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'\ Civic Education and its relevance in Kenyan Context: A provider's

perspective '\

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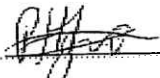
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DECLARATION

I. the undersigned. declare that this is my original work and has not been submitted to any other college. institution or university for the award of a degree.

Sign: .... Date: 26th November 2012.

NAME: Ngure P. Ng'ethe

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This Project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University supervisor.

Supervisor's Signature: .... Date: 26th November 2012

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ACKNOWLEGMENT

ABSTRACT

Civic education in Kenya has become the catch word for Government, Civil Society, donors and commissions especially as we head towards 2013 elections. According to Grindle (2004), civic education, aims to teach people about their rights and responsibilities as part of a democratic society and for them to have a more accountable government. Indeed, public education, as an essential tool for citizen empowerment is clearly fundamental for a stronger democracy.

The point of departure for this study is that the process of civic education in Kenya has proved to be quite complex and the endeavour is unlikely to be effective unless identifiable gaps are filled. This study attempted to find out from a provider's perspective if civic education has had any relevance in Kenya. It examined the relationship between knowledge on civic education, the extent of donor investments, role of Civil Society organizations in civic and overall effectiveness of civic education model in terms of themes, methodologies, strategies and targeting applied by Civic educators. The study attempted to provide a theoretical understanding civic education and its role in increasing public participation. Using the Diffusion of Innovation and the structuration theory, it explored how to effectively carry out public education and the communication needs therein.

The study used both quantitative and qualitative methods to inform its research objectives. A survey research methodology was adopted whereby data was collected using structured questionnaires to interview 56 respondents. The survey respondents were programme officers drawn from selected NGOs which were engaged in civic education based in Nairobi. An interview guide was used on 8 Key Informants who represented the diversity of Kenyan civil society including women, Faith Based Organizations, youth and marginalized groups. The

information was gathered from a sample selected purposeful to meet the objectives of the study. The information gathered from the sampled population was analyzed using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS).

The study findings indicate that 80.4% of the organizations engaged in the provision of civic education are local NGOs. However, all the 80.4% get their funding, contents of their training curriculum/modules, evaluation of programs and directional focus from the donors. Indeed, 46.6% indicated that they would collapse without donor support. In the past, civic education has therefore been explicitly been a donor agenda. However, it is worth noting that the Government of Kenya (GOK) has come out strongly since 2010 to be involved in setting the civic education agenda in Kenya. The study also found out that civic education providers have focused only on areas with ease of geographical accessibility. More specifically, the study found that all NGOs engaged in civic education in Kenya are only able to reach 20 constituencies out of the 210 in the country; this was cited by respondents as a reason for low levels of effectiveness civic education in Kenya.

On recommendation, the study highlights there is need to target a younger generation in civic education so as to have a young group of citizens embracing civic duties. The government is also called upon to take up a more proactive stand in provision and supporting civic education exercises. The methodology of delivery needs to be considered by providers. Different categories of people appreciate different forms of reach; while the youth will prefer road shows; elderly members prefer community forums. The content also needs to be relevant and should incorporate livelihood topics which are of great interests to the citizenry. There is also need for local ownership of civic education by making it part of the national school curriculum.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

"It is a general truth that societies that neither understand nor practice their own principles are liable to find their institutions in decay or overthrown." (Centre for Civic Education 1991)

1.1 Background

Civic education in Kenya has become the catch word for Government, Civil Society, donors and commissions. This has been largely associated with national electoral processes including the 2010 referendum on the Constitution. Civic education refers to the type of education that equips the citizens with the knowledge, skills and desired attitudes which, in turn, enable the recipient to make informed choices and decisions about various issues of life " (Digolo, Obonyo and Adiwo O., 2004, pg. 1).

According to Grindle (2004), civic education, aims to teach people about their rights and responsibilities as part of a democratic society and for them to have a more accountable government. Civic education is supposed to give people the "skills needed to work with others towards goods that can only be obtained or created through collective action, and the powers of sympathetic understanding needed to build bridges of persuasive words to those with whom one must act" (Galston 2004, p.263). The Lack of this critical mass of citizens who can forge collective action and act is a challenge to strong democracies.

According to Heater (2004), global civic education emerged in Greece during the Archaic Age (776-479BC) and flourished as a discipline during the Classical Age. However, throughout the centuries, the importance of civic education appears to have waned; currently it is considered as a controversial issue in emerging democracies like Kenya.

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To date, the interest over civic education has been stimulated by concerns over political apathy growing among the citizens of America. According to Galston, (2001) whereas America citizens have wide knowledge of civic education, their participation in national processes is very low. This is a question that hasn't been answered by many civic education evaluations.

A survey by International IDEA (2010) indicates that the general election in the United States of America in 2006 had only 47.32% of all registered voters participating in the parliamentary election. Worth to note is that America is a symbol of mature and stronger democracies unlike Africa, and as noted by Kanyinga and Wesselink (2002), where apathy and lack of participation is still rife. This contrast between the Western and Africa situations leads to the question of whether civic education knowledge can be translated to citizen's participation in strengthening their democracy and whether indeed civic education leads to more participation and by extension stronger democracies.

According to Hirschfeld (2007), civic education has been ongoing in Kenya for the last two decades through civil society and donor agencies. In Kenya, campaign for civic education heightened in the late 1980's when pro-democracy activists were pushing for the establishment of a more democratic state through multi party political system. The main reason for this push was that the Kenyan state had stifled civil society and gagged progressive groups. Open dissent was punishable and citizens could not question.

The climax for pro-democracy campaigns in Kenya was in the 1990's when Opposition politicians and civil society engaging in civic education held demonstrations[1] in support of multi-partism. As a result of the campaigns and pressure for multi-party democracy, the then President Moi reintroduced multi-party politics in late 1991. According to Kanyinga and Wesselink (2002), this reintroduction of multiparty democracy transformed the political terrain in Kenya; people could openly discuss their political aspirations and the value of democracy and engage therein.

Indeed, civil society which was initially gagged became the training ground for a new group of political actors interested in promoting change. Donors continued to support multiparty democracy through provision of finances for, and promotion of, civic education. Current statistics from the Uraia Income expenditure (2010) indicate that there are 10 foreign missions[2] who have put in a cumulative figure of 1, 212, 119 shillings since 2006 – 2010 in support of civic education.

Given the huge investment in promotion of multiparty system in Kenya, it's not lost to Kenyans that whoever pays the piper calls the tune; this study thus attempts to assess the effect to which such efforts by donors and the civil society have strengthened Kenya's democracy.

Civil society role in strengthening democracy in Kenya can also be assessed from the number of CSOs carrying out civic education. As noted by Kanyinga and Wesselink (2002), Kenyan civil society grew from fewer than 10 organizations dealing directly with democracy, to over

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[1] In 1990 one hundred people were killed during a peaceful demonstration supporting multi-party elections. After this event international donors froze all aid to Kenya and president Moi was forced into announcing multi-party elections to be held in 1992 *(Kanyinga and Wesselink 2002)*.
[2] Finland, DFID, Usaid, Norway, Sweden, Canada, Nethelands, EU, Denmark, UNDP

30 between 1990 and December 1992 when the 1st multi party general election were held. Between 1992 and December 1997 when the second multi party election was held, the number increased again to over 70 organizations that are funded to specifically carry out Civic education.

Ideally, as noted by Hirschfeld (2007), as political space expands, there are many new political actors in the field working towards a stronger democratic state. The assumption is that with the increase of civic education providers, it is expected that the nation will have a more vibrant democracy. On the contrary, a poll by Synovate research (August 2010) on the 2010 referendum on a new constitution indicated that the civil society ranked a far 5th in provision of information to the citizens on the content of the constitution. The Media topped the list followed by politicians and religious groupings. Thus this study attempts, inter alia, to assess the place and space of civil societies in provision of civic education in Kenya.

The goal of civic education has generally been to inform and empower citizens to enable them engage meaningfully on issues that affect them in their everyday lives. According to Digolo, Obonyo and Adiwo O. (2004), It is important to underscore the fact that democratic behavior and practice is neither genetically inborn nor inherited; it's learnt and acquired and thus must be taught through civic education.

However, the effectiveness of civic education activities has not been closely explored. Civic education is little understood as a subject or as a tool for facilitating social-political and economic change in countries undergoing transition. Accordingly, the aim of this study is to unravel the effectiveness of civic education model as a means of strengthening democracy in Kenya. The study makes the assumption that Civic education if properly carried out should

lead to a stronger democracy in Kenya. This is based on Paulo freire's interpretation of the impact of civic education as creating and sustaining universal principles[3] as basic tenets for stronger democracies.

1.2 Problem Statement

According to Carter and Elshtain (1997), there is no more important task than the development of an informed, effective, and responsible citizenry. Democracies are sustained by citizens who have the requisite knowledge, skills, and dispositions. Carter and Elshtain (1997) goes on to note that absent of a reasoned commitment on the part of its citizens to the fundamental values and principles of democracy, a free and open society cannot succeed.

According to the Uraia strategic Document for NCEP III (2009), Civic education – if done properly - is an important tool for raising public awareness and levels of knowledge on important issues affecting the lives of ordinary citizens. Civic education is also a means by which citizens can effectively engage and participate in public debate and in decision making, creation of accountability mechanisms and in making their wider social, political and economic contribution to the nation's development.

The document suggested ways in which Civic education model is expected to be carried out if it has to be considered successful which includes making basic information available to a critical number of people. According to NCEP (2009), Civic education must genuinely educate people; it must help people to know what to do with that education. This includes making people know what they can do, and how, in order to effect change on local issues and, through wider mobilization, on national issues also. This will be the theoretical

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[3] *These tenets principles are social justice, respect for human rights, dialogue, consensus, accountability, transparency and unity of purpose.*

framework and benchmark through which this study wishes to interrogate the effectiveness of civic education.

The cited studies provide ample evidence suggesting that though civic education is clearly fundamental, there are numerous gaps for it to be as effective as envisioned. Civic education, therefore, is a prime concern. This is strengthened by the concern that Kenya is still not a strong democracy as envisioned by the civic education campaigners of the early 1990's leading to the big question; what is the effectiveness of the civic education model applied in Kenya as a means of strengthening democracy?

This study seeks to answer the following research questions;

1. Does civic education lead to increased participation by citizens in strengthening their democracy In Kenya?

2. To what extent have the huge investments by donors strengthened Kenya's democracy?

3. To what extent has the increase in the number of civic educators aided in strengthening democracy in Kenya?

4. How relevant are the strategies applied by civic educators in Kenya and are they effective in creation of a stronger democracy?

1.3 Study Objectives

1.3.1. Overall Objective.

To Understand Civic Education and Its relevance in Kenyan Context

1.3:2. Specific objectives.

1. To examine the relationship between knowledge on civic education and participation in strengthening democracies,

2. To assess the extent to which donor investments in Civic education have strengthened democracy in Kenya,

3. To establish whether or not increase in the number of Civil society organizations carrying out civic education leads to a stronger democracy,

4. To evaluate the effectiveness of civic education model in terms of themes, methodologies, strategies and targeting applied by Civic educators,

1.4 Rationale of the study

The prime justification of this study is that whereas civic education has been conducted in Kenya for more than 20 years, the strong democratic state envisioned then remains a mirage to the nation. This is supported by Hirschfeld (2007), who notes that whereas the core role of civic education in the development of a country is to enable the citizens of a country acquire the knowledge, skills and personal value attributes that would make them participate in their country's democratic processes in an informed manner, the results haven't been forthcoming for Kenya. The numerous ethnic clashes since 1991 and the 2007/8 violence over elections is a clear indicator to the same. This study thus is expected to fill the research gap and contribute to the current debate on the effectiveness of civic education in creation of stronger democracies.

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A comparative analysis between civic education and informed participation brings to fore the contrast of the originally held notion that civic education leads to increased informed participation. This can be justified by the fact that in the 2010 referendum in Kenya, "67% of Kenyans participated in the referendum while civic education ranks 5th in provision of information to the citizenry" (Synovate, August 2010). There then seems to be a gap as to how comes if the participation was so high, what was the role of civic education which ranks so lowly.

Secondly, the study provides a forum for civic educators to interrogate the civic education model and analyze if indeed the increase in the number of civic educators has any impact to the creation of a more democratic state in Kenya. This is based on the contrast that in the 1990's, with less than 10 CSOs, they were able to push for repel of laws and the reintroduction of multipartism.

Today, whereas there are 70 organizations currently carrying out civic education in Kenya, they rank a lowly 5th in the provision of information to the citizenry. This study is an opportunity to explore the space of civic education amidst other arena working towards a stronger democracy in Kenya.

The third justification is that civic education in Kenya has been fully supported and sponsored by overseas donors and foreign embassies and missions. This study wishes to interrogate its own assumption and thus find out whether the reason why civic education hasn't been as effective as envisioned is because the model of implementation, content and application is largely determined by the donors and thus doesn't resonate with the Kenyan citizenry.

Another justification for the study is that society satisfies most of its needs through economic production of good and services and this can only be possible if there is a strong democratic

infrastructure. As noted by Digolo, Obonyo and Adiwo O. (2004), it can be figuratively argued that democracies are founded on full bellies and peaceful minds including a growing GDP. However, Kenyan GDP has dropped to 4% in 2009 from 7% in 2004. This study will be assessing whether the fall of GDP and increasing poverty levels could be a reason why civic education has had little impact in creating a stronger democracy in Kenya.

Fourthly, according to Branson (1998), civic education aims at preparing the learner for an active adult life in a free society. Such education should promote and contribute to the goal of democratic governance. If citizens are to influence the course of political life and the public policies adopted in view of improving their democracy, they need to expand their repertoire of civic skills. This study thus will be trying to answer the research gap on whether the civic education provided in Kenya is comprehensive enough to give citizens the necessary competence expected to lead to development of stronger democratic institutions. This will further answer to the question of targeting for stronger democracy in Kenya.

Finally, this study intends to provide a theoretical understanding of factors affecting civic education in Kenya. Using the Civic education model, the study is expected to demonstrate how various methodologies and strategies have impacted on the realization of a stronger democracy in Kenya.

1.5 Scope and Limitation of the study

This study is limited to civic education providers contracted Under the NCEP *11 (Uraia programme)*. This is because as noted by Odera (2007), Uraia is Kenya's main structured avenue for providing civic education and the main organ that the donor and civil society in Kenya anchor all civic education funding and processes. The study is also limited to civil society

organizations (CSOs) involved in NCEP II fully[4]. The study is also limited to the civil society organizations (CSOs) based in Nairobi but serving the citizens in different constituencies in the country for logistical purposes.

1.6 Definition of Key terms

Civic Knowledge - Civic knowledge is concerned with the content or what citizens ought to know; the subject matter, if you will.

Civic education – A type of learning where citizens are made aware of their rights and are able to practice them in participating in processes that enhance their lives and also ability to scrutinize their leadership in an informed manner.

Civic education process - The process through which the Civic education curriculum is developed, the themes, structures and methodologies of dissemination.

Democracy – Democracy is a political form of government in which governing power is derived from the people, either by direct referendum or by means of elected representatives of the people.

Participation - refers to different mechanisms for the public to express opinions - and ideally exert influence - regarding political, economic, management or other social decisions.

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[4] *NCEP 11 has had three phases including Phase One (2006/7), National responsive initiative (2008/9) and Annual Transitional Work plan (2009/10) bringing together 52 civil society organizations.*

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, several critical areas of relevance to the study are analyzed. The first part examines literature on conceptualization of civic education. The second part looks into literature on knowledge on civic education and participation and its relevance in strengthening democracies. This is followed by the third part which covers looks at the role of donors in the conception and delivery of civic education as well as the role of Civil societies dealing with civic education and how they have faired in strengthening Kenya's democracy.

This chapter examines the history of civic education and controversial issues relating to civic education with a bias to selected schools of thoughts that are relevant to the objectives of this study. It also focuses on the methodologies of civic education as well as the biases in the content of civic education. It is within these contexts that the study demonstrates the lacuna it strives to fill. This chapter reviews studies that have focused on model of strengthening democracy through the civic education.

2.2 History of Civic Education in the world

Citizenship education emerged in Greece during the Archaic Age (776-479BC) and flourished as a discipline during the Classical Age. Plato and Aristotle both felt that civic education was necessary to help improve the "decay of social and political standards" in fourth century Athens (Heater 2004, p.12).

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To date, the interest over civic education has been stimulated by concerns over political apathy growing among the citizens of America. According to Galston, (2001) whereas America citizens have wide knowledge of civic education, their participation in national processes is very low. This is supported by a survey by International IDEA (2010) indicates that the general election in the United States of America in 2006 had only 47.32% of all registered voters participating in the parliamentary election. Worth to note is that America is a symbol of mature and stronger democracies unlike Africa.

2.2.1 History of Civic Education in Kenya

According to Kanyinga and Wesselink (2002), where apathy and lack of participation is still rife. This contrast between the Western and Africa situations leads to the question of whether civic education knowledge can be translated to citizen's participation in strengthening their democracy and whether indeed civic education leads to more participation and by extension stronger democracies.

According to Hirschfeld (2007), civic education has been ongoing in Kenya for the last two decades through civil society and donor agencies. In Kenya, campaign for civic education heightened in the late 1980's when pro democracy activists were pushing for the establishment of a more democratic state through multi party political system. The main reason for this push was that the Kenyan state had stifled civil society and gagged progressive groups. Open dissent was punishable and citizens could not question.

The climax for pro-democracy campaigns in Kenya was in the 1990's when opposition politicians and civil society engaging in civic education held demonstrations[5] in support of multi-partism. As a result of the campaigns and pressure for multi-party democracy, the then President Moi reintroduced multi-party politics in late 1991.

According to Kanyinga and Wesselink (2002), this reintroduction of multiparty democracy transformed the political terrain in Kenya; people could openly discuss their political aspirations and the value of democracy and engage therein and thus the space for civic education was wider opened.

2.3 Democracy and Civic Education in Kenya

The US Centre for Civic Education defines Civic education as "education in self-government" meaning that "the ideals of democracy are most completely fulfilled when every member of the political community actively shares in government" (Centre for Civic Education 1991). Galston holds that for democracy to function it requires "democratic citizens whose specific knowledge, competences and character would not be as well suited to non-democratic politics" (Galston 2001, p.217). For citizens to acquire the knowledge and characteristics which are essential for democracy to keep going, and not be undermined by those who preach authoritarianism, they must be educated. As Galston says, good citizens are made not born (Galston 2001, p.217). Aristotle made this point in 340BC in *Politics*: "If liberty and equality...are chiefly to be found in democracy, they will be attained when all persons alike share in the government to the utmost" (Branson and Quigley 1998, p.4).

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[5] In 1990 one hundred people were killed during a peaceful demonstration supporting multi-party elections. After this event international donors froze all aid to Kenya and president Moi was forced into announcing multi-party elections to be held in 1992 *(Kanyinga and Wesselink 2002)*.

Therefore to create a civic competent citizen, one needs a form of education which instils knowledge and a character which promotes active participation and is against non-democratic forms of government. Therefore the structures and frameworks by which civic education is taught are extremely important in making sure that any obstacles to an active citizenry are overcome.

2.4 Education and Civic participation worldwide

According to Blair (2003), much of the literature on civic education is concerned with civic education within schools and universities, these institutions try to build up citizens with civic values in the next generation. Blair (2003) argues that in a "mature" democratic state, people will have absorbed the virtues of what makes a good democratic citizen over a lifetime. However, this is not the case for Third World countries where civic education is primarily taught to adult citizens.

According to Finkel (2003a), in Dominican Republic, South Africa and Poland, where impact studies on civic education have been carried out to adult populations, civic education had a positive effect on civic knowledge and civic participation. On the issue of trust in democratic institutions, South Africa and Poland showed a positive effect, while in the Dominican Republic there was significantly less trust in political institutions. Finkel and Sabatini (2000), argued that in the Dominican Republic civic education had a negative effect on institutional trust because citizens had a better idea of how institutions were not "living up to the ideals of democratic governance".

When this is put in the Kenyan context, it is not necessarily a bad thing since a healthy level of scepticism is good in a citizen as it makes them question arbitrary authority. This has been seen in citizens rejecting executive excesses in Kenya in the recent past.

According to Blair (2003), in his assessment of the factors that influence level of participation in electoral processes, participant's level of education is one condition/factor which impacts on the effectiveness of civic education. Those with more education (secondary school level or higher) displayed greater local participation after civic education across all countries.

Finkel (2003), cross country study however brought out that there was a greater improvement for those with less education in the Dominican Republic and South Africa, showing that civic education can help close the distance between the elite and non-elite's participation in the political process.

According to Bratton et al (1999), education levels had an impact on how well people responded to civic education. In Zambia, for example, those who had progressed further through the education system benefited significantly more than those who had less education. However Evans and Rose, (2006), studied civic education in Malawi and found that even some primary school education made a positive difference. Yet in many developing countries there is no universal primary education level. Accordingly, this has an effect on the level of impact civic education is able to have, both at the school level and for adults.

This conflict of assessment between Finkel, Bratton, Evans and Blair on whether education levels have an impact to peoples participation in electoral processes poses the first challenge of the study and shows that there is a gap in information of whether education level has any role to play in increasing citizen participation in civic education.

2.3 Civic Education delivery and Methodology in Kenya

Civic education is presented to different target populations in different formats for it to have its best impact. Indeed, different methodologies including lectures, theatre, media etc are highly used to convey the civic education message. A study under the USAID (2002) programme posits that "course design and quality of instruction are more important than civic education training in and of itself". In other words if the teaching is poor, the effect on participants will be poor.

Three key issues were identified by USAID as being important for programme impact: *frequency of sessions* – one or two had little impact, three or more showed a greater effect across all democratic indicators. *Participatory teaching methods* – breakout groups, role play, problem solving activities, mock ups of political or judicial scenarios, meetings with civic leaders; and the *quality of instructors*.

Finkel (2003), evaluation of the first phase of the National Civic Education Programme (NCEP I), which ran from August 2000 to September 2002, found out that the programme had an impact on the individuals' sense of civic competence and their engagement in the political system.

His second evaluation, Finkel (2008), indicated that workshops and forums had more impact than more participatory methodologies including theater and role plays. This indicated that there was no clear consensus between the two reports on which methods were most effective. Indeed, this is in contrast with the USAID study highlighted above and the widely held notion that Adult education should be more participatory and that civic educators should try 'non classroom teaching' set up.

Finkel (2003) also cautions on the one off/short term engagement with participations and posits the need for increased exposure of the civic education student to civic education. This however continues to be the norm in civic education in Kenya with 80% of the Uraia partner's activities being short term engagement. This includes the one and a half year NCEP II Programme in 2006 - 2007, the one year National Response Initiative (NRI) in 2008 - 2009 and the 6 months Constitutional programme in 2010 (Uraia Progress report, 2010). This is thus seen as the reason why civic education has had little impact in making citizens have informed participation in political processes.

2.4 Civic Education content in Kenya

There has been a constant concern that contents of civic education in Africa borrows heavily from the west. Indeed, according to Hajnal (2002), in Africa, as in many countries of the South, democratization is sometimes perceived as a process modelled upon outside – and specifically Northern – experience. Formal civic education programs in those countries arguably reflect the same bias and have not always been notably successful.

According to Finkel (2008), about 10% of all the respondents, reported that community problems were *not* discussed in their workshops, and thus had little impact to them and didn't increase their zeal for democracy. The study estimated that exposure to workshops that dealt with community issues including how electoral processes and the constitution impact on people's daily lives would lead to increased change in all of the democratic orientations. This in essence points at a gap in content in that the communities receiving education are always yearning for community issues/local content in civic education but is not forthcoming.

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2.4 Investment in Civic Education in Kenya

Civic education is an expensive process that requires and takes in millions of shillings to be able to reach as many citizens as possible. According to the Blair (2003), in developing countries where they have just come out of long periods of authoritarian rule, and where preparatory knowledge on civic education is not there, it is essential for the adult population to quickly gain the knowledge of civic education and engage in their nations. According to Marquette (2007), the success of civic education in the US and Hong Kong is not necessarily replicable in poorer countries where they only have a "tiny fraction" of the budgets possessed by more affluent countries. He thus calls for more investment in civic education to poorer countries.

The above arguments have made many donors give money for civic education programmes in poor countries for them to 'catch up'. USAID is probably one of the biggest promoters of civic education. By the end of the 1990's USAID was spending approximately $30 million a year on civic education to try and increase the numbers of civic competent citizens in developing countries (USAID 2002).

In Kenya, Donors have continued to support multiparty democracy through provision of finances for, and promotion of, civic education. Current statistics from the Uraia Income expenditure (2010) indicate that there are 10 foreign missions[6] who have put in a cumulative figure of 1, 212, 119 shillings since 2006 – 2010 in support of civic education. Given the huge investment in promotion of multiparty system in Kenya, the assumption is that the nation will have a more vibrant democracy. On the contrary, a poll by Synovate research (August 2010) on the recently concluded referendum on a new constitution indicated that the

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[6] Finland, DFID, Usaid, Norway, Sweden, Canada, Nethelands, EU, Denmark, UNDP

civil society ranked a far 5th in provision of information to the citizens on the content of the constitution. Thus this study is attempting to respond and find out the role of such huge investments and whether they are giving in the necessary returns.

2.5 Civil Society and civic education in Kenya

Civil society have for a long time been the main player in the field of civic education in Kenya. Indeed, the push for multi parties and democracy was pushed by the civil society together with religious leaders in the 80's and early 1990's. According to Laxer and Halperin (2003), "the rapid growth of civil society today must also be juxtaposed against the milieu of many African rulers who try to entrench themselves in power even as they talk of elections and democratic values" This in essence means that many governments allow civil society to function in order to advance economic development for which they can claim credit or consolidation of political legitimacy. Though it has its own limits, civil society is clearly a cardinal factor for reconfiguring the global-local nexus of leadership state-market-civil society interactions which in turn, define the scope of the challenges of the new millennium Laxer and Halperin (2003).

According to Larry (1994), civil society organizations are credited for integrating and propping up the democratic processes and its institutions through education and advocacy work. Their ideas are strongly articulated in the developmental policies and programs promoted by UN agencies, bilateral and multilateral institutions in third world and non-Western countries. This is clear in Kenya's civic education policies where in 1990's, the push for multi-party politics was high.

Interesting point in support of civil society and civic education is that according to Hajnal (2002), in a study carried out in South Africa, taking part in civic education programmes

had no effect on the level of local participation for those who were not connected to any civil society organization, but the effect increased slightly for those who were a member of one CSO and doubled for more "socially integrated" participants. This ideally indicates that Civil society have a big role to play in organizing citizens through civic education to participate in strengthening democracy in their country.

However, the poll by Synovate research (August 2010) on the 2010 referendum on a new constitution indicated that the civil society ranked a far 5th in provision of information to the citizens on the content of the constitution. The Media topped the list followed by politicians and religious groupings. Thus this study identifies that there is indeed a gap on whether indeed the civil society is at the center of civic education and thus democracy strengthening in Kenya or it is at the periphery.

2.6 Conclusion

It is apparent from this literature review that most of the studies undertaken have been in the broad area of civic education, participation, methodologies and biases in content. This is because civic education is widely viewed as a western concept but also it is highly funded by the same nations.

One of the issues in developing countries is often how to disseminate civic education to the population, especially concerning adult education. Large sections of the population may be living in remote areas or out of reach of many services. For those groups there need to be ways of reaching out to them and making sure that the maximum numbers of people are impacted.

The issues of civic education in schools as opposed to adult education in informal setting have been highlighted and this is one of the core departures between civic education in

the west and that of Africa. While in the west there is a lot of civic education happening in schools, it is the opposite in Kenya where civic education is given to post-secondary school citizens and those who are out of school. This could be a reason for failure of civic education since post-secondary school citizens are above 18 years and thus most of them have formed political opinions and it is difficult to change the same.

Funding civic education is also a grey area because though there is a lot of investment coming to Kenya to assist in civic education and further the quest for democratic institutions, however there has been no study trying to link the impact of the investment to strengthen democracy in Kenya.

These are the *lacuna* that this study seeks to fill. The study will thus analyze the civil society's role, the donor role as well as the methodology of civic education in Kenya.

2.7 Theoretical Framework

Three theoretical positions central to the study are discussed in this section. The first two have been suggested on how to effectively carry out public education and the communication needs therein. They also focus on what form of education has impact to society. The third theory is on social contract theory and focus on the role of civil society in influencing change and creating stronger democratic institutions.

2.7.1 Diffusion of innovations (DOI) theory

According to Rogers (1996), diffusion refers to "the process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system. An innovation is an idea, practice or object perceived as new by an individual or other unit of adoption. The diffusion of innovations involves both mass media and interpersonal

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communication channels", (Rogers, 1996 pg. 409). That is, by using or accessing communication channels such as interpersonal communication or mass communication people can get information of an innovation, in this case which is civic education information and find use of it.

Diffusion of innovation theory attempts to explain how an innovation is spread and why it is adopted. Rogers (1996) posits that "the individual is usually the unit of analysis, although in recent years a number of studies have been conducted in which an individual organization is the unit of analysis (Wildemuth, 1992; Zaltman, Duncan, & Holbek, 1973)" (p. 418). Thus, civic education focuses on the individual receiving the information and the organizations helping in the delivery are critical.

Many studies have focused on individual decisions or adoption. In contrast, diffusion theory considers analysis at both the micro-individual and macro-social levels. This is because studies of diffusion include both an innovation at the micro level, as well as its influence, such as social change, at the macro level. In civic education, the knowledge received changes the individual but the greater focus is on strengthening the national democracy and so its impact is felt at the macro level.

Rogers (1996) suggested that the four main elements in the diffusion of innovation process are innovation, communication channels, time, and social system. Individuals' innovativeness, or psychological factors such as communication needs, are analyzed as micro-independent variables. At the macro-social level, this theory assumes that social systems, such as norms, can affect an individual's adoption or use of an innovation. In terms of communication channels, diffusion of an innovation involves both interpersonal channels

(micro) and mass communication channels (macro). By utilizing both mass and interpersonal communication channels, people can get information about an innovation and perceive its usefulness.

According to Rogers (1996) the process of innovation-decisions is placed in five stages:

1.   Knowledge + or – (selective exposure or awareness of news)

2.   Attitudes + or – (people have positive or negative attitude toward innovations)

3.   Adoption (Decision): people decide to adopt the innovation

4.   Implementation (regular or standard practice)

5.   Confirmation (comparing and evaluating)

In civic education, the diffusion if innovation, in this case the innovation being civic education is clear; Knowledge where people are made aware of the contents of civic education e.g., their rights to vote, followed by attitude where citizens are interested in the issues being highlighted by education. This is then followed by adoption where people decide that applying what is taught by civic providers is critical to strengthening their democracy and they take it up, followed by implementation, e.g voting for good leaders. The fifth stage is confirmation stage where citizens are vigilant and adhere to high standards as set out in their value system and thus maintaining a stronger democracy.

2.7.2 Theory of Structuration

Giddens formulation of structuration theory has been available since the publication of his book 'The constitution of society' in 1984. This theory is an attempt to reconcile theoretical

dichotomies of social systems such as agency/structure, subjectivity/objectivity, and micro/macro perspectives.

Structuration looks at the relationship between agency and structure. Giddens (1984) defines structure as "rules and resources recursively implicated in social reproduction institutionalized features of social systems have structural properties in the sense that relationships are stabilized across time. Structure can be conceptualized abstractly as two aspects of rules-normative elements and codes of signification" (Giddens 1984 pg 31).

Human Agency in Giddens' formulation is the 'capacity to make a difference' or have the 'transformative capacity'. Human agents are enabled to have the transformative capacity by having power which involves the exploitation of resources. In this case Giddens' view resources as 'structured properties of social systems drawn on and reproduced by knowledgeable agents in the course of interactions (Giddens 1984 pg 31). To civic education, the human agency is the people who receive the education and who in turn gain the transformative capacity to strengthen their democracies.

In the theory of structuration, Giddens' views structure and agency as duality. Social structure and human agency have a strong relationship and cannot be separated from one another. This is because structure is implicated in agency and agency in structure. In civic education, duality is critical in the sense that civic education providers and the recipients work in a mutual way. The organizations are an integral part of passing the information to the people who in turn support the civil society organizations course In Kenya, the people are educated and then requested to join the organization in demonstrations against bad regimes, in writing memoranda.

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Giddens through this theory of structuration moves away from the social tradition theorists who have concentrated on the human agent as the primary actor in interpretation of social life. He seeks to show how the knowledgeable actions of human agents discursively and recursively form the set of rules practices and routines which over time and space constitutes his conception of structure. This is critical in civic education in that it's the education received by individual that helps lead change and create stronger democracies and not the humanness aspect only. This indicates that knowledge is paramount for human beings to be able to constructively build their democracy.

Giddens suggests that structure is produced and reproduced by the knowledgeable human agency's actions repeated over time and space. This means there is a social structure (e.g. tradition institutions, moral codes), and established way of doing things. Social structuring practices are therefore rooted in face to face encounters, but those encounters never take place in some kind of structure less void: they are mediated by resources that already have social and cultural significance. Structure is therefore a dialectical process where people's practices are also what they construct. This by extensions creates ownership; civic education cannot be propelled by CSOs alone, it requires that the citizens own the organizations for effective change. However, looking into the Kenyan scene, this study suggests that there is a disconnect between the people and the CSOs since most of the encounters are one off and rarely do we have the face to face longer time connection between the people and the agencies on the ground.

Thus the theory of structuralizing suggests that involvement of individuals and institutions is a duality. As Giddens puts it as 'we create society at the same time we are created by it (Giddens 1984 PP 14).Thus for civic education and civil society, there is a duality in that

CSOs educate the citizens who then buy into their thinking and by doing so, give legitimacy to the space of civil society in Kenya.

2.7.3 Social contract theory

According to and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1762), the social contract is an intellectual device intended to explain the appropriate relationship between individuals and their governments. Social contract arguments assert that individuals unite into political societies by a process of mutual consent, agreeing to abide by common rules and accept corresponding duties to protect themselves and one another from violence and other kinds of harm (Jean-Jacques Rousseau, (1762).

The social contract theory of Thomas Hobbes set forth two types of relationship. One was vertical, between the rulers, popularly known as the Leviathan and the people; therefore, the latter submitted them to the former. The second system was the realm of horizontal relationship among the people. In that system, people, under the surveillance of Leviathan, were compelled to limit their natural rights in a way that would not harm the rights of others. The first system denotes the state and the second represents civil society.

The states relationship with citizens is of superior and subordinate where citizens are called to answer to the government. This leads to dictatorial and undemocratic tendencies. However, the second denotes the civil society, which is the people representative changing the status quo to make the government be responsive to the people and by doing so creating an enabling environment for strong democracies. This is what civil societies who carry out civic education in Kenya envision.

According to Kaviraj (2001), Locke sets forth two treaties on government with reciprocal obligations. In the first treaty, people submit themselves to the common public authority. This authority has the power to enact and maintain laws. The second treaty contains the limitations of authority, i.e. the state has no power to threaten the basic rights of citizens.

In the social contract theory, both Hobbes and Locke suggest that for these treaties to be respected, and for there to be peaceful coexistence among human beings, social pacts or contracts are developed. They considered civil society as a community that maintained civil life, the realm where civic virtues and rights were derived from natural laws (Kaviraj 2001). However, they did not hold that civil society was a separate realm from the state. Rather, they underlined the co-existence of the state and civil society.

The systematic approaches of Hobbes and Locke (in their analysis of social relations) were largely influenced by the experiences in their period. Their attempts to explain human nature, natural laws, the social contract and the formation of government had challenged the divine right theory. In contrast to divine right, Hobbes and Locke claimed that humans can design their political order. This idea had a great impact on the thinkers in the Enlightenment period and formed the basis for civic education among the citizens.

Civil society plays a critical role in giving civic education to the citizens so that they are by themselves able to design their own political order and live by it. The divine right of leadership/rulership which by itself is not democratic is done away with using the people knowledge and replaced by governments that are receptive to their peoples needs.

This study looks at the social contract theory as the basis in which civil society derives their mandate to carry out civic education to keep the citizens vigilant on their governments and thus assesses the civil society's role in strengthening democracy in Kenya.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology of the study; it describes the procedures that were applied and followed systematically in conducting the research study. Steps involved in carrying out the research study are elaborated and the site chosen for the research study is justified. The research design, unit of analysis, sampling design and procedures, instruments of data collection and data analysis have been developed.

According to Nachmias and Nachmias (1996:13), research methodology is "a system of explicit rules and procedures upon which research is based and against which claim for knowledge are evaluated." This essentially means that a research methodology is the process through which a study is carried out and result reported in a scientific manner.

3.2 Site selection and description

The study was carried out in Nairobi which is the capital city of Kenya. The city has the largest number of civil society organizations (CSOs) carrying out civic education in Kenya. The CSOs, though mainly based in Nairobi, have implementing sites all over the country. Nairobi is the most populace county in Kenya with a population of 3,138,369 (Census, 2009) and the hub of CSOs with Kenya having approximately 10,000 *(NGO Coordination Board, 2008)*.

According to information received from the NGO Coordination Board, the total number of national NGOs is 4, 252 but this excludes other not-for-profit organizations registered

through other avenues. For example, Trusts are registered by Ministry of Lands while Associations, Movements, Faith Based Organisations and Companies Limited by Guarantee are registered either through the Attorney General's Chambers or the Ministry of Social Services. With the different registration mechanisms the study may only approximate the number of CSOs to be between 7, 000 – 10,000.

According to Uraia 2009 annual report, out of the 70 CSOs that were funded in NCEP 11[7], thirty seven (37) of them have offices in Nairobi; some are satellite while 22 have fully fledged offices. However, out of the 37, only 12 have projects in Nairobi. The rest implement their projects in other parts of the country. The main reason behind this is probably the need to have a central fund raising office in line with the centralized system of governance in Kenya. (NCEP 11, 2009)

The study had a specific focus of CSOs that implement the NCEP II programme and are situated in Nairobi. These encompassed diverse CSOs both Faith-Based and human rights based. This selection had a national representative and feel around civic education.

3.3 Research Design

A research design is the conceptual structure within which research is conducted; it constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data (Kothari 2004:31). In this study, survey research was identified as the main research design. A survey is a means of "gathering information about the characteristics, actions, or opinions of a large

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[7] NCEP II was the National Civic Education Programme , carried out between 2005 – 2009 and supported by 11 Donor agencies in Kenya as a basket fund to support CSOs carry out civic education. The programme aimed at having a centralized and coordinated way of providing organized and consistent Civic education to the nation as a means of strengthening democracy in Kenya.

group of people, referred to as a population" (Teng and Galletta, 1991:91). Survey research is a quantitative method, requiring standardized information from and/or about the subjects being studied (Teng and Galletta, 1991). The subjects studied might be individuals, groups, organizations or communities; they also might be projects, applications, or systems

According to Teng and Galletta (1991), surveys conducted for research purposes have three distinct characteristics. First, the purpose of survey is to produce quantitative descriptions of some aspects of the study population. Survey analysis may be primarily concerned either with relationships between variables, or with projecting findings descriptively to a predefined population. For this study, the two variables were civic education and stronger democracies. Second, the main way of collecting information was by asking people structured and predefined questions. Their answers, which referred to themselves or some other unit of analysis, constituted the data that was analyzed.

Third, information was generally collected about only a fraction of the study population--a sample--but it was collected in such a way as to be able to generalize the findings to the population. Usually, the sample is large enough to allow extensive statistical analyses. In this study, the sample was CSOs based in Nairobi conducting civic education.

According to Linda (2002), survey research has several advantages which include uniqueness in that one is able to gather information not available from other sources. In this study, the information can only be gathered from programme officers working around civic education.

Thirdly, survey research has the advantage of standardization of measurement in that the study shall collect same information from every respondent. Due to the said advantages,

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Survey research was applied to examine the effectiveness of Civic Education in strengthening Kenya's democracy.

Surveys can be divided into two broad categories: the questionnaire and the interview. Questionnaires are instruments that the respondent completes. Interviews are completed by the interviewer based on what the respondent says.

This was a descriptive survey study that mainly used quantitative approach as its key research method to make its generalizations on the effectiveness of civic education in Kenya. Quantitative research is broadly defined as "a formal, objective, systematic process in which numerical data are utilized to obtain information about the world" (Burns and Grove, 1991:140). The main reason for using this type of survey in the study was to investigate and measure the effectiveness of civic education in Kenyan democracy.

Qualitative research method was also applied to get in-depth information on key informants. According to Jacob,(1988), qualitative research is a generic term for investigative methodologies described as ethnographic, naturalistic, anthropological, field, or participant observer research. It emphasizes the importance of looking at variables in the natural setting in which they are found. Interaction between variables is important. Detailed data is gathered through open ended questions that provide direct quotations. (Jacob, 1988). The qualitative aspect was used especially while analyzing the open ended questions from key informants.

As Polkinghorne (1991:163) suggests, "the purpose of research using qualitative and quantitative procedures is to produce full and integrated description of an experience or situation under study. Qualitative designs also seek explanatory concepts and categories from

the data" The main justification for using the two methods was to get in-depth information on civic education and also to corroborate data provided in the qualitative research method.

3.4 Sources of Data

The study collected both secondary and primary data. The main source of data for the study was primary data derived from officers involved in civic education programmes in the various organizations identified. The study had initially targeted 5 officers from each of the 22 organization in its first attempt to reach a wide representation/scope. However, during the pre-testing of the methodology, the study realized that out of the 22 CSOs targeted; only two had adequate and knowledgeable staff on civic education to be able to respond to the questionnaire. The rest could only get 3 officers for the same.

This raised a challenge of non-responsive respondents. To mitigate the same, the study decided to sample three officers from each of the identified 22 organizations thus a total sample of 66. This three were the chief executives, programme officers and finance officers. This was because they had had in-depth knowledge on civic education and would be highly informative and thus fulfill the initial objective of the study.

The study encountered another challenge in data sourcing where some CSOs got the questionnaires and up to the last day of the field work, they had not returned the same. The study was only able to get responses from 20 organizations where two of them were represented by two people other than three as previously planned thus making the total sample reached to be 56. 8 interviews were also done with distinguished individuals including women leaders, youth leaders, human rights activists and members of people with Disability (PWD) organizations in Kenya who have been involved in civic education.

Secondary data entailed review of relevant documents and literature largely to establish what is known about civic education and its role in creating and empowering citizenry.

3.5 Sampling and Sample Size

Sampling design refers to that part of the research plan that indicates how cases are to be selected for observation (Singleton et al., 1988:137). According to Nachmias and Nachmias (1996), sampling design is aimed at securing a representative sample of the population. A sample is considered to be representative if the analysis produces similar results that would be obtained had the researcher analyzed the whole population. The target population or the universe used in this research was chief executives, programme officers and finance officers of CSOs implementing civic education.

The study used Non- Probability sampling and used the technique of purposeful sampling. The study targeted 37 organizations from the NCEP 11 list that were carrying our civic education. However it proposed to reach those that had implemented civic education in the last 3 years and from the list it came up with 22 organizations. In each it targeted 3 officers. However only 20 org responded where two of them gave 2 officers thus 56 respondents.

Table 1: CSOs in Nairobi

	Name of Organization	Organization status Responding to Questionnaire
1.	4Cs - Citizens Coalition for Constitutional Change	Yes
2.	Africa Youth Trust	Yes
3.	ABANTU for Development	Yes
4.	AFUB - African Union for the Blind	Yes
5.	**AMKA - Space for Women's Creativity**	**NO**
6.	AMWIK -Association of Media Women in Kenya	Yes
7.	Centre for Rights, Education and Awareness	Yes
8.	CRECO	Yes
9.	CHRD	Yes
10	Coast People Forum	Yes
11	**CREDO Foundation**	**NO**
12	Imarisha Trust	Yes
13	Interim Independent Boundaries Commission	Yes
14	Kenya Union of the Blind	Yes
15	KYCEP - Kenya Youth Educ. Community Dev.	Yes
16	LARC - Labour Awareness Resource Centre	Yes
17	MMC – Consurtium	Yes

	Name of Organization	Organization status Responding to Questionnaire
18	Release Political Prisoners trust	Yes
19	UDPK - United Disabled Persons of Kenya	Yes
20	United Disability Empowerment in Kenya	Yes
21	United Disabled Persons of Kenya	Yes
22	United for peace and community development	Yes

(Uraia 2010)

Eight Key informants were identified to represent the various sectors of civic education. In this study, the 22 CSOs represented four key sectors of youth, women, marginalized groups and people with disability sectors thus each sector needed to be represented by two representatives. The eight provided in-depth and informative data to corroborate the questionnaires responses. These were people who have been in the civic education process for long and thus had the necessary knowledge around civic education, its relevance, history and future.

3.6 Data Collection Tools

The study employed both primary and secondary methods of data collection to gather relevant information. In this study, a questionnaire was the main instrument for collection of quantitative data. Through the questionnaire, massive quantitative data was obtained from the programme officers. This involved the collection of data through the self administered questionnaires by the officers either in hard copy or online format.

The online format, a PDF version that is easier to click, highly interactive and easy to submitted was the most effective for most officers. The questionnaire was sent to the officers via email and after filling it in, they were just required to click send and the exercise was complete. There were open and closed ended questions that the respondents were expected to fill and return to the researcher. The questionnaires were mainly mailed to the recipients as well as dropped by the research assistant. Their consent was sought before the mailing of the same.

The questionnaire had several sections organized in line with study objectives – starting with a section on demographic characteristics of respondents. The questionnaire also incorporated appropriately, the sample of questions suggested in line with the study objectives.

Qualitative Data was collected through in-depth interviews for Key informants. According to Ngau (2004: 98), an interview is an oral administration or face-to-face interaction with an individual in order to obtain information necessary for the research under study. An interview guide was prepared with a set of appropriate structured questions to meet the study objectives.

These set of questions were useful in revealing opinions of the respondents on civic education and giving further in-depth information on the same. The respondents were interviewed with an aim of finding out how effective civic education has been to the populations they work with and by extension in strengthening Kenya's democracy.

3.7 Data analysis

The data collected was analyzed using both quantitative and qualitative techniques. These techniques were used in order to provide both statistical and interpretive insights. Raw

quantitative data was cleaned and coded for easy analysis. Collected quantitative data was coded and entered into a computer for analysis using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) (SPSS). Tables, graphs and charts were used to explain the data. SPSS is a statistical package for data storage, manipulation, analysis and reporting (Ngau 2001:47).

SPSS was used to generate descriptive statistics regarding the correlation association between civic education and stronger democracies. Descriptive statistics are statistics used for the purpose of summarizing and condensing raw data into forms that supply information efficiently (Borhnstedt and Knoke, 1982:28).

After data analysis, the study presented data using percentages, frequency distributions, tables, graphs and pie charts. Descriptive statistics was useful in understanding the effectiveness of civic education as a tool for strengthening democracy in Kenya. The statistics also distributed respondents to the various values of the study variables.

Data collected from the personal in-depth interviews was reviewed before the analysis was done. Regularities and patterns emerging from the information provided by respondents was noted. The data from different respondents was compared to identify similarities and differences in the data. Quantitative data from the In-depth interviews with key informants was inputted as support for quantitative responses.

3.8 Challenges encountered in the field

The study encountered several challenges in the field. The main source of data for the study was primary data to be derived from officers involved in civic education programmes in the various organizations identified. The study had initially targeted 5 officers from each of the 22 organization in its first attempt to reach a wide representation/scope. However, during the

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pre-testing of the methodology, the study realized that out of the 22 CSOs targeted; only two had adequate and knowledgeable staff on civic education to be able to respond to the questionnaire. The rest could only get 3 officers for the same. This raised a challenge of non-responsive respondents. To mitigate the same, the study decided to sample three high ranking officers from the identified 22 organizations thus a total sample of 66. This three were the chief executives, programme officers and finance officers. This was because they had had in-depth knowledge on civic education and would be highly informative and thus fulfill the initial objective of the study.

The study encountered another challenge in data sourcing where some CSOs got the questionnaires and up to the last day of the field work, they had not returned the same. The study was only able to get responses from 20 organizations where two of them were represented by two people other than three as previously planned thus making the total sample reached to be 56.

The third challenge was on the many questions that were contained in the questionnaire. The first questionnaires that were dropped in hard copy were most not filled as respondents complained of their large nature. To mitigate this, the study identified an online programme that uses a PDF version to develop a user friendly online questionnaire which is user friendly and easier to click and submit back to the researcher.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents study findings and discusses experiences of civil society organization as they carry out civic education in Kenya. It discusses the various attributes associated with civic education and whether the input of civic education has assisted in strengthening Kenya's democracy. The results are based on a sampled population of 56 officers working in various organizations providing civic education under the National Civic Education Programme (NCEP II), a national programme which has been supporting Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) carry out civic education in Kenya.

According to Hirschfeld (2007), civic education has been ongoing in Kenya for the last two decades mainly with the support of civil society and donor agencies. In Kenya, campaign for civic education heightened in the late 1980's when pro-democracy activists were pushing for the establishment of a more democratic state through multi party political system.

According to Kanyinga and Wesselink (2002), the reintroduction of multiparty democracy transformed the political terrain in Kenya; people could openly discuss their political aspirations and the value of democracy and engage therein. However, the studies cited previously in this study including Cogan & Sharpe, (1986) provide ample evidence suggesting that though civic education is clearly fundamental, there are numerous gaps for it to be as effective as envisioned. Provision of civic education, therefore, is a prime

concern in Kenya because it is through an effective civic education process that citizens can be empowered to engage meaningfully on issues that affect them in their everyday lives.

This is strengthened by the concern that Kenya is still not a strong democracy as envisioned by the civic education campaigners of the early 1990's leading to the research questions; does civic education lead to increased participation by citizens in strengthening their democracy in Kenya? To what extent have the huge investments by donors strengthened Kenya's democracy? To what extent has the increase in the number of civic educators aided in strengthening democracy in Kenya? How relevant are the strategies applied by civic educators in Kenya and are they effective in the creation of a stronger democracy? The results presented in this chapter therefore attempt to serve the dual purpose of answering these research questions as well as the attendant research objectives.

This chapter adopted a univariate analysis so as to capture patterns of variations of each key variable each at a time. According to Babbie, (1995), univariate analysis is the examination of distribution of cases on one variable at a time. This makes the use of frequency distributions and percentages to reduce data in a more manageable form. The key variables included demographic attributes of the respondents, civic education and participation, donor roles and the role of Civic Society Organizations (CSOs) in facilitating effective civic education. According to Babbie, (1995), univariate analysis is the examination of distribution of cases on one variable at a time. This makes the use of frequency distributions and percentages to reduce data in a more manageable form.

According to Babbie, (1995), data reduction is the process of summarizing the original data to make them more manageable, all the while maintaining as much of the original data as possible. The purpose of univariate analysis is purely descriptive.

4.2 Demographic attributes of respondents

This study attempted to measure the demographic attributes of the respondents, including their sex, age, level of education, religious affiliation and organizations' years of its existence. This section presents descriptive data on these variables/attributes.

Overall, the study covered 56 programme officers working for various CSOs dealing with civic education. Out of the sample, the study was able to reach 50% male and 50% female. This can be attributed to the critical observation that civic education covers the issues of gender parity and CSOs are highly involved in the fight for equality and this seems to be cascading in the organizations sampled.

The study attempted to capture the ages of the respondents. The age of a civic education provider is vital since civic education in Kenya is a learning process in which the trainer is required to have internalized certain sets of knowledge which are mainly acquired overtime through formal education and vocational trainings. Also in adult learning, the providers have to have acquired a certain age in which they are able to command respect of their 'students'. In order to capture the age variable, respondents were required to give the age bracket within which they fall in. The data on this is presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Distribution of respondents by Age

Age	Frequency	Percent (%)
20 and Below	1	1.8
21-25	5	8.9
26-30	8	14.3
31-35	27	48.2
36-40	9	16.1
Above 40 years	6	10.7
Total	**56**	**100.0**

Drawing from Table 2, it is evident that officers in civic education who are above 31 years represent 75%. Most CSOs require that one must have attained a university degree and have three years of experience (Uraia/KPMG NCEP 11 contract for programme officers) AND This could probably be justified by the many years one requires to gain experience in civic education provision.

Ideally in Kenya, if one goes through the schooling curriculum uninterrupted, most people finish university at the age of 24 and thus added to three years' experience and the time when one is looking for a job, the study finds it reasonable to conclude that this justifies why most programme officers are above the age of 31. The 10.7% representation of Programme Officers below the age of 25 though not very high is indicative of the fact that there is continued intake of fresh graduates/apprentices in the civic education sector which is important for sustainability.

The study also attempted to capture education levels of the respondents. Education levels of civic education providers is important in that education plays a critical role in equipping individuals with the necessary skills and knowledge required to empower communities through civic education. In the study, 87.5% the sample were university graduates while 12.5% had post-secondary level of education.

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The high number of graduates could be explained by the fact that most CSOs require their Programme Officers to have attained a university degree and at least three years of experience in a relevant field.

The degrees/courses studied in college and university was also assessed. Different degree courses prepare students to take up different professional roles. For civic education, the most critical courses that help the individuals to engage with communities and development issues effectively are humanities/social science studies. In order to capture the degree held by respondent variable, respondents were required to give the degree they studied in university. The data on this is presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Distribution on degree held by respondent
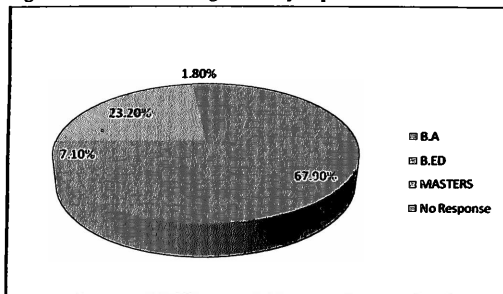
Figure 1 shows that that 75% of the respondents had bachelor degrees (67.9%, Arts and 7.1% Education) while 23.2% had masters (12.5%, Arts and 10.7% Science, Human resource management).

This shows that civic education in Kenya is mostly propagated by individuals who studied social sciences, humanities and education in university courses that are geared towards community development and are critical for effective delivery of civic education.

The study also noted the high number of respondents with post graduate level of education implementing civic education. This could be explained by the increasing need higher demand for post graduate education in Kenya especially among the middle class. Indeed, local Universities' have introduced modules of post graduate programmes that are highly attractive and flexible and have attracted large number of Kenyans who are working. Such programmes are available in the evening after work and thus many working class are attracted to the same. It is therefore not surprising to have the 23.2% of officers within the CSOs sampled having postgraduate degrees.

According to a study in Britain and the USA by Lindley and Machin, (2011), more evidence that employers are increasingly demanding postgraduates can be seen by comparing the skill sets required by the jobs of postgraduate and college-only workers. Their study found out that though both graduate and postgraduate personnel do jobs with high skill and job task requirements, in key skills areas, the levels are significantly higher for postgraduates. For example, postgraduates have higher numeracy levels (especially advanced numeracy), higher levels of analyzing complex problems and more specialist knowledge or understanding (Lindley and Machin, (2011).

Another reason for increase in the number of post graduates in CSOs in Kenya could be related to the high unemployment level. According to the _Youthbanner Factbook (2012)_, Kenya's unemployment rate was at 40%. The current economic growth of the country is

unable to cope with the large numbers of unemployed youth finishing school and thus many of the young people would rather expand their academic bearings so that they may have an added advantage of getting the few opportunities available in the labour market.

The study also focused on religion as part of the study's background data. It can be observed that although Kenya is a not a religious state, Kenyans are a highly religious people. Indeed the Kenyan constitution in its preamble recognizes the supremacy of the Almighty God. According to the Kenya Population and Housing Census (2009), out of the total population, 45% were Protestant, 33% Roman Catholic, 10% Islam and indigenous Religions 10%. There is thus a general assumption that the religious affiliation of officers providing civic education in the country should be proportional to the population trends.

However, the study found out that 69.6% of the Programme Officers working in the sampled CSOs were Protestants while 28.6% of the respondents were Catholics. 1.8% of the respondents were Muslims. The study thus concluded that some religious communities, especially the Muslim and indigenous communities are underrepresented in civic education and this be probably explained by that the fact most of the sampled organizations were based in Nairobi which has low representation of Muslim and 'other religion' CSOs.

Further, the study attempted to establish the age of CSOs engaged in civic education. The concept of civic education was introduced and popularized in Kenya around the 1990's when the struggle for multipartism was at its peak. The age of the organization was thus critical to try and find a correlation between when the organization was established and

when the struggle for multiparty started. In order to capture the years of existence of the organization as a variable, respondents were required to give the years of existence of their organizations. The data on this is presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Distribution of responses on when the organization was formed

Duration of Operation	Frequency	Percent (%)
Before 1991	10	17.9
1992- 1997	1	1.8
1998 - 2003	22	39.3
2004 – 2009	23	41.0
Total	**56**	**100.0**

Organizations formed prior to 1991 which marked the commencement of the struggle for multi party democracy accounted for 17.9% while those formed between 1992 and 1997 when multi party was re-introduced represented only 1.8%. This state of affairs can be justified by previous work by Hirschfeld (2007), who observed that in Kenya, campaign for civic education heightened in the late 1980's when pro-democracy activists were pushing for the establishment of a more democratic state through multi party political system. It would be fair with the wisdom of hindsight to assume that during the early years after the reintroduction of multiparty democracy the then government of the ruling party KANU was not keen to register new CSOs. This was due to the overzealous nature of the civil society sector then to point out ills of the regime and also to demand for a more expanded space for other political players.

This is justified by a case in point of Release Political Prisoners Trust (RPP) which was formed and applied for registration in 1991 and only got their registration in 2003. Many other civic providers were operating as citizen formations and movements including the Ufungamano. Others operated as church affiliates e.g. NCCK and thus were not formally registered.

A huge growth of CSOs is seen between 1998 and 2003 where another 39.3% of the CSOs involved in civic education were formed and this can be attributed to the need for increased pressure for change of government then. This study makes the conclusion that at least the change of leadership in Kenya in 2002 can be attributed to the work of these organizations. This could also be reinforced by the work of Kanyinga and Wesselink (2002), who point out that the reintroduction of multiparty democracy transformed the political terrain in Kenya; people could openly discuss their political aspirations and the value of democracy and engage therein and thus the space for civic education was widely opened.

The highest registration of new CSOs in the country was recorded between 2004 and 2009. During the period in question, 41% of new CSOs were formed. One thing which happened after the elections of 2002 was an exodus of civil society personalities to the newly elected NARC government leading to the collapse of many well established CSOs (Act(formerly Pact Kenya), 2004). There was thus a deliberate need to recreate active citizen formations to provide civic education to the citizens.

The new CSOs formed between 2004 and 2009 could thus be seen as an attempt towards the revival of civil society sector and the need for preparations of citizens towards the 2005 referendum, 2007 elections and the 2010 referendum. This study also opines that

with the change of government in 2002, and with coming to force of a more friendly government to the CSOs, the democratic space was no longer constrained and registration of CSOs was not curtailed. Thus the rapid growth of CSOs in this phase is because the NARC government was friendlier to CSOs and was able to register them fairly quickly than the previous regime.

The study also sort to identify the category of organizations that were dealing with civic education and found out that out of the total sampled organizations, 80.4% of them were local NGOs giving credence to the fact that civic education is facilitated mainly by local CSOs. International NGOs represented 8.9% which is a significant figure especially having in mind that civic education is a foreign concept and a foreign driven process.

The study further found out that out of the 80.4% of the local organizations spearheading civic education, all of them have been receiving financial support from international donors. These international NGOs facilitate civic education mainly in funding and rarely do they do the actual implementation. Indeed, 55.6% of CSOs were found to have received between 1 and10 million Kenya shillings in the last 3 years. 19.7% between 10 and15 million Kenya shillings and while 5.4% between 15 and 20 million shillings. Given the huge investment in promotion of multiparty system in Kenya, it is not lost to this study that whoever pays the piper calls the tune; thus the reason why Kenyan's have not fully embraced civic education as to them it's a foreign-led concept. Foreign funding for CSOs is verified with statistics from the Uraia Income expenditure (2010) that indicate that there are 10 foreign missions[8] who have put in a cumulative figure of 1, 212, 119 shillings since 2006 – 2010 in support of civic education.

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[8] Finland, DFID, Usaid, Norway, Sweden, Canada, Nethelands, EU, Denmark, UNDP

Funding comes with rigid requirement on what issues to cover and which CSOs to support. Indeed, the issues of 'earmarked' funds came up where donors identify the CSOs to be support and thus the process of procuring them is not competitive. Also the development of materials is donor lead and thus the content is mainly based on western Ideologies. This is further justified by the statement of the British Prime Minister, David Cameron, speaking to journalists at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) in Australia when he indicated that his country would consider cutting aid to Commonwealth member states that don't legalize homosexuality.

According to a DFID Study on Multi-donor support to civil society titled 'A light-touch review of DFID's portfolio' (June 2007), most multi-donor civil-society support programmes are now managed by intermediaries. The study further indicates that "Intermediaries may not, however, have the same capacity as donors to: (i) mediate where relations between civil society and the state may be especially conflictive; (ii) make the link between civic engagement and efforts to strengthen the capability and responsiveness of state institutions; and (iii) absorb the inherent risks where they do not have the diplomatic weight that donors enjoy" *DFID (June 2007, pg 6).*

Looking at the highlighted issues, it's clear that donors enjoy more 'power' when funding CSOs including mediating for CSOs with government in case of conflicts and also employing their diplomatic weight to make government change policies that CSOs are pushing for. This study thus provides credible justification that donors continue to play a very critical role in civic education in Kenya.

4.3: Civic education and citizen participation in Kenya

Civic education refers to the type of education that equips the citizens with the knowledge, skills and desired attitudes which, in turn, enable the recipient to make informed choices and decisions about various issues of life"(Digolo, Obonyo and Adiwo O. 2004, pg. 1). Citizen participation on the other hand is a process which provides private individuals an opportunity to influence public decisions and has long been a component of the democratic decision-making process. (Cogan & Sharpe, 1986 p. 283). Participation by the citizens in strengthening their democracy thus can only be meaningful if they are all targeted and reached by civic education providers with the relevant information.

According to UNDP, *Essentials*, No. 14 (December 2003), civic education should specifically target a group of people be it men, women or youth for it to be effective. It is often appropriate to craft special messages for women voters, youth voters etc. and to take generational issues into account when doing so to increase their participation in civic education processes. The study therefore sought to document the various categories of individuals which the CSOs target in provision of civic education. Table 4 captures and presents data on the different sectors that the civil society organizations work with.

Table 4: Distribution of responses on category of citizens targeted

Targeted Groups	Frequency	Percent (%)
Youth	11	19.6
Women	4	7.1
PWDs	11	19.6
General	30	53.7
Total	**56**	**100.0**

The study found out that 50.1% of the CSOs work with general categories while those working with specific categories accounted for 19.6%, 19.6% and 7.1% for the youth, PWD and women respectively. It is quite clear from Table 4 that much of civic education in the country is generalized and doesn't target specific audiences such as the youth, women or other vulnerable groups. This is a rather worrisome trend considering for instance, that 60% of the Kenyan population is under the age of 35 (Census 2009). Indeed, the study took note of the fact that slightly over 70% (actually 73.2%) of the respondents were in the age bracket of the youth- 18-35. The study thus expected the focus of the CSOs to be largely to the youth which wasn't the case. However, this is consistent with the general Kenyan trend where the youth are at the periphery of development.

According to a Key informant, "It is disheartening that as at today, the youth voice has been left-out within the constitutional implementation frameworks that have been established. Their role remains peripheral and weak attempts to engage with the offices charged with the Implementation of the constitution have been met with resistance. These organs have not even prioritized the inclusion of youth and youth-focused organisations in their stakeholder forums to give input into the implementation process" *(Source: Information from a key informant interview with a female NGO Head in Nairobi).*

This sentiments are supported by Yash Ghai, et al (2011), who posits that "any civic education program should be inclusive, open, and credible, it should represent everyone and should prioritize reaching those who seldom participate in the political life of the country (such as minorities and marginalized groups)" Yash Ghai, et al (2011 pg. 11). It is therefore crucial for Article 27 (6) of the Kenyan constitution (2010) which mandates

the state to take legislative and other measures including Affirmative Action to redress discrimination be effected by the same CSOs that are known to champion these rights. It paints a bad picture for the fighter so rights of all to be seen to be marginalizing different categories of people the same way they accuse the government of doing.

It is also worth noting that the effectiveness of any civic education depends largely on its capacity to reach specific categories in the population by tailoring its content to meet their goals and aspirations. This study argues that civic education in Kenya is too generalized to be 'owned' by any category of people in the nation. This could partly explain why civic education in the country has not effectively succeeded in increasing citizen participation in national issues affecting their lives.

This is also given credence by a Synovate research (August 2010) which found out that that the civil society ranked 5th behind other actors such as media, politicians and religious groupings in the provision of information to the citizens on the constitution during the 2010 referendum. There thus appears to be a disconnect in the popular held view that indeed civic education leads to increased public participation in the country's political processes.

4.3.1 Impact of civic education in increasing public participation in Kenya

Civic education is widely recognized as an important part of national processes, especially highly participatory processes. It is referred to in the official mandates of some constitution-making bodies, one example being the Kenyan constitution (2010) and the Committee of Experts on the new constitution Act (2008). It is referred to in the Independent Electoral Commission (IEBC) Act 2010 and in the mandate of the Commission on the Implementation (CIC) of the Constitution Act (2010)."

This study also sought to find out how much of the nation had been reached through civic education by NCEP II which was implemented between 2009- 2011. This is because conventional wisdom stipulates that if civic education is to increase public participation in Kenya and thus lead to a stronger democracy, it is essential that it covers the whole nation. However, CSOs have been accused of targeting the 'easy to reach' communities in their work and neglecting the marginalized and far away communities.

The study found out that a majority of civic education providers accounting for a whopping 80.5% were working in less than 20 out of the 210 constituencies in the country. It also emerged that 12.5% of these organizations were working in Nairobi, Central and Rift valley. 10.7% of the organizations covered Rift valley only while another 10.7% covered Central province only. Overall, Nairobi, Central and Rift valley seems to have the highest concentration of CSOs in Kenya falling in virtually all the cross cutting categories. According to the Waki Report (2008), Nairobi, Central and rift valley have been the epicenter of the election violence and this study identifies a correlation between the increased works of civil society in this areas.

Having so many providers of civic education concentrated only in a few areas of the nation while leaving the larger part of the nation with minimal coverage creates a huge gap in trying to create the critical mass required for citizens to participate in strengthening their democracy. This has far reaching consequences on the overall impact of civic education in ensuring transformational leadership in the country for it obviously leaves a big chunk of the population with the knowledge necessary to achieve this.

The Constitution of Kenya (2010) has established 47 counties in the country. It further indicates that for one to take up presidential leadership, one must be able to garner votes from more than half of all counties i.e. 24, and also garner 50+1% of the entire total vote cast. If the trend of only reaching a few counties with civic education continues, we may not experience critical public participation even in the 2013 general election. There is need for civic education providers to widen their scope if they are to make meaningful impact to the nation.

This study also attempted to establish how long civic education projects were run by various implementing organizations. This data is captures in Figure 2 which shows that 30.4% of the projects have been conducted in one year phases while 25% indicated that the projects were conducted for 6 months only. 14.3% indicated that they had conducted projects for 2 years while only 3.6% indicated that the project ran for 3 years. 1.8% indicated that they ran civic education projects for one month.

Figure 2: Distribution of phases/duration of civic education projects
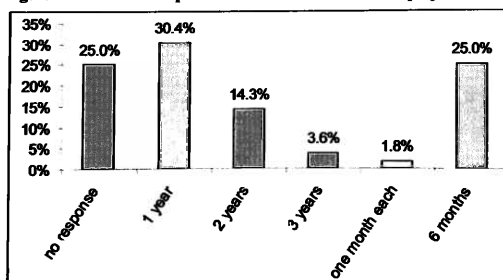
Individuals tasked with conducting civic education at Uraia trust9 alluded that for a learner to internalize various aspects of a topic, the learning should not take less than 1 year. According to Uraia strategic plan (2012), any project of education that is less than one year is an awareness session and doesn't help the learner acquire the necessary knowledge and skills to lead him/her to civic engagement. This is further supported by a CRECO press release, (22nd October 2009), which posited that civic education should be a continuous process so that Kenyans are enlightened not only on the content but also on the process of constitution making in Kenya. The study can therefore deduce that civic education in Kenya has not followed the universal accepted idea that education is a lifelong process and should be continuous. This hasn't been taken on board by the organizations providing civic education and this could be highlighted as one of the factors why civic education has had little impact in Kenya.

Citizen participation is a process which provides private individuals an opportunity to influence public decisions and has long been a component of the democratic decision-making process (Cogan & Sharpe, 1986 p. 283). For citizen participation to take root, it is imperative to have a critical number of citizens who have been educated on the requirements of a strong democracy and how to build it. Indeed, the number of people reached in civic education is critical especially if civic education is to lead to mass citizen participation.

However, interesting to note was that the study identified that 44.6% of the organizations sampled were not sure how many people they had reached, this is because they use

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[9] Uraia trust is the National Civic Education Programme and is mandated by a pool of donors to coordinate civic education basket fund in Kenya. It works with over 70 CSOs in implementing the programme.

generalized methods of civic education including theatre and road shows. The main provider, Uraia indicated it had reached over 1 million people through partners.

The implication of not knowing how many citizens a programme has reached is that it lacks legitimate grounds to call for action especially if it's not sure how many members of the nation understand the issues they are raising. They study makes the hypothesis that the Kenyan constitution making process took too long because the citizens had not internalized the ills of the repealed constitution and the need to review it.

The study made another finding from the partners who carried out intensive civic education through their key informants that very little had gone on to make the citizens acquire the skills and competences required for engagement with government. Finkel (2008) identified this as a problem in civic education in Kenya indicating that civic education was only at the awareness level and the one–off encounter could not lead to citizens who are civically competent to engage with their governments.

4.4: The level and effect of Donor Investment in Civic Education in Kenya

Statistics from the Uraia Income expenditure (2010) indicate that there are 10 foreign missions[10] who have put in a cumulative figure of 1, 212, 119 shillings since 2006 to 2010 in support of civic education in Kenya. Financial support is a critical component to any education and advocacy programme. However, given the huge investment in promotion of multiparty system in Kenya, this study attempted to assess the extent to which such efforts by donors and the civil society have strengthened Kenya's democracy. The study sought to find out the level of funding for civic education in the country for different CSOs. The study asked respondents to indicate the amount of monies that their

Finland, DFID, Usaid, Norway, Sweden, Canada, Nethelands, EU, Denmark, UNDP

organizations had received from NCEP II between 2009 – 2011. This data is presented in Table 5.

Table 5: Distribution of responses on amounts received from donors

Amounts	Frequency	Percent
No response	7	12.5
1 – 10 million	34	55.6
10-15 million	8	19.7
15 – 20 million	2	3.6
20 – 30 million	4	7.1
Over 1 billion	1	1.8
Total	**56**	**100.0**

Table 5 indicates that there has been heavy investment in civic education in the country with 75.3% of the sampled CSOs indicating that they received between 1- 15 million shillings in the period between 2009 – 2011. Considering that the sampled organizations are just a fraction of the CSOs engaged in civic education in the country, it would be safe to assume that much more resources must have been expended towards civic education in Kenya over the years. Aid dependence is defined by Deborah Bräutigam (2000) as "a situation in which a country or an organization cannot perform many of its core functions, such as operations and maintenance, or the delivery of basic public services, without foreign aid funding and expertise" (Deborah Bräutigam 2000 pg 1). Indeed, 46.4% of the respondents indicated that civic education would collapse without donor support.

Owing to the preceding observation, the study concluded that Kenyan CSOs were fully dependent on donors for support and had no local mechanism of raising funds to support

their activities. This is a worrying trend in that with the increasing numbers of CSOs, the donor funds availability is shrinking and may not meet the full needs of the nation. It is critical for players in the civic education industry to relook at their source of funding and look more inwardly on how they can raise funds to support their work.

The study also endeavoured to establish the extent to which Kenyan CSOs were dependent on donors in identification of the content for civic education. The findings of the study revealed that at least 66% of the respondents agreed that donors had a lot of influence in the content of civic education in Kenya. Focus on issues of democracy and governance over issues of livelihoods was highlighted as one of the key problems with the current contents of civic education. Teaching communities about human rights and democracy while their critical needs and priorities are economic empowerment and poverty alleviation has little or no impact to them. This observation is supported by Hajnal (2002) who opines that there has been a constant concern that contents of civic education in Africa borrows heavily from the west. Indeed, according to Hajnal (2002), in Africa, as in many countries of the South, democratization is sometimes perceived as a process modelled upon outside – and specifically Northern – experience. Formal civic education programs in those countries arguably reflect the same bias and have not always been notably successful.

Also in a study by Finkel (2008), about 10% of all the respondents, reported that community problems were *not* discussed in their workshops. The study estimated that exposure to workshops that dealt with community issues including how electoral processes and the constitution impact on people's daily lives would lead to increased change in all of the democratic orientations. This in essence points at a gap in content in

that the communities receiving education are always yearning for community issues/local content in civic education but is not forthcoming.

Going by the above findings, it would be safe to intimate that civic education in Kenya is mostly a donor dependent process. Consequently, they have a big role in funding, determining the content and duration of civic education engagements. Local CSOs are mere cogs in the entire process, just there to play to the whims of the donors. This study therefore proposes that for effectiveness, civic education providers should change their tactics to incorporate livelihoods as part of their civic education provision. Civic education providers have to be creative in that they need to find a customized link between democracy and livelihood. E.g. one can discuss the electoral reforms in line with how it will benefit the citizens in getting leaders who help them improve their economy. This is supported by a study by Digolo, Obonyo and Adiwo O. (2004) who posited that it can be figuratively argued that democracies are founded on full bellies and peaceful minds including a growing GDP.

4.5: Role of the Kenyan government in conducting civic education

The study also attempted to gauge the respondents' perceptions on the role and impact of the government in conducting civic education in the country. In order to capture this data, the study posed the question on how effective the government efforts were in conducting civic education in Kenya. This was important because the government was mandated as the legitimate primary source for providing civic education by the 2010 constitution. However, 14.3% of the respondents in this study indicated that the government was not effective in its role at all while 16.1% said it was not effective. Only

8.9% said the government was very effective in implementing and providing civic education.

This should not be entirely unexpected taking cognizance of the fragile relationship between the government and CSOs and the combative history they have had since the 1990's when multipartism was reintroduced in Kenya. Therefore an objective rating of the government's role in rolling civic education programmes from the civil society would thus be a far stretched expectation.

Bearing that in mind, a literature review was undertaken and it emerged that the government launched its civic education programme in the last quarter of 2011 targeting constitutional education and the 2013 elections. The government has gone ahead to develop materials for civic education in the country and this is seen as one way of curbing donor dependency on supporting civic education. Provision of materials is also critical in guiding the content that citizens are taught on during civic education sessions.

However, the government project has not set aside funds in the national budget and is sourcing for donor funds to use. It has also called for partnership with CSOs to implement the same; a clear indication that it has no capacity to carry out the same itself. This gives more credence to the CSOs comments that the government is indeed not doing a lot to own civic education but is a right start towards provision of civic education to its citizenry.

4.6: Benefits of Civic Education in Kenya

Ideally, as noted by Torney-purta and Wilkenfeld (2009), civic education, especially when it is interactive and involves discussion of current issues, is an important way to develop the skills that Americans need to succeed in the 21st Century workforce. Indeed,

in Kenya, Hirschfeld (2007) posits that as political space expands; there are many new political actors in the field working towards a stronger democratic state. The assumption is that with the increase of civic education providers, it is expected that the nation will have a more vibrant democracy.

The study thus sought to find out if indeed Kenyan citizens had benefited from civic education. In order to capture data on the perceptions of the respondents on the subject, the variable was put on a Likert Scale to rate various attributes of civic education as presented in Table 6. The respondents were given ranks from strongly agreed to strongly disagreed and were requested to rate the various attributes.

Table 6: Benefits of civic education to citizens

	Kenyan benefit a lot from civic education (CE)	CE reaches most Kenyans	CE is virtually donor driven	Donor support for CE is timely	Donor support for CE is enough	Donor support for CE is responsive	CSOs and Donors have a close working R/ship	Kenyan CSOs have little or no financial support	Kenyan Govt is not involved in CE
Rank	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Strongly agree	50	5.4	7.1	16.1	0	14.3	14.3	5.4	5.4
Agree	35.7	33.9	44.6	25	5.4	23.2	30.4	33.9	3.6
Indifferent	5.4	16.1	23.2	25	17.9	25	56.4	16.1	14.3
Disagree	8.9	25	17.9	26.8	62.5	30.4	0	25	58.9
Strongly disagree	0	19.6	7.1	7.1	14.3	7.1	0	19.6	17.9

On civic education benefits to Kenyans, 85.7% of the respondents at least agreed that they had had benefits of civic education. These findings are supported by Torney-Purta and Wilkenfeld (2009) who opine that people who experienced civic education are better

equipped with the essential for the 21st century competencies than their counterparts who were not exposed to civic education programs.

To determine the correlation between civic education experience and 21st century skills, IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED) in 1999 conducted on students found out that those citizens that had neither interactive nor lecture-based civic education lacked knowledge and skills vital to the workplace. Among the results, these students held negative attitudes towards minority groups, did not think it was important to work hard or obey the law, and were likely to drop out of school.

The findings in Table 6 on benefits of civic education shows that Kenyan Civil Society have done a good job in implementing civic education and the citizens can now enjoy the benefits of civic education especially with the reintroduction of multi-parties and the freedom that political parties enjoy. But it would be overly ambitious to accept this at face value for it would be highly improbable to expect the civic educations providers to say that Kenyans had not benefited from this exercise. This may require undertaking a comparative study to seek the opinions of Kenyan citizens themselves on the subject so as to validate the standpoint taken by the providers.

The study also posed the question that Kenyan government was not involved in civic education. Data captured in Table 6 show that 58.9% disagreed and 17.9% strongly disagreed. This is a huge boost to government efforts with its civic education Programme. Indeed Kenya's still have faith in the government and since 2010 referendum where the then Interim Independent Electoral Commission (IIEC) employed its own voter educators who successfully conducted civic education on the draft constitution then, there is

growing renewed appreciation that indeed a reformed minded government can be able to fully conduct civic education.

Indeed, the renewed partnership between CSOs and government is also encouraged. Since 2002, CSOs have changed tact and are not engaging with the government rather than keep fighting the government. The results are seen in the Kenya Integrated Civic Education Programme (KNICE) by the Ministry of Justice which is working with CSOs to deliver civic education to the citizenry.

4.7: Effectiveness of Various as civic education Providers

The study further attempted to establish the effectiveness of various as civic education providers. Civic education In Kenya is provided by a huge variety of groups. The various groups were identified as a result of a study by Synovate research (August 2010) which ranked government, Colleges, CSOs, media, politicians and religious groupings as the leaders in provision of information to the citizens on the constitution during the 2010 referendum. In order to capture data on the effectiveness of the various civic education providers, they were put on a Likert Scale and rated as presented in Table 7. The respondents were given ranks from very effective to least effective and were requested to rate the various providers.

Table 7: Perceived Effectiveness of various civic education providers

	Media	Faith Based	Politicians/ political parties	Academic Institutions	Uraia	CBOs	Govt
Rank	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very effective	23.2	12.5	1.8	39.3	41.1	28.6	8.9
Effective	35.7	44.6	32.1	33.9	41.1	42.9	23.2
Moderate	35.7	32.1	14.3	12.5	3.6	16.1	37.5
Not effective	5.4	3.6	42.9	14.3	14.3	12.5	16.1
Least effective	0	7.1	8.9	0	0	0	14.3

The civic society representatives in this study ranked Uraia as highest with 82.2%, academic institutions at 73.2%, CBOs at 71.5%, as at least effective. The politicians ranked lowest at 33.9% saying they were at least effective. There is thus great need to invest more in academic institutions and to integrate civic education into the school curriculum like is the case in the USA and Canada.

However, a joint poll on Citizen TV and by Strategic PR (2008) indicated that Kenyans get most of their information from Media and politicians. There could thus be need for these two categories of providers to be education and trained on content of civic education so that they can be a useful medium to present the same to the citizens.

It is also appropriate to opine that CSOs have a big gap to fill if they are to provide the critical and highly required information to citizens for them to make informed choices. CSOs have to view media as an important medium for communicating their information and not as a competitor in provision of information.

Faith Based Organizations (FBOs) were rated lowly at 12.5% as effective providers of civic education in this study. This is against a background of a highly religious population. According to the 2009 census Kenya is a largely religious population with 45% being Protestants, Roman Catholic having 33%, Islam taking 10% while Indigenous Religions 10%. The explanation for this state of affairs came from a key informant who pointed out that the influence of religious bodies over Kenyans had waned considerably after they campaigned against the 2010 constitution which most Kenyans supported. This However doesn't negate the fact that Kenyans do follow a lot of what they are told during religious sermons and thus FBOs are still a relevant area to propagated civic education.

The above findings however call for a rethink of strategy especially when to comes to methodologies of rolling out civic education programmes. There is a need to come up with more innovative ways of reaching critical constituencies such as the youth, the rural and the upwardly urban population. The role of technology especially mobile telephony remains one unexploited option.

4.8: Perceptions on Civic Education Delivery Methodologies

"Everything that we do in development is about selling a message. Whether it's conveying an organization's work to a corporate donor, convincing the public that foreign aid actually works, or recruiting people for a local HIV-testing program in Zimbabwe, we all need to convince people of what we ourselves believe" (www.whydev.org pg 1). Despite all this, discussion in development rarely revolves around the most effective ways in which we can influence other people. In civic education, it is critical that the methodologies used to reach the communities be as effective as possible and as memorable as possible. Bearing this in mind, this study

sought to elicit the perceptions of the respondents on the most effective medium for passing on civic education.

The various methodologies were identified from Uraia 2010 Annual report which highlighted that workshops, community forums, Lecture methods, road shows, theater and the media were some of the methods applied by CSOs in engaging the public on civic education. This data was put on a Likert Scale and rated as presented in Table 8. The respondents were given ranks from very effective to not effective at all and were requested to rate the various methodologies.

Table 8: Perceptions on Civic Education Delivery Methodologies

	workshops	Community forums	Lecturer Methods	Road shows	Theatre	Media
Rank	**%**	**%**	**%**	**%**	**%**	**%**
Very effective	37.5	50	8.9	44.6	32.1	28.6
Effective	16.1	25	21.4	19.6	30.4	44.6
Moderate	37.5	3.6	51.8	23.2	16.1	12.5
Not effective	8.9	21.4	17.9	0	12.5	0
Not effective at all	0	0	0	12.5	8.9	14.3

According to the study findings highlighted in Table 8, community forums rank highest at 75% as at least an effective medium for conducting civic education. This finding is further affirmed by the following quote from an informant; "We organized different forms of civic education sessions in Loitokitok and found that community forums were better that road shows which we also conducted. This is because we were able to interrogate local issues that affected the communities directly including livelihood topics

but also topical issues which differ from different communities" (Source: Information from a key informant interview with a male NGO staff in Nairobi). This could be supported by Finkel's finding (in his 2nd evaluation of the Civic Education Programme (NCEP I), which indicated that workshops and forums had more qualitative impacts than more participatory methodologies including theater and role plays (Finkel, 2008).

Media was rated as the second medium of civic education provision with 73.2% in this study. According to Africa Development Research Brief March 2010 brief, 87% of the respondents said they have a radio and do listen to it a lot. Thus this being a household item, this study opines that this is the reason why media is rated so highly. However, new media should also be included in civic education provision. The According to Africa Development Research Brief March 2010 brief indicated that 71% of Kenyans own mobile phones and thus sending short messages with civic education messages would be an area to be explored.

Road show was also ranked as an effective medium at 44.6%, while theatre ranked at 32.1%. Road shows and theatre are also effective methods of reaching out especially to the youth and younger populations and also to the general public since they attract, entertain and educate the crowd. This indicates that there is great need for CSOs maintain these more interactive community based methodologies. However, such methods have little way of analyzing impact since follow up/evaluation of impact to the 'crowd wave' is scientifically difficult.

The last thing this study attempted was to establish the satisfaction levels of respondents on how civic education had been carried in Kenya since the advent of multi party

democracy in 1991. The study attempted to measure the level of satisfaction of respondents with the various components of civic education namely contents of civic education, mode of funding, mode of delivery, geographical coverage, role played by donors in delivery, government participation and CSO performance in delivery.

In order to capture data on how satisfied the respondents were on various attributed of civic education, the study asked them to rate the various issues highlighted in Table 9. The data was ranked and presented from very satisfied to not satisfied at all on a Likert scale.

Table 9: Respondents level of satisfaction on various attributes of civic education.

	Contents of civic education	Mode of funding	Mode of delivery	Geographical coverage	Role played by donors in delivery	Government participation	CSO performance in delivery
Rank	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very satisfied	8.9	0	16.1	16.1	16.1	0	16.1
Satisfied	53.6	25	35.7	0	48.2	32.1	50
Indifferent	23.2	30.4	35.7	55.4	32.1	12.5	8.9
Not satisfied	14.3	41.1	12.5	26.8	0	41.1	17.9
Not satisfied at all	0	3.6	0	1.8	3.6	14.3	7.1

Education content, mode of civic education delivery, role played by donors and CSO performance received good ratings on the satisfaction level rankings. However, mode of

funding and government participation didn't receive good ratings with 41.1% of the respondents not satisfied with governments efforts in the civic education sector and would rather it remained as so for civic education to retain its relevance and non-partisan stand.

This ambivalence towards the government could be explained by the fact that as one Key informant information pointed out, for a long time the government was seen as the protagonist in the civic education debate and thus its entry into the arena had been received with scepticism by traditional civic education providers.

The respondents were quite dissatisfied with the mode of funding. Only 25% pointed out that they were satisfied. The rest were indifferent, not satisfied or completely not satisfied. This has to do with the stringent conditions imposed by donors on civic education finances. On this aspect, Key informants observed that that the double standards applied by donors were hurting the civic education programme. Most donors who have bilateral relationships with CSOs provide for extras including allowances and hefty perks while under basket funded civic education, the money available was only for activities making the providers appear as if they are embezzling donor money in the eyes of the community. This has made them loose ground and credibility.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, summary, conclusion and recommendation for the study are presented. The salient issues observed in the previous chapters are highlighted in the summary part. In the conclusion, the findings from the literature reviewed and the survey conducted are linked to form discussions on various civic education aspects in Kenya. The study recommendations are drawn from the issues highlighted and finding which are aimed at proposing a way forward in understanding civic education and its relevance in Kenya.

5.1 Summary

In Kenya, as the electioneering period approaches, information dissemination by the government, political aspirants and non-governmental agencies raises. This study sought to highlight the understanding of civic education by examining the relationship between knowledge on civic education and public participation in strengthening democracies. The study also assessed the extent to which donor investments in civic education had strengthened democracy in Kenya. It tried to establish whether increase in the number of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) carrying out civic education leads to a stronger democracy. Finally, the study attempted to evaluate the effectiveness of civic education model in terms of themes, methodologies, strategies and targeting applied by Civic educators.

The study observed that civic education in Kenya has been carried out for over twenty years but it doesn't reflected the country's state of democracy. A study by Hirschfeld (2007) reveals that the intended purpose of civic education which is to help citizens gain skills knowledge and democratic personal attributes has not been realized in Kenya.

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Other studies (Synovate, August 2010 and Branson 1998) comparing civic education and political participation have indicted existence of gaps between civic education and realization of public participation as an outcome. The aforementioned inadequacies inspired the study to be carried out among the key providers of civic education and specifically those under funding from NCEP II.

To be able to undertake the study, relevant literature linked to civic education was reviewed and discussed. The study also considered the theories associated with democracy and public education. The information from the reviewed literature served as a guide to the study for purpose of guiding and supporting findings of the study.

The research methodology used in the study provided a basis to target ideal groups and obtain information relevant to the study. For its purpose, a survey research methodology was adopted whereby data was collected using structured questionnaires with both close and open ended questions. The information was gathered from a sample of 56 respondents determined by probability methods giving equal chance to those in the population to participate. The information gathered from the sampled population was analyzed using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The data obtained from the analysis was presented in Tables, graphs and charts.

5.2 Conclusion

Drawing from the study findings, it is observed that there is equal gender representation among those working with CSOs that propagate civic education. The study also noted that there is sufficient competence among civic education providers through their level of education, appropriateness of course undertaken and experiences in the field of civic

education provision. Drawing from the study findings, education level of the provider is an important aspect influencing how well civic education is disseminated to the citizens.

The study also observed that Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) existence is traced as far back in the pre-multiparty era. However, after the reintroduction of multiparty and especially in between the years 2004 and 2009, there was an influx of civil society groups conducting civic education. This is attributed to the increased awareness and need to better educate the citizenry on governance, an aspect confirmed by (Pact Kenya 2004). Pact observed that the increased formation of civil society grouping was aimed towards providing civic education to the citizens which was deemed lacking in the previous years. This increase is also attributed to a more reform minded NARC government which opened up more democratic space for Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) to operate.

The study findings indicated that majority of the organizations engaged in the provision of civic education are local NGOs. However, their funding, evaluation of programs and directional focus is obtained from international donor groups. Thus, their implementation plans and content of civic education are also dictated by the donors. Worth of importance to note is that the government has come out strongly since 2010 to be involved in setting the civic education agenda in Kenya. The Ministry of Justice through the Kenya National Civic Education (KNICE) has developed materials to be used for civic education. This in essence indicates a shift in funding for civic education and renewed ownership of the process by Kenyans.

The study findings also shows that the effectiveness of civic education exercises in the country among the various religions is affected by the proportional representation of civic educators affiliated to these religious groups. Since Kenya is highly religious, the religious affiliations of civic education providers need to have a reflection to the religious beliefs of those receiving the information.

The study further found out that Kenya is a highly religious state and religion plays a key role in people's lives, and is thus an important aspect to use in diffusion of civic education information. The need to focus on the individual receiving the information is supported in the diffusion theory advanced by (Rogers 1996) and subsequent studies (Wildemuth, 1992; Zaltman, Duncan, & Holbek, 1973) observing that effectiveness of a learning process comes from the measures undertaken to incorporate the learners' perspective in the learning process. Further, the study established that contrary to the UNDP December 2003 recommendations that civic education should target specific groups for effectiveness; it has been treated in the country as a general topic. This finding probably suggests why there is low effectiveness of civic education exercises in the country.

Civic education contributes to increased citizen participation in governance issue, an aspect confirmed by Synovate research (August 2010). The research by Synovate indicated that the various agents of civic education and their increased proliferation in the country had led to increased participation especially in the constitutional referendum in 2010.

The findings of this study indicate that civic education has the potential to strengthen Kenya's democracy and participation within the country. This finding suggests that civic education has the power to encourage participation and therefore positively impact on the democratic process of a country if delivered using appropriate strategies to reach all. However, this can only happen if it is national and not concentrated in less than 20 constituencies as it is now.

Another Key finding of this study was that focus on areas with ease of accessibility has been cited as a reason for low levels of effectiveness civic education in Kenya. The finding confirms Finkel (2003) assertion that effectiveness of civic education is realized most where proliferation is highest in terms of frequency and area of coverage.

Findings from the study further affirm that the levels of funding provided for purposes of civic education exercise mostly come from international donors. The study established that these funds are sufficient to impact positively on citizen participation but its use is wanting. Indeed, the funds do not reach a vast majority of persons and communities. Spending the funds on workshops and trainings other than more direct community forums hampers the delivery and effectiveness of civic education and these needs to be reoriented towards more effective measures like community forums.

The study findings established that civic education in Kenya has been successful in terms of providing information to the citizens. It is however observed that it has not reached a large mass of citizens as a majority of the providers reach only 20 constituencies out of the 210. Thus the actual benefit trickling to the masses as a result of civic education is minimal.

The study also found out that there has been a remarkable increase in the number of civic education providers in the country since 1991 when they were less that 10 to 2008 when they are about 70 organizations directly implementing civic education. However, this increase has not yielded proportional benefits to the citizens in the country.

The methodologies used in the delivery of civic education exercises are effective to the extent that they target the learning needs of the population. This has lead to desirable positive impact from civic education exercise. Among those methodologies that came out effective include workshops, community forums road shows and media. Media has grown in effectiveness owing to the increased level of technological advancements, rising level of access to media and increasing reliance of the media as a source of information in the country.

5.3 Recommendations

The recommendations made in the study are based on the survey findings and the literature reviewed on civic education. These two aspects enriched the understanding on civic education and provided an insight on the ideal and actual situation. The study bases its recommendations on these ideal and the observed inadequacies proposing the adequate measures to ensure that success is embraced.

The study took note of the importance of engaging youth in civic education sessions. For sustainability of the civic education, there is need that the Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) to target a younger generation in their education sessions so as to have a young group of citizens embracing civic duties. The intended goal is to have continuity in the running of civic education program as opposed to experiencing hiccups caused by generational gaps.

The study took note of the fact that there is a huge religious group in the country and this should be reached through faith based organizations. The study thus recommends an increase in the number of religious grouping disseminating civic education in the country. Inclusion of the Faith Based organizations (FBOs) as civic education providers will go a long way in ensuring that civic education reaches a wider audience.

The study makes the recommendation that it would add value if the government takes up a more proactive stand in provision and supporting civic education exercises. This includes funding civic education and encouraging civil society groups to participate in the exercises. A government institution may have more resources and ability to reach citizens as opposed to privately managed NGOs whose ability may be limited in terms of resources, time, and coverage. The government also has the machinery through its civil servants, schools and provincial administration to conduct impartial education and to set the agenda for CSOs. This would also help civic educators focus on more livelihood issues since the government is interested in these aspects.

The study further recommends that the methodology of delivery needs a re-look if civic education is to have any meaningful impact on increasing citizen participation in governance. The study findings indicated that the most effective measures of delivering civic education depends on each target group. For instance while the youth will prefer road shows; elderly members are more geared towards community forums or the media.

This study recommends further that the content of civic education sessions needs to be relevant to the recipients. Appropriateness of the information will contribute greatly to

effectiveness of the whole exercise. Providers of civic education should enrich the contents by incorporating livelihood topics which are of great interests to the citizenry. At the moment, citizens do not find civic education relevant beyond the political realm since it barely meets their day to day economic and livelihood needs.

The study also recommends that providers of civic education should also be more diligent in spending money meant for civic education. A lot of money is spent for less productive purposes including hiring of halls, transport reimbursements and accommodation for participants while in essence, CSOs should conduct activities at the grassroots thus saving a lot of it and using the same to reach more people. Funds need to be deployed to the most effective and far reaching exercise. Civil societies and CBOs need to assess the ideal ways of reaching a majority of the citizens without sideling others owing to their inaccessibility.

Areas for further research

The role of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in civic education is an area that has scanty information particularly in Kenya. With the Exception of scholars like Finkel and Kanyinga who have consistently studies the same, the areas seems to be lacking in information on impact. There is need to evaluate the role of civil society 20 since the inception of Multipartism in 1991 and review if they have made any meaningful contribution to the civic education sector.

A specific study on donor influence on CSOs and their role in identifying themes and implementers of civic education should be studied. As they say, whoever pays the piper calls the tune; this study attempted to delve into the donor-dictation issue but there is

need for in-depth understanding and may be clear recommendation on what civil society should do to make civic education their own and not donor driver.

Finally, a study on how the role of government in the civic education sector should be carried out. There is need to understand why the government for a long time seemd to have neglected its own mandate of provision civic education and leaving this to external influence through donors and CSOs. There is also need to look at the new government programme for civic education and identify strength and weaknesses which may hamper its effectiveness in delivering civic education.

Civic education in school schools is also an area worth of focus. The fact that America and Canada have invested heavily in it should be a pointer to Kenyans and thus the need to conduct a comparative study on whether the youth in this counties are more empowered that the Kenyan youth. Nurturing of future leaders can only be done if it's incorporated in the school curriculum.

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Appendixes

Appendix I
QUESTIONNAIRE

Evaluating the role of Civic education in strengthening democracy in Kenya

SECTION 0: QUESTIONNAIRE IDENTIFICATION DATA.

001 Questionnaire identification number:

INTRODUCTION:
I am student at the University of Nairobi undertaking a study on evaluating the role of

Civic education in strengthening democracy in Kenya. This is as part of my partial

fulfillment for a Masters Degree in Sociology. The information collected will be used

specifically for academic purposes and will be treated with utmost confidentiality

Thank you,

INSTRUCTIONS:

(a)   For absolute confidentiality do not write your name anywhere on this paper.

(b)   Please feel free and be as honest as possible. Answer all questions; remember there is

no right or wrong answer.

(c)   Tick the answer that best suits your response and where necessary briefly explain.

I. Background Information

Table 1: Demographic Data

	Questions	Categories											
002	Sex of the respondent:	Male					Female						
003	Age												
004	Education level	Secondary	Post-secondary		University	Other (specify)							
005	If degree holder, specify field of study(e.g., BA, B-ed etc)												
006	Religion	Catholic		Protestant	Muslim	Others (specify)							
007	Name of your Organization												
008	When was your organization formed?												
009	Status of your Organization	Local NGO		International NGO	Others (specify)								
010	What is the core business of your organization?												
011	What are its major programs?												
012	How does your organization source for funds?												
013	Who are the Key donors?												
014	How many employees are in your organization?												
015	What Sector does your CSO represent?	Faith Based		Youth	Women	PWDs	Others(specify)						
016	List three main Objectives of your organization	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____											
017	What are the Key Geographical areas served by your organization?	National	Nairobi	Rift Valley	Coast	Western	Nyanza	Central	Eastern	North Eastern	Other (Specify)		

II. Provision of Civic Education in Kenya

9.   Has your organization ever implemented civic education programmes?

      Yes ☐

      No ☐

      If yes, since when? _____

10.   Were the civic education projects continuous or in phases?

      1. Continuous ☐

      2. Phases ☐

11.   If in Phases, how long was each Civic education project? _____

12.   If continuous, how many people have you trained? _____

13.   If continuous, how many constituencies have you covered? _____

14.   Do you think the time period was adequate for the education to lead to citizen

    participation?

      1.   Yes ☐

      2.   No ☐

    Please explain _____

    _____

15.   How is your organization related to Uraia in the implementation of civic education?

    _____

16.   How did your organization start partnering with Uraia?

          1. Applied a call for proposal ☐

          2. Was earmarked by Donors ☐

          3. Other (Specify) _____

17.   What is the role of Uraia in the implementation process of civic education in Kenya?

_____

_____

18.   What are the Key areas of focus of your civic education program?

        1. _____

        2. _____

        3. _____

        4. _____

19.   Who determines these areas/content of civic education training that are used by your
organization? _____

_____

20.   Do you think your organization is empowered adequately to determine how to

implement civic education projects?

        1. Yes ☐

        2. No ☐

Explain in either case._____

21.   Is there a link between the civic education contents you provide and community

needs in your areas of implementation?

        1. Yes ☐

        2. No ☐

Explain in either case._____

_____

_____

22.   Do you think issues you train communities on have influenced the way communities take up participation in democracy matters in their local settings?

       1. Yes   ☐

       2. No   ☐

Explain _____

_____

_____

23. Do you think civic education has helped increase participation of Kenyans in national and local processes?

    1. Yes   ☐

    2. No   ☐

    23. (b) If yes, in what areas?

    1. Voting   ☐

    2. Community engagement with government   ☐

    3. Local issues   ☐

    4. Others_____

III. Donor Support in Civic Education

24.   Has your organization received any funding by donors for civic education in the <u>last three</u> years?

    1.   Yes   ☐

    2.   No   ☐

    24. (b) If yes, how much? _____

25. Who is the key donor supporting civic education in your organization?

_____

26. How much have you received from the key donor for the last <u>three years</u> for civic

education? _____

27. How can you rate your organization's relation with the donor?

      1. Very Close   ☐

      2. Close   ☐

      3. Moderate   ☐

      4. Not close   ☐

      5. Not cloe at all   ☐

28. What was the project period for the said funding? _____ (in years)

29. How was the disbursement conducted?

      1. Wholesome   ☐

      2. In tranches   ☐

      3. In activity based model   ☐

      4. Other (specify) _____

30. How timely was the disbursement?

        1. Timely   ☐

        2. Little delays   ☐

        3. Long delays   ☐

        4. Other (specify) _____

31. For those with delays, what would you think were the causes for the delays?

_____

_____

32.   The following statements relate to support for civic education in Kenya, kindly tick where appropriate as follows: **1. Strongly agree; 2. Agree; 3. Indifferent; 4. Disagree 5. Strongly disagree.**

Table 2: Donor support for civic education

		1	2	3	4	5
a.	Kenyans have benefited a lot from civic education					
b.	Civic education has reached most Kenyans					
c.	Civic education in Kenya is virtually donor driven.					
d.	Donor support for civic education is timely					
e.	Donor support is enough for civic education					
f.	Donor support for civic education responds adequately to issues in Kenya					
g.	CSOs and donors have a close working relationship					
h.	Donors have influence in the content of civic education to be offered in Kenya					
i.	Without donor funding, civic education in Kenya would not be possible					
j.	Kenyan CSOs have little or no financial support from local organization for civic education					
k.	Kenyan government is not involved in civic education formulation					

33. In your view, what role would you want donors to play in Kenya's civic education?

_____

_____

IV. Civil Society Organizations and Enhancement of Democracy in Kenya

34. The following is a list of key civic education providers in the country. Kindly rate their effectiveness as follows: **1. Very effective; 2. Effective; 3. Moderate; 4. Not Effective 5. Not effective at all**

Table 3: Perceived Effectiveness of Civic Education Providers

		1	2	3	4	5
a.	Media					
b.	Faith based sector					
c.	Politicians/Political parties					
d.	CSOs					
e.	Universities/colleges					
f.	Uraia					
g.	CBOs					
h.	Government of Kenya					

35. The following statements measure the usefulness of various attributes in facilitating effective civic education in Kenya. Indicate the level of usefulness of the selected attributes as follows: 1. Very useful; 2. Useful; 3. Fairly useful; 4. Not useful 5. Not useful at all.

Table 4: Perceived Usefulness of Selected Attributes in Delivery of Civic Education in Kenya

		1	2	3	4	5
	Level of education of facilitator of the CSOs providing civic education					
	Religious affiliation of the organization providing civic education					
	Credibility of the organization providing civic education					
	The timing of the activities of civic education					
	The location/center where civic education is being offered					
	Political inclination of the civic education recipient					
	Strategies Used by the organization					
	Content of the civic education programme					

36. To what extent do you agree with the statements regarding performance of CSOs in the delivery of civic education in Kenya presented in Table 5? Indicate your responses as follows: 1. Strongly agree; 2. Agree; 3. Indifferent 4. Disagree; 5. Strongly disagree.

Table 5: Perceived Rating of CSO Performance in the Deliverance of Civic Education

		1	2	3	4	5
a.	CSOs have taken a leading role in delivery of civic education in Kenya					
b.	CSOs have over concentrated on visible communities leaving out the most vulnerable					
c.	CSOs are donor driven and without them, they cannot carry out education					
d.	CSOs are highly innovative on methodologies and have					
e.	CSOs methodologies are effective in civic education delivery					
f.	CSOs have overtime been overtaken by other actors in the provision of civic education					
g.	It is time for CSOs to come up with more relevant strategies of delivering civic education in Kenya?					

1. Has civic education changed the lives of Kenyans?

2. Yes

3. No

If yes, how?_____

37. Has civic education brought about any change in Kenya's democracy?

1. Yes

2. No

If yes, how has it changed Kenya's democracy?_____

_____

38. Do you think your organization has helped in strengthening Kenya's democracy?

1. Yes

2. No

39.   If yes, explain. _____

_____

_____

V. Strategies of Delivering Civic Education in Kenya

40.   List three strategies of delivering civic education that you know of?

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

41.   Among the strategies above, which ones does your organization use?

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

42.   Kindly   explain   why   you   settled   for   those   strategies

_____

_____

43.   How would you rate the effectiveness of the following strategies of delivering civic

education in Kenya?   Indicate your responses as follows: **1. Very effective; 2.**

Effective; 3. Moderate; 4. Ineffective; 5. Very ineffective.

Table 6: Perceived Effectiveness of Strategies Used to Deliver Civic Education in

Kenya

		1	2	3	4	5
a.	Workshops					
b.	Community forum					
c.	Lecture methods					
d.	Road shows					
e.	Theater					
f.	Media					
g.	Other (Specify)					

44. What do you think should be the best way to improve the strategies your organization

uses to bring about effective civic education?_____

_____

45. In your view, do you think civic education has benefited Kenyans?

1. Yes [ ]

2. No [ ]

If yes, list three benefits?

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

If no, why?_____

46. How satisfied are you with the following critical issues related to delivery of civic

education in Kenya? Kindly indicate your responses as follows: **1. Very satisfied; 2.**

Satisfied; 3. Indifferent; 4. Not satisfied; 5. Not satisfied at all

Table 7: Perceived Levels of Satisfaction with Selected Issues Related to Civic Education in Kenya

		1	2	3	4	5
a.	Contents of civic education in Kenya?					
b.	Mode of funding of civic education in Kenya?					
c.	Mode of delivery?					
d.	Geographical coverage?					
e.	Role played by donors in delivery of civic education?					
f.	Participation of the Government of Kenya in delivery of civic education					
g.	Performance of CSOs in delivery of civic education in Kenya?					
h.	The way donor monies are used in delivery of civic education?					

Do you have any further comments? _____

_____

Thank you for your patience and cooperation.

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Appendix II

Interview Guide for Key informants

I am student at the University of Nairobi undertaking a study on effectiveness of civic education in strengthening democracy in Kenya. This is as part of my partial fulfillment for a Master's Degree in Sociology. The information collected will be used specifically for academic purposes and will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Section 1: Organization and implementation of civic education in Kenya

- Objectives of civic education?

- Identify key actors and respective role?

- Identify key areas of focus i.e., key contents of civic education?

- Strategies of implementing civic education in Kenya?

Section 11: Personal experiences in the organization and delivery of civic education

- Experience in training, formulation of contents, and implementation?

- Contributions of his/her organization?

- Value added by civic education?

Section 111: Funding of civic education projects in Kenya and regulation and use of

- Leading donors? Local vs. foreign

- Levels and modes of funding?

- Means of accessing and accounting for the funds?

- Challenges in funding?

Section 1v: Achievements of Civic Education Efforts

- Major contributions of civic education trainings at different levels – local vas. National?

- Impact of civic education on Kenya's democracy?

- Perceived level of success of civic education efforts: In achieving its goals? Use of the funds? Bringing about desirable changes?

- Other comments?