"THE ROLE OF NGOs IN FOSTERING GOOD GOVERNANCE IN KENYA"

BY

KENNEDY MWIRIGI BIKURI.

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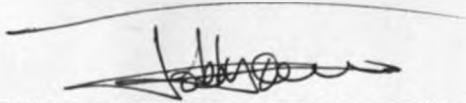
2003

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

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Bikuri Kennedy .M.

This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as University Supervisors.

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Dr. Robinson M. Ocharo

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Mr. Benneah Mutsotso

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my father the late Silas Bikuri, may God rest his soul in peace, to Norah and Mugure.

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ABSTRACT

The study on the 'Role of NGOs in Fostering Good Governance in Kenya' aimed at investigating the factors that influence the ability of NGOs to foster good governance in the Kenyan society. Specifically, the study aimed at investigating four aspects namely, structures and activities of NGOs, NGO – government relations, NGO-donor relations and grassroots representation as they influence ability of NGOs to foster good governance in Kenya.

The study was based in Nairobi Kenya from where 24 NGOs were selected. From the 24 NGOs the study drew 134 respondents who together with 15 key informants provided the primary data analyzed. Primary data sources were reinforced with data gathered through secondary methods including document and media report analysis. Analysis of the study data was accomplished through quantitative techniques using the statistical package for social science (SPSS) computer program and transcription and collapsing of qualitative data.

Findings from the study point to high potential for NGOs in playing a role to foster good governance in Kenya. However NGOs have not hitherto done so because their efforts are not adequately tied to the aspirations and efforts of grassroots communities. According to the findings, this potential has not hitherto been utilized maximally because NGOs are found to be limited by aspects in the factors studied.

NGO structures and activities are found by the study not to have fostered adequate

Practices of teamwork and open consultation were found to be diminished and NGOs are found not to adequately foster capacity building at the grassroots through promoting strong grassroots organizations and empowerment. They are also found not to be all inclusive associations and not to foster accountability to and among the people they serve and the government. The study also establishes that there are many instances of lapses in accountability in NGOs. NGOs are also found to be weak in other structural aspects such as conflict management and resolution and problem solving.

The study also established that increasing numbers of NGOs are moving to cooperate with the government both sectorally and at policy level albeit with difficulties. Quite a good number of NGOs do not cooperate with the government at all. In the process of cooperation, NGO officials reported experiencing harassment from public officers and constraints from government policies, actions and laws. Generally the study finds NGO- government relations to be uneasy which is seen to constrain the ability of NGOs to foster good governance in society.

The study also establishes that the activities of NGOs are highly influenced by donor preferences, interests and dictates which is seen to compromise beneficiary problem prioritization and sustainability of NGO projects. This becomes even a more important finding of the study with the establishment that well over 80% of NGOs depend on externally driven funding from Northern NGOs and governments.

The study also establishes that NGOs including those organizations claiming to agitate for good governance have weak grassroots linkages. It establishes that NGOs are not constituted from the grassroots and they do not represent grassroots agendas in consultation with the affected communities. The study establishes that a few NGOs are representing partisan, ethnic and religious interests.

The study recommends further evaluation of points of interaction between NGOs and government, NGOs and grassroots communities and objectives of development aid as they relate to the needs of grassroots communities. It also recommends examination of structures of good governance within the NGO sector and an orientation by local NGOs towards developing a local resource base in future.

Introduction

The civil society discourse in relation to Africa's development and governance has become popular since the 1980s and 1990s in the face of the seemingly perennial socio-political problems (e.g. poor economic performance, inability to provide services and basic infrastructure, civil strife and poor governance) that have bedeviled states in Africa since the 1970s. Within Africa's development and political scholarship, the expanded patrimonial state and its related weak civil society have come to be viewed as the problem (Nyong'o, 1987; Callaghy, 1986; Oyugi, 1992; Kanyinga, 1998). Based on this observation the thinking about the ways of solving Africa's development and governance impasse has recommended the reform and retrenchment of the African state with a view to making it undertake only those activities it is best suited to execute effectively and to create more space for the involvement of non-state actors in development and governance. Scholars have therefore called for the reinvigoration of strong civil society in Africa to take up the socio political space ceded by the withdrawing states (Bratton and Wale, 1998; Olukoshi, 1998, Bratton, 1989:412; Bratton and Rothchild, 1992:266; Mbatia, 1996).

The talk about reinvigorating the civil society in Africa has been accompanied by notions of good governance, democracy and liberalization. Importantly good governance and democratization have gained vitality popularized by the World Bank and other international financial institutions. Good governance and democratization with a vibrant civil society have

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building a strong civil society has further been underscored by the experience with opposition politics in Africa. Proponents of the civil society have observed that Africa's opposition parties have fallen victims to politics of elitism, ethnic and religious identities and the trap of political patronage by Incumbent governments (Olukoshi, 1998; Herning, 1998).

These scholars have noted the disillusionment that Africa's opposition politics have generated in the African populace and recommended for a reactivated role for civil society as a way of sustaining Africa's democratization projects. These authors have observed that after all it is the civil society that set the tempo in the move to plural politics and it is the one that has sustained calls for reforms in most African countries. NGOs have been identified as important agents within civil society and therefore well suited to foster good governance and democratization in African countries (Bratton, 1989a: 412; Agbakoba, 1993:120-122). NGOs have therefore come to be seen as embodiments of popular will and as key agents in civil society. Campfeins (1997:463) observes that "NGOs as organizational vehicles in the field of development have become vital and often indispensable force in promoting popular participation among the poor. Development NGOs have considerable knowledge and experience working with popular organizations" Scholars have therefore underscored the need to involve NGOs in all programs aimed at fostering popular initiatives in Africa. The contributions of NGOs in pursuing democratic reforms have been most phenomenal in Kenya. Ngunyi and Cowen (1997: 10) have applauded the role played by the civil society particularly NGOs in Kenya when they write that, "It was the civil society which was held to determine the course, pace and tempo of reform against state resistance." In Kenya,

the forefront of calls for democratic reform and respect of the rights of the citizens. Such organizations include the National Council of the Churches of Kenya (NCCK), the Catholic Church, the Law Society of Kenya (LSK), the Green Belt Movement, Kenya Human Rights Commission, Kituo cha Sheria, the National Council of NGOs, and some trade unions.

Indeed the activities of NGOs in Kenya in pressing for democratic reform, advocating for citizen rights, in civic education and in championing women candidacy and participation in electoral politics have been documented significantly in the literature. Efforts of NGOs in fighting for preservation of public utility land and related environmental concerns, monitoring elections, representing the interests of the marginalised groups, and related research have been written about in reports both by the media and NGOs. Some authors namely; Ndegwa (1996), Fowler (1991), and Mutunga (1998) have also studied the involvement of a few NGOs in agitating for constitutional reform in Kenya. From these studies authors agree that although there is seemingly some potential for Kenya's NGOs to act as key agents in promoting good governance, they have hitherto not done so at least in the short run. However, these studies have tended to focus on selected NGOs already involved in resisting state control in the constitutional reform process ignoring the many NGOs that are either co-opted by the Kenyan state or those which have remained passive in the face of the struggle for democratic reform and good governance in the country. Such studies have therefore not examined the factors that determine the differential involvement of NGOs in activities that foster good governance.

Kenya is estimated to have about 1000 registered non-governmental organizations (DN Feb 14 1990). These NGOs are further believed to be linked up with an estimated 30,000 self help groups operating in the country (Africa Women Communication Network, 1994). The high proliferation of NGOs in the Kenya social political scene, and the much publicized involvement of a few among them like the National Convention Executive Council in projects aimed at fostering good governance, requires continuous evaluation to enable proper understanding of their contributions. At a time when a small proportion of NGOs have come out to strongly lobby and pressure the state for good policy cum legal environment for their operation as well as for self determination among the Kenyan population and special groups, others have continued with their traditional tasks in service delivery and welfare provision. Yet other NGOs have opted to work closely with the government, seeming to maintain some autonomy from it while others like Maendeleo ya Wanawake (Kenya National Organization of Women) and Central Organization of Trade Unions (COTU) have got co-opted into the state through the ruling party – KANU. Indeed, the factors influencing this kind of choice and orientations of programmes by NGOs in relation to good governance need to be clearly delineated.

NGOs in Kenya do not claim an indigenous strong resource base with which to support their activities. Most of the NGOs are funded by western based donor organizations who may on many occasions demand that local NGOs undertake certain activities to serve the interests of the donors. At the same time donor organizations may require that the NGOs they support

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stick to the donor's chosen guidelines in programme choice and implementation. The view among the proponents of NGO- good governance approach among them Bratton (1989) and Ndegwa (1986) is that for NGOs in Africa to contribute to good governance, they have to enjoy some autonomy from donors so that their choice of programmes is influenced by target group situations other than preferences of the funding source. This in turn raises the question of accountability within the NGO sector. NGOs in Kenya have been faced with the problem of explaining the direction of their accountability. The study attempted to examine how the need to be accountable to donors and at the same time the intended beneficiaries affected the capability of NGOs to foster good governance in Kenya.

Although there is increasing agreement within the NGO sector that good governance is a priority, the level to which this is translated into the programmes and activities of NGOs need to be established. The dominant view is that if NGOs have to contribute to good governance, one of the major ways of doing so is by practicing good governance themselves. This will serve to educate the public and the state about the practice of good governance as well as ensure the goals for which these NGOs were set up are achieved. However, in Kenya NGOs have been accused of practicing poor governance manifested by the mal-practices of corruption, nepotism, tribalism and partisanship. In fact, this has been one of the observations made by public officials in their calls for more controls on NGOs by the state in Kenya. (Daily Nation July 8 1995:1, Daily Nation March 17 1999:4) The study sought to establish the extent to which NGOs in Kenya adhere to the practice of good governance.

NGOs in Kenya have been seen to manifest partisan practices in their agitation for good governance. Some NGOs have been seen to be closely linked up with interest groups in politics including political parties and the government (Daily Nation January 5 1998:4). Although NGOs have claimed to derive their legitimacy from the people especially the poor and the marginalised whom they claim to represent, their activities have demonstrated an orientation to the elite and urban members of society. NGOs in Kenya have been seen to isolate people in the grassroots, coming up with resolutions in forums based in urban areas and in which participants are largely the elite and well to do members of society (Daily Nation January 23 1999:1). The study sought to examine the extent to which NGOs are linked with grassroots communities and their effectiveness in representing grassroots interests to the state.

The Kenya government has not taken the publicity of NGOs are getting and their claimed movement to the core of governance and development issues kindly. Authors among them Mutunga, (1999,) Henning and Schill, (1993,) Ngunyi, (1993) have characterized the Kenya government-NGO relations as hostile with the state seeking to control NGOs through legislation, particularly the NGO Co-ordination Act of 1990. These authors have therefore seen this state of affairs between the government and NGOs in Kenya as impacting negatively on good governance. However, in the 1990s and especially in the last few years, reports especially from the media indicate that even with the 1990 legislation, the government control on NGOs has not in practice been very strong. Moreover, in the last few years especially in the era of pluralism, NGOs have continued to move to the center of socio-political space in Kenya. Their involvement in the 1992 and

1997 multiparty electoral processes and the ongoing constitutional review process has been greatly publicized. The study examined the changing government-NGO relations and their implications for the role of NGOs in fostering good governance in Kenya. In sum, the study investigated the factors determining the contributions of NGOs in promoting governance in Kenya with specific focus to registered organizations based in the city of Nairobi. More specifically, the study was guided by the following questions whose answers it sought provide:

To what extent do the structures, organization and activities of NGOs foster good governance in Kenya?

What are the current state of NGO-government relations in Kenya and what are its implications for NGOs contribution to good governance in the country?

To what extent are NGOs in Kenya true representatives of civil society in terms of their autonomy, constitutional structures, membership, interests, resources and their linkages with the grassroots communities?

1.2. Broad Objective of the Study

To investigate the factors that determines the contribution of NGOs to good governance in Kenya.

1.3 Specific Objectives of the Study

To determine the extent to which structures of NGOs effectively bridge between grassroots communities and the government in fostering good governance in Kenya.

To investigate the current state of government-NGO relations in Kenya and their implication for NGOs effectiveness in contributing to good governance.

To investigate the nature of donor – NGO relations and how they impact on NGOs capability to foster good governance in Kenya.

To determine the extent to which NGOs in Kenya represent the popular civil society.

1.4   Study Justification

Kenya like any other developing countries is being faced by socio-economic problems that are increasingly being attributed to poor governance both within the public and private

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realms. The search of solutions to Kenyans socio-economic problems has pointed to the potential that lies in revitalizing good governance with a view to increasing responsiveness of public and private institutions to the needs of the citizens. However, a problem has arisen on how this is to be done. Some scholars (Kanyinga 1992, Braton 1989, Munslow and Williams 1990) have pointed to the potential that lies in involving NGOs in promoting good governance in Kenya and other African Countries. This study examines the effectiveness of NGOs in playing the vanguard role in revitalizing good governance in Kenya.

Many studies that have assessed the role of NGOs in fostering good governance in Kenya have tended to concentrate on one or two organizations that have activities that are deemed to foster good governance directly. These studies have ignored many of the organizations that have stuck to traditional approaches of service and welfare delivery. This study focuses on organizations drawn from all NGO activity categories thus standing to generate new information and insights into the existing data on the role of NGOs in fostering good governance in Kenya and therefore contributing to the debate on civil society and its role in pursuing good governance.

Kenya has witnessed a high proliferation of organizations in the non-profit sector in the last 10 years. To date, the size of the Kenyan NGO sector stands at well over 1000 NGOs (NGO council 1999) from a meager 400 in the 1980s (Bratton, 1989; Nge'the and Kanyinga, 1992). These NGOs are attracting increasing amounts of resources from western donors and multilateral and bilateral institutions. A study into their activities especially in relation to

fostering good governance is necessary to generate information that widens insights about NGO operations.

Finally, the dynamics of interaction between the Kenya Government, NGOs and the grassroots communities are changing rapidly. The character of government-NGO relations has been undergoing transformation as the state albeit reluctantly cedes more social-political space to non-state actors like NGOs. The changing dynamics of government NGO relations as well as the linkages with grassroots communities need to be studied if the role of NGOs in shaping Kenya's governance realm is to be understood.

1.5   Scope of the Study

In the study, the factors determining the contribution of NGOs to good governance in Kenya refer to the structures and activities of NGOs, government-NGO relations and the extent to which the character of NGOs reflect the qualities of organizations in civil society. Structures and activities refer to the elements of leadership, style and quality, decision making process, networks between organizations and among organizations in the same sector; linkages with community groups and organizations, linkages with the government, staffing levels, programmes and projects of organizations, mechanisms of problem and conflict solution within and between organizations, level of professionalism, extent of practice of accountability and good governance, process of change of the leaders, openness of leadership to criticism, openness of the system to recruitment and promotion, openness of criticism, availability of information to the media and the public and other relevant aspects within and among organizations.

Government-NGO relations refer to how government and NGOs interact and the climate of feelings ensuing from this interaction. It specifically refers to the instances of NGO responses to attempts by the government at controlling them through regulation, policy and administrative mechanisms and the ensuing mechanisms of incorporation, disengagement, problem and conflict solution between the NGOs and the government. The character of NGOs as organizations in civil society refers to the extent of presence of elements of broad membership, autonomy, representation of members and target groups interests, linkages with people's organizations, political orientation of NGOs activities, spontaneity, self-regulation, voluntariness and other relevant aspects within NGOs.

Good governance broadly refers to the array of practices both within the government and NGOs that may go into promoting goals of common/public good. In this study, it specifically refers to all practices by NGOs that ground the NGOs, promote participation and involvement of the people in decision making processes, ensure respect of rights of citizens, guarantee observance of law and order, strengthen membership to association in civil society, promote joint approaches to problem solving in society and represents and/or promote the interests of the poor and marginalised groups in the society.

The scope of observation and enquiry in the study is based on data gathered from respondents drawn from 24 NGOs based in Nairobi province of Kenya. NGOs included in this study are those, which were registered within Kenya's statutory requirements by 1998. The 24 NGOs are composed of organizations taken within the activity categories found in the

International Classification of the non-profit making organizations (Salmon and Anhier, 1996). The major NGO activity groups included are culture and recreation, health, social services, environment, development and housing, advocacy, philanthropy, international, religious and business or professional organizations. Data used in this study is drawn from respondents from all the levels of position ranking in the selected organizations namely; executive, management, middle level staff and lower cadre staff.

The study only targeted those organizations, which had been registered at least two years before it commenced. In this regard the 1998 NGO council's register of NGO was utilized in mapping out the NGO sector in Kenya and organizations to be included in the study. As such NGOs registered after 1998 were left out by the study. Also all organizations that were not formally registered with the council of NGOs were left out. Those organizations registered as self help groups with the ministry of culture and social services were also left out of the study.

CHAPTER II

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Introduction

The ongoing contraction of the state with the adoption of the World Banks structural adjustment programmes in the 1980s and 1990s and the consequent embrace of plural politics in many African countries has led to a significant reactivation of the role of civil society in Africa's socio-political space. One such development is the recent movement of NGOs towards the centre stage of development and political action in many states in Africa including Kenya. NGOs have assumed an important role in the issues of development and governance in Africa in the face of the shift in development thinking among donors, practitioners and scholars about the goals of development (Buijtenhijs and Rijniersei 1993:55). This shift involves movement from state centered top-down approaches to society centered bottom-up approaches that stress increased people participation in the process as well as in enjoying the benefits of development (Campfens 1997:437,463).

Within this thinking NGOs have come to be viewed as key agents within civil society and as embodiments of popular will. In this regard, scholars have argued in favor of increased involvement of NGOs in efforts aimed at fostering good governance, democratization and

development in Africa. These scholars see a potential role for NGOs in promoting good governance and democratization in Africa at least in the long term (Ndegwa 1993:2). But problems abound in the literature on how to delineate the role of NGOs in relation to good governance and consequently how to link up Africa's NGOs with states. This literature review aims at highlighting some of these issues with reference to the Kenyan situation ultimately pointing at key gaps which provided the focus of the study.

2.1   Conceptualizing Governance in Relation to Africa

The concept of governance has come to the limelight with increased concern with the performance of the African State by international financial institutions and development practitioners. In Kenya the demands for institution of good governance have gained currency in the 1990s in the face of domestic and international pressure for reform of the African State. Governance and 'good' governance have been conceptualized variedly in the literature. The World Bank has defined governance based on a technocratic approach in which the goal of good governance is seen as enhanced economic growth rather than democratic political practice. According to the World Bank (1989:60), good governance is "the exercise of political power to manage a nation's affairs." This definition is narrow and focuses on issues of institutional management dispensing with issues of plural politics. But it is within development agencies and academic discourses that the concept of governance has attained a wider meaning to include issues of legitimate government founded on the practice of accountability, people participation and responsiveness to the needs of the popular sections of society.

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Carter Centre's definition of governance incorporates the civil society as an important source of political power and influence in African states. Their definition goes beyond 'the general manner in which people are governed' to include 'self governance'. [Self-governance is about how groups and organizations in Africa have been seen to strive to take up the responsibility of mitigating the increasing failure of the African states to provide services] (Henning and Schill 1993:14). Within academic discourses the concept of governance has come to broadly refer to the practices of institutional pluralism, communal empowerment, people's participation, political accountability as well as political representation through competitive elections and/or open policy debates by interested groups in society (Bratton, 1992:266). Among this group of scholars, reinvigoration of civil society has come to be viewed as a critical prerequisite to promoting good governance and democratization in Africa.

Hyden (1992) has attempted to ground a theory of governance that goes beyond the common democratic notions of good governance. He conceptualizes governance as that realm within a political community that is bounded by the properties of authority, reciprocity, trust and accountability. According to Hyden, authority is legitimate power while reciprocity refers to the quality of interaction within society and is indicated by the freedom of association. Trust is concerned with the norms within society while accountability is the extent to which the ruled can hold the officials responsible for their actions (Hyden 1992:12-16). The extent to which the four properties are present in a political community determines the quality of governance of that society. Governance in relation to the public realm is according to Hyden

what management may be to an organization - a means to an end. It is concerned with how rules affect political action and the prospect of solving given societal problems.

Viewed broadly, governance is about how governments and civil society interacts. The practices that exist both within civil society and governments that are directed at fostering the good of all in society are what constitutes good governance (IDS-University of Sussex, Ford Foundation, 1998:2). Thus studies on governance in Africa have come to focus on the extent to which such practices exist in states in Africa. Barkan (1998) and Henning and Schill (1993) have studied the practice of good governance in Kenya after independence. Although Barkan found that good governance was practiced in Kenya especially in the first decade of independence, they both point to the collapse of the governance realm in the period preceding and after the 1992 multiparty general elections. Poor governance has seen to the emergence of many actors in the civil society including churches, NGOs, grassroots groups and individuals who are advocating for political reform in Kenya. This study examines the role of NGOs in fostering good governance in Kenya.

2.2   Conceptualizing Civil Society

Civil society has been conceptualized variedly in the literature. The political science conceptualization with its roots in liberal democratic theory identifies civil institutions and political activity founded on the political principles of citizenship, rights, democratic representation and the rule of law as essential components of any democratic society (IDS-University of Sussex, Ford Foundation, 1998:3). This thinking sees civil society as one

constituted outside the state representing associations and interest groups in opposition to the state and checking its excesses (Gibbon 1996:28) and also protecting those holding significant stake in society from the state.

It is this conception of the role of civil society that informed efforts by the World Bank and IMF at restructuring the economies of Africa through structural adjustments. Campfens (1997; 14) observes that the logic of reconstruction of world economies through structural adjustments embraced the goals of; sharply reducing the role of the state and its bureaucracy in the market place, a return to the primacy of the individual over the collective, a shift from state to community care in dealing with human problems and a shift from a progressive tax regime that concerns itself with the welfare of the most vulnerable groups in society towards one that favors the business sector. The second conceptualization of civil society is sociological and flows from the writings of Hegel. Within this thinking, civil society is conceptualized as the political space interposed between the state and the family. Other scholars who have followed this definition, have understood civil society as that space between state and private individual life inhabited by a plurality of organized interests in form of associations (Bayart 1986). To Hegel, "Civil society was historically produced a sphere of pluralist and co-operate 'ethnical life' including market economy, social classes, certain legal institutions and co-operations. It arises out of the supposedly immediate and undifferentiated sphere of the household (equated to collective life related to physical needs) and itself produced, from its own divisions, the higher unity of the modern state. This had a 'representative' relation to civil society, but not in the sense of being connected to it through concrete representation mechanisms. Rather, the state 'represented' civil society in the sense

of transcending its internal divisions through embodying 'universal interests' Gibbon (1996.3) To Hegel, therefore, civil society historically evolved to meet the needs of family members that could not be met within the individual or family sphere. Seen this way, civil society is equated to the market. But the diverse interests in the plurality of civil society needed mitigation. Civil society thus produced the state whose interests surpassed the divisions within civil society to safeguard the interests of common/public good.

The view by Hegel has since been modified by Marx who saw civil society as embodying the arena in which contractual relations in commodity production and exchange relations are organized in favor of the bourgeoisie. To Marx, civil society did not represent the interests of the public good. It represented privatized and individualized entities in person or group, reproducing the politics of bourgeoisie social division of labour. (Gibbon 1996:34) In capitalist societies, civil society interests are embodied in the kind of associational life that springs from the production relations in society such as trade unions, organized ethnic interests, professional clubs e.t.c.

Whichever definition that is followed presents one with analytical problems because on the one hand, the political science definition assumes that all societies will follow the path of democratization that western countries took. It fails to recognize the various practices of democracy existing in the world today and its accompanying abstraction deriving from liberal democratic principles makes it difficult to operationalize. On the other hand, the sociological definition does not clearly delineate the associations that can be aggregated into civil society. Fatton has observed that civil society is not always civic. (1995:72). Within

civil society certain associations operate outside the formal regulation of state authority and structures. Some associations are clandestine and others are organized around parochial interests of survival without any tangible political agenda in their programmes.

Recent definitions delineate civil society as that arena between the state and the family but within the public realm that is inhabited by a plurality of organized interests in form of associations and movements. These associations include trade unions, professional clubs, business clubs, academic institutions, cultural groupings, community groups, women movements, church related groups, media houses and non-governmental organizations. (Maina and Katumanga, 1998:4, Riddel *et al*, 1995:23,26, IDS-University of Sussex and Ford Foundation 1998:4) The need to delineate civil society is guided by certain criteria that are being utilized to determine association's inclusion into the realm. Such associations must have a political agenda more in opposition to the state or some aspect of the society. They must be spontaneously constituted and driven in their activities especially in relation to governance. They must be self-regulating and enjoying significant autonomy from the state and recruitment into them ought to be broad based and voluntary. They must not seek to monopolize the collective sphere or totally envelop the lives of their members (Howell 1998).

The study recognizes that there are myriad of groupings both formal and informal and cutting across all social classes that fall within the arena inhabited by civil society. However, it also conceptualizes NGOs as playing a key role within civil society, that of bridging the gap between the state and popular grassroots communities. NGOs may play this role by

promoting popular participation on the one hand and challenging the excesses of the state on the other.

2.3   Historical Development of Civil Society in Kenya

The development of civil society in Kenya can be traced through four phases, which may also mark the political history of the country. The first phase is during the pre-colonial period in which politics were based on traditional and ethnic social organizational norms and practices. In traditional society, politics were organized around a hierarchy of structures comprising of age group systems, councils of elders, religious authorities and, sometimes, political leadership founded on lineage and other ascribed status. In these societies, informal structures in form of rules and practices provided the basis on which the rulers ensured their accountability to the ruled. Traditional authority derived its legitimacy from these norms and, based on the same it could be challenged once it overlooked such institutionalized structures and practices. (Gluckmann, 1965; Kituyi, 1990)

The second phase of growth of civil society in Kenya is during the period of colonial rule in which associational life emerged to cater for African welfare interests and to resist repression that characterized the colonial authority. Associations that emerged in the colonial period were founded on goals of welfare and membership to them was largely ethnic and kinship based (Hyden, 1983). These associations were organized around the goals of providing welfare and needed social services in African areas, which were highly neglected by the colonial government. This is the basis in which the independent school movement and later

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harambee self help was founded in Central Kenya (Bratton, 1998; Bratton, 1987). Other associations like the Taita Hills Association, the Luo Thrift Association and the Kavirondo Tax Payers Association emerged with similar welfare goals in the 1940s.

Further in this period, associations and movements founded on the goals of safeguarding African religious practices emerged. These included religious movements like Dini ya Msambwa and Nomia Church in western Kenya and Luo Nyanza respectively. There was also the Dini ya Kaggia and the independent churches that came into being in central Kenya in the 1950s (Kanyinga, 1998). A third group of associations in civil society emerged to fight for the return of African land and an end to colonial domination. These included groups of African urban workers and political groupings with radical political programmes, which became highly targeted by the colonial state. Such associations included the Kikuyu Central Association formed in 1920s to fight for African land, the African Workers Federation formed in 1947, the East African Trade Union Congress formed in 1949 and the African Study Association formed in the 1950s. African trade unions were organized around the goals of fighting for workers rights as well as an end to the colonial hegemony while the African Study Association was aimed at providing advice to the first African members of the Legco (Leys, 1975). These associations were highly supported by the other groupings in civil society, in their struggle for the return of the African land, equalization of economic opportunities and unrestricted access to services. The African freedom movement eventually crystallized into a political party-the Kenya African Union (KAU) and the armed Mau Mau movement which came to spearhead popular resistance against colonial domination.

The advent of Mau Mau armed resistance led to a declaration of state of emergency by the colonial government and through it all political activities became outlawed. All political groupings including KAU were proscribed and many of their leaders detained. It has been observed that since the declaration of state of emergency in 1952, political parties did not resurface again until sometime in 1960, (Barkan, 1998; Okumu, and Holmsquit, 1984; Leys, 1975). In this scenario, associations in civil society especially workers unions and welfare groupings played a crucial role in supporting the freedom struggle. The contributions of these associations in the struggle for independence and African welfare have been documented by among others Bratton, (1987) and Hyden, (1993). These scholars implicitly agree that these associations were the basis of popular organization of the African people. These associations provided important economic support to the freedom movement and later leadership to the African political struggle. Importantly it has been observed that they are the ones that collated into what became national political parties after the ban of political organization was lifted in the 1960s (Barkan 1984).

Although the associations in civil society played a key role in the Kenyan freedom struggle, they were soon sidelined when negotiations for independence took shape. Elite party politics took centre stage after 1960 and not even trade unions were represented at the Lancaster constitution conferences. Against this background of elite party politics, the process of independence was hastened and KANU took over power after trouncing KADU in the series of elections that prepared the country for self-rule. The third phase of development of civil society in Kenya is marked by the era of independence up to the time when multiparty politics were legalized in 1992.

Although the then government distanced itself from the aspirations of the Mau Mau freedom army that symbolized popular sentiments about African self determination, it at the same time allowed associational life in civil society to thrive in so far as it was not directly opposed to the presidential authority. (Barkan, 1984). The case of harambee self help and how it played a role in organizing the arena in which peasants met and bargained with their representatives has been cited by among others Kanyinga (1979) and Bratton (1982). Other scholars observe that civil society was highly constricted during this period except where it served the interests of the state. The case of Gikuyu, Embu, Meru Association (GEMA) has been cited as an example of a forum in civil society where decisions affecting the entire country were made and implemented by the government (Kanyinga 1994). It is however observed that a wide range of associational life in form of trade unions, church based organizations, women associations and professional societies were allowed to flourish. These associations served as counterweights to the state and fostered a process of mutual bargaining and accommodation between the government and the civil society (Barkan, 1998) Indeed, the first post independence political regime in Kenya allowed some degree of autonomy to civil society organizations which in turn served to widen the social base as well as to provide the regime with legitimacy. But even then, these associations were allowed to flourish in so far as their activities were not explicitly political or directly opposed to the political authority, (Holmsquit et al 1994, Leys 1975, Barkan 1998).

However after 1978, associational life became highly constricted beginning with the proscription of all ethnic associations in 1978. These associations that served as the

constituencies within which regional and local leaders met and bargained with the electorate and through which state resources were channeled to the members were proscribed thus denying the public the fora in which they could meet and bargain with their leaders. The state further sought to dominate society through the ruling party KANU. The party was used to co-opt and incorporate associations in civil society (Bratton 1987; Henning and Schill, 1993). The harambee self help was co-opted wholesale and the student's organization of the University of Nairobi (SONU) and the Matatu Owners Association were de-registered. Central Organization of Trade Unions (COTU) and Maendeleo ya Wanawake were co-opted into KANU.

The Government-NGO relations soured during this period as the government sought to control the activities of NGOs using the NGO Coordination Act of 1990. The move to control the activities of NGOs and the responses from the NGO sector have been widely documented in the literature (Ndegwa, 1993; Yaansha, 1995; Mbatia, 1996). Although NGOs managed to secure significant alterations in the original act through lobbying of the state and donor organizations, the Government NGO relations in Kenya have been viewed as hostile with each competing with the other.

The fourth phase of development of civil society corresponds with the period of plural politics in Kenya over the 1990s. This period is marked by a high proliferation of civil organizations society to the socio-political arena. During the 1990s NGOs featured prominently in provision of social services and development as the Kenyan State ceded more space with the adoption of structural adjustments programmes. NGOs also featured

prominently in calls for the reform of the state in the period immediately preceding and after the introduction of multiparty politics in Kenya in 1992. NGOs have emerged as important players in the ongoing constitutional reform debate and representing interests of some marginalised groups in society. It is however observed that despite the documentation of the activities of NGOs in relation to good governance in Kenya by among others Ngunyi and Cowen (1997), Ndegwa, (1996); Kanyinga, (1995); Ndegwa, (1993); and Ngunyi, (1997). The actual behavior of NGOs in relation to good governance remains ambivalent. The factors that determine the differential involvement of NGOs in the activities aimed at fostering good governance have not been clearly delineated.

2.4 Contributions of NGOs to good governance in Kenya.

NGOs are private, voluntary, non profit making organizations constituted outside the realm of government with the purpose of contributing to development and alleviating human suffering through providing emergency relief, education and publicity on matters of development, supporting production projects and other needed social services (Streeten 1987; Ndegwa, 1993; Ng'ethe and Kanyinga, 1992). NGOs are formed by members to cater for their welfare interests but others are constituted as formal organizations voluntarily formed to help other people different from those constituting them. (Nge'the and Kanyinga, 1992). Actors within the NGO sector in Kenya include national and international secular organizations, religious based organizations and self help associations and groups.

The development of NGOs in Kenya is traced back to the voluntary efforts in the traditional African society in which values and norms of communication, mutual sharing and responsibility provided the basis of social organization. These values were made effective through the system of African extended family and kinship. (Bratton, 1987) But organized voluntary organizations emerged with the colonial government's neglect of African welfare and development. The church missions and voluntary groups in the form of ethnic associations and harambee self help like the independent school movement of 1950s played a key voluntary role in the colonial society. (Kanyinga, 1998; Bratton, 1987) Organizations such as the National Christian Council (today the NCCK) were constituted around the objectives of rehabilitating Second World War victims besides spreading the gospel.

In independent Kenya, secular NGOs with the objectives of providing relief, education and health services especially in rural Kenya came into being. NGOs like the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) and Maendeleo ya Wanawake started featuring in development at this time. International organizations like the Co-operation of American Relief Everywhere (CARE) started its operations in Kenya focusing on relief and development. The NGO sector in Kenya had expanded from around 120 NGOs in the late 1970s to an estimated 400 by the year 1988 (Nge'the and Kanyinga, 1992:13; Bratton, 1987:5) It is estimated that by the year 1998, Kenya had over 1000 registered NGOs (Daily Nation Feb 14 1990), the highest number in sub-Saharan Africa. Further, the number of self-help groups is estimated to stand at 20,000 organizations. (African Women Network 1994: 154) The high growth in the number of NGOs in Kenya has been attributed to many factors among them, the harambee self help spirit, the significantly peaceful environment that is favorable to their operation, and

the increased availability of donor funds as well as the strategic position of Kenya in the Eastern and Central Africa region.

NGOs have been pushed to the centre stage of Africa's development discourse in the face of the waning legitimacy of the state and, more specifically, its reduced capability to initiate development and provide needed social services (Clark, 1991; African Women Network, 1994). They have been viewed as effective in filling development gaps left by the centralized government approaches and because they engage in micro level development activities that involve people in the grassroots (Streeten, 1987; Bratton, 1987). NGOs have been seen to utilize cost-effective and flexible methods of development operation (Ng'ethe and Kanyinga, 1992) and as being well placed to lobby governments to change policies that have been identified to have adverse effects on the poor and the marginalised. Their capability to forge international and local networks places them in a strategic position to pressure governments and to gather and disseminate important data on how the present crisis affects the poor (Clark, 1991).

Due to the perceived importance of NGOs in development, they have attracted substantial amounts of funding from western countries and other donors including the World Bank. Bratton (1987:5) observes that, "overall aid levels have declined in the years after 1980 but the official bilateral assistance channeled through international NGOs have more than tripled, from $ 33 million in 1973 to 1.8 billion in 1983." In 1989, NGOs transferred a total of 6.4 billion dollars to the southern counties, about 12 percent of all western aid received (African Women Network, 1994:164, Clark, 1991:47)

The contributions of NGO sector to Kenya's development are well documented. African Woman Development Network (1994:172) observes that "NGOs in Kenya have substantial input to national socio-economic development in many sector." Nge'the (1979: 32) estimates that harambee projects contribute up to 30 to 40 per cent of the total capital formation in rural Kenya. The Ministry of Economic Planning has estimated that between 30 to 40 percent of Kenya's development is provided by NGOs (Republic of Kenya 1994).

NGOs have come to the centre stage of governance debate in Africa at time when scholars have been looking for ways through which democratic transitions taking place in the continent can be sustained. These scholars have observed that opposition parties in Africa are weak and ridden with parochial, ethnic, clientilist and elite interests (Olukoshi, 1998). They also observe that African governments are still well placed to channel their hegemony against their political opponents (Bratton and Wale, 1992, Mkandawire 1996). Further they observe that African opposition politics have failed in ensuring popular participation in Africa's politics. These authors have therefore seen the future of African politics in retrenching the state and creating ample conditions for the growth of vibrant civil society (Bratton and Rothchild 1992; Bujra, 1997, Nxumalo, 1997, Sklar, 1986; Munslow and Williams, 1990) The view in this school of thought is that effective governance cannot take root in Africa devoid of institutional pluralism, communal empowerment and popular participation.

Civil society will therefore lead, in pluralizing the socio-political space as well as in ensuring free association of citizens in voluntary organizations and strengthening popular

participation. NGOs have been identified as key actors who are well placed to play this vanguard role in civil society. The activities of NGOs in Kenya have diversified in the 1990s, a period in which a marked proliferation of NGOs in the socio- political arena has been witnessed. NGOs are increasingly moving from the traditional tasks of philanthropy and welfare provision to more radical areas of advocacy and pressuring government. NGOs like the African Network for Prevention and Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect (ANPCAN) have featured prominently in creating awareness on children rights and lobbying government to institute appropriate policy and legislation to protect children from abuse. Women organizations like the Women Political Caucus, International Commission of Women Jurist and the National Council of Women have emerged advocating for women rights and political emancipation. NGOs have also featured in research and dissemination of information related to policy and Action. NGOs like Action aid and African Medical Research Foundation (AMREF) have featured in campaigns towards alleviation of poverty in Kenya. NGOs have featured prominently in the ongoing democratization process especially in the 1990s. NGOs like the Law society of Kenya (LSK), National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK), the Green Belt movement, the Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC) and others featured prominently in the clamor for the legalization of multiparty politics in Kenya between 1988 and 1991. At around 1990 NGOs organized to resist the NGO Co-ordination Act, a legislation that was introduced to enable Kenya government to control the activities of the voluntary sector. Within the same period, a pressure movement in the name of Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD) was able to rally cross-sectional and popular support to pressure the Kenya government to formalize the practice of multiparty politics

NGOs have also featured prominently in the ongoing constitutional review process in Kenya. These include such organizations as the National Convention Executive Committee (NCEC), Centre for Governance and Development (CGD) and the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) that have played a significant role in setting the constitutional reform process moving through organizing public protest as well as forums calling for more transparent and people controlled constitutional reform process. NGOs also played a significant role in civic education in Kenya during the 1992 and 1997 general elections. In carrying out this task, NGOs enjoyed enormous support from various Church groupings in the country including the Catholic Church, the Church of Province of Kenya (CPK) the Presbyterian Church of East Africa (PCEA) and key leaders among the clergy.

Significant documentation of the activities of NGOs in promoting good governance in Kenya has been done in the literature. (Ndegwa, 1996; Fowler, 1991; Mutunga, 1998, Ngunyi and Cowen 1997, Ngunyi 1995) These authors agree that although there is a potential for NGOs playing a vanguard role in the civil society in Kenya, they have hitherto not successfully done so in the short run. There is need for an evaluation of strategies of different organizations in fostering good governance regardless of their ideological stand. There is also need for further examination of the behavior of NGOs in the liberalized state especially in the 1990's after the repeal of section 2A of the Kenyan constitution with a view to establishing the new locus of government - NGO relations and the influence of NGOs in fostering good governance.

2.5 NGO-Government Relations

The relations between governments and NGOs have been viewed as an important dimension of state-society relations. The approaches the governments adopt in dealing with organized and unorganized interests have the implication of determining whether these interests will emerge as active forces in civil society. (IDS University of Sussex, Ford Foundation 1998:13). The approaches adopted by governments towards NGOs will influence the capability of these organizations to stick to their set missions as well as the amount of space available to them in carrying out their activities.

The Kenya government-NGO relations have been viewed as difficult to delineate because they have kept changing with political regimes. The colonial government remained suspicious and hostile to both organized and unorganized interests among Africans. It therefore sought to constrict the space for voluntary associations through use of legislation and force especially where the associations' goals were political. (Hyden 1983) The independent Kenya government especially before 1978 adopted a laizzasfaire attitude towards a associations in civil society. The government never developed an explicit policy on facilitating the growth of civil society although it recognized the contributions of non-state actors to development. Before 1978, the government never sought to constrict the space for associational life in so far as the activities of the sector did not directly challenge the executive authority of the state (Barkan, 1998; Ngethe, 1979, Hyden, 1983).

But since the late 1970s, the government of Kenya through the ruling party KANU sought to dominate society and to enfeeble the civil space In the late 1970s, the government started by banning all ethnic associations denying their constituents the arena in which they formalized their collective bargaining for state resources with their leaders. In the 1980s, there was intensified interference with associations in civil society. The Kenya Farmers Association was forced to re-organize as Kenya Grain Growers Co-operative Union. The Kenya Organization of Trade Unions (COTU) and Maendeleo ya Wanawake organization were co-opted into the ruling party. The Student Organization of the University of Nairobi (SONU) was banned (see Henning and Schill, 1993). In the 1990, the government sought to control the activities of the NGO sector through the NGO Co-ordination Act, (Yaansah, 1995; Ndegwa, 1996).

Efforts at co-ordinating the voluntary sector in Kenya however did not start in 1990. Earlier on, the independent government had sought to control and co-ordinate the activities of NGOs through the Kenya National Council of Social services (KNCSS). But the council lacked legal authority and institutional capacity to co-ordinate the activities of NGOs (Bratton, 1989:12-17). Consequently, co-ordination of NGOs remained haphazard as different government departments controlled sections of the NGO sector. The NGO Co-ordination Act was however passed by parliament in 1990 as law. Instead of emerging as a mechanism to coordinate NGOs, it was shaped to monitor and control the activities of the sector. The act provided for the establishment of the NGO Co-ordination Board with statutory authority to determine registration and circumstances of de-registration of NGOs as well as that of monitoring the activities of the sector. NGOs felt that the restrictions placed on them by the

act were very stringent and through lobbying managed to have certain parts of the act amended. But the NGO co-ordination Board remained with powers to determine registration and de-registration as well as to monitor the activities of the NGO sector on behalf of the state. NGOs were allowed to establish their own umbrella body the National Council of NGOs through which they were to engage in some form of self-regulation and monitoring.

However, the dominant view in the literature (Yaansah, 1995; Ndegwa, 1996) is that the government-NGO relations have remained hostile since. But it is observed that in the era of multiparty politics in the 1990s, the NGO sector in Kenya has enjoyed rapid expansion as well as diversification in its activities. NGOs have increasingly become involved in political and policy issues in the 1990s. NGOs have also been actively involved in the ongoing constitutional review process and are in fact represented in the constitutional review commission. At the same time some NGOs have continued to co-operate with the government and public officials in their activities. Yet others have remained passive to the issues of governance while still, others have sustained their confrontation with the state. This state of affairs makes it difficult to clearly delineate the current state of government-NGO relations. This study examined this ambiguous state of government-NGO relations with a view to determining how it influences contribution of NGOs to good governance in Kenya.

2.6 Towards a Typology of NGOs

Various categorizations of organizations in the voluntary sector have been attempted in the literature. However, scholars do not agree on the typology NGOs in Africa-including Kenya

have taken. Indeed clear differentiation of the various types of NGOs operating in Kenya is not feasible because, on many occasions, their activities and scope overlap. Further, some organizations in Kenya may not be registered with the NGO Coordination Board and therefore their mission statements are not clear. Importantly, categorization of NGOs is faced with the problem of emerging with a criterion that incorporates NGOs involved in fostering good governance.

Clark (1991:40-41) has categorized NGOs into six groups namely; Relief and welfare agencies, technical innovation organizations, public service contractors, Popular development agencies, Grassroots development organizations and advocacy groups and networks. Although all organizations found in Clarks categorization are represented in the Kenyan voluntary sector, it becomes difficult to place each and every NGO in its right category based on its operations or scope because on any one occasion the activities of an NGO may overlap across the categories with those of others.

Other scholars have grouped them in three categories namely; Indigenous/grassroots oriented/community based organizations (CBOs), which operate at the local level, Umbrella NGOs which operate at national level and regional, and international NGOs which work in conjunction with the other two categories and operate in many countries especially in the south (Bratton, 1987, Nge'the and Kanyinga, 1992; African Women Development Network, 1994; Streeten, 1987). But this categorization is also problematic because for example not all national NGOs work as umbrella organizations. Further activities of NGOs in either of the

categories may overlap. Importantly, none of the two classifications provides us with an effective classification for analyzing NGOs in relation to governance

Thus a good classification of NGOs must be activity based and incorporating the recent development within the voluntary sector where NGOs are increasingly getting involved in activities aimed at fostering good governance. In Kenya some NGOs have come up to explicitly promote good governance. Yet other NGOs have stuck to the traditional work of philanthropy and service delivery while others are still co-operating or are co-opted into the state. The International Classification of Non profit Organizations (ICPLO) which categorize NGOs according to their major activity groups surfaced for this study. The ICPLO classification has come up with eleven major activity groups namely; culture and recreation, education and research, health, social services, environment, development and housing, advocacy, philanthropy, international, religion and finally business or professional (Salmon and Anheier, 1996) This classification has been chosen because its focus on the major activity categories within the voluntary sector enables easy mapping of the NGOs and helps avoid the overlaps that result from the many activities that are normally included in NGOs' mission statements

But one weakness with this classification is that it does not categorize unregistered organizations whose mission statements are not clear. It is however observed that this study was not interested with this group of organizations. This classification also fails to provide for the ambiguous NGOs whose activities are co-opted by the state or those which opt to just remain passive where the issues of governance are concerned. It is however noted that those

NGOs are identified by their other activities and, therefore, they may have emerged in any of the other categories.

2.7   Some Criticisms of NGOs in Development and Governance

Despite the much recognition given to contributions of NGOs in development and governance, scholars have been quick at pointing at their limitations and weaknesses. NGOs have been criticized as having poor co-ordination between them resulting from the decentralized nature and small size of their projects. Poor co-ordination, it is argued, results to duplication and overlap of NGO activities and poor utilization of the much-needed financial resources controlled by NGOs, (Streeten 1987). NGOs have also been criticized for not being accountable to the intended beneficiaries in the face of demands of accountability to donors and at the same time to governments. This point of view holds that there are no mechanisms to ensure that funds given to NGOs are put in to the use for which they were intended. NGOs in Africa have also been criticized of lacking autonomy from the governments and as such not being well placed to clearly pursue their missions including representing the poor and the marginalised groups (Dolan, 1992: 25).

NGOs have further been accused of chasing after new ideas and experiments resulting with incoherence in their projects and a 'supply led development' in which resources chase after project ideas (Clark, 1991:63). Another criticism relates to NGOs dependence on external funding. The view is that NGOs dependence on external funding and their lack of local resource base may turn their programmes from being led by the needs of beneficiaries to

being funding led. As Dolan (1992:25) observes, "... ensuring that satisfactory fund raising systems and systems of accountability to donors are in place may become a higher priority than say, the evaluation of a projects contribution to a broader poverty reduction strategy."

NGOs have also been seen to fail to build proper networks and consortia to further their work. This is as a result of divisions and hostility within the voluntary sector itself which leads to an environment of competition as opposed to collaboration. Decision making within the NGO sector has also been seen to be dominated by local elites with little regard to the participation of the grassroots communities. Further, NGOs have been criticized of harboring parochial, ethnic and partisan interests. In Kenya, Media reports have carried stories about the practice of bad governance within certain NGOs including the failure of their officials to account for organization funds. But even with these criticisms, the continued increase in the number of the NGOs operating in Africa including Kenya's socio-political scene coupled with the increased funding to their activities has sent scholars scrutinizing their activities. In line with this interest, this study set to examine the various factors that determine the effectiveness of NGOs in contributing to good governance in Kenya.

2.8 Theoretical Framework

This study attempts to understand and explain the factors that determine the contribution of NGOs to good governance in Kenya guided by three theoretical approaches. These are the role of NGOs in the civil society perspective, Institutional capacity building for voluntary organizations model and the theory of elite nationalism and ethnicity.

2.9 The role of NGOs in the Civil Society Perspective

The civil society perspective seeks to focus on the role of society in understanding the problems of governance and development in Africa. Rather than pay too much attention on the state as an analytical unit in understanding governance and development crisis, the approach observes that the African State is embedded in society and therefore seeks to focus on the role of the later in shaping the state. It deviates from the state- centric approaches to understanding Africa problems, which were popular in the 1970s and were largely informed by the modernization theory. The modernization theory applied Africa's problems to western experiences in development and therefore proposed that African Countries adopted innovation and models of development and governance similar to those of western states. Specifically, modernization theory emphasized the role of the state in development and governance choosing to ignore people's responses to the state and their role in shaping the State. The civil society perspective seeks to deviate from the modernization paradigm and to focus on the role of the societies in which African states are found in shaping their development and governance. Chazan (1988:3) has underscored the sociological nature of the perspective by observing that it focuses on society's end of state-society relations in Africa

This approach has been used to explain the problems of governance and development in African states by several development scholars (see for instance Bratton and Roth child, 1992, Bratton, 1989; Bujra, 1997; Munslow and William, 1990; Fatton, 1995; Mbatia, 1996; Sandbrook, 1993; Ndegwa, 1996; Azarya, 1988 and Nge'the and Kanyinga, 1992). This

approach observes the failure of the African state in meeting its economic and political obligations to its citizens. It observes that the African state has come to be characterized by the problems of personalized and authoritarian rule, corruption and misappropriation of resources, political instability, inability to provide services and basic infrastructure, inability to ensure security as well as withdrawal of popular forces from active participation in economic and political affairs of these countries. (Nyong'o, 1987; Callaghy, 1986: 35-46, Lemarchard, 1988; 149-153; Oyugi 1992; Amin 1987; Chabal, 1986). In tune with these practices the African state has sought to obstruct efforts at collective association, seeking to dominate civil society and constricting responses from society that could challenge its power monopolizing tendencies (Sandbrook, 1993: 117; Kanyinga, 1996:1).

The state in society perspective as it is also known emerges from these observations and underscores the need for institutionalization of formal democratic politics in Africa through conscious measures for ensuring popular participation in the political process. It specifically recommends that African states cede some socio-political space for non-state actors and that it creates a favorable environment for the blossoming of a vibrant civil society. (Olukoshi, 1998; Bratton and Rothchild, 1992; ; Sklar, 1986; Munslow and William, 1990). Notions of good governance, pluralism democratization and liberalization have come to be central in the talk of reinvigorating the civil society in Africa of course given credibility by the World Bank and other international financial institutions. They have come to be viewed as important requisites to institutionalization of good governance and development in Africa.

The perspective has however landed into difficulties on how to conceptualize civil society in relation to Africa. But following the traditions of Hegel and Tocquiville, civil society has come to be conceptionalised as the arena between the state and the family but within the public realm that is inhabited by a plurality of organized interests in form of associations and movements. These associations include trade unions, professional clubs, business clubs, academic institutions, cultural groupings, community groups, women movements, church related groups, media houses and non-governmental organizations. (See Riddel et al, 1995: 23, 26 Ids – University of Sussex and Ford Foundation, 1994:4; Ngunyi 1993; Gibbon, 1996). Association in civil society must exclude private dimensions of individual and family life, the inward looking activities, parochial interests and organizations that seek to further the interests of the state. They must not seek to totally envelop the lives of their members or monopolize the sphere of collective life of the individuals who constitute them. Civil society organizations must have some political agenda more in opposition to the state or some aspect of society. They must be self-regulating, spontaneously constituted and enjoying some autonomy from the state (See 1995; Howell, 1998).

The civil society perspective underscores the role of non-state actors in development and governance of African states. It specifically views NGOs as key actors within civil society and therefore well placed to promote good governance, democratization and development in Africa. Ng'ethe and Kanyinga (1992) have documented the contributions of NGOs to provision of services in Kenya. The government has also acknowledged the contributions of the third sector (civil society) in the provision of social services (Republic of Kenya 1994). Further, Ngunyi and Cowen (1997) have applauded the contribution of civil society

especially NGOs in agitation for reform and good governance in the period preceding the 1997 general elections in Kenya.

NGOs have been seen as effective in filling development gaps left by the centralized government approaches to development. Their effectiveness has been underscored by their tendency to involve people at the grassroots in their activities and to adopt bottom-up approaches to development. (Streeten, 198, Bratton, 1987). Further, NGOs have been seen to utilize cost effective and flexible methods of development operation (Ngethe and Kanyinga 1992) and to focus their operations in marginalised areas where poor people live. In relation to governance, NGOs have been viewed as effective in lobbying governments to change policies as well as in empowering grassroots communities to advocate for their interests (Ndegwa 1996). NGOs have further been viewed as capable of fostering good governance through participating in public policy and decision making, gathering and disseminating information related to policy and action, monitoring the quality of state performance and taking up the role of advocacy and empowerment in matters of justice, rights and the rule of Law. They have also been viewed as capable of representing the interests of the poor and the marginalised groups.

Due to the perceived advantages of involving NGOs in development and in fostering good governance in Africa, international financial and donor institutions are increasingly channeling more aid through them Clark 1991) This in turn has imbued NGOs with renewed credibility and heightened the vigor of their activities in Africa. This coupled with their continued encroachment on the socio-political space formerly reserved for the Africa

state has not endeared them to African governments. This has sent scholars trying to delineate the nature and form of state - society relations and consequently government - NGOs relations and their implications for institutionalization of good governance and development in Africa.

In this regard, civil society has been seen as poised against the state and challenging it. The civil society and the state relate with each other within a matrix of mutual opposition and interdependence and none can actually exterminate the other. (Falton 1985:67, Baayrat 1986:112). The relations between the Kenyan State and NGOs have been changing, oscillating between hostility, indifference and sometimes mutual co-operation. Azarya (1988) has observed that state-society relations may take the form of the framework of incorporation and disengagement. In incorporation, the society seeks to work with the state and to be involved with it, while in disengagement, the society withdraws from the state and seeks to provide mechanism for its own survival outside the framework of the state. Bratton (1989.12-17) has observed that governments may relate with NGOs within a framework of control, co-ordination and co-operation. By control, he means that the government tries to monitor and restrict the activities of NGOs through legislation and administrative and to ensure that initiatives of NGOs are in tune with national policies and programmes through certain authorities established to co-ordinate their operations. In co-operation the government tries to incorporate NGOs within its organs and framework of operation. The efforts of the Kenya government aimed at controlling the NGOs sector through the NGOs – co-ordination Act of 1990 have been documented by among other authors Ndegwa (1996) and Yaansha (1995). From these observations, the first hypothesis for this study is derived. That the current NGO government relations determine their contribution to good governance.

Indeed the attempts at controlling the NGO sectors by African states have led some critics to focus on the institutional capacities of NGOs and how they impact on their ability to foster good governance and development. These scholars and developmentalists have noted that NGOs especially in Africa are faced with the problem of weak capacities, which undermine their capability to foster good governance and development. They have therefore underscored the need to strengthen institutional capacities within the voluntary sector so as to enable voluntary organizations play a vanguard role in civil society. In this regard, the institutional capacity building approach for voluntary organizations has emerged.

2.10   Institutional capacity building for voluntary organizations model

With the increased recognition of the potential role for non-state actors especially NGOs in development and governance in developing countries, scholars and developmentalists have got concerned with how their activities can best be made to generate sustainable flow of benefits. These scholars observe that increasingly, voluntary organizations are becoming key instruments in managing change and that their activities and experiences are highly influencing development thinking in the countries where they operate. These observations have led to a search for an approach to making voluntary organizations more effective in terms of their management, organization, relations with governments and donors as well as linkages among themselves and the people's organizations. The model that has emerged has focused on ways and means of ensuring institutional effectiveness within the voluntary organizations as well as ensuring conducive external environment for their operations

(OECDE, 1988).   This model recognizes that NGOs work in complex socio-political environments, in situations of scarce resources and unmatched demand for results and impact by beneficiaries, policy makers and donor organizations.   The model also recognizes the diversity and heterogeneity characterizing the voluntary sector and therefore proposes a flexible framework of ensuring as well as assessing effectiveness across organization while at the same time respecting their individuality.

The model further recognizes that voluntary organizations are constantly growing and adapting to different circumstances.   It therefore underscores the need for voluntary organizations to be led by vision, consistent pursuit of clean goals and mission as well as ability to learn from their experience (Clark, 1991, Advisory committee on voluntary foreign Aid, 1988). It therefore provides a framework for assessing organizations progress and management of scarce resources as well as mechanisms through which effectiveness and sustainability of voluntary organizations activities can be ensured. Specifically, the model is concerned with mechanism of ensuring effectiveness in the NGO sector in terms of managing activities with sustainable results and ensuring cost effectiveness in relation to understanding and influencing policy changes.   It recognizes that voluntary organization posses a unique approach to management characterized by loose, informal and highly person centred and flexible organizational structures.   They are resistant to structural planning and use budgeting and cost analysis to frame programme strategies.   They posses an orientation to basing decision making on feelings, intuition, consensus as well as careful analysis of alternative courses of action (Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid, 1988). It is observed in this study that NGOs in Kenya are highly dependent on foreign sources of

funding for their work. That NGOs also lack sufficient capacities to play an effective role in development and governance in the Kenyan society. From this observation, flows the second hypothesis thus; the structures and activities of NGOs impact upon their effectiveness in contributing to good governance in Kenya.

NGOs posses a characteristic strong sensitivity to human needs but also a propensity for internal conflict. That they are characterized by a disjunction between participatory styles of management and the practical demand for structure, hierarchy and clear vision. The model therefore underscores the need for studies and evaluation of organizations in the voluntary sector to focus on these aspects based on acceptable measures and indicators of ensuring and assessing sustainability of their activities.

Importantly, the model underscores the necessity of local affiliations for voluntary organizations achieved through networks and linkages with indigenous organizations. (Riddel *et al.* 1995). It further proposes a framework by which voluntary organizations may interact with governments at all levels. It also looks at the possibility of conflicts within individual organizations as well as between them and underscores the need for constructive joint problem solving mechanism within the voluntary sector (IDS – University of Sussex and Ford Foundation, 1998).

The approach also recognizes the role of the various actors the state, donors and the private sector in facilitating the development of a conducive political, legislative and economic environment for effective working of voluntary organizations. It therefore proposes a

framework by which NGOs can best relate with donors, international financial institutions and governments while at the same time ensuring effective linkages with grass root communities and organizations for sustainable project activity (Riddel *at el*, 1995; Riddlel, 1984).

This approach recognizes the importance of building development capacity in voluntary sector as well as the public service bureaucracy. Wai (1995: 16), citing Coleman, has defined development capacity as "the capacity of creating new and better capacity. It includes in addition the power to create new and enhanced capacity to plan, implement and manipulate new changes as part of the process of achieving new goals... it is ... a creative and not just a survival or 'adoptive' capacity that is the hallmark of developing polity". Coleman's models of capacity building incorporates the practice of good governance indicated by values of accountability, predictability, openness, transparency and the rule of Law.

The elements of capacity according to Coleman are first professionalism which implies standards of behavior at the work place that are goal oriented, merit-based and untainted by personal connections. Secondly, institutional autonomy, which implies the ability of development managers to perform their duties, unhindered by political interference. The third element is managerial effectiveness, which should incorporate quality leadership, mechanisms of managing relations with other agencies and the public as well as developing a constituency of support. The fourth element of institutional capacity is relevance and adaptability. Capacity according to Coleman must be adaptable to changing circumstances. Fifthly, sustainability comes in as an element to ensure that projects initiated survive after the

original funding is withdrawn. Coleman's model incorporates the elements of building an enabling environment for capacity building which include conscious efforts to build a development oriented state, improvement of leadership commitment and governance as well as increased support for civil society (Wai 1995). But even with strong institutional capacities, NGO projects are faced with the problem of being captured by upper and middle class interests and consequently failing to benefit the grassroots sections of society for whom they were intended. Indeed various studies have questioned the ingenuity of NGOs claim to represent the interests of grassroots and marginalised sections of society. These studies observe that elite politics have pervaded the African State and civil society consequently undermining the advancement of popular interests in society. In this regard scholars have pointed at the role of elite politics in undermining democratic politics and entrenching sectarian and ethnic nationalism within states and civil society in Africa.

2.11 The Theory of Elite Nationalism and Ethnicity

The theory examines the role of the African elite group in shaping the politics of ethnicity, partisanship and prebendalism in Africa. This theory emerges from modernization thinking with the basic assumption that the tendency towards homogeneity of wants, lifestyles and material gains that comes with modernization fosters competition among groups and classes especially in the modern sector. The theory therefore postulates that it is the competitor within the modern sphere who experiences the insecurities of rapid change more strongly and therefore the one who seeks the shelter of tribalism. That in the process of maximizing the benefits accruing from modernization 'educated urban elite' organize collective support to better their position in competing for benefits of modernity (Horowitz 1987: 100).

This theory explains the persistence of ethnic consciousness and groups. It posits that ethnic groups persist because of their capacity to extract goods and services from the modern sector hence satisfying the demands for the needs of modernity to their members. That in so far as the political elite delivers these goods to their ethnic constituencies they are assured of ethnic support and loyalty. Other scholars have focused on the role of elite politics in Africa and its implications for governance and nationalism in these states. Richard Joseph (1984:33), discussing the role of elite politics in Nigeria, has observed that "The dual legitimization of prebendal politics in Nigeria has been that an individual's sectional support group should obtain tangible benefits from the formers exploitation of his or her public office... . These expectations constitute normative principles of democratic representation – of both sharing in

the spoils and vicariously rejoicing in the material success of one's kinsfolk among the elite." (Joseph, 1984:33). Joseph's view is that the elite in Africa has mobilized traditional ethnic and kinship identities to support them in the process of accumulation instead of playing a detribalisation role and consequently fostering growth of nationalism.

This approach observes that it is not possible to talk of African nationalism today because of these factors within elite politics. That nationalism in Africa has transformed from an ideology of organization against the colonial forces and unity of Africans to one of service to selfish and parochial interest of the leaders disguised under service to the nation discourses (Solofo, 1996). Solofo argues that the kind of conflict that we see in the African political scene today is a manifestation of the competition between different elite groups. That in this competition, the African elite have subsequently declared themselves to be the voice of the people. That increasingly the elite are transforming their organizations into breeding grounds for different kinds of nationalism. Ethnicity emerges in its politicized form as one among the many means employed by political entrepreneurs as a tool for ascending to power.

Within the civil society discourse in Africa today, scholars are increasingly getting concerned with how elite civil societies are masquerading as representatives of the interests of the popular forces. Fatton (1995) has delineated the class divisions that pervade the African civil society. He observes that in Africa, civil society is divided into the predatory, quasi bourgeoisie and popular civil societies. According to Fatton, it is the predatory and quasi bourgeoisie civil societies that dominate the private sphere and seek to benefit from the expansion of private property rights. But in doing so they are afraid of depriving their

constituents of prebendal resources from the state and therefore seek to shape the growth of civil society as an arena where they unleash their hegemony. On the other hand the predatory class seeks to use the civil society to maintain the old system. On the other hand the middle classes use their positions in associational life in civil society to acquire status and power and money as they are excluded from the accumulating class in the state. Although the middle class supports the minimal state with constitutionalism, it does so in so far as it does not stand to loose materially from economic restructuring. Otherwise they stand to abandon the project as soon as it does not give them prosperity in the market. The fact that civil society politics in Africa are highly dominated with elitism and ethnic factors have been observed by other scholars: (Mutunga, 1984; Maina and Katumanga, 1988:66 and Burjtenhuis and Rijnierse, (1993). The view among these scholars is that the project of democratization and governance in Africa in highly undermined by the persistence of elite politics and the accompanying dimensions of ethnic identities. That civil society itself is faced with divisions emanating from elite competition and interests and therefore weakened. From these observations the third hypothesis for the study is derived; the character of NGOs in terms of memberships, interests, autonomy, self-regulation, spontaneity, representation and voluntariness impact upon their effectiveness in representing the civil society.

The three approaches ultimately guided the study in examining the role of NGOs in fostering good governance in Kenya. More specifically they guided the study in investigating the character of NGOs, state-NGO relations, structures and activities of NGOs, elite practices within NGOs and how these impact on NGOs contribution to good governance in Kenya.

CHAPTER III

Methodology

The importance of the methods used to obtain and analyze data in any research enterprise need not be overstated. In this chapter, the different methods utilized in data collection, data analysis and the problems encountered are presented.

3.1   The Study Area

The proposed study will be carried out in Nairobi province in Kenya. Nairobi has been chosen for this study because of two reasons. First, it houses the headquarters of most Non-Governmental Organizations in Kenya. Secondly, most of the activities of the civil society, especially the ones focused on improving governance in Kenya have taken place in Nairobi. It is in Nairobi where the presence of the civil society including NGOs has been felt most. Related to this is the fact that even those activities that have been carried out in other areas have been planned and executed mainly by the staff from the headquarters of organizations in Nairobi (that is, activities like voter education, election monitoring, mass action, women empowerment seminars and constitutional review forums.)

Nairobi is the capital city of Kenya. It houses the headquarters of all government agencies and most private corporations. The city is estimated to cover an area of 648 sq. km with an approximate population of 2.4 million people (Kenya population census 1979).

The city of Nairobi has eight administrative divisions, viz., Dagoretti, Kibera, Central, Westlands, Pumwani, Makadara, Embakasi and Kasarani. The city can also be compartmentalized into three zones, namely the industrial area, the Central Business District and the residential areas. Nairobi is bordered on all sides by the following provinces: Central, Eastern and Rift Valley. The study covered eight administrative divisions depending on where selected NGOs were based.

3.2   Methods of Data Collection

The study utilized three main methods of data collection.

3.3   Survey Method

The study employed a survey design in determining the main category of respondents for this study mainly utilizing the stratified random sampling technique. The technique utilized in data collection under this method saw largely in-depth interviews.

3.3.1   In-depth Interviews

In-depth interviews were conducted with staff and leaders of Non Governmental Organizations. An interview schedule with open and closed-ended questions was utilized for this purpose. The interview schedule was used to gather information relating to the contributions of NGOs in promoting good governance in Kenya. More specifically it focused on issues of institutional capacities within NGOs, their character, constitution, activities, their

relations with the government as their linkages with grass-root communities and donors. Attention was also given to the practice of accountability and good governance within individual NGOs as well as their autonomy from the state and donors. Questions in the interview schedule were organized in such a way as to generate answers that could be presented as summary statistics comparably. Open-ended questions were also widely used to crosscheck consistency and reliability of responses.

3.4   Qualitative Methods

The qualitative method utilizing less structured rigour and purposive selection of respondents was utilized in collecting supplementary data for the study. Using this method, key leaders of NGOs were purposively selected and key informant interviewing technique utilized in collecting data for the study.

3.4.1   Key informant interviews

Key informant discussions were conducted with people who are especially knowledgeable on the operations of the NGO sector in relation to governance. Purposive sampling techniques were utilized to identify key informants. Key informants were specifically targeted to provide primary data related to the practice of good governance within the NGO sector, NGO constitution in terms of membership, voluntariness, interests, representation and autonomy. They were also targeted to provide data on the contributions of NGOs to good governance in Kenya. A key informant is usually a person who is extensively knowledgeable in the topic of the researcher's interest. He or she is expected to be a person whose views represent those of the larger community or a segment of the community or group being studied. Key informants for this study were drawn from chief executive of the NGO Council, NGO Co-ordination

Board and leading donor and local civil society organizations as well as chief officers in the provincial administration.

3.5   Use of Secondary Data.

Secondary sources of data acted as a major source of information for the study.

Before embarking on a research fieldwork, a thorough review of the literature and content analysis of books, journals, newspaper reports, NGO brochures and other documents was done. This activity aimed at examining the issues emerging in relation to NGOs contribution to good governance especially in relation to their structures and activities, linkages to grassroots communities and government-NGO relations.

Information gathered through these secondary methods was further beefed up with a review of NGO reports, constitutions and publications about some areas of special interest to this study especially internal governance within NGOs.

3.5.1   Literature Review

Before embarking in the research fieldwork, a thorough review of the existing literature, mainly books and journals was conducted. Information generated from the literature review was utilized largely in generating gaps and hypothesis of the study.

3.5.2   Content Analysis of Documents.

Content analysis of newspaper reports, NGO reports, NGO brochures and other relevant documents was conducted in the course of the study. Data generated through this technique

supplemented the information collected through other methods and was used to validate and cross check responses.

3.6   Sampling Procedures

The study utilized both random and non-random methods in the selection of the sample. Random methods were utilized in selection of survey respondents.

A register of all the NGOs registered in Kenya is available at the National Council of NGOs. This register of NGOs provided the sampling frame for this study. A sampling frame is the actual list of sampling units from which the sample or some stage of the sample is selected (Babbie 1995:194). From the register, a list of NGOs based in Nairobi province was prepared. From this list that acted as the sampling frame, the researcher selected NGOs, their leaders and staff included in the study sample. Stratified random sampling was used to select the sample of respondents.

At one stage, NGOs on the list were stratified according to their major activity based on the International Classification of Non – profit making Organizations (see Salomon and Anheier, 1996). The major activity groups included were culture and recreation, education and research, health, social services, environment, development and housing, advocacy, philanthropy, international, religious and business or professional organizations. There were eleven strata in total. Two NGOs were randomly selected from each stratum. Further, because the NGOs directly involved in promoting good governance through advocacy or pressure activities were few, another two organizations were randomly allocated to this stratum. This was to enable comparison between the organizations in the this stratum and all

the others in the sample that are either in service delivery, recreation or other interests but are not directly involved in promoting good governance.

At the organization level, a list of staff was used to stratify the staff according to three strata based on their rank in the organization. The strata included top management, middle level staff and lower cadre staff. From the first stratum covering the management, one leader (probably the most senior) was picked randomly to act as a respondent from each of the organizations. From the other two strata, middle level and lower cadre personnel respondents were selected randomly. Non random method was utilized in selection of key informants for the study. Key informants were identified purposively. The key informants were expected to be people with a lot of knowledge about the operations of the NGO sector. These included officials from the NGO council, NGO co-ordination Board and key leaders in civil society.

3.7   Sizes and Composition of the Sample

The study interviewed a total of 149 respondents.

The sample of the study comprised of respondents drawn from 24 Non Governmental Organizations. The 24 NGOs were selected when factors of resource and time limitations as well as the need for accuracy were considered. A pool of respondents was drawn from each of the organizations selected based on three strata-namely; top management, middle level and lower cadre staff. One respondent, preferably the NGO leader was drawn from the top-level stratum making a total of 24 respondents. This number of respondents was selected because it was felt that views of respondents in the top ranks of the organizations would not differ significantly and the fact that this population of staff in any organization was most the

lowest. The opinions and views given by these 24 respondents were viewed as sufficient in enabling comparison between this category of staff in NGOs and the other categories- middle level and lower cadre in relation to the role of NGOs in fostering good governance in Kenya.

The middle level stratum, which comprised of all staff below the executive ranks and above the junior cadre was allocated 60 respondents. This is because it was felt that more divergent opinions were represented in this category of staff ranking and the fact that majority of the staff in most NGOs fell within this level. It was felt that allocating this strata more respondents would ensure increased representation.

The lower cadre stratum was again allocated 50 respondents. This is because it was felt that staff concentration in this ranking in most organizations was low. Total number of the respondents drawn for the structured interviews came to 134.

Further, 15 key informants were purposively drawn from the NGO council, key leaders in civil society, NGO co-ordination board and major donor organizations. These provided additional qualitative data on the behavior of non-governmental organizations in relation to governance generally.

3.8 Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis has been defined as that which the researcher seeks to understand. The unit can be a school, an organization, an individual, a household, et cetera (Babbie, 1995). The study has the individual Non -Governmental Organization selected as the unit of

analysis. Leaders of the organizations and selected staff and key informants provided the observation units.

3.9   Operational Definitions of Key Concepts and Variables

Concepts

Governance and 'good' governance

Governance is defined as "the sum of interactions between governments and civil society" and good governance as "broadly the array of practices which maximize the common/public good" (IDS-University of Sussex, Fond Foundation, 1998:2) Good governance in this study is therefore be used to refer to those practices within civil society or NGOS that are aimed at ensuring accountability, trust, reciprocity as well as the ones aimed at grounding the legitimacy of the governors, promoting pluralism, ensuring popular participation and joint problem solving in society as practiced within the NGO sector. It also includes practices to promote the observance of law and order, promote involvement of people in decision making, promote membership to associations in civil society and promote the interests of the poor and marginalized groups in society.

Activities

This referred to the actions employed by the organization to enable it achieve its objectives e.g. education, mobilization, service provision, lobbying e.t.c

Government- NGO relations

This refers to the approaches the government generally or some representatives of the government employ in dealing with organized interests in the voluntary sector and the kind if interaction that results there from between the two. More specifically, it refers to the various instances of encounter between governments and NGOs and the climate of feeling that prevails during and after the encounters. The interactions may be confrontational, indifferent, less confrontational, friendly etc.

Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

These are private, voluntary non-profit making organizations constituted outside the government for the purpose of contributing to development and alleviating human suffering through providing emergency relief, education, publicity on matters of development and governance, supporting production projects and other needed social services. In the proposed study, the term refers to those organizations that have these attributes and are formally registered with the National Council of NGOs or the NGO Co-ordination Board in Kenya.

Independent Variables

Structures

These referred to the hierarchy of organization strategies as well as the values and principles that are employed in pursuing a voluntary organization's of its objectives. They may include

some or more of the following elements; management practices, networks and linkages with other organizations and grassroots communities, relations with the public and the government, human resource orientation, activities as demonstrated by actions employed by the organizations, government, NGO relations as seen in the encounters between government and NGO's and allocation of resources to activities as seen by study respondents.

Dependent Variables

Effectiveness (of NGOs fostering to good governance)

This refers to the ability of NGOs to contribute in fostering good governance. It specifically refers to the extent to which NGOs have successfully disseminated and promoted practices aimed at achieving the goals of common public good in society through their strategies and actions.

Performance (of NGOS in representing the civil Society)

This refers to the ability of NGOs to act as organizations in civil society. It is specifically indicated by the extent to which the attributes of broad membership, autonomy from the state and donors, formation of NGO from below (Spontaneity), self regulation within individual NGOs and the sector, voluntariness of membership to individual organizations and representation of interests of grassroots communities e.t.c are present within individual NGOs and the NGO sector and are perceived to impact on practices of good governance in society.

3.10   Data Analysis Procedures

The study utilized the statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) computer program in organization and analysis of quantitative data. Inferential and descriptive statistics were utilized to present data relating to the factors determining the contributions of NGOs to good governance. The analysis and presentation of data from key informant discussions was purely qualitative.

Descriptive statistics and qualitative analysis and presentation of data methods were chosen because of the high cost and rigorous tests and measures required in this kind of investigation and because the study is mainly an exploratory one.

All the data gathered from the field was taken through a process of scrutiny by which errors, omissions and amorphous categorizations were examined. Coding of all questions was then done resulting with a codebook that showed all the variables and the values to be worked out. Analysis of data was achieved via the use of computer loaded with Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) programme. The SPSS program was used because it allows more flexibility in data formatting and also provides one with a wide ranging set of procedures for data transformation as well as providing the researcher with a variety of statistical routines commonly employed in social sciences.

After coding, raw data was entered into the computer using the SPSS program and the required statistics were derived, viz.; frequencies, percentages and mean distributions of the data

Further analysis of the data was accomplished through inferential statistics namely the scaling methods of Likert type. Likert scale is one example of scales known as summated rating scales. These are scales in which respondents' scale is determined by summing the number of questions answered in a particular way. (Monette *et al* 1990:372). Likert scale uses a criterion based on the fact that the aim is for the scale items to discriminate among people. The Likert scale is used with two ranges of acceptance and rejection. The number of responses on each item is placed in cells comprising a scale of favorable and unfavorable responses. Then the responses on each item are scored based on the opinion of the respondents on a favorable and unfavorable scale. All item scores on each side of the scale are then summed to show the total score of respondents on all items. The total scores on each range of opinion are then used to calculate the cell representation (cell rep) of each opinion as a proportion of the possible total scores per cell.

Cell rep (%) = <u>actual score</u> X 100

                      total number of

                      possible responses

Cell rep percentage is used to show people opinions in acceptance or rejection of the object of attitudes being measured.

3.11 Problems Experienced in the Field

The study objectives were achieved through the utilization of secondary and primary data source. Generalizations about the factors affecting the role of NGOs in fostering good governance was largely made possible by the effectiveness of the methods of data collection employed. However a myriad of problems were experienced in the process of data collection.

Difficulties were experienced in accessing the NGO officials for interviews. Many of them had tight schedules and mobile routines, which did not provide the researcher with an easy time in managing to secure interviews. Consequently, many trips were made to organizations before interviews could be secured. As a result, the fieldwork took longer than expected.

NGO officials also lacked basic information about their organizations' programmes like overall budgets and proportions allocated to activities that are directed at fostering governance. Identifying organization offices and places of operation after selecting them in the sample also proved difficult. Many organizations would have changed their offices and sometimes addresses and others would have wound up. However, this was overcome through intensified inquiries in other organizations and umbrella bodies like NGO council about the locations of the missing organizations. The organizations that had wound up or whose offices could not be traced were replaced though a process of repeated sampling within the categories in which they fell.

There were problems of lack of response about some issues like organizational budgets and internal governance of organizations especially by management. This problem hampered generalizations about important areas of analysis in the study. Funds allocated to the fieldwork were also inadequate because the repeated trips to offices cost higher than initially estimated. This was compounded by the fact that the fieldwork took far much longer time (8 months) than the planned three months.

CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS

Findings presented and analyzed in this section were obtained from 24 NGOs based in Nairobi Kenya. These organizations fell in the activity categories used in the International Classification of NGOs (ICPNO) (Salmen and Anhier 1996). These activity categories include: culture and recreation, education and research, health and social services, environment, development and housing, advocacy, philanthropy, international, religion and business and professional. From the 24 organizations, the study drew 134 respondents who were interviewed using structured interview schedules with open and closed ended questions. The study further interviewed 15 key informants, individuals well placed in the NGO sector perceived to be knowledgeable about the operations of NGOs. Information on respondent's background is provided below.

4.1   Respondents Background information

There were 68 (50.7%) male respondents and 66 (49.3%) female. There were more males interviewed than females, although this does not reflect the sex distribution in the population, it shows that more males than females are represented in the organizations sampled. The number of females was also significantly high. This may also be explained by the fact that NGOs have a likelihood of giving attention to gender factors in employment. Being leading propagators of the ideology of gender equality, NGOs are more likely to encourage employment of women at relatively equal proportions with men

Of the total number of respondents interviewed, 74 (55.2%) were married while 49 (36.9%) were single. Only 11 (8.2%) were either separated divorced or widowed. This shows that the number of people in marital relationships was significantly high with the single 36.6% probably either being in their youthful ages or early adulthood in which case they would be preparing to enter into marital relationships. A good majority, 122 (91.0%) of the respondents were of Kenyan nationality with only 10 (7.5%) being other nationalities for example American, Tanzanian, Somalia e.t.c. This showed that NGOs mostly employed locals as their staff despite quite a significant number of them being international or originating from other countries. Majority of the respondents interviewed 51 (41%) were young adults falling between the age category of 20-30 years while those in the age category of 30 - 40 comprised 18.2% of the sample respondents. Respondents aged above 41 years comprised 39% of the total sample.

Protestants were more represented in the sample with 57 (42.5%) of the respondents being Protestant believers. Catholic adherents came second with 47 (35.1%) representation while Muslim adherents were 18 (13.4%). Only 10 (7.5%) of the respondents claimed to belong to other religions (e.g. Hindu, Sikhism, etc) or not to belong to any religion. This shows that the NGO sector is rife with participation of all religious adherents and these were well represented in the study sample.

Majority of the respondents showed high levels of education attainment with *inter-alia* 77 (57.5%) having attained university education and 42 (31.3%) college education. A small

number 15 (11.1%) had attained upto or below secondary school education. These findings showed that NGOs in Kenya have managed to attract highly qualified personnel which may point to their ability to competitively remunerate their human resources or to the fact that NGOs in Kenya are increasingly emphasizing professionalism in their work. The above factors are also reinforced by the state of unemployment that is characteristic of the contemporary Kenyan situation. Many well-qualified people are currently unemployed and this make NGOs attract part of these as the demand for formal employment is high outmatching the opportunities available. High professionalism in the NGO sector is an important attribute because it could strengthen NGO leadership, management and design of programmes. High professionalism is important in promoting skilled policy analysis in the process of fostering good governance.

A majority of the respondents 48 (35.8%) were earning over Ksh. 40,000. While 34 (25.4%) were earning between Ksh. 10,000 and 20,000. 25 (18.7%) of the respondents earned between Ksh. 20,000 and 30,000 and 14 (10.4%) earned between Ksh. 30,000 and 40,000. Thus many of the NGO employees were fairly well remunerated by any general local standards. Only 12 (9.0%) were earning below Ksh. 10,000. These levels of earnings may explain why employees of NGOs interviewed happened to possess high education attainment with the majority having attained university education. It also points to the amount of development resources in terms of finances that are controlled by NGOs. High remuneration of staff means that the organizations have adequate finances to support their operations. However it may also have the implications of depleting resources meant for use in

influencing change in the lives of grassroots communities especially where the numbers of staff being remunerated are generally high.

In terms of rank, 50 (37.3%) of the respondents perceived their positions in their organizations to be junior, 33 (24.6%) perceived themselves to fall in the management Cadre and 29 (21.6%) classified themselves as middle level staff. Only 22 (16.4%) perceived themselves to be executives in the organizations in which they worked. This distribution of respondents by rank was as the study had targeted in the sampling procedure.

A majority, 59 (44.0%) respondents had worked in their organizations for between 3-5 years, 45 (56%) had worked for 2 years or less while 16 (11.9%) had worked in their organizations for between 6 and 8 years. Only 14 (10.4%) had worked in their organizations for a period exceeding 8 years. Thus, majority of the respondents had worked with their organizations long enough to have known how their organizations operated and therefore were in a position to make a statement about some aspects of their work. Indeed, the study had targeted to interview only those respondents who had been in their organizations for a period of two years or more and only those organizations that had been in operation for a period of at least two years. The study also established many characteristics in the organizations studied.

4.2   Organizational characteristics

Majority of the respondents 52 (38.8%) were drawn from very large organizations (employing up to 33 staff and above) while 45 (33.6%) came from small organizations

(employing up to 16 people). A small proportion, 23 (17.2%) of the respondents were drawn from very small organizations (employing up to 8 people) while only 14 (10.4%) of the respondents were drawn from organizations employing up to 25 people perceived as medium sized in this study. Thus the study pulled respondents from different sizes of organization although the sizes of organization *perse* cannot tell one much about their role in fostering good governance. The study proceeded to examine legal and other forms of organizations studied.

4.3   Organization Legal and Other Forms

The study was also interested in understanding how the organizations are constituted. The way the organizations are constituted tells us much about their decision making base and the kind of structures they are likely to adopt in the course of their work. In this regard, the study set to establish the extent to which the organizations were membership based. A big proportion, 78 (58.2%) of the respondents said that their organizations did not allow for any type of membership while 56 (41.8%) said their organizations allowed for one type of membership or the other. This shows that NGOs are not all inclusive in terms of membership. Citizens cannot join them at will, which raises questions about their ability to represent the popular forces in their agenda. If membership to associations in civil society is closed or limited, then people and especially the grassroots people lack space within which to forward their agendas through such collectivities. However, most respondents 62 (46.3%) classified their organization as corporate voluntary (which means nonprofit corporate) while 17 (12.7%) categorized their organizations as private. Only 5 (3.6%) placed their

organizations as trade unions a corporate public. This means that most of the respondents were drawn from organizations that are classified as voluntary, non-profit and whose operations and registration is regulated by the NGO Coordination Act of the Constitution of Kenya. These organizations are founded on values of voluntarism, altruism, emergency relief and development (Streeten 1987) and are the ones which have been at the forefront of agitating for good governance and democratization in Kenya (Ndegwa 1996). The findings on organization forms were confirmed through a review of their documents including mission statements. Most of them were constituted as NGOs through the NGO registration act and very few were open to membership. Those which allowed for membership were mostly trade unions or professional bodies. Their membership was found to be restricted to people who worked in sectors of their interest or had certain professional qualifications. A few were also constituted as private companies with limited liability but were operating as NGOs. It is notable that even those NGOs which perceived to be local grassroots organizations did not have open membership.

4.4   Scope of NGO Operations

A review of NGO documents indicated that majority of the organizations were national. However even many of these had projects in only one or two regions of the country although they expressed a desire to expand their operations in future. A small proportion of NGOs described their operations as regional while three organizations defined their operation scope as international. This finding was collaborated with data obtained from the study respondents.

Majority of these organizations were classified as operating at the local national level by the study respondents. A good proportion, 88 (65.7%) of the respondents said that their organizations operated at the local national level while 22 (16.4%) perceived their organization as being International in operation. Further, 15 (11.2%) of the respondents perceived their organizations to have continental scope of operation while only 9 (6.7%) classified their organizations as being local grass roots based. Thus most of the respondents came from NGOs that have been perceived as 'umbrella' at least with activities spanning more than one administrative region in Kenya. These NGOs act as middlemen in the project implementation process and resource allocation to the grassroots. They channel funds to grassroots based organizations as well as guide grassroots communities in the implementation process. Their high presence in the sample points to the fact that many of the NGOs in Kenya are not constituted from the grassroots. It is the national NGOs which have come out strongly to agitate for democratic reform and good governance of course supported by international NGOs in terms of resources. One attribute of these organizations is their claim to work for and represent interests of grassroots groups and communities with special attention to the under privileged. However, this claim is questionable since as established in these findings, these NGOs do not have open membership that includes people from marginalized sections of the population. Grassroots organizations are spontaneously constituted based on need and their interests and agendas spring from the grassroots. However most NGOs are constituted either as private organizations with restricted memberships while others are constituted as membership organizations but their membership

is not open to grassroots communities or the public generally. The study examined the activities and structures of NGOs.

4.5   Activities and Structures of NGOs

Activities and structures of NGOs are important in explaining their role in fostering good governance. The kind of activities NGOs engage in (for example service provision, training, relief e t c) are likely to show the extent to which NGOs are pursuing interests aimed at promoting good governance in society. Their structures answer the question of the extent to which NGO operations are likely to foster good governance either through practice, advocacy or capacity building in the society generally and in relation to the state in particular. NGOs can promote good governance if they consistently advocate for it, or if they disseminate the values of good governance to society through practice or where they deliberately develop such capacities among grassroots organizations and communities through empowerment and capacity building. Structures in this study refer to a myriad of organizational aspects in NGOs including; involvement, decision making, problem solving, capacity building, conflict management, representation, resources, professionalism and linkages with grassroots organizations among others. Activities refer to what organizations do.

A review of documents including mission statements of the NGOs interviewed revealed that most organizations are constituted as non profit organizations founded on values of voluntarism, relief and social service provision. Majority of the organizations (18 out of 24)

were involved in some kind of service provision or the other. The services provided by these organizations included health, education, rehabilitation, recreation, credit water, infrastructure including schools and hospitals and emergency relief to ensure food security. Many of the NGOs were also involved in some kind of training or the other. Except for the two donor organizations and the professional associations, all of the other organizations were involved in one kind of training or the other. At least 12 or over 50% of the organizations studied had outlined an element of advocacy in their work. A few organizations (6) mentioned advocacy and lobbying as the chief strategy they employed in meeting their objectives. Capacity building with grassroots organizations especially through community or village groups training appeared as a very popular strategy in NGOs mission statements. Indeed, all strategies encompassing training were seen as capacity building in the NGO documents.

A few organizations like Oxfam and Norwegian Church Aid although mentioning a lot of sectoral work had institutional and financial support as their key activities. Other organizations like the NGO council and Coalition Against Women Violence were either regulating other NGOs or acting as consortiums or umbrella bodies to other member organizations. Respondents in the study were asked to indicate the activities their organizations were involved in. The activities of the organization samples are shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1   Activities of NGOs studied

ACTIVITY		No	%
Advocacy/lobbying	N = 134	80	59.7
Social Services, health education, recreation	N = 134	73	54.5
Capacity building	N = 134	69	51.5
Development (credit, energy)	N = 134	34	25.4
Regulation of other NGOs/CBOs	N = 134	15	11.2

Majority of the respondents 80 (59.7%) said that their organizations were involved in some kind of advocacy and lobbying or the other. 54.5% of the respondents reported that their organizations were involved in providing social services while 69 (51.5% were involved in capacity building with other organizations. Only 25.4% and 11.2% of the respondents reported that their organizations were involved in development work (Energy, small -scale credit e.t c.) and regulating other organizations respectively.

Many of the respondents interviewed observed that their organizations were involved in more than one group of activities. This was confirmed in the review of NGO documents. The high prevalence of organizations involved in lobbying points to an increasing trend by NGOs and their staff towards embracing more policy change oriented approaches. However this does not explain the extent to which lobbying strategies by these NGOs were effective. It rather points to the extent to which lobbying and advocacy is becoming an acceptable strategy by staff in NGOs. However, still, many of the organizations interviewed had stuck to traditional approaches of service delivery and orthodox development work. According to the findings, 79 (54.5%) of the respondents said their organizations major activity was service delivery or

development work. Increasingly NGOs have taken up the task of providing social services where the government of Kenya is increasingly withdrawing. The low prevalence of organizations charged with the role of regulating others or playing the umbrella role points to the uncoordinated nature or character of the NGO sector in Kenya. NGOs working in similar fields are not coordinated through any mechanism. The NGO council only regulates NGOs who are its members but does not strictly monitor their activities. The lack of coordinating mechanisms and consortia in the NGOs sector leads to duplication of services and activities as well as competition for donor funds and legitimacy between the NGOs thus undermining their strength and sometimes their credibility. The problem of poor coordination in the NGO sector was seen by many of the key informants as a major factor hindering effective performance by NGOs. These key informants felt that there was suspicion between NGOs in Kenya. Suspicion between NGOs often undermines their ability to forge strong networks and consortia generally leading to weakening of the sector. The study sought to establish the considerations made in choice of NGO activities.

4.5.1 Considerations in choice of NGO activities

In a situation where there is lack of effective coordination and poor linkages between NGOs and arms of policy implementation in the government, how NGOs choose their activities become very important. The considerations NGOs make in choosing their activities become of interest even more where NGOs do not have a local resource base and are therefore forced to depend on external donors for support. Understanding the considerations they make in choosing their activities does not only tell us the basis of NGO project choice but also the

staff motivation behind what NGOs claim to pursue. A review of the NGO documents did not reveal too much about what considerations are taken in choice of NGO projects or activities. This is because other than go into details about how certain individual activities were started, NGOs are content with stating the mission and objectives that guide their work. These missions generally outline the concerns guiding the work of most NGOs studied, which can be summed up in one word as need. All NGOs claim to have been guided by the realization of one need or the other from which they have diversified to address other needs. For example Christians Fund was started way back 1938 in China by Dr. Calvitt Clarke a Presbyterian Minister to address the problems of children in situations of deprivation in the context of the threats of World War II. Today the Kenya office started in 1973 operates around the major consideration of child welfare and has diversified its activities to include vocational training, advocacy for nomadic children, health, food security, micro-enterprise development, youth and water provisions to communities with a view to benefiting children. A review of NGO documents did not provide critical insight into the considerations made in choice of NGO activities. Many would not for example say whether financial considerations or staff interests were key in influencing their choice. The bottom line of all NGO activities as indicated in their documents is need. However, respondents in the study indicated that other considerations were also important in influencing choice of NGO activities.

Respondents were asked to state the considerations that were made in choice of their organization activities in order of their importance. As shown in Table 2, 77 (57.5%) of the respondents believed that needs of beneficiaries were the most important considerations made in the choice of their organization activities while 27.6 % said they were important

considerations. Further, 61 (45.5%) of the respondents and 48 (35.8%) of the respondents believed that resources available including finances were the most important and important considerations respectively.

Table 2   Considerations in choice of NGO activities

Consideration	Very important		Important		Not important		Not all	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Needs of beneficiaries N = 134	77	57.5	37	27.6	12	9.0	8	6.0
Finances and resources available N= 134	61	45.5	48	35.8	15	11.2	9	6.7
Donor interests N = 134	36	26.6	53	39.6	24	17.9	20	14.9
Government interests N = 134	25	18.7	27	20.1	24	17.9	56	41.8
Staff interests N = 134	11	82	30	22.4	32	25.9	49	36.6

A fair proportion, 36 (26.6%) and 53 (39.6%) said that donor interests were most important and important considerations respectively. This shows that NGOs' make careful considerations in choice of their activities although other considerations particularly resources and donor interests were also taken into account. However, there is still a high percentage of these organizations being led by the amount of resources they have other than the problem situations of intended beneficiaries. If NGO activities are resource led, as it is emerging in the findings (45.5% and 35.8% of respondents said that resources were a very important and important considerations respectively) then one questions the ability of NGOs to engage in long-term beneficiary need driven activities. NGOs are known to depend on external donors whose project funding is normally short-term often lasting for not more than

five years. Indeed, a review of their project reports indicated that majority of the NGOs, almost 90% operated with funding from one northern source or the other. NGOs are often very proud in displaying who funded what project in their reports. Such statements as 'Most of our sponsors come from the United States of America' or 'The Programme is funded by Card Aid of Netherlands, Presbyterian Hunger Fund of USA and Participants in the Programme' or 'Over 90% of our funding comes from donor agencies from overseas were prevalent in NGO mission statements and reports. This kind of funding may lead NGOs in engaging in sporadic activities aimed at achieving quantity other than quality. Indeed, it was seen in many NGO reports where the tendency was to document the number of projects being undertaken or the number of individuals or groups targeted without documenting the success or failures. In other terms, indicators of NGO intervention successes were highly reported in terms of numbers other than indicators of achieved change. This raised the question of sustainability of NGO projects and activities. This view was repeatedly echoed in data gathered from key informant discussions. Many key informants felt that many NGOs in Kenya had been started due to the state of unemployment in the country and that many NGOs were carrying out activities because there was money for them. As one key informant observed, "some NGOs do any job if there is money for it. Surely some NGOs are in need of any job and hence easy to be manipulated".

Only 25 (18.7%) and 27 (20.1%) said that government interests and policies were very important and important considerations. This shows either the way NGOs activities are enjoying autonomy from government control and the extent to which NGOs had failed to tie their operations to the aspirations and goals of development by the state in Kenya. This may

also explain the haphazard and uncoordinated character of NGOs activities in Kenya. This raises the question of whether NGOs as uncoordinated as they are good alternatives to the state in fostering development and good governance in Kenya. Surprisingly, only 11 (8.2%) and 30 (22.4%) respondents viewed NGO staff and leaders interests as being most important and important considerations in that respect in choice of their organization activities. These findings point to the fact that NGOs staff and leaders interests do not in any major way direct choice of activities in the NGO studied. However, one wonders whether the extent to which resource availability affects choice of activities of organizations does not carry an element of staff motivations and leaders need to maintain sustained funding for their organizations. Findings from key informant discussions revealed that there were many NGOs in the country founded on self interest and for donor funds. As one respondent observed "most NGOs were initiated on wrong footing as they are donor and not community need driven. They hence lack self sustainance. Many people talk and think of the money and not the work to be done." Although all they key informants agreed it was not easy to determine what led the activities of NGOs, many observed that a good proportion of NGOs were not genuine in addressing the needs of the people they claimed to serve. However, a good number of key informants also felt that a good proportion of NGOs was doing a good job in addressing the needs of marginalised groups in society. To these key informants, the name of NGO sector was being spoilt by a few NGOs which were not professionally ran and somehow managed to escape the scrutiny of any regulating authority including the government. The study also sought to establish the beneficiaries of NGO activities.

4.5.2 Beneficiaries of NGO activities

From the review of NGO reports and other documents, it emerged that majority of NGOs intended their beneficiaries to be marginalised sections of society including women, children, people with disabilities, pastrolists and slum dwellers and the poor generally. These groups were cited as the beneficiaries of NGO activities in well over 70% of NGO mission statements. NGOs studied especially trade unions and professional bodies indicated that the beneficiaries of their activities were their members who included lawyers, workers, workers organizations and other groups that met the criteria for admission into their memberships. These organizations also indicated their beneficiaries to be the general public in most of their brochures and mission statements. Human rights organizations and NGOs which had come out to strongly advocate for good governance in society also cited the general public as their beneficiaries. These organizations did not indicate whether they had beneficiaries within grassroots communities. Few organizations had specific criteria for eligibility to participate in their activities which were occupation based (e.g. be a farmer, student, be involved in business activity for a specified period etc) while others intended to benefit specific religious constituencies (e.g. the faithful or members of their churches) There was congruency between these findings and responses from the 134 respondents interviewed.

Respondents were asked to indicate who the beneficiaries of their organization activities were Majority, 81 (60.4%) of the respondents reported the beneficiaries of their organization activities to be marginalized groups for example children, women, the disabled and the poor generally. Fewer respondents, 33 (24.6%) said the key beneficiaries of their

activities were members while 20 (14.8%) said their beneficiaries were specific constituencies like religious groups and ethnic groups. Many of the organizations were seen to benefit the needy by the majority respondents although quite a significant number 14.8% were bold enough to foster sectarian interests in terms of serving specific constituencies. These findings are presented in Table 3.

Table 3   Beneficiaries of NGO Activities

Beneficiary	No	%
Beneficiary marginalized groups (poor disabled etc)	81	60.4
Members	35	24.6
Specific constituencies (ethnic, religion etc)	7	5.2
Other clients (farmers, students)	13	9.7
N = 134		

The findings on beneficiaries of NGOs activities confirms the view in the literature that most NGOs are constituted around the interests of service to the poor, the marginalized and philanthropy. However, the study also confirms the existence of NGOs whose objectives go beyond voluntarism to foster partisan and sectarian interests in society. For example, the study established that 5.2% of the organizations had their beneficiaries as specific constituencies in society including religious and ethnic constituencies. However, survey and key informant data confirmed that most NGOs at least in the book were constituted around the interests of serving the interests of the poor, the needy and the disadvantaged in Kenyan

4.5.3   Decision making in NGOs

The style of decision making and the constitution of decision making structures in any organization influences the type of policies employed in running that organization and the quality of programmes and projects that organization is able to put into place.   It also determines human relations within that organization and between it and other organizations as well as the people it is meant to serve.   From a review of documents of NGOs including brochures and annual reports, the study established that a majority of the NGOs; 18 (75%) had a board of directors and chief executives as the key decision makers in their organizations.   The boards of directors often comprised of high profile people from different institutions in society who were charged with the responsibility of overseeing policy development and overall management of the organizations.   Their decisions were executed by powerful chief executives who were permanent employees and were charged with the responsibility of managing the day to day running of the organizations.   A few of these organizations had project management committees in charge of guiding specific projects.   Members of these project management committees were experts drawn from other organizations including universities and played a consultative role in the management of the projects.   All these organizations did not include individuals from the targeted communities or beneficiaries in the decision making organs in the course of their operations.   A small percentage of organizations (20%) reported holding a general assembly at least once a year in

which views of the members and intended beneficiaries were sought. During these meetings, chief executives presented annual progress reports and plans for the following year for ratification by members and those involved in the activities. However, even in these organizations, the responsibility of day to day management of the organizations lay with chief executives who on many cases happened to be elected in the annual general assembly These included organizations like Kenya Organization of Trade Unions (COTU), Law Society of Kenya (LSK), National Convention Executive Council (NCEC) and the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK). The study sought to establish the key mechanisms of decision making in the sampled organizations from the 134 respondents. Respondents in the study were asked to indicate the key decision- makers in their organizations. The following findings were obtained:

Table 4   Decision makers in NGOs

Decision making	No	%
Board of Directors N = 134	70	52.2
Chief Executive N = 134	82	61.2
General Assembly N = 134	29	21.6
Members N = 134	16	11.9
Founder (s) N = 134	12	9.0
Proprietor N = 134	11	8.2

The most frequent type of key decision making structure in NGOs was identified to be the Chief Executives by 82 (61.2%) respondents. Board of directors as the key decision making structure was identified by 78 (52.2%) respondents. Very few respondents, 29 (21.6%) and 16 (11.9%) identified a general assembly or members respectively as being key decision -

makers in their organization. These findings point to a situation of authoritative and bureaucratic patterns of decision making in most of the NGOs studied. The issue is one of there being no major difference between patterns of decision making in NGOs and organizations in other arenas like the private and the public sector. The high prevalence of monolithic models of decision making in NGOs raises the question of the extent of democratization and practice of good governance within the NGO sector. NGOs have been viewed as organizations that have come to be characterized by more flexible, bottom up patterns of decision – making (Clark 1991, Ngethe and Kanyinga 1992). These loose decision making structures become handy because NGOs are always dealing with rapidly changing realities that demand creativity, quick action, high morale and motivation among staff. This trend in organizations has also been observed by Warren and Slatter (1968) who observes that "The trend towards the organizational man is also a trend towards a looser and more flexible organization in which roles are to some extent interchangeable and no one is indispensable". However, from the findings, this does not seem to be the case with NGOs in Kenya. It is apparent that majority of the respondents can identify a structure that lords over them in decision making. Majority of the respondents identified a board of directors and chief executive officers as the key decision making staffs in their organizations. The realities of problem situations among grassroots communities are often complex, dynamic and oftenly not clear even to experts. The decisions that are made based on expert judgment often ignore lay knowledge and the choices of the grassroots people who own the problems the NGOs often address. The logic of building participation in interventions demand that the affected groups are not only involved in need identification and prioritization but also in the step by step design of intervention and actual implementation. It demands that people are made to

own the interventions carried out in their communities and also to learn through participating in decision making as a way of building grassroots capacities and achieving sustainability. NGOs are not only called to involve people but also to ensure development of democratic systems of decision making within their own structures and in society. However, the study findings increasingly point to persistence of bureaucratic patterns of decision making in the organizations studied. The study tried to establish mechanisms of involvement in decision-making in the organizations sampled from the respondents.

4.5.3.1 Mechanisms of involvement of staff in decision making

The study went further to examine features of involvement of staff in decision making in the 24 Organizations. Respondents were required to indicate whether staffs were involved in decision making in their organizations or not. Majority, 106 (79.1%) of the respondents said staff were involved in decision making while 28 (22.9%) said their staff were not involved. The above finding in relation to the levels of staff involvement in decision making would point to a high level of involvement. However, respondents were also asked to indicate the ways in which staff in their organizations got involved in decision making. The following pattern of responses emerged.

Table 5: **Mechanism of involving staff in decision making**

Mechanisms of staff involvement in decision making	No	%
Regular meetings N = 134	100	74.6
Task delegation N = 134	78	58.2
Open consultations (discussions) N = 134	59	44.0
Team work N = 134	58	43.3

Open consultations (discussions) as well as team work were the least frequently used patterns of decision making in the 24 NGOs sampled with 59 (44.0%) of respondents citing the former and 58 (43.3%) the later. Regular meetings were the most frequently used with 100 (74.6%) responses followed by task delegation with 78 (58.2%) of responses. This points to the fact that styles of decision making in the NGOs may not be any different from organizations in other arenas of society including the public and private realms. Democratization of decision making may not have been achieved in the NGOs themselves raising the question of their ability to foster participatory decision making in the public arena especially when they themselves are not practicing it. As it is emerging from the findings, open consultations and teamwork are the least used approaches to decision making in NGOs. Although regular meetings and task delegation are popular methods of involvement in decision making in majority of the organizations, they may also be effective tools of authoritarian decision making especially when they do not foster a climate of open consultations and teamwork in organizations. They may be forums for explaining

organizational decision -makers policies, expectations and standpoints and of delegating tasks to other staff without seeing feedback or inputs from them.

Baigana (1993:84) underscores the need for African non-governmental organizations to emphasize internal democracy through encouraging regular elections, open debates, public accountability, participation and membership involvement in all their affairs. From the findings Kenyan NGOs have not successfully fostered an environment of internal democracy, participation and involvement which leads us to question their capacity to foster good governance in other arenas in society. The study went further to establish the ways through which the organizations sampled were involving their beneficiaries and members in decision making.

4.5.3.2 Involvement of Beneficiaries in decision making

Information on how organizations involved their members and intended beneficiaries was lacking from reports of most of the organizations studied. Other than the 20% of organizations which indicated holding annual general assemblies and regular elections, all the other organizations did not indicate how they involved their members and beneficiaries in decision making.

The extent to which an organization involves the users of its service in decision making will determine the level to which that organization is effectively able to foster royalty, participation and a climate of positive feedback from those served. It also helps in ensuring

proper prioritization of needs of the users of organizational services as well as proper adaptability to change among the beneficiaries of that service. It fosters capacity building and transparency in society. Respondents in the study were asked to identify mechanisms of involvement of members and beneficiaries in decision making in their organizations. The findings are presented in Table 6 below.

Table 6:   **Involvement of beneficiaries in decision making**

Mechanisms of involvement of members and beneficiaries in decision making	Very frequent		Frequently used		Not frequently used		Not used at all	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Regular meetings N = 134	38	28.4	43	32.1	16	11.9	4	3.0
Active information dissemination N = 134	46	34.3	19	14.2	9	6.7	22	16.4
Regular programme evaluations with clients/members N = 134	17	12.7	25	18.7	22	16.4	24	17.9
Co-optation of members & clients into decision making structures N =134	10	7.5	18	13.4	18	13.4	48	35.8
Regular elections N = 134	12	9.0	20	14.9	17	12.7	50	37.3

From the table of responses, it is apparent that the pattern of involvement of members or beneficiaries in decision making in organizations studied is similar to one of the involvement of staff in the same process.   Majority of the respondents cited regular meetings as a very frequently used mechanism of involvement of members and beneficiaries in decision making with 38 (28.4%) and 43 (32.1%) respondents saying they were very frequently and frequently used respectively. Meetings were followed by active information dissemination as a method

of involving members and beneficiaries with 46 (34.3%) and 19 (14.2%) of the respondents saying that they were very frequently and frequently used in that order.

Co-optation of members and clients and regular elections were methods respondents reported as least used. Only 10 (7.5%) and 18 (13.4%) of respondents cited co-optation as a very frequently and frequently (respectively) used methods of involvement in decision making. A similar trend was seen with regular elections where only 12 (9.0%) and 20 (14.9%) said it was a very frequently and frequently used method of involvement in decision making respectively. The two methods had the highest frequency in terms of non use with 48 (35.8%) and 50 (37.3%) respondents saying that co-optation and regular elections in that respect were not used at all. NGOs studied had not fostered democratic and participatory process of involving their beneficiaries in the activities of their organization. Regular elections and co-optation of beneficiaries to decision making mechanisms emerged as the least frequently used method of involvement of those served or members in decision making among the sampled NGOs. This finding basically points to the fact that most NGOs lack effective methods of involving users of their services in decision making. This leads us to question whether the claim that NGOs represent the interests of the marginalized groups is not one that is channeled by NGOs for their own interests and those of the elite as opposed to and not for the interests of grassroots communities. This is more so where grassroots communities are not given room either through co-optation, representation or elections to decide on how they want their interests to be represented. Indeed findings from key informant discussions pointed out the often elite characteristic of NGO approaches. Except for the NGOs with membership springing from the grassroots (e.g. church based NGOs)

many were seen as urban based and representing the interests of small urban groups or the elite who own them and therefore with no obligation to be accountable to the grassroots. A senior officer of the NGO Coordination Board observed that the "centralized approach to running of many NGOs has led to... "grassroots deprivation of resources and goods" channeled through NGOs or civil society. Indeed, according to this official, the NGO Coordination Board and donors have been so concerned that they have worked on the Statement of Recommended Accountability and Auditing Practices (SORAAP) which is an ethical approach to auditing and evaluation that is meant to involve NGOs, donors and beneficiaries.

These findings raise the question of the extent of democratization of NGO structures and consequently their capacity to influence good governance in the public sphere through practice. Indeed, many of the NGOs could just be ran like organizations in the public sphere which the NGOs purport to target for change in the process of fostering good governance. NGOs claim to use participatory approaches in their work, yet, the methods of fostering participation are not seen to foster the involvement of those served or staff at all levels of decision making within their own structures. The study was also interested in establishing the extent of involvement of beneficiaries in NGO activities.

4.5.3.3 Involvement of beneficiaries in NGO activities

Findings from NGO reports indicated that a majority of organizations aimed at involving their intended beneficiaries in their activities. This objective was being pursued mainly

through training of leaders, village committees and youth and women groups in various issues of concern to their communities. Few organizations (4) specified that they were involving their beneficiaries through leadership training. Other organizations were silent about ways in which they involved their beneficiaries in the activities although they cited institutional support and capacity building as their chief activities. These organizations saw their chief way of involving their beneficiaries as through meetings and providing resources. A review of organizations structures revealed that there were very few organizations that were co-opting their intended beneficiaries into the management of their activities. The ones that were doing so were largely membership based with members as their chief beneficiaries. A few other organizations indicated that they involved their beneficiaries through joint evaluation of their activities and in prioritizing needs. There were only 4 of such organizations in the sample. Very few organizations cited regular elections and the general assembly as the chief way through which they involved their beneficiaries in their activities. These were largely membership organizations like Law Society of Kenya (LSK), Kenya Organizations of Trade Unions (COTU), and National Convention Executive Council (NCEC) among others. Thus from the review, it was clear that majority of organizations viewed their strategy of involving beneficiaries as one of training through workshops and seminars. The study sought to establish how NGOs studied involved beneficiaries in their activities from 134 respondents.

Majority of the study respondents 125 (93.3%) said that their organizations involved the intended beneficiaries in their activities. Only 9 (6.7%) said their organizations did not involve the intended beneficiaries in their activities. The study sought to know the various

ways through which these organizations involved their intended beneficiaries in their activities.

Table 7   **Mechanisms of involving beneficiaries**

Mechanisms		No	%
Seminars and workshops	N = 134	62	46.3
Meetings	N = 134	45	33.6
Co-opting into management	N = 134	32	23.9
Evaluating projects	N = 134	20	20.1
Mobilizing grassroots groups	N = 134	25	18.7
Prioritizing and planning work	N = 134	22	16.4
Regular Elections	N = 134	16	11.9

A majority, 62 (46.3%) of the respondents said their organizations were involving beneficiaries through seminars and workshops. Further, 45 (33.6%) of the respondents said their organizations were involving their beneficiaries through public meetings while 32 (23.9%) cited co-optation of beneficiaries and members into the management boards as the most popular method of involvement of beneficiaries. Only 25 (16.4%) and 16 (11.9%) of the respondents said their organizations were involving beneficiaries in prioritizing and planning of activities and regular elections respectively. Only 25 (18.7%) of the respondents said beneficiaries of their organizations' activities were involved through grassroots mobilization. These findings collaborate the data gathered through the review of NGO reports and other documents. Findings from key informant discussions brought out the view

that although many NGOs were seemingly closer to their beneficiaries and grassroots communities, in actual sense all the activities of NGOs were designed and implemented by the elite in these organizations. In many cases, either the elite in NGOs decide what needs to be done for communities and channel these interests to donors or they sometimes consult the community leaders themselves or through experts to identify the needs of those communities. The idea of consulting and involving beneficiaries is also mitigated by the need to convince the would be donors. Thus NGO projects come to be conceived and implemented in a context of competing interests of donor funding, NGO elite interests, expert interpretations and the need to meet the needs of communities. From our key informant findings, the needs of communities and issues of their involvement come last. As a senior official of World View observed "what has been seen in most NGOs is top-bottom approach. The elite decides for the people. Few NGOs start from the community and those which do are associations or self help groups". Another respondent from the Christian Student Leadership Centre observed that in most cases NGO projects are not implemented according to the 'proposal plan and on many instances grassroots members may not benefit'.

These findings raise the question of the integrity of NGO programmes in claiming to address the needs of the popular groups and the needy. Although seminars and workshops might be an effective method of creating awareness and educating the people, they may not be effective tools of empowering communities in identifying and acting on their needs. Public meetings and barazas might also be effective in passing information but not as tools of grassroots empowerment. The fact that very few NGOs were co-opting beneficiaries into decision making structures of their organizations and in planning and prioritizing activities as

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well as through elections leads the study to question the extent to which NGOs foster the interests of popular communities in their work. Are grassroots communities part of the NGO agenda and activities? Have NGO approaches in Kenya remained top-down? To the extent that grassroots communities are not effectively involved in selection and implementation of NGO activities through all participatory and democratic processes like joint evaluations, regular elections and co-optation into management, NGOs cannot claim to represent or champion popular interests. This is because grassroots communities have not been given room for choice and say in the kind of interventions they would prefer on their problem situation. The process of implementation of NGO activities that does not involve the intended beneficiaries fully fails to be all empowering and democratic, thus undermining capacity building for good governance at the most important level of society - the grassroots. The study sought to understand the dynamics of change in decision-making structures in the NGOs studied as a way of further evaluating the status of flexibility, participation and democracy in decision making.

4.5.3.4 Changes in Organizations' key decision making structures

The patterns and processes of change in any organization's key decision-making structures can be useful in explaining the respect for the processes laid down in setting up such structures in that organization. It also may explain the level of transparency and style of leadership in that organization. Further, it may explain the type of relations and climate of feelings fostered among staff members of that organization and those it serves. Data on regularity of change of decision makers was not available from reports and documents of

many of the organizations. However, over 50 percent of the organizations reported change of executives and top managers in their newsletters and annual reports. The changes were attributed to staff mobility, restructuring and expiry of contracts. Few organizations also reported regular changes of leadership through elections especially those which were membership based like the National Council of Churches of Kenya, Law Society of Kenya and African Medical Research Foundation (AMREF). Over 40% of the organizations did not have any information in form of literature on changes of decision-makers in the organizations. The study sought to establish the kinds of changes that had taken place in their organizations from the selected respondents.

Respondents in this study were asked to state whether to the best of their knowledge their had been any change in the key decision making structure of their organization within 5 years proceeding the study interview. The majority, 68 (50.7%) of respondents said that their organization had experienced change in key decision making structures while 66 (49.3%) said they had not experienced any kind of change. From this finding, well over half of the respondents had experienced some change in their key decision making structure in their organization in the previous five years. But a big proportion had also not experienced any change at all. This finding points towards a tendency to regularly change structures of decision-making in NGOs as practice. The changes were seen as an important strength among NGOs in Kenya by the study.

The study also sought to establish the reasons for changes experienced in the organizations interviewed. The following pattern of responses emerged.

Table 8:   Reasons for change in organizations Key decision making structure

Reason for change	No	%
Decision making structure reconstituted after expiry of period of service through agreed methods (elections etc.) N = 134	43	32.1
Restructuring of management structure to improve efficiency N = 134	31	23.1
Due to senior staff mobility N = 134	11	8.2

From the responses, majority of the respondents 43 (32.1%) experienced changes in decision making structures in their organizations due to expiry of period of service for those in management as agreed in organizational rules. That means that either their elected terms in office expired or their contracts expired. A small proportion, 31 (23.1%) of respondents experienced changes in their organizations due to restructuring. Only 11 (8.2%) respondents pointed out that changes in key decision making structures in their organizations were due to staff mobility.

Although these findings may point to a significant level of respect of rules of change of leadership in many organizations, this may not be evident when one considers that 66 (49.3%) of the respondents had not experienced changes in their organizations key decision making structures within a period of five years. These were asked to explain why to the best of their knowledge there had not been any changes in their organizations key decision making structures. The majority 45 (33.6%) out of 134 respondents said that change in leadership was not allowed by existing structures and leaders in their organizations. Thus practices of authoritarianism and autocracy remain rife in the NGO sector in Kenya. Many

leaders of NGOs seem to ignore laid down structures or to use their influence to remain in office. However, key informants discussions revealed that people in the NGO sector were aware of some honest and dishonest NGOs. Some organizations like AMREF, Action Aid, CARE, Catholic Secretariat, Undugu Society among others were mentioned as organizations that respected their rules and their work by more than four key informants. But all the respondents pointed to the existence of what they called either "Briefcase" or 'pocket' NGOs. But also most key informants felt that NGOs needed to be put under public scrutiny if the dynamics of good and bad practices within them were going to be understood. The respondents felt that NGOs need to be closely evaluated and monitored since they felt many were not genuine. It was the poorly run organizations that were seen as playing a role in tarnishing the name of the whole NGO sector. The study also looked at the way in which NGOs were representing interests of grassroots communities and marginalised groups.

4.5.3.5 Representation

In agitating for good governance in Kenya, NGOs have claimed to represent the interests of popular groups in society. A review of NGO reports indicate that most non-governmental organizations espoused advocacy and lobbying as a strategy of addressing the problems facing their beneficiaries. However, among all these NGOs, there was no clear documentation of the strategies used in advocacy and lobbying nor were there any accounts of successful or failed lobbying and representation available in the organizations. Kenya Organization of Trade Unions (COTU) did not have any reports and Law Society of Kenya (LSK) officers insisted that the matters they dealt with were confidential. Respondents were

asked to state whether their organizations represented any special interests. Majority, 103 (76.9%) of the respondents said that their organizations represented one interested or the other while 31 (23.1%) of the respondents said that their organizations did not represent any interests. This finding shows that majority of NGOs believed that their organizations played a role of representing at least some interest to the state or other authorities or society in general. The study sought to establish the kind of interests represented by the NGOs studied. Responses obtained are represented in table 9.

Table 9   Interests represented by organizations according to 134 respondents

		No	%
Special interests represented			
Marginalized groups, children & women	N = 134	78	58.2
Professional	N = 134	35	26.1
Political	N = 134	21	15.7
Religious	N = 134	19	14.2
Ethnic	N = 134	8	6.0
Labor	N = 134	10	7.5

Majority of the respondents 78 (58.2%) said that their organizations represented interests of marginalized groups (e.g. children women, disabled etc) while 35 (26.1%) said that their organizations represented professional interests. Only 21 (15.7%) of the respondents reported their organizations to be representing any political interests. A few respondents 19

(14.2%) and 8 (6.0%) reported their organizations to be representing religious and ethnic interests respectively.

These findings point to the mission around which most organizations in the voluntary sector are believed to be constituted – that of fostering the interests of the poor and marginalized. However, the question that arises is how these organizations represent such interests. From the findings, very few organizations as reported by respondents, 21 (15.7%) were representing the marginalized at the policy front – understood to mean that they were involved in challenging the state one way or the other to better the positions of the groups they claimed to represent. From the findings also, it emerges that a significant number of respondents, 19 (14.2%) and 8 (6.0%) claimed their organizations were representing partisan interests of religious and ethnic nature respectively.

Indeed, while it is difficult to gauge the effectiveness of representation done by NGOs especially on behalf of marginalized groups. It is not difficult to observe that organizations claiming to work for marginalized groups like children and women have not tended to adapt strategies that are challenging to the state in a direct way. That is, they are not openly advocating for policy change or promoting respect of rights of marginalized groups in any direct way. However, many of them have played a key role indirectly initiating policy debate and change in relation to marginalized groups. Few NGOs like the NCCK, the Catholic Secretariat, Kituo cha Sheria, Action Aid and Amref were cited in the study as NGOs that have come out to strongly lobby the state for the rights of marginalized groups. However majority of the respondents felt that a big proportion of NGOs opted for a passive approach

in relation to issues of rights in society. This is because they feared reappraisal by the state especially after they have been viewed as promoting dissent. This contention perhaps is made clear by the following findings about methods used by NGOs studied to represent the said interests. Most NGOs were using seminars, conferences and the press in representing the marginalized according to reports. Very few were working with government departments in developing policies and providing information.

Importantly, very few of the organizations were identified to be directly lobbying the government and other authorities for change in policies and actions. Thus although most organizations saw themselves as involved in advocacy and lobbying in their reports, they had not adopted strategies of involving the intended beneficiaries or lobbying for policies directly. They opted to use forums such as workshops and seminars to attract high profile individuals and the press. This became clear when the study sought the opinion of the 134 respondents on how their organizations represented the said interests Table 10.

Table 10.   Approaches to Representation by NGOs

METHODS OF REPRESENTATION	No	%
Lobbying and advocacy to government and society N = 134	75	56.0
Empowering represented to advocate for their interests N = 134	28	20.9
Information Dissemination N = 134	19	14.2
Monitoring and reporting e.g. human rights N = 134	12	9.0

According to the majority of respondents 75 (56.0%) their organizations were carrying out lobbying for policy change or advocacy for rights. However a few respondents 28 (20.9%)

reported that their organizations were empowering the marginalized groups they claimed to represent to advocate for their rights themselves. Thus with these findings one is made to question the ingenuity of NGOs in claiming to represent the rights and interests of marginalized groups especially when they were not involving them or empowering them to advocate for their rights themselves. As seen from the findings, very few organizations were involved in monitoring and reporting issues they claimed to represent the marginalized groups in (e.g. human rights). Thus the strategy of NGOs in representing the interests of the popular forces or marginalized groups becomes questionable especially where one examines the dimension of involvement and participation of those being represented by those organizations. While it is commendable that NGOs in Kenya have embraced lobbying and advocacy as a strategy, the approach used to lobby and advocate becomes problematic since most of the NGOs were not lobbying with marginalized groups themselves. Thus the approach being employed in lobbying and advocacy is not empowering to grassroots communities

Indeed, some key informants felt that some NGOs were genuine in claiming to represent interest of grassroots communities, but a larger percentage of NGOs tended to operate in 'urban' areas, running their seminars in five star hotels. These NGOs were being referred to as "elitist" and "urban" by the respondents and were said to tend to dominate in the public limelight preferably to keep their existence noticed but still retaining little or no grassroots connection. Most NGOs, respondents observed, did not seek views from the people they claim to represent. "They write proposals to donors and once funded they spend time in press offices impressing upon few selected successful cases to maintain credibility and high

profile" What is detailed in the funding proposal in terms of implementation takes a backseat. However some respondents felt that whatever shortcomings faced the NGO method of representing grassroots interest, the issues that NGOs have been raising corruption, poor governance, poverty, rights, environmental degradation and constitutional review were affecting all citizens including grassroots communities.

Respondents were asked whether their organizations faced problems representing the said interests. A majority, 87 (64.9%) said that their organizations experienced problems while 13 (9.7%) said their organizations did not. The study sought to establish the different kinds of problems experienced by NGOs studied in representing the interests. The following findings were obtained as shown in Table 11.

Table 11   **Problems faced in representing interests**

PROBLEMS FACED		No	%
Financial and other resources	N = 134	37	27.6
Hostility from government and its structures	N = 134	42	32.1
Low political will	N = 134	22	16.4
Powerlessness and lack of proper organizational capacity among the represented	N = 134	17	12.7

Majority of the respondents 42 (32.1%) reported experiencing problems with the government and structures attached to it while 37 (27.6%) reported that their organizations were faced with problems of financial and other resources. Only 17 (12.7%) of respondents reported

that their organizations were faced with problems of powerlessness and lack of capacity to organize at the grassroots.

It is understood that finances and other resources are key to any enterprise that an organization may undertake and that hostility from the government and structures there-in explains the state of government - NGO relations that is uneasy and therefore un-conducive for NGO work and operations. It is however not clear why the levels of involvement of intended beneficiaries is very low yet very few NGOs were encountering powerlessness among beneficiaries as a problem. Indeed, the strategy of NGOs in representing interests of the popular forces needs to be re-examined. While engaging in advocacy themselves, NGOs also need to promote grassroots empowerment and action that will go in enforcing good governance at the community level as well as promoting sustainability of their initiatives among the Kenyan population.

In assessing the strategy of NGOs in representing interests of specific constituencies, the study also sought to establish the role of leaders and staff in representing the said interests. The following findings were obtained as shown in Table 12.

Table 12   Role of leaders and staff in representing interests

Role of leaders and staff		No	%
Coordinating	N = 134	66	49.3
Voicing concern to authorities	N = 134	38	28.4
Developing strategies e.g. incorporating them into programmes	N = 134	16	11.9

Majority of the respondents 66 (49.3%) said that leaders and staff in their organizations were involved in coordinating representation activities while 38 (28.4%) of the respondents reported that their organizations were involved in voicing concern to authorities. This perhaps explains why many key informants viewed NGO staff and leaders as a group that spent most of its time in seminars and press conferences disregarding participation of people they claimed to represent. Only 16 (11.9%) of the respondents said that their organizational staff and leaders were involved in developing representation strategies and in incorporating them into programmes. This probably explains why the strategy of participation and involvement of those represented was not popular among the NGOs studied. The strategies of coordinating and voicing concern by leaders and staff of NGOs presents the study with problems because one cannot quite explain if it is not elitist and aimed at using problems of marginalized groups to foster career interests of the elite. For representation of the interests of the marginalized groups to be effective, the affected groups have to be involved accordingly. The study examined ways in which NGOs were contributing to building of strong grassroots organizations.

4.5.3.6 Building strong grassroots organizations

Study reviewed NGO reports with a view to establishing how they were building strong organizations. Except international organizations like Oxfam and Norwegian Church Aid who reported that they worked through other NGOs in resource provision and institutional support, and the membership based bodies like Law Society of Kenya, and Kenya

Organization of Trade Unions (COTU), all the other organizations reported working through self help groups and community based organizations. However, even among those who reported working with community based organizations, many of them outlined a strategy of working with them that mainly involved training. A few other NGOs reported working with community groups in small-scale credit and recreation. However, detailed reports of the strategies as well as goals of working with community-based organizations were not available in most of these organizations reports. Any organization that was working with groups in the grassroots was quick to mention the numbers of the groups without detailing the strategy being employed in working with these groups. The study sought to establish ways in which the selected organizations were working with community groups from respondents.

Respondents were asked to state whether their organizations were involved in building strong grassroots organizations. A high number of respondents, 89 (66.4%) said that their organizations were involved in building grassroots organizations while 45 (33.6%) of the respondents answered nay. This shows that quite a significant number of NGOs were concerned with the growth and development of community based organizations. However, when the study sought to establish ways in which the respondents felt their organizations contributed to the development of strong community based organizations, 42 (31.3%) of the respondents said that their organizations were doing so through training while 46 (34.3%) reported that their organization were working through self-help groups. This raises the question of how umbrella NGOs perceived grassroots organizations and consequently how they relate to them. Rather, do the large NGOs perceive community-based organizations as

partners or as recipients of aid? The model of training itself raises the question of whether community based organizations were being trained in relevant areas or whether the training was packaged to suit the needs of the implementing NGOs and donors. Although training may be an efficient method of building capacity at the grassroots, it may not be so where grassroots communities did not have a say on the areas and kind of training they were receiving. For training to be effective, it has to be packaged to the needs of grassroots communities and to embody a component of orientation to grassroots action if it has to contribute to fostering good governance. Respondents in key informant discussions expressed the concern that except for a few genuine NGOs, majority of NGOs were formed and operated around perceived problems formulated by their staff or by hired professionals. That the motive behind the activities of many NGOs was nothing far from self interest and financial gain especially in relation to involving grassroots communities. One officer from IMANI (incentive from the Mamanist to Assist the Needy to be Independent) felt that many NGOs have not been formed from a "sincere" motivation and they have by and large, earned a "bogus" identification with locals. According to him, "most of these perceived or assumed beneficiaries are never consulted during the NGO(s) formation, project implementation and evaluation". Such views from people working in the NGO sector point to situation where, In spite of NGOs claim to fostering grassroots interests, many not be doing so in practice. They rather are likely to be using problems of the poor to advance their elite and self interests. The study examined professionalism in NGOs

Respondents were asked to state in order of importance the professional strengths they perceived present in their organizations. The following pattern of responses emerged:

Table 13   Professional strengths of NGOs

Professional strength	Very important		Important		Not important		Not at all	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Adequate professional staff N=134	69	51.5	41	30.6	17	12.7	6	4.
Professional leadership N= 134	71	53.0	26	19.4	21	15.7	13	9.
Participatory linkages between professionals & non professionals N = 134	29	21.6	39	29.1	44	32.8	20	14
Teamwork and consultation N= 134	36	26.9	36	26.9	31	23.1	29	21
	Rate score	Cell rep	Rate score	Cell rep	Rate score	Cell rep	Rate score	Ce re
	205	39%	142	27%	113	21 %	68	13

When cell scores and percentages based on the above opinion responses were computed, NGOs studied scored highly in professionalism with 205 (39%) and 142 (27%) rating at all the four attributes in the very important and important categories respectively. Only 113 (21%) and 68 (13%) rated the attributes as not important and not important at all respectively as shown in Table 13 above. High level professionalism is an important positive attribute among NGOs and can be useful in fostering NGO participation in fostering good governance

especially in organizational leadership and management, programme design and policy analysis. However high professionalism can fail to deliver especially where teamwork and consultation between professionals and non-professionals is not promoted leading to over professionalisation of NGOs. The highly ranked attributes of professionalism in order of importance in the NGOs studies were adequate professional staff with 51.5% and 30.6% responses in the very important and important category answer respectively and professional leadership with 53.0% and 19.4% of responses in the very important and important category answers in that respect. Participatory linkages among professionals and nonprofessional in the organizations and teamwork and consultation among professionals were ranked least in order of importance by majority of the respondents. A good proportion of the respondents 44 (32.8%) and 20 (14.9%) ranked participatory linkages among professionals and non professionals in their organizations as not important and not important at all strengths respectively. Similarly, 31 (23.1%) and 29 (21.6%) of the respondents ranked teamwork and consultation as not important and not important at all strengths respectively.

This state of affairs seems apparent from the fact that majority of NGOs have strengths in terms of adequacy of professionals in numbers as well as professional leadership at the top of their decision -making structures. However, teamwork and consultations as well as participation of non-professionals in those organizations is not taken as an important aspect of organizational professional strengths. This raises the question of how good governance is fostered within NGOs in the absence of strong participatory linkages, teamwork and consultation among professionals and non-professionals. The pattern of responses point to a situation where NGOs employ the rhetoric of participation externally but fail to promote it

within their own structures. This may lead to the constraining of grassroots community involvement in development programmes consequently constraining capacity building and sustainability of development efforts at the grassroots.

The study sought to establish the professional constraints that the organizations were facing. A good proportion of respondents (43.3%) reported that their organizations were facing one professional constraint or the other. Among them 46 (34.3%) of respondents reported constraints of inadequate professional staff, 34 (25.4%) cited lack of professional leadership, 23 (17.2%) excessive professional control or over professionalization in their organization and 35 (26.1%) cited poor consultation and teamwork among professionals as the major constraint. Professional constraints cited were seen to affect the work of the organizations studied through limiting staff involvement and constricting flexibility in decision making. Other effects were reported to be increased lapses in accountability, interference with professional work and constraining of prioritization of needs.

From the findings, it is clear that professional staff adequacy in NGOs is still a major problem as it was affecting NGOs in very important ways. Where staff involvement in decision making is constrained, accountability is compromised and decision making becomes rigid, then good governance is compromised. Importantly, the inability to effectively prioritize needs of intended beneficiaries leads to poor participation by the targeted beneficiaries, waste of seriously needed resources and lack of sustainability in NGO project work. The first three areas are key because they affect the way needs of the intended beneficiaries are met by the organization as well as sustainability of organizational funding

especially where many NGOs are dependent on external funding. Importantly, all the effects relate to the morale of staff and ability of NGOs to adapt to constantly changing problem areas and situations that call for flexibility and creativity in the intervention process. The study examined mechanisms of problem solving in the NGOs studied.

4.5.4.1 Problem solving

Respondents were asked to say whether they had experienced any problems while working for their organizations. Majority of the respondents, 71 (53.0%) reported having experienced problems and 62 (46.3%) said they had not experienced any specific problems. The study sought to establish the kind of problems that the respondent had experienced in line with their work; A good proportion of respondents, 46 (34.3%) reported experiencing problems relating to their work including insecurity, harassment by their seniors and employers and unmanageable workload. Fewer respondents, 41 (30.6%) reported experiencing personal problems including financial and general welfare. The study intended to establish the capability of NGOs to constructively solve problems within them. In this regard the study sought to establish whether the reported problems had been solved and if not the reasons for the failure to have them solved.

Only 30 (22.4%) of the respondents reported that their problems had been solved while 41 (30.6%) of respondents reported that their problems had not been solved. This makes us question the capacity of NGOs studied to solve internal problems. Of the respondents who did not have their problems solved, 18 (13.4%) attributed the failure to solve their problems

to lack of resources while a majority 33 (24 6%) attributed the failure to have their problems solved to bureaucratic red-tape and lack of concern from management. Although many of respondents did not report experiencing problems in their organizations, the majority (53.0%) had experienced problems while working for their organizations. Majority of these (24.6%) had not had their problems solved either due to bureaucratic red tape and lack of resources. When such problems as bureaucratic red tape and lack of concern from management as well as lack of resources impede staff problem solution within organizations, this constrains the motivation and morale of staff in NGOs and also served to undermine internal governance within NGOs. The extent to which management is responsive to the problems of staff is important because it relates to propagating values of good governance to other sectors of society through practice. The study also sought to establish ways through which NGOs studied dealt with conflict.

4.5.4.2 Conflict management and resolution

The capability of NGOs to manage and resolve conflicts either within them or between them and other actors in society is important in promoting good governance both within the NGO sector and in society in general. Conflict between members in the studied organizations was reported by 48 (35.5%) of the respondents while conflict between staff in the organizations was reported by 36 (26.6%) of the respondents. Conflicts between staff and beneficiaries were reported by 18 (13.44%) of the respondents. Conflict emerged from the study as one of the problems that professionals and management in NGOs have to deal with. Conflict in the NGO sector was mentioned by all key informants as a prevalent problem. These conflicts

resulted from the behavior of some NGOs to assume territorial dominance and to want to disrupt other NGOs that sought to operate in territories perceived to be theirs. Conflicts also result from the need to compete for donor funding which was viewed by most NGOs as being on the decrease. Donors were viewed as contributing to the competition because they all seemed to concentrate their funding on a few common areas. NGOs, which fail to get donor funding, result to castigating those which secured financial support. Some become friendly to the state and are utilized by the state machinery to disrupt particularly those NGOs that are seen to be pushing for political reforms. Yet other conflicts result from ideological differences especially where they anchor on religion. For example the differences between the Catholic Secretariat and NCCK over the distribution of condoms to curb the spread of HIV-AIDS. Conflicts also occur between NGOs and their beneficiaries especially where the beneficiaries fail to agree on the mode of implementation of a project with an NGO. The case of conflict between the GTZ and Kitui residents over mode of distribution of relief food in June 2000 was given as an example. To resolve and effectively manage these kinds of conflict, organizations are expected to have developed certain kinds of mechanisms to deal with them. The study sought to know whether organizations from which the respondents were drawn had mechanisms for resolving conflict. A good proportion of respondents, 46 (34.3%) reported that their organizations had some mechanisms of dealing with conflict. Mechanisms of conflict resolution and management cited by the respondents included conflict management committees 27 (20.1%) and dialogue with parties involved by 23 (17.2%) respondents respectively. The majority respondents 62 (46.3%) said that their organizations did not have any mechanisms for managing and resolving conflicts.

Thus although conflicts of one sort or the other were rife in non –governmental organizations studied, only 20.1% of respondents indicated that their organizations had evolved functional structures to deal with such eventualities. Dialogue, although a regularly used method was not being practiced within set structures in the studied organizations. This finding raises the question of whether NGOs are effectively equipped in promoting constructive conflict management and resolution in society in the process of fostering good governance. For NGOs to be effective in fostering good governance, they have to develop permanent mechanisms for dealing with conflict both among themselves and in society. This way they will contribute to creating an accommodative environment in a context of pluralism in society. The study also sought to establish sources and nature of organizational resources in NGOs studied.

4.5.5 Resources

Resources are very central to achievement of goals and implementation of strategies for any organization. Adequacy of resources determines the extent to which plans drawn by organizations can be met, needs of the intended beneficiaries satisfied as well as the type of strategies employed to tackle presenting problems. Importantly, resource availability determines the ability of an organization to recruit and deploy competent staff as well as remunerate them in such a way as to keep their morale high. The source of resources in any organization also determines power relations in that organization and in relation to other organizations sometimes influencing the direction of benefits and accountability. A review of NGO reports indicated that every organization sampled depended on some funding from

external sources mainly western donors. However, a few NGOs that were membership based also depended on membership subscriptions for support. All organizations also had private individuals as donors and a few like NCCK had invested locally from where they drew some of their finances.

The study sought to establish the amount of resources in terms of organizational finances being used in the operations of NGOs studied. In doing this, the study asked respondents to state their organizations' annual budget for the previous year that is 1999. The following responses were given.

Table 14   Organizations' Annual Budget – 1999

	No	%
Very small 10 million & below	25	18.7
Small 10 –120 million	41	30.6
Medium 20-40 million	25	18.7
Large 40 million	29	21.6
Don't know	8	6.0
N/S	6	4.5
N = 134		

Majority organizations according to 41 (30.6%) respondents had a budget of between Kshs. 10 million and 20 million. Another 25 (18.7%) respondents reported that their organizations had annual budget of below Kshs. 10 million while some other 25 (18.7%) reported their organizations to have had a budget of between Kshs. 20 million to 40 million. Further, 29 (21.6%) respondents said that their organizations had a budget of over Kshs. 40 million.

The findings show that the NGO sector controlled large amounts of resources. One of the study's key informants, a senior official with the NGO coordination Board observed that a lot of money is in circulation in the NGO sector from the west. "Some Kshs. 67 billion is in circulation in the NGO sector budgets and this is far much in comparison to the states annual budget". That indeed, their was need to understand NGOs as the sector through which enormous amounts of resources in terms of finances were being channeled by many institutions. Clark (1991) has made similar observations. These findings also point to the fact that NGOs need to practice good governance internally if they have to use the enormous resources available to them effectively.

The study sought to know the sources of most of NGO financial resources. Respondents were asked to indicate to the best of their knowledge the sources of organizational finances indicating which of the sources was most supportive, supportive, least supportive and not supportive at all in that order. A similar exercise was also done for other non- financial resources. The following pattern of responses emerged:

Table 15   Sources of organizational finances

Sources	Very supportive		Supportive		Not supportive		Not at all supportive	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
International/NGOs (Donors) N = 134	84	62.7	19	14.2	5	3.7	24	17.9
Membership subscriptions N= 134	25	18.7	22	16.4	9	6.7	60	44.8
Organization investments	16	11.9	22	16.4	20	14.9	20	14.9
Private donations N = 134	35	26.1	41	30.6	9	6.7	42	31.3
Foreign Governments, EU, Bilateral institutions N = 134	9	6.7	3	2.2	5	3.2	18	13.4
Government reimbursement N = 134	3	2.2	2	1.5	9	6.7	98	7.1

Majority of the NGOs studied sourced their money from international NGOs commonly referred to as donor organizations. This finding was collaborated with the information gathered through review of secondary sources including NGO reports. The majority, 84 (62.7%) and 19 (14.2%) of the respondents reported that international NGOs were very supportive and supportive respectively in providing financial resources for their operations. This means that a big majority of NGOs were sourcing their resources externally as opposed from within their own structures like investments or membership subscriptions. Only an insignificantly small number of respondents 3 (2.2%) and 2 (1.5%) said that the Kenya government was very supportive or supportive in providing financial resources for their operation. A big proportion, 98 (73.1%) of the respondents said that the government of Kenya was not supportive at all in fostering their financial resources.   In fact, the contribution of the government of Kenya in supporting NGOs is even less than that of

foreign governments and governmental authorities which 9 (6.7%) and 3 (2.2) of respondents said were very supportive and supportive in that order. International NGOs were only followed by private donations and membership contributions in fostering financial support for NGOs with 35 (26.1%) and 41 (30.6%) of respondents reporting that private donations were very supportive and supportive respectively in contributing to the financial resources used by their organizations. Another 25 (18.7%) and 22 (16.4%) respondents said that membership subscriptions were supportive and very supportive respectively in fostering financial resource support for their organizations.

The high level of external sourcing for external resources by NGOs in Kenya raises the question of their ability to stick to programmes that are problem and beneficiaries needs led as opposed to programmes that are led by the interests of international NGOs. It also raises the question of ingenuity of many NGOs. One wonders whether they are not purposively created to source for donor funding other than to address pertinent problems of the communities they claim to serve. The fact that NGOs mostly source their financial resources from international NGOs raises the question of sustainability of their projects and programmes. The extent to which they can sustain their projects financially may be determined by the whims, interests and well wishing of international NGOs other than the magnitude of problems that the NGOs are dealing with on the ground. The view that the dependency on external donor funding by NGOs compromises the effectiveness of their programmes was echoed widely in the findings obtained through key informant discussions. Majority of the key informants felt that NGOs were highly influenced by the interests of donor organizations in their activities. This, they felt compromised the ability of local NGOs

to foster effective meeting of needs at the grassroots. One key informant, a chief executive with a local NGO observed that "... naughty donors tell NGOs what to do. Donors have their interests also, hence it is up to NGOs to decide if they will agree to be manipulated by their donor or not". Thus the view that NGOs projects are largely driven by donor interests is also held by managers in the NGO sector itself. An official with the NGO Coordination Board observed that, "if an NGO has to get funding, then on almost all occasions, it is the donors who seem to decide on the use of their funds..." A manager with the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) observed that although it is not all NGOs who swayed to the whims of donors for "NGOs who depend on donor funding year in year out, there is the risk of being over-dependent on foreign donations and this invites a dictation on what is to be done with their funds." Ng'ethe (1989:8) has observed that dependency on donor funding has driven NGOs to undertake only short term planning usually lasting no more than 2-3 years because funding is not guaranteed beyond that period. He further observes that due to this mode of funding, "most NGOs live from day to day and from hand to mouth." Most NGOs therefore faced with uncertainty in resource availability maintain highly paid staff in the headquarters and a mixture of underpaid staff and volunteers at the field level. In this state of desperation, NGOs tend to demonstrate success by implementing as many projects as possible to impress external donors. In the process, issues of beneficiary involvement and sustainability get ignored. The study also looked at the sources of other resources used by the sampled NGOs. The findings are presented in Table 15 below.

Table 16   Other Resources

Sources	Very supportive		Supportive		Not supportive		Not supportive at all	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
International NGOs N= 134	75	56.0	18	13.4	9	6.7	21	15.7
Private donations N = 134	27	20.12	36	26.6	21	15.7	38	28.4
Members N = 134	13	9.7	20	14.9	12	9.0	64	47.8
Investments N= 134	23	17.2	22	16.4	13	9.2	52	38.8
Foreign governments N = 134	7	5.2	3	2.2	3	2.2	18	13.4
Kenya government N = 134	1	0.7	10	7.5	19	14.2	82	61.2

The pattern of sources of other resources in the organizations studied followed that of financial resources. International NGOs again lead in providing other resources to non - governmental organizations followed by private donations and trailed by the Kenya government. This basically confirms the fact that NGOs in Kenya receive very few resources from within the local environment. Their external orientation in sourcing financial and other resource may end up orienting their accountability towards the donors other than the grassroots communities they claim to serve and undermining sustainability of NGO projects since most of their funding is short term, ideologically driven and therefore largely based in the interests of donors. From these findings it is evident that interests of meeting needs of target beneficiaries often compete with those of satisfying donors and self interest in NGO programmes. The study also examined accountability in NGOs studied.

Accountability

sing the capability of NGOs to foster good governance in Kenya, the study attempted

rstand the dynamics of accountability within NGOs studied. Specifically the study

ed to establish the extent and direction of accountability within NGOs as well as ways

which it was being ensured. Respondents were asked to state ways in which

tability was ensured in their organizations. Findings obtained are presented in table

w.

17   **Ways through which accountability was ensured in the organizations**

studied according to respondents

	No	%
reporting to donors N = 134	112	83.6
reporting to members and beneficiaries N = 134	52	38.8
reporting to government N = 134	42	31.3
gramme evaluations with stakeholders N = 134	59	44.0
nt monitoring of organization programmes	86	64.2
annual audits, external evaluations) N = 134	10	7.5

the findings presented, the most common method of ensuring accountability among

s studied was regular reporting to donors. Majority, 112 (83.6%) respondents said that

organizations ensured accountability through regular reporting to donors. Only 52

%) and 42 (31.3%) respondents said that their organizations were ensuring

accountability through regular reporting to members or beneficiaries and government respectively.

Importantly, 86 (64.2%) respondents reported that their organizations were ensuring accountability through stringent monitoring of organization programmes. From the findings, it is observed that accountability to donors takes high priority among majority of NGOs in Kenya. This of course is explained by the fact that NGOs need to maintain credibility among the donors if they have to enjoy sustained funding from them. Stringent monitoring of programmes may also be explained by the need to ensure accountability to donors. However, we observe that regular reporting to beneficiaries or members as a method of ensuring accountability was mentioned by only 52 (38.8%) of the respondents. This tells that accountability to members and beneficiaries is not a very popular practice among NGOs studied and accordingly not an issue of high priority. Accountability to the government was reported by even a smaller number of respondents (31.3%) which is understood to mean that either NGOs do not take seriously the need to be accountable to government or the Kenya government has not been effective in demanding accountability from NGOs. The Kenya government is faced with the task of watching over an ever growing number of NGOs some of which are not registered as required by the NGO coordination Act and many that lack known offices. Perhaps this may explain the inability of the Kenya government to effectively demand accountability from NGOs. Importantly the government may also be faced with problems of inefficient officers and sometimes inadequate staff to monitor the increasing number of NGOs.

However, it is surprising that it is a very small proportion of respondents who said their organizations were regularly reporting to members or intended beneficiaries. This leads one to question the claim that NGOs draw their legitimacy from the linkages they have with grassroots communities. Either NGOs in Kenya do not have their accountability directed towards the intended beneficiaries or members or their activities are largely donor driven. Consequently activities that are donor agenda and interest driven cannot be to the interests of the intended beneficiaries of NGOs who are largely grassroots communities. For NGOs to effectively foster good governance, their accountability need to take into account the people they serve and particularly grassroots communities. This way, values of good governance and accountability will be disseminated to grassroots organizations, communities and society in general.

The study also sought to establish whether there were any instances to the best of the respondents' knowledge when accountability was not ensured in the organizations. from the total number of respondents, 64 (47.8%) said there were such instances and 70 (52.2%) said they did not know of any instances when accountability was not ensured in their organizations. Further, 61 (45.5%) reported instances of lapses of accountability through misappropriation of finances. Thus although it appears that majority of the respondents viewed accountability as thoroughly ensured by their organizations, still a good proportion could point to instances of lapses in accountability in their organizations especially related to management of finances. Findings from key informant discussions pointed out the view that there were a few NGOs, especially the established ones which were practicing good internal governance and accountability. Many key informants cited Oxfam, Action Aid, Catholic

governance and accountability. Many key informants cited Oxfam, Action Aid, Catholic Secretariat, Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA), and Care International among others. One key informant, a senior manager with Freidrich Ebert Stiftung observed that NGOs are not subject to public scrutiny and as such it is not easy to determine the extent of mal-practices within them. This view was echoed by many other key informants interviewed. The study also explored management of specific areas in the organizations.

Respondents were asked if there were areas which they viewed as not adequately managed in their organizations. The majority, 102 respondents answered yes and 32 respondents answered no. The 102 respondents who answered yes were asked to rate the performance of their organizations in seven selected areas in a (1) very well managed, (2) well managed, (3) not well managed and, (4) not well managed at all scale. The areas selected were; employee's welfare, finances, relations with donors need identification and prioritization, involvement of grassroots communities, relations with government and relations with other organizations in the sector. The ratings of the respondents were computed into cells of (1) very good (2) good (3) bad and (4) very bad fitting the descriptions of respondents as above. The total cell scores on each rating was computed as a percentage of the total expected cell score. The computations are presented in table 18.

Management of specific areas in organizations

er	Very well managed		Well managed		Not well managed		Not well managed at all	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
...ployees welfare	6	4.5	29	21.6	41	30.6	21	15.7
...nces	14	10.4	18	13.4	57	42.5	8	6.0
...ations with donors	22	16.4	35	26.1	30	22.4	10	7.5
...ed identification and prioritization	12	9.0	48	35.8	25	18.7	12	9.0
...volvement of grassroots communities	15	11.2	21	15.7	28	20.9	33	24.6
...ations with the government	9	6.7	21	15.7	38	28.4	30	22.4
...lations with other organizations in the sector	12	9.0	32	23.9	32	23.9	18	13.4
	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %
	90	13	204	29	251	32	132	18

From the findings, it is apparent that NGOs are poorly managed in relation to the seven attributes studied. According to the responses NGOs scored highly (251 or 32%) and 132 or 18% in cell rep percentage). In the not well managed and not well managed at all categories respectively. A small proportion of responses (13% and 29% cell rep) indicated that NGOs were very well and well managed respectively. These findings point to poor management of the NGO sector generally. However, it is observable that not all NGOs were poorly managed according to the responses. This indicates that there is potential for improvement of management of NGOs in the sector if the right initiatives are put in place.

From the table, NGOs are rated as performing poorly in relation to management of finances, involvement of grassroots communities, relations with the government and relations with other organizations in the sector. The areas indicated are key to not only rating the level of good governance practices within NGOs but also their capability to foster good governance in society. If NGOs are poorly managed, then their capability foster good governance in society is threatened.

The above findings were echoed by a majority of the key informants who observed that a large number of NGOs were not practicing accountability and good governance within them. An official with the NGO-Coordination Board observed that "A large number of these organizations, did not seem to practice the slightest of NGO provisions for NGOs operating in Kenya." Some key informants observed that corrupt NGOs have created very strong rapport with the state and therefore were not subjected to the provisions of NGO Coordination Act on most occasions. These NGOs that also avoided advocacy for good governance practices were serving the selfish interests of their leaders and the constituencies they supported among the ruling elite in Kenya. From the findings, there was a feeling emerging that more stringent ethics and measures of evaluation and monitoring needed to be instituted to ensure accountability in the Kenyan NGO sectors so as to maximize the benefits delivered to the grassroots communities in Kenya. Thus although the NGO sector has come out strongly to condemn instances of lack of accountability in the public sphere and in spite of the improved levels of accountability among NGOs reported by the study respondents, there is need for further examination of accountability within the NGO sector itself. Employees welfare, finances, relations with donors, need identification, involvement of

grassroots communities, relations with the government and relations with other organizations in the sector were cited as areas not well managed by the respondents from the 24 NGOs. Thus although NGOs have been viewed as relatively better managed in comparison with the public sphere, there are areas within them that raise questions even among their own employees. For NGOs to effectively foster good governance in society, they need to set a good example to other sectors of society through practicing good governance themselves, especially through good management practices. The study also examined the character of NGO-donor relations.

4.5.6   NGO - Donor Relations

Donor – NGO relations are an important consideration in assessing the role of NGOs in fostering good governance due to a variety of reasons. First, as it is observed in the literature and now established in the findings of this study, most of the local NGOs do not command a strong local resource base with which to support their operations. As such, they are forced to depend on external sources of funding, and particularly international NGOs from the North. This has been seen to orient the accountability of NGOs towards the funders other than the intended beneficiaries (Korten and Hulme 1993). Such scholars have also observed that this kind of relationship compromised the sustainability of NGO projects because once donor funding which is normally short term expired, NGOs failed to sustain follow up on their already existing projects, making them jump into implementing new projects in areas favored by donors.

The study established that majority of NGOs in the study depended on international NGOs for financial and other resources. According to the findings, 84 (67.2%) and 75 (56.0%) of the respondents in the study reported that their organizations had International NGOs as 'very' supportive and supportive sources of their funding and other resources respectively. Dependence on international NGOs for finances and other resources was high compared to the 25 (18.7%) and 13 (9.7%) respondents who reported that their organizations 'very' supportive and supportive source of finances and other resources respectively was membership subscriptions. Similarly, few respondents 35 (26.1%) and 27 (20.1%) reported private individuals as 'very' supportive and supportive source of their financial and other resources respectively. Organization investments were reported by only 16 (11.9%) and 23 (17.2%) of respondents as a very supportive and supportive source of organizational finances and resources respectively. With this being the scenario, one questions whether NGOs are not influenced by donors in choice of their activities and strategies other than by the needs of the beneficiaries. Rather one wonders the extent to which NGO activities are donor led other than beneficiary needs driven.

The study sought to establish the extent to which interests of donors were important in influencing choice of activities carried out by NGOs studied. Findings indicate that 36 (26.9%) of respondents classified donor interests and preferences as a very important consideration in choice of activities by their organizations. Further, 53 (39.6%) of respondents indicated that donor interests and preferences were an important consideration. The proportion of respondents who reported that donor preferences and interests influenced choice of activities in their organizations was higher than the proportion that said they did

not. Only 24 (17.9%) and 20 (14.9%) reported that donor considerations and interests were not important and not important at all considerations in choosing activities in their organizations respectively. This finding was echoed in the discussions with key informants in the study. As one senior official from the International Institute for Rural Reconstruction (IRRR) observed, "Donors tend to... dictate what kind of projects NGOs they are supporting undertake. If they do not meet the requirements of the donors, then funding is stopped. To keep receiving funding, then these NGOs have to adopt the proposals of the donor." The contention that the interests and preferences of donors influenced choice of activities in NGOs was confirmed by the following finding when respondents were asked whether accountability to donors influenced activities in their organizations, 105 (78.4%) answered yes while only 29 (21.6%) answered in the negative.

When the study sought to establish the ways in which need to be accountable to donors influenced the activities of NGOs, the following findings were obtained as shown in Table 19.

Table 19   Ways in which need to be accountable to donors influenced activities of

NGOs

Types of influence		No	%
Influencing choice of activities and programmes by organization	N = 134	67	50.0
Making projects effective	N = 134	44	32.8
Consuming time that would otherwise be spent with beneficiaries	N= 134	28	20.9

From the findings, it is clearly seen that the activities of NGOs are highly influenced by the interests and preferences of donor organizations. Accordingly, 67 (50%) of the respondents indicated that their organizations were influenced by the interests and preferences of donors in choice of their activities. This effect of donors on NGO activities had more respondents than say the effect of making projects and programmes of NGOs effective that had 44 (32.8%) respondents. Key informants felt that most donors will only fund those projects they considered viable and in which they have interests. Their interests keep shifting depending on what one programme officer called "the flavor of the month" (what is ideologically fashionable at the time). One year it is self-reliance the next year gender, the next poverty eradication and the next good governance. This mode of abrupt shifting in donor interest affects project completion and sustainability.

These findings point to a precarious state of affairs since an NGO sector that owes its accountability to international donor organizations will be definitely compromised in advancing the interests of grassroots communities. This is even more so where there are no mechanisms of coordination or monitoring set in areas where NGOs claim to do their work. Obviously, in this kind of arrangements and with grassroots communities having little power and no access to the donor organizations, accountability to beneficiaries cannot be maximized. Needs of beneficiaries risk taking a second position while local NGOs prioritize their projects based on the interests of the funders who are mainly international NGOs from the North. The study also examined the state of NGO-Government relations and how they affected the functioning of NGOs.

4.5.7 NGO-Government Relations

The study sought to establish whether NGOs studied were cooperating with the government in the course of their work. A majority, 84 (62.7%) of the respondents reported that their organization were cooperating with the government in the course of their work while 49 (36.6%) of the respondents reported their organizations were not. This shows that although NGOs were viewed as highly opposed to the Kenya government, many of them were still trying to work with the government in the course of conducting their activities. The proportion of NGOs that were not working with the government in the course of their operations was also significantly high at to (36.6%) of the respondents. The high levels of cooperation between NGOs and government in Kenya can be explained by the fact that the Kenyan state penetrates all sectors of society. In order for NGOs to achieve a conducive working environment, and in order to be seen to be credible, they try to get into some form of involvement with government departments and officials. It is also important to realize that the Kenya government machinery spreads deeply and widely in the society. NGOs have to strike some rapport and working relations with government officials to avoid unnecessary disruptions in their work especially in a situation where they are viewed as controlling enormous amounts of resources and are being viewed by the government suspiciously. In the process of cooperating, some NGOs get co-opted into the government programmes and others get frustrated because the government claims credibility for what they have done.

The study sought to establish areas of cooperation between the NGOs studied and the Kenya government. A majority, 47 (35.1%) of the respondents said their organizations' cooperation was sectoral (health, education, agricultural etc) while 40 (29.2%) said their organizations cooperation was at policy level. Most of these were working with the government officials to promote good policies in a strategy understood as lobbying. Only 14 (10.4%) said their organizations role in co-operation was advisory.

Other than the organizations cooperating with the government at sectoral level, probably in the provision of basic services and infrastructure, these findings point to a situation where majority of the NGOs who were involved in lobbying government for changes in policies were seeing themselves as working hand in hand with the government.

The study sought to establish the problems NGOs encountered in the process of cooperating with the government in the course of their operations. A good proportion, 65 (48.5%) reported experiencing problems in the process of cooperating with the government. Of these 31 (28.1%) reported experiencing problems of inefficiency and ineffectiveness of government departments, 31 (23.1%) reported interference from government functionaries, 15 (11.2%) reported problems of bureaucratic red tape while only 10 (7.5%) reported frequent change of contact persons in the government departments.

These findings confirm the view that most NGOs have held in the process of advocating for change of governance style in the public arena in Kenya. In agitating for change, NGOs have argued for the need to reform the public sector to make it responsive to the needs of the

populace. Inefficiency and ineffectiveness of government departments as well as interference by government functionaries emerged as the major problem undermining cooperation between the government and NGOs. The study also sought to establish the legal, administrative and policy obstacles that affected the work of NGOs.

4.5.7.1 Legal, Policy and Administrative bottlenecks

NGO's highly featuring in advocacy have echoed feeling of being constricted by government policies and laws.

The study sought to establish the kinds of legal and administrative bottlenecks that were affecting the studied NGOs in their work.

Table 20   Legal Administrative and Policy bottlenecks affecting NGOs' work

Legal/policy administration obstacles		No	%
NGO registration/operation laws	N = 134	47	35.1
Policies on service delivery	N = 134	53	39.9
Laws generally (e.g. public order act)	N = 134	48	35.8
Interference from government operatives	N = 134	26	19.4

According to the findings presented, 47 (35.1%) of the respondents reported NGO registration and operation laws as the most threatening obstacle to their work. Majority respondents 53 (39.9%) reported policies related to service delivery particularly structural adjustments policies (SAPs) as the most threatening obstacle to good work by their

organizations. This is an important finding since it points to the impact of Structural Adjustments Policies on NGOs work. The implementation of SAPs has had the implications of increasing the vulnerability to the already poor and marginalized consequently increasing the burden of NGOs in providing services and helping the poor. How the government policies and laws on provision of services have affected the ability of NGOs to carry out this responsibility is not clear.

Although interference by government functionaries was reported by a very small proportion of respondents 26 (19.4%), laws generally especially the public order act was reported by 48 (35.8%) respondents as a major obstacle to NGOs work. This points to the fact that although the society is seen to have opened up in the last decade, the legal environment has not yet been made conducive for the operation of NGOs in the course of carrying out their activities. The two, laws and interference from government operatives become especially important where NGOs are involved in agitation for the rights of the marginalized or their activities were seen to have direct political implications especially civic education and grassroots mobilization. The study examined government actions that affected NGOs' work.

4.5.7.2 Government actions that affect NGOs

The study sought to establish whether there were any government actions that had affected the work of the organizations studied in the recent past. According to the findings, 86 (64.2%) respondents reported that their work had been affected by actions of government while 47 (35.1%) reported that their work had not been affected in any way by government

actions. From the findings, it is evident that majority of the NGOs were affected by the actions of the government one way or the other. The study sought to establish ways in which NGOs were affected by the actions of government. From the analysis, 43 (32.1%) respondents reported having their licenses for workshops and meetings cancelled, and 34 (25.4%) reported harassment of their organizations officials by government operatives in the course of working. Only 33 (24.6%) reported specific policies passed including Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) as the actions of the central government that had affected their work.

From these findings it is clear that the legal policy and administrative environment have not been conducive for the work and operation of NGOs. Government policies, laws or actions affected the work of NGOs studied. The study sought to establish the climate of feelings between the government and NGOs in Kenya. The respondents were asked to characterize the kind of relationship they thought existed between their organizations and the government. Findings obtained are presented in the table 21.

Table 21   Relations between government and NGOs

	No	%
Very cordial	6	4.5
Cordial	36	26.9
Neutral	42	31.3
Adversarial	37	27.6
Very adversarial	12	9.0
N/s	1	0.2
	N = 134	100

From the findings, very few respondents (4.5%) reported very cordial relations between their organization and the government. Quite a significant number of respondents 36 (26.9%) said that their organizations enjoyed cordial relations with the government. A good proportion, 49 (36.5%) of the respondents characterized the relationship between their organizations and the government as either adversarial or very adversarial. These findings show that the relations between the NGOs and government have largely remained uneasy. Many of the respondents 42 (31.3%) found the relations between their organization and the government ambivalent thus characterizing them as neutral. Therefore, although many NGOs were claiming to cooperate with the government, very few of them seemed to have worked a positive and highly cooperative climate of feelings in the process of cooperation. Respondents were asked to give their opinions on the following statements appertaining to government – NGO relations; (1) Relations between government and NGOs are cordial (2) The government has been supportive of NGO sector growth and operations (3) Utterances of public officials have encouraged cooperation between the government and NGOs. (4) Actions of the central government have encouraged the flourishing of NGO activities. Respondents were required to indicate whether they, (1) Strongly agreed (2) Disagreed, (3) Were neutral, (4) disagreed or (5) strongly disagreed in relation to each of the four statements. The ratings were computed into cells of (1) very good (2) good (3) neutral, (4) bad (5) very bad matching the five point opinion scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The expectation is that if any one cell was to score 100 percent it would have 134 x 4 or 536 responses. The findings are presented in Table 22

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Table 22   Perceptions of respondents on NGO-Government Relations.

Aspect	Very good		Good		Neutral		Bad		Very bad	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Relations between government & NGOs are cordial	9	6.7	21	15.7	11	8.2	61	45.5	30	22.4
The government has been supportive of NGO growth and operations	9	6.7	27	20.1	18	13.4	54	40.3	23	17.2
Utterances of public officials have encouraged cooperation between government and NGOs	6	4.5	9	6.7	13	9.7	56	4.8	48	35.8
Actions of the central government are encouraging the flourishing of NGO activities	14	10.4	23	17.2	13	9.7	56	41.8	26	19.4
	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %
	38	7	80	15	55	10	227	42	127	24

From the table, it is clear that majority of the respondents rated NGO –government relations unfavorably 42% and 24% cell rep while only 10% of respondents were undecided and therefore rated them as neutral. Only a small proportion of respondents 7% and 15% rated NGO –government relations in Kenya as very good and good respectively. This points to a state of affairs where a facilitative environment for NGOs work was not existing, which could undermine the ability of NGOs to influence policies and foster good governance practices in the public realm through joint interactions with the government.

Key informants largely observed that most of the confrontation between NGOs and the government of Kenya arose when the activities of NGOs tended to contradict the interests of

the ruling elite or the aspirations of rule of law as laid down in the country's constitution. Other reasons of strained relations between NGOs and government were seen to result from the exercising of the NGO Coordination Act which has been used to refuse registration and to de-register NGOs that the government deemed to have political programmes and NGOs leading in the same coalition with the political opposition and therefore antagonizing government interests. The suspicion that the government has over NGO activities is compounded by the common view that NGOs in Kenya are controlling enormous amounts of finances channeled from the western countries. One official from the NGO Coordination Board, which is the government authority charged with regulating NGOS put the amount of money circulating in the NGO sector for advocacy only at Kshs. 67 billion which he said was "too much in comparison to the state's (Kenyan) annual budget." These reasons have led the Kenyan government to seek to monitor and at times to control the activities of NGOs who in turn have responded by coaliting with opposition groups to call for the reform of the state. This kind of relation has fostered a climate of uneasiness and suspicion between NGOs and the government. The study attempted to evaluate the general performance by NGOs in fostering good governance in Kenya.

4.5.8 General Performance

Respondents were asked to indicate whether the activities of their organizations fostered good governance in society. Majority of the respondents 122 (91%) indicated that the activities of their organizations fostered good governance in society. This finding points to a high involvement of NGOs in behavior that would be considered to be deliberately aimed at

fostering good governance in society. A similar view emerged from discussions with key informants. That NGOs had to some significant extent contributed to the promotion of good governance in Kenyan society. The respondents felt that the activities of NGOs either singly or in coalition like the National Convention Executive Council (NCEC) had to a large extent contributed to fostering a climate of openness and discussions on issues pertaining to good governance particularly the constitutional review process and civic education; NGOs like the NCCK, the Catholic Secretariat, NGO Council, Green Belt Movement in conjunction with opposition groupings were seen as having played an important role in bringing out evils of corruption, abuse of rights, poverty and elite engineered civil strife among communities in Kenya. This group of organizations was viewed as having promoted a climate of negotiation between the government and other groups in the society opposed to it. However, respondents felt that the NGO sector in its entirety had not done as much as it could have done in fostering good governance due to its divided nature and the self interest pervading the sector. Weaknesses of conflict and competition between NGOs as well as the failure to involve people at the grassroots were brought out as factors constraining the contribution of NGOs in fostering good governance in Kenya. The study went further to establish ways in which the activities of the studied organizations were seen by the respondents to foster good governance in society. The findings are presented in table 23 below:

Table 23   Ways in which activities of NGOs fostered good governance in society.

Method	No	%
Creating awareness and civic education N = 134	42	31.3
Advocacy and lobbying for rights N = 134	58	43.3
Building grassroots organizations and capacity N = 134	29	21.6
Helping the poor directly N = 134	22	16.4
Promoting conflict resolution N = 134	10	7.5

From the responses, 42 (31.3%) respondents felt that their organizations fostered good governance through civic education and awareness creation, 58 (43.3%) felt that their organizations were fostering good governance through advocacy and lobbying for rights and 29 (21.6%) did so through building capacity at the grassroots. Only 22 (16.4%) viewed helping the poor directly as the chief way through which their organizations were fostering good governance.

From the findings, civic education and advocacy for rights emerges as the most popular methods through which NGOs were fostering good governance.   Building grassroots organizations and capacity emerges third with only 21.6% of the respondents.   Other methods like helping the poor directly and promoting conflict resolution in society were cited by a very small proportion of the respondents.

These findings again raise questions about the ingenuity of the NGOs project in claiming to be at the forefront of championing for good governance reform in Kenya. Although one

cannot ignore the fact that with increased funding and consequent movement into service provision to the marginalized groups and the poor, NGOs have acquired heightened popularity with the people. Also, because they identify with issues that concern the marginalized sections of society and indeed at times voice these concerns to authority in society and on many occasions to the state, NGOs have featured as important purveyors of the values of good governance in Kenyan society.

However, one questions the extent to which NGOs adopt empowering approaches in the process of fostering good governance. The methods of civic education and lobbying for rights are popular methods of not only educating the people but also fostering accountability among the governors to the governed. The problem is that these methods could fail to empower the grassroots communities to safeguard values of good governance and to foster these in their own organizations and communities. Strategies of promoting good governance in society need to embody elements of capacity building, grassroots empowerment and people participation (Wai 1995, Riddel et al 1995). Unfortunately only 21.6% of respondents in the study reported that their organizations were consciously promoting grassroots capacities and building people's organizations in the process of fostering good governance. Could the efforts at promoting good governance by NGOs in Kenya through advocacy and civic education be largely donor agenda driven therefore explaining the failure to take into account issues of sustainability and building capacities among the people for whom benefits are meant? One key informant observed that "to some extent, some few selected NGOs have led the call by the Kenyan population for political change from autocracy to democracy But still only little has been achieved. Simply because the few NGOs that have tended to

support the movement for democratic change have grossly remained urban with little grassroots involvement". It is observed in this study that indeed, NGOs are largely operating with the middle class groups in society ignoring the power that lies at the grassroots that can be channeled to reform society.

The study further sought to establish the effectiveness of the strategies employed by the 24 NGOs studied in fostering good governance as perceived by the respondents. Respondents were asked to rank the effectiveness of the strategies employed in fostering good governance on a very effective to not effective at all four point scale. Their responses are presented in Table 24.

Table 24   Effectiveness of NGO strategies in fostering good governance

Approach	Very effective		Effective		Not effective		Not effective at all	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Advocacy/lobbying N = 134	48	35.8	30	22.4	18	13.4	27	20.1
Education/awareness creation N = 134	57	42.5	32	23.9	16	11.9	17	12.7
Building grassroots capacities/organizations N = 134	36	26.9	28	20.9	25	18.7	31	23.1
Helping the poor directly N = 134	35	26.1	22	16.4	51	38.1	10	7.5
Lobbying for political reform directly N = 134	19	14.2	18	13.4	9	6.7	75	56.0

From the findings, it is clear that advocacy and lobbying as employed in the studied NGOs were perceived as very effective and effective methods of fostering good governance by 48 (35.8%) and 30 (22.4%) respondents respectively. Awareness creation and civic education

were also perceived as very effective and effective methods of fostering good governance by the 57 (42.5%) and 32 (23.9%) respondents respectively. Surprisingly, only 36 (26.9%) and 28 (20.9%) respondents perceived their organizations approach to fostering good governance through grassroots empowerment as very effective and effective methods respectively. Even more surprising, only 14.2% and 13.4% of respondents cited direct lobbying for political reform as very effective and effective methods to fostering good governance by their organizations. A good 75 (56.0%) of respondents perceived their organizations not to be effective at all in lobbying for political reform directly.

Respondents presented in Table 25 were weighted in a likert scale. The responses on the perceived effectiveness of NGO strategies of advocating and lobbying, education and awareness creation, building grassroots organizations, helping the poor directly and lobbying for political reform directly were computed into cells of (1) very good, (2) good (3) bad, (4) very bad to match the ratings of very effective, effective and not effective and not effective at all. The logic being that if any one cell was to score 744 (100 percent which is 134 x 6) if it has to represent the perception of all the respondents on the performance of NGOs.

Table 25   Effectiveness of NGOs activities in fostering good governance

Activity	Very good		Good		Bad		Very bad	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Advocacy for marginalized groups	48	35.8	30	22.4	18	13.4	27	20.1
Capacity building with grassroots organizations	36	26.9	28	20.9	25	18.7	31	23.1
Helping the poor directly	35	26.1	22	16.4	1.1	8.2	51	38.1
Information dissemination education	57	42.5	32	23.9	16	11.9	17	12.7
Lobbying for political reform directly	19	14.2	18	13.4	9	6.7	75	56.0
Empowering grassroots communities	14	10.4	38	28.4	25	18.7	46	34.3
	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %
	209	28	168	23	104	14	247	33

Table 25 shows that NGOs were rated fairly by the respondents in the six attributes of advocating for marginalized groups, capacity building with grassroots organizations, helping the poor, information dissemination, lobbying for political reform directly and empowering grassroots communities. Accordingly, 28% and 23% of the respondents rated NGOs as very good and good respectively while 14% and 33% of the respondents rated them as bad and very bad respectively in relation to the six attributes. Thus although majority of the respondents rated the NGOs on the positive, quite a good proportion did not rate NGOs positively in relation to the six attributes. However, from Table 25, it is observable that NGOs scored low in such areas as lobbying for political reform directly, helping the poor and empowering grassroots communities.

Similar findings were obtained when respondents were asked to rate their organization's performance in 12 areas as follows; representing interests of marginalized groups, involving intended beneficiaries, building grassroots organizations, maintaining independence from donors, ensuring accountability to stakeholders, and drawing broad based membership from all sections of society. Other areas included were practicing good governance in NGOs, promoting joint problem solving in society, disseminating information to the public, promoting joint problem solving and conflict management in society, meeting needs of beneficiaries and lobbying government and other institutions in society for change. .

However, when the responses were analyzed on the basis of the respondents ranking in the organization, different patterns of rating emerged among the junior, middle level and executive staff. Among the junior cadre staff, NGOs were ranked unfavorably in terms of effectiveness as shown in table 26.

Table 26   **Effectiveness of organizations activities in fostering good governance in society as perceived by junior staff.**

Activity	Very good		Good		Bad		Very bad	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Advocacy for marginalized groups	11	22	12	24	14	28	2	3.2
Capacity building with grassroots Organizations	15	30	9	18	13	26	13	26
Helping the poor directly	14	28	11	22	8	16	17	34
Disseminating information to the public	20	40	8	16	10	20	11	22
Lobbying for political reform directly	6	12	3	6	7	14	34	68
Empowering grassroots communities	9	18	7	14	13	26	22	44
	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %
	75	25	50	17	65	22	110	37

From the table it is clear that NGOs scored highly in the bad and the very bad categories in relation to effectiveness with 22% and 37% score respectively. This represents a different perception score from that of the total 134 respondents. But still even within this staff ranking, NGOs scored unfavorably in attributes of empowering grassroots communities, lobbying for political reform directly, capacity building with grassroots organizations and

advocacy of marginalized groups. The study also analyzed the responses of middle level management staff and the pattern of scoring is as shown in table 27.

Table 27   **Effectiveness of organization activities in fostering good governance as perceived by middle level management staff.**

Activity	Very good		Good		Bad		Very bad	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Advocacy for marginalized groups	17	27.4	14	23	6	10	4	23
Capacity building with grassroots organizations	10	16	9	15	11	18	24	39
Helping the poor directly	15	24	5	8	2	3	31	50
Disseminating information to the public	26	34	17	27.4	2	3	6	10
Lobbying for political reform directly	5	8	2	3	2	3	42	68
Empowering grassroots communities	4	6.4	18	29	12	19	17	27.4
	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %
	77	21	65	17	35	9	134	36

Among this category of ranking of staff, a closely similar pattern of responses to that of junior staff was obtained. NGOs scored poorly in the areas of capacity building with grassroots organizations, lobbying for political reform directly and empowering grassroots communities. However, middle level management staff rated NGOs favorably in advocacy for marginalized groups and helping the poor directly different from the rating of junior staff in general however, NGOs were seen as less effective by middle level management with 36% and 9% scoring in the bad and very bad categories respectively. A totally different pattern of

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rating of effectiveness of NGOs was obtained among the executive staff. Table 28 represents

a favorable rating of NGOs by executive staff in the six attributes.

Table 28   Effectiveness of organization in fostering good governance as perceived by chief executives.

Activity	Very good		Good		Bad		Very bad	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Advocacy for marginalized groups	20	91	2	9			—	—
Capacity building with grassroots organizations	11	50	10	45.4	1	4.5	—	—
Helping the poor directly	6	27	8	36	5	22.7	3	14
Disseminating information to the public	11	50	7	32	3	13.6	—	—
Lobbying for political reform directly	8	36.3	10	45.4	2	9	2	10
Empowering grassroots communities	1	4.5	13	59	6	27	2	9
	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %
	57	43	50	38	17	13	7	5

From the table, it is clear that NGOs scored a good 43% and 38% in the very good and good

categories respectively. In particular, NGOs scored highly in the areas of advocating for

marginalized groups. Capacity building with grassroots organizations, lobbying for political

reform directly and empowering grassroots communities. This is surprising considering the

low ratings set in these areas by junior and middle level staff

Respondents were asked to rate the performance of NGOs in each of the areas on a four point scale ranging from a very good, good, bad and very bad scale. The responses were utilized to construct scale with the assumption that if each cell was to present a 100 percent responses, (that is 134 x 12) then it would have 1608 scores. The scale is presented in Table 29 below

Table 29   Perceived performance of NGOs in specific areas.

Area of performance	Very good		Good		Poor		Very poor	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Representing interests of marginalized groups/members	28	20.9	53	39.6	50	37.3	3	2.2
Involving intended beneficiaries and grassroots communities	27	20.1	39	29.1	34	25.4	34	25.3
Building grassroots organizations	27	20.1	35	26.1	39	29.1	33	24.6
Maintaining independence from donors	10	7.5	30	22.4	57	42.5	37	27.6
Ensuring accountability to stakeholders	18	13.4	49	36.6	44	32.8	23	17
Drawing broadbased membership from all sections of society	19	14.2	27	20.1	57	42.5	31	23.7
Practicing good governance within NGOs	13	9.7	51	38	62	46.2	8	6.0
Promoting joint and problem solving in society	27	20.1	54	40.2	42	20.1 31.3	10	7.5
Disseminating information to public	57	42.5	38	28.3	22	16.4	17	12.6
Promoting joint conflict management and resolution in society	44	32.8	40	29.9	27	20.1	24	17.9
Meeting needs of beneficiaries	27	20.1	58	43.3	34	25.3	14	10.4
Lobbying government ands other institutions in society for change	24	17.9	26	19.4	45	33.5	39	29.1
Rating	Rate score 301	Cell rep % 19	Rate score 500	Cell rep % 31	Rate score 513	Cell rep % 32	Rate score 273	Cell rep % 17

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The Table shows that NGOs were rated fairly by respondents in the 12 areas. The NGOs studied scored 19% and 31% very good and good respectively and 32% and 17% bad and very bad respectively. This shows that NGOs were performing fairly well in fostering good governance in Kenyan society. However they scored lowly in attributes such as lobbying and advocacy, maintaining independence from donors, ensuring accountability to stakeholders, involving intended beneficiaries and drawing broad based memberships from all sections in society as well as building strong grassroots organizations. This raises questions appertaining to the performance of NGOs especially when they were not doing well in terms of the above listed attributes.

What emerges from these findings is that although NGOs have been seen to be at the forefront of agitating for good governance in Kenya, very few of them have actually attempted to effectively move into promoting good governance reform through direct action. This may perhaps explain the fact that NGOs have also tended to downplay the importance of grassroots mobilization and capacity building as a strategy for fostering good governance in Kenya. This could perhaps be explained by the hostility that NGOs stand to face particularly from the state especially when they are seen to openly advocate for the reform of the state and society in general or to mobilize grassroots communities to agitate for their rights. Which would mean that, although NGOs are seemingly at the forefront of fostering good governance in Kenya, their activities other than advocacy and awareness creation are not aimed at directly challenging poor governance structures in the public or private spheres of society. If this finding is taken into account, one is led to strongly question the role of NGOs as organizations in civil society.

Responses of 134 respondents were analyzed by ranks in relation to performance. The ratings by junior staff in very good, good, bad and very bad categories were used to construct a scale with the assumption that if each cell was to represent 100% responses (that is 50*12), then it would have 600 scores. The scale is presented in table 30

Table 30   Perceived performance of NGOs in specific areas by junior staff.

Area of performance	Very good		Good		Bad		Very bad	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Representing interests of marginalized groups in society	6	12	20	40	21	48	____	____
Involving intended beneficiaries and grassroots communities	8	16	16	32	16	32	10	20
Building grassroots organizations	9	18	12	24	19	38	10	20
Maintaining independence from donors	4	8	5	10	27	54	14	28
Ensuring accountability to stakeholders	4	8	23	46	11	22	12	24
Drawing broad based membership from all sections of society	7	14	6	12	19	38	18	36
Practicing good governance within NGOs	6	12	10	20	26	52	8	16
Promoting joint problem solving in society	13	26	17	34	16	32	4	8
Disseminating information to the public	18	36	18	36	10	20	4	8
Promoting joint conflict resolution in society	15	30	11	22	15	30	9	18
Meeting needs of beneficiaries	6	12	24	48	10	20	10	20
Lobbying government institutions for change	7	14	7	14	19	38	17	34
	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %
	103	17	169	28	212	35	116	19

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From the table it is evident that NGOs are rated unfavourably in performance in the twelve attributes by junior staff. NGOs scored 35% and 19% in cell rep % in the bad and vey bad categories respectively. An almost similar pattern of responses and scoring was obtained when a similar process of analysis was repeated with 62 respondents in the middle level management staff in table 31.

Table 31   **Perceived performance of NGOs in specific areas by middle level**

staff management.

Area of performance	Very good		Good		Bad		Very bad	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Representing interests of marginalized groups in society	14	22.5	22	35.4	24	38.7	2	3.2
Involving intended beneficiaries and grassroots communities	10	16	15	24.1	14	22.5	23	37
Building grassroots organizations	10	16	14	22.5	15	24.1	23	37
Maintaining independence from donors	5	8	17	27.4	21	33.8	19	30.6
Ensuring accountability to stakeholders	9	14.5	11	17.7	31	50	11	17.7
Drawing broad based membership from all sections of society	9	14.5	11	17.7	31	50	11	17.7
Practicing good governance within NGOs	5	8	23	37	34	54.8	—	—
Promoting joint problem solving in society	9	14.4	20	32.2	26	41.9	6	9.6
Disseminating information to the public	21	33.8	16	25.8	12	19.3	13	20.9
Promoting joint conflict resolution in society	21	33.8	17	27.4	10	16	15	24.1
Meeting needs of beneficiaries	12	19.3	27	43.5	21	33.8	2	3.2
Lobbying government institutions for change	8	12.9	17	27.4	15	24.1	22	35.4
	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %
	112	15	210	28	254	34	147	20

From the table it is clear that middle level management staff rated NGOs unfavourably in terms of performance in relation to the 12 attributes. NGOs scored 34% and 20% in cell rep

% in the bad and very bad categories respectively. Thus generally, the middle level staff did not see NGOs as performing to their expectations in the 12 listed areas. This pattern of responses is reflective of their perceptions of NGOs effectiveness in table 27. this evaluation of performance of NGOs by middle level staff stands in contrast to that of executive staff as shown in the rating score analysis in table 32.

Table 32.

Performance of NGOs in specific areas as perceived by chief executives

Area of performance	Very good		Good		Bad		Very bad	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Representing interests of marginalized groups in society	8	36.3	11	50	2	9	1	4.5
Involving intended beneficiaries and grassroots communities	9	40.9	8	36.3	4	18	1	4.5
Building grassroots organizations	8	36.3	9	40.9	5	22.7	—	—
Maintaining independence from donors	1	4.5	8	36.3	9	40.9	4	18.1
Ensuring accountability to stakeholders	5	22.7	15	68	2	9	—	—
Having broad based membership from all sections of society	3	13.61	10	45.4	7	31.8	2	9
Practicing good governance within NGOs	2	9	18	81	2	9	—	—
Promoting joint problem solving in society	5	22.7	17	77.2	—	—	—	—
Disseminating information to the public	18	18	4	18				
Promoting joint conflict resolution in society	8	36.3	12	54.5	2	9	—	—
Meeting needs of beneficiaries	10	45.4	7	31.8	3	13.6	2	9
Lobbying government institutions for change	9	40.9	2	9	11	50	—	—
	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %
	86	33	121	46	47	18	10	4

From the table it is evident that NGOs are rated unfavourably in performance in the twelve attributes by junior staff. NGOs scored 35% and 19% in cell rep % in the bad and vey bad categories respectively An almost similar pattern of responses and scoring was obtained when a similar process of analysis was repeated with 62 respondents in the middle level management staff in table 31.

Table 31   Perceived performance of NGOs in specific areas by middle level
                              staff management.

Area of performance	Very good		Good		Bad		Very bad	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Representing interests of marginalized groups in society	14	22.5	22	35.4	24	38.7	2	3.2
Involving intended beneficiaries and grassroots communities	10	16	15	24.1	14	22.5	23	37
Building grassroots organizations	10	16	14	22.5	15	24.1	23	37
Maintaining independence from donors	5	8	17	27.4	21	33.8	19	30.6
Ensuring accountability to stakeholders	9	14.5	11	17.7	31	50	11	17.7
Drawing broad based membership from all sections of society	9	14.5	11	17.7	31	50	11	17.7
Practicing good governance within NGOs	5	8	23	37	34	54.8	---	---
Promoting joint problem solving in society	9	14.4	20	32.2	26	41.9	6	9.6
Disseminating information to the public	21	33.8	16	25.8	12	19.3	13	20.9
Promoting joint conflict resolution in society	21	33.8	17	27.4	10	16	15	24.1
Meeting needs of beneficiaries	12	19.3	27	43.5	21	33.8	2	3.2
Lobbying government institutions for change	8	12.9	17	27.4	15	24.1	22	35.1
	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %	Rate score	Cell rep %
	112	15	210	28	254	34	147	20

From the table it is clear that middle level management staff rated NGOs unfavourably in terms of performance in relation to the 12 attributes. NGOs scored 34% and 20% in cell rep

Chief executives generally rated NGOs highly in terms of performance in the twelve areas. NGOs scored 33% and 46% in the very good and good categories of performance respectively. A look at the pattern of ratings shows that NGOs were rated highly in all the 12 attributes by chief executives. This is probably reflective of the positions they occupy in the organizations, that is policy and leadership. The pattern of scoring reflects a discrepancy in opinion on NGOs performance between chief executives and other cadres of staff in the organizations.

The study also sought to establish the constraints that the organizations studied were facing in the process of fostering good governance in society. Majority of the respondents 108 (80.6%) reported that their organizations were facing constraints in the process of fostering good governance. Only 20 (14.9%) respondents reported that their organizations were not faced with any constraints. Thus although many organizations were involved in activities respondents perceived to be aimed at fostering good governance, many of them were not operating without problems. Respondents were asked to identify the constraints their organizations were facing in order of priority. The findings obtained are presented in Table 33

Table 33   Constraints faced by NGOs in the process of fostering good
governance

Constraint	Very constraining		Constraining		Not constraining		Not constraining at all	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Inadequate resources (including finances) N = 134	57	42.5	36	26.9	8	6.0	7	5.2
Inadequate staff N = 134	10	7.5	37	27.6	25	18.7	30	22.4
Hostility and blocks from government N = 134	60	44.8	23	17.2	11	8.2	13	9.7
Poor commitment by staff and leaders N = 134	16	11.9	15	11.2	27	20.1	47	35.1
Conflict with other organizations in the sector N = 134	7	5.2	24	17.9	30	22.4	42	31.3
Poor support at the grassroots N = 134	4	3.0	16	11.9	27	20.1	50	37.3
Poor support from donors N = 134	16	11.9	22	16.4	28	20.9	38	28.4

The main constraints cited by the respondents among others were resources including finances, staff, hostility and blocks resulting from government actions and policies, conflict with other organizations in the sector, poor support from donors, poor commitment from staff and leaders as well as poor grassroots support. Inadequate resources was given as a very constraining and constraining difficulty by 57 (42.5%) and 36 (26.9%) respondents respectively. This finding shows that lack of resources was one of the major constraints facing NGOs in fostering good governance. Hostility and blocks resulting from government actions and policies were the leading constraints to the work of studied organizations with 60 (44.8%) and 23 (17.2%) respondents reporting it as a very constraining and constraining obstacle respectively. Thus from this finding, one can deduce that the current government NGO relations were highly constraining to the project of fostering good governance by NGOs. The Kenya government has viewed the increased participation of NGOs in issues of development and governance with suspicion and has on many occasions acted accordingly. The two, Kenya government and NGOs have remained wary of each other and as such a conducive environment for the operation of NGOs in fostering good governance has not emerged in the administrative, policy, legal and political contexts. The hostile relations between the Kenya government and NGOs have been observed in the literature (Ngunyi and Cowen 1997, Ndegwa 1996, Bratton 1987, Yaansah 1995). This state of affairs points to a need for both NGOs and the Government to work towards developing policies that are facilitative to joint undertakings between the two and that create a good environment for the operation of NGOs. However, this may not be readily possible especially when the Kenya Government is highly resisting reform and accusing the NGOs of practicing politics. The fact that donors are also increasingly channeling development resources through NGOs ignoring

the government might create more unease between NGOs and the Kenya Government. The regime of good governance practices in the public realm might need to be altered significantly to attract more resources for the government before the government considers opening up to cooperation with NGOs.

Poor support at the grassroots was the constraint least experienced by NGOs studied according to the respondents. Only 3% and 11.9% of respondents viewed poor support at the grassroots as very constraining and constraining respectively to NGOs' efforts at fostering good governance. This leads one to wonder why the base of NGOs' efforts at fostering good governance has not been at the grassroots. Although NGOs were not experiencing resistance at the grassroots, they had failed to mainstream grassroots involvement and participation in their efforts at fostering good governance in Kenya. Findings from the study indicate a low level of involvement of grassroots communities in decision making, planning and activities of NGOs through popular methods of empowerment, participation, elections, monitoring and evaluation as well as local capacity building with grassroots organizations.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study on the role of NGOs in fostering Good Governance in Kenya sought to investigate four aspects of NGOs in relation to promoting good governance in Kenya. The four aspects chosen for this study were effectiveness of structures and activities of NGOs, representations of grassroots interests by NGOs, donor – NGO relations and NGO- government relations The study established many variables within each of these aspects which it followed and examined based on the responses of 134 survey respondents drawn from 24 selected NGOs and 15 key informants, knowledgeable individuals either drawn from the NGO umbrella bodies, government authorities charged with the regulation of NGOs, International (donor) Organizations, local NGOs and academic institutions. The data gathered using the two methods was also supported by information gathered through secondary methods of document and media reports review and simple observation.

Findings from the study point to a very ambivalent role of NGOs in fostering good governance in Kenya. While it is observable from the findings that NGOs do have a potential for playing a major role in fostering good governance in Kenyan society, they hitherto have not played it effectively

This emerges from the findings as partly an outcome of the organization of NGOs in the sector in relation to the needs and demands for their inputs in fostering good governance in

Kenyan society. It also comes out as a product of the function of interplay of dynamics of social, political, ideological, economic, class and self-interest that operate to shape the character and operations of NGOs in Kenya. Examined from one point of view, it is very easy to conclude that NGOs have indeed played a major role in fostering good governance in Kenyan society. This even emerged in the findings of this study as some important credit that could not be denied to the NGO sector as a whole. Indeed, findings from both survey data and key informant discussions points to the fact that the activities and strategies of NGOs either done deliberately or inadvertently have to a significant level shaped the discourse and terrain of good governance practices in Kenya.

Some NGOs particularly the very established ones like the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK), the Catholic Secretariat, The Law Society of Kenya, National Convention Executive Council (NCEC) and Green Belt Movement were identified by many of the study respondents as organizations whose contribution to the task of promoting good governance in Kenya could not be ignored. The view being that their efforts at advocating for good governance practices (e.g. Repeal of section 2A of the Kenyan Constitution that ushered in multi-partism, constitutional review process and public civic awareness) have led to the opening up of society and consequently increased participation of citizens and groups in issues of social, political, and economic nature affecting their lives.

NGOs have also been credited for having served to meet the needs of many marginalized groups both in rural and urban Kenya. The role of NGOs in provision of services and in helping the poor and the disadvantaged even became more visible during the period after the

introduction of structural adjustment programmes in Kenya in the late 1980s. Findings from the study indicate that majority of the NGOs interviewed had their activities focused to meeting the needs of marginalized groups and the disadvantaged sections of the Kenyan society.

But further examination of the four aspects of NGOs in relation to their role in fostering good governance in Kenya namely structures and activities, representation, NGO-donor relations and NGO-government reveal many discrepancies that lead this study to question the efficacy of NGOs in fostering good governance in Kenya. The four aspects are important because they define the character of NGOs generally and in relation to fostering good governance and their efficacy in performing the said task. They were also the basis from which the four objectives and hypothesis of this study were formulated. The study will conclusively examine the four aspects of NGOs that were of interest in relation to good governance with a view to bringing out the factors constraining effectiveness of NGOs in fostering the same in Kenya. The study critically examined the structures and activities of NGOs as one key area seen to determine their effectiveness in fostering good governance in society.

5.1 Structures and Activities of NGOs

Findings from this study reveal that although there is a common view in the literature that NGOs had moved from traditional, bureaucratic structures of organizations to move flexible, more adaptive and move people responsive models of organization.(Clark 1991, Bratton 1987, Africa Women Development Network 1994), NGOs in Kenya have in fact maintained

practices reminiscent of bureaucratic organization in other sectors of society. The study established low levels of consultations and teamwork in decision making structures as well as a high prevalence of monolithic styles of decision making in the organizations studied. Chief executives and boards of directors were identified as the chief key decision makers by a majority of respondents in the study. One apprehensive key informant observed that "some NGOs are ran as personal or family affairs. They turn to be enterprises instead of being voluntary organizations". The lack of involvement of beneficiaries in decision making further served to underscore the bureaucratic style around which NGOs are organized. Very few respondents in the study cited regular programme evaluations with members or clients, co-optation of members and clients into decision making structures or regular elections as ways through which their organizations involved their members or beneficiaries in their organizations' programmes. Regular change of leadership through agreed means was not a process that took place regularly in NGOs in Kenya. A good proportion of respondents (49.3%) reported that their organizations had not experienced any change in leadership in the last five years and 33.6% of these said that change in leadership was not allowed by the existing structures and leaders in the organizations.

Although professionalism in NGOs is seen to be high from the findings, participatory linkages and teamwork among professionals were reported by a very small proportion of respondents. The leading professional constraints in the organizations studied were said by the majority of respondents to be limitations of staff involvement constraining flexibility in decision making.

Such findings among others point to an NGO sector that was weakened by the structural practices within it in fostering good governance. Although NGOs are seen as effective in problem solution and management of conflicts within and between them and other actors, mechanisms of problem solution and conflict management were seen as lacking in the organizations studied by majority of the respondents. NGOs were also seen by respondents to be competing for funding and influence among themselves by respondents of the study and this is seen to have the implications of undermining the ability of NGOs to forge networks and linkages in the process of fostering good governance in Kenya. For example, one key informant, an official of the NGO Coordination Bureau noted that at the time of the study, 150 strong members of the NGO council wanted to withdraw their membership resulting from problems of competition for funding and project scrambles.

The study findings also indicate that although NGOs control significant amounts of resources, their external donor orientation in sourcing for funding affected their work in two major ways. First it influenced the kind of projects NGOs undertook to pursue resulting from dictates and interests of the donors. Secondly, it affected sustainability of NGO projects since donors kept changing their interests depending on what they saw as fashionable and necessary at that particular time. Over 80 percent of respondents reported that their organizations largely depended on international NGOs from the west to support their projects. This in addition is seen to have implications of orienting the accountability of local and national NGOs to donors other than towards the beneficiaries for whom the funds are intended.

Activities of NGOs were found to fall within five broad categories namely advocacy, social services, capacity building, development and regulation or consortia. NGOs acting as umbrella organizations or consortia for other NGOs were found to be very few. This explains the uncoordinated nature of NGO activities in the various sectors which often leads to duplication of activities and competition among NGOs for both influence in territories they have designated as their's and for donor funding. Competition among NGOs often undermines their capacity to forge strong networks and linkages in the process of agitating for good governance in society. It also undermines their ability to develop self regulating mechanisms including ethical practices to ensure good governance within NGOs.

After examining the considerations made in choice of NGO activities, findings of the study indicated that needs of beneficiaries were important considerations in choice of NGO activities. However, donor interests, financial and resource availability emerged as considerations that carried a lot of weight in determining what kind of activities NGOs got involved in. The proportion of respondents who sighted the two considerations was very high in the sample as shown in the findings. These findings led the study to question the extent to which prioritization of needs of beneficiaries was compromised in *lieu* of the high priority given to finances and resource availability, as well as donor interests as considerations in the process of determining NGO activities.

In sum, although NGOs do have a potential for fostering good governance in Kenya, and in spite of the fact that their impact towards this end is in some way felt in society, their effectiveness is highly mitigated by factors inherent in their structures and activities.

way NGOs will lead in fostering good governance in society and specifically, in disseminating values of good governance to communities and the state.

Findings from this study indicate a big proportion of NGOs were indeed representing the interests of marginalized groups. Some NGOs also represented interests of special constituencies including professional, political and labor. There was also a small proportion of NGOs representing ethnic and religious interests. However, majority of these NGOs were not engaged in representing the said interests with the affected groups. Although 56% of the respondents reported that their organizations were engaging in advocacy and lobbying to government and society on behalf of different groups, only 20.9% were empowering grassroots communities or the represented to advocate for their rights. Few of the NGOs studied were also found to be membership based. NGOs are largely closed shops, not allowing open membership to all citizens and therefore do not emerge as all inclusive associations in civil society. The ingenuity of NGOs in claiming to represent the interests of the grassroots communities also become questionable because just as they are not all inclusive in terms of membership, they also do not spring from the grassroots except a few well established self help groups.

Key informants in this study felt that a majority of the NGOs were elitist and urban based except a few established which they termed as 'genuine' ones. Those NGOs that have been at the forefront of calling for reforms in Kenya were particularly cited as lacking in grassroots connections and surviving on seminars and public image making through local and international press. As such to a large extent, these NGOs are seen as advancing career

Findings of this study point to a situation where structures and activities of NGOs are not adequately enabling to them in the process of fostering good governance in Kenya. NGO structures have not fully fostered participation, good governance practices, effective networking, effective conflict management and problem solution and popular grassroots empowerment especially through practice. What emerges in the study is an assumption by majority of NGOs that everybody including their leaders know what needs to be done in order to deal with people's problems. Therefore the NGO elite goes ahead and formulates the 'perceived' problems and the strategy for dealing with them to donors who in turn fund them if they happen to correspond with their interests. People at the grassroots or would be beneficiaries are rarely consulted. They are not involved in formulating their needs, or in the process of implementation and evaluation of the implementation process. They are not co-opted into the project management structures and therefore they do not give any input into the project implementation process. This was further confirmed when the aspect of representation by NGOs was examined.

5.2   Representation

The view that NGOs are key in fostering good governance by promoting popular participation and grassroots empowerment is popular in the literature (Agbakoba 1993, Campfens 1997, Ndegwa 1996, Streeten 1988). NGOs have attracted a lot of attention based on the belief that they work with the poor, the disadvantaged and marginalized sections of society and therefore they are better placed in playing a vanguard role in leading the popular civil society in resisting the excesses of the state (Riddel et al, 1995, Ngunyi, 1993) This

way NGOs will lead in fostering good governance in society and specifically, in disseminating values of good governance to communities and the state.

Findings from this study indicate a big proportion of NGOs were indeed representing the interests of marginalized groups. Some NGOs also represented interests of special constituencies including professional, political and labor. There was also a small proportion of NGOs representing ethnic and religious interests. However, majority of these NGOs were not engaged in representing the said interests with the affected groups. Although 56% of the respondents reported that their organizations were engaging in advocacy and lobbying to government and society on behalf of different groups, only 20.9% were empowering grassroots communities or the represented to advocate for their rights. Few of the NGOs studied were also found to be membership based. NGOs are largely closed shops, not allowing open membership to all citizens and therefore do not emerge as all inclusive associations in civil society. The ingenuity of NGOs in claiming to represent the interests of the grassroots communities also become questionable because just as they are not all inclusive in terms of membership, they also do not spring from the grassroots except a few well established self help groups.

Key informants in this study felt that a majority of the NGOs were elitist and urban based except a few established which they termed as 'genuine' ones. Those NGOs that have been at the forefront of calling for reforms in Kenya were particularly cited as lacking in grassroots connections and surviving on seminars and public image making through local and international press. As such to a large extent, these NGOs are seen as advancing career

interests of the leaders and sometimes fostering partisan practices in the NGO sector in Kenya. What emerges as a problem with the NGO claim to represent popular interests is the fact that they do not consult or involve those whose interests they claim to represent. As such their approaches in representation are seen as lacking in empowerment and capacity building among the marginalized sections of society.

Critical to the question of NGOs claim to represent the interest of the grassroots is the fact that they do not spring from the grassroots. They are also not open to inputs from willing members of the public through membership as their memberships are not open. These findings confirm the view by some studies that indeed, NGOs act as middlemen between the grassroots and the donors yet they may not represent the interest of the grassroots communities (Mutunga 1999). These views were brought out in the study by many key informants who felt that NGOs were dealing with 'perceived' problems of the grassroots communities on most occasions instead of the jointly identified problems. 'Perceived' problems are problems which have been conceptualized and presented to donors by NGO staff and elite with little or no consultation with the affected groups. The study also came up with important findings relating to the realities of NGO-donor relations.

5.3   NGO – Donor Relations

Findings of the study point to a situation where NGOs in Kenya are highly dependent on external donor funding from the west to carry out their activities. The study established that very few NGOs had any local resource base with which to support their activities. The study

also established that NGO activities were highly influenced by the interests of the donors especially where NGOs had to run after projects to sustain their operations. Donor interest and priorities keep changing, and for NGOs to ensure sustained support, they have to keep adjusting their proposal details to what is seen as 'current' by donors. All key informants and majority of the survey respondents observed that donor interests and priorities influenced choice of projects by NGOs.

The orientation of NGO projects and accountability to donors compromises their ability to prioritize interests of would be beneficiaries in their proposals. It also affected sustainability of NGO projects making effectiveness of NGOs come to be viewed in terms of the number of projects they were implementing other than the impact their projects have had on the grassroots communities. Similar observations have been made by other studies. (Ng'ethe 1989; Korten and Hulme 1993). An NGO sector whose operations are driven by the interest and the dictates of donor organizations, and which compromises issues of sustainability and grassroots needs to satisfy donor requirements cannot be effective in fostering good governance. This situation was found to be made worse by the existing climate of feelings between NGOs and governments.

5.4   NGO – Government Relations

Findings from the study indicate that many NGOs were working with the government in the course of their operations. Most of these NGOs were cooperating with the government sectorally in areas of health, education, agriculture, housing etc. A good proportion of NGOs

reported to be cooperating with the government at policy level. Findings of the study point to a situation where majority of the NGOs who were lobbying were seeing themselves as working hand in hand with the government. However, a good proportion of respondents (36.6%), reported that their organizations were not cooperating with the government in any way.

The study established that NGOs that were cooperating with the government were experiencing problems ranging from inefficiency in government departments, interference in their work by government functionaries, bureaucratic red tape and frequent changes of contact persons in government departments. Many respondents reported that their organizations were facing different legal and administrative constraints from government in the course of their operations. Many respondents cited NGO registration and operation laws, policies on service delivery and laws generally including public order act as the major bottlenecks that were facing NGOs in the course of their work. A small proportion of respondents (19.4%) reported interference from government operatives as a major obstacle facing their organizations.

Findings of the study also showed that actions of the government highly affected NGOs' work. Accordingly, 64.2% of respondents reported that actions of government had affected their work in one way or the other. These actions ranged from denial of permission to hold meetings, having their operation licenses withdrawn, harassment by 'government officials in the course of working and specific policies passed including Structural Adjustments Policies.

The climate of feelings between NGOs and government that emerges from this scenario is ambivalent. Very few respondents characterized their organizations relationship with the government as very cordial and a significant number of respondents as cordial, majority of the respondents characterized the relationship between their organizations and the government as either adversarial, very adversarial or neutral. In fact the proportion that characterized the relations between their organizations and government as neutral was significantly high (31.3%).

These findings point to a very ambivalent state of NGO –government relations in Kenya. On the one hand, NGOs were trying to cooperate with the government in all areas in spite of the obstacles many respondents reported facing in form of inefficiency, impenetrable government bureaucracy and frequent changes in contact persons in government departments. Specific government policies also emerged as one obstacle facing NGOs in the course of their operations. On the other hand, many NGO operatives experience government actions that are seen to highly constrain the effectiveness of NGOs such as sudden disruption of meetings and workshops, threats with de-registration, harassment of NGO staff and government policies that were constraining to the effective work of NGOs.

In this scenario of interaction dynamics, it becomes difficult to characterize the kind of relations that exist between the NGOs and the Kenya government. The relations appeared to be on one end of the continuum friendly and on the other hostile. The best characterization of NGO – government relations that one arrives at is an uneasy one. This is explained based on the fact that besides the NGO – coordination act that sets the rules for registration and

licensing of NGOs by the government in Kenya, the government lacks a clear policy aimed at facilitating the effective work of NGOs despite their being many in number. The government has also remained wary of NGOs based on the view that NGOs were controlling enormous amounts of resources from western donors at a time when government resources have been dwindling. Consequently, although the government realizes the role NGOs may play in providing services where it cannot, the threat to its legitimacy and credibility especially where NGOs could be seen as serving the marginalized groups more leads government operatives on a collision course with NGOs on many occasions. All these factors put together constrain the performance of NGOs in playing a role in fostering good governance.

5.5   NGO Performance

Emerging from the findings of this study, NGOs in Kenya do demonstrate a potential to play an effective role in fostering good governance in Kenyan society. But their ability to play this role is mitigated by a myriad of factors among them; their own structures and activities, the state of NGO government relations, NGO-donor relations and their ability to represent the grassroots groups and marginalized sections of society. NGO structures are found not to have moved away from traditional bureaucratic practices and therefore to be constraining to effective staff and beneficiary participation and involvement in decision making and in activities of the organizations. NGO structures are found to foster limited climate of teamwork and consultation between their own functionaries and the people they are meant to serve.

The practice of good governance within NGOs also becomes an issue of concern. Besides establishing that few NGOs were lobbying for good governance directly, the study also established that many NGOs are riddled with malpractices that amount to poor governance within them. This means that although NGOs have been at the forefront of agitating for good governance in society, they hitherto have not fostered, these values through practice.

The study also established that the extent to which NGOs are contributing to capacity building especially in building grassroots organizations is wanting. According to the findings, very few NGOs have prioritized empowerment of grassroots communities through promoting strong grassroots organizations. The study also established that NGO's that claim to represent grassroots interests have not prioritized empowerment of these grassroots communities to advocate for their own rights which would be seen to be the way to foster sustainability of their efforts. According to the findings, NGOs have also failed in promoting all inclusive associational life in their organizations as many of them have remained closed shops not allowing inputs from all members of society through all inclusive membership. Very few NGOs were found to be membership based and even fewer were found to recruit from the grassroots. Baingana (1993:84) underscores the need for African non-governmental organizations to emphasize internal democracy through encouraging regular elections, open debates, public accountability, participation and membership involvement in all their affairs. From the findings Kenyan NGOs have not successfully fostered an environment of internal democracy, participation and involvement which leads us to question their capacity to foster good governance.

The state of dependence on external donors for resources including finances was found to compromise NGOs priorities in relation to the targeted beneficiaries and to constrain sustainability of NGO projects. Findings from the study indicate that the activities of NGOs were highly influenced by the interests and preferences of donors. This is seen to affect the ability of NGOs to foster good governance in society because issues of good governance are likely to become a priority in so far as the donors are interested in them. Beyond donor interests, local NGOs can not pursue them because they lack a sustainable local resource base with which to support their activities. NGOs were also found to be weak in forging effective networks in the process of fostering good governance. According to findings, many NGOs were involved in competition for funding and had not established mechanisms for conflict management and problem solution.

NGO-government relations were found by the study to highly constrain the effectiveness of NGO's work. NGOs are highly constrained by the policies, laws, and actions of the government. These obstacles have not contributed to a positive climate of feelings between NGOs and government. The climate of feelings between the government and NGOs comes out as largely an uneasy one. But even in this context of relations many NGOs were working with the government sectorally and in issues of policies. However in the absence of clear policies by the Kenyan government detailing the space of cooperation between it and NGOs the environment that exists between the two is an uncertain one.

In this, context, NGOs emerge in the study as caught in between the demands of the western donors who finance their activities and who have their own interests to pursue, the state which has stood in opposition to the NGO sector except where the NGO sector discharges its role passively ignoring the political issues of the day and at the same time providing services that are a responsibility of the state, and grassroots communities whose needs can only be met through discharging more and more resources in an all participatory and empowering environment. In this triangle of demands and forces, it is the grassroots communities needs and demands that seem to be easily compromised.

5.6   Recommendations

The study makes the following recommendations appertaining to policy and research based on the findings presented. That NGO policies should increasingly focus on developing strategies that will be more involving and participatory in relation to both their own staff and the people they target at the grassroots. This besides promoting proper governance within the NGOs themselves will become a process of learning for the grassroots communities thus disseminating the values of good governance to society in general. The study also recommends that increasingly, NGOs move to developing a local resource base either within their own structures or from within other local sources. This will improve their ability to maintain independence from donors consequently enabling them to focus on issues of needs of grassroots communities and sustainability. Dialogue between NGOs and donor organizations is needed with a view to examining the effectiveness of current modes of donor

funding and their implications for meeting the needs of the people for whose donor aid is intended.

Further NGOs need to develop policies and programmes that are aimed at strengthening development of networks and consortia among organizations working in similar fields and in the NGO sector in general. This will promote the strength of the NGO sector in agitating for good governance in society. This can be enhanced by development of mechanisms of conflict management and problem solution within NGOs in order for them to lead in development of a climate of accommodation and constructive conflict and problem solving in society.

Further, NGOs need to develop ways and means of engaging in dialogue with the government within a policy framework that respects their autonomy and independence at the same time fostering interactive undertakings between the two. This way, NGOs will be able to eradicate suspicion between them and the government and at the same time disseminate values of good governance practices to the public realm.

Importantly, NGOs need to focus on issues of good governance practices within them with a view to developing ethics for good governance and self regulatory mechanisms that can be used to monitor mal-practices within the sector. This way NGOs will be able to maintain credibility as well as sustained flow of benefits in terms of funding and success with the communities they claim to serve.

The study recommends further research in a number of areas in relation to the subject at hand. First research is needed to focus on the points of interaction between the government and NGOs at all levels with a view to uncovering the dynamics of this interaction and how they affect development of conducive policies by the government in relation to NGO work. Further research should also focus on the points of meeting between NGOs and grassroots communities with a view to examining effectiveness of NGO strategies in involving grassroots communities especially in relation to grassroots empowerment, participation and promoting capacities for decision making at the grassroots. Such research should aim at determining the factors that constrain effective involvement of people at the grassroots by NGOs with a view to recommending new strategies.

Importantly, research needs to be conducted in relation to good governance practices within the NGO sector itself. Such research should aim at determining the extent of poor governance practices within the NGO sector, the forms it takes and recommending possible remedies to the problem. Such a study should also aim at determining the factors necessary for the development and maintenance of good governance practices in the NGO sector and civil society in general.

Further studies are also needed to help determine the effectiveness of donor aid especially in relation to developing autonomous civil society organizations among poor communities in developing societies. Such studies should focus on issues of ideology, interest, method and politics of aid administration with a view to determining how these affect implementation of donor funded projects in grassroots communities.

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THE ROLE OF NGOs IN FOSTERING GOOD GOVERNANCE IN KENYA:

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Hello, I am _____from University of Nairobi, I am carrying out a study on the role of NGOs in fostering good governance in Kenya. Specifically, the study seeks to establish the extent of the contribution of NGOs to good governance in Kenya. I would therefore like to ask you a few questions relevant to this study. May I assure you that the information you will provide will be treated with great confidence.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Name_____(optional)

2. Sex :   (1) Male   (2) Female

3. Age _____ years

4. Marital status: (1) Single   (2) Married   (3) Separated (4) Divorced

                       (5) Widowed   (6) Other (specify)_____

5 What is your nationality?

        (1) Kenyan   (2) Other (specify)_____

6 What is your religious affiliation?

        (1) Protestant   (2) Catholic   (3) Muslim   (4) Hindu

        (5) Other (specify)_____

7 Please indicate your level of formal education

        (1) Primary   (2) Secondary   (3) College (middle level)

        (4) University   (5) Other (specify)_____

8. Please indicate the range of your monthly income in Kenya Shillings_____

9. Where would you rank your position in the organization among the following cadres?

        (1) Junior Staff (2) Middle level staff   (3) Management

        (4) Executive

10. For how long have you worked for this organization?_____ years

STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONING OF THE ORGANIZATION

(Please provide this organization's chart or brochure)

11 What is the size of this organization in terms of the number of staff it employees?

  (1) Very small (employing up to 8 people.)

  (2) Small (employing up to 16 staff)

(3) Medium (employing up to 25 staff)

(4) Very large (employing up to 33 staff and above)

12 Does your organization have registered members?

    (1) Yes   (2) No (Go to Question 14)

    If yes how many?_____

13. What requirements should one meet to become a member of this organization?

_____

_____

_____

14 If this organization is not a membership one (Q12) what other legal form does it take?

    (1) Corporate private

    (2) Corporate Voluntary

    (3) Corporate Public

    (4) Other (specify)_____

15. How would you rank this organization in terms of its operation scope?

    (1) Local grassroots

    (2) Local- national

    (3) Regional

    (4) International

(5) Other (specify)_____

DECISION MAKING

16 Who makes key decisions in this organization

(1) Board of Directors

(2) Chief Executive

(3) Members

(4) Founder(s)

(5) Proprietor

(6) Other (specify)_____

17. Are there any mechanisms within this organization for ensuring the involvement of staff in decision making at all levels?

(1) Yes   (2) No (Go to Q.19)

18. If yes, which of the following mechanisms exist in this organization to facilitate involvement of staff at all levels of decision making?

(1) Regular meetings

(2) Open consultations/discussions

(3) Teamwork

(4) Task delegation

(5) None

(6) Other (specify)_____

19. Are there any mechanisms within this organization for ensuring the involvement of those served or members in decision making by this organization?

    (1) Yes   (2) No (Go to Q.21)

20. If Yes, please identify the mechanisms of involving clients or members of this organization among the ones provided below (indicate the order of frequency of their use using (1) Very frequently used (2) frequently used (3) not frequently used (4) Not frequently used at all)

(1) Regular meetings (e.g. AGM's)	1 2 3 4
(2) Regular elections	1 2 3 4
(3) Co-optation of members clients into the management board	1 2 3 4
(4) Active information dissemination to membership/clients	1 2 3 4
(5) Regular program evaluations with members.	1 2 3 4
(6) Other (specify)_____	
(7) None_____	

21 Have there been changes in this organization's key decision making team in the last 5 years?

    (1) Yes   (2) No.

(Please explain._____

ACTIVITIES OF THE ORGANISATION

22. What are the main activities of this organization?

(1)_____

(2)_____

(3)_____

(4)_____

(5)_____

23. In order of priority please indicate the major considerations made in choosing the key activities of this organization (use 1. Very important 2. Important 3. Not important 4. Not important at all).

(1) Problems/ needs of intended beneficiaries.   1 2 3 4

(2) Donor interests and preferences.   1 2 3 4

(3) Finances / resources available.   1 2 3 4

(4) Government interests / policies.   1 2 3 4

(5) Staff/ leaders interests.   1 2 3 4

(6) Other (specify). _____

GOOD GOVERNANCE

24 Do any activities of this organization foster good governance in society?

(1) Yes   (2) No. (Go to Q.26)

Please explain _____

_____

25 If yes, please indicate the activities of this organization that foster good governance in society below (prioritize them in order of their effectiveness using 1. Very effective 2. effective 3. Not effective 4. Not effective at all.)

(1) Advocacy (with/ for marginalised groups.)   1 2 3 4

(2) Capacity building with grassroots organizations.   1 2 3 4

(3) Helping the poor   1 2 3 4

(4) Disseminating information/ education to the public.   1 2 3 4

(5) Lobbying for political reform directly   1 2 3 4

(6) Strengthening grassroots organizations.   1 2 3 4

(7) Other (specify)_____1 2 3 4

(8) None

26 Does this organization face any constraints in the process of fostering good governance in Kenyan society.

(1) Yes   (2)No (Go to Q.28)

27. If yes, please indicate the main constraints faced by this organization in the process of fostering good governance in Kenyan society among the ones provided below. (Prioritize them in order of magnitude using 1. Very constraining 2.Constraining 3. Not constraining 4 Not constraining at all.)

(1) Inadequate resources (including finances)   1 2 3 4

(2) Inadequate staff   1 2 3 4

(3) Hostility and blocks resulting from government action, policy and laws   1 2 3 4

(4) Poor commitment by leaders/management of the organization to ideals

    of good governance.   1 2 3 4

(5) Poor support at the grassroots.   1 2 3 4

(6) Conflict with other organizations in the sector.   1 2 3 4

(7) Poor support from donors.   1 2 3 4

(8) Other (specify)_____1 2 3 4

28. Have there been any changes in the involvement of this organization in fostering good governance over time (say in the last 10 years).

    (1) Yes   (2)No

Please explain_____

_____

_____

_____

29. Have there been any contribution by the government in enabling this organization role in fostering good governance?

      (1) Yes   (2) No (Go to Q.31)

Please explain _____

_____

_____

_____

30 If yes, in what ways has the government contributed in enabling this organization's role in fostering good governance in society (tick where appropriate)

    (1) Financing activities aimed at fostering good governance. (e.g. lobbying, advocacy, civic education e.t.c.

    (2) Involving relevant departments in activities aimed at fostering good governance.

    (3) Making supportive statements about activities aimed at fostering good governance (e.g. advocacy)

    (4) Creating an enabling policy/legal and administrative environment for activities aimed at fostering good governance.

    (5) Other (specify) _____

RESOURCES

31. What is the estimated size of this organization's annual budget in Kshs?_____

32. In order of importance, please provide the main sources of resources, including finances used by this organization in its operations (use 1. very supportive 2. supportive 3 not supportive 4.not supportive at all, to indicate the order of their importance to your organization.)

Source	Finances	Other resources
(1) Government reimbursement	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4
(2) Private donations	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4
(3) Local NGOs	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4
(4) Membership subscriptions	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4
(5) International NGOs	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4
(6) Organization investments	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4
(7) Other (specify) _____	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4

33. Regarding your organizations total expenditure for 1998/9 financial year, what proportion went to activities that helped foster good governance in society?

(1) Less than 20 %

(2) Between 21 and 40 %

(3) Between 41 and 60 %

(4) Above 60%

34. Has this organization experienced any resource (material or financial) constraints in the recent past (say in the last five years)

    (1) Yes   (2) No (Go to Q.37)

Please explain _____

_____

_____

35. If yes, please list the major resource constraints faced by this organization below

(Use 1. Very constraining 2. Constraining 3. Not constraining 4. Not constraining at all to indicate the extent of their constraint.)

    (1)_____   1 2 3 4

    (2)_____   1 2 3 4

    (3)_____   1 2 3 4

    (4)_____   1 2 3 4

    (5)_____   1 2 3 4

36. What do you attribute the resource constraints to ?

_____

_____

_____

CAPACITY BUILDING

37 Who are the target beneficiaries of this organization?

(1) Members

(2) Marginalised groups (e.g. the poor, disabled, women e t c)

(3) Specific constituencies (e g. ethnic, religious e.t.c)

(4) Other specify_____

38. Does this organization involve its intended beneficiaries in its activities?

(1) Yes   (2) No

Please explain

_____

_____

_____

39 Are there any problems faced by this organization involving its intended beneficiaries in

its activities?

(1) Yes   (2) No (Go to Q 41).

40. If yes, what are the major problems faced by this organization in involving its intended beneficiaries in its activities?

1 _____

2 _____

3 _____

41. Does this organization contribute to the building of strong community based/grassroots organization?

(1) Yes   (2) N0 (Go to Q.43).

Please explain _____

_____

_____

42. If yes in Q41, what among the constraints listed below does your organization face in the process of building strong grassroots organizations? (Please indicate their order of importance using 1. Very important 2.Important 3.Not important 4. Not important at all)

(1) Lack of adequate resources including finances   1 2 3 4

(2) Poor support from the central and local government   1 2 3 4

(3) Poor response by grassroots communities to initiatives from

   the organization   1 2 3 4

(4) Lack of support from other organizations in the field   1 2 3 4

(5) Other (specify)_____ 1 2 3 4

(6) None

43. If no, what do you attribute its failure to build strong community based organizations to ?

1_____

2_____

3_____

REPRESENTATION

44. Does this organization represent any special interests e.g. of members, marginalised

groups and specific sections of the society?

   (1) yes   (2) No (Go to Q.49)

Please explain _____

_____

_____

45. If yes, please identify the special interests represented by this organization from the list

provided below (tick where appropriate)

   (1) Professional

   (2) Political

   (3) Ethnic

(4) Neighborhood

(5) Religious

(6) Special groups (e.g. women, children, disabled)

(7) Other (specify)_____

(8) None

46 In what way does this organization represent the said interests?

_____

_____

_____

47.Are there problem's faced by this organization in representing the said interests?

    (1)   Yes   (2) No

Please explain

_____

_____

_____

48. What role have the leaders/staff of this organization played in representing the interests?

ACCOUNTABILITY

49. How is accountability generally ensured in the day to day running of this organization?
(Please tick where appropriate)

    (1) Regular reporting to donors

    (2) Regular reporting to members/intended beneficiaries and others served by the

        organization.

    (3) Regular reporting to government

    (4) Joint program evaluations with other stakeholders

    (5) Stringent monitoring of organizations programs

    (6) Other (specify)

    (7) In no way at all

50. Does the need to be accountable to donors influence the activities of this organization in any way?

    (1) Yes   (2) No

PROBLEM SOLVING

53 Have you experienced any major problems while working for this organization?

(1) Yes   (2) No (Go to Q.58)

54. If yes, what problems have you experienced while working for this organization?

1_____

2_____

3_____

55. Were the problems solved?

(1) Yes   (2) No (Go to Q.57)

56. If Yes, did you experience any difficulties in having the problems solved?

(1) Yes   (2) No

Please explain

_____

_____

_____

Please explain

_____

_____

_____

51. Does this organization ensure accountability to government authorities?

    (1) Yes   (2) No

Please explain

_____

_____

_____

52. Are there instances in recent past (say in the last 5 years) when accountability was not

ensured in the running of this organization?

    (1) Yes   (2) No

Please explain

_____

_____

_____

Please explain

_____

_____

_____

51 Does this organization ensure accountability to government authorities?

    (1) Yes   (2) No

Please explain

_____

_____

_____

52 Are there instances in recent past (say in the last 5 years) when accountability was not

ensured in the running of this organization?

    (1) Yes   (2) No

Please explain

_____

_____

_____

57. If no, what do you attribute the failure to have the problems solved to ?

1 _____

2 _____

3 _____

4 _____

58. To the best of your knowledge, are there any areas of conflict in this organization?

(1) Yes   (2) No

Please explain

_____

_____

_____

59. Does this organization have any mechanisms for resolving such conflicts?

        (1) Yes   (2) No

(Please explain)

_____

_____

_____

PROFESSIONALISM

60. What would you identify as the major professional strengths of this organization? (Please indicate their order of importance beginning with 1. Very important 2. Important 3. Not important 4. Not important at all)

(1) Adequate professional staff to man its operations in all areas   1 2 3 4

(2) Professional leadership/management   1 2 3 4

(3) Participatory linkages between professionals and other non professionals

and clients of the organization   1 2 3 4

(4) Teamwork, and consultative working environment among professionals

in the agency.   1 2 3 4

(5) Other specify _____   1 2 3 4

61 Is this organization facing any professional constraints at the moment?

(1) Yes   (2) No (Go to Q.64)

62. If yes, what would you identify as the major professional constraints facing this organization in the list provided below (please indicate the magnitude of the constraint imposed by each using 1. Very constraining 2 Constraining 3. Not constraining 4. Not constraining at all)

(1) Inadequate professional staff in some or all of its programs   1 2 3 4

(2) Lack of professional leadership at the management level   1 2 3 4

(3) Excessive professional control/over-professionalisation of the

    organization   1 2 3 4

(4) Poor consultation and teamwork among professionals   1 2 3 4

(5) Other specify _____   1 2 3 4

(6) None

63 In what ways do the professional constraints faced by this organization affect the way it

is run (tick where applicable)?

    (1) By limiting/constraining staff involvement in decision making

    (2) By constraining flexibility in decision making in course of operations

    (3) By leading to lapses in accountability

    (4) By interfering with professionalism in the organization

    (5) By constraining proper prioritization of needs

    (6) Other (specify)_____

    (7) In no way at all

64 Are there areas you feel are not adequately managed in this organization?

    (1) Yes   (2) No (Go to Q.66)

65. If yes, please identify the areas you feel are not adequately managed from the list provided below (Indicate the order of magnitude using 1. Very well managed 2. Well managed 3. Not well managed 4. Not well managed at all.)

1) Employees welfare.   1 2 3 4

2) Finances.   1 2 3 4

3) Relations with donors.   1 2 3 4

4) Need identification and prioritization.   1 2 3 4

5) Involvement of grassroots communities   1 2 3 4

6) Relations with the government   1 2 3 4

7) Relations with other organizations in the sector   1 2 3 4

8) None

9) Other (specify)_____   1 2 3 4

COOPERATION WITH OTHER ORGRNISATIONS IN THE SECTOR

66. Does this organization cooperate with other organizations in the sector?

    (1) Yes   (2) No (Go to Q.66)

Please explain

_____

_____

_____

67 If yes, in what ways does this organization enhance co-operation with other organizations in the sector (tick where applicable.)?

(1) Promoting joint interventions in problem areas.

(2) Joining/promoting networks and consortia in areas of common interest.

(3) Exchanging information and experiences with other organizations.

(4) Providing resource support to other organizations in the sector.

(5) Other (specify) _____

(6) In no way at all

68. Are there areas of conflict between this organization and others in the sector?

(1) Yes   (2)No

Please explain-

_____

_____

_____

69 If Yes, what do you attribute these conflicts to?

_____

_____

_____

RELATIONS WITH GOVERNMENT

70 Does this organization co-operate with the government in its work?

    (1) Yes   (2)No

If Yes answer question 71-73. If No Go to question 74)

71 If yes, in what areas?

1 _____

2 _____

3 _____

72 What advantages has this organization enjoyed as a result of its co-operation with the

government?

_____

_____

_____

73 Does this organization experience any problems in the process of co-operating with the

government?

(1) Yes   (2) No

(Please explain) _____

_____

_____

74 If No in Q 70, why?

_____

_____

_____

75. What legislative/administrative or policy bottlenecks impinge upon your organizations operations?

_____

_____

_____

76. Are there specific actions of the central government that have affected the work of this organization in the recent years (say in the last five years)

    (1) Yes   (2) No (Go to Q.78).

77. If yes, please identify the major actions?

1 _____

2 _____

3 _____

78. How would you describe the relationship between this organization and the government?

(1) Very cordial

(2) Cordial

(3) Neutral

(4) Adversarial

(5) Very adversarial

PERFORMANCE

79. How would you rate the performance of this organization in relation to the following aspects (use 1. Very good 2. Good 3. Neutral 4. Poor 5. Very poor)

(1) Representing the interests of members and/or marginalised groups,

including the poor   1 2 3 4 5

(2) Involving intended beneficiaries/grassroots communities

in activities in decision making   1 2 3 4 5

(3) Building institutional capacities of grassroots/community

    based organizations   1 2 3 4 5

(4) Maintaining independence from donors   1 2 3 4 5

(5) Ensuring accountability to stakeholders   1 2 3 4 5

(6) Drawing broadbased membership from all sections of society   1 2 3 4 5

(7) Practising good governance within the NGO   1 2 3 4 5

(8) Building strong networks and linkages with other organizations   1 2 3 4 5

(9) Promoting constructive joint solving in society   1 2 3 4 5

(10) Availing and disseminating information to the public and

    stake holders   1 2 3 4 5

(11) Promoting constructive conflict management and resolution in

    Society   1 2 3 4 5

(12) Meeting the needs of beneficiaries   1 2 3 4 5

(12) Lobbying government and other institutions for policy change

    in relation to the rights of marginalised sections of society.   1 2 3 4 5

80. Indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements

(1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Neutral 4. Disagree 5. Strongly disagree)

  (1) The relations between the Kenya Government and NGOs are

    cordial/friendly   1 2 3 4 5

  (2) The Kenya government has been supportive of the growth and operation

    of NGOs   1 2 3 4 5

(3) Utterances of public officials have encouraged a co-operative

environment between the government and NGOs.   1 2 3 4 5

(4) Actions of the central government are encouraging the flourishing

of the NGOs activities   1 2 3 4 5

(5) Actions of the local government promote co-operation between them

and NGOs.   1 2 3 4 5

(6) Divisions between NGOs undermine the strength of NGO sector in Kenya. 1 2 3 4 5

81. What would you identify as the major contribution of this organization in building a good

society in Kenya?

_____

_____

_____

_____

82. Is there anything you would like to add?

_____

_____

_____

THANK YOU.

APPENDIX II

ROLE OF NGOs IN FOSTERING GOOD GOVERNANCE IN KENYA

KEY INFORMANT DISCUSSION GUIDE

Hello, I am _____from University of Nairobi. I am carrying out a study on the role of NGOs in fostering good governance in Kenya. Specifically, the study seeks to establish the extent of the contribution of NGOs to good governance in Kenya. I would therefore like to ask you a few questions relevant to this study. May I assure you that the information you will provide will be treated with great confidence.

1 Since 1990, Kenya has experienced an increased agitation for good governance and democratization by NGOs among other actors in civil society. To what extent would you say that NGO activities have fostered or are likely to foster good governance in Kenyan society?

2. There has been a rapid expansion of the NGO sector in Kenya in the recent years especially in the last 10 years. To what extent is this rise in numbers of NGOs

attributable to the efforts of the people in the constituencies they serve (e.g. members) or the people at the grassroots?

3. In the course of their agitation for good governance, NGOs have claimed that they are representing the views of grassroots communities or the ordinary people. Would you say that NGOs in Kenya are genuinely representing the views of ordinary people?

4. In what ways does the current interaction between the Kenyan government and NGOs affect the ability of NGOs to foster good governance in society?

5. Are there any factors in the way NGOs relate to donors that affect their ability to operate independently?

6. Are you aware of any conflicts or divisions within the NGO sector in Kenya?

7. To what extent are there indicators of ethnicity or its implications within the NGO sector in Kenya?

8. NGOs have been accused of being partisan and of advancing political interests of individuals especially by public officials in Kenya. In what ways have partisan and individual interests manifested themselves among NGOs in Kenya?

9. To what extent would you say that NGOs in Kenya practice good governance in the course of their operations?

THANK YOU!