DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been submitted to any other University for an academic award.

Signature…………………………………………..………………….Date……………

Frank Munyao C51/74811/2014

This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University Supervisor

Signature…………………………………………..………………….Date……………

Dr. Patrick Kasyula- UoN
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am forever grateful to the Almighty God for seeing me through this research work. I am also grateful for the help and support of many people including my loving wife, my family, workmates, friends, and lecturers without whom this work would not have been possible. Especially, I wish to dedicate my acknowledgement of gratitude to Dr. Patrick Kasyula my supervisor, for his support and encouragement. He critically read through my work, time and again and gave such invaluable advices on grammar, organization and the theme of the research work.
DEDICATION
I dedicate this paper to my dear wife Joyce and our lovely sons Myles and Fidelix.
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# ABRREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMNS

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADP</td>
<td>Annual Development Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AfriCOG</td>
<td>Africa Centre for Open Governance</td>
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<td>B.C.</td>
<td>Before Christ</td>
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<td>CDF</td>
<td>Constituency Development Fund</td>
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<td>CIDP</td>
<td>County Integrated Development Plan</td>
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<tr>
<td>CISP</td>
<td>Comitato Internazionale per lo Sviluppo dei Popoli - International Committee for the Development of Peoples</td>
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<tr>
<td>CEC-M</td>
<td>County Executive Committee Member</td>
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<td>CGA</td>
<td>County Governments Act</td>
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<td>CIC</td>
<td>Commission for the Implementation of the Constitution</td>
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<td>CPPG</td>
<td>County Public Participation Guidelines</td>
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<td>CSO</td>
<td>Civil Society Organization</td>
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<td>DFRD</td>
<td>District Focus for Rural Development</td>
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<td>EACC</td>
<td>Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission</td>
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<td>FGDs</td>
<td>Focus Group Discussions</td>
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<td>FY</td>
<td>Financial Year</td>
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<td>ICPAK</td>
<td>Institute of Certified Public Accountants of Kenya</td>
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<td>IEBC</td>
<td>Independent Electoral and Boundaries commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>KDC</td>
<td>Kitui Development Center</td>
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<tr>
<td>KANU</td>
<td>Kenya African National Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>KHRC</td>
<td>Kenya Human Rights Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>KIPPRA</td>
<td>Kenya Institute for Public Policy Analysis and Research</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>LA</td>
<td>Local Authority</td>
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<td>LASDAP</td>
<td>Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plan</td>
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<td>LATF</td>
<td>Local Authority Transfer Fund</td>
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<td>MCA</td>
<td>Member of County Assembly</td>
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<td>NARC</td>
<td>National Rainbow Coalition</td>
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<td>NCIC</td>
<td>National Cohesion and Integration Commission</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
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<td>NPM</td>
<td>New Public Management</td>
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<td>NPPP</td>
<td>National Public Participation Policy</td>
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<td>OAG</td>
<td>Office of the Attorney General</td>
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<td>PFM-Act</td>
<td>Public Finance Management Act</td>
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<td>PT</td>
<td>Partido dos Trabalhadores (Brazilian workers party)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPAN</td>
<td>Social and Public Accountability Network</td>
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<td>SPSS</td>
<td>Statistical Package for Social Sciences</td>
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ABSTRACT

In the world over, there is an increasing recognition for the centrality of public participation in ensuring effective public accountability. Direct citizen participation in identification of community needs, development planning, preparation of budget and its validation, implementation of development projects, as well as monitoring and evaluation has now become an essential ingredient in governance matters as a means of ensuring accountability. Even though a lot of research has been done on how public participation influences public accountability, one area has been conspicuously left out; why an increase in public participation has not led to an increase in public participation in many areas of the world. This study sought to answer this question. To achieve this, the study used public policy petitions and public forums as sub constructs of public participation. Hence the study sought to answer the specific questions why an increase in the number of public forums being held has not led to an increase in public accountability and why an increase in public policy petitions has not led to increased public accountability. The study adopted a descriptive case study research design as the methodology of the study. Data was obtained from both primary sources, that is, questionnaires and interview guides, as well as secondary sources, that is, from the Kitui county website, and Office of Auditor General. The study findings showed systemic gaps in the process of public participation that had an effect on the product of the public participation and consequently compromising on public accountability. Specifically there were gaps on civic education, lack of public participation Act, public forum communication gaps, among others. The study concludes by recommending that public forums should be held in accordance with the constitutional and legislative requirements for public participation, and also that the county needs to develop a public participation and civic education Act. The study gives suggestions for further study to broaden the sphere of knowledge in this scholarly area of research, specifically on other mechanisms of public participation that were not covered in this study.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

Public participation came to prominence in the 1960s when Arnstein, (1969) published an article about power in decision-making. Before then, major decisions were being made by a small circle of powerful people or by community leaders without citizens’ input (Shipley & Utz, 2012). Much of this did not change until sometime in the mid-twentieth century with people becoming more informed about their opportunities and rights (Warren, 1969).

The importance of public participation is underscored by the fact that by involving the citizens in the process of making decisions, accountability of political decision makers will be promoted. Consequently, local governments will most likely respond positively to the people’s demands leading to an increased public accountability since the decisions that are made will reflect the priorities and needs of the local citizens who are often the most affected (Ketoyo, 2017). Public participation is hinged on the principle that those who bear the consequences of a decision or resolution have every right to take part in the process of how it’s arrived at. Hence, public participation implies that the decision arrived at will have been influenced by the public’s contribution (Pandeya, 2015).

Scholarly opinions on how public participation influences public accountability varies widely, with some authors providing an optimistic assessment; others claiming that the influence is ambiguous, context-dependent and insignificant. Pandeya (2015), while examining “the role of citizen participation in local government decision making and its contribution towards strengthening local accountability and planning systems in Nepal” found that public participation augmented the systems of local accountability and planning. It was however also found that it could lead to some probable negative end results which depended on how the public participation is structured and other factors, for instance, local politics and power dynamics, participation incentives, the capacity of local governments and citizens, and the elected representatives’ support or lack thereof.
In the southern city of Porto Allegre in Brazil, participatory budgeting and auditing was embraced after the 1989 municipal elections which were won by the Brazilian Workers Party (PT) led to an increase in public accountability. Local assemblies were given a voice on municipal investment budget allocations and expenditures where they would propose debate and decide on the same. Consequently, as of 1996 twice as many children had been enrolled in public schools, an increase of 18 per cent of families or homes with access to municipal water services was recorded, and a 39 per cent expansion of the municipal sewage system had been done. This led to a 50 per cent rise in government revenue since the peoples’ trust in government had increased and therefore they had motivation to pay taxes (Muriu, 2014).

A study in Bangladesh and Nepal found no linear causal relationship between increased public participation and greater accountability. It established that for participation to have an influence on accountability the citizens need to have the power and knowledge to place demands, while those holding positions of power should have the will and capacity to respond. Therefore, involving both civil society organizations and government institutions is important in creating channels for voice that lead to increased accountability (Sharma, 2008). In Peru mixed effects of participation on accountability were found where sometimes it improves, and sometimes undermines public accountability and overall government performance due to the unintended consequences of civil unrest and recalls (Sexton, 2017).

In South Africa, public accountability has not been realized even though there is a public participation law in place. The South Africa’s “Local Government: Municipal Systems Act, 2000” has devoted chapter seven on public participation. This is due to lack of a conducive environment to a meaningful, continuous and effective involvement of the public in decisions and policy choices that have an impact on their lives. Even after the introduction of the notion of “izimbizo” by the former President Mbeki which entailed senior government officials and public servants holding public participation forums with the citizens in their local areas, things did not change as much. The izimbizo became public relations exercises, being held for formality purposes, since citizens who are critical of the decisions made by the government are often prevented from participating in and freely contributing to debates concerning
the prosperity, welfare and growth, of communities. This has impacted negatively to public accountability (Sikhakane & Reddy, 2011).

In Kenya, public participation and public accountability came into the public discourse through the Kenya’s devolution initiatives including the 1980’s District Focus for Rural Development (DFRD) to the proliferation of devolved funds in Kenya like the Constituency Development Fund (CDF) and the Local Authority Transfer Fund (LATF), a trend which started in the late 1990s and is still ongoing. The Constituency Development Fund (CDF) Act 2003 made provisions for participation of citizens through project identification at the constituency and locational levels. The CDF Act, 2003 has since been aligned to the 2010 Kenya Constitution through amendments (ICPAK, 2018).

Before the CDF Act, there was the Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plan (LASDAP) which was established in the year 2000 so as to facilitate public participation in identification of local development priorities and needs, including selection, implementation, planning, monitoring and evaluation as well as oversight of services and projects in the local authorities. These were supposed to be incorporated in the planning processes of the Local Authorities. However due to political interference and elite capture which eventually led to citizen apathy, LASDAP did not achieve much. The country has since adopted a devolved system of governance with the establishment of the county government units and the national government which are interdependent yet distinct governance entities. Kenyans are highly optimistic that the devolved units will offer opportunities for public participation and in due course enhance accountability in the public sector (ICPAK, 2018).

There are mechanisms for ensuring public participation, largely categorized into vote and voice. Voting has to do with citizens’ selection of their representatives from the local community. It is helpful in bringing on board the voters interests of leaders they prefer. In terms of voice, participation entails the power of citizens to influence “the making, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of decisions that concern their socio-politico-economic wellbeing and to demand accountability from their local leadership” (Muriu, 2012).
Some of the mechanisms that are often used include; surveys, signing a petition on a desired government action or policy, public hearings/ town hall meetings/ hotlines/ elections, public forums, management committees, participatory planning and budgeting where the public is engaged in formal platforms for making budgets and plans for service delivery, monitoring and evaluation where citizens, having been provided with the requisite information, can engage closely in tracking the implementation of services to make sure that they are in accordance with the laid down plans and that the resources are rightfully used as allocated. As for evaluation, the citizens participate in reviewing the whole service/project to find out if it is accomplishing the objectives it was made to accomplish (Muriu, 2012). This study focused on public policy petitions and public forums as the mechanisms for ensuring public participation and their influence on public accountability.

1.2 Statement of the research problem

The new constitutional framework in Kenya has made it mandatory for every decision making process to be subjected to public participation. The constitution demands the peoples involvement in many areas including identification of community needs, development planning, preparation of budget and its validation, implementation of development projects, monitoring and evaluation, as reflected in Articles 1(2), 10(2), 33(1)(a), 35, 69(1)(d), 118, 174(c) and (d), 184(1)(c), 196,201(a) and 232(1)(d) of the Constitution; the Bill of rights in chapter four of the constitution, as well as in chapter six on leadership and integrity principles. This has been complimented by the various post 2010 legislative and policy documents, including the Public Finance Management (PFM) Act 2012, Urban areas and Cities (Amendment) Act 2017, County Governments Act (CGA) 2012, Access to information Act 2016, the draft National public participation policy (NPPP) 2018, the public participation Act 2018, County guidelines on public participation 2016. The County Governments Act, 2012 for example, demands people’s involvement in county affairs such as reasonable access to the process of formulating and implementing policies, regulations and laws, petitioning and challenging county governments on matters under their responsibility, information access as stipulated in article 35 of the constitution, civic education among others.
By demanding the participation of the people including access to information documents and data; civic education and public awareness; capacity building; planning, budgeting and implementation; funding; state facilitation and inclusion of special interest groups; monitoring, research and evaluation; Reporting and feedback mechanisms; as well as, complaints and redress mechanism, the constitution and the policy documents have rendered it almost impossible for county governance to happen without the participation of the people. County governments have taken these seriously by ensuring that public participation has been given the centrality demanded, as evidenced by the fact that county governments have completed and adopted the county public participation guidelines and that at least 41 of the 47 counties have a law or a bill on public participation (NPPP draft, 2018), the overwhelming majority of counties have a department and officers dealing with public participation and civic education.

The number of participants who are attending the public forms has been increasing by the day. In Makueni County, for example, in the FY 2015/2016, 28 ward forums were held and 4779 community members participated. In the FY 2016/2017, 168 forums (164 at sub-location level and 4 at sub-county for ward prioritization) were held where 11,549 participants at sub-location level and 349 delegates at Ward forums held at the sub-county headquarters participated (Oduor, Wanjiru, Kisamwa, 2015). A CISP (2017) study in Taita Taveta County found that citizens had engaged the county through petitions/letters/memorandum (51.4%), county assembly sittings/gallery (13.5%), demonstrations (29.7%) and picketing (5.4%). The high level of use of petitions/letters/memoranda signifies a high level of direct citizen participation in the County. An overwhelming majority (80%) of those interviewed had attended a public participation forum to discuss the County’s development matters between 2013 and 2017.

Kenyan courts have further emphasized the importance of people’s involvement as has been demonstrated by the quashing parts of Machakos county finance Act 2017 which had made changes on the charges for sand harvesting permit without involving the public in petition 9 of 2018 in the high court of Machakos (Simeon K. et al v. County Government of Machakos et al, 2018). The high court of Machakos also quashed the Machakos assembly amendments to its standing orders in regard to the
removal of governor in the constitutional petition 16 of 2018 (Wilfred M. v. County assembly of Machakos et al, 2018). The amendment had done away with the requirement for public participation in the governor’s removal from office.

The high court in Nairobi also quashed the Finance Act 2013 of Kiambu County which did not adhere to the principle of public participation (Robert N. et al v. Governor Kiambu County et al, 2014). The Kilifi County was ordered to enact a public participation Act in Petition 2 of 2014 & 7 of 2015 (Consolidated) (Malindi North residents’ association et al v. Kilifi County Government et al, 2014). Kenyans have been more empowered to demand for public participation on the affairs relating to their governance and are going to court to enforce it as evidenced by the many court cases on the same.

However, this has not led to an increase in public accountability as would be expected. The Kenyan government loses not less than one third of its national budget to corruption. Tendering firms in Kenya spend an average of 14 percent of the government contracts value on kick-backs, while on procurement, firms are buying goods and services at an average of 60 percent over and above the prevailing market price, and this is true in both the National government as well as the county government (AfriCog, 2015).

The reports that have been released by independent oversight institutions including the Office of the Controller of Budget (OCoB) and the Office of the Auditor General (OAG) on how counties have utilized the resources at their disposal shows high levels of misappropriation of public resources and lack of accountability in many counties. The audit reports revealed millions of shillings in unsupported expenditures, outstanding imprests, un-supported allowances and irregular payments of honoraria and meal allowances, misallocation of expenditure, irregularities in procurement, as well as irregular payment of pending bills of defunct local authorities. Further an EACC survey dubbed, national ethics and corruption survey that ranked counties by the proportion of those who paid bribes, shows that as high as 90.7% of respondents in some counties had parted with a bribe to the county officials (EACC, 2017).

A study commissioned by NCIC (2016) on the Ethnic and diversity audit shows that at least 32 counties have not been accountable in recruitment, violating section 65 of
the CGA 2012, which caps recruitment of dominant ethnic group in an area at 70% and at least 30% to be reserved for experts outside these areas. This study therefore seeks to examine why increased public participation has not led to increased public accountability as would be expected.

1.3 Research questions
This study seeks to answer the question, “why increased public participation has not led to increased public accountability in Kenya?”

Specifically the study seeks to answer the following questions;

1. Why an increase in the number of public forums being held has not led to an increase in public accountability?
2. Why an increase in public policy petitions has not led to increased public accountability?

1.4 Objectives of the Study
The objective of this study was to establish why increased public participation has not led to increased public accountability in Kenya.

The specific objectives of this study were;

1. To establish why an increase in the number of public forums being held has not led to an increase in public accountability.
2. To examine why an increase in public policy petitions has not led to increased public accountability.

1.5 Justification of the study
By this study focusing on the influence of public participation on public accountability, forms an important part of an increasingly important subject of debate in policy and scholarly areas. The debate as to whether public accountability is positively or negatively influenced by public participation has been ongoing for some time now in many part of the world and therefore the findings of this study will come in handy in shedding more light into this debate. The findings of this study will actually put on perspective some of the assumptions associated with public participation and how it impacts on public accountability.
1.5.1 Academic justification
For scholars this study will enrich and expand the growing, but still scanty, literature on this subject matter. Even though the influence of public participation on public accountability has been extensively studied in a centralized system of government, very little empirical research has been done in a devolved system and more so in regard to public forums and public policy petitions. How these two sub-constructs of public participation impact on public accountability sheds more light on how the variables of the study interrelate. Moreover the findings of this study fill the gaps in existing literature in that it broadens the geographical scope in the existing literature. The study brings on board the developing world perspective and experiences on this subject.

1.5.2 Policy justification
In policy terms, the findings of this study will inform policymakers and stakeholders involved in public sector matters in addressing public accountability issues in relation to public participation and specifically public forums and public policy petitions. This study offers the much needed practical input on how public forums ought to be conducted and what is needed for public policy petitions to be impactful. The county government policy makers and professional organizations should thus find the study’s findings quite useful for re-evaluation of policy goals in this regard.

1.6 Scope of the study
The focus of this study was limited to the residents of Kitui County. The assumption is that since they have more or less the same characteristics to the other counties across the country, the study findings can be generalized to all counties in the country. The choice of Kitui County as a geographical zone is informed by its cosmopolitan nature; hence the study findings can be replicated to the rest of the country. Further the study focused on public forums and public policy petitions as the mechanisms of public participation. The assumption is that since these mechanisms are the ones which optimally involve the people, they can be generalized for all other public participation mechanisms.

The study encountered a number of limitations that include: non-cooperation from some of the respondents for fear the information they would volunteer may be used
for other purposes other than research. To minimize this threat the respondents were assured that the study findings are for academic purposes only and that they won’t be used elsewhere; explaining the importance of the study to the respondents; and further assuring them to keep their identity confidential and anonymous. Some respondents did not understand the role of the county government and hence some of the challenges they face. The study also faced financial constraints and time limits which were needed to carry out and compile the data.

1.7 Literature review

1.7.1 Introduction

This section presents related existing written literature on public participation and public accountability. It examines participation characteristics and public participation, models of public participation, the concept of public accountability, public accountability characteristics and public participation, public forums and public accountability, public policy petitions and public accountability, civic education and public participation, and finally public accountability and access to information in Kenya.

1.7.2 Characteristics of public Participation

From the early 1980s, numerous scholars have increasingly focused their studies on the citizen. For instance, Kweit and Kweit (1981) postulate that participation of citizens in government increased public accountability and also raised the trust that the citizens have in government. However, citizen participation outcomes depended on: (a) participation mechanisms characteristics; (b) target organization characteristics, especially its commitment to the process, capacity, and structure; and (c) the characteristics of the environment where it’s happening, such as the forms of government involved, and the size of the community. This assertion may be true for certain contexts but it may not be applicable to all contexts.

Kweit and Kweit (1981) findings are consistent with those of Feltey, King, and Susel (1998) who argued that for effective public participation there are three major sets of factors to be considered: (a) participation mechanisms and policies; (b) types of administrative practices and systems; and (c) the nature of contemporary society, such as the community organizations involved and the characteristics of the citizens; and
the prevailing political culture. However, since this research was carried out in a
developed country, the findings may not apply to the developing countries.

1.7.3 Models of public participation
Arnstein (1969) established a model of public participation referred to as the citizens’
participation ladder. This model is based on the understanding that citizen
participation is citizen power. Citizen participation entails the redistribution of power
enabling the “have-not” citizens, who are mostly left out in the economic and political
processes, to be intentionally included in sharing information, determining how
policies and goals are set, allocation of tax resources, how programmes are run, and
distribution benefits like patronage and contracts. Thus, the benefits of public
participation to the society are realized from the fact that it gives citizens the
opportunity of participating in formulating policies that have a direct impact on them,
and also produces policy outcomes that more closely have a semblance of the broader
public interest.

Arnestein (1969) further postulates that participation without the power having been
redistributed is a frustrating and an empty meaningless process for the powerless
which leaves them without the ability to influence the end result of the process. This
gives the power holders a leeway to claim that all sides have been included in the
participation process, but makes it possible for only some of those sides to benefit.
This amounts to non-participation. In this model, Arnestein (1969) uses a
metaphorical ladder to demonstrate the essence and effectiveness of public
participation. The ladder is shown in figure below.
The eight rungs are arranged in a pattern of a ladder for illustrative purposes with each rung corresponding to the degree of citizens’ power in influencing the participation outcome. The bottom two levels of the ladder, manipulation and therapy, are not participatory. The real objective is educating or curing the participants. The people are allowed to be involved in conducting or planning programs just to get public support through public relations (Gozdzik, 2008).

Informing and consultation form the next two levels which progress to degrees of tokenism where the have-nots can hear and be heard but without the assurance of being heeded by the power-holders. Here, the flow of information is one way and a ritual of neighborhood meetings, surveys and public enquiries are carried out as a formality but lacking in the depth of the process. In the fifth level, placation, a small group of repeat players, like members of interest groups is hand-picked and is seen as
“passive activists” who are then co-opted into committees. This level allows the passive activists to advice or plan ad infinitum but, as Arnstein suggests, the power to decide still remains with the power-holders (Gozdzik, 2008).

The last three levels of the public participation ladder are levels of citizen power with an increasing degree of decision-making clout by the citizens. Citizens can enter into a partnership where decision making power is redistributed through negotiations and compromises between those holding the power and the citizens. In this level there is a clear definition of responsibilities and roles and decisions are often made in joint committees. Delegated power and citizen control constitute the topmost levels, where citizens are fully involved in decision making bodies like committees, where they hold a majority of seats and have full managerial powers over programs and institutions. The participants or residents are in full charge of managerial and policy aspects and determine who can change them. It is at this level that the public have the power to ensure accountability of the project themselves (Gozdzik, 2008).

1.7.4 The concept of public accountability

Public accountability, as defined by Bovens (2003), is a social relationship in which an actor feels obligated to justify and to explain his conduct to some significant other. A number of variables arise from this definition. First, the actor, or accountor, who can either be an agency or an individual. Then secondly, is the significant other, that is, the accountee or accountability forum, who can be a particular agency or person, but can as well be a more virtual entity, for instance, in the case of Christians, one’s conscience, or God or, the general public for public managers.

In its broad sense, public accountability involves the actions and decisions of all public officials, this includes not only politicians, but also civil servants and bureaucrats, as well as the military, police and judiciary (Schedler, 1999). The powers of these public officials need to be checked so that they do not rule in an arbitrary and abusive manner, and public accountability not only does so, but it also helps ensure that the governments operate efficiently and effectively (Bratton & Logan 2006).

O’Donnell (1994) contrasted two basic types of accountability: vertical and horizontal. Horizontal accountability refers to the controls or restraints that a state imposes on itself, or more specifically, by one institution of government upon
another. In other words, it refers to the system of separation of powers where state institutions check abuses by branches of government and other public agencies, that is, checks and balances within government, along with the state’s internal adherence to the rule of law and the constitution.

Vertical accountability, which is what this study focuses on, is the channel via which the public, civil society and mass media seek to enforce excellent performance standards on public officials denoting that it does not only constitute electoral accountability. This is aptly captured by Smulovitz and Peruzzotti (2000) by identifying what they term “societal accountability” as a non-electoral, yet vertical channel of control that relies on the actions of different actors including the media, citizens’ associations and movements, actions that seek to expose wrongdoing by the government, as well as bring onto the public discourse new issues, or activate the horizontal agencies operation.

These non-electoral mechanisms may include individual initiatives through public protest and mass mobilization, petitions, lawsuits, advocacy campaigns and other “new accountability initiatives” such as expenditure monitoring and participatory budgeting (Bratton & Logan 2006). However, these alternate societal mechanisms of exercising accountability may be overlooked since they do not impose material consequences, as Schedler (1999) notes, that they appear to be toothless, weak, “diminished” forms of accountability and as acts of window dressing, rather than real restraints on power.

Nevertheless Smulovitz and Peruzzotti (2000) posits that these mechanisms of accountability can serve as an effective form of control over public servants, even when the punishment component is missing, potentially destroying their political capital and reputations, and activating horizontal mechanisms of accountability (Stapenhurst and O’Brien, n.d.). An example that Schedler (1999) gives is the value of institutions like the truth and reconciliation commission of South Africa whose focus was mainly on obtaining information and ended up being very effective even when sanctions were limited to disapproval of wrongdoing and public exposure. Further Stapenhurst and O’Brien (n.d.) posits that civil society groups and the citizens can enlist the help of their elected legislators to intervene and redress grievances in
the case of inadequate or inappropriate governmental action. Further, through the use of public petitioning, committee investigations and public hearings, the legislature can provide an opportunity for citizens’ voice and a channel by which civic groups and citizens can question government and where necessary, seek parliamentary sanctioning.

1.7.5 Public accountability characteristics and public participation

For public participation to lead to an increase in public accountability, World Bank (2017) postulates that, access to information is critical. Malamud (2009) argues that access to public information has for a long time been a matter of access to inside information, a matter of access to money (resources) and power. Public officials have been unwilling to cede this power to the citizens. The first step therefore is making information available through transparency initiatives. Once information has been made available it needs to be activated for action. This is done through publicity whereby the information is made public so as to get to the intended actors and specifically those for whom the information matters. Whereas transparency makes information available, publicity makes the information accessible. With information being available and accessible to the citizens, they can now hold the public officials to account by applying pressure on authorities and increasing the cost of inaction, like being sanctioned or being voted out of office (Khemani et al., 2016). The studies here did not examine a situation where accountability does not increase even after the stated process has been adhered to which is the focus of this study.

Sharma (2008) argues that for public accountability to be realised, its two dimensions must exist, that is, answerability and enforceability (also called sanctions). Questions cannot be answered without someone having asked them. This is where public participation comes in but it is not enough to ask questions, or voice demands. For the right questions to be asked there needs to be transparency since without timely and reliable information there won’t be ground for enforcing sanctions or for demanding answers (Moore and Teskey 2006). The relationship between public participation and public accountability is such that, public participation does strengthen public accountability, for instance by demanding greater transparency, while public accountability can enhance public participation by demonstrating that public participation does make a difference.
Sharma (2008) further argues that increased public participation will have no impact if there is no responsiveness from the state to the needs and interests of its citizens. Many a times, public participation and reforms on public sector responsiveness have been carried out in a disjointed manner. For the citizens to be able to have an influence in the decisions affecting their lives and consequently hold their leaders to account, programmes should focus both on strengthening accountability mechanisms and empowering communities to demand change that will push the state to respond to these demands.

Therefore, as Joss (2001) postulates, public accountability, can be characterized concurrently as a status – the accessibility of government information by the public – and an activity – the process of freely assembling in public to scrutinize, discuss, criticize and praise etc. the government actions. A further characteristic is that it requires commitment from both those who govern (they have to demonstrate openness, often against their own interest of safeguarding their position of power) and those who are governed (they have to engage actively in public debate, in addition to pursuing their own, private self-interests). These studies do not however consider a situation whereby information has been made available, public participation has increased, and citizens have sanctioned leaders by electing them out yet public accountability remains low.

1.7.6 Public forums and public accountability
Sharma (2008) in his study found no linear causal relationship between public forums and public accountability. He argues that holding public forums may not necessarily lead to increased public accountability. The study was however based on donor funded civil society groups and NGO’s as the representatives of the citizens in such public forums. The civil society groups and the NGO’s may have gone for the public forums for selfish gain rather than to represent the citizens’ interests.

Public forums fosters public accountability in that it brings local knowledge into the process of decision making through broad-based local influence and input, which results in reduced information and transaction costs as well as better targeted policies (World Bank, 1997). This local participation in decision making gives the local citizens a sense of ownership of the decisions arrived at, for example the resource use rules. Due to this “ownership” of those decisions, the local citizens will provide better
and valuable information and will be more involved in monitoring, implementing, and making sure that those rules are enforced thus increasing accountability (Larson & Ribot, 2007). This is however not what is seen in the Kenyan situation where an increase in public forums has not led to an increase in accountability.

A study by TISA (2015) in Baringo County found that for public forum participation to lead to public accountability, a number of things needed to be established first. Public participation needs to be institutionalized along with civic education. The study found no regulatory and institutional frameworks in Baringo County hence public forums were haphazardly held. The capacity of both the citizens and the public forum facilitators also needs to be built to ensure that the public participation forum is effective. This would enhance the citizens’ understanding of the subject of discussion and help them have a meaning engagement. The study also found that the communication channels to the citizens on public participation forums needed to be comprehensive. Instances of short notices for the public forums and a limited access to information were witnessed.

This is also supported by Sagala (2015) that limited notice of meetings and use of communication channels that are not accessible to the citizens, especially in rural areas, as well as failure to make available budget documents prior to public forums usually compromise the quality of public participation forum. Brabant (2015) further posits that use of language, often national language, that most citizens do not have enough fluency in as well as the time of the day that the forums are held, can also compromise the quality of a public participation forum.

In the City Hall of Florianópolis in Brazil, as Gusinsky, Lyrio, Lunkes and Taliani (2015) found in their study that public forums presents an opportunity for popular participation in the selection of priority improvements for the city through the project: “Orçamento no Bairro” (Budget in the neighborhood). The public forums are also undertaken through the project "Prefeitura no bairro" (The City Hall in the neighborhood) which allows the participation of society in some activities related to planning, allowing the population to talk to the mayor and his administration. This project started in January 2013 and by 2015, 35 public forums had been held in various parts of the city, in which the population presented and discussed expectations.
and complaints with government representatives. This saw an increase in accountability which resulted to better services like water and sanitation, education, and health.

1.7.7 Public policy petitions and public accountability

Public policy petitions constitutes a vehicle for political input, a way of attempting to influence policy making and legislation and also a means of bringing public concerns to the attention of parliament (Marleau and Montpetit, 2000). The Kenya constitution 2010 under Article 119 has provided for public petitions to parliament on any matter under its authority including approving appointments, enacting, amending or repealing legislation or removal of public officers from office under Article 251. Hence Public petitions give the public an opportunity to hold the executive to account through participating in the oversight role of the parliament.

Bohle & Riehm (2013) argue that petitions are usually an asymmetric form of communication between individuals or a group on the one side and an institution on the other side. A matter of concern is forwarded by the petitioner to which the addressee may react. The constitutive asymmetry is very clear. This is also supported by Schmitter and Trechsel (2004) in the Green paper for the Council of Europe about the future of democracy in Europe, who give a disenchanted assessment of the limitations of petitioning:

“In almost every European country and at almost every layer of government, citizens can file petitions that neither bind parliaments nor result in popular votes. Such petitions are bottom–up, superficial and non–threatening manifestations of deeper–rooted social dissatisfaction and conflict. They are usually channeled by established political organizations (parties, associations or movements), but they occasionally arise from ad hoc and informal units of collective action. Their primary goals are to attract the attention of rulers and to
provoke public debate among citizens. Since the success of such petitions remains entirely at the discretion of those in power, they are merely an upward channel of communication, along with several others offered by modern liberal democracies, such as public opinion polling and public hearings. Presumably, some petitions are more effective than others, but none of them can be described as a regular and effective means for holding rulers accountable.”

TISA (2015) posits that for public policy petitions to lead to public accountability, an enabling environment is required including access to information, a vibrant civil society, freedom of expression and association, free and independent media, as well as civic education.

There are instances that public policy petitions have delivered positive results. For instance a CISP (2017) study across four counties found that Citizens made use of petitions across the four counties. In Kajiado County, a CSO petition led to the formulation of the Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) Policy. In Kilifi, a petition led to recognition by the County of the Mshombo Citizens’ Assembly, which became a key structure for citizen’s mobilization. In Mombasa, citizens and their groups petitioned against the “Mombasa Urban Renewal and Redevelopment of Old Estates” project on claims that the County had failed to adequately compensate those to be affected by the project and that public participation had not been effectively organized. The matter was escalated to the courts of law. In Taita Taveta, a CSO petition ultimately resulted in the participatory formulation of the Draft County Public Participation and Civic Education Policy.

1.7.8 Civic education and public participation

McCracken (2012) defines civic education as a process of equipping and empowering citizens to engage in democratic processes through provision of information as well as learning experiences. Civic education can be carried out in different forms, including informal training, classroom-based learning, and experiential learning and mass media
campaigns. Civic education usually targets all the members of the society including children and adults, whether in developing or developed countries, as well as at the international, national or local level. Civic education’s overall goal is promoting a demand for good governance.

McCracken (2012) further posits that civic education is consisted of three different elements: civic knowledge, civic skills and civic disposition. Civic knowledge entails the citizens’ understanding of how the political system works and of their own responsibilities as well as civic and political rights (for example, the right to vote and/or run for public office, the rights to freedom of expression, and the responsibilities to respect the rule of law as well as the interests and rights of others). Civic skills constitute the ability of the citizens to take and defend positions on public issues after critically analyzing and evaluating them and to use their knowledge to engage in political and civic processes (for example, to mobilize other citizens around certain issues or to monitor government performance). Civic dispositions constitute the citizen traits that are crucial for a democracy (e.g. civility, critical mindedness, tolerance, public spiritedness, and willingness to listen, negotiate, and compromise).

Carothers (1999) posits that besides the formal school system, civic education can also be delivered by civil society organizations like NGOs, community organizations, faith based groups, international development organizations, government agencies, the private sector, and media organizations. A range of tools that are often used in civic education activities include focus group discussions, seminars, simulations, workshops, role plays, drama, information technologies (e.g. blogs, social media), radio and television programmes, and other informal teaching and information-sharing methods (Kibwana & wambua, 2009).

McCracken (2012) argues that, civic education programmes have consistently shown positive impacts on increased public participation in political processes. Citizens who have gone through civic education programmes are more likely to be engaged in various political activities such as voting, contacting elected officials, participating in initiatives that solve community problems, participating in protests, attending meetings convened by the local government, and contributing to election campaigns. Further, those who have participated in civic education programmes have been shown
to have better knowledge and understanding of the fundamental features of the political system of their country, including their basic political and civil rights, the functions and structure of democratic institutions, and the timing of elections.

1.8 Conceptual framework

This part shows the interrelatedness of the study variables presented in the study. The independent variable for the study is public participation, with public forums and public policy petitions as the sub constructs while the dependent variable is public accountability. The intervening variable for the study is civic education.

Figure 1.8.1 Conceptual framework

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent variable</th>
<th>Dependent variable</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public forums</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Number of forums held</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Number of participants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Feedback lines (reports &amp; social audits)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public policy petitions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Number of petitions forwarded</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Number of petitions responded to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Number of actual petitioners-NGOs, CSOs, citizens</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public accountability</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Transparency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Accessible services</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Access to information</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Public service responsiveness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Civic education

Intervening variable

~ 20 ~
The success of public forums is determined by the number of such forums that has been held on different issues affecting the citizens, as well as the number of participants who availed themselves for the forums. It is also determined by the feedback after the forums have been held. This is in terms of whether the projects agreed upon were carried out or the views of the citizens were considered in the final decision. Public policy petition as a participatory mechanism is said to be successful from the number of petitions forwarded, number of petitions responded to and the number of actual petitioners.

Public accountability is said to be realized from the impact it has on the social political and economic wellbeing. It is also denoted by a transparent and responsive public service, where there is access to information by the citizens and also provision of better services. For public forums and public policy petitions to lead to public accountability, civic education plays a critical role in equipping the citizens with the requisite knowledge on what their responsibilities and duties are, hence enabling them to engage on issues affecting them.

1.9 Definition and operationalization of key concepts

1.9.1 Conceptual definition

**Accountability:** a social relationship in which an actor has an obligation to justify and to explain his conduct to some significant other (an individual, agency or the general public), failure to which he is sanctioned (Monfardini, 2010)

**Citizen engagement:** an intentional active dialogue between citizens and decision makers in the public service. It’s a top down initiative, initiated by governments (Parker, 2003)

**Citizen participation:** a process which provides private citizens an opportunity to influence public decisions. It’s a bottom up initiative, initiated by the citizens (Parker, 2003)
Devolution: the transfer or delegation of power, resources and decision making especially by central government to a lower level often referred to as local or sub-national units (Oduor, 2015)

Public accountability: means answerability to the people: an open transparent system which permits the free flow of forward and backward information and in which leaders are answerable to the people (NPPP draft, 2018)

Public forum: a face-to-face engagement between citizens and government officials offering a chance for observation of state of affairs and instant feedback (CPPG, 2016)

Public participation: to engage groups and individuals who are affected by, or that have an interest in, a proposed policy, project, legislation, plan or program, that is subject to the process of decision-making in an inclusive process which is open and accountable through which interest groups community as well as individual citizens, and other stakeholders are able to exchange views and influence or make the decisions that affect their lives (Nairobi county public participation Act, 2015) This study operationalizes public participation to mean public forums and public policy petitions.

1.9.2 Operational definition

Public participation: this was measured through the attendance of public forums and registration of public petitions

Public accountability: this was measured by levels of access to information, transparency and public service responsiveness

1.10 Hypothesis
The following hypotheses were employed;

1. Public forums have a positive impact on public accountability
2. Public policy petitions have a positive impact on public accountability

1.11 Research methodology

1.11.1 Research design

This study adopted a descriptive case study research design in an endeavor to explore the relationship between the two variables under study here. This research design helped the researcher to have an in depth study of a particular situation rather than a sweeping statistical survey. A very broad field of study was narrowed to an easily researchable topic. Here, the influence of public participation on public accountability was investigated to great depths in its real life context.

1.11.2 Target population

The focus of this study was the Kitui county government which has eight sub-counties namely: Kitui Central Sub-County, Kitui West Sub-County, Kitui South Sub-County, Kitui East Sub-County, Kitui Rural Sub-County, Mwingi West Sub-County, Mwingi North Sub-County, and Mwingi Central Sub-County.

The population under study constituted all the people aged above 18 years, residing within the bounds of Kitui County at the time the study was carried out. The study targeted the citizens who hold an identity card and are registered voters within Kitui County. The county covers an area of 30,496 km² and has a population of 1,147,197 of which 602,002 are female and 545,195 are male (2009 census).

1.11.3 Sampling technique and sample size

This study used simple random sampling technique to select the sample size. In order to obtain the desired representation, five respondents, from the members of public, were randomly picked from each sub-county which summed up to 40 respondents. The study was carried out in bus stages and on market days for respective sub-counties. Key informant interviews were also administered to the county director public participation and civic education, and two NGOs within the Kitui County, that is, the Kitui development center (KDC) and the CARITAS under the catholic diocese of Kitui.
Table 1.11.1 Sampled members of public

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-county</th>
<th>Sampled members of the public</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kitui central</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitui east</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitui south</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitui rural</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kitui west</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mwingi north</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwingi west</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwingi central</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source (Author, 2019)

1.11.4 Data collection procedures/techniques

Data was obtained from both primary sources, that is, questionnaires which were administered to the residents of Kitui County. The questionnaires were self-administered using drop-off and pick-up method. The other primary source was key informant interviews which were administered to the county director of civic education and public participation, and two NGOs within the Kitui County. The NGOs included Kitui development center (KDC) which is a capacity-building Non-Governmental organization involved in rural development activities geared towards reducing poverty in eastern Kenya. The other NGO was Caritas Kitui which is the Development department of the Catholic Diocese of Kitui. Its main aim is geared at promoting sustainable human dignity, improved livelihoods and a just society with participation of community. As well as secondary data which was obtained from relevant institutions responsible for ensuring public accountability at the devolved units notably the Office of Auditor General (OAG) as well as from the Kitui County government website. Both structured and unstructured interviews were employed in complimenting the responses obtained from the questionnaires.
1.11.5 Validity

Validity was determined by conducting a pilot study to ascertain whether the data from the respondents would capture the intended responses. Validity was also improved by seeking expert review of the research instruments.

1.11.6 Data analysis and presentation

This study used statistical measures of central tendency and measures of dispersion to quantitatively describe the characteristics of the population and variables. Data was captured on Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. It was then cleaned, coded and analyzed with Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS). The findings are presented in tables, charts and graphs in relation to the topic of study.
CHAPTER TWO
BACKGROUND AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

2.1 Introduction
In this chapter the background and historical perspective of both the public participation and public accountability is looked at in depth. Essentially the chapter revolves around the emergence of public participation and public accountability, and how their conceptualization has changed over time.

2.2 The emergence of public accountability
Historically the concept of accountability is rooted in the practice of book-keeping and in the discipline of accounting. It is anchored in the practice of record keeping and as early as 3000 B.C. the Sumerians in Mesopotamia having developed the first written language used clay tokens for accounting purposes recording numbers of sheep and the amount of grain (Bovens, Goodin, and Schillemans, 2014).

The etymological use of the contemporary concept of accountability is not Anglo-Saxon but Anglo-Norman in origin and it can be traced to the reign of William I as Dubnick (2007) points out, that in 1085 William I made it compulsory for all the property holders under his jurisdiction to render a count of what they possessed which were valued and listed by the royal agents in the so called doomsday books for taxation purposes. The doomsday books therefore held accurate accounts of all the possessions of the king, that is, everything in his realm (Bovens, 2004). This would by twelfth century evolve into an administrative kingship which was very centralized and ruled through semi-annual account giving and centralized auditing. Nowadays accountability has moved beyond its book-keeping origins and its etymological bondage with accounting becoming a symbol of good governance both in private and public sectors and it no longer refers to sovereigns holding their subjects to account, but rather it is the citizens holding the authorities themselves to account. Mulgan, (2003:9), argues that accountability was being used outside the sphere of financial accounting until it first spread to a wider use with the emergence of New Public Management (NPM) reforms in the 1980’s having gained ground on the concept responsibility.
The emergence of the NPM in the United Kingdom under the Thatcher government and the initiation of reinventing government reforms in the United States by the Clinton-Al Gore administration ran parallel to the broad shift from financial accounting to accountability introducing into the public sector a range of private sector instruments and management styles, (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2005) most of which require extensive auditing to be effective. In Europe the shift from financial accounting to accountability and performance auditing can also be observed but at a different scope and speed with countries that have a strong tradition of administrative law like Italy, Germany and France being less vigorous in getting to adopt these more managerially oriented styles of governance. Most other European countries are intermediate cases (Bovens, 2003).

In Africa public accountability has been a complex challenge due to both external factors, including colonial legacy and neoliberal economic policies as well as internal factors including ethnic-based politics, civil wars, corruption, military dictatorships, poverty and lack of vibrant civil society. The self-rule and independence attained in the 1960’s for most African nations had promised a new era of new governments accountable to the people and responsive to their needs. Unfortunately this promise was never to be realised with the mushrooming of military dictatorships and one-party states throughout the continent. The relatively modest accountability structures that had been established by the independence Constitutions meant nothing and were undermined along with the few accountability structures they had decided to retain. The democratization process of the 1990’s resulted in greater public accountability and better constitutions (Chirwa and Nijzink, 2012).

2.3 Public accountability in Kenya

The level of accountability in Kenya among the public officials has been declining since independence. At independence Kenya inherited from the British a robust public service modeled after the Westminster-white hall tradition, (Hyden, as cited by Mbai, 2003.) This public service was guided by the professional ethics of discipline, impartiality and effectiveness in the management of the public affairs. This was to change almost immediately and lack of accountability set in. The 1962/63 financial year report of the last colonial controller and auditor general did not show any misuse of the public funds. However, immediately after independence misuse of public funds
began to be noticed. The reports from the Office of the Auditor General (OAG) and the Office of the Controller of Budget of the 1963/64 financial year would note a decline in accounting standards resulting into the deterioration of financial control with many instances of thefts, petty frauds, and evasion of regulations indicating a decline in public accountability. This trend of abuse of office and misuse of public funds worsened as time went by as ministries and departments continued over expenditure without the parliament’s approval. Parliament too could not escape blame since they religiously approved government budgets year in year out despite the lack of accountability of how the previous approved funds were utilized (Mbai, 2003).

A number of issues contributed to this deterioration of public accountability in the post-independence Kenya. Notably the establishment and consolidation of an autocratic regime in Kenya and the politics of patron-clientilism which began in earnest in the December of 1964 involving the abandonment of multipartyism and federalism as well as the systematic amendments to the constitution which concentrated more powers to the presidency. This autocratic state established and consolidated under Kenyatta and continued to be sustained under Moi resulted in having public servants who are overwhelmingly impervious of public accountability and other good ethical standards. The involvement in private business by public officials which was recommended by the 1971 Ndegwa commission in its report also contributed to the deterioration of public accountability in Kenya. Other factors leading to poor or lack of public accountability in Kenya include poor terms and conditions of public service, tribalism and nepotism, inefficiency and ineffectiveness of watchdog institutions, as well as lack of good political will (Mbai, 2003).

It is these factors, among others, that led to the clamor for multiparty democracy in the early 1990’s leading to the opening of the democratic space in Kenya and the restoration of the multiparty democracy in the hope that this will also restore public accountability. Most of these problems however persisted even with a more open political system. The continued deterioration of public accountability showed that the adoption of multipartyism was not the only solution to the accountability problems engulfing the nation. In mid-2001 Kenya therefore began a comprehensive review of its constitution, however in December the following year Kenyans overwhelmingly voted for a new government replacing KANU which was in power for close to 40
years. The new National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) government had throughout the campaigns committed to eradicating corruption and a promised of a new constitution; this provided an opportunity to restore public accountability that was lacking in the public service (Omolo, 2010).

The drafting of the new constitution began in earnest and Kenya held its first plebiscite in 2005 to ratify a new constitution. However Kenyans rejected the proposed constitution and some of the reasons it was rejected had to do with devolution of powers and channels of ensuring that public accountability is realized, the proposed constitution had no provisions for public participation. After the 2007 election stalemate and the mediation that followed culminating in the national accord which had four agendas, part of the agenda four being constitutional reforms. This would lead to the enactment of the 2010 constitution which had public participation as a key provision as well as public accountability (Omolo, 2010).

2.4 Public participation in Kenya

Even though Kenya has had numerous mechanisms for public participation in the past, including the District Focus of Rural Development (DFRD), Local Authority Service delivery Action Plan (LASDAP), and Constituency Development Fund (CDF) among others, public participation remained largely tokenistic or nominal and subject to the influence of the central government and its leaders. The Constitution, through a transfer of power to the public, has set the standard for public involvement, as it seeks to redress historical barriers to effective Public Participation (TISA, 2015).

The Kenya constitution 2010 has underpinned the importance of public participation by recognizing it as a key provision and also a promise of the constitution. Public participation is inculcated in the principles of governance and the national values set out in article 10 of the constitution. The list of legal and constitutional provisions on Public Participation is provided in appendix I.

These legal and constitutional provisions clearly shows that the public participation involves informing the citizens by providing relevant information that will assist them comprehend the issues as well as options and solutions, obtaining the citizens feedback by consulting with them on decisions or alternatives, empowering them by placing the ultimate authority to make decisions in their hands, getting the citizens
cooperation in developing alternatives and decision making criteria and establishing
the most preferred solution, and engaging the public in ensuring that their concerns
have been incorporated as the decisions are being made, more so in developing the
decision criteria and options (CPPG, 2016).

A KHRC and SPAN, (2010) study on “Harmonization of Decentralized Development
in Kenya” looks at participation and awareness of citizens in the management of
LATF and the LASDAP process in eight local authorities (LA). An observation that
was noted is that the awareness levels of the LASDAP and LATF process are high at
a national average of 66.4 percent. The highest recorded awareness level being 81.8
percent in Mumias constituency (in Mumias Municipal Council) and lowest level
being 41.4 percent in Baringo central constituency (in Municipal Council of
Kabarnet). The actual levels of participation were however low especially with regard
to monitoring of services (12.7%), budgeting and planning (13.3%), management of
services (10.6%), and implementation (13.6%).

As far as the communication means on the management of LATF is concerned, the
study found that most people (14.8%) got information through interpersonal contacts,
10 percent from reports of the LA officials and 10 percent from the radio, 1.9 and 7.2
percent got information from the television and newspaper respectively. On the
frequency of getting information, 27.3 percent got it rarely, 22 percent got it
sometimes, 7.4 percent got it always, and 6.4 percent never got it at all, while 1.1 and
35.8 percent had missing information and none applicable respectively.

Earlier, the Kenya Institute for Public Policy and Research (KIPPRA) 2006 had
conducted a national baseline survey on “Decentralized Funds in Kenya” based on a
sample of seven districts which established a similar trend as above. It found that only
29.8 per cent were aware of LATF and participation in analysis, agenda setting,
decision making, and, attendance of meetings was below 5 percent in all the sample
units.

In another study conducted by Oyugi and Kibua (2006) during the same period on
“Planning and Budgeting at the Grassroots” level with a sample of seven LAs found
that awareness of LASDAP was low, and representation and participation was poor. It
established that most participation was at the point of projects identification and
preparation of what it termed ‘wish lists’ of projects. On who participates in the LASDAP process, Oyugi and Kibua (2006) found that in all the seven LAs, there was non-attendance of meetings by the local elites hence there was notable low quality of discussions. Where public participation happened however low it was, it was limited to mere consultation and not much involvement in implementation and monitoring stages of local service delivery.

One year into devolution, a CIC (2014), study shows that there are efforts by counties to put in place participatory structures; 36 out of 47 counties have websites in place, 26 have established citizen forums, and 22 have put in place county communication frameworks. There are also good case examples of collaborative engagements between civil society and county governments to improve participation including joint mobilization strategies, for example, in Taita Taveta and Homa Bay counties, and development of citizen friendly budgets in Nakuru County.

Counties appear to be putting in place mechanisms for facilitating access to information and public communication that work well within their local context. According to the CIC (2014) study the most established mechanisms are public meetings (38 Counties), followed by websites (36 Counties), traditional media (30), community radio stations (28), Information and Communication Technology Centers (11) and Television Stations (10). Most counties have opted to use public forums, traditional media and vernacular (community radio). An online validity check showed that 40 counties have accessible websites while seven have no websites. The seven counties that do not have websites are in rural regions (Nizam and Muriu, 2015).

Counties have established different structures to facilitate public participation in government programs. These structures are based on the framework and guidance provided for in the CGA, 2012 (Section 91). These include a mix of town hall meetings, ICT platforms, budget preparation and validation fora, notice boards, MCAs, citizen fora, etc. Table below shows the structures established so far (CIC, 2014).
Table 2.4.1 Structures established to facilitate citizen participation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structures established to facilitate citizen participation</th>
<th>Number of Counties</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Information communication and technology based platforms</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>72.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town Hall meetings (structured meetings)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>68.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budget preparation and validation</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>78.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notice boards; announcing jobs, appointments, procurement, awards and other important announcements of public interest</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>85.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development projects sites</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>70.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avenues for the participation of peoples’ representatives</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>75.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establishment of citizen fora at county and decentralized units (Also in section 22(1) of the Urban areas and Cities Act, 2011)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>55.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source CIC, 2014*

In another study, Shussa, (2017) found that citizens have used a number of channels to participate in determining how they are governed. Citizens have participated through a representative in the village, 46%, attending barazas, 35%, going to county government offices, 26%, through county committees, 14%, through a county number/hotline, 13%, through civil society, 4%, signing petitions, 2%, those who had never participated in any way constituted 12%. The study also established that 41% of the issues discussed contributed to local planning processes, and 34% of the projects discussed had been initiated or implemented.

A study by Uraia (2017) shows that 40% of the respondents had attended a public/town hall meeting to discuss the affairs within their county in the past one year. On whether citizen opinions were addressed in these forums, 72% responded in the negative. 90% of the respondents had never been involved in any county activity to monitor how the county uses the money it gets.
CHAPTER THREE
DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Introduction
This chapter entails data presentation, data analysis and discussion of the study findings. The data in this study was drawn from the filled questionnaires and the interviews with the key informants. Charts were used to present for ease of interpretation.

3.2 Demographic distribution of the respondents
This section captures the demographic information of the respondents. The demographic information captured data on gender, age, and education levels of the respondents

3.2.1 Distribution of the respondents by Gender
The study sought to establish the gender distribution of the respondents and the results are as shown in the table below.

Table 3.2.1 Distribution of the respondents by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source (Author, 2019)

The male respondents were 65% while female were 35%. These research findings concur with those by Resurrección, Nguyen, and Taalaibekkyzy (2019) who postulated that rural societies are predominantly patriarchal and as such female participation in community affairs including development activities is traditionally looked down upon. This is also a common religious bias against spontaneous participation of women in development program. In other words, women’s gender identity, their perception of themselves as women and women’s place in society, restrained them from voicing their concerns.
Muriu (2014) also found that males were relatively more aware (57.4%) than females (54%) on the level of citizen participation and awareness in the LASDAP process. However in identification of projects, and in budgeting and planning the females were more involved than males. On the satisfaction rate with projects implemented, females register a higher rate than males at 34.4 percent and 19.7 percent respectively. Males participate more in management, monitoring and implementation. The males indicated greater knowledge of citizen involvement in management of the services and were also more aware on guidelines.

3.2.2 Distribution of the Respondents by Age

The study sought to determine the respondents’ age category. Results of respondents’ age distribution are shown in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-30</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-60</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 and above</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source (Author, 2019)

A majority of the respondents were aged between 31 and 40 years, constituting 40% followed by those aged between 41-50 years, at 20%. Those aged between 21-30 years constituted 15%, followed by those aged between 51-60 years constituting 12.5%. The 18-20 age group constituted 7.5% and lastly 5% were aged above 60 years. This clearly shows that participation in public forums was largely represented by the middle aged population. This reflects what Kalekye (2016) postulates, that the youthful population, below 30 years, is unable to participate since a majority of them are in colleges and others just newly employed hence getting an opportunity to participate on a week day is quite challenging. The others who are neither in colleges
or newly employed are either involved in alcoholism or just disinterested in societal affairs, hence the low turnout.

3.2.3 Distribution of respondents by level of education

The study sought to determine the respondents’ highest level of education attained. The results are as tabulated below.

Table 3.2.3 Distribution of respondents by level of education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education level</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KCPE certificate</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KCSE certificate</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College certificate</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source (Author, 2019)

The education levels of the respondents ranged from primary school level to university level. Most of the respondents had diploma level education consisting of 12 (30%). Those with college certificate were 11 (27.5%), those with secondary school level were 9 (22.5%), while those with degrees were 6 (15%) and lastly those with primary school level were 2 (5%). This shows that the highly educated population participated more in the public forums than the less educated. These findings are similar to those by Siala (2015) that educational level highly influences the effectiveness of public participation.
3.3 Participation in county government public forums

**Figure 3.3.1 Public forum participation levels**

Out of the 40 respondents in this study, 30% indicated that they have never participated in public forums while those who have participated constituted 70% of the respondents.

The public forums that the citizens participated in are as shown below.

**Table 3.3.1 public forums citizens participated in**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation mechanism</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Identification of community needs</td>
<td>Participated</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not participated</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County development planning</td>
<td>Participated</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not participated</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development project implementation</td>
<td>Participated</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not participated</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparation and budget validation</td>
<td>Participated</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not participated</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monitoring and evaluation of development projects</td>
<td>Participated</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not participated</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source (Author, 2019)**
Among the various public forums that the respondents had participated in, identification of community needs was the one with the highest participation levels constituting 75%, then community development planning which constituted 35% of those who participated, then development projects implementation constituting 25% of the participants then monitoring and evaluation at 11% while budget preparation and validation had none of the respondents indicating to have participated. In the more technical forums the respondents who had participated were the ones with the post-secondary education.

For instance for monitoring and evaluation of development projects, one diploma level and two degree level respondents were the ones who had participated. For the development project implementation three degree level, two diploma level and two certificate level respondents had participated in the same. While for community development planning five degree level, three diploma level and two certificate level respondents had participated. From the interviews conducted it was noted that the reason for no participation in budget preparation and validation was because the limited sharing of budget documents which are also usually summarized and in technical terms.
As to whether information concerning what is to be deliberated on during the public forum is provided in advance 54% of the respondents indicated that it’s not provided while 46% indicated that it’s usually provided. The findings here are in congruent with those derived from the interviews where it was noted that the county often communicates about the public forums through the mainstream media newspapers of which their distribution and access level are poor within most parts of the county and gives very short notices of the same which limits the number of people this information gets to. This indicates unaccountability on the part of the county government since access to information is important for citizens to be able to hold their governments to account.

These findings also agree with a study by TISA (2015) that there were communication gaps where incomplete information was being given on public forums. Whereby the purpose of the public forum was being communicated at the forum’s venue just before the discussions start which would limit the capacity of the citizens to participate meaningfully.
Table 3.3.2 channels through which public forums are announced

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Public forum announcement channel</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Churches</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public notice boards</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local FM radio stations</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social media</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>28</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source (Author, 2019)

Figure 3.3.4 channels through which public forums are announced

Source (Author, 2019)

Local radio stations lead as the channel through which public barazas are announced at 47%, then churches at 21%, then social media at 18% and finally public notice boards and newspapers at 7%. The public notice boards are only available in government offices while newspaper distribution level within the county is very poor, being available only in the major towns.
A study conducted by KHRC and SPAN (2010) found that a variety of means of communication, both formal and informal, on management of LATF were used, where most people (14.8%) got information through interpersonal contacts, 10 percent from reports of the LA officials, and 10 percent from the radio, while 1.9 and 7.2 percent got information from the television and newspaper respectively. On the frequency of getting information, 27.3 percent got it rarely, 7.4 percent got it always, 6.4 percent never got it at all, 22 percent got it sometimes, while 1.1 and 35.8 percent had missing information and none applicable respectively.

**Figure 3.3.5 implementation of projects agreed upon during public forums**

| Implementation of projects identified | 16, 57% Implemented | 12, 43% not implemented |

Source (Author, 2019)

Out of the projects or community needs identified during public participation forums 57% are usually implemented while 43% are not. From the interviews it was noted that, once community needs have been identified at the forums and certain projects agreed upon, the county does not give feedback about what the county is able to implement and what they are not able to implement. Failure to give feedback on the services and projects that the county was not able to implement is an affront to public accountability by failing to make public services available to the citizens.
This is aptly captured by fourth and fifth levels of informing and consultation in the ladder of public participation as postulated by Arnstein (1969) where the citizens do give their suggestions on policies and services without the assurance of being heeded to. Sharma (2008) argues that when the concepts of accountability, voice and civic engagement do not take into account imbalances of power, prejudice and inequality, they can lead to the dominance of the voice (and interests) of more powerful groups and the marginalization of the voice of some (most usually vulnerable groups). There is the need to be aware of the strong possibility of elite capture at national and sub-national levels, within the state but also within civil society and other groups purporting to represent “voice” and interests of the people.

3.4 Effectiveness of public policy petitions

The study sought to establish the effectiveness of public policy petitions as a participatory mechanism. The results are as shown in the table below.

Table 3.4.1 effectiveness of public policy petitions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Citizens well acquainted with public policy petition processes</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effective government guidelines and clear standards that enhance public policy petitions</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adequate human and financial resources that facilitate public policy petitionary mechanisms</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support the implementation of public policy petitionary skills through technical expertise and capacity building</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effective partnership between civil societies and counties for development of public policy petition mechanisms</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source (Author, 2019)
The respondents who were well acquainted with the public policy petition processes constituted 45% while 55% were not aware of the same. This implied that a majority of respondents had never been involved in petitioning the county government on any matter. Those who felt that there is lack of effective government guidelines and clear standards that are supposed to enhance the participation of citizens constituted 75%. This implied that the county government is yet to provide clear explanation of what the influence that the public policy petition has, might comprise. 80% of the respondents felt that there were inadequate human and financial resources available for the facilitation of petitions. This explains why a majority of the respondents were not aware of the public policy petition process.

A vast majority of citizens, 65%, felt that the public policy petitions carried out had not received enough support in terms of the implementation of the petitionary skills either through technical expertise or capacity building. In terms of the effectiveness of partnership between civil societies and county government in developing public policy petition mechanisms, 45% of the respondents felt that it was effective while 55% felt that it was not. This received support from the NGOs interviewed who indicated that the county has not involved them adequately in developing public policy petition mechanisms.

A study by Madubwe and Iravo (2018) found that public policy petitions often disappoint the citizens more so when they are not responded to, but, there are also significant lessons that could be learned in regards to enabling the citizen voices and participation and helping to educate and inform the petitioners about decision making and local democracy.

3.5 Public policy petitions presented and responded to

The study sought to establish the number of public policy petitions that had been presented and those which had been responded to, the results are as shown in the figure below.
A total of 25 public policy petitions had been presented at the time of this study, whereby 10 had been responded to and 15 not responded to. Out of the 40% that had been responded to only 30% were satisfied with the response. The CSO and NGO representatives who were interviewed shared the view that response to petitions by both the County Executive and the Assembly was generally poor. They noted that often, the County Government would make promises to respond within a given period of time but this would not happen. This shows unaccountability on the part of the county government since public service responsiveness is key for ensuring public accountability.

This is explained by a study by CISP (2017) that the challenge faced by CSOs and citizens is the follow-up process that no organization wishes to engage in, as it may lead to further implications such as the taking up of legal measures like in the case of the housing project in Mombasa County. The challenge is that the County does not consider petitions as a genuine mechanism of citizen engagement but rather as an ‘adversarial challenge’ to its authority.
3.6 Nature of public participation forums

3.6.1 County public participation regulatory and institutional frameworks

The Kitui County has not instituted a public participation and civic education Act. The county relies mainly on national legislation in addition to constitutional provisions to effect public participation. The absence of a Public Participation Act impedes public participation to an extent because the citizenry cannot compel the county government to take certain actions because there are no clear laws determining the threshold on public participation. The county government is left with wide discretion to determine the scope of public participation. It is therefore difficult to hold the county government accountable. The county however has a public participation and civic education office headed by a director who is also the coordinator in that office. The office has only one officer, the director. The county has no sub county nor ward public participation and civic education officers/coordinators.

3.6.2 Public participation processes

The public forums in Kitui County were held from the village level just once, for the 2018/2019 FY ADP. Usually they are held from the ward level. The reasons that were given for not holding the forums from the village level were that they are costly and time consuming. From the ward level, three top priorities are identified and representatives are appointed to represent the ward at the next level of participation, which is the sub-county level. This is however not the case most of the time. From the interviews it was noted that at times the political leaders call for political rallies, then read to the citizens what the county government is planning to do for the people in that area. Then through acclamation, the proposals are adopted.

3.6.3 Management and coordination of public participation

The county public participation guidelines (2016) have given several mechanisms for management and coordination of public participation. Kitui County has adopted the first option offered by the CPPG (2016), whereby a county public participation and civic education director who acts as the administrative head for public participation has been appointed. The director works with the administrators in the county units,
County Assembly and County Executive Committee. Further, the county government works with the national government coordinators at the county to mobilize the public and provide security at public participation forums.

3.7 Factors influencing citizen participation in public forums

The study sought through the interviews, to establish the institutional and individual related factors influencing citizen participation in the public forums. For citizens to effectively participate in such forums, they need to know what their rights and responsibilities are and have the knowhow on how to implement the same. For this to be realised, capacity building needs to have been done.

3.7.1 The County Government initiatives for ensuring Public participation

The study sought to establish the initiatives that the County government has undertaken in creating awareness of the public participation forums. The county director for civic education and public participation indicated that the county passes the information about the public participation forums through the local FM radio stations, churches, and public barazas as well as through the use of public forum. When asked whether the county government has a civic education programme on sensitizing the citizens on the need to participate in county affairs, the director mentioned that the finances were the impeding factor in actualizing this, therefore as at the time of the interview there was no such initiative in place. Most community members therefore don’t know that they are required to participate in affairs of the county. Hence when they are called upon to participated they don’t know what is expected of them.

The public participation and civic education director indicated that the communication about the forums is usually done at least one week before the public forum is held and that the agenda of the public forum is also communicated. This information was however contradicted by the NGOs interviewed indicating that as short as two days notices are given for public participation and that the forums agenda is usually communicated on the material day at the venue of the public forum. The NGOs interviewed also mentioned that there is no feedback mechanism after the public forums are held. A lot of changes are usually effected on what had been agreed upon
during the public forums but the citizens are neither engaged nor informed of such changes. They only realise them once the projects are implemented.

The public participation and civic education office also did not have data of the number public participation forums that the county had held or even the number of participants in the public forums. The reason given was that the office had just been put in place barely a year ago and that it did not have enough work force as yet. However from the program based budget for the county, a target of eight public participation forums per year had been set form the 2015/2016 FY to 2020/2021 FY. There was no information available on whether this has been realised for the financial years that have already lapsed. The office also indicated that CSOs and other stakeholders are usually invited for the public participation, information which was also contradicted by the said organizations.

The expansiveness of the county and subsequently the administrative units also limits the number of people who can avail themselves for participation. The lowest administrative unit at which the public forums are held is the ward level and most citizens are not able to cover long distances to the public forum venue. The NGOs also indicated that when it comes to participation for budget formulation, the budget papers availed are usually highly summarised skipping some crucial segments of the budget. The whole documents are also not shared on the county website. There is also no validation of the budget items done.

3.7.2 Individual factors influencing public participation forums

Poverty was mentioned as one of the major hindering factor to individual’s participation in public forums. From the interviews it was pointed out that most citizens were not willing to attend the public forums if there was no money being offered for the same. People can’t afford the transport and the economically ‘non-productive’ time to go and participate in a public forum. This could be attributed to poverty. It is important to note that the previous regime used to give between Kshs 200 to Kshs 300 while the current regime only offers Kshs 100 or nothing for what they refer to as participation facilitation.
The other factor that was pointed out was communication barrier. Citizens who attend the public forums are required to express themselves in the official languages, that is, English or Kiswahili of which most of them are not able to fully articulate their points in those languages. The documents that are presented for discussion are also written in English which is also a challenge to many. The technical language in which the issues are usually discussed is too complex – people have difficulty understanding what precisely is being asked.

The other factors included that people do not get enough advance notice that a public forum is being held or that their views can be expressed through some other mechanism if they are not able to attend. Public forums are being held in the Sub-County or Ward headquarters and most people can’t get to them. The time of the day that the public participation forums are held is often challenging for many people: they are help up at work, in their businesses or with household chores hence they are unable to attend.
CHAPTER FOUR
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Introduction
The objective of this study was to establish why increased public participation has not led to increased public accountability. Specifically the study sought to establish why an increase in the number of public forums being held has not led to an increase in public accountability and why increased public policy petitions has not led to increased public accountability.

The study utilized primary data obtained both from a questionnaire administered to respondents in Kitui county and interviews with key informants. This chapter provides a summary of the findings of the study in relation to the objective of the study. Answers to the research question, recommendations, conclusions, and suggestions for further study are also provided.

4.2 Summary of findings
This section presents the outcome of the study and they are presented as below

4.2.1 Profile of the respondents
The study found that there were more male respondents (65%) as compared to female (35%) respondents. In terms of Age, a majority of those who participated in public forums were above 30 years of age constituting 77.5%. On education level, the study found that a majority of those who participated in public forums had attained a post-secondary school education constituting 72.5% of the respondents.

4.2.2 Public forum participation
The study found that 70% of the respondents had participated in public forums while 30% had never participated. On the public forums participation, a majority had participated in identification of community needs, 75%. Then 35% had participated in county development planning, and 25% had participated in development project implementation. Only 11% had participated in monitoring and evaluation of development projects and none had participated in preparation and validation of the county budget. As to whether the relevant information concerning what is to be
deliberated upon is provided way before the public forum is held, 54% of the respondents indicated that it’s not provided.

The study also found that a variety of public forum sensitization channels were being used. 47% of respondents indicated that they got the information about the public forums from the local FM radio stations, 21% from churches, 18% from social media and 7% from newspapers with the same percentage of respondents as public notice boards. The study also found that 57% of the community needs or projects identified are usually not implemented.

4.2.3 Public policy petitions presented and responded to

The study found that there was a poor response rate for the public petitions from the county which negatively influenced public accountability. Most citizens were not aware of the public policy process mechanisms which meant that most of them were not participation in petitioning the government on matters affecting them. The county was also found not to have effective guidelines and clear standards that enhance public policy petitions.

4.2.4 Factors affecting public participation forums

The study found that Kitui County does not have a public participation and civic education Act while its public participation institutional framework is very weak with only one staff, the director, in that docket. The county communicates to the citizens about the public forums through a variety of channels including newspapers, local FM radio stations, churches, public notices, as well as through the social media. The communication is however usually given in a very short notice. The limited sharing of budget documents, which are also in technical language even when shared, selective involvement of people in public participation forums, and poor feedback to communities after a public participation forums are also hindrances to effective public participation forums.

The study also found that the use of newspapers as a means of advertising about the public participation forums in areas with low literacy levels and poor distribution and access, lack of civic education, limited use of county website, as well as the expansiveness of the county as other limiting factors to public participation. Other
factors influencing the public participation forums included high poverty levels, illiteracy that led to communication barriers, as well as political interference.

4.3 Conclusions

From the findings of the study, the following conclusions were drawn; as to why an increase in the number of public forums being held has not led to an increase in public accountability, the study concludes that the majority of the members of public in Kitui County do participate in county affairs. The study further concludes that the process of holding the public forums is structurally flawed and as such, it cannot lead to the citizens holding their leaders to account.

As to why increased public policy petitions has not led to increased public accountability, the study concludes that there is a poor response for public policy petitions from the county government hence the county is not responsive to the needs of its citizens which has a negative impact on public accountability. Further the study concludes that due to lack of civic education as well as guidelines and clear standards that enhance public policy petitions, most citizens are not aware of how they can petition the government on issues affecting them hence being unable to hold their government to account.

Therefore even though public participation has increased, accountability levels remain low. Hence the study does not confirm the hypotheses that public forums have a positive impact on public accountability or that increased public policy petitions have a positive impact on public accountability.

4.4 Recommendations

The study recommends that public forums should be held in accordance to constitutional and legislative requirements for public participation. This includes enacting a public participation and civic education Act, having adequate civic education, capacity building for county officials involved in public participation and civic education, and adherence to every other law on public participation. Public participation ought not to be formalistic or tokenistic.

The study also recommends that the county government should disseminate information about the intended public forum to the public not less than 7 days before
they are required to give input in accordance with the county public participation guidelines. The county should also endeavor to advertise the public participation forums through channels that have the widest access to its citizens. The county should also provide feedback to the community after the public participation exercise.

The study finally recommended that members of the public should be enlightened to change their attitude towards participation in governance and create will and time to participate. Their participation will allow the incorporation of their views for the betterment of lives.

**4.5 Suggestions for further study**

This study was not able to cover all the mechanisms of public participation and their effect on public accountability since it only focused on public forums and public policy petitions. There is need therefore for further study on other mechanisms of public participation and their effect on public accountability. There is also need for further study on other factors that may have an influence on public accountability at the county level besides public participation.
REFERENCES

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Muriu, A. (2012). Decentralization, citizen participation and local public service delivery; Potsdam Center for Policy and Management Faculty of Economic and Social Sciences University of Potsdam, Germany.

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World Bank (2017). “From transparency to accountability through citizen engagement.”

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: Legal and Constitutional Provisions for Public Participation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Article 1(2) of the Constitution of Kenya, 2010</td>
<td>All sovereign power belongs to the people of Kenya. The people may exercise their sovereignty directly or through their elected representatives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 10 (2) a, b and c</td>
<td>The national values and principles of governance include; democracy and participation of the people; inclusiveness; good governance, integrity, transparency and accountability.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 27</td>
<td>The Constitution guarantees equality and non-discrimination. Hence, public participation should ensure equality and non-discrimination.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 33</td>
<td>Public participation should respect the freedom of expression of all participants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 35</td>
<td>The Constitution guarantees the right to access information by citizens.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 174(c)</td>
<td>Objects of devolution are; to give powers of self-governance to the people and enhance their participation in the exercise of such powers in decision making.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 174(d)</td>
<td>Communities have the right to manage their own affairs and to further their development.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 184(1)</td>
<td>National legislation shall provide for the governance and management of urban areas and cities and shall provide for the participation of residents in the governance of urban areas and cities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 232(1)(d)</td>
<td>The values and principles of public service include the involvement of the people in the process of policy making and (f) transparency and provision to the public of timely and accurate information.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth Schedule Part 2(14)</td>
<td>The functions and powers of the county are to coordinate and</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ensure the participation of communities in governance. Counties are also to assist communities to develop the administrative capacity to enhance their exercise of power and participation in governance at the local level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Legislation</th>
<th>Legal Requirements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CPPG, 2016</td>
<td>The Public Finance Management Act Section 207</td>
<td>County Governments are to establish structures, mechanisms and guidelines for citizen participation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>County Government Act Section 91</td>
<td>The county government shall facilitate the establishment of modalities, and platforms for citizen participation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The County Government Act Sections 94, 95, 96</td>
<td>Counties are to establish mechanisms to facilitate public communication and access to information using media with the widest public outreach. Every county shall designate an office for ensuring access to information.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>County Government Act Sections 100 and 101</td>
<td>County governments should create an institutional framework for civic education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban areas Act Sections 21 and 22</td>
<td>Overarching theme is participation by the residents in the governance of urban areas and cities. The Second Schedule of the Act provides for the rights of, and participation by residents in affairs of their city or urban areas.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source CPPG, 2016

APPENDIX II: INTRODUCTION LETTER TO RESPONDENTS

Frank Munyao,
University of Nairobi,

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Dear Respondent,

My Name is Frank Munyao and I am currently pursuing a Master of Public Administration degree at the University of Nairobi. I am required, as a partial fulfillment for the requirements for the award of Master of Public Administration degree, to conduct an academic research. It is for this reason that I am writing this to request that you be one of my participants in data collection. All information you give will be strictly used for academic purposes only and handled with utmost confidentiality.

Kindly feel free to contact my supervisor, Dr. Patrick Kasyula on 0722492887 or by email kasyula@uonbi.ac.ke; should you need further information.

Thank you for your attention and for agreeing to participate in this study.

Yours faithfully,

Frank Munyao

APPENDIX III: QUESTIONNAIRE

Instructions: Please provide appropriate information in each SECTION. Indicate your answers in space or by ticking (√) in the box against one of the choices provided.

THE INFLUENCE OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION ON PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY: The case of Kitui County

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION
1) (a) Gender:  (Tick as applicable)
Male (  ) Female (  )
(b) Your age bracket (tick where applicable)
20 yrs. & below (  )
21-30yrs (  )
31-40 yrs. (  )
41-50 yrs. (  )
51-60 yrs. (  )
Over 61 yrs. (  )
2) What is your highest education level? (Tick as applicable)
Primary school (  )
Secondary school (  )
Certificate (  )
Diploma (  )
Bachelors’ degree (  )
Others (specify).................................................................
3) Name of your sub-county…………………………………………………

SECTION B: PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

4) Has the county government adhered to the principle of public participation? (Tick where applicable)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>None</th>
<th>Slightly</th>
<th>Moderate</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Very high</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

5) Effectiveness of public policy petitions as a participatory mechanism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Citizens well acquainted with public policy petitions processes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effective governments guidelines and clear standards that enhance public policy petitions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Adequate human and financial resources that facilitate public policy petitionary mechanisms
Support the implementation of public policy petitionary skills through technical expertise and capacity building
Development and dissemination of citizen guidelines on public policy petitions within the county governments
Effective partnership between civil societies and counties for development of public policy petition mechanisms

6) Out of the public policy petitions that the county has responded to were you satisfied with the response?
   Yes   No

7) Do you participate in county government public forums/barazas?
   Yes   No

8) If yes in the question above, which public forums/barazas have you participated in?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Public forum/barazas</th>
<th>Participated</th>
<th>Not participated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Identification of community needs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County development planning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implementation of development projects</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparation of budget and its validation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monitoring and evaluation of development projects</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9) Are the community needs identified or the projects agreed on during public forums/barazas implemented?
10) Are you usually provided with the relevant information concerning the issues of discussion a few days before the public forum/baraza is held?

Yes  No

11) How do you usually get to know of the public forums/barazas?

From public notice boards
From county government’s social media pages
Through radio and television advertisements
Through announcements in churches, mosques, temples, public barazas
Through advertisements in newspapers

12) Have you ever made an unofficial payment for you to be able to access a certain public service? (Tick where applicable)

Never  Sometimes  Often  Very often  Always

APPENDIX IV: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

FOR DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION KITUI COUNTY.

I am a Masters student at the University of Nairobi carrying out a research on the influence of public participation on public accountability: the case of Kitui County. Thank you for the opportunity to discuss with you concerning this subject.

1. Position held in the County Government?
2. Does the county hold county public forums/barazas?
3. Do citizens in Kitui County participate in county public forums/barazas?
4. Are the citizens provided with relevant information concerning the issues of discussion before the public forums/barazas are held?
5. Briefly tell me how public forums are usually conducted from the beginning to the end?
6. Does the citizens’ input given in the public forums/barazas considered in the plans made by the county?

7. In a scale of 1 to 10, how would you rate the implementation of community needs identified or projects agreed upon during public forums?

8. What are some of the citizen related factors influencing citizen participation in Kitui County?

9. In a scale of 1 to 10 how would you rate the influence of public participation forums on county development?

10. In your opinion has public participation through public forums/barazas led to the public holding the county officials to account? Explain how

11. Do non-state actors participate in the public forums?

12. Do the citizens or NGOs petition the county executive or assembly on matters affecting them? If so how many petitions have been forwarded since 2013?

13. How many public policy petitions have been responded to?

14. How many public policy petitions have been fully acted upon?

15. What are some of the issues that the citizens, NGOs and CSOs have petitioned the county government on?
APPENDIX V: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR CSOs and NGOs

I am a Masters student at the University of Nairobi carrying out a research on the influence of public participation on public accountability: the case of Kitui County. Thank you for the opportunity to discuss with you concerning this subject.

1. Position held in the organization
2. Is your organization involved in county affairs?
3. Does Kitui County hold public forums/barazas?
4. Do citizens in Kitui County participate in county public forums/barazas?
5. What is the level of awareness of the citizen on their participation on County affairs in Kitui County?
6. Does Kitui County have a civic education unit?
7. Does Kitui County have a civic education programme?
8. Do non-state actors participate in the public forums in Kitui County?
9. To what extent would you say that the Kitui county public forums influence the decisions or plans of the county?
10. In what ways has the public forums/barazas led to an improved socio-economic and political well-being of the Kitui County residents?
11. To what extent has the county public forums led to improved service delivery to the citizens of Kitui County?
12. How does Kitui County facilitate public forums/barazas?
13. In your opinion has public participation through public forums/barazas led to the public holding the Kitui county officials to account? Explain how
14. Do the citizens petition the Kitui county executive or assembly on matters of public policy?
15. Has your organization petitioned the Kitui county government on any public policy issue? If so, has the petition(s) been responded to?