DEVOLUTION AND CITIZEN PARTICIPATION: A STUDY OF SELECTED CDF PROJECTS IN NAKURU TOWN CONSTITUENCY

BY

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DEDICATION

To my loving family that has stood with me throughout this academic journey. A special dedication goes to my loving mum for her encouragement even when it seemed too dark a path to walk. Mimi and Imani, you have endured it all. My project *totos*. To my husband Andy, who has held my hand through it all, I cherish you.

ABSTRACT

Kenya has for a long time embraced different strategies of exercising development. After a long time of centralized development administration, devolution was embraced. At the heart of devolution is the control of resources by local communities with the patronage of a representative that they feel they can have access to. The Constituency Development Fund (CDF) was institutionalized in 2003 after a new administration came to power. Although this programme has been lauded as a success, it requires that people participate for it to achieve its objectives.

This paper investigated factors that contribute to differing citizen participation levels in CDF projects in Nakuru Town Constituency. The specific research objectives were to establish the level of citizen participation in CDF projects in the study area; to establish how citizens participate in CDF projects in the study area; and to establish how local institutions enhance citizen participation in Nakuru town constituency.

The study was conducted in Nakuru town constituency, identified because of its unique features including its high population and its political history of changing Members of Parliament (MP) who are the patrons of the CDF fund. The research design used was structured interviews with primary respondents, key informant interviews with CDF project officials, desk reviews for ascertaining data, as well as direct observation methods. The study used a sampling frame that identified projects with similar characteristics. These were listed to allow for sampling. Purposive sampling was used to identify respondents for the Key Informant Interviews. Random sampling was used to identify primary respondents. The data collection tools used included questionnaires, unstructured interviews and literature review. In analyzing the field data, descriptive and inferential statistics were used. Analysis of qualitative information complimented the quantitative data.

The study found that there were low citizen participation levels. Participation levels were highly affected by the demographic characteristics of sex, age, marital status as well as education levels. Citizen participation also differed based on the different stages of the project cycle. Most of the people participated in the feedback after the project while the least contributed at the inception stages. Local institutions of the CDF, namely the CDFC and the Project Management Committee, are very instrumental in people participation. However, they have not done enough to encourage citizen participation despite the fact that people feel they have the potential to encourage them to participate.

The study concluded that citizen participation has been low. This includes low contributions of time, money, labour, ideas at both the different levels of the project cycle as well as in different projects. Finally, CDF institutions were equally noted not to enhance people's participation. The study recommends well thought out structures to encourage citizen participation as well as alternative patronage of the CDF in order to alienate local development from the present perception of the fund being a token for citizen's who work well with the Member of Parliament. A further scope for research was identified in establishing factors that can create sustainability of local development projects.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CDF   Constituency Development Fund
CDFC   Constituency Development Fund Committee
CDB   Constituency Development Board
ECK   Electoral Commission of Kenya
GoK   Government of Kenya
PALM   Participation and Learning Methods
PRA   Participatory Rural Appraisal
IDS   Institute for Development Studies
PCM   Project Cycle Management
UN   Unite Nations
RDA   Regional Development Authorities
DFRD   District Focus for Rural Development
DDO   District Development Officer
DPU   District Planning Unit
DDC   District Development Committee
LATF   Local Authority Transfer Fund
MDG's   Millennium Development Goals
SRDP   Special Rural Development Programme
LASDAP   Local Authority Social Development Authority Programme

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1   Background to the Study

Decentralization entails the transfer of responsibilities, finances as well as power from the central government to the sub-national levels of government (Rodinelli, 1984). Decentralization occurs in four major forms, namely: de-concentration, delegation, privatization, and devolution, with each having different characteristics. The current popularity of decentralization, especially in the developing world, is marked at 80 per cent. This is high compared to other developing countries undertaking some form of decentralization over the past two decades.

Devolution as a form of decentralization provides citizens with a framework and mechanism to participate in development projects. Devolution transfers responsibility for resource mobilization, planning, and management of projects from the national or central government to lower level authorities (Rodinelli, 1984). The assumption underlying devolution is the feeling that centralization of authority is a bottleneck in the way of sound decision making in development processes (Oyugi, 1976). Rodinelli (1984) further identifies some of the objectives of devolution. This include achievement of democratic decision making, popular participation in decision making, and government accountability of public officials to citizens, adding that this principle has been pursued as a desirable political objective in itself (Rodinelli, 1984).

In both developed and developing countries, devolution has been recognized as an important theme of governance (Dasgupta and Beard, 2007). Devolved units are in a better position to promote participation through transparent decision making because they are closer to the people (Nupia, 2006). Devolved bodies can be more easily watched, accessed, and monitored and can therefore be held more accountable (Faguet and Fabio, 2006). By transferring some powers of decision making especially to the grass-root levels and promoting community participation in government, devolution provides opportunities to hold public representatives and government officials accountable. In other words, devolution provides an avenue to

promote better local representation and transparent decision making, which ultimately leads to good governance.

Since independence in 1963, the Kenyan government has had several decentralization programmes, including the Special Rural Development Programme (1969), District Development Planning (1971), District Focus for Rural Development (1983) and the Rural Trade and Production Centers (1988). Though resourceful, these programmes failed because of lack of funding, excessive bureaucratic capture by the central government, and lack of popular participation (Mitullah, 2004). Since the failure of the mentioned initiatives, the Kenyan government has been exploring ways of improving success rates of development projects and emphasizing citizen participation.

In 2003, the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) government came to power in Kenya. Its promises through the NARC Manifesto 2002 to the electorate were to increase resource allocations to the grassroot levels, promote citizen participation in development, and improve the wellbeing of Kenyan citizens in general. The government advocated for increased citizen involvement in decision making, and consequently introduced a devolved fund, the Constituency Development Fund (CDF), to facilitate local development in line with the felt needs of the beneficiaries with an aim of providing public resources at the community level (Awiti, 2007). The Act ensures that a specific proportion of the national annual budget is devoted to the constituencies for the purpose of development and, in particular, assist in poverty reduction at the constituency level (Awiti, 2007). It was assumed that devolving funds to the community would strengthen the capacity of the people at the lower or grassroots level to exercise economic governance and by that promote development at the grassroots as well. This would enable communities to allocate resources to priority projects that would address their economic needs, especially poverty alleviation.

One of the glaring challenges to the successful implementation of CDF has been how to get citizens to participate in the development projects. Their participation throughout the project cycle in form of decision making, contribution of money, labour and time, giving feedback in monitoring of the projects is crucial as indicators of their participation in the projects. Similarly, low citizen participation contributes to completion and sustainability of the projects, thereby indicating success of projects.

My, observation of the interaction of citizens with the CDF has been that they are aware of the availability of the funds. However, they are not sure of the structures that they can use to access the CDF fund, or even to influence projects that are funded by this particular fund.

1.2   Problem Statement

Participation is important for development. It uses generally underutilized labour and, to a lesser extent, can build upon indigenous knowledge, which also tends to be underutilized (Chambers, 1983). This results to more services being provided at a lower cost. Another benefit of participation in development is better project design. When people contribute their ideas, the ideas shape the decision on the design of the projects. This ensures that the project addresses the felt needs of the citizens. Through participation, beneficiaries are expected to shape the project. It is perceived that outsiders are not better placed to do this.   When this is done, a sense of immediate responsibility and ownership by beneficiaries puts pressure on a project to be worthwhile (Cornwall, 2003). Participation can then be considered as a catalyst for mobilizing further local development efforts. People participate more when they relate to benefits enjoyed as a result of project participation. Participation eventually creates local level awareness, competence, and capacity where these did not exist before.

In Kenya, the Constituency Development Fund (CDF) is one of the devolved funds that are designed to use grassroot structures to promote citizen participation in development projects. CDF aims at addressing local level development priorities by providing space for citizens to participate in designing and implementing projects that will meet their expectations. Despite this, CDF projects have been criticized for failing to involve people or beneficiaries at different phases of the project cycle. Reports on the fund show low participation of citizens in the identification, design and implementation of projects (Institute of Economic Affairs, 2006 and National Anti-Corruption Campaign Steering Committee, 2008).

Some reports indicate that about 60 per cent of Kenya's communities are excluded from participation in identifying, designing, and implementing community-based projects (Gituto, 2007). This implies that despite the fact that the CDF Act provides for people's participation, CDF projects have low participation levels. The CDF Act (2003) provides for CDF projects to be community-based. This approach safeguards prospective benefits to a wide cross-section of the inhabitants of a particular area (Awiti, 2007). This law provides an opportunity

3

for institutions such as the Constituency Development Committee and the Project Management Committees to enhance participation. Existence of these institutions notwithstanding, people's participation remains low in CDF projects.

However, CDF is now a popular fund because it provides funds for basic service projects in every constituency. This fund, therefore, elicits a lot of interest by local people and politicians alike because it is politicized during elections. Many people are aware of CDF as a devolved fund and freely discuss how it has been used to influence politics and leadership in the area. Additionally, the fact that the patron of the CDF is the Member of Parliament (MP), who is directly elected by the people, elicits a lot of interest in the fund since most of the aspirants use CDF in their political manifestos. This only furthers the interest of the people to CDF. This study, therefore, seeks to understand why people's participation levels are low in CDF-funded projects, yet there are institutions established to facilitate citizen participation.

1.3   Overall Research Question

The overall research question is: what is the level of citizen participation in CDF projects in Nakuru Town Constituency?

Specific Research Questions

The study sought to answer the following specific questions:

1. What is the level of citizen participation in CDF projects in the study area?

2. How do citizens participate in CDF projects in the study area?

3. How do local institutions enhance citizen participation in Nakuru Town constituency?

1.4   Main Research Objective

The overall objective of the study was to establish citizen participation levels in CDF projects in Nakuru Town constituency.

Specific Research Objectives

To achieve the study objective, the following were the specific research objectives:

1. To establish the level of citizen participation in CDF projects in the study area.

2. To establish how citizens participate in CDF projects in the study area

3. To establish how local institutions enhance citizen participation in Nakuru Town constituency.

1.5 Justification of the Study

The study is justified on the following grounds: first, the study seeks to contribute to existing knowledge on the role of institutions in promoting participation in local development. Examining participation in the CDF committees and CDF project management committees provides an opportunity to assess people's participation in devolved funds. This knowledge will be necessary to promote peoples' participation in their own development.

Secondly, the study sought to understand the dynamics of participation in the face of devolved projects. It analyzed how people's contribution of ideas, time, labour, feedback and money facilitates the design of effective local development projects. Emerging issues will be critical in informing subsequent phases or replication elsewhere.

Thirdly, the findings of the study also point out other determinants of peoples' participation that could inform interventions in local level development, linking them to different levels of participation.

Lastly, the study findings could inform policies on citizen participation and inform on possible ways of encouraging participation in local level development programmes. More generally, the information could contribute to a wider and informed debate in the development discourse. The study expected that the information generated will be used for policy and legislative reforms. In particular, the study hoped to influence the CDF law for better CDF delivery to Kenyans. The study also envisages capacity enhancement and awareness creation for adoption of best practices for better management and administration of CDF.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Over the past decades, the idea of decentralization has been one of the major concerns for the, the international development community, developing nations and researchers. The debate has revolved around two main questions. The first focuses on the driving forces and the reasons for decentralization, and how the overall benefits could be maximized. The second concerns the impact of decentralization particularly on issues such as public service delivery, development, political stability, and government responsiveness to the local needs.

Despite decentralization having been a popular topic in the last several decades, its relationship to development has remained a subject of debate in the developing countries. The economic literature especially on poverty has largely ignored its significance in achieving the objectives set for poverty reduction, for instance, participation, empowerment, promotion of opportunities, security as well as guiding the rights of the poor people and the excluded at the local level (Romeo, 2001).

2.2 Constituency Development Fund: An Overview

The Constituency Development Fund (CDF) was established through the Constituency Development Fund Act of 2003 amended in 2007. It was introduced by the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) Government of Kenya in 2003. The CDF is given as an annual budgetary allocation by the Central Government to each of the country's parliamentary single member constituencies. While there are several rules that govern the utilization of the Fund to ensure transparency and accountability, decisions over the utilization of the funds are supposed to be mainly by the constituents.

Unlike other development funds that are directly given by the central government through larger and more layers of administrative organs and bureaucracies, the funds under this programme go directly to local levels (Kimani, 2007). In essence, the CDF is intended to provide individuals at the grassroots the opportunity to make expenditure choices that maximize their welfare in line with their needs and preferences. To the extent that the local

population is better informed about their priorities, the choices made can be expected to be more aligned to their problems and circumstances. Gituto (2007) argues that the CDF can be considered a devolved scheme that provides communities with the opportunity to make spending decisions that maximize social welfare. According to Kimenyi (2004), the CDF is an example of what is generally referred to as Community Driven Development (CDD) initiatives that empower local communities by providing funds (often from the central government but sometimes from donor sources).

The efforts to anchor the CDF on a legal foundation commenced in 1999 when the first motion on CDF was moved in Parliament. Accordingly, the motion required the government to devote 5 per cent of government revenue to community-based projects. The motion was passed but then the government did not implement it (Awiti, 2007).

In the period between 2001 and 2002, a caucus of MPs was formed to lobby the Minister for Finance to allocate the 5 per cent of national revenue to community-based projects. Parliament, through the Ministry of Finance, amended the initial motion to reduce the percentage from 5 per cent to 2.5 per cent of the national revenue. In October 2002, the CDF Bill was drafted and presented to Parliament in April 2003. The bill was passed in November 2003, thus establishing the Constituencies Development Fund (CDF) through an Act of Parliament. As such, 2.5 per cent of all the government ordinary revenue collected every year is paid into the fund.

Awiti (2007) acknowledges that CDF aims at redistributing national resources to the community to improve the rural economy, alleviate poverty, create employment, and raise the standard of living of Kenyans. It seeks to bring services and facilities closer to the people, so as to reduce poverty. CDF was intended to compliment other existing funds being directed at the community level. A review of the CDF Act of 2003 indicates that there are four management organs provided for under the Act, namely:

  (i)   Constituencies Fund Committee

 (ii)   CDF Board

(iii)   District Project Committees

(iv)   Constituencies Development Fund Committees (Find attached in the appendices)

A closer look at the 2008/2009 budget figures showed a percentage increase of 36.6 per cent allocation after the first year. The percentage allocation decreased to 28.5 per cent in the second year and the figure reduced to 0.2 per cent in the year 2008/09. Probable factors that affect devolution includes the political aspect which stands out as a critical factor in allocation. Citizens were keen to receive the allocations in the first year. Many were hoping that it would be an avenue of addressing all their problems, therefore eliciting interest in the fund and influencing its increased allocation by the government. However, politicians have been accused of interfering with the use of the fund, therefore discouraging participation of the people. This has contributed to a dismal performance of the fund. Interference of the fund involves influencing membership of the governing body at the constituency level, which has left people disinterested in the fund, and viewing it as "just another government project".

2.3   Theoretical Literature

2.3.1   *Decentralization*

Decentralization refers to the transfer of responsibility in management, planning, and resource rising from the national government to lower levels authority (Rodinelli, 1984). The objectives of decentralization therefore include achievement of self-reliance, popular participation in government as well as decision making, democratic decision making, and accountability of public officials to citizens. Rodinelli (1984) also adds that this principle has been pursued as a desirable political objective in itself.

Ekpo (2008) defines decentralization as a kind of vertical power sharing within the political system, whereby competencies and responsibilities are distributed across different tiers of government. According to his argument, decentralization can take a variety of forms depending on the degree of distribution of powers and the nature of accountability. From the above discussion, it is evident that decentralization is an amorphous concept that can take different forms.

According to Ostrom *et al* (1993) decentralization has for a long time been motivated by two factors. First, decentralization has the ability to increase efficiency. The author further argues that the central government usually lacks the "place, time, and knowledge" to implement programmes and policies that tend to reflect the people's 'real' needs and preferences. This implies that, if properly managed, decentralization could lead to improved allocation efficiency (Musgrave, 1983; Oates, 1972).

Secondly, decentralization may eventually lead to improved governance. Decentralization enhances both accountability and monitoring of the decision makers and government officials. On the other hand, inadequate incentives, and unchecked authority, tend to encourage "rent-seeking behaviour" particularly by government officials. To undermine such opportunities, decentralization has created institutional arrangements, which formalize the relationship that exists between the citizens and the public servants. Political decentralization, especially the election of local officials by citizens, when accompanied by a strong legal framework, can create local accountability and thereby foster the officials' legitimacy, bolstering citizen involvement and interest in politics, and deepening the democratic nature of institutions (Blair and Manor, 2001; Crook and Manor, 1998; Manor, 1999).

Both arguments are highly relevant in the development discussion. Increased possibilities for participation, improved access to services, and a more efficient way of providing public goods at the local level are major components of decentralization. However, the linkages might not be so straightforward. Decentralization is a multifaceted concept, and its effects on development depend to a large extent on the *form* and *type* of decentralization in question. The various forms include de-concentration devolution, delegation, and privatization.

De-concentration aims at transferring responsibilities to field and subordinate units of government, while field units basically remain under the hierarchical authority of central state authorities and have no distinct legal existence from the central state. In contrast to this, devolution refers to a transfer of skills from the central state to distinct legal entities, such as area-wide regional or functional authorities, and non-governmental and private organizations/private voluntary organizations. They do not belong to the central state, which has no more hierarchical authority on them. Privatization aims at giving ownership to private entities to improve efficiency and management of certain goods and services as was with parastatals (Rodinelli, 1984).

Decentralization can, therefore, be viewed as an approach meant to challenge the top-down approach and enhance the more desirable bottom-up approach to development. Central governments are known to devolve planning and management for a number of reasons. These include placing the mechanisms of governance much closer to the citizenry. This is meant to reduce the cost of administration, and enhance citizenry productivity and participation by increasing their involvement in development activities. People may not define or describe

devolution, but they demand to be involved in determination of development efforts. Decentralization offers a perfect opportunity for citizens to participate in their own development right from planning to management of local development projects. In order to separate the various effects decentralization might have on development, a distinction should be made between *political* and *economic* aspects.

Political or democratic decentralization is expected to offer citizens the possibility of increased participation in local decision making processes, from which they have generally been excluded through lack of sufficient representation or organization. Improved representation of formerly excluded people in local municipalities could, in turn, give the poor better access to local public services and social security schemes, and reduce vulnerability and insecurity. In ethnically divided countries, decentralization could also offer a way to share the power between local ethnic groups, thereby establishing grounds for political consensus and stability. A stabilized political system offers a foundation for the poor to build up their life and to begin investing. More generally, it can also contribute to a reduction in their vulnerability to shocks (Meine *et al*., 2008).

With respect to the economic aspect, decentralization is expected to have a strong and positive impact on poverty through increased efficiency and better targeting of services. Enhanced efficiency in service provision could directly improve poor people's access to education, health, water, sewage and electricity, highly important development-related concerns. Delegating power and resources to the local level may also lead to better targeting of the poor A more decentralized framework to identify and monitor programmes and projects could not only help to reduce costs but also to reach those most in need. In addition, it would enable greater responsiveness to local needs. (Crook and Manor, 1998)

With respect to the process of decentralization, Faguet (2002) identifies four elements that appear instrumental in explaining the impact of decentralization on development:

(i) The *ability and willingness* to carry out reforms: This depends on factors such as political commitment at the national level, available financial resources at the local level, local human capacity, and donor involvement in designing policies.

(ii) *Transparency and participation*: Outcomes for the poor greatly depend on the culture of transparency and information flow.

(iii) *Elite capture and corruption:* The transfer of responsibilities to the local level may lead elites to capture the decision making process, with limited or even negative impacts on poverty. Similarly, if priorities and resources are diverted from poverty reduction policies, corruption may rise.

(iv) *Policy coherence:* Decentralization might be effective only if other policy changes are implemented simultaneously (e.g. land reforms) and the process does not contradict other programmes undertaken by the country or the donor community.

2.3.2 Devolution

Conceptualizing devolution encompasses an understanding of the intricate dynamics of decentralization from which devolution is derived. Decentralization is not a monolithic concept, according to Cabral (2011), and Smoke (2003),it is a term often used in a loose way to refer to different forms of local governance, driven either by state or non-state actors. Examples of such loosely defined decentralization organs would include locally elected councils, traditional authorities, decentralized committees, local representatives of central government, among others.

Devolution is a more far-reaching form of decentralization, which involves the transfer of governance powers and responsibilities to sub-national levels that are largely outside the direct control of the central government, often through an electoral process that makes local governments directly accountable to local people (Cabral, 2011). Scholars construe differently the concept of "devolution", but the underlying issue is that decision making authority is dispersed closer to the people – people participation in charting their envisioned destiny.

Muia (2008) asserts that devolution is one way through which people's right to participate in governance is achieved. In the realm of governance and public administration, devolution is commonly regarded as a process through which power (functions, responsibilities and resources) is transferred from the central to local governments and/or to other devolved entities (Kauzya, 2005).

Devolution then appears to strengthen local institutions to play a more representative, responsive and constructive role in the everyday lives of local populations and the countries in which they live. Such strengthening is what usually involves some transfer of resources and decision making power from the central government. Within the CDF, this role and

responsibility is played by the two local institutions namely the Constituency Development Fund Committee (CDFC) and the Project Management Committee (PMC). According to Sharma, (2008) the desire to devolve is given impetus by two factors namely:

(i)   To bring the government closer to the people, and
(ii) To split sovereignty between various levels of the government.

In the first perspective, the government is seen as benevolent and decentralization is desirable because it brings services closer to the people. In the second perspective, the government is seen as malevolent and decentralization serves by disarming it (Sharma, 2006).

According to Golola (2003), devolution especially in Africa was given impetus by the donor community as a means of re-orienting their programmes to fit their expectations. Devolution is sometimes designed merely to receive loans from international agencies. The design of devolution in such cases cannot be expected to - bringabout long term systemic reforms (Sharma, 2008).

2.3.3   *Participatory Development*

The idea of participatory development has gained popularity in recent times, both in academic discourse and actual practice. Analysts have used theoretical constructs such as "deliberative democracy" and "empowered participatory development" to scrutinize the scope and limitations of people participation in the process of development. According to the UNDP (1997), participation is valued for both intrinsic and instrumental reasons.

The intrinsic value refers to the idea that the act of participation is valuable in itself, quite apart from any value it may have in helping to achieve other good things. Amartya Sen's idea of "development as freedom" clearly recognizes the intrinsic value of participation in the development process (Sen, 1999). In this perspective, development consists of the expansion of a range of freedoms to cover aspects that human beings value, and the freedom to participate meaningfully in public affairs is seen as one of those valuable freedoms.

Odhiambo and Taifa (2009) conceptualize participatory development as the process through which stakeholders make input and share control over development initiatives, decisions, and resources that affect them. Citing Craster and O'Toole, (1995), Craig and Porter (2003) further define the concept as a process whereby stakeholders influence policy formulation,

alternative designs, investment choices and management decisions affecting their communities.

This review raises two broad dimensions of participatory development: direct participatory development and indirect participatory development. According to Yang and Callahan (2005), direct participation suggests that citizens are the owners of the government and should be involved in the decisions of the State. This simply means that it focuses on the role of the public in the process of administrative decision making, implying governmental efforts to involve citizens in administrative decision making and management processes. Participation in administrative decision making is thus inclusive of goal setting, determining strategies and policies, and monitoring and evaluating government services. Sometimes there is also indirect participation whereby people watch projects going on and give their feedback in regard to the projects. Mostly, they are not consulted at the beginning and sometimes their ideas are not considered immediately. However, when the projects are complete, they start using them and ensuring that they remain useable thereafter.

What then is the importance of participatory development? According Odhiambo and Taifa (2009), participatory development is important because practical experience on the ground shows that it establishes the necessary sense of ownership. According to them, people tend to resist new ideas if these are imposed on them. Furthermore, they note that participatory development has greatly contributed to the sustainability of development initiatives, strengthened local capacity, given a voice to the poor and marginalized and linked development to the people's needs. Participatory development has been instrumental in guarding against abuse of office by public servants and political leaders. It has also provided control against excessive discretion being vested in civil servants. Participation provides checks and balances against unnecessary political interference in service delivery and disregard for professionalism and meritocracy in the public sector, amongst other things.

There is also an efficiency argument. Chambers (1983), Ascher and Healy (1990), and Ostrom, Lam and Lee (1994) argue that participatory development improves efficiency. According to these authors, participation ensures timely implementation of development projects/programmes. From these discussions, it is possible that devolution has important outcomes.

2.4 Decentralization, Devolution and Participatory Development

The justification for decentralization is premised around the assumption that greater participation in public decision making is a good thing in itself, or that it can improve efficiency, equity, development and resource. By bringing government decision making closer to citizens, decentralization is widely believed to increase public sector accountability and, therefore, effectiveness (Jonathan and Aranda, 1996). Additionally, decentralization in its various forms provides resources to lower levels and allows more space for people participate. Decentralization can be broad or constrained in scope (Rodinelli, 1984). Some governments use all the four forms (de-concentration, delegation, devolution, and privatization) simultaneously or at different times.

Devolution is the creation sub-national units of government whose activities are substantially outside the direct control of the central government (Rodinelli, 1984). Under devolution, local units of government are autonomous and independent, and their legal status makes them separate or distinct from the central government. Normally, local governments have clear and legally recognized geographical boundaries within which they exercise an exclusive authority to perform explicitly granted or reserved functions. They have corporate or state authority to raise revenue and make expenditures. They are perceived by local citizens as organizations providing services that satisfy their needs, and as governmental units over which they have direct influence.

According to Chambers (1983), there are structural barriers to rural participation. He views these barriers as affecting the success of projects. For success of a project, there has to be ownership, sustainability, and replicability of the project. All these are reliant on people's participation. Participatory development therefore aims at development of the people, development for the people, and development by the people.

According to other advocates of the participatory framework, Mansuri and Rao (2003), participatory development aims at accomplishing:

   (i) Identification and eliciting development by target communities themselves;

   (ii) Strengthening the civic skills of the poor by nurturing community organizations; and

   (iii)Enabling communities to work together for their common good.

This study uses a Participatory Approach framework in analyzing the extent to which CDF-based committees have enhanced or not enhanced people's involvement in CDF projects.

Participation is a key element and determinant of successful decentralization. Although there has been criticism on the availability of a comprehensive participatory framework (Arnestein, 1969), various scholars have identified participation as a key approach that can be used to pursue development especially in addressing poverty. A number of issues that make participation a central aspect of development projects are identified by World Bank and Institute Itailo–Africano (1989) as:

1. Local people have a great amount of insight for what works and what does not work for them and why.
2. Involving local people in planning projects can increase their commitment to the project.
3. Involving local people can help develop technical and managerial skills and thereby increase their opportunities for employment.
4. Involving local people helps to increase the resources available for the programme.
5. Involving local people is a way to bring about social learning for both learners and beneficiaries. "Social learning" means the development of partnerships between professionals and local people in which each group learns from the other.

There are three reasons why community participation is key (Conyers, 1984). First, the community is the source of information on the conditions, needs, and attitudes of the local community. Without them, development programmes and interventions may fail because of inaccuracy. Second, the community will trust a development project or programme if they know the details of it. Third, it is the right of the community to be involved in any development that targets or affects them. From this argument, the study is directed towards the role of participation in success (completion and sustainability) of development projects. Projects that uphold participation develop a stronger sense of ownership by the local communities and result to sustainable development. Any intervention, therefore, that does not have active community participation may affect the level of its success. An examination of participation barriers is necessary to improve success of development projects.

Participation in contributing resources such as labour, time, and material may lead to ownership and sustainability of projects, a critical factor in development projects. For this

15

reason, the concept of participation has drawn interest from scholars and practitioners. Mickelsen (2005) views participation as one of the most important concepts in development because it is potentially a vehicle for different stakeholders to influence development strategies and interventions. Mickelsen (2005) also points out that participation has various dimensions. These include participation as a cosmetic label to appease managers and donors; participation where communities come in to join development initiatives that are already set; and finally participation as empowerment or enabling communities to make decisions on their own development path. The study will examine the various dimensions of participation frameworks, and operationalize the concept 'participation' in relation to devolved funds projects. In this study, we explored a number of issues in order to gain deeper understanding of the concept 'participation':

The first issues is the **"what"** dimension of participation. This will consist of the various activities in which people participate. The report of the UNDP (1975) and studies on development projects revealed that people should participate in development projects from needs identification to monitoring and evaluation stage. It also includes participation in decision making and participation in implementation and evaluation (Cohen and Uphoff, 1980). This implies the involvement of people in goal setting, planning, formulating, implementing, and evaluating development projects. The indicators of this aspect will include people's participation at different stages of the Project Cycle Management (PCM).

The second is the **"who"** dimension of the participatory approach. All those affected have to play a role at all stages of the development process. Cohen and Uphoff (1980) identified two groups of participants, namely the residents and beneficiaries as particularly important in participation in development. For this dimension, the World Bank (1994) advocates for the participation of the stakeholders, who are defined as the parties who either affect or are affected by development actions. The indicators of this aspect of the study include the characteristics of the beneficiaries, which determines the way they participate. This may include factors such as sex, age, marital status, and levels of education, and also examine the characteristics of the project leaders.

The third is the **"how"** dimension of participation. This aspect seeks to establish the available organizational structures that encourage participation. In this study, these include the Constituency Development Fund Committee (CDFC) and the Project Management Committee (PMC) and how they encourage people's participation in regard to time, labour,

ideas and maintenance. The indicators of this aspect will are the ability of these organizations to encourage participation (people's contribution in the form of their time, labour, money, and ideas throughout the project management cycle by looking at its transparency, accountability and responsiveness).

2.5   Empirical Literature

2.5.1   *Decentralization*

The outcome of decentralization processes depends on overarching objectives of the government. They can be undertaken by *default* or by *design*. The former occurs when governments are forced to decentralize in order to counter diminishing budgetary resources or to respond to other factors (for example ethnic diversity). Governmental ability to design the decentralization process is limited. The policy is often imposed by donors or pursued by central government to divest itself of tasks for which it has neither sufficient resources nor power. When decentralization is undertaken by design, governments have greater ability to shape the process. Authorities believe in the benefits of decentralization and strongly back the process, promoting empowerment at the local level. The role of local governments shifts from the mere provision of services to promoting socio-economic development. This has made decentralization in its various forms attractive to developing countries (Mkandawire, 1999).

A critical analysis of decentralization in relation to development indicates that decentralization has had both positive and negative impacts on development. In the case of Bolivia, Philippines and India (West Bengal), it is evident that decentralization has had a positive impact on the realm of development. Many more people were interested in the projects around them and therefore projects that would address their immediate needs were prioritized. In these three countries, the process of decentralization has generally been supported by sufficient government ability and willingness to carry out reforms, as well as by transparency, participation, and policy coherence.

Most of the developing countries adopted their decentralization programmes by design. The authorities visibly believed in the process and had the ability to shape it. Moreover, the reforms seem to have been inspired by a desire to improve social, economic and political conditions, in the context of measures such as democratization, improved community participation and poverty reduction. All the three successful countries adopted a

17

comprehensive approach, concurrently undertaking political, fiscal, and administrative decentralization. The process went beyond de-concentration to a real delegation of power to lower tiers of government, with support from central government.

Similarly, countries such as China, South Africa, Mexico and Ghana are characterized by relatively successful decentralization programmes, with an identifiable impact on development. The process fulfils only some of the criteria for an efficient, sustainable, transparent, participatory, equitable, and coherent process. The official manifesto and/or implicit objective do not specifically involve poverty reduction (Slocum *et al.,* 1995).

There are instances of failure too. The decentralization programmes in Paraguay, Nepal, Vietnam, Egypt, Sri Lanka, Ethiopia, Burkina Faso, and Uganda are characterized mostly by failure in terms of pro-development outcomes, although in some instances individual regional programmes have resulted in some level of poverty reduction. These countries display either low income combined with a low Gini index (e.g. Uganda, Vietnam) or higher income and a higher Gini index (e.g. Brazil and Paraguay). Thus, this category appears to group examples in which some positive elements cohabit with negative ones (Oyugi, 1988).

The negative impact of decentralization on development in these countries can be attributed to the fact that these countries are generally unstable, emerging from civil wars or ethnic conflicts or, in some cases, are still affected by political instability. The overriding objective of the decentralization programme is political stability and the maintenance of central control through de-concentration rather than effective devolution. In many cases, decentralization policies are aimed at preserving and re-establishing national unity. Being implemented by default, decentralization in these countries is not designed for its benefits in terms of democratization, greater responsiveness to local needs and community participation, the three recognized dimensions of poverty reduction. As a result of the shortcomings of the decentralization process, the countries in this category have not pursued a comprehensive approach to decentralization, choosing de-concentration rather than devolution of power. Guinea, Mozambique, Malawi, India (Andrah-Pradesh) and India (Madyha-Pradesh) share many characteristics with the previous category, but decentralization have not shown any pro-poor impacts. The reform process has been flawed. All these countries pursued decentralization reforms by default. Like countries in the previous category, they are post-conflict economies and thus share similar reform objectives, but they have registered no

demonstrable pro-poor outcomes from specific projects that are linked to decentralization (Mkandawire, 1999).

Decentralization, therefore, does not automatically contribute to development. The cited countries that have attempted to decentralize reflect mixed signals in terms of development. Indeed, the above review confirms the crucial importance of the country background and the design of the process in shaping the success or failure of pro-development decentralization. This leads us to ask; has decentralization contributed to citizen participation thus development? Has the Kenyan country background contributed to the success of CDF in terms of citizen participation? In addition, has the designing process of CDF contributed to citizen participation and thus development? This study endeavors to answer some of these questions in the subsequent chapters.

2.5.2 *Devolution*

The United Nations (2002) report as already noted points out that devolution is a deliberate and planned transfer of power and resources away from centralized state institutions to peripheral institutions. It is a mechanism for bringing government closer to the governed and helps to improve public administration by empowering local authorities to be the planning and decision making bodies and thereby enhancing the capacity of government to achieve local participation (Azeem, 2003).

Devolution makes possible speedier and more responsive public service attuned to local or individual needs. It enhances efficiency, through reduced bureaucracy (Putnam *et al*., 1993). Devolution further offers two main benefits to the people: freedom to access and freedom to decide (Muriisa, 2008).

The former implies that devolution enables people to voice their needs and to access certain resources through their representatives. The latter implies that within a devolved framework, people take autonomous decisions without influence from the central government. According to Turner and Hulme (1997), through delegation within organizations and coordination between organizations, improved decision making and greater efficiency and effectiveness are promoted. Participatory local governments are more responsive to local needs, elected officials are more accountable and responsive to the people than officials of central governments, and people are more involved in decision making (Braun and Grote, 2000).

Bardhan (1996) observes that devolution can create social networks at local level that perpetuate corruption thus hindering popular participation and ultimately service delivery. Bardhan and Mookherjee (1998) support this view. According to them, decentralization sometimes gives room for government corruption. However, it is imperative to note that Fisman and Gatti (2005) in their study *"Decentralization and Corruption: Evidence Across Countries?"* suggest a strong negative relationship between fiscal devolution in government expenditure and corruption.

Cabral (2011) notes that devolution could also exacerbate regional disparities and bring local elites into power, aggravating inequalities in the distribution of resources. Economies of scale and agglomeration may also be used to justify the centralization of certain services. Cabral (2011) further notes that devolution may increase public spending and debt, posing threats to macroeconomic managing.

Among the more prominent arguments for devolution is the issue of efficiency: the expectation that decentralizing functions to the lowest feasible level of decision making and implementation will optimize information flow and reduce transaction costs. Thus, a decision to devolve is often based on the failure of the central government to deliver, such as in revenue collection or in service delivery. Devolution has further been seen as an avenue to democratic deepening within an enterprise, with constitutional or legal boundaries diminishing friction with the center that could otherwise undermine the enterprise.

Besides concern with efficiency in service delivery, devolution can also resolve "over-centralized misgovernance" or defuse secessionist tendencies, its outcomes leading to greater consensus in decisions (Mwenda, 2010). Indeed, while devolution − and federalism − can respond to heightened ethnic differences, it is important to recognize its limitations as a solution that contains, rather than eliminates, diversity. Further, since the demands for delivering the traditional Bill of Rights in national constitutions often require extraordinary outlays, devolved governments can be superior to national ones in providing the means with which to secure the rights and interests of social minorities and marginalized groups. This measure offers a sustainable means, even if only implicitly so, of providing affirmative action or positive discrimination for such marginalized groups.

A number of country experiences with devolution have been reviewed. In Mexico, for instance, devolution was seen as beneficial in strengthening operational efficiency and

management of health services at the level of state governments and to link planning of the health services more closely to overall national planning of the country. In Papua New Guinea, devolution was a beneficial method of creating regional autonomy with a view to increasing appropriate responses to local needs and quicker decision making. In Tanzania, devolution aimed at increasing participation of the people in planning and improving coordination between the relevant agencies, reducing duplication of services and making more effective use of the available resources. In South Africa, devolution was used as a means of redressing past inequities created by the apartheid regime (Hutchinson, 1991).

Kayizzi-Mugerwa *et al.* (1998) argues that the main benefits of devolution in Uganda are increased democracy, accountability and responsiveness, and the improved capacity of the local people to participate in the decision making process, especially with regard to service delivery, and to promote local ownership of the programmes. In Papua New Guinea, devolution increased popular participation in government and improved the planning, management and coordination capacity of provincial administrators. In Senegal and New Zealand, it attempted to bring services nearer to the people (Faguet, 2000).

However, despite the discussed benefits, there are scholars who have raised doubts on the ability of devolution in bequeathing all the discussed benefits to the populace. Some scholars have observed that devolution is not necessarily pro-poor (Jutting *et al.*, 2005).

Crook (2003) argues that the degree of responsiveness to the poor and the extent to which there is an impact on poverty are determined primarily by the politics of local-central relations and the general regime context, particularly the commitment of central political authorities to service delivery. Kayizzi-Mugerwa *et al* (1998) points that devolution may increase participation and accountability but there is no evidence, at least in the Africa context, that this generates better outputs (i.e. services) and outcomes (i.e. measured in terms of social indicators) for the poor.

The World Development Report (1994) on infrastructure reported that in a study of 121 completed rural water supply projects financed by various agencies, projects with high degree of local participation in project selection and design were more likely to later enjoy good maintenance than those with more centralized decision making (World Bank, 2001). Participation can also improve efficiency by ensuring better monitoring and verification. Devolution in Kenyan has been given impetus by both economic and political imperatives. At

the economic level, devolution involved creating institutional organs that support improved economic performance. At the political level, devolution was seen as a means of conformity to local and international pressures for more participatory development processes. Consequently, devolution was intended to form the basis of a leaner central government, to strengthen the institutional capacities of local groups and civic organizations, and to increase the responsibility of communities to finance services through local resources.

The history of devolution in Kenya can be traced back to independence. At independence, the government started a form of devolution commonly known as *"majimbo",* which granted significant recognition and responsibility to regions. According to Oloo (2006), the system granted power to local authorities to collect taxes and gave them responsibility for the maintenance of schools, health facilities and minor roads. With the merger of the then opposition party (Kenya African Democratic Union - KADU), who were the proponent of *"majimbo"* in 1964 with Kenya African National Union (KANU), which was the ruling party, the centralized system of government was entrenched. Development committees were established at provincial and district levels to facilitate coordination of development activities and provide assistance in terms of decision-making.

In 1965, Majimbo faded away and the government through *Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 on African Socialism and its Application in Planning* established the framework of State-led development and devolution of planning based on local inputs as a means of improving socio-economic well-being of rural communities (Republic of Kenya, 1965). In 1970, Kenya initiated integrated decentralized planning under Special Rural Development Programme (SRDP) that was managed by the Ministry of Finance and coordinated by the National Rural Development Committee (NRDC). The programme was implemented in 14 identified areas across the nation. SRDP was focused at the sub-district level (that is, the division), covering six rural administrative divisions as an experiment on decentralization with the primary objective of increasing rural incomes, employment and welfare. Organizational and sartorial coordination were given attention in both planning and implementation. As with many pilot programmes, a major problem proved to be the conflict between the desire for establishing viable programmes, which could be replicated through the country, and the pressure to create individually successful programmes, which were not transferable because of high costs (Ng'ethe *et al.,* 1973). From then onwards, the government continued to focus on other aspects of decentralization.

The government reiterated its commitment to decentralization in *Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1975 on Economic Prospects and Policies,* which stated that *"there would be more emphasis on rural development".* Some of the initiatives started in the SRDP were amplified in that Sessional Paper. The Sessional Paper stated that in order to support the expanded agriculture programme, emphasis on road building would shift from expensive major roads to access and feeder roads in rural areas.

In addition, between the late 1970s and early 1980s, six Regional Development Authorities (RDAs) were established with a common mandate to plan and coordinate the implementation of regional development activities, ensure mobilization of resources and promote regional socio-economic development through integrated planning and management. According to Hatchard (1999), RDAs were meant to ensure equitable development based on natural resource endowment of each of the six regions. However, because of the integrated and multi-disciplinary nature of their activities, they were characterized by duplication of functions with other development players. At the district level, they often lacked adequate funding and this affected their operations. For a long time, RDAs operated without a concise development policy and framework for community participation in project identification, prioritization, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation (Oloo, 2006).

In July 1983, the Government attempted to extend decentralized development to all districts in Kenya by adopting a District Focus for Rural Development strategy - DFRD. Oloo (2006) notes that DFRD had five broad objectives:

(i) Broaden the base of development by moving most decisions on planning and management of district specific projects close to the point of implementation;
(ii) Encourage local participation so as to improve problem identification;
(iii) Effectively mobilize and utilize resources;
(iv) Remove delays in decision making and speed up project implementation; and
(v) Increase coordination and sharing of development resources between various partners and enhance utilization of local resources.

This strategy made districts the focus of development. It involved a bottom-up approach to planning where the districts had autonomy in setting priorities. The DFRD was designed to address the increased complexity of providing central coordination for a growing number of development programmes and the need to fully mobilize resources at the local level,

including people and their skills. With the adoption of the Strategy, responsibility for identifying, planning and implementing district projects shifted from the headquarters of ministries to the districts. The post of District Development Officer (DDO) was created and District Planning Units (DPU) established (Lele, 1975). District development was brought under the supervision of the District Development Committees (DDCs) and sub-committees at divisional and location level.

By shifting planning and implementation responsibilities from ministry headquarters to the district level, the government was undertaking a fundamental process of reform that affected both governance and economic organization. Nevertheless, available evidence shows that little was achieved in the way of institutional development and participation of Kenyans in the planning process at the district level (Opon, 2007). It is noteworthy that since its inception, DFRD had continuous reviews (1984, 1987, 1995 and 2007) to take into account changing circumstances and to address inherent management problems (Republic of Kenya, 2007). These revisions aimed at making DFRD responsive to the changing needs of people and emerging policy initiatives.

Another attempt towards decentralization in Kenya was through the Local Authorities. These were established under the Local Authority Act CAP 265 of the Laws of Kenya to function as entities charged with the responsibility of providing certain services within their areas of jurisdiction. According to Muia (2008) and Oloo (2006), Local Authorities undertook responsibilities initially marked for the central government. This included provision of primary education, health care, roads, and maintenance of markets, among others. To improve on the Act of 265, the Local Authority Transfer Fund (LATF) was established under the LATF Act (1998) and the associated Local Authority Social Development Authority Programme (LASDAP). Under this new Act, the functions of Local Authorities were expanded to encompass more roles (Oyugi, 1998).

2.5.3 *Participatory Development*

It can be observed that literature has emphasized on the benefits of participatory development to communities. A critical look at participatory development indicates that it may sometimes be injurious to technical efficiency if people do not have the capacity to make informed judgments on technical matters. Thus, a study in Pakistan found that while greater

community participation in non-technical decisions was associated with higher project outcomes, in technical decisions it actually led to worse outcomes (Khwaja, 2004).

Participation may also harm efficiency by diffusing control and authority in management. For example, in a study of water tanks in South India, Mosse (1998) observed that the tanks were not better managed in co-operative frameworks. In some areas, at least, management seemed to be better when order and discipline was imposed among users by a strong caste authority.

According to the UNDP (2007), participation may also fail to achieve allocative efficiency; that is, to allocate resources in accordance with true preferences of the people, because there may be circumstances in which people or those who claim to speak for them have the incentive to distort information about preferences. This is especially true of donor-funded projects, in which the potential participants may deliberately express preferences that they think are more in line with the preferences of the donors rather than of their own, in the hope of improving their chance of receiving the funds.

2.6   Constitution of Kenya 2010

In 2010, Kenya adopted a new constitution, which is based on various principles and key amongst them that of enhancing people's centrality in governance. To secure this provision, a whole chapter is dedicated to guide Devolution under Article 174 of the Constitution. However, while we recognize the new provisions, CDF which had been created before the new constitution and is currently undergoing restructuring to fit in the new structure. Therefore, the new constitution will not reflect much in this study.

This study uses the participatory framework to examine how people participate in CDF projects and the outcome of their participation. The study examines different dimensions of participation as earlier discussed.

2.7   Conceptual Framework

A discussion of the conceptual framework is provided in Figure 2.1, with the following parameters:

Dependent variables: The study's dependent variable is Citizen Participation. In this study, Citizen Participation was presented as people's contribution in terms of time, labour, ideas, money, and feedback in the particular project.

Independent variables: Independent variables negatively or positively influence citizen participation (Dependent variable). In this case, devolution was the independent variable. Devolution is operationalized through the CDF framework, which puts in place institutions that govern and implement CDF projects.

In Figure 2, we demonstrate some of the intervening variables that may control the ability of the CDF framework to ensure citizen participation. For instance, most respondents agreed that they were called for meetings but sometimes the officials would speak on end. They would not be in a position to give their ideas since only a few top leaders would end up being heard in the consultative forums. Other aspects of this include the possibility of interaction with local CDF institutions, namely PMC and CDFC, as well as awareness of CDF guidelines and projects. Other intervening factors would include efforts to minimize discretion and to encourage transparency of CDF activities as well as motivating people to participate in CDF activities by creating interest and awareness around projects. This enhances the voice of the people in terms of giving their ideas.

A summary of this conceptual framework would be that once the CDF framework is supported by a transparent office that constantly shares information on CDF activities, funding and projects, organizes sessions that people of different sex, age participate, where more ideas are put in place, then people's participation will be achieved.

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework

INDEPENDENT VARIABLE	INTERMEDIATE VARIABLE	DEPENDENT VARIABLE
DEVOLUTION CDF Framework	SPACES FOR CONTRIBUTION OF IDEAS INTERACTION WITH AUTHORITIES (PMC and CDFC) CAPACITY BUILDING OF CITIZEN'S PREVENT EXCESSIVE DISCRETION	CITIZEN PARTICIPATION PEOPLE CONTRIBUTION OF: a) Time b) Labour c) Ideas d) Money e) Feedback
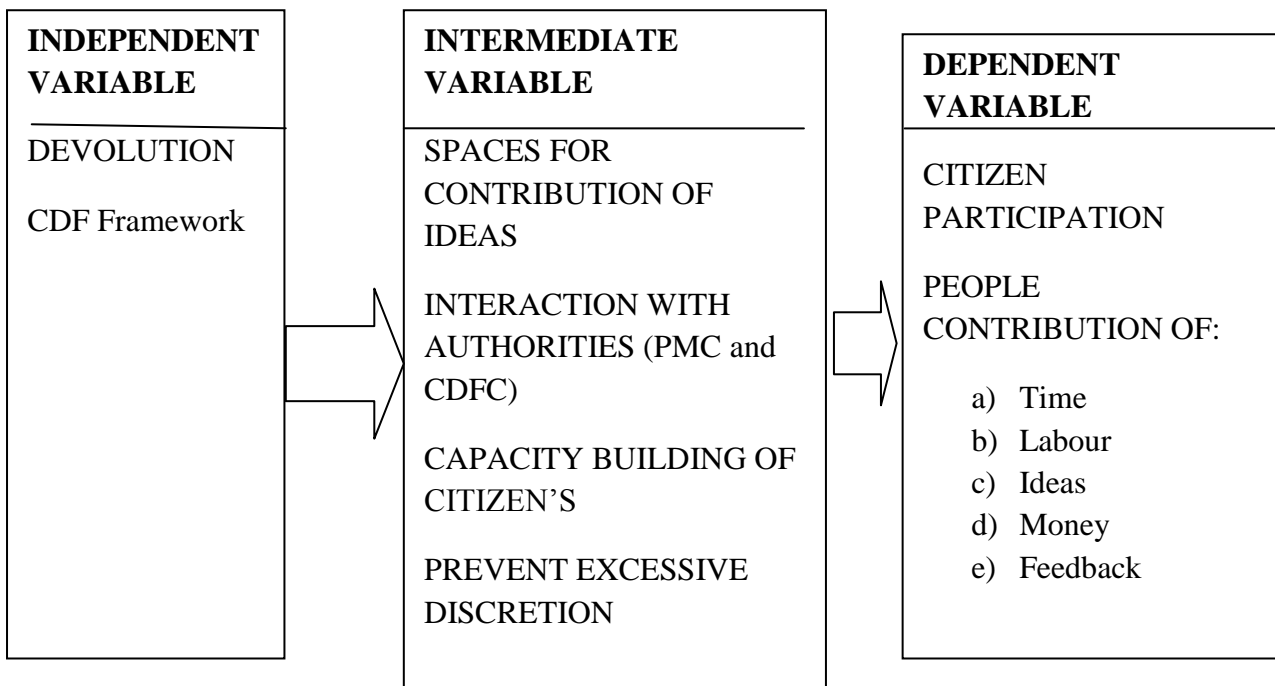
Source: Author's conceptualization

2.8   Definition of key terms:

1. Participation as used in this study refers to people's contribution in the form of their time, labour, money and ideas throughout the project management cycle (Identification, Implementation, Monitoring and Evaluation).

2. Local institutions in this study refer to the Constituency Development Funds Committees (CDFCs) and the District Project Committees (DPCs).

3. Project beneficiaries in this study refer to people using the projects in their socio-economic activities

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1   Study Site

This study was conducted in Nakuru Town Constituency. The site was identified because of certain unique aspects. Nakuru Town is one of the biggest constituencies in terms of area and population. It is the fourth largest constituency. According to KNBS (2009), the constituency was established in 1963 and has a population of 309,424 people. There are 91,110 households spread over 272km square. The population density of the constituency is 1,041. This is the highest in Rift Valley Province (KNBS, 2009).

The entire constituency is located within the Nakuru municipality. This includes 17 wards, namely: Baruti, Central, Lake View, Kaptembwa, Bondeni, Hospitali, Nakuru East, Nakuru West, Kivumbini, Langalanga, Biashara, Shauri Yako, Baruti East, Baruti West, Menengai, Viwanda and Lanet wards (ECK, 2005). Nakuru Town is the administrative headquarters for the larger Rift Valley Province and also Nakuru District, which means that political leaders in the area always have a big influence on the political direction of issues not only in Nakuru town but also in the larger Rift Valley region.

The main source of wealth in the constituency is agriculture, and its geographical position works well for business activities. The town's population is metropolitan and has been an administrative headquarters for the larger Nakuru District comprising 16 administrative divisions and 4 local councils. Politically, the seat of Nakuru Town Member of Parliament (MP) has been very competitive because of its voter masses. There is no single Member of Parliament who has managed to serve two consecutive terms in the last 20 years. The CDF performance record, therefore, is critical because of the influence that people perceive the patron (MP) to have. Many constituents consider it to gauge the performance of sitting MPs.

The first allocation and disbursement of CDF to Nakuru Town Constituency was Kshs. 6,000,000 (six million) during the financial year 2003/2004. This allocation grew gradually to reach Kshs. 86,197,172 in the 2011/2013 financial year. Following the new constituencies' demarcations as per the Constitution of Kenya 2010, Nakuru Town constituency was split

into Nakuru East and Nakuru West constituencies. This allowed a bigger share to be allocated to the constituency, as reflected in the table below.

Table 3.1: Constituency Development Fund allocation over time

No.	Constituency	Allocation 2006/2007 (Kshs)	Allocation 2012/2013 (Kshs)	Allocation 2014/2015 (Kshs)
	Nakuru Town (Nakuru Town East plus Nakuru Town West)	6,000,000	86,197,172	127,361,332

Source: CDF 2015, Constituencies Development Fund

The study sampled three projects, namely Mwariki East Dispensary, Free Area Market, and North Cemetery Public toilet spread though the constituency. The study site was informed by its high population level. The researcher also felt well accustomed to the constituency. The high population in the area always made Nakuru a constituency of interest, owing to the fact that the population is one of the dimensions used to calculate CDF allocation. This impetus gave a basis to study participation in CDF projects, and how it affects their success.

3.2 Research Design

This study used structured interviews, key informant interviews and desk review methods. These research methods ensured that the information was reliable. The study generated qualitative and quantitative data. The questionnaires provided primary data while secondary data provided by respondents of the Key Informant Interviews.

The researcher administered interviews with the 60 beneficiaries from around the three projects. The respondents were identified based on their characteristics. The characteristics were that they were part of the community around the project and undertaking economic or social activities in the area. The researcher used the semi-structured questionnaires on the 60 respondents. An introduction and communication of the aim of the interview was done and once the respondents were ready, the interview commenced.

The researcher first administered her questionnaire in Nakuru East Water Project, where she interviewed the respondents. This being the first area, the researcher spent more time familiarizing herself with the questions and understanding the difficulties faced by respondents in answering some of the questions. In this case, the researcher spent more time in this project area and less time in the other two, namely: Nakuru North Cemetery Public Toilet Project and Free Area Market rehabilitation projects, respectively.

The responses allowed the researcher to identify with the target beneficiaries of this project and therefore begun to assess participation or lack of it within the projects from their perspective. An interview with the four members of the CDF committee followed using a semi-structured questionnaire. Finally, key respondents were interviewed using interview guides. Having them as the last group to be interviewed allowed an in-depth discussion on some of the emerging issues from the previously held interviews.

3.3   Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

A study population is the aggregate of all cases that conform to some designated set of specifications (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1992). The study population was defined as all individuals within the sampled area in Nakuru Town Constituency. A sampling frame on CDF-funded projects was developed and used. Projects with similar characteristics were listed to allow for the sampling. This information was available from the CDF website as well as through the Nakuru Town CDF offices. All the projects available at the time were 113. Out of these, there were some that were first time projects and others were continued projects.

All the projects were categorized into three groups, namely: basic services (comprising schools and water provision), economic promotion projects (market rehabilitation and stalls development), and youth targeted projects (art galleries, theatre rehabilitation, and public toilet rehabilitation). The researcher picked one project from each category. Using the sampling process, the three sampled projects were Mirugi Kariuki Dispensary water tank, Nakuru North Cemetery public toilet, and rehabilitation of Free Area Market Stalls.

The researcher also identified four (4) members out of the 15 members from the CDF committee to be interviewed. The four members of the committee were identified based on relevance of their offices to the study. These were the secretary, women representative, projects coordinator, and independent member of the committee. As for the community respondent, they were selected through the use of random sampling. Around 20 respondents

were sampled from each project, therefore totaling to 60 respondents. Key informants were also identified through their offices. These were chosen to triangulate the information. The informants were identified based on their office, which would have relevant information for this study.

3.4   Data Collection Tools

3.4.1   Questionnaires

Semi-structured questionnaires were used to collect information on the variables under consideration, including participation at identification, implementation, monitoring and evaluation stages as well as barriers to participation at the different stages of the projects. The questionnaire was pre-coded in some sections to facilitate quantification of the information generated. The questionnaires were administered between the 17th and 24th of August 2015. The researcher had a face-to-face interview with the respondents as they filled in their responses and was able to probe their responses further for clarity. At the end of the interview, the researcher was satisfied with the responses.

3.4.2   Literature Review

Secondary information was necessary to put the study in perspective. This included statistics on population, listed projects and their status, disbursed funds and audited reports. Secondary data was obtained from records in the CDF office in Nakuru, backed by what has been officially posted on the CDF website. Other relevant documents to the study were used, including the published newsletter from the constituency. Reference was made to the guiding CDF Act 2003 and the amended 2007 Act as well. Review of these data was important to understand and authenticate the primary data that was collected.

The researcher carried out the interviews herself with an aim to benefit from getting first hand response. Prior to the interview, the researcher briefed the respondents on the intentions of the study and assured them of confidentiality of their responses and the intended use of the information for academic purposes.

3.5   Data Analysis

In analyzing the field data, descriptive statisticswere used. Analysis of the qualitative information collected through key informant interviews complimented the quantitative data. Quantitative data analysis was based on data deduction and interpretation. This was done by

first editing the data, followed by coding as per the categories and then analyzed using the statistical package for social sciences (SPSS). Descriptive statistics condensed and summarized description of units with regard to measurable characteristics. The main descriptive analysis method will be frequency distributions and percentiles explaining extents as per the research guiding questions.

Responses from the Key Informant Interviews was used to check correspondence with the primary source of data (Questionnaires). Their responses were used for qualitative information in discussing some of the challenges faced in encouraging participation.

3.6   Challenges Encountered

One of the biggest challenges was to find willing respondents. The study area was busy and the researcher found that they had to agree on a favourable time for the respondents to avail themselves. Interestingly, after going to the site twice, the respondents were eager to give their opinion though they expected immediate responses especially to their woes. To address this, the researcher made it clear at the beginning that this was a study and that I would share the findings with the CDF office. They accepted and even agreed that they would pay the office a visit to further communicate their concerns.

Secondly, political perceptions in terms of performance of political parties kept cropping up. Sympathizers of different parties insisted on conveying their political leaders as doing a good job. The researcher neutralized this by giving the respondent time to share their concern, then slowly re-focusing the interview to the guide. However, this took more time of the researcher.

CHAPTER FOUR

STUDY FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

4.1   Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of the field findings in relation to the study. The main objective of this study was to establish citizen participation levels in CDF projects in Nakuru Town Constituency. The specific objectives to facilitate the study were:

1. To establish the level of citizen participation in CDF projects in the study area.

2. To establish how citizens participate in CDF projects in the study area.

3. To establish how local institutions enhance citizen participation in Nakuru Town Constituency.

4.2   Characteristics of Respondents

This section represents basic characteristics of respondents. As stated in the earlier chapters, the **"who"** participates was important in measuring the different aspects of the beneficiaries of the project. This is in regard to the participatory framework. Cohen and Uphoff (1980) identified two groups of participants, namely the residents and beneficiaries as particularly important in participation in development. For this dimension, the World Bank (1994) advocates for stakeholders participation. Stakeholders are defined by the Bank as the parties who either affect or are affected by development actions, who lack information and power and are excluded from the development process (World Bank, 1994). From this, the basic characteristics being examined in this study include sex, age marital status and level of education. Each of these characteristics is discussed in this section.

4.2.1   Age of Respondents

The study focused on residents and beneficiaries of the projects and therefore was open to all ages. However, the ages varied throughout the projects as presented in the Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Age distribution of respondents

	Frequency	Valid Per cent %)
Age 20 and Below	4	7.0
21-30	24	40.3
31-40	17	28.1
41-50	12	19.3
51 and Above	3	5.3
Total	**60**	**100**

Source: Survey Data

From the study, 40 per cent of the respondents were aged 21-30 years. The age bracket between 31-40 years followed with 28 per cent of the total population interviewed. This represented the active youth, most of them engaging in productive socio-economic activities.

In total 69 per cent of the beneficiary respondents are young people (below) 40 years. The number of persons participating in the CDF-funded projects was reducing as the age bracket goes up. The age bracket (41-50) and (51 and above) had the lowest numbers of people participating at 24 per cent in total. Majority of the young respondents were involved in small businesses that depended on services such as water, toilets and market order, which the projects were offering.

Table 4.2: Participation by age in various CDF Projects by respondents

	CDF Project		
	Free Area Market	**Mwariki East**	**Public Toilet**
Age 20 and Below	1	3	0
21-30	9	6	10
31-40	3	5	8
41-50	7	3	2
51 and Above	0	3	0
Total	**20**	**20**	**20**

Source: Survey Data

Majority of the members from the group were below 40 years indicated their participation in carrying out direct work in the project and giving constant feedback. The group above age 41 participated in management meetings for the project in addition to direct contribution and

giving constant feedback. On further analysis, the young group explained that the older group was better placed to consult since they had been in the areas longer.

On further analysis, 29.3 per cent of the youth knew about the projects through the committee representatives. This was the highest percentage in terms of initial knowledge of the projects. They indicated that they had been following the development of the CDF after hearing on the radio about it. They also identified with the MP saying that they had deserved the project for supporting him during his campaign and election. The youth running the rehabilitated toilet they were rewarded for their support for the MP.

In the water tank management, the older age bracket was elected into management of the project. This was done when members of the community came together after the project began. Being a project in a residential area, majority of the members knew each other and therefore elected trustworthy individuals based on their own criteria. These were mainly men in the age bracket of 46-50. This is the perception that was seen to cut across the projects with majority of the members from the age bracket of 40 and above being leaders in their projects.

4.2.2 Gender of Respondents

The gender comparison was measured to establish whether gender affected participation. There were 32 male and 28 female respondents. This represented 53.3 per cent and 46.7 per cent respectively.

Table 4.3: Gender distribution of Respondents

Gender	Frequency	Valid per cent (%)
Male	32	53.3
Female	28	46.7
Total	**60**	**100**

Source: Survey data

Women were more involved in this project. In respect to the principle of devolution reaching the majority in numbers, CDF has managed to reach out to women through these direct projects. Women were involved more in the water project, as well as in the market rehabilitation projects.

In the overall analysis, women participation was more than that of men. They contributed their time, money, and ideas. Only a meager 16 per cent of the female respondents attested to having known about the project through the CDF committee members or project management committee members. Of the 44 per cent male respondents, at least 45 per cent knew members of the committee who informed them about the projects. The glaring difference in information between men and women shows a disparity between men and women participation being influenced by the committees. With majority of the officials being men, having women participation influenced by the committees remains a pipe dream because men will tend to meet and update each other on local happenings, leaving out the women. Majority of the women attested to having known about the project when it was physically running, such as with the actual building of the water tank, the toilet and the market rehabilitation.

4.2.3 Respondents' Level of Education

The researcher included the level of education of respondents in the study to measure participation of the different categories. The beneficiaries were affected differently according to their education levels. The group that had primary education level perceived that 50 per cent of people were interested in participating in CDF projects. However, in the post-primary bracket, 70 per cent of the group rated that people were not willing to participate in CDF projects. As discussed earlier in the theory, this could be attributed to the understanding of the CDF processes that this groups would have differently. The 'who' participates, affects highly the perceptions of people's willingness to participate. In this case, it will be important for CDF to target this group for awareness creation. This would boost the willingness to participate to the level like that of the post-primary educated, which is at 70 per cent.

An analysis of specific projects being affected by education levels showed Free Area market had the highest level of its participants from the secondary and post-secondary education levels. This can be interpreted to show that the level of citizen participation in the market project was higher than that of Nakuru Town public toilet, which scored 48 per cent in post-primary education (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4: Education level distribution of respondents in the projects

	Nakuru Free Area Market	Nakuru East Town	Nakuru Town-Public Toilet	Total
None (%)	5.0	0	5	3
Primary (%)	15.0	47	48	37
Secondary (%)	55.0	47	48	50
Post-Secondary level (%)	25.0	5	0	10
Total (%)	100	100	100	100

Source: Survey data

4.2.4 Marital Status and Participation

Over 50 per cent of the respondents were single, divorced/separated, or widowed. This is presented in Table 4.5. They wholly depended on their respective economic activities to provide for themselves, since they did not have spouses to share the responsibilities with. The other 50 per cent were married therefore indicating shared responsibility at household level. The single, divorced, separated and widowed group of respondents participated in meetings to agree which project is to be done, contributed materials and gave constant feedback. They explained their participation in these stages to be because of their high dependence on the services rendered by the projects. They are the sole breadwinners and, therefore, depend heavily on the economic activities related to this project for provision of their needs. The married group, which accounted for 50 per cent, explained their participation in contribution and constant feedback to be as a result of their movements to areas where their spouses are. They therefore felt they could not fully participate in the project cycle as much as their single counterparts would.

Majority of respondents from the market rehabilitation were married. They explained that they share responsibilities with their spouses, taking turns in the running of their businesses. It is the men in the relationship that took up leadership because they were able to contribute

their ideas, attend meetings, follow up on development while their partners continued with the selling of merchandise in the market.

In the public toilet rehabilitation project, there were very few married respondents. They therefore drew a roster and took turns to follow up with the CDF committee on the development of their project. They learnt how to present themselves, how to negotiate and as one of them put it, 'we no longer fear authority. 'These are our offices and it is just how you present yourself', set your agenda and pursue it. I can now follow up on any project because I understand the process (Survey data)". This is a case of capacity building as discussed earlier and the youth seem to have developed their capacity to participate in the project.

Table 4.5: Marital status of respondents

Marital Status	Frequency	Valid Per cent (%)
Single	19	31.7
Married	35	58.3
Divorced/separated	5	8.3
Widowed	1	1.7
Total	**60**	**100**

Source: Survey data

4.3   Level of Citizen Participation in CDF Projects

The study sought to investigate how citizens participated in the study area. To do this, it examined participation in the project cycle. As expected, people's participation varied. When asked whether they took part in the project in any way, 59 per cent of the respondents indicated that they had not participated in the projects. They gave various reasons to this, including the fact that they had only moved into the area after the projects had commenced. On the other hand, 41 per cent of the respondents participated in the projects, citing their interest in the services they receive from these projects. Table 4.6 presents this data.

Table 4.6: Overall participation in the projects by respondents

	Frequency	Valid Percent (%)
Yes	24	41.4
No	34	58.6

Source: Survey Data

However, when asked whether they think other people participated in any way, majority of the respondents affirmed that they thought more people (66%) participated in the project. This was because of what they had heard from their friends, relatives, and neighbours who initially talked to them about the projects. Table 4.7 presents this data.

Table 4.7: Perception of public participation in the projects by respondents

	Frequency	Valid Per cent (%)
Yes	39	65.5
No	21	34.5

Source: Survey Data

The other reason that people did not participate can be attributed to the fact that they did not know. When the respondents were asked about the commencement dates of the projects, 70 per cent of them responded to not knowing the start dates as presented in Table 4.8. However, the 30 per cent who knew the commencement dates expressed keen interest in the projects.

Table 4.8: Respondents' view of beginning of projects

	Frequency	Valid Per cent (%)
I don't know	42	70.0
2004	9	15.0
2005	4	6.7
2006	1	1.7
2007	4	6.7

Source: Survey Data (2014)

4.4   Participation in Different Project Stages

Following the late knowledge of the projects, people's participation was seen to be low. In terms of the different levels, majority of the respondents attested to giving their feedback once the project was complete as presented in Table 4.9. In Nakuru East (Mirugi Kariuki water tank), they attributed this to the failure of the first project. They were all called upon because the water had been disconnected. They were obliged to give constant feedback until they agreed on an alternative method of water distribution, which is the watering point.

Table 4.9: Participation by respondents in different project cycle stages

Stage of participation	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
Project identification/design	26.7	73.3	100
Meeting to agree which project to be done	26.7	73.3	100
Carrying out the direct work in the project by contributing, money, supervising	31.7	68.3	100
Taking part in management meetings for the project	26.7	73.3	100
Giving constant feedback/comments on the project during its implementation and after	35.0	65.0	100

Source: Survey Data

Further analyses based on project specific responses show that Free Area market depicted a constant level of participation throughout the project cycle. On the other hand, the Nakuru North Cemetery rehabilitation project had the lowest level of participation. This was attributed to the age and educational levels of the respondents in the North cemetery project. Majority of them were young and had interacted with the project only recently, and therefore had not participated in the earlier stages of the project cycle.

Mwariki East water project presented 43.8 per cent at the 'Meeting to agree which project to be done' stage of the PCM. This can be attributed to the location of the project, which is based in a residential area. In addition to the project benefits the business community in the area, residents were keen to participate in determining distribution of a basic resource such as water.

In level three of the PCM, "Carrying out the direct work in the project by contributing money, supervising etc", Free Area market rehabilitation project scored 43.8 per cent, which is the highest of the three. This project was made up of people who worked their way before the identification of the project. They had registered their groups and had continued to contribute money through their group leaders. They therefore contributed a lot because of their organization through these groups.

In the same tone, Free Area market had the highest percentage (36.8%) "Taking part in management meetings for the project". Their organized leadership structure was expected to

relay information to and from the project management committee and the members of the project.

At the fifth and final stage of the PCM, Free Area market is seen to still lead in "Giving constant feedback/comments on the project during its implementation and after", at 42.1 per cent. The project is still ongoing and the members are therefore active. Table 4.10 presents this information.

Table 4.10: Respondents project participation stage by CDF project

CDF Project * Project identification/design	CDF Project	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
	Free Area Market	31.6	68.4	100
	Mwariki East	30.0	70.0	100
	Public Toilet	19.0	81.0	100
CDF Project * Meeting to agree which project to be done	Free Area Market	26.3	73.7	100
	Mwariki East	43.8	29.5	100
	Public Toilet	19.0	81.0	100
CDF Project * Carrying out the direct work in the project by contributing, money, supervising, etc	Free Area Market	42.1	57.9	100
	Mwariki East	35.0	65.0	100
	Public Toilet	19.0	81.0	100
CDF Project * Taking part in management meetings for the project	Free Area Market	36.8	63.2	100
	Mwariki East	25.0	75.0	100
	Public Toilet	19.0	81.0	100
CDF Project * Giving constant feedback/comments on the project during its implementation and after	Free Area Market	42.1	57.9	100
	Mwariki East	30.0	70.0	100
	Public Toilet	33.3	66.7	100

Source: Survey Data

Factors that limited people's participation

However, the response was also affected by the fact that majority of the respondents were not residents at the beginning of the project. The respondents attributed this to their movement because of the 2007 post-election violence as well as other economic factors. Approximately, 72 per cent of the respondents were not in the area when the project began. The responses are as per Table 4.11.

Table 4.11: Reasons for not participating in different project stages

Reasons for not participating	Percent (%)
No/Not in this area when it started	72.2
Only a tenant for less than a year	5.6
Not welcomed/Never been invited	16.7
Not given space after payment for stall	5.6

Source: Survey Data

4.5   Local Institutions and Participation

Organizational imperatives of the CDF projects were important for the analyses of the third tenet of participation **"how".** This analysis was keen to identify local organization structures that exist to promote democratic accountable and responsive mechanisms within the projects.

4.5.1 Public Perceptions of local CDF Institutions

The public has perceptions about local institutions. These perceptions directly affect how they interact with the local institutions. Approximately 52 per cent of the respondents reported to know the CDF committee in Nakuru Town Constituency. However, only 45 per cent of the total respondents had interacted with them. More so, they interacted with them after implementation of the project. Table 4.12 presents this information.

Table 4.12: Public Perception on CDF committee

Public perception on CDF Committee	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
Do you know the CDF committee in Nakuru Town Constituency?	51.7	48.3	100
Have you ever interacted with them?	44.6	55.4	100
Did you interact with them when this project was being implemented?	30.4	69.6	100

Source: Survey Data

4.5.2 People's Knowledge of Project Management Committees

The lower level local institution, the Project Management Committee, is better known. An average of 55 per cent of the respondents affirmed to knowing the committee. The other 45 per cent did not know the committee. The ones that knew the committee have known them through various mechanisms, including directly dealing with the committee and hearing from people who had dealt with them. Figure 4.1 represents the knowledge of the CDF management committee.

Figure 4.1: Respondents' knowledge about CDF management committee
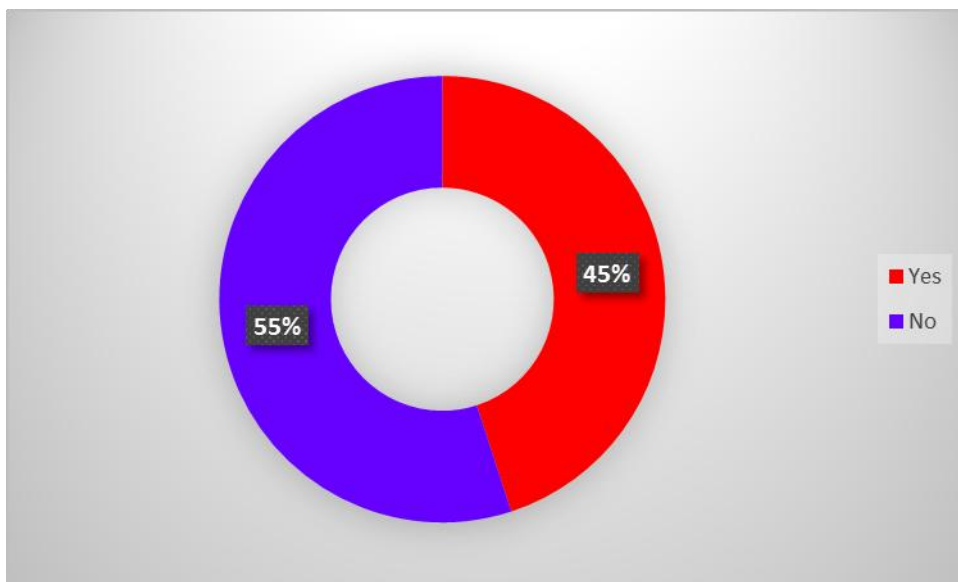
Source: Survey Data

4.5.3   Accessibility of the CDF Office

Interestingly, there was a disparity to access of CDF offices by gender. Approximately 53 per cent of men found the CDF accessible, whereas only 47 per cent of the women could access the office. This can be attributed to the fact that the CDFC is made up of more men than women. Other social factors also affect the accessibility by gender, including perceptions of women seeking favours from the office bearers. Therefore, women would rather keep off than be labeled to be asking for favors. Table 4.13 presents this information.

Table 4.13: Access to CDF office by gender

	How accessible is the CDF office in the constituency?		
Gender	Accessible (%)	Not Accessible (%)	Total (%)
Male	53.1	51.9	52.5
Female	46.9	48.1	47.5
Total	100	100	100

Source: Survey Data

Perceptions of people's participation were affected by education levels as well. The group that had primary education level perceived that 50 per cent of people were interested in participating in CDF projects. However, in the post-primary bracket, 70 per cent of the group rated that people were not willing to participate in CDF projects. As discussed earlier in our theory, this could be attributed to the understanding of the CDF processes that this groups would have differently. The 'who' participates affects highly the perceptions of people's willingness to participate. In this case, it will be important for CDF to target this group for awareness creation. This will boost the willingness to participate to the level like that of the post-primary, which is at 70 per cent.

Respondents concurred that CDF institutions were not doing enough to motivate participation in the projects. As seen in Table 4.14, 70 per cent of the respondents agreed that more could be done to increase citizen participation. Only 30 per cent of the total considered the CDF institutions to be doing enough in motivating people's participation. In this case, CDF institutions will have to be more proactive in engaging citizens to participate throughout the relevant projects.

Table 4.14: People's willingness to participate based on their education levels

Education Level	In your view, how would you rate the willingness of the people to participate in CDF projects in the area?				Total (%)
	High (%)	Very high (%)	Low (%)	Very Low (%)	
None	3.1	0.0	0.0	25.0	3.3
Primary	34.4	50.0	20.0	50.0	36.7
Secondary	46.9	50.0	70.0	25.0	50.0
Post-Secondary level	15.6	0.0	10.0	0.0	10.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Survey Data

According to the respondents, Project Management Committees (PMCs), which are formed by people around the projects, are charged with following up their contribution. The management committees are chosen and identified by citizens around the project. As earlier mentioned, they are normally more educated, live in the area longer than the others are, and majority are dedicated to the running of these projects. The three projects identified seemed to have local running and organized groups that were accountable to local members and CDF official mechanisms. Approximately 100 per cent of the respondents contributed maintenance charges that assured them of services as required. They knew their nearest management representative and, during discussions, they affirmed that they reach them when need be.

However, respondents expressed dissatisfaction in pursuing problem solving mechanisms beyond the Project Management Committees. Most of them expressed that if their management cannot resolve their challenges, then the other levels are too far and are likely to be marred by politics. They would have no problem contributing towards these projects as long as their contributions are effective. However, they always demand to see improvement in the project for them to continue to contribute diligently.

Respondents identified the CDFC as a structure that is far from them and made up of people who support the MP. They described the committee as one that makes decisions based on their own interest, and the degree to which project representatives can lobby them. They gave this as the reason why they chose people with the above-mentioned characteristics to represent them at the PCM. It was eventually clear that the role of PCM was better understood and, therefore, well supported. The PMC is able to deliver expected output, encourages participation, oversees implementation of the project, and ensures sustainability.

On the other hand, the CDFC did not enjoy as much support as needed. Its role as an institution meant to promote and ensure participation of the people was marred by its representation, which is viewed as political because of its patron being the MP. Respondents did not understand their role, viewing it as an institution that was unapproachable and required lobbying to support their projects. This proved a challenge to the committee. CDFC officials explained that this was a drawback to them because projects end up keeping a certain caliber of people, with the above-described characteristics, who sometimes push their own agenda. However, they have the support from the local people and the CDFC is not able to change some of the aspects of self-gain being perpetuated by these officials. In this case, the CDFC needs to make its role well known and redefine itself as an office that should be made up of the local people to serve the interest of local people. The perceived political influencing of the committee needs to be addressed by ensuring that people see the independence of the committee as opposed to its relationship with the MP. PCMs need to communicate the project vetting process so that people begin to understand the linkage between the two committees and the role of both in enhancing the success of projects.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1   Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of findings, draws conclusions from the findings, and gives policy recommendations, and suggestions for further research. The study began by understanding the different levels of participation. To do this, it explored the individual levels of participation as well as perceptions of people's participation. It further explored reasons for the low participation found to be rampant throughout the projects. Secondly, the study explored participation of people at different project management levels to establish the reasons for the different participation levels at these stages and the implication on sustainability of the projects. Finally, the study sought to explore the different dimensions of participation with the aim of establishing how participation has been enhanced by CDF as a form of devolution. The study identified two local institutions that were created to enhance participation, namely: the CDFC and the PMC. These institutions are in existence in the constituency though their contribution to enhancing people's well-being is varied. This has resulted to relatively low participation level of people at the project vetting level - CDFC.

5.2   Summary of Key Findings

5.2.1   Participation Levels in Development Projects

The findings of the study confirmed that there were low levels of participation in local development projects. This is attributed to various issues including age, education levels, marital status, among others. Political interferences that resulted to movement of population in the study area can also be attributed to this low participation levels. lnadequate information on the processes, budgetary allocation, and available projects equally contributes to the low participation levels in Nakuru Town Constituency.

5.2.2   Citizen Participation in Different CDF Projects

Respondents showed a keen interest in projects that they had participated in the inception through to the evaluation stages of the projects as discussed in the **"what"** dimension of the theoretical framework. They found ways to participate based on their strengths, which are directly linked to the characteristics discussed earlier. Projects that addressed their immediate

needs such as rehabilitation of market and public toilets - that was seen to directly increase their revenues - were seen to draw higher levels of participation with members being at the core of management of these projects. The market rehabilitation project enjoyed the highest level of participation and, even after the project was handed back to the beneficiaries, they have maintained management structures that have seen a successful and orderly market as earlier envisioned. Rehabilitation of the public toilet recorded low participation levels, with majority of the respondents interested in the use of the services. However, the project seemed to be running effectively because of its necessity in the area and its handover to the local youth group who derive direct benefits from the toilet. They have since maintained the toilet to the satisfaction of the other respondents who indirectly depend on it, such as the food vendors around.

5.2.3 *Role of Local Institutions in Enhancing Citizen Participation in Nakuru Town Constituency*

Local institutions seemed to enhance citizen's participation. The PCM and CDFC institutions put in place by the CDF Act created awareness in CDF-supported projects. However, people's participation in these institutions has made the PCM a more effective institution, making it more efficient than the CDFC. People have a closer link with the PCM and they understand the role of this committee. They have continued to delink it from the political relations - such as the MP - unlike what they have understood and related with the CDFC, which they perceive the agenda and role to be an institution that is highly influenced by the political patron - the MP.

Generally, the study observed that people's participation in created institutions such as the CDFC and the PMC enhance local development. The study showed a strong link between the CDF supported projects in the improvement of their economic activities, as with the case of Free Area market rehabilitation, as well as social improvement, in the case of water provision. Therefore, people know what is best for them and with necessary support, they can attain development.

5.3   Conclusion

Based on the findings, we draw the following conclusions.

To begin with, the general citizen participation levels are low. This cuts across all cadres including gender, age, and education levels. Secondly, the nature of the project and its

relation to addressing their immediate needs determines the level of participation. People are interested in projects that happen around them and they are ready to support these projects as long as the projects address their issues. Their participation varies from stage to stage, with new members bringing in ideas at the feedback level as well as making contributions towards sustainability of these projects. People's participation is equally highly pegged on the persons that refer them to the project. Social networks such as families and friends proved to be more reliable than formal/official networks such as call for meetings by CDF offices.

5.3   Recommendations

Based on the findings and conclusions of this study, the following recommendations are advanced to enhance peoples' participation in local development projects as envisioned by decentralization model of development.

- Well thought-out structures of enhancing participation need to be put in place. There is need to think through aspects of participation as earlier discussed in the literature review, including gender, age and socio-economic aspects that risk exclusion of some members of the society that are expected to be part of the projects.

- Skills and awareness on the role of citizen participation need to be constantly disseminated to raise awareness and elicit interest of community members especially the disadvantaged groups, on the importance of participating and influencing local projects at all levels. A concrete policy should be developed to address this, in order to appropriate sufficient resources, including personnel and funds to facilitate them.

- The position of the MP as patron of the CDF fund should be reconsidered. It mars critical thinking with sympathizers of political parties and their opposition counterparts diverting the debate on the role of CDF fund from being a local development fund with its clear-cut roles to it being a political vehicle to determine success of political parties.

5.5   Scope for Further Research

Upon completion of the research with the given research questions and scope, it is observed that some critical and relevant issues have not been covered by this research. The researcher is alive to gaps that can be pursued for further research, including other factors that promote

sustainability of local development projects. This can be a relevant and interesting area for future research.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

DEVOLUTION AND CITIZEN PARTICIPATION: A STUDY OF SELECTED CDF PROJECTS IN NAKURU TOWN CONSTITUENCY

Questionnaire No. ………..

Questionnaire

My name is Elizabeth Muthoni, a postgraduate student at the Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi. I am carrying out a study on participation of members of public in CDF-funded projects. This study focuses on facilitation and barriers to participation in the CDF funded projects in Nauru Town constituency. As a resident of this Constituency and a direct user/stakeholder of this CDF project, you have randomly been selected to participate in this study. I would highly appreciate your patience and time spent on answering the following questions. Participation is voluntary and the information you give will be treated with utmost confidence and confidentiality and will only be used for academic purposes.

Date of the interview: ………………………

Name of respondent: …………………Telephone contact ………………………

Location ……………………………...

CDF Project: …………………………

SECTION ONE

Background Information

No.	Question	Response Options	Code Box
1.	Sex	1) Male 2) Female	
2.	Age (Years)		
3.	Marital status	1) Single	

		2) Married	
		3) Divorced/Separated	
		4) Widowed	
4.	Main Occupation		
5.	Education level	1) None	
		2) Primary	
		3) Secondary	
		4) Post-Secondary level	
		5) University	
6.	When did you first come to this area?	1) Before 2002	
		2) 2002	
		3) After 2002	
7.	Membership to a political party (Name party)		
8.	Membership to a Community-based Organization (e.g. Self-help group) –Name it		
9.	Religion	1) Christian	
		2) Muslim	
		3) Indian	
		4) Other (Specify)	
		5) None	

SECTION TWO

Level of participation

10. Tell me about the CDF projects that you know in this area?

11. Among the project mentioned, which one is closer to you or the one you use mostly or interact with?

a) Tank

b) Toilet

c) Market

d) Other (Specify)....................................

12. How did you FIRST come to know about this project? (Explain)

13. When was it started/implemented/commissioned (Year or I don't know)

14. Did you take part in this project in any way?

1) Yes

2) No

15. Would you say that members of public were involved in this project?

How do citizens participate in this CDF project?

16. Kindly tick the level where you took part in the following table:

No.	Level	Tick
1)	Project identification/design	
2)	Meeting to agree which project to be done	
3)	Carrying out the direct work in the project by contributing, money, supervising, etc	
4)	Taking part in management meetings for the project	
5)	Giving constant feedback/comments on the project during its development and after	
6)	Other (specify)	
7)	None	

17. If you did not participate in any stage what were the reasons (give at most THREE)

1)

2)

3)

18. How does this project benefit you at a personal level? (Explain)

19. Would you have wished to participate in this CDF projects? (Explain)

1) Yes

2) No

20. Do you know about the CDF Act (2003) and how members of public should be involved in CDF projects? (Explain)
1) Yes
2) No

21. What would you recommend to make you participate more in future CDF project? (Explain)

22. Do you know the Constituency Development Fund Committee in Nakuru Town Constituency?
1. Yes
2. No

23. If, yes have you ever interacted with them?
1) Yes
2) No

24. Did you interact with them when this project was being implemented?
1) Yes
2) No

25. Please tick the level you interacted with them?

No.	Level	Tick
1)	Project identification/design	
2)	Meeting to agree which project to be done	
3)	Carrying out the direct work in the project by contributing, money, supervising, etc	
4)	Taking part in management meetings for the project	
5)	Giving constant feedback/comments on the project during its development and after	
6)	Other (Specify)	
7)	None	

26. Do you know the Project Management Committee of this project?

1. Yes

2. No

27. Please tick the level you interacted with them

No.	Level	Tick
1)	Project identification/design	
2)	Meeting to agree which project to be done	
3)	Carrying out the direct work in the project by contributing, money, supervising, etc	
4)	Taking part in management meetings for the project	
5)	Giving constant feedback/comments on the project during its development and after	
6)	Other (Specify)	
7)	None	

28. Would you say that these institutions have made you participante in the Project?

    1) Yes

    2) No

29. Have you participated in ANY other CDF Projects in the constituency (Except the three)

30. How did you participate ?

31. How would you rate the level of citizen participation in CDF projects in the area?

1) High

2) Very High

3) Low

4) Very low

Other (explain): ………………………………………….

32. What are some challenges with citizen participation in CDF projects in the area?

33. How can these be addressed

34. What is your view on CDF Committee, e.g.?

No.		Tick one	Comments
1)	Responding to issues	1) Very efficient 2) Efficient 3) Not very efficient	
2)	Ability to mobilize locals to participate	1) Very good 2) Good 3) Weak 4) Very weak, etc	
3)	Motivating people to participate	1) Very good 2) Good 3) Weak 4) Very weak, etc	
4)	Transparency	1) Very high 2) Good 3) Weak 4) Very weak, etc	
5)	Inclusivity	1) Very high 2) Good 3) Weak 4) Very weak, etc	

35. In your view, what is the leading factor that determines the composition of CDF Committee members?

1) Ethnic
2) Party affiliation
3) Religion
4) Other (discuss)

36. How accessible is the CDF office in the constituency ?

37. What should be done to encourage public participation in CDF projects?

38. In your view, how would you rate the willingness of the people to participate in CDF projects in the area?

1) High
2) Very high
3) Low
4) Very low

39. Overall, how would you rate the extent of participation of the public in CDF projects in the area?

40. What mechanisms for public participation, e.g. social audits, public meetings, community media, are available?

41. Are you satisfied with the efforts of CDF Committee to encourage citizen participation? (Why)

1) Yes
2) No

42. Are members of public involved much more now compared to 10 years ago when CDF started?

1) Yes
2) No

43. Interviewees comments if any?

THANK YOU

Appendix 2

CDF OFFICIALS QUESTIONNAIRE

Date ………………………………. Questionnaire No. ………..

Location ……………………………...

Section One

Background Information

No.	Question	Response Options	Code Box
1.	Name of respondent	Optional	
2.	Sex	Male Female	
3.	Age (Years)		
4.	Marital status	Single Married Divorced/Separated widowed	
5.	Main Occupation		
6.	Education level	1.None 2. Primary 3. Secondary 4. Post-Secondary level	
7.	Position held in CDF Office		

Section Two

Participation structure:

8. How did you join in as an official of CDF?

9. What are the major challenges in this CDF Project?

10. How do people participate in this project? Is their participation satisfactory?

11. What have you done to increase people's participation in this project?

12. What do you think are the barriers to people's participation in this project?

13. How can these barriers be addressed?

14. What other measures can be used to increase people participation in future projects?

Appendix 3

FUNCTIONS OF THE FOUR CDF MANAGEMENT ORGANS

1.   Constituencies Fund Committee

This refers to a select Committee of the National Assembly that draws its membership from sitting Members of Parliament (11 MPs and the Clerk of the National Assembly) charged with the responsibility of:

(i)   Considering and recommending to Parliament any matter requiring action by the National Assembly

(ii)   Considering referenced project proposals submitted from various Constituencies through the Board

(iii)   Considering and reporting to Parliament names of persons required to be approved under the Act

(iv)   The link between the CDF Board and National Assembly

(v)   Overseeing the implementation of the CDF Act, 2003 and its subsequent amendments (CDF Amendment Act 2007)

(vi)   Overseeing the policy framework and legislative matters that may arise in relation to the Fund

(vii)   Continuously review the framework set out for the efficient delivery of development programmes financed through the Fund.

CDF Board

This is the national organ to oversee CDF implementation. Specifically, the Board is mandated to:

(i)   Ensure allocation and disbursement of funds to every Constituency

(ii)   Ensure prudent management of the Fund

(iii)   Receive and discuss annual reports and returns from the Constituencies

(iv)   Ensure the compilation of proper records, returns and reports from the Constituencies

(v)   Receive and address complaints and disputes and take any appropriate action

(vi)   Ensure timely submission to Parliament of various returns, reports and information as required

(vii)   Review, scrutinize and approve Project Proposals from the constituencies that are consistent with the Act

(viii)   Refer Disapproved Project Proposals or any other policy issue, from the Constituencies with adequate reasons, to the Constituency Fund Committee for direction and consideration.

2.   District Project Committees

It coordinates implementation of projects financed through the Fund. It ensures that no duplication of projects occur particularly where it is prudent to combine efforts on projects designed to benefit a large section or sector of a community traversing several constituencies in a district.

3.   Constituencies Development Fund Committees

This is constituency-based and consists of at least 12 people but maximum of 15 people. Members to this committee include:

  (i)   Elected Member of Parliament
 (ii)   Two councilors in the constituency
 (iii)   One district officer in the constituency
 (iv)   Two persons representing religious organizations in the constituency
 (v)   Two men representatives from the constituency
 (vi)   Two women representatives from the constituency
(vii)   One person representing the youth from the constituency
(viii)   One person nominated from among the active NGOs in the area, if any
 (ix)   Maximum of three other persons from the constituency such that the total number does not exceed 15
 (x)   An officer of the Board seconded to the Constituency Development Fund Committee by the Board, who shall be ex-officio

Its main task is to prioritize projects from the locations. The list of priority projects is then submitted to parliament by the area Member of Parliament. This committee is also charged with the management and implementation of CDF projects at the constituency level. The terms of office for CDF committee members is three years renewable or upon the appointment of a new committee in a manner provided for in the CDF Act, whichever comes earlier. CDF funds community-based projects, which ensure that the prospective benefits are available to a widespread cross-section of the inhabitants of a particular area. The funds have

had an upward trend in terms of allocation, with each year having an increased amount. Disbursements of the fund have taken this trend:

(i)   Kshs 1.2 billion for the first year, 2003/4

(ii)   Kshs 5.6 billion for year 2004/2005

(iii)   Kshs 7.2 billion for year 2005/6

(iv)   Kshs 10.08 billion for year 2006/7

(v)   Kshs 10.1 billion for year 2008/09