822	36,888	18841	19629	38470	19649	20471	40120	20207	21053	41260
35-39	15,132	15,828	30,960	15781	16507	32288	16458	17215	33673	16925	17704	34629
40-44	11,770	12,558	24,328	12275	13097	25372	12801	13658	26459	13165	14046	27211
45-49	10,901	11,844	22,745	11369	12352	23721	11856	12882	24738	12193	13248	25441
50-54	7,539	8,258	15,797	7862	8612	16474	8200	8982	17182	8432	9237	17669
55-59	6,531	6,736	13,267	6811	7025	13836	7103	7326	14429	7305	7534	14839
60-64	4,911	5,548	10,459	5122	5786	10908	5341	6034	11375	5493	6206	11699
65-69	3,186	3,766	6,952	3323	3928	7251	3465	4096	7561	3564	4212	7776
70-74	2,987	3,578	6,565	3115	3731	6846	3249	3892	7141	3341	4002	7343
75-79	2,002	2,318	4,320	2088	2417	4505	2177	2521	4698	2239	2593	4832
80+	3,360	5,362	8,722	3504	5592	9096	3654	5832	9486	3758	5997	9755
Age NS	139	114	253	145	119	264	151	124	275	155	128	283
Total	254,303	261,909	516,212	265212	273143	538355	276586	5 284860	561446	284441	292949	577390

Table 2.1. Embu County Population Projection by age

Source: KNBS, Population and Housing Census, 2009

Table 2.1 projects that the population will continue to rise in the coming years. This means that the pressure on land and other natural resources will continue to grow to alarming levels. Social amenities also bear the brunt of this population mainly because land sub-division has left little or no space for expansion. There is need therefore for the County Government of Embu to enhance and develop existing facilities to minimize this pressure.

2.2.2. Economy and Society

The economy of the County is mainly Agricultural with 87.9 % of the households engaging in food crops and livestock farming. On the upper parts of Embu, cash crops such as coffee and tea are grown while the lower part relies on food crops such as beans, millet, tomatoes and fruits. On livestock farming, the upper part of the county specializes in dairy farming while the lower part rears indigenous cattle breeds. One will also find goats, sheep, bees, chicken as well as fish in

Embu County. The County is also home to tourism sites with two national reserves namely, Mwea and Mt. Kenya reserves run by the Kenya Wildlife Service. There are caves, rocky hills as well as waterfalls. The county is also home to the seven forks dams of Kenya (KNBS, 2009).

In his extensive research on Embu origins and culture, Mwaniki (1974) affirms that like many other Bantus, the Embu migrated to the Mount Kenya regions in search of better fertile land. This literature also corroborates that the forefather of the community was called Ndega and his wife was Nthara. They lived in Mwene-Ndega village near the present day Runyenjes town. The Ambeere are believed to be cousins of the Aembu. Although originally they were one tribe, an inter-clan war is deemed to have caused the split which led to the Ambeere being pushed into the drier areas of the former Embu district. Although the Ambeere were later awarded a legislative district by the then President Moi, the CoK-2010 rejoined them while creating the forty-seven counties into what is present-day Embu County.

2.2.3. Politics of Embu County

The Embu have traditionally aligned with their neighbours in an alignment known as Gikuyu, Embu and Meru Association (GEMA). In fact, in the struggle for independence, the community was actively involved in the Mau Mau uprising which fought the British colonial rule. One cannot talk of Embu politics without mentioning one Jeremiah Nyaga. From the Kenya National Archives (1956-1957), Nyaga was elected as a member of the pre-independence Legislative Council (Legco) in a by-election of 1958 following the creation of a new constituency representing the Embu, Mbeere, Kirinyaga and Nyeri Districts. He had previously lost in the 1957 elections to one Bernard Mate in the original Central Province Seat which was split. After independence, he served as a Member of Parliament (MP) for Gachoka constituency till 1993. Nyaga was also a long serving Cabinet Minister between 1966 and 1992 and a Commissioner of the Kenya Scouts Association.

Since independence, Embu-Mbeere politics were predominantly led by the Kenya African National Union (KANU). Nyaga had been a founding member of the party in 1960. In fact, former president Moi enjoyed total support until the repeal of Section 2(A) which had outlawed registration of opposition parties. Brass (2016) affirms that president Moi did not receive strong

criticism or strong support from this region. Even though politics from 1992 aligned towards the opposition party of Mwai Kibaki, 1/3 of the votes went to KANU. In subsequent elections, Embu has always aligned with the Kikuyu tribe for the presidential vote. According to Hornsby (2012), the Kikuyu elites founded the GEMA to bring together the communities around Mount Kenya. The idea was to have a stronger bargaining power in the national political arena. However, it seems the Gikuyu have been the biggest beneficiaries of this union sharing all the spoils especially in appointments to public offices.

The first election after the promulgation of the CoK (2010) took place in March 2013. It was the first election where the voter had to make a choice with six ballot papers for the six elective posts presented. These posts were for the president, the County senator, the County governor, the Constituency Member of National Assembly (MNA), the Ward Member of County Assembly (MCA) and County Woman Representative. Martin Nyaga Wambora was elected as the first Embu Governor. Barely a year into office, the County Assembly of Embu passed a motion to impeach the governor on 29th January 2014. According to Kenya Law (2015), the MCA's had cited gross violation of the constitution as the basis for the impeachment. In accordance to article 33 of the CGA, the senate formed a special committee to look into the allegations cited by the Embu CA. In their findings, the special senate committee found the governor guilty and Gazzette Notice No. 1052 was issued on 17th February, 2014 to have the governor removed from office. Following this resolution, the governor had appealed the senate's decision and he was reinstated back to office by the high court of Kerugoya on 16th, April 2014.

A second impeachment motion was passed by the Embu County Assembly (CA) on 29th April and the senate went ahead to confirm the removal of the governor of Embu County from office. The second debate by the special committee resolved to have the governor removed. He however had moved to court seeking to have the CA stop his removal proceedings. In this petition, he had sought constitutional interpretations and declaratory orders on several issues. These included; whether there should have been public participation in his removal as articulated in article 118(1, b), 174 (a, c) and 196 (1, b), whether the threshold for his impeachment. On 11th December, 2015, the court of appeal set aside the judgment of the high court which had upheld the governor's impeachment. The Embu County governor remained in office for the remainder of the term.

In the run up to the 2017 general elections, Embu County governor race had attracted many candidates. In the party primaries, the incumbent Martin Nyaga Wambora won the Jubilee nominations and proceeded to win narrowly against the former senator who had run on a Maendeleo Chap Chap (MCC) party. Wambora's win has been contested in the elections court by the former senator, Mr. Lenny Kivuti. In the first round, Wambora's win was nullified by the high court and he later won an appeal at the court of appeal in Nyeri. This decision to uphold his win was contested by the former senator. The appeal is currently at the supreme court of Kenya as of December, 2018. (Daily Nation, 2018)

2.2.4 Embu County Government Structure

The Wards across Embu County are shown in table 2.2 below.

Constituency	Wards	
Runyenjes	Gaturi North	
	Kagaari South	
	Kagaari North	
	Central	
	Kyeni North	
	Kyeni South	
Manyatta	Ruguru-Ngandori	
	Kithimu	
	Nginda	
	Mbeti North	
	Kirimari	
	Gaturi South	
Mbeere South	Mwea	
	Makima	
	Mbeti South	
	Mavuria	
	Kiambere	
Mbeere North	Muminji	
	Nthawa	
	Evurore	

 Table2.2. Political and Administrative units of Embu County

Source: CIDP of Embu County

Embu County has four Sub-Counties which also represent the four constituencies the county has. Each Ward is represented by a Member of the County Assembly (MCA) elected to the County Assembly (CA) by the electorate of a Ward. Runyenjes and Manyatta Constituencies are more densely populated compared to both Mbeere North and Mbeere South. Even though Mbeere part is large geographically, it has fewer Wards in comparison to upper Embu.

Following the entrenchment of devolution in the CoK (2010), County governments have clear guidelines on how to run and manage devolved units. Chapter eleven outlines both the objects and principles of devolved governance. The structure of a county government comprises of a county assembly (CA), which is elected for five years and county executive (CE) headed by the County governor. The CA comprises of MCAs who are directly elected by the voters from the wards, the speaker who is an ex-officio member and nominated members to special seats meant to meet the constitutional requirements of; not more than two-thirds of same-gender rule, the youth, persons representing marginalized groups and persons with disabilities. On the other hand, the CE is run by a County Executive Committee (CEC), consisting of the County governor, deputy county governor and CEC members appointed by the governor and vetted by the assembly heading the departments. These CEC members are limited to ten if the CA has thirty or more members and one-third of the CA if the CA has less than thirty members.

The first Embu county governor was elected on The National Alliance (TNA) party ticket on fourth March 2013. Consequently, the twenty wards across the county elected their MCAs, thirteen from TNA, four from Alliance Party of Kenya (APK) and one each from the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), Grand National Union (GNU) and Narc-Kenya. The CA also had thirteen nominated MCAs of which eleven were female to fulfill the two-thirds gender rule requirement and two gentlemen representing persons with disability. On the executive arm, the CEC, headed by the governor and deputized by the deputy governor has ten departments namely; Agriculture, Livestock, Fisheries and Cooperative Development, Lands, Youth Empowerment and Sports, Culture and Social Service, Education, Science and Technology, Water, Environment and Natural Resources, Gender, Trade and Tourism, Finance and Economic Planning, Infrastructure, Public Service and Administration, Energy and Housing, and Health, (Embu County Website).

2.3. The Budgeting Process and Public Participation2.3.1. Historical and Contextual aspects of Participatory Budgeting

This idea of public participation was brought into focus in the 1930s. The notion was that the more involved people became in the challenges facing their communities, the more productive they would be. It was not until the 1960s and 1970s when this thought of public participation started being used in the field of development administration (Irvin and Stansbury, 2004). Participation takes many forms and varies from place to place. PB permits non-elected citizens to participate in the modeling and, or distribution of public finances. These PB programs are intended to stimulate the much needed administrative reforms, integrate citizens into the policymaking process, and redistribute public resources to lift the standards of neighborhoods which are of low-income (Sintomer et al, 2008).

According to Shah (2007), twin waves of decentralization and democratization were spreading across the globe in 1980s and 1990s. He states that participatory budgeting began in the municipality of Porto Alegre after the Workers Party emerged winners in the mayoral elections of 1989. The campaigns of the Workers Party were established on democratic participation and reversal of spending priorities. This Participatory budgeting was anticipated to be of help to the poorer citizens by way of ensuring poor neighborhoods received larger shares of public spending. Shah traces that by 1990, barely 1,000 citizens took part in the PB process but by 1992, almost 8,000 citizens participated. In 1992, the Workers Party got reelected and participation grew to over 20,000 people an year. He attributes this to the fact that citizens had discovered that their PB deliberations formed most of the budgeting decisions. According to Shah, within a decade,PB had evolved from a vague practice of citizen participation advocated by a few leftist parties in South America to a best custom of enhancing governance and shrinking poverty.

In Brazil, the Partido dos Trabalhadores administration created a Centro Administrativo Regional (District Administrative Centre) whose staff was mandated to get in touch with community leaders (Abers, 1998). Abers observed that the staff had immense financial challenges and had no automobile to traverse the large district. The public was initially invited to the budget assemblies by use of a mailing list of known associations in the area. As this practice gained

prominence, several other ways of informing the public arose. It included avenues such as use of potential leaders, direct contact with government organizers, loud speakers, and groups such as church activists, student groups, liberal professionals which would help neighborhoods to organize. However, according to Wyngowski (2013), Brazil uses transparency portal and citizen portal to provide materials and information for upcoming public events in this 21st Century.

Closer home, the uptake of participatory budgeting in Africa has been quite slow. Mechanisms have included public meetings, inspections and site visits to gauge public opinion by community liaison officials, community development workers and stakeholder bodies. Ward committees where elected members assist the community to participate have cropped up and also local governments use notice boards, rates and water bills, commercial media to spread information. (etu.org.za). In Kenya, prior to the promulgation of the CoK (2010), the notion of democracy and popular participation had been government led. After independence in 1963, devolution took shape in the form of decentralization to 8 majorly ethnic regions popularly known as majimbo. The government of the day was particularly intolerant to dissent and in 1982, there was a constitutional amendment which made Kenya a one party state. The return to multi-party politics in the early 1990s brought a new hope of freedoms and rights to participate in public affairs. This hope was short lived. However, before the 1999/2000 budget, Local Authority Transfer Fund (LATF) and Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plan (LASDAP) were introduced. The 175 local authorities across the country organized public budget hearings to involve communities in the identification, prioritization, planning and implementation of community projects. This was not successful because councilors were corruptible and agreed upon projects did not get to completion. Secondly, the minister of local government was the overall boss of the local authorities and therefore there was no fiscal autonomy. This meant that the local authorities had no mobilization capacity (Kanyinga, 2014).

In 2002, a new hope for enhanced public participation arose following the defeat of the KANU government after 24 years in power. The new NARC government of Mwai Kibaki invited citizens to contribute in the making of policies including the budgeting process. According to Bagaka (2010), the Constituency Development Fund (CDF) was established by an act of parliament in 2003 as a form of fiscal decentralization. The CDF was meant to combat poverty

by redistributing resources to areas that had been marginalized by the patronage politics for years. The public were given an opportunity to make expenditure decisions since the Act provided that projects were to be community based. This participation was through Constituency Development Committees headed by the local Member of Parliament (MP). Although the gains were substantial, there were a few hiccups here and there particularly in the composition of these committees. Kanyinga (2014) notes that the CDF gains were dashed by the 2007 post election violence but it was also a period when the CoK (2010) was sculpted with values that would enhance accountability, democracy and public participation.

2.3.2. Legal Framework for Public Participation in Kenya.

The CoK(2010) envisioned the participation of the public as a key ingredient for public sector reforms in public affairs management. In particular, Article 1 of the CoK which gives the People of Kenya all sovereign power. In doing so, it stipulates two ways in which this power can be exercised, through direct participation by the citizens or indirectly through elected representatives. Meaningful citizen participation is, therefore, a key recipe for democracy in Kenya. Further, Articles10 (2a) lists public participation as a national value giving public participation the much-needed relevance and also Article 232 (1) records it as one of the principles of public service. On devolved governance, 174(c) emphasizes on the involvement of the people at the county level in making decisions on issues affecting them.

This law on public participation is reiterated throughout the Constitution in articles such as;, Article 37 which gives every person the right to assemble, demonstrate, picket and petition public authorities, Article 55(b) 56 (a) which emphasizes that the state should ensure the youth and marginalized groups have opportunities to participate in all spheres of life, Article 118 which posits that in conducting its affairs, parliament should do so in an open and transparent manner where there are public access and participation , Article 201(a) which states public participation as one of the principles steering public finance and Article 221 (5) on budget estimate and annual appropriation bill which states that the review of the budget estimates must seek representations from the public and take into account their recommendations. The constitution provides for the creation of other specific legislative acts for public participation to the National Assembly and these Acts are further analyzed below. The economic aspect of public participation is captured in the Public Finance Management Act (PFMA, 2012). The enactment of this Act by parliament had an aim of harmonizing the public finance management at both levels of government in agreement with the CoK (2010) values. Public participation is emphasized as a vital area of budget preparation. In particular, subsection 102(c) insists on adherence to the national values set out in the constitution in which public participation is a one and 117 (5) articulates that the County Treasury should hunt for and take into consideration the citizens opinions or any other interested person or groups and Commission on Revenue Allocation (CRA) in the formulation of the County Fiscal Strategy Papers (CFSP). Subsection 137 establishes the County Budget and Economic Forum (C-BEF) structure aimed at ensuring that the public is consulted in each county's budgeting process. Further, subsections 118-126 on county treasuries and county government development plans makes public participation is mandatory. This is in areas such as preparation of County Integrated Development Plans (CIDP) and County Budget Review and Outlook Paper (C-BROP) as well as additional affairs involving County fiscal management. The CEC member for the department of finance is mandated to manage the budget process for the county in 128 (3, d) and include in a circular the procedures to be followed by members of the public who are interested in participating in the budget process and also publicize budget estimates 129 (6). Further, Subsection 131 (6) mandates the CEC-finance to undertake clear and practical actions which guarantees that the approved budget estimates are made ready and published in ways that are is clear and easily understood and accessed by members of the public.

The County Government Act (CGA) is an Act of Parliament of 2012 which gives effect to Chapter Eleven of the CoK (2010). In particular, key legislation on county governments' powers, functions and responsibilities, the objects and principles of devolution as set out in Articles 174 and 175 of the Constitution. Further, decentralization is in respect to Article 176(2) and in the conduct of the activities of the CAs, there is a provision for public participation Article 196. The CoK (2010) consequently assigns the responsibility to build capacity for public participation to county governments. County governments, as such, should for that reason facilitate and create engagement mechanisms by ensuring and organizing public participation through the development of administrative competences.

At the preamble of the CGA, the term public, if employed in the concept of public participation, is interpreted to mean "(a) the residents of a particular county; (b) the rate payers of a particular city or municipality; (c) any resident civic organization or non-governmental, private sector or labor organization with an interest in the governance of a particular county, city or municipality; and (d) non-resident persons who because of their temporary presence in a particular county, city or municipality make use of services or facilities provided by the county, city or municipality." In this regard, Part (II) Section 6 mandates county governments to ensure efficiency, inclusivity, effectiveness, and participation of the public while exercising its powers. Part (V) Section 3(g) stipulates that the governor, in performing his duties, should advance and aid citizen participation in the county during the planning, development of policies, and service delivery scheduling. Further, part (VI) on decentralized units establishes a village unit and sub-county administrators in charge of guaranteeing and coordinating the grassroots participation of the public on governance issues.

Part (VIII) of the CGA focuses purely on citizen participation. On principles of public participation for the counties, Section 87 emphasizes timely access to all information for the public, minorities and marginalized groups on policy formulation and implementation including data and records. Subsection 88 empowers citizens to petition and challenge the county government on any matter while 89 gives County government establishments an obligation to respond to citizens petitions. Consequently, in section 91, programs and modalities for citizens to participate are identified. These modalities compel the county government to facilitate and establish formal arrangements for citizens to participate. Identified avenues include; ICT based platforms, town hall meetings, notice boards, budgeting and validation fora, development project sites, opportunities for peoples' representatives to participate and citizen fora at both the county and decentralized units.

Finally, Part (IX) establishes Principles and Objectives of County public communication and lays out that information and public communication should be through the media which has the widest public outreach. In Part (X), the Act gives the county governments responsibility to conduct civic education to empower and enlighten citizens on their engagement roles. Further, Part (XI) on County planning, section 105 stipulates that the county government should ensure

significant citizen engagement in the county planning process. This is further elucidated in section 115 which makes public participation mandatory. Also, Part (XII) 119 obligates the CEC-finance to establish public service centers at the County, Sub-County, Ward and other decentralized units for purposes of provision of timely information to the county citizens.

Despite the entrenchment of the legal framework for public participation, it has not been a smooth ride all through. On April 23rd, 2014, the high court declared the Kiambu County Finance Act (2013) illegal. This was because the legislation did not meet the constitutional threshold for public participation. The petitioner, Peter .N. Gakuru, and others argued that the bill was passed without involving the public. In fact, the only form of participation that took place was a meeting of a few businessmen at the high-end Windsor golf club and that there was only one obscure advert in the newspaper inviting the public for public participation. In his judgment, justice Odunga stated that huddling a few businessmen to a five-star hotel could not be remotely termed as public participation.

However, since the concept of public participation cannot be uniform, the judge compelled the CAs to execute whatever is rational to guarantee that a lot of Kenyans are conscious of any legislation intent from the CAs. This should be emphasized especially on legislation that involves payment of levies or taxes by making use of fora such as churches, mosques, *barazas*, or vernacular radio. The courts, therefore, nullified the Kiambu Finance Act and suggested that a bill must be advertised and undergo all the stages as stipulated by law. This judgment revealed that an audit of all the forty-seven County Finance bills would most probably suffer the same fate (Kenya Law Review, 2017).

2.3.3. County Guidelines for Public Participation and the Budget Process

These guidelines for public participation were created by the MoDP together with the council of governors in 2016 with an aim of providing structured systems for public participation. The guidelines are useful to the national government, county governments or any other entity wishing to engage the public. Since the legal foundations for public participation are already in place, the modalities for interaction between the state and non-state actors are expounded herein. For instance, public participation entails informing, involving, consulting, collaborating and

empowering the public. Informing, in this case, refers to the provision of appropriate information to enable citizens to understand their priorities, options, and solutions while empowered citizens mean that the final decisions depend on the feedback and input of citizens.

Before the coming into force of the county governments in 2013, there had been other fiscal reforms that required the input of citizens such as the LASDAP and the CDF. Both required stakeholder engagement in planning at the local level. Despite being innovative public participation approaches, they faced a myriad of challenges. For example, there was extensive public apathy in participating in CDF and LASDAP processes coupled with little or no civic education before participation. The public generally lacked information, organization, and resources that would make them partners in the development agenda. On the other hand, CDF was razed with heavy political domination with what is famously referred to as "roadside declarations" while LASDAP was crippled by centralized bureaucratic hegemony. Lastly, public participation was not clearly defined and marginalized and minority groups were not included in the process. The guidelines, therefore, are an attempt to address these public participation challenges.

On matters finance, the guidelines outline the budget cycle stages as well as what is expected of the citizens and County government officials. The first stage involves preparation of the County Budget Circular (CBC). From PFMA section 128, the CEC Finance is mandated to provide a circular with modalities for members of the public who wish to participate. In this circular, there are invitations to the public for submissions, either through written memoranda or open forums as well as clear guidelines and timelines for public participation. The second stage involves preparation of CIDPs where stakeholders identify needs and priorities through departmental forums and C-BROP is also issued. After this, the county resource envelops and expenditure is established where stakeholders are invited to participate in macro sector groups followed by submission of the C-BROP by the CEC finance.

Stage four involves the development of the CFSP which stipulates broad policy areas and priorities that act as a guide for the county government over the coming year or medium-term spending. Stakeholder forums are held to ensure their inputs are taken into account before the CFSP is submitted to the CA Budget and Appropriations Committee (BAC). Budget preparation

is the fifth stage and it is based on approved Budget Policy Statement (BPS) and CFSP. The stakeholders make written submissions and take part in stakeholder forums. The sixth stage involves budget estimates as identified in PFMA section 129 where public forums should be held to deliberate on proposed projects and budget estimates for those projects. The Seventh and final stage is the legislative approval process. Here the County Budget Estimates are disseminated to the public at the sub-county levels at least seven days before public forums. It is the BAC that is mandated to summarize the hearings and forward recommendations to the CA. Spending is authorized only after the CA approves the Appropriation Bill. All these stages are time-bound (MoDP, 2016).

2.4. Conclusion

Chapter two provided an overview of public participation with highlights on the contextual framework of public participation, a brief history of Embu County, the Embu County government structure, the constitutional framework as well as the legal background for public participation. It also outlines the County Public Participation guidelines as well as court case studies where some County Governments had been sued for not undertaking public participation.

CHAPTER THREE

STUDY FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

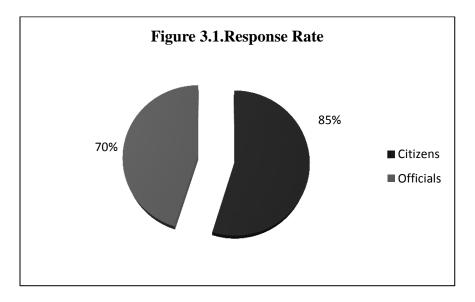
3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, study findings as well as interpretations on the topic of the effectiveness of local level mobilization strategies for public participation in the budgetary process of Embu County are discussed. The raw data collected from the field was coded and analyzed using Microsoft Excel. It was also used to draw data presentations such as graphs, pie charts, and tables. Section one of this chapter illustrates the response rate of this study as well as the distribution of the respondents across the four constituencies. The second part of the chapter submits the respondents' demographics of age, gender, and level of education. Part three of the chapter presents aspects regarding the dependent variable, public participation in Embu County. Section four expounds on the independent variables and the study findings on their effectiveness as mobilization strategies for public participation in the budget process. The fifth part presents the analysis on mobilization by demographics of the respondents. The sixth part delves into testing the hypothesis of this study. This section is further divided into four parts. Part one describes and analyzes data on the first hypothesis on the effectiveness of county newspapers (H1). The second section presents and discusses data for hypothesis two on the effectiveness of community radio (H2).Section three presents and analyzes data on the third hypothesis on the effectiveness of posters (H3). The final section of the chapter summarizes and puts the study findings together.

3.2. Response Rate and Respondent Distribution

The study had targeted 40 respondents from eight Wards across the four Sub-counties of Embu County and 10 officials of the Embu County Government. The respondents were all adults and eligible voters of the County. These respondents were specifically dwellers of Embu County during the 2016/2017financial year so as to have substantial information on the effectiveness of local level mobilization strategies for public participation in the budgeting cycle that the study sought to find. This was informed by the fact that public participation is a constitutional requirement for all budgeting processes whether at the County or National levels of governance. The respondents targeted did not all respond. 36 out of the 40 targeted citizens responded while 7 out of the 10 County government officials responded. However, 2 out of the 36 answered

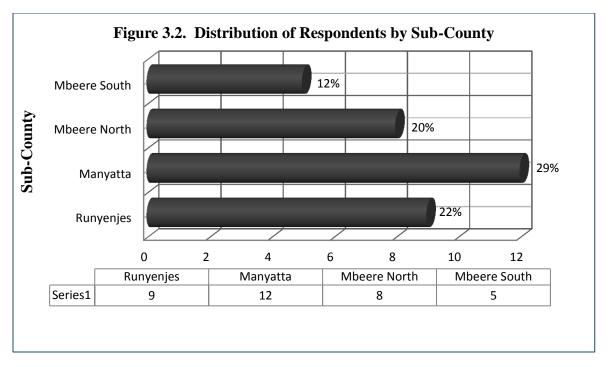
questionnaires were found to have some missing demographic information and were therefore discarded. This therefore represented an 90% response rate from the citizens. All the answered questionnaires from the County officials were valid and this represented a 70% response rate. This information is summarized in figure 3.1 below.





The indication from figure 3.1 is that the response rate was high. This can be attributed to the fact that public participation in the County budgeting cycle is a rather new phenomenon since Counties only began operating in the year 2013. Therefore, a conclusion can be drawn to say that respondents were pretty excited and eager to participate in this survey. This indicates that the findings of this survey could then become representative and useful for the County government in policy decisions that require citizens input.

In terms of distribution of the respondents across the four Sub-counties, the researcher analyzed and displayed the results in the figure 3.2 below.

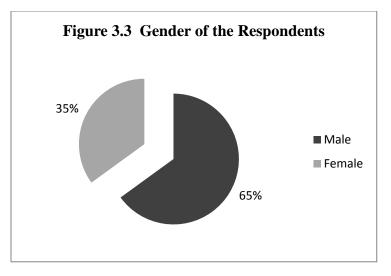


Source: Field Research, 2018.

Figure 3.2 depicts that out of the 41 respondents (34 citizens and 7 County Officials), 22% were from Runyenjes Sub-county, 29% from Manyatta, 20% from Mbeere North while 12% were from Mbeere South. Apart from these respondents, 7 county government officials were interviewed. It is clear that majority of the respondents were from Manyatta Sub-county. This can be attributed to the fact that Manyatta is the Sub-county that hosts the County Government Headquarters and therefore some of the respondents are urban dwellers who were easily accessible.

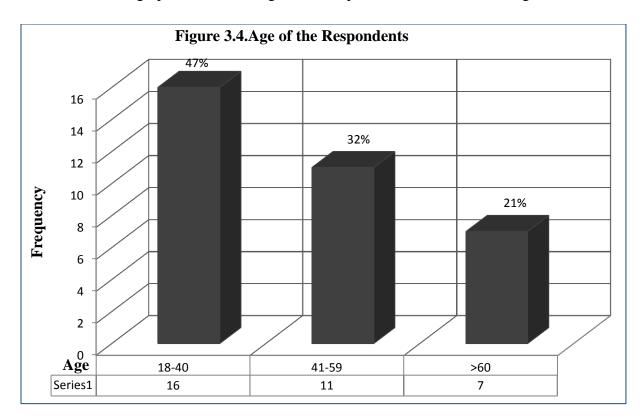
3.3. Respondents' Demographics

This section of the study describes the demographic information of the respondents from the sample survey. The first demographic attribute that the study looked at was the gender of the respondents. This is displayed in figure 3.3 below.



Source: Field Research, 2018.

Figure 3.3 reveals that most of the respondents were male accounting for 65% while the female respondents represented 35%. It is evident that more men were willing to participate in this survey than women.

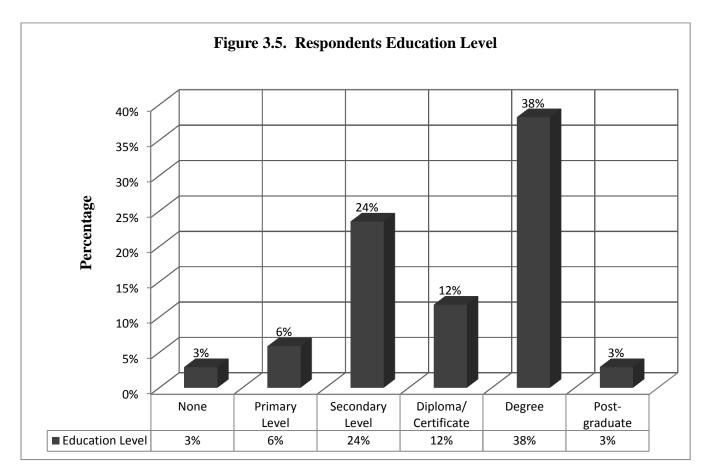


The second demographic was on the age of the respondents and is shown in figure 3.4 below.

Source: Field Research, 2018.

Figure 3.4 shows that most of the respondents were the youth aged between 18 years and 40 years representing 47%. The older respondents were fewer with 21 % while the respondents of middle age accounted for 32%. This indicates that people aged between 18 and 40 years are conscious of their democratic spaces hence were more willing to participate in this survey. This can also be attributed to the fact that the researcher also fell in this age bracket and therefore it was easy to create a rapport with the younger respondents. On the other hand, even though extensive literature affirms that older people, all over the world, have the luxury of time and consequently are more likely to participate in decisions that affect them, this survey had fewer older people (>60) responding. This can be attributed to the age difference between them and the researcher implying that they were rather uncomfortable being interviewed by a younger person.

The final demographic variable explored the level of education of the respondents. This is shown in the figure 3.5 below.



Source: Field Research, 2018.

Figure 3.5 suggests that most of the respondents had attained tertiary education rather than just basic education. From the study, 38% of the respondents had a basic degree, while 24 % of the respondents had high school qualification. Only 3% of the respondents possessed a post-graduate qualification and the same 3% of the respondents cited to have had no education at all. This suggests that over 96% of the respondents were literate and this means that people that people who possess some educational skills are more likely to be interested in matters to do with public participation.

3.4. The Dependent Variable: Public Participation in Embu County

The County government officials provided an important background on public participation in the County. The respondents were asked to rate the status of public participation in Embu County. This information is shown in figure 3.6 below.

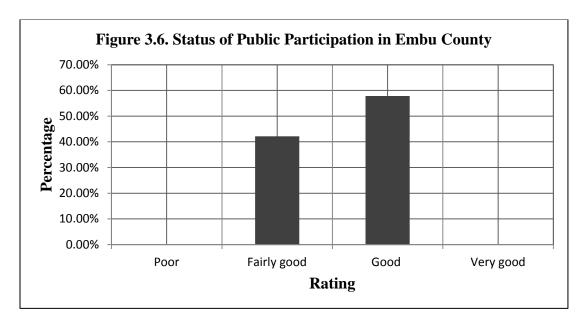
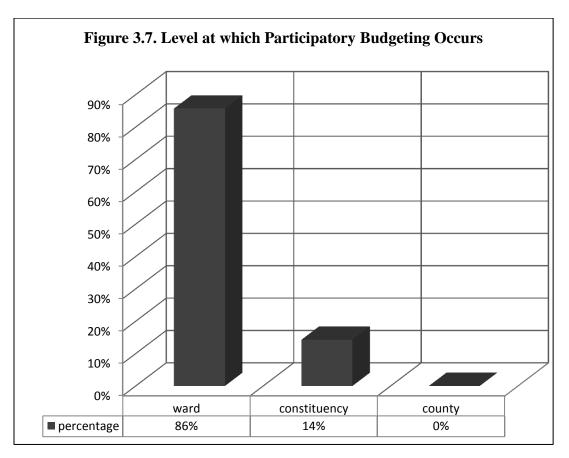




Figure 3.6 shows responses from Embu County Officials. When asked to rate the status of Embu County public participation, 57.85 % thought Embu County was good at fulfilling the constitutional mandate of involving the citizens in the budget process. None of the respondents rated it as Poor or Very Good (0%). On the other hand, 42.15% rated it as Fairly Good. This implies that Embu County Government involves its citizens in matters that compel them to invite citizens' particularly public participation in the budgeting process.

Secondly, the officials were asked to state at what level the public deliberations take place. The aim was to find out if public participation in the budgeting cycle had been decentralized. This information is put on view in figure 3.7 below.



Source: Field Research, 2018.

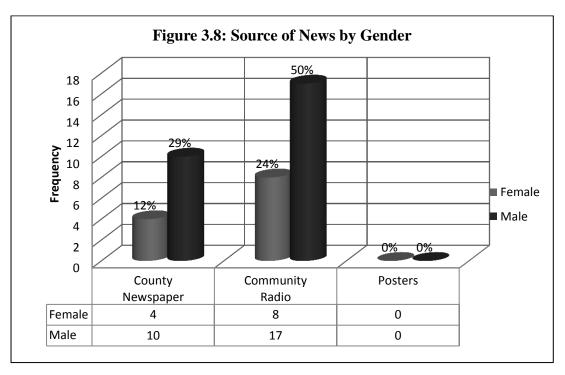
From the interviews, it was evident that public participation initially began at the constituency level but it was gradually devolved to the wards and further to the villages. Figure 3.7 suggests that 85.71% of the respondents agreed that public participation was happening at the ward level. On further inquiry, some respondents revealed that their departments did not have funding for public participation hence public participation could not be decentralized. However, this accounted for only 14% of the respondents who said that departments could not carry out such activities independently. Instead, the County consolidated areas that required budgeting deliberations. None the less, decentralization of participation venues indicates that more citizens were considerably getting interested in participating in decisions that affect them hence the augmentation of participation in the villages.

When respondents were asked if they had participated in any way in the budgeting process, half said they had. This means that public participation concept is alive in Embu County. However, since snow balling technique had been used by the researcher to reach respondents who had participated, this conclusion that half had participated while the other half had is not conclusive on the magnitude of participation by the citizens. It is also important to note that there are different levels of participation which the researcher did not explore in this paper.

3.5. Mobilization by Respondents Demographics

3.5.1. Source of News by Gender

Respondents were further asked to state their source of news. The data was analyzed by the gender of the respondents. This information is displayed in figure 3.8 below.



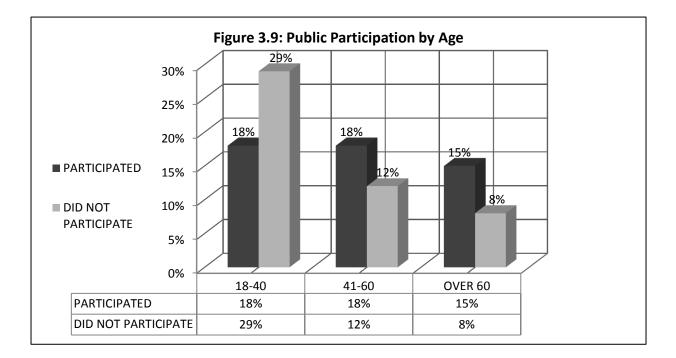
Source: Field Research, 2018.

It is evident from figure 3.8 that more men use the mobilization strategies being studied in this paper as compared to women. This can be associated with the fact that historically, men have always been more interested in reading news than women. This explains why 50% and 29% of the respondents were male who chose Community Radio and Newspapers respectively. However, none of the genders preferred posters as a source of news. Generally, posters have

mostly been used to captivate readers to attend certain events and not necessarily to report County occurrences. This explains why posters did not feature anywhere as a source of local news.

3.5.2. Public Participation by Age

The researcher also analyzed public participation by age. Those who had participated were separated from those who had not. The results of this analysis are shown in the figure 3.9 below.

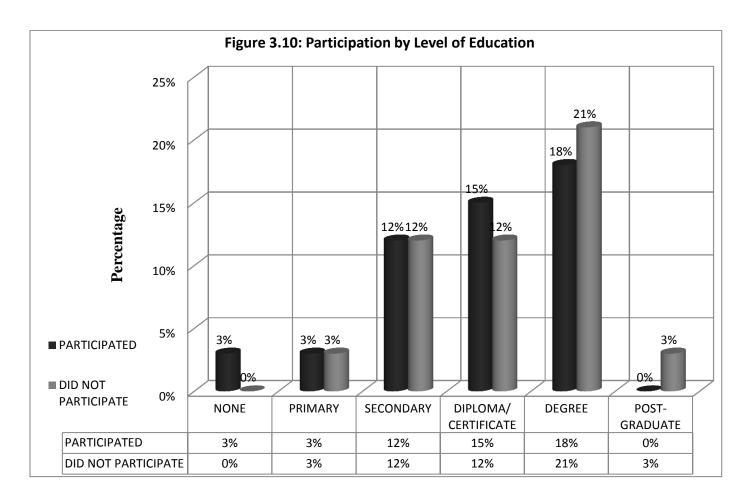


Source: Field Research, 2018.

Figure 3.9 shows that the youth aged between 18-40 years of age did not participate in any way in the budgeting cycle of the 2016/2017 financial year. This could indicate that the mobilization mechanisms employed did not motivate the young people to get involved in matters to do with resource allocation. It is also quite possible that the youth have little interest in the budget making process. On the other hand, the older respondents had more people who had participated in the budgeting process as compared to those who had not. 18% of the 41-60 age bracket and 15% of the >60 age bracket respondents had participated in the budget making process. These results are in tandem with CVT which states that older people have time resources and are therefore more likely to participate in matters affecting them.

3.5.3. Public Participation by Level of Education

The researcher also analyzed participation by level of education. The outcome is displayed in figure 3.10 below.



Source: Field Research, 2018

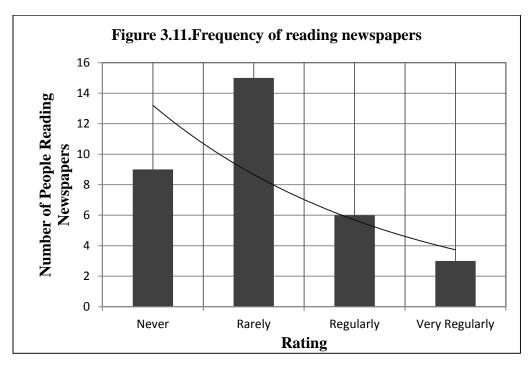
Figure 3.10 shows that education did not really appear as a significant factor affecting participation in Embu County. For respondents who had attained primary and secondary level education, there was no difference between those who had participated and those who had not. Respondents who had a degree qualification produced a 3% difference with 18% having participated. This indicates that education as a resource is not enough motivation for citizens to participate in their civic duties. These findings therefore add to the literature on theories of mobilization.

3.6. The Independent Variables: Mobilization Strategies

In this section, study findings relating to the independent variables are presented. The three independent variables were County Newspaper, Community Radio and Posters.

3.6.1. Use of the County Newspaper as a Mobilization Strategy

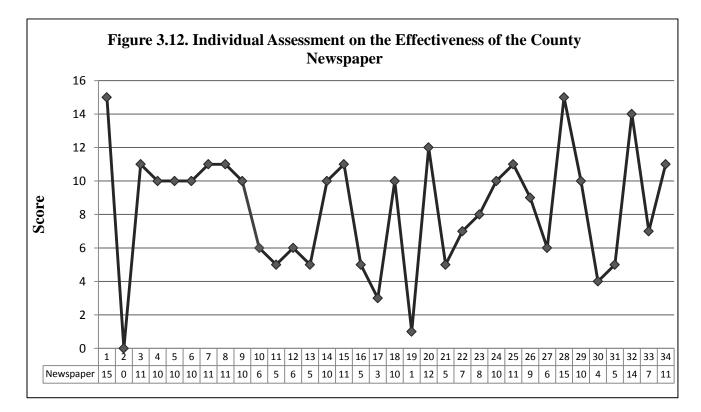
Out of the 34 respondents, 14 cited the newspapers as one of their common source of news translating to 41% of the total respondents. This means that residents of this County can read and access newspapers at one point in their lives. Respondents were further asked to indicate how often they read newspapers. The responses are shown in figure 3.11 below.





It is evident from figure 3.11 that newspapers are not regularly read in this county. In fact, a quick tabulation reveals that 44% of the respondents rarely read newspapers compared to 17.6% who read newspapers regularly. This indicates that about 40% of Embu County citizens are interested and have access to newspapers. Out of the 34 respondents, 41 % cited the newspapers as their preferred source of news. This represents a substantial portion of the community as far as Newspapers are concerned. However, these numbers could be higher if the newspapers were less costly. Respondents affirmed that they found them quite expensive to have access on a daily

basis. Furthermore, there is no prior information that a PB advert would be run on a particular day, hence the only people who are likely to come across it are those who read newspapers on a daily basis. The other metrics used to measure the effectiveness of the newspaper included how informative they were when it came to local occurrences, how clear the adverts in them were that the public was being invited to participate in the budgeting process and also the clarity on time and venue for PB. This information is summarized and presented in figure 3.12 below.

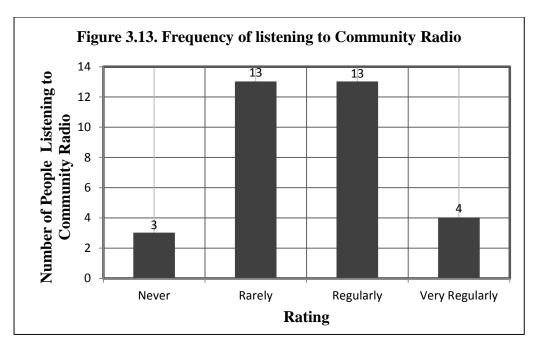


Source: Field Research, 2018.

Figure 3.12 implies that on average, the newspaper had a mean of 8 out of the possible 20 marks from the metrics used. This translates to about 40%. It therefore means that citizens who read newspapers find them to be quite informative and clear. Usually, newspapers are easily accessed by the elites and these elites have the advantage of being more civic conscious. Besides, they may belong to other social networks that heighten their degree of awareness on what is happening in the County. It is consequently probable that the elites will be aware of the budgeting process and will strive to acquire the specific daily newspaper that ran the budgeting invite advert.

3.6.2. Use of Community Radio as a Mobilization Strategy

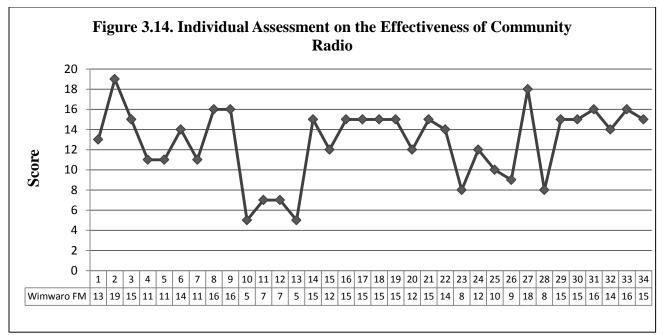
Community Radio featured prominently as a favorite source of local news among the respondents. It scored favorably in terms of how often respondents listened to Community Radio. The responses are shown in figure 3.13 below.



Source: Field Research, 2018.

Figure 3.13 shows that 50% of the respondents listen to Community Radio. Being a station that broadcasts in the local Kiembu/Kimbere dialects, the radio station scored highly among the respondents. Nowadays, almost every homestead owns a radio and with the penetration of mobile phones in Africa, the population has access to portable radios in these phones. This can explain the high preference rating assigned to community radio.

Respondents were also asked to comment on some attributes regarding Community Radio. These attributes included how informative Community Radio was when it came to local occurrences, how clear the adverts through the Community Radio were that people were being invited to participate in the budgeting process and also clarity on time and venue for public participation. These responses from each respondent are summarized and presented in figure 3.14 below.

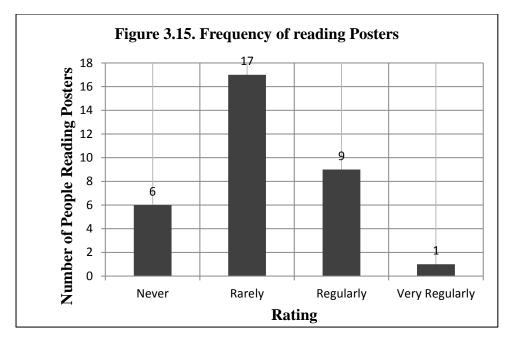


Source: Field Research, 2018.

From figure 3.14, respondents gave Community Radio high scores. On matters to do with how the adverts were run, 43% of the respondents found them to be clear. This means that broadcasting in the local radio gets more citizens understand their importance and their role in the County budgeting process. When it came to news on what is happening around the county, Wimwaro FM scored 44%. Community Radio runs the budgeting adverts through the presenters who speak the local language during their shows throughout the day. This would translate to these messages getting repeated and in some occasions, with guest appearances by the local leaders. These County leaders use those platforms to sensitize the listeners on occurrences within the County. This could be the reason why mobilization through the Community Radio is unambiguous that citizens are being invited to participate in the budget process.

3.6.3. Use of Posters as a Mobilization Strategy

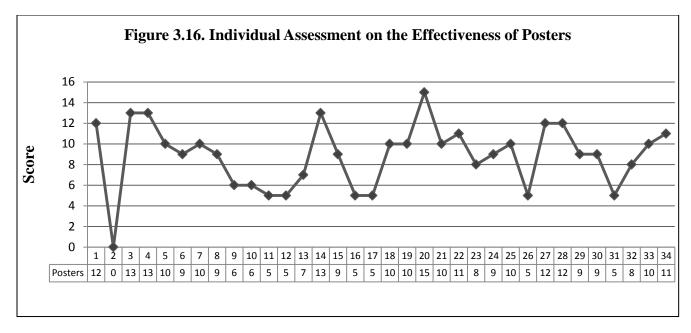
The third mobilization strategy explored was use of posters. When it came to the budgeting process, the poster proved to be an important avenue through which residents of Embu County are informed and mobilized. The responses on posters were analyzed and displayed in table 3.15 below.



Source: Field Research, 2018.

Figure 3.15 suggests that posters are more frequently read when it comes to the budgeting information compared to newspapers. This is derived from the fact that 29.4% of the respondents regularly read posters compared to 26.5% of the respondents who read newspapers regularly Posters did not score highly as a preferred source of news accounting for only 8% of the respondents. They might have scored this lowly owing to the fact that it is expected to find most of them outside stuck on buildings, trees or posts and not necessarily on secured notice boards. This makes them vulnerable to harsh weather conditions as well as possible destruction from humans and consequently not long lasting. However, 30% of the respondents found them to be quite informative when used in passing County announcements. It is also important to note that 31% of the respondents rated them as clear when it came to information requiring citizens to attend PB meetings. This substantial rating can be directed to the fact that posters are usually short and precise on the information being passed.

Respondents were consequently asked to remark on some aspects regarding Posters. These aspects included frequency of using each of the posters, how informative they were when it came to local occurrences, how clear the adverts in them were that they were being invited to participate in the budgeting process and also how specific they were on time and venue for public participation. This information is summarized and presented in figure 3.16 below.



Source: Field Research, 2018.

Figure 3.16 displays the total score that each respondent gave posters based on the metrics posters were subjected to. On average, respondents gave the poster a score of 9 out of the possible 20 points. This insinuates that posters are quite informative when it came to the budget invites. People who read posters found them to be quite apparent that the County Government was inviting them to participate in the budget process. The data also suggests that information on the posters stated both the time and venue for public participation meetings.

3.7. Testing the Relationship between Dependent and Independent Variables

This section delved into testing the hypothesis of this study. These hypotheses are; County Newspaper has enhanced public participation in the budgeting process, Community Radio has enhanced public participation in the budgeting process and Posters have enhanced public participation in the budgeting process. Yule's coefficient of association (Q) was used in this section. According to Baddie and Fred (1995), Yule's Q can be used to determine a relationship between two variables. Since it is a nominal level of measurement, it uses a two by two table where each variable is used as a dichotomy. This means that it is easy to compute. It compares cases where something is present and where that thing is absent. The measure of association uses A and B to signify the presence of something and (a) and (b) to denote its' absence. The value of (Q) ranges between -1 < 0 < 1. A -1 suggests a strong negative association, 0 suggests no

association at all while 1 suggests a strong positive association. The researcher tested the three variables under investigation.

3.7.1 Effectiveness of County Newspapers as a Mobilization Strategy

This section answers the first research question by testing the first corresponding hypothesis which states that County Newspaper has enhanced public participation in the budgeting process. Yule's coefficient of association (Q) was run to determine whether there was a relationship between reading newspapers and public participation in the budgeting process among the 34 respondents. The analysis is shown in Table 3.1 below.

Table.3. 1: Yule's (Q) for Newspapers

Do you read	Did you participate in the	
the Star	budgeting process?	
Newspaper?	NO (a)	YES (A)
NO (b)	13	9
YES (B)	4	8

Q
$$= \frac{(AB) (ab) - (Ab)(aB)}{(AB)(ab) + (Ab)(aB)} = \frac{13*8 - 9*4}{13*8 + 9*4} = 0.486$$

Yule's Q was run to examine the relationship between County Newspapers and Public participation in the budgeting process amongst the 34 respondents. Ordinarily, Q= 0.486 would suggest a moderate relationship between those people who read the County Newspaper and those who participated in the budgeting process of Embu County. Since the true value is a function of the number of cases, a significance test was run to determine the strength of this relationship. There was a significant difference between reading newspapers and participating in the budgeting process (Q = 0.486; *t-value*= 3.150; $\alpha = 0.004$). T value usually tries to find a significance difference between population means. The greater the t-value is from 1.96, the greater the evidence against the null hypothesis. A t-value of 3.15 is greater than 1.96 and this illustrates a 95% confidence level. These results then show that Newspapers really do have an

effect on public participation in the budgeting process. Even though people buy newspapers for different reasons such as source of local news, search for specific advertisements particularly jobs and entertainment, it seems that those who read Newspapers may be getting the right things to read regarding what is happening in the County. This indicates that information in the newspapers is read and is benefitting the community. The significance results suggest that there is a strong association between the people who read Newspapers and those who participate in the budgeting process. Specifically, these results suggest that Newspapers have enhanced public participation in the budgeting process and is therefore is an effective mobilization strategy.

According to Saade et al. (1998), newspapers had enhanced the prevention of diarrheal disease in South America through promotion of hand-washing campaign. On the other hand, this study has established that County Newspaper has been effective in mobilizing citizens for public participation in the budgeting process. While the gaps in the literature included place of study and mobilization for health, these findings affirm that mobilization does not depend on the subject matter, in other words, mobilization mechanisms for health activism can also work in mobilizing people for budgeting process. These similarities suggest that the strategy on use of newspapers can be effective in many areas across the globe.

3.7.2 Effectiveness of Community Radio as a Mobilization Strategy

This section answers the second research question by testing the second corresponding hypothesis which states that Community Radio has enhanced public participation in the budgeting process. Yule's Q was also used to examine the relationship between those who listened to Community Radio and those who participated in the budgeting process. This information is presented in table 3.2 below.

Do you Listen	Did you participate in the budgeting process?	
to Wimwaro		
FM?	NO (a)	YES (A)
NO (b)	5	1
YES (B)	12	16

Table 3.2: Yules (Q) for Community Radio

Q =
$$\frac{(AB)(ab)-(Ab)(aB)}{(AB)(ab)+(Ab)(aB)} = \frac{16*5-1*12}{16*5+1*12} = 0.7391$$

Yule's Q was run to examine the relationship between Community Radio and Public participation in the budgeting process amongst the 34 respondents. Ordinarily, a Q=0.739suggests a very strong relationship between the two variables. There are varying reasons as to why people listen to local radio. These reasons range from source of local news, to entertainment, to inability in understanding other languages other than the local language and so on. However, to explore the significance of this score, t-tests were run. The outcome revealed that there was a significant difference between community radio and participating in the budgeting process (*t-value*= 6.210; α = 0.000). A t-value of 6.21 is way greater than 1.96. These results show that Community Radio really does have an effect on public participation in the budgeting process. This suggests that there is a very strong association between the people who listen to Community Radio and those who participate in the budgeting process. Those who listen to Community Radio for whichever the reason seems to have access to budgeting mobilization networks. In other words, listening to the radio is beneficial to the community because the information from the County Government reaches them using an easily accessible mobilization network. Specifically, these results suggest that Community Radio has enhanced public participation in the budgeting process. This indicates that community Radio is an effective mobilization strategy because it leads more people to public participation.

These findings are in tandem with Piotrow et al. (1990) who concluded that radio use had increased number of new acceptors of family planning at family planning clinics. Whereas their study had been done in three cities in Nigeria, use of radio is very common in rural Kenya. This indicates that use of radio is an effective mobilization strategy for enhancing citizen action in matters that affect them.

3.7.3. Effectiveness of Posters as a Mobilization Strategy

This section answers the third research question by testing the third corresponding hypothesis which states that Posters have enhanced public participation in the budgeting process. Yule's Q was also run to test for an association between posters and public participation in the budgeting process. The results are tabulated in table 3.3 below.

Do you read	Did you participate in the	
Posters?	budgeting process?	
	NO (a)	YES (A)
NO (b)	5	2
YES (B)	12	15

Table 3.3: Yule's (Q) for Posters

Q =
$$\frac{(AB)(ab)-(Ab)(aB)}{(AB)(ab)+(Ab)(aB)} = \frac{15*5-2*12}{15*5+2*12} = 0.5152$$

The results for Yule's (Q) produced a significant difference between community radio and participating in the budgeting process (Q = 0.515). In general, a Q= 0.515 suggests a strong positive association between people who read posters and public participation in the budgeting process. To ascertain this relationship, t-significance tests were carried out (*t-value*= 3.400; $\alpha = 0.002$). A t-value of 3.4 is greater than 1.96 which represents a 95% confidence level. These results show that posters actually have an effect on public participation in the budgeting process. Normally, posters appear in places that are frequented by people. In the market places, citizens

are likely to come across posters but the question that still remains is whether they really take interest in them. There are all kinds of posters stuck in public spaces ranging from posters advertising religious activities, secular activities as well as civic mobilization. It is therefore correct to state that those people who read posters are more likely to come across a budget process advert. The findings then suggest that there is a strong association between the people who read posters and those who participate in the budgeting process. Specifically, these results insinuate that posters have enhanced public participation in the budgeting process. It therefore means that posters have been effective in mobilizing citizens for public participation.

According to UN-Habitat (2008), Uganda used posters with clear-cut timing of budget proceedings to inform citizens about the budgeting process. The villagers engaged in the process and community priority needs were discussed and listed in these forums. Use of brochures across notice boards in Uganda led to successful participatory prioritization. This study did not explore whether community needs were met but this being one advantage of participatory budgeting, posters are therefore crucial mobilization mechanisms which can be used to bring more people to budget decision making.

3.8. Putting the Study Findings Together

This section summarizes the three mobilization strategies namely, County Newspapers, Posters, and Community Radio. Respondents who had attended a public participation forum were asked to select the means by which they got the information inviting them to participate in the budgeting process. Those responses are shown in table 3.1 below.

Mobilization Strategy	percentage
Community Radio	52.9%
Posters	35.3%
County Newspapers	11.7%

Table.3. 4: Mobilization Strategy Informing those who participated

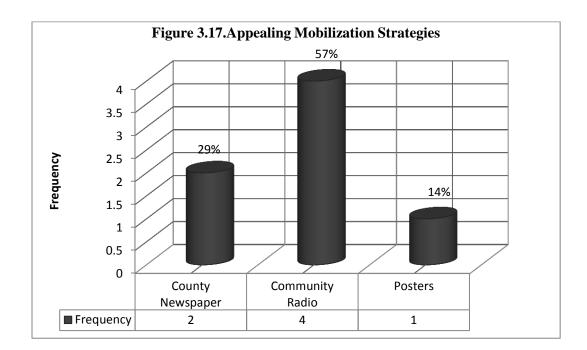
Those who had attended a public participation meeting were asked to identify the strategy that got them informed and mobilized to participate in the budget making process. From table 3.4

above, about half of the respondents heard about budgeting invites from Community Radio, 35% read about it from the posters while 12 % had read about it from the newspapers. This clearly demonstrates that Community Radio has been an effective mobilization strategy for public participation in the budgeting process. This conclusion is in tandem with the findings in this paper that give Community Radio the highest rating making it a more effective mobilization strategy for publication strategy for publication in the budgeting process.

From the responses on how frequently they used Newspapers, Posters and Community Radio, the three mobilization strategies competed favorably. Out of the 4 possible outcomes, each scored an average of 2. It is therefore truthful to suggest that the three variables are easily accessible to the citizens of Embu County. When it came to which among the three was more informative when it came to local news and occurrences, Community Radio proved superior to the newspaper and posters. Residents were also asked to comment on how clear the three strategies were when it came to the budget process mobilization. The first attribute was that the message was clearly an invite for the citizen requiring one to participate in the budget process while the second and third attributes were on clarity of time and venue for public participation. Community Radio obtained 58%, followed by posters at 50% and newspaper at 33%. On average, the newspaper scored 8, posters 9 while Community Radio had 13 out of the possible 20 points. These were favorable scores which show that the three variables are quite informative on what is happening in Embu County. All these outcomes affirm that the three variables have been effective mobilization strategies for public participation in the budgeting process of Embu County.

From key data analysis, both the citizens and the county government officials outcome suggests that Community Radio is more alluring in getting citizens to the decision making table when compared with posters and newspapers. Responses from the respondents reveled that out of the possible 20 merit points, Community Radio scored 13 making it the best among the three variables under study in this paper. On the other hand, the County officials' term Community Radio as the mobilization strategy with the widest outreach. This is mainly because it broadcasts in the local language where even the illiterate populace is able to decode messages and also since local county stories are hardly mentioned in the other main media, Community Radio becomes

the preferred source of local stories. Secondly, it is considered as one of the avenues that will get citizens volunteering to participate in ending the long debate on incentives provision. However, the other two mobilization strategies are still as important and crucial. A sample poster (*see appendix IV*, p.72) reveals that its letter format could be unappealing and hence does not capture people's attention. A poster should capture people's attention and at the same time be short and precise. This could explain why the poster was beaten by Community Radio. On the strategies that were more appealing to the County government, the County Officials commented and this outcome is illustrated in figure 3.17 below.



Source: Field Research, 2018.

Figure 3.17 above shows that out of the three factors under consideration, respondents gave Community Radio the highest rating when it came to the County Government preferred mode of inviting the public for budget meetings. Respondents agreed that the County Newspaper had been used previously but it had ceased circulating for more than a year. The newspapers commonly used by the County Government of Embu are national newspapers and mostly the Star Newspaper. The County Government Officials affirm that the most appealing mobilization strategy is community radio. The main reason why it is preferred is that it is cost effective and reaches citizens from all corners of the County meaning that it is the strategy with the widest outreach. Secondly, the MCAs interviewed revealed that many citizens attended those forums with an expectation of receiving incentives. The incentives are usually monetary, either reimbursement of travel expense or lunch provision. They argued that local citizens have a tendency of expecting handouts whenever they attend meetings convened by area elected leaders but if the invites are done through the radio, citizens who are available always volunteer. This, therefore, explains why Community Radio is a preferred mobilization strategy that the County Government employs.

In conclusion, the three mobilization strategies investigated in this study have enhanced public participation in the budgeting process of Embu County. The significance analysis showed that Community radio was a more effective mobilization strategy (Q=0.739) compared to posters and newspapers. On the other hand, the County Government seems to be spending a lot on the newspaper as a mobilization mechanism. From citizen's responses, it does not seem like they often have access to the newspaper. In fact, from the study findings, the newspaper was rated third among the three independent variables and this is mainly because it is elitist. The County Government therefore must prioritize the mobilization mechanisms to use so as to match the networks used by Embu citizens. In other words, there is need to spend on mechanisms which are easily accessible to the citizens.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Introduction

Chapter four of the study is the final chapter. Section one of the chapter gives the summary of the study findings. The conclusions are explained in section two of the chapter while section three presents recommendations generated by this study. This is geared towards improving the status of public participation in the counties and these recommendations sets sight on increasing the mobilization of citizens for public input by county governments in general. The fourth and final section of the chapter will offer suggestions on areas for further research.

4.2 Summary of the Study

This research was aimed at investigating the effectiveness of local-level mobilization strategies for public participation in the budgeting process. It was guided by one main objective; to explore the effectiveness of local-level mobilization strategies for public participation in the budgeting process of Embu County. The researcher sought to find out how effective the newspaper, community radio, and posters had been in mobilizing the citizens for public participation in the budgeting process.

The research adopted a cross-sectional research design. The target population was citizens of Embu County and to acquire the sample, the County was clustered into the four constituencies. Using the snowballing technique, the researcher targeted as many respondents as possible till saturation for the survey. For the key informant interviews, the respondents were purposefully chosen. The data analysis took up a quantitative data analysis technique.

The findings of the study indicate that Newspapers, Community Radio and Posters have been effective in mobilizing the citizens for public participation in the budgeting process. Since public participation is a constitutional requirement for all levels of government, how citizens were brought on board was a prime objective of this study. The three variables were tested to

investigate their relationship with participating in the budgeting process and Community Radio emerged as the variable with the highest degree of agreement.

4.3 Study Conclusions

The study was an attempt to explore the effectiveness of local- level mobilization strategies for public participation in the budgeting process. The researcher managed to reach 85% of the targeted respondents and therefore the conclusions drawn in this paper were from these findings. Residents from all the four Sub-counties, namely Manyatta, Runyenjes, Mbeere North and Mbeere South have an almost equal opportunity of attending budgetary deliberations. This is because all areas have elected representatives who receive the public mobilization memos and there exist designated areas within these localities where budget meetings occur. It is now up to the County Government as well as elected officials to publicize budget schedules from the county level all the way to the wards.

Posters appeared to be quite appealing when it comes to informing the public. Embu is mainly a Christian community county and notice boards across places of worship are frequented weekly. Marketplaces and also hospitals are potential news source places. This gives posters an upper hand when compared with the newspaper when it comes to information displayed on notice boards across the county. From Yule's (Q), 0.5050 indicates a positive strong association between people who read posters and those who attend public participation meetings. This is a strategy that county government should continue employing and also consider utilizing all the available places in workplaces, places of worship, hospitals and many other frequented areas.

According to the respondents, the County newspaper- Embu Shines, does not exist nowadays. However, the national daily newspapers are available and quite affordable to those citizens who read them. In fact, 12.5 % of those who have attended public participation meetings have read about it in the newspapers. In the absence of the County Newspaper, the County government has been using the Star newspaper for publishing County advertisements. Though not as popular as the community radio or posters, it is also a medium that should not be ignored. These local stories should include public participation news accompanied by pictorials to motivate more people to come out in large numbers for budgetary deliberations.

To get more citizens to the county budgeting forums, mobilization must be effective. This study sought to investigate the effectiveness of mobilization strategies for public participation in the budget process. For the citizens, a mobilization strategy was termed as effective if it had the capacity to reach all citizens from all corners of the county. For this reason, Community Radio was a reliable source of local news for citizens of both genders with 34.78% of the female and 41.46% of the male respondents. All age groups also cited it as a reliable source of local news with 66.67%, 40.00% and 16.22% representing the >60, 41-59 and 18-40 age groups respectively. These results are congruent with the hypothesis of the study that mobilization strategies have enhanced public participation in the budgeting process.

Finally, it is evident that people who possess some educational skills are more likely to be interested in attending public participation meetings. From the study, 38.24% of the respondents have a basic degree, while 23. 53 % of the respondents possess high school qualification. Only 2.94% of the respondents possessed no education at all. This suggests that over 96% of the respondents were literate. Since the study employed a snowballing technique to reach respondents, it is correct to say that people who are educated are more likely to attend participatory budgeting discussions than people who possess no education at all.

These findings reinforce Civic Voluntarism Theory (CVT) by Verba, Schlozman, and Brady. The theory hypothesizes that for people to participate in civic activities, they must have skills, and they must be motivated and belong to networks that mobilize them to get involved. The County Government of Embu therefore, akin to this fact, used those networks, particularly Community Radio to mobilize its citizens for public participation in the budgeting process.

4.4 Study Recommendations

This study has revealed that there is a need for the County Government to make use of these mobilization strategies particularly Community Radio to sensitize citizens on their constitutional rights to take part in the budgeting process. In as much as public participation encourages communities to own the development programs, there needs to be a partnership between the community and the technocrats. This agenda can be well articulated through the frequent use of community radio. County government should, therefore, continue using Community Radio to publicize budget meetings since it is the strategy with the widest outreach, the clearest message

and also the most informative when it comes to local stories. Even though the County Government has been using the Star newspaper, it should also consider reviving the County Newspaper, with either a weekly or monthly publication because it is likely to give local stories wider coverage than the mainstream national newspapers.

Secondly, to encourage civic voluntarism, or put differently, to discourage incentives dependency in exchange for public participation, the County Government should consider undertaking frequent civic education across the wards. In particular, the area MCA and area ward administrator can be facilitated to carry out this mandate right from the villages. It is essential that community members identify their project needs, prioritize them and take part in their implementation. To get more women in these affairs, the area leaders should also consider mobilizing through the women networks of self-help and other women welfare groups. Since 29.4 % of the women get information from local village discussions, the area MCAs should consider sending memos (posters) to women groups or alternatively attend their meetings randomly to engage and encourage the women on the importance of fulfilling their constitutional mandate. After all, women are generally viewed as partners in the community development and to excite their interest in budgeting the leaders need to show up and emphasize why the women voices matter.

On matters policy, many respondents did not seem to be aware of the public participation bill of 2015. There is need therefore to publicize this policy and make copies available to citizens in the villages. The County Government can use public notice boards, in frequented areas such as hospitals, churches, marketplaces and government offices. This will ensure that citizens are compliant with the PB guidelines and will consequently be in support and ownership of development projects.

4.5 Suggestions for Further Study

After analyzing the results of this study, there arose several areas of public participation that require further research on so as to achieve better participatory results in future.

i) Additional studies are needed to investigate how effective public participation has been in the implementation of the community's priority needs.

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ii) The study did not also conclusively investigate all the mobilization strategies that can be used to get citizens to participate in the budgeting process.

iii) The study exposed a gap on what citizens viewed as Public participation, forms of public participation in the county reveals an area that requires exploration.

iv) Finally, the study exposed a gap in other processes other than the budgeting one that requires citizens input and this can be further explored.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Letter Of Introduction

Beatrice Wanjuki Kariuki

University of Nairobi

10th December, 2017

Dear Respondent,

RE: REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE IN PROJECT RESEARCH

I am a student from the University of Nairobi undertaking a Masters Degree in Public Administration doing a research on the effectiveness of local-level mobilization strategies for public participation in the budgeting process. The study results will bestow the County government with the essential information necessary for developing crucial approaches to get more Embu county citizens participating in governance. This is purely a scholastic study and confidentiality is firmly emphasized. This means that at no time will your name appear in the paper. Attached is a questionnaire, kindly spare some time to complete it. In case of any mistake in your response, kindly cross the wrong answer and tick one correct response.

Thank You

Yours faithfully,

Beatrice Kariuki

Appendix II- Questionnaire

Questionnaire for Non-Government Officials

INSTRUCTIONS: Please answer all the questions honestly and exhaustively by putting a tick ($\sqrt{}$) in the appropriate box that perfectly matches your view.

SECTION I: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1.	Gender:
	Male Female
2.	How old are you?
	a. 18-40
	b. 41-59
	c. 60 and above
3.	What is the highest level of education that you have attained?
	Post Graduate Degree Diploma/Certificate Secondary Level
	Primary Level None Others (specify)

SECTION II: MOBILIZATION STRATEGIES FOR PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN THE BUDGETING PROCESS

A. Instructions: please carefully read the following questions and indicate your answers in the space or by ticking ($\sqrt{}$) in the appropriate box or filling in the correct response that matches your view.

4. What is your source of news?

.....

5. Have you participated(public participation) in any way during the County budgeting process of 2016 - 2017?

YES		NO		
-----	--	----	--	--

6. If **Yes**, how did you hear about it?

County Newspapers	Posters	Community Radio	
None of the above			

B. Instructions: In this part ,tick only one answer that best describes your usage of the mobilization strategies (Scale 1-Never, 2-Rarely, 3-Regularly 4-Very Regularly)

No.	Questions	Res	ponse	S	
		1	2	3	4
7.	How often do you read the newspaper?				
8.	How often do you read posters?				
9.	How often do you listen to Wimwaro Fm?				

C.Instructions: From the following statements ,tick only one answer that best describes your view on how informative the mobilization strategies are about what is happening <u>Embu County.</u>

No.	Questions	Res	ponse	S	
		1	2	3	4
10.	Newspapers are always very informative about what is				
	happening in the County.				
11.	Posters always very informative about what is happening in the				
	County.				
12.	Wimwaro FM is always very informative about what is				
	happening in the County.				

D. <u>Instructions: From the following statements</u>, tick only one answer that best describes your view on the clarity of the adverts inviting you for public participation in the budgeting process.

No.	Questions	Res	ponse	S	
		1	2	3	4
13.	Adverts on the newspaper are always clear that you are being invited to participate in the budgeting process.				
14.	Adverts on the newspaper are always clear on the time the				

	budgeting meetings are supposed to start.	
15.	Adverts on the newspaper are always clear on the name of the	
	venue where budgeting deliberations will occur.	
16.	Adverts on posters are always clear that you are being invited to	
	participate in the budgeting process.	
17.	Adverts on posters are always clear on the time the budgeting	
	meetings are supposed to start.	
18.	Adverts posters are always clear on the name of the venue	
	where budgeting deliberations will occur.	
19.	Adverts on Wimwaro FM are always clear that you are being	
	invited to participate in the budgeting process.	
20.	Adverts on Wimwaro FM are always clear on the time the	
	budgeting meetings are supposed to start.	
21.	Adverts in Wimwaro FM are always clear on the name of the	
	venue where budgeting deliberations will occur.	

SECTION III: KEY INFORMANT QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaire for County Government Officials

Please answer each question by ticking ($\sqrt{}$) or filling in the correct response that you really feel is most appropriate.

22. How would you rate Embu county public participation status?

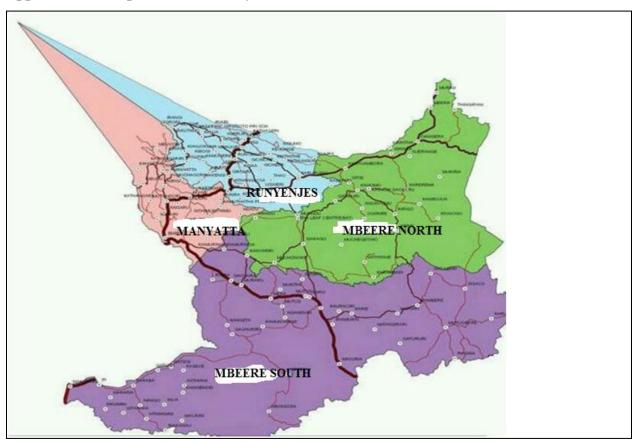
Poor Fairly Good G	Good Very Good	
23. How do you inform the public about pu	ublic participation in the bud	lgeting process?
County Newspapers Posters	Community Radio	
Others (specify)		l
24. In your opinion, which strategy reache	es more citizens for public p	participation during the
budgeting cycle?		
County Newspapers P	Posters Comm	unity Radio

25. Which strategy is more appealing (affordable, timely) for the County government?

26. At what level does the public participation forum occur?

Ward	Constituency	County
27. How have	the county's mobilization stra	ategies for public participation influenced
participator	y budgeting venues?	
Venues hav	e grown in number 🗌 Venue	es are still the same number as in 2013

Appendix III: Map of Embu County



Source: Official Website for Embu County Senator.

Appendix IV: Sample Posters





EMBU COUNTY GOVERNMENT

COUNTY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBER FINANCE AND ECONOMIC PLANNING P.O. BOX 36-60100

Ref: FIN/EC/CEC/1/2(133)

Date: 23rd January, 2017

TO ALL ELECTED MCA's P.O BOX 140-60100 EMBU.

RE: PUBLIC PARTICIPATION FORUMS ON BUDGET ESTIMATES FY 2017/2018 ON 26TH JANUARY 2017.

In accordance with the provisions of the constitution section 201 which call for openness, accountability and public participation in financial matters, and as per provisions of section 129 of the Public Finance Management Act 2012.

The County Government of Embu wishes to invites members of the public, private sector organizations, interested parties and all key stakeholders' to submit their proposals for inclusion in the County Budget 2017/18.

In view of this the county treasury wishes to invite you to grace the occasion and mobilize 10 members of the public from your ward to participate in the exercise.

Public participation forums on the budget estimates Fy2017/18 will be held on Thursday 26/01/2017 in all the sub county headquarters as indicated below:

DATE	SUB COUNTY	VENUE	TIME
26th January 2017	MANYATTA	EMBU SOCIAL HALL	9.30 AM
26 th January 2017	RUNYENJES	RUNYENJES TOWN HALL	9.30 AM
26th January 2017	KIRITIRI	CDF OFFICES KIRITIRI	9.30 AM
26th January 2017	SIAKAGO	SIAKAGO SOCIAL HALL	9.30 AM

Thank you for your continued support.

JOHN N.NJAGI COUNTY EXECUTIVE MEMBER FINANCE AND ECONOMIC PLANNING EMBU COUNTY

CC, Speaker Clerk county assembly

Source: County Assembly of Embu Notice Board