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DETERMINANTS OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN DEVOLVED GOVERNANCE IN KENYA; A CASE STUDY OF MACHAKOS COUNTY

 \mathbf{BY}

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THE UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this project is my original work and has

never been presen	ted to any oth	ner University for any academic credit.			
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In my capacity as the supervisor of this project, I acknowledge that the above declaration is true to the best of my knowledge.					
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CBMS - Community Based Monitoring System

COK - Constitution of Kenya

CSOs - Civil Society Organizations

FGDs - Focus Group Discussions

FOI - Freedom of Information

ICJ - International Court of Justice

KHRC - Kenya Human Rights Commission

KI - Key Informants

SPAN - Social and Public Accountability Network

SPSS - Statistical Package for Social Sciences

TFDG - Task Force on Devolved Governance

WCF - Ward Citizen Forums

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ABSTRACT

Devolution is mainly associated with decentralization of power and sharing national resources among county. Despite the centrality of public participation in ensuring good governance, studies reveal that there is an information gap on the devolved structures and what constitutes devolution in the Kenyan context. This study therefore seeks to assess the determinants of citizen participation in devolved governance in the Country. The study was guided by the following specific objectives: to establish the nature of citizen participation in devolved governance, to find out institutional factors influencing citizen participation in devolved governance, to determine individual factors influencing their participation in devolved governance and the socio-cultural factors influencing their participation in devolved governance.

The study adopted the use of exploratory research design. The target population for the study was members of the public (18 years and above), members of the County assembly and ministers in County Government. Stratified sampling technique was used to group the population into constituencies. Purposive sampling was used to sample the participants for the study. This study was carried out in seven constituencies where one was used for piloting. A total of 182 respondents were targeted by the study (constituting 168 members of the public, 8 MCAs and 6 ministers) out of which 107 responded (members of the public, 6 MCAs and 5 ministers) giving a response rate of 64%.

Data collection was done through Key Informant Interview schedules for MCAs and Ministers and Focus group discussions for members of the public. The interview information was analyzed in a systematic whereby the author established patterns, trends and relationships in the information gathered and came to useful conclusions and recommendations,. The study found that members of the public in Machakos County participate in County governance in the following ways: attending development meetings, consultative forums and. The study also found that institutional factors such as outdated structures, poor security, corruption, tribalism and nepotism, lacking formal procedures to host public views and lack of proper channels for feedback. The individual related factors such as poverty, lack of time and interest, ignorance and lack of confidence on the county leadership hinder their participation in governance. Sociocultural factors such as: poor distribution of resources, poverty, illiteracy and age barriers influence the participation of the public in public governance.

The study recommended that more awareness be created among the members of the public. This will encourage their participation in governance as they will know the importance of participation and ways by which they can participate. The study finally recommended that another study be done to assess the challenges facing the County government in involving members of the public in governance which was not the concern of this study.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Citizen participation in governance and public service delivery is increasingly pursued in a bid to improve the performance of governments. Indeed, improving delivery of public services continues to be a key objective that has occupied the agenda of public administrators and researchers. Faced with constraints and failures of centralized service delivery especially at the local level, governments have turned to decentralized mechanisms of service delivery (Robinson, 2007). According to Azfar, (1999) decentralization involves 'the transfer of administrative, fiscal and political powers and functions of the central government to lower-level governments'. The number of countries adopting it, and the magnitude of implementation has made decentralization a key global trend in public administration and management in the last three decades (Steiner, 2005). In a World Bank policy research paper on decentralization and service delivery, Ahmad (2005) observes that in the period 1980-2005 'over 75 countries had attempted to transfer responsibilities of the state to lower tiers of government'.

Of interest is that while the earlier focus of decentralization was on transfer of resources and functions to improve administrative and service delivery outcomes, recent shift has been on the government's relationship with the citizens (Brinkerhoff, 2007). The shift has been occasioned by what Hayden (2007) terms 'an assumption that development is the product of what people decide to do themselves to improve their livelihoods'. With people as the focus, decentralization efforts now have citizens' empowerment and participation in decision making at their core. In fact Steiner (2005) citing Litvack and Seddon,(1999) notes:

'The potential of decentralization for higher popular participation through local elections and opportunities for people to get involved in public decision-making has played a key role in the drive towards decentralization'.

This has been in the context of increasing focus on democratic governance, whose core principles include participation, transparency, accountability, subsidiary and separation of powers. In this context, decentralization is seen as a conducive means of achieving the principles, by what Cheema (2007) calls, 'providing an institutional framework at the sub-national level through which groups and citizens can organize themselves and participate in political and economic decisions affecting them'. Robinson (2007) advances that such an arrangement is based on the assumption that the local government units will 'be more responsive to the needs of the citizens and take their preferences into account in determining the type of services to be provided, the level of resources required, and the optimal means of ensuring effective delivery'. This requires local government units that have the political space and capacity to make and effect decisions. It is for this reason that decentralization has been favored and promoted internationally (Blunt & Turner, 2007).

Governance has been considered as an umbrella concept as the content of the concept varies enormously between one theory and the other (Brown 2007). Primarily the notion of governance has been conceptualized in two different ways. In the classical way governance has been viewed as an instrumental concept. Supporters of this view defined it as an instrument or process of implementation of government decisions. UNESCAP (2008) defined governance as 'the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented)'. Similarly Shelly (2000) defined governance as a process that is dedicated to achieve three great objectives through an effective and people-oriented mechanism of bureaucracy: alleviation of poverty, creation of productive employment and social integration. Accordingly, Langlands (2004) defined governance as good management, which underpins good performance, good stewardship of public money, good public engagement and, ultimately, good outcomes. In this sense, governance means an effective process of decision making for implementing government programs and services.

On the other hand, in more current terms governance has been viewed as a normative concept. Supporters of this view defined it as reform (Minogue 1997), outcome (Barten, 2002) or a shift (Geddes 2005) of government. Hirst considered that the word

'governance has come to be seen as an alternative to government' (2000). Where in government a political actor is the only role player for service delivery, in governance this responsibility is shared between the state, people and private sectors (Roelofs, 2009).

Rhodes (2000) contemplated the word governance 'can be used as a blanket term to signify a change in the meaning of government'. In connection with defining the word, he showed seven separate uses of the word 'governance'. However within all these seven uses the basic and common elements are: participation of all stakeholders, accountability, transparency, minimizing state authority, and vertical networking. Thus governance means a significant change in the meaning of government entails a new way of governing with less intervention of state and more engagement of people in the system of public service delivery. In addition he described governance as the result of interactive socialpolitical forms of governing. He mentioned people and private sector participation as a synonym for governance; public sector should be run with 'less government' and 'more governance'. A similar, but straight forward definition suggested by Barten (2002), 'governance could be considered the result of the participatory approach to development'. Hence this study is accepting the normative value of the governance to conceptualize good governance. Given definitions of governance recognize that the central meaning of it is the participation of people within the government process. 'Governance could be considered as the result of the participatory approach to development' (Barten et al. 2002). In fact the people's participation activities within the government changed the term government to governance (Carley 2006).

In democracy, traditionally, people use their right to elect their representatives, who then hold the bureaucrats accountable for implementing any decisions that affect the local people. This is actually the common practice in representative democracy or representative local governance, where people elect their representatives and are ruled by them (Bardhan 2002, Mollah 2008)). That means people should participate in the governing process through their representatives to get services from the government. However, this scenario is changing as researchers argued that people no longer want to be considered as clients in the representative form of democracy (Leighninger 2005; Sarker

2008). Today, most of the citizens, mainly in developed societies, want to put forward their opinion regarding any decision that has any future effect over them (Holzer and Kloby, 2005).

Participation is the process through which stakeholders' input and share control over development initiatives, decisions and resources which affect them (Odhiambo and Taifa, 2009). Citing Gardiner (1995), Okello, Oenga and Chege (2008) further define it as a process whereby stakeholders influence policy formulation, alternative designs, investment choices and management decisions affecting their communities. People's participation is a legal requirement or prerequisite for local governmental decision making in most of the developed countries.

People's participation establishes accountability in local government institutions that makes government at the local level more responsive to citizen desires and more effective in service delivery, which consequently alleviate poverty (Blair 2000). The understanding is that as government comes closer to the people, more people will participate in the governing process.

Participation is important because practical experience on the ground shows that it establishes the necessary sense of ownership. Generally people tend to resist new ideas if these are imposed on them. Participation 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. Participation has been instrumental in guarding against abuse of office by public servants and political leaders. It has also provided a control against excessive discretion being vested in civil servants in public procedures. Participation has provided checks and balances against unnecessary political interference in service delivery and disregard for professionalism and meritocracy in the public sector amongst others (Odhiambo and Taifa, 2009). Through this participation, local people get empowered to raise their voices in government decisions that affect their lives (Holzer and Kloby 2005). Thus a participatory decision provides more appropriate outcomes and the highest use of any development program, which enhances economic growth. These economic improvements then reduce poverty and enhance equity among all community members (Barten, 2002).

Citizens should be aware of Chapter 7 of the Kenyan constitution which is titled 'Representation of the People' and focuses on fair and inclusive representation by elected officials, election legislation (including a code of conduct and disputes) and legislation on political parties. Inclusive representation means representing women, youth, and the disabled and other minority groups, as well as ordinary citizens. People from all groups should be educated in electoral processes so that they are able to exercise their votes within the law. People should be made aware of their right to participate in government, and how to go about it, whether by electing officials, scrutinizing proposed legislation or demanding accountability. It is important for people to know the consequences of not participating in government as well as reasons why they should. And if their desire to participate is declined by authorities, citizens should know that they are entitled to an explanation. It is upon this background that that this study sought to assess the determinants of citizen participation in governance in Kenya; a case study of Machakos County.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Devolution is mainly associated with decentralization of power and sharing national resources among the devolved units. Despite the centrality of public participation in ensuring good governance, studies reveal that there is an information gap on the devolved structures and what constitutes devolution in the Kenyan context. The findings of a baseline survey report on the status of governance in Kenya revealed that only 24.7% of the public understood how devolution will work and about 29% stated they understood the county structures in the devolved governments. Less than 1% of the public reported engaging in development of policies on devolution and representation. Further, the survey reveals that most of the public's interest is centered on voting and election of leaders at the expense of other processes (Society for International Development, 2012). This is an indication that in as much as the devolution governance is being implemented in Kenya, public participation is still negligible. This study therefore sought to assess the determinants of citizen participation in governance in Kenya.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The study was guided by the following objectives:-

1.3.1 Broad Objective

To assess the determinants of citizen participation in governance.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives:-

- 1 To establish the nature of citizen participation in devolved County governance.
- 2 To find out the institutional factors influencing citizen participation in devolved governance.
- 3 To determine the individual factors influencing participation in devolved governance.
- 4 To establish the socio-cultural factors influencing participation in devolved governance.

1.4 Research Questions

The study was guided by the following research questions

- 1 What is the nature of citizen participation in devolved governance?
- 2 What are the institutional factors influencing citizen participation in devolved governance?
- 3 What are the individual factors influencing citizen participation in devolved governance?
- 4 What are the socio-cultural factors influencing citizen participation in devolved governance?

1.5 Scope and Limitation of the Study

Presently Kenya is in the process of implementing the devolved system of government adopted after the repealing of the constitution in 2010. This study sought to assess in broad perspective the determinants of citizen participation in County governance. The study specifically sought to: establish the characteristic of citizen participation in devolved governance; to find out the institutional factors influencing citizen participation among them the attitude of the government towards citizen participation, the existing legal framework on citizen participation, devolved governments efforts in promotion of

community capacity building; Find out the individual factors affecting citizen participation such as age, gender, levels of awareness and education and personal attitudes, distance to government offices among others and to establish the socio- cultural factors affecting citizen participation among them gender, religious beliefs.

Other than these chosen areas/ scope of study, it was worth noting that there are other prerequisite factors especially within the broad social accountability which dictate the success of devolution system thus the findings of this study are likely to reveal other unanticipated information capable of enriching and influencing positively the process of devolution government.

The study focused on the determinants of citizen participation in devolved governance. Participation in this context refers to taking part in the planning, implementation and giving back feed-back for either improvement, correction or complimenting the Devolved governments.

The study was carried out in the 8 constituencies. The target population for the study were members of the public (18 years and above) and leaders at the county government (members of the County assembly).

1.6 Rationale of the Study

Chapter eleven of the new constitution of Kenya, contains and is solely dedicated to the devolved system of government. Public policy decision makers accept the necessity of citizens' participation as in order to make government action more effective and sustainable. Local levels with devolution cease to become the points of implementation of development policies decided by external actors, to the place where local actors themselves determine the direction of their development, and implement them. They also concur that easy access to adequate information, possession of knowledge on rights and responsibilities and channels which they can exercise them, makes the local population politically mature having the where withal to impose standards and demand for accountability and performance from local leaders.

Furthermore the aspect of devolution is new in Kenya; the general assumption is that citizens have low levels of awareness if any on the subject. This study thus sought to fill the research gap by assessing the determinants of citizen participation in devolved governance. Thus the study offers the much needed practical input upon which future forums for civic education and participatory programs further research will be anchored. 'Citizens awareness and participation in government is very much a work- in-progress and further research is required as it progresses' (Aulich, 2009).

This work is equally important to devolution promotion policy makers. It makes a strong argument that high levels of citizens' awareness and citizens' participation in the local levels can have a significant bearing on the overall performance of devolution government. This profound argument challenges the dominant focus on fiscal and physical allocation, power sharing, electoral reforms and constitutionalism. In so doing, the study offers a dimension which, when complemented with other mainstream devolution strategies can lead to robust success in devolved governance system.

1.7 Operational Definition of terms.

Accountability –Refers to being responsible for one's decision and actions and be Ready to explain them when asked to.

Awareness – knowing the existence of taking interest in devolution and its importance.

County – an area legally demarcated as a local government, receiving authority from the central government to run the affairs of that localized area.

Devolution – Refers to the act of giving power from a central authority or government to an authority or a government in a local region giving feedback for services offered.

Governance – Legally controlling the running of the County governments.

Nature – characteristics of participation in county governance.

Participation- Refers to taking part in the planning, implementation and a giving back feedback for either improvement, correction or complimenting the local governments.

Responsibility – having a legal duty to participate in decision making.

Rights - having a legal claim to be part of devolution governance.

Social accountability- a sustained effort to make information transparent, enable citizens' to participate in local governance, and hold the local leaders accountable for their decisions.

Transparency- Making information readily available for scrutiny.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents relevant literature on the concept of citizen participation, basic elements of citizen participation, and determinants of citizen participation, citizen participation in planning and on policy related challenges to citizen participation. The chapter ends with a presentation of the theories to be used in the study and conceptual framework.

2.2 The Concept of Citizen Participation

Citizen participation is closely linked to the concepts of sustainable development and democratic governance. The concept of good governance carries in it the essence of democracy through the mechanism of institutionalized citizen participation (Coulibaly, 2004). In practice, citizen participation is generally expressed through information, awareness-raising, consultation, questioning and dialogue. For citizens who do not have the right to vote, participation in local life in their community enables them to stay informed and express their views on the challenges the community faces.

Therefore, citizen participation, particularly in the most vulnerable communities, covers different processes that can be represented by the following model; Information stage which is a One-way relationship in which citizens, particularly the most vulnerable groups, receive information from governments and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). The impact citizens may have is reduced because they are viewed solely as users; Consultation stage which is a Two-way interaction via forums, opinion surveys and polls. It is important to note that this may include formulating opinions on issues already set out by the government as well as active engagement in defining the content of policy and preparing it; Representation form which is the presence within institutions where decision-making takes place. Close partnership with governmental bodies; citizens can set up an agenda and define its content; Volunteering form which reflects the commitment of citizens to developing their own community. When it is recognized and supported, volunteering can yield significant results in helping the most excluded and

vulnerable people participate in community life; and monitoring which is playing the watchdog role; monitoring public policies; inspection; evaluation of public services. In West Africa, it is now widely acknowledged that the key challenges facing its people can only be tackled with substantial citizen participation. Whether reducing extreme poverty, achieving nutritional self-sufficiency, eliminating gender inequality, empowering women or improving health, it is difficult to envisage lasting solutions if the citizens directly affected do not actually take part in the process. Citizen participation is therefore a pressing requirement, enabling countries to determine for and by themselves ways to overcome their biggest challenges.

Around thirty-five European countries are signatories to the 1998 Aarhus Convention, formally known as the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe Convention on involving people in decision making in local environmental matters, which took effect in 2001 (Creighton 2005). Those signatory governments are committed to ensure people's participation and access to information in all environmental decision making at local levels. However, the practice of people's participation is also transmitted to the developing countries through the developed countries and through international development agencies. Now, people's participation is a prerequisite for development projects, which are funded by the World Bank and the various international aid agencies (Momen and Begum 2005). Most of the development agencies believe that the fight against poverty cannot be won without good or good enough local governance in developing countries (DFID 2007; Shah 2006; World Bank 2002).

In the Kenyan context, like in many other countries, participatory development began with and was for a long time confined to community development projects (Wakwabubi and Shiverenje, 2003). Kenya attempted to institutionalize decentralized planning and implementation of its programmes as early as the 1960s through Sessional Papers. The most elaborate was the District Focus for Rural Development (DFRD) Strategy which became operational in 1983. However, the Strategy emphasized involvement of central government field workers in planning and implementation of programmes. This, as Chitere and Ireri (2004) notes, is contrary to the conception of the participatory approach.

Ideally in participation, development workers such as civil servants have a role in facilitating the process through assisting communities to identify and solve their own problems. The DFRD Strategy also faced challenges in implementation because it lacked an Act of Parliament that could entrench the coordinating committees in the law. They therefore operated administratively rather than legally. This has been a characteristic of decentralized policies in Kenya whereby some funds have been created by Acts of Parliament and therefore have had legal backing. However, others have been created through policy pronouncements and consequently have had no guarantee of continuity (Kenya Human Rights Commission [KHRC] and Social and Public Accountability Network [SPAN], 2010).

A landmark event in the evolution of participatory development and law in Kenya was the enactment of the Physical Planning Act in 1996. The statute does provide for community participation in the preparation and implementation of physical and development plans. However, its major shortfall is the lack of the critical element of community sensitization on their roles. Physical planning is also centralized in major towns and thus communities residing in remote areas remained marginalized in participatory planning (Okello, 2008).

2.3 Basic Elements of Citizen Participation

Citizen participation is crucial in ensuring the protection of rights, transparency, accountability, equity, self-determination influencing decision making, effective democratic citizenship, meaningful dialogue as discussed below.

2.3.1 Citizen Participation as a Right

With the enlargement of the Bill of Rights, as one of the transformative pillars of the Constitution of Kenya (CoK) 2010, and the attendant deepening of the reach of subsidiary beyond its cosmetic limits, Kenyans have been keen to turn the page and begin the long journey towards a more progressive relationship with different levels of government. Broadly, they share the belief that this can only come about as a result of: the historic broadening of the strategic objectives and the institutional strengthening of

the normative wirings of sovereignty of citizenship; keeping alive the promises of a devolved developmental state; and being ready to subvert the typical spaces of invitation, that have been used by oppressive governmental systems to promote a false sense of participation under conditions that have never allowed for the construction of politically and economically sustainable societies (Tusk Force Report on Devolved Government, 2011).

A great majority of Kenyans affirm that it is time for the major deficient and non-meaningful forms of participation to give way to increased accountability, transparency and equity-enhancing solidarity. The optimism is shared across ethnic and party-political divides and by that same token forms the basis for driving the necessary consensus around broadly accepted sites, modalities and policy framework/statutory requirements for direct citizen involvement in decision making.

2.3.2 Public Participation and Transparency.

The right of access to information and the transparency that comes with it underpin two distinctive yet mutually reinforcing principles of democratic governance: publicity of citizen action and transparency of public administration. It is the strategic conflation of these into a unified scheme of democratic social praxis and relations that completes the circle of citizen participation and participatory/open government.

In all matters relating to economic and political governance, the Constitution in Article 201 (a) requires unqualified openness and unlimited accountability. Kenyans have been pressing for the actualization of the underlying imperative for many years. In the process they have demonstrated unmistakable interest in having the relevant provisions of the Constitution implemented with the necessary fealty to the spirit of an open society. There is no doubt that realizing this will require appropriate policy as well as legislative measures that will place unhindered freedom of information and related citizens' rights and obligations squarely within the ambit of democratic openness. Best practices are available all around us and can be the best sources of ideas that should feed into an

appropriate legislation which must take into account our unique history and culture (CoK, 2010).

Participation enhances transparency of interaction in the public domain through such facilities as notice board announcements of job opportunities, recruitments information; social/participatory budgeting; opening the budget process to citizen participation; procurement transparency and oversight committees (part of which will be the requirement that procurement records, including a detailed contractor/supplier profile be made available to the public); monthly revenue and expenditure reports; quarterly development status reports; bi-annual monitoring report prepared through the Sub-County Citizen Forums; County and Sub-County Assemblies; monthly public revenue and expenditure forums; and quarterly face-to-face question and answer sessions with the governor and senator of each County (Tusk Force Report on Devolved Government, 2011).

2.3.2 Citizen Participation and Accountability

With widespread impunity continuing to afflict Kenya's body politic and the management of the economy, many Kenyans have welcomed the CoK 2010 with even greater expectations in respect to better opportunities for their empowerment against the preponderance of state patrimonialism. Most of them are optimistic that, armed with the Constitutional provision on accountability of public authority, they are just a short distance away from slaying the legendary dragon of impunity.

Ordinarily, accountability is often used synonymously with such allied concepts as responsibility, answerability, blameworthiness, liability, and other terms associated with the expectation of account-giving. As a significant aspect of good governance, it has been central to discussions pertaining to decision-making challenges in the public sector, non-profit and private spheres. In public sector leadership roles, accountability amounts to the acknowledgment and assumption of responsibility for actions, decisions, policies and outcomes. This includes the administration, governance, and implementation within the scope of the role encompassing the obligation to own up, report, explain and be

answerable for the consequences. In order for accountability to be real, effective enforcement mechanisms must accompany the policy frameworks, statutory provisions and by-laws that will be required to anchor it within the domains of binding rules, the infringement of which will attract deterrent actions by legitimate authorities on behalf of the people but not for tendentious political competition (Tusk Force Report on Devolved Government, 2011).

2.3.3 Citizen Participation and Transparency

Freedom of information is the cornerstone to good governance, meaningful participation, and efficiency-enhancing transparency. It is, therefore, recognized by a broad majority of the people as a fundamental human right without which the claim on and the exercise of democratic citizenry and upholding of democratic values of equality and justice remain a pipedream. Sustainable democracy, therefore, depends on a knowledgeable citizenry whose access to a range of information enables it to participate more fully in public life, helps to determine priorities for public spending, receives equal access to justice, and holds its public officials accountable and for that matter more responsive to the social development needs of the entire population (Tusk Force Report on Devolved Government, 2011).

Inadequate access to public information allows corruption to flourish and breeds unequal access to public resources; and since politics, at its most basic level, is about resource distribution decisions and, for that matter, the red meat of politics, lack of transparency in public affairs is, therefore, a recipe for the dark forces in society to insinuate their malign influence over the development of appropriate social capital. The benefits of such social capital can only be maximized if it is sustained by efficient management of knowledge as a conflated product of free, accessible, accurate and timely information (Tusk Force Report on Devolved Government, 2011).

As an imperative of good governance, transparency is provided for in the Constitution by the requirement for County Assemblies to conduct their business in an open manner, to hold sittings of their committees in public and to facilitate public participation and involvement of citizens (Article 196) (1) (a) (b) in matters of public interest (CoK, 2010). Budget literacy, not only among the elite stakeholders in the urban areas, is a key ingredient of effective citizen participation. Access to budget information and citizen involvement in all stages of the budget preparation process will only be useful if the budget information is appropriately disaggregated to ensure maximum transparency with regard to cost per sector, County, Sub County and Ward. Only then can citizens appreciate their direct involvement in a process that makes meaning for them.

Submissions on Citizen Participation according to Tusk Force Report on Devolved Government (2012) include: Develop a Legislation e.g. Participatory Act ,Establish Sub County Citizens Forum (SCCF) to scrutinize county project planning, budgeting and implementation, Forums, neighborhood associations and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), Establishing Community Based Monitoring System (CBMS), Ward Citizen Forums (WCF) to enable citizen engagement with the right to access all official records for sectoral and county departments, Establish information centers to access all county information, County magazines/monthly newsletters/Information bulletins, Establish a Commission that will ensure development, Create Ombudsman and Public Complaints Standing Committee, Service delivery should be community driven through committees e.g. County Education Committee, Organize public barazas to disseminate information and gain feedback from the citizens, Broadcast the County Assembly proceedings to the members of the public, to make use of notice boards/suggestion boxes/websites to pass information to citizens, SWAP, service charters and (social networking facilities), County calendar of events so that the citizenry is aware and can participate, Community Development Officer who will do planning, monitoring, act as a convener, secretary and information disseminator, Continuous liaison among the County, constituencies, locations sub-locations and at village level, Social accountability reports, Regular consultations with children/guardians to identify needy children, drug and sexual abuse victims and to include children in children issue prioritization, The Senator should have quarterly "meet the people" forums to listen to the people/State of the County address Legislate designated days when the Senator spends time listening to the needs and concerns of County residents, The Governor to have face-to-face forums with the public to answer their questions, There should be continuous civic education to sensitize the public on the importance of their involvement in public affairs, Start at the micro-level by encouraging participation in school and church committees, Citizens Assemblies at subcounty level, Customer care desks in each county Feedback between citizens and government to enhance citizen participation, Creation of development information networks, To promote grassroots interaction up to village levels, Use of focus groups to discuss development issues and complex taboo issues, Creation of media and cultural centers in the counties, To promote the use of local theatre and drama for social integration and peace building and reconciliation, To use the local media and community to provide development information to the counties and also to explain development issues at the county level, Use the media at the counties for posting county events that seek citizen participation, Use mainstream media and community media for overall promotion of development and awareness creation at the counties.

2.3.4 Citizen Participation and Equity

Equity in its prescriptive usage, and as the ideological underpinning of democratic governance, has a close connection with ethics, morality and justice, in general, and distributive justice in particular. From antiquity onward and for all societies on earth, equality has been considered a constitutive feature of justice.

Philosophers have defended a wide variety of principles and conceptions of equality, many of which are reflected in the Constitution that Kenyans have adopted. The presumption of equality is a prima facie principle of equal distribution for all goods politically suited for the process of public distribution. In the domain of political justice, all members of a given society, taken together as a collective body, have to decide democratically on the fair distribution of social goods. Applied to our political situation and domain, the presumption of equality requires that everyone, regardless of tribal, gender, religious, generational and regional differences, should get an equal share in the distribution of public resources including, public infrastructures, employment opportunities and capacities (Article 10. (2)(b) (CoK, 2010).

If the voices of every section of society, but more particularly from the marginalized in society could be heard loud and clear, for a meaningful dialogue to ensue and for a binding consensus to be driven leading to a re-balancing of power relations in society in favor of equitable distribution of public resources around the principles of solidarity, conflicts in society would be reduced to manageable levels. Research in Scandinavia and parts of Latin America has established a positive correlation between popular participation, equity and a reduction of conflicts. If citizen participation is embedded in the spirit and practice of devolution the nation building and state-democratization challenges Kenya has been grappling with will be things of the past (Tusk Force Report on Devolved Government, 2011).

2.4 Public Participation and Decision Making

The process and act of influencing decision making by citizens according to Tusk Force Report on Devolved Government (2012) presupposes that: rule-making behavior by public authorities is subject to inputs by citizens for purposes of popular ownership and free-willed fealty to the outcomes of the decision making in question, it is mandatory as a means of improving the legitimacy and binding authority of decision making and its outcomes, it removes the formalistic trappings of democracy and essentially disciplines the practice of it thereby making it a way of life rather an imposition by the whims of a patrimonial state and it promotes and protects inclusivity in the public life of a community rendering it the only viable basis of democratic citizenship built on the imperative of equity.

The Constitution provides for the participation of the public in the exercise of the powers of the state and in making decisions through indirect and direct involvement of the people in the process of policymaking (Article 232. (d) and participation in the legislative business of the National Assembly, Senate and County Assemblies (Article 118 (1) (a) (b), 124.(1) (b), 124. (4) (c), 196. (1) (a) (b) (CoK, 2010). The point is to fortify the entailed Constitutional gains through practically consistent legislations. Some, if not many, of the civic intervention opportunities and sites of citizen participation referred to above will address a good number of the democratic challenges facing the people of

Kenya in their incremental struggle to make national and county governments more responsive to the social development needs of all sections of society.

2.5 Determinants of Citizen Participation

This section presents literature on the determinants of citizen participation in governance. It specifically presents literature on citizen awareness, initiatives by the county governance, citizen participation in planning and the policies on public participation in governance. Different initiatives at the institution of government are perceived to influence citizen participation in governance. These include: good will of the government through Operationalization and implementation of legal frameworks, communication, promotion of community capacity building; Personal factors are perceived to have influence on citizen participation in governance among them; age, gender, levels of awareness and education, religious beliefs and personal attitudes, distance to government offices; Among the Socio- cultural factors which may have an influence on affecting citizen participation are gender, religious beliefs.

The centrality of communication to the promotion of good governance and citizens' participation is now an acceptable principle internationally. The role of communication is empirically more demonstrated in countries that observe the rule of law. In such countries the principles of participation and respect of the basic rights of citizen participation are regarded as key components of a democratic society. In an environment where good governance is practiced, genuine democracy is understood as requiring more than the election of representatives to various assemblies such as parliament, senate or local counties. Thus, over and above party politics, democracy requires that people can make their wishes known in public and require citizen participation in debates about the society they live in and their freedom to make key decisions on various issues that might affect them.

It may be argued that the core of a democratic society is the presence of public debate about the distribution, execution and limitation of power; to this extent therefore choices made by the power holders are by way of public policy design scrutinized and contested through public debates. Thus the absence of such provisions in different societies seriously hinders democratic governance. The situation obtaining in Africa raises fundamental legal and policy questions on what needs to be done in the field of communication and information sector so as to address further concerns with regard to giving citizens greater access to formal levels of expression, freedom and control of public information processes. The answer lies in making public communication an integral part of democratic governance. This is critical. People need to have access to the knowledge they require to have the education to deal with that knowledge and be able to discuss issues in public among themselves for purposes of genuine participation and exerting influence on issues that are of their interest.

It is therefore imperative from the start that both the national and the county governments must embrace fully the central roles of communication and information in their broader meanings. The role of public communication and information need to be seen and understood as overarching to all governmental activities and interventions. In other words, public communication and provisions of information to citizens must be integrated into national and counties' democratic and development agenda. This is critical in creating the interface between the various existing communication structures and channels such as the media and their roles in enhancing citizens' participation, feedback and the media's role in awareness creation, analysis, interpretation and continuous rationalization of development issues nationally and at the county levels.

It is internationally recognized now that the role of communication and information is a critical overarching activity in the whole question of governance in a number of respects. For example, communication is as a tool that serves the ends of democracy. This is done by way of communication, and the media providing adequate, relevant, appropriate and accurate information that enhances citizens' depth and understanding of governance issues, while at the same time improving their collective decision making processes on issues of governance. Furthermore, communication is critical as a tool that seeks to enforce public opinion on governance as well as creating a mechanism that improves feedback between the government and citizens. It is therefore imperative that the national

government and the county governments pay critical attention to the question of communication and information both at national level and at the county levels. One way of doing this is to ensure that at policy level, public communication is integrated into the whole question of governance. Of significance however is the requirement that all county governments ensure that these considerations are given attention both at policy level and by way of legislation.

The adoption of a new constitution by the people of Kenya at the National Referendum on 4th August and its subsequent promulgation on 27th August 2010 presents a major shift in and experience on governance and power relations in Kenya. One of the core and unique features of the Constitution in this regard is the form of devolution prescribed.

In Article 1 (1) the Constitution provides that "All sovereign power belongs to the people of Kenya and shall be exercised only in accordance with this Constitution" In subsequent clauses under this Article, the manner, institutions and levels at which the people's sovereign power may be exercised and/or delegated are set out. This sovereign power is only delegated to the three arms of government both at national and county levels. In clause 4 of Article 1, the Constitution provides that "The sovereign power of the people is exercised at the national level and the County level".

The delegation principle implies that the people of Kenya collectively retain residual authority and power and do not cede it. In re-vesting sovereign power collectively in the people of Kenya, the Constitution has provided a framework for restoration of their individual self-esteem. This in turn should translate into robust participation by citizens in the affairs of state at various levels; and to foster accountability in governance. In order for citizens to internalize responsibility and participate effectively in the management of their affairs, there is need for awareness creation on the Constitution in general and devolution in particular.

The Task Force on Devolved Governance (TFDG) appreciates that civic education has and continue to be carried out in Kenya by various actors, especially Civil Society, faith-

based organizations, quasi-governmental agencies and the media. In more recent years civic education content has tended to be multi-sectoral and thematic. There are Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) specializing on specific aspects of rights such as violence against women, property ownership and inheritance, political participation by youth and women, rights of persons with disabilities and rights of minorities and marginalized groups. Other areas are on governance issues like corruption, impunity and accountability. The design, content and methodology applied in delivery of civic education have metamorphosed from one historical epoch to another, always informed by prevailing social, economic, political and cultural imperatives. Consequently, civic education on specific provisions of the new Constitution, specifically devolution, has yet to concretize among providers.

In the period leading to the National Referendum on the then Proposed Constitution of Kenya (PCK) on 4th August 2010 and soon after its promulgation, civil society reengineered its interventions in the realm of civic education. The area of focus is now on implementation, with particular attention on ensuring that the process is not held back by captive interests of the political elite, but that it remains faithful to the letter and spirit of the Constitution itself. The above interventions are currently being undertaken by loose umbrella formations and structured platforms, among others, URAIA, NCSC, CRECO, DCIC, CEDMAC, G-10, CMD, Women Leadership Caucus, Women Political Alliance, KHRC, 4Cs, COVAW, SAYARI, ICJ-K, FIDA-K, Pillars of Transformation, UDEK, UDPK, DEEDS-KENYA, KPTJ, SODNET, KENDREN, Kituo Cha Sheria, DEGONSA, SUPKEM, Inter-Religious Council, Constituted Indigenous Churches, the Hindu Council, NCCK, CJPC and COTU. Individual CSOs, including CBOs are also engaged in Civic Education in their mandated niche and thematic areas of core competences.

Since Kenya is a country in transition on governance, civic education provides an unparalleled opportunity to educate citizens on the quality of change envisioned in the new Constitution, and the importance of people engagement in all aspects of the governance process, and what the people contribution can make to building democracy through devolution. Indeed, civic education is even more critical in post-constitution

making and constitution-implementation phase. This is due to; a conflictual referendum where political positions for and against were adopted; a large mass of the population remain ignorant of the new constitutional provisions; lack of experience with a new devolution system ushering in major institutional, structural and political changes; a volatile political situation and where changes will have an unprecedented impact on the countries' future; and the need to sustain democracy, because of its combination of numerous and more varied points of shared common interest and continuous readjustment through meeting the requirement and demands of devolution produced by varied intercourse.

Given the introduction of devolution as a new system of governance, civic education should help prepare citizens for public participation. Civic education on devolution should therefore be accessible to all the diversity of Kenyan people. Civic education on devolution will help enhance Kenyans' passionate participation in the economic and the political socialization of the devolved system while at the same time fostering social transformation across the board. Indeed, and in common sense parlance, civic education will be critical in enhancing Kenyans' participation in the success of the devolved system particularly in post-implementation legislative phase. The information conveyed should be sensitive and collaborating the Constitution and related legislation; and designed on the basis of relevance to building a united Kenya.

In sum, ultimate reason for civic education is having an informed citizenry that effectively participates in the management of public affairs at county and national levels. Such involvement has to be on the basis of enhanced knowledge, understanding and ownership of the Constitution. Of particular importance is the need to create a culture in which Kenyans are encouraged to participate in self-actualization and determination.

Given the social context within which civic education on devolution will be provided, it will be essential to map delivery approaches and methodology that accommodates the following: the informal settings; educational institutions; live, interactive coverage on national and County TV stations; community radios and FM stations; online blogs; information communication technology centres; online interactive questionnaires;

websites; traditional communication modes; digital outlets such as short text messages; below the line media; billboards; puppetry; interactive theatre and comedy; audio-Visuals and caravans, road shows and musical concerts (Tusk Force Report on Devolved Governance, 2012)

To engage effectively, citizens not only need an awareness of their roles and responsibilities but knowledge and skills on how to execute the responsibilities. Capacity building consists of developing knowledge, skills and operational capacity so that individuals and groups may achieve their purposes (Okello, 2008). An examination of both LASDAP and CDF shows the critical need for building the capacity of communities. The LASDAP planning meetings are scheduled for only one day at the end of which communities are required to come up with proposals. This takes place against a backdrop where citizens are ill-equipped to participate in planning. In Malindi, the Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and the Malindi Municipal Council have a joint collaborative initiative, termed Participation in Partnership (PiP). Under the partnership, CSOs have committed to holding three-day workshops to educate the communities on how to engage in planning. Similarly, within the CDF structures, study findings show inadequate knowledge of project planning, implementation and monitoring processes among communities and the various committee members (IEA, 2006). Before the introduction of the CDF Fund managers, there were high levels of wastage and misappropriation of resources. This was due to poor capacity of the committees to manage the colossal funds disbursed to them (Omolo, 2009).

One of the shortfalls of Kenyan leadership is failure to receive criticism positively. For instance, councilors for the most part do not support criticism because they fear losing electoral support. Thus most citizens at the grassroots are wary of holding their leaders accountable so that they are not victimized. Leaders must be sensitized to appreciate that citizens' constructive criticism and input is essential for the success of decentralized funds.

2.6 Policy related challenges to Citizen Participation in Governance: Over the years, Kenya has progressively shifted from a centralized to a decentralized form of governance. This paradigm shift was precipitated by the shortfalls that are often characteristic of highly centralized systems. The shortfalls include administrative bureaucracies and inefficiencies, misappropriation of public resources and the marginalization of local communities in development processes. Consequently in the late 1990s, the government began the devolvement of specific funds and decision making authority to the districts, local authority and constituency levels (Legal Resources Foundation Trust, 2009). However, devolution systems and structures have lacked a coherent or coordinating framework. They have thus been marred by overlaps, duplication, and despite their multiplicity, low citizen involvement (Kenya Human Rights Commission [KHRC] and Social and Public Accountability Network [SPAN], 2010).

The Promulgation of the New Constitution in August 2010 provides a strong legal foundation for the enhancement of participatory governance through devolved structures at county level. This is an important milestone, but it is critical at this stage of the design process to take stock of the empirical findings of research and counsel of practitioners. Indeed, scholars concur that devolution is not without its risks and does not necessarily lead to improved governance and economic performance. Devolution rules and systems thus need to be properly designed and implemented. Conversely, it would only lead to the translation of central government bureaucracies, poor utilization of resources, rent seeking and lack of accountability to the sub-national units (Omolo 2010).

Another barrier to strengthening participation involves the absence of a strong and determined central authority in providing and enforcing opportunities for participation at the local level, as well as the lack of political will by local government officers in enforcing the legislation that has been created for this purpose (Bohme, 1997). This is more notorious in the case studies of countries with one-party democracies or weak opposition parties (Makumbe, 1998).

Financial resources to implement development activities influenced or decided by local citizens come mainly from two sources: central allocations and local revenues. A common barrier for citizen participation in decision-making found in most of the studies is the control of financial resources by higher levels of authority and the meagre resources available for local activities (Blair, 1998). This was generally due to the inability of local authorities to realize their revenue for a various political and technical reasons, and, in some cases, due to insufficient allocation of central revenues. This has been compounded by the negative impacts of structural adjustment programmes promoted by the IMF, especially in African countries.

2.7 Individual Citizen related factors determining their Participation in Governance

Article 137(1) of the PFM Act provides that as soon as practicable after the commencement of this Act, a county government shall establish a forum to be known as the County Budget and Economic Forum. The County Budget and Economic Forum shall consist of (a) the Governor of the county who shall be the chairperson; (b) other members of the county executive committee; (c) a number of representatives, not being county public officers, equal to the number of executive committee members appointed by the Governor from persons nominated by organizations representing professionals, business, labour issues, women, persons with disabilities, the elderly and faith based groups at the county level (CoK, 2010)

The purpose of the Forum is to provide a means for consultation by the county government on (a) preparation of county plans, the County Fiscal Strategy Paper and the Budget Review and Outlook Paper for the county; and (b) matters relating to budgeting, the economy and financial management at the county level. In addition to the above, consultations shall be in accordance with the consultation process provided in the law relating to county governments.

The forum is an opportunity for citizen participation with a broad mandate. The question is however, on whose side does it stand? Is its role that of a facilitator or a representative

of the people? The PFM Act seems to champion the latter. The guideline for the implementation of the Act must clearly define the role of this forum as a facilitator of consultations to avoid creating an amorphous politicized body. The principal role of the CBEF should be to convene public consultations, rather than to represent the public. If not checked the CBEF might end up being an extension of the Governor's power. Though an important forum a number of regulations must be put in place to ensure it facilitates effective citizen participation. Citizens must participate in its establishment by ensuring that vetting of members is done, term limits are set and that they facilitate open and transparent meetings. The CBEF must be a voice of the people that facilitates the flow of information, convenes meetings at different points during the budget cycle to both explain plans and budgets and get feedback on budget implementation from the public.

There are both formal and informal processes that can facilitate citizen participation at the county level. Formal processes include laid down constitutional and legal provisions within the PFM Act. These are however not adequate and tend to favor the government. Informal processes supplement government efforts to enhance transparency and these may include initiatives by citizens, community groups, CSOs and other non-state actors. The governors can lead the way in identifying opportunities provided for within the law and define public participation. The formal processes entrenched within the PFM Act could provide a good starting point. This means that the rules of engagement, laws and regulations that govern the consultative processes are drafted in a manner that enhances, rather than undermines, the mandates of the constitution. This would provide an opportunity for citizens to directly decide their destiny rather than passively awaiting for development. As is the case in participatory budgeting, citizen participation in the county budget making process must be a process with various critical stages right from inception to conclusion. This process must provide for participation in the planning, approval, implementation and exercising oversight over development projects. The process must at the same time be sustainable. Participation must be entrenched as a normal way of doing business and everyone gets involved as an obligation, but an obligation that yield returns for the time and money invested.

For devolution to be successful, the citizens must be politically conscious and have access to information. They must not only be aware of their rights and responsibilities but also know the channels via which they can exercise them (Omolo, 2010). The right to access information held by governmental authorities often referred to as Freedom of Information is a fundamental human right recognized in International Law. Most recently, Kenya has taken crucial steps towards recognition of the right in the New Constitution. Article 35(1), states that every citizen has the right to access information held by the State. Further, article 35(3) states that the State shall publish and publicize any important information affecting the nation.

There are key concerns that have been raised in relation to the goal of the draft Freedom of Information (FOI) Act 2007. Its objective is stated as providing a framework for the implementation of the FOI Bill yet there is currently no legislation that the Bill would implement. The lack of clarity also emanates from the insufficiently detailed policies which cannot provide for real and effective implementation of the Act (International Court of Justice (ICJ, 2007).

Access to information is crucial as a right in its own regard and is also central to the functioning of democracy and enforcement of other rights. Without freedom of information, State authorities or agents can selectively release good news whilst withholding damaging information. Such climates then breed corruption and human rights violations can remain unchanged. To guard against such a climate any policy on devolution should provide for legislation that requires counties to adopt principles of maximum openness. As the ICJ (2007) points out, any information held by a public body should in principle be openly accessible. This is particularly in recognition of the fact that public bodies hold information not for themselves but for the public good.

A study conducted by the IEA on the CDF showed that CDF is generally well known in many communities across Kenya's eight provinces (85%). However, the knowledge of regulations and specifics of CDF was very low (21%) and communities were unaware of costs of projects and disbursed amounts (IEA, 2006). Similarly the study by KHRC and

SPAN (2010) ascertained that citizen awareness of CDF was very high (96%) but involvement very low (39%).

Another study conducted in Turkana District by Oxfam GB showed that there were extremely low levels of awareness of the LASDAP process (18%). A majority of respondents (82%) were not aware. The low levels of awareness are due to the limited one week period within which notice is given of LASDAP meetings. In a vast and remote district like Turkana one week's notice is insufficient for effective outreach to the communities. Lack of funds for transport to access the remote areas further compounds the outreach.

2.8 Theoretical Framework

This study adopted the use of public choice theory and public value theory

2.8.1 Public Choice Theory

The Public Choice Theory (PCT) evolved within the economics arena, which basically focuses on people's choice in selecting public services (Lamothe and Lamothe 2009). The theory conceptualizes market-like competition in public service delivery where the public are considered as the buyer of the best product (Lamothe and Lamothe 2009). Public choice theorists argue that both public and private monopolistic production of goods and services inherently lead to inefficiency in service delivery management (Ostrom, 1971; Savas 2002).

The application of strategies outlined in PCT induces public institutions to provide cost effective, innovative and locally sustainable products. To pursue this instrumental strategy, public service institutions have undergone more decentralization and outsourcing of service delivery processes (Savas 2002). Greene affirms the notion by reviewing that, generally, 'the evidence suggests that better efficiency comes from competition rather than from the privateness or publicness of organizations' (2002). Implementation of this theory, thus give advantage to the expected beneficiaries and local people over the officials in public service functions. Nonetheless, PCT has also induced

participatory implementation and monitoring in local public services, as it facilitates publics' choice (Dollery 2003,). Therefore, the central element of public participation in PCT matches with the core concept of good governance.

This theory therefore is used in this study to explain the role of public participation in governance in ensuring effective delivery of public goods and services. The above discussion shows that some basic elements of good governance fall within the PCT philosophy as they have demonstrated one or more of the following characteristics: Use of local knowledge and resources to get best alternative choices and cost effective services deliberation. Reduce the role of the central government in public service delivery and influenced local people to make best innovative local institution. Decentralize management functions to the local levels and share it with other local stakeholders to provide services according to local people's choice. Increase involvement of civil, private and NGO to make the service delivery more efficient and locally sustainable.

2.8.2 Public Value Theory (PVT)

The fundamental assumption of public value theory is to provide services according to the public interest (Bozeman 2002). Public interest is defined as what people would 'choose if they saw clearly, thought rationally, and acted disinterestedly and benevolently' (Bozeman 2002; Lippman 1955). Thus this theory entails desired outcomes of public programs and participation of expected beneficiaries for the services when delivered by the government bodies. Bozeman argued that 'Public value theory tends to operate at the highest levels, such as philosophical treatises about the public interest, or at the operational level, focusing on specific desired program outcomes' (2002). This theory induces public institutions to recognize public value of resources, goods, and services and to think the arrangement under what 'is the public best served' (Bozeman 2002).

Even a few decades ago, public interest was viewed as too vague, too value loaded, too ambitious and too conflicting with the policies of group accommodation; today most of the public programs and policies, even in the developing countries, are levelled as 'for the public interest' (Staples and Dalrymple 2008; Stoker 2006). This trend of embracing

people and their interests forces the governments to introduce good governance, which is transparent and foreseeable by the people especially when a program is sponsored by the development agencies.

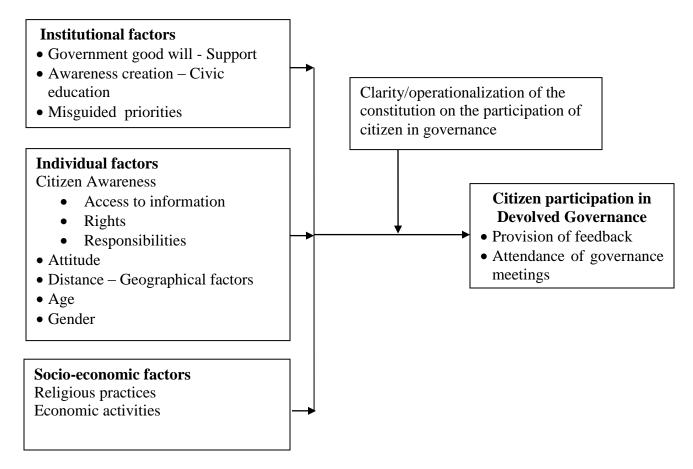
Moore's (1995) 'Theory of Public Value' states that the public sector can stay alive by creating public value through the successful practice of public management to increase the public value produced by public sector organizations. O'Flynn (2007) states the public value paradigm turned the old bureaucratic practice of public service delivery towards a new way of thinking, incorporating people's interest and choice for the services provided. Public value expresses a more proactive and political role for public sector managers rather than only staying with traditional reactive and process oriented mindsets in delivering services (Moore 1995). Researchers asserted that the role of the public manager includes both managing up to an authorizing level and managing out to a citizen level (Moore 1995; O'Flynn 2007; Stoker 2006).

Therefore, the public value theory articulated that public officials and representatives should include people in making decisions for service delivery, and thus the theory pursues the implementation of good governance with people as the central element of both the approaches.

2.8 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework below presents the relationship between the study variables. The independent variables for the study were: individual factors, institutional initiatives by the government and socio- cultural factors, while the dependent variable was citizen participation in devolved governance. The intervening variable for the study is clarity/ operationalization of the constitution on the participation of citizen in governance.

Figure 2.1 Conceptual Framework



CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes research design, study population, sampling design and procedure, data collection instrument, data collection procedures and data analysis. It explains various scientific methods to be used in achieving the study objectives.

3.2 Research Design

Exploratory research design was adopted for the study. Exploratory research is conducted to provide a better understanding of a situation (Kothari, 2003; Yin 2003). Through exploratory research, researchers hope to produce hypotheses about what is going on in a situation. The design was adopted for the study as it involved collecting of data in order to answer questions concerning the current status of subjects in the study in. This design therefore helped in assessing the determinants of citizen participation in governance in Machakos County.

3.3 Location of the Study

This study was carried out in Machakos County. Machakos County, it is one of the 47 administrative counties in Kenya. Machakos has eight (8) constituencies including Machakos Town, Mavoko, Masinga, Yatta, Kangundo, Kathiani, Matungulu, and Mwalah. Machakos Town is the administrative capital of the county. The County borders Nairobi and Kiambu counties to the West, Embu to the North, Kitui to the East, Makueni to the South, Kajiado to the South West, and Murang'a and Kirinyaga to the North West. Machakos County stretches from latitudes 0° 45' South to 1° 31' South and longitudes 36° 45' East to 37° 45' East. The county has an altitude of 1000 - 1600 meters above sea level. It has a Total Population of 1,098,584 people, 264,500 Households and covers an area of 6,208 SQ. KM. The Population density is 177 persons per SQ. KM. The Akamba people are the dominant habitants of Machakos County. The local climate is semi-arid with a hilly terrain covering most parts of the county. The beautiful hilly scenery is perfect for tourist related activities such as camping, hiking safaris, ecotourism and

cultural tourism, dance and music festivals among many more. A number of establishments ensure the region has a well-rounded hospitality industry. Subsistence agriculture is practiced with Maize and drought-resistant crops such as sorghum and millet being grown. However, the County also plays host to the open air market concept with major market days where large amounts of produce are traded. Fruits, vegetables and other food stuffs like maize and beans are sold in these markets (http://www.machakosgovernment.com/MachakosProfile.aspx).

3.4 Target Population

A population or universe for a study is any group of individuals or institutions which have one or more characteristics in common that are of interest to the researcher (Cooper 1996). The target population for the study were members of the public (18 years and above) in the whole Machakos County, 40 members of the County assembly and 11 ministers in Machakos County Government. The population of Members of Machakos County Assembly (MCAs) is presented in the Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Members of Machakos County Assembly

Constituency	Members of Machakos County Assembly
Machakos Town	7
Mavoko	4
Masinga	5
Kangundo	4
Kathiani	4
Matungulu	5
Mwala	6
Total	40

Table 3.2 Minister of Machakos County Government.

Members of the cabinet (Ministers)				
Female	Male Total			
5	6	11		

3.5 Sampling Technique and Sample size

Stratified sampling technique was used to group the population into constituencies. According to Coopers and Schindler (2001) systematic stratified sampling is whereby the population is first divided into strata; study samples are then drawn from every stratum. By sampling from the strata, the researcher ensured that all the eight constituencies are represented in the study. The logic of Sampling in qualitative research is not linked to obtaining a sample on the basis of whose characteristics generalizations to the general population can be made. The main considerations guiding sampling in qualitative research is to get participants who can provide both relevant and qualified information to help answer the research questions. As such the information to be gained takes precedence over the number of respondents to be included. For this reason, samples in qualitative research tend to be rather smaller compared quantitative research and are often arrived at purposively (Hansen, 2006; Bryman, 2008). Consequently, sampling for the study was by Purposive sampling procedure. Besides basing the sample on the sample size on the general practice, theoretical sampling may also be applied. Theoretical sampling refers to the point when the themes, stories and issues are recurring interviews and no new information or insight is being gained, thus has reached "saturation point" where the interviews may be stopped.

Considering the aims of the research, the different characteristics in the respondents and the logical considerations, this study was carried out in seven constituencies where one was used for piloting. A total of 182 participants were sampled for the study. For the Focus Group Discussions, the participants were identified with the guidance of the local leader, the chief who also organized the venue and security during the interviews. The straight forward criteria given for identifying the participants was that one had to be an

adult 18 years and above, male or female preferably equal in numbers and they were to originate from different locations in the constituency in order to get variety. 168 members of the public were targeted constituting if achievable equal number of men and women, and also persons living in urban and rural setting. For the Key Informant Interviews sample, 21 MCAs and 11 ministers comprising of representatives of all the areas of the County. The participants for this group was identified by request though the administration and voluntary basis by the members. This information is presented in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Sample size of the study

Constituency		Sampled members		Sampled MCAs (Key		Sampled Ministers	
		of the public (Focus		Informants			
		Group Discussions)		Interviews)			
Town	Rural	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	male
Machakos		12	12		1	1	
Town							
Mavoko		12	12	1	1		1
	Masinga	12	12	1			1
	Kangundo	12	12	1		1	
	Kathiani	12	12		1	1	
Matungulu		12	12	1			1
	Mwala	12	12		1		
Total		84	84	4	4	3	3

The sample for the 14 FGDs and 14 Key Informants interviews (had a total of 182 participants) comprised of both male and female who are residents and voters in the specific constituencies. A total of 14 FGDs were conducted in all the constituencies with varying gender configurations. Even though equal representation for both women and men was desired and planned for, this was almost realized in the 3 urban setting constituencies but proved hard in four rural the setting constituencies. Efforts were made

to include people with varying levels of education and age as well. We planned to have half of each gender from the constituencies range in age from 18-35 years while the other half was to be of 36 and above. However this was not realized as the 36 and above dominated. This is because it was not easy to get the exact age requirements given the dynamics of participation. 14 Key Informants interviews were planned with equal representation on gender in every constituency. This was not realized because it was conducted during week days when more men are involved in salaried employment. This enables more women than men to have opportunity to attend.

Table 3.4 Demographic characteristics of the focus group discussions.

Characteristic	Description	Numbers total	Rural	Urban
Age categories	18- 36 years	20	4	10
	36 & over	76	56	26
Sex	Female Male	51 45	40 20	20 16
Education	Primary	9	9	5
	Secondary	50	45	25
	College & above	37	6	6

3.6 Data Collection Methods

The main data collection techniques for the study were Key Informants interviews and Focus Group Discussions. Thus Interview guides and focus group discussions are the instruments for collection of primary data for this study. The data was hand written with the help of two notes takers, who were trained on notes taking techniques prior to commencement of the data collection exercise. The inclusion of Notes Takers in the exercise enabled the interviewer to concentrates on the interactions with the participants with no interruptions of notes taking and to avoid taking long time in the interview. Having the two notes takers increased the chances of recording all the information as it was said, without omission or leaving out.

3.7 Research instruments

In the selection of the instruments, the researcher ensured that the instruments chosen are suitable and appropriate.

3.7.1 Key informants interview schedules

Yin (2003), states that interview is one of the most important sources of data and defines the interview as a two-way conversation that gives the interviewer the opportunity to participate actively in the interview. The researcher used Key Informants interview schedules to collect data from MCAs and Ministers in Machakos County Assembly the individuals who can be considered to possess expert information. Kerlinger (1973) observed that more people are willing to communicate orally than in writing, this therefore provided data more readily in an interview. The interviews were conducted at the Machakos County assembly offices premises which provided quiet and private place very conducive for interviews. The interview schedules were structured based on the predetermined questions of the study.

3.7.2 Focused group discussions

The focus group discussion (FGD) is a rapid assessment, semi structured data gathering method in which a purposively selected set of participants gather to discuss issues and concerns based on a list of key themes drawn up by the researcher/facilitator (Kumar 1987). Focus group discussion has become extremely popular because it provides a fast way to learn from the target audience (Debus 1988).

Focused group discussions were held with members of the public in the seven constituencies. The groups consisted of between 6 - 12 people. Two focus group discussions were carried out in each of the constituencies targeted. The interviews were held at the chiefs/ Assistant Chiefs office. Due to lack of available office space, the sessions were mostly conducted under trees or on verandahs of buildings. This was to ensure privacy and also to avoid distractions. At Matungulu constituency, one of the FGD held at Tala Township, the interviewers had to content with a noisy environment due to the Chiefs Office close proximity to the main market area and interference by curious people. This necessitated pausing of the interview and using loud voices. The discussions

addressed: the nature of citizen participation, government factors influencing participation and citizen factors influencing participation.

3.8 Piloting of Research Instruments

The instruments of the study were tested in Yatta Constituency which was not included in the actual study. The piloting ensured clarity of the final instruments for the actual data collection. Furthermore, expert opinion from the supervisors and from other professionals well versed in research issues helped to check on the content validity of the instruments. The purpose of this pre-testing was to assist in finding out any weakness that might be contained in the instruments of the study.

3.9 Data Collection Procedure

The researcher obtained a letter from the University of Nairobi allowing her to go to the field. Appointments were made with the targeted leaders mainly Chiefs who the author identified as the gate keepers of the target group and the administrators at Machakos County Government to arrange for the dates for data collection. The researcher and her notes takers introduced themselves before the start of every encounter, briefly described the purpose of the study and generally informed the participants of its intended goals and benefits as outlined in the consent form document. The participants were assured of the confidentiality and anonymity of the information they were providing. Thereafter, consent was sought from the participants. Once consent was granted, the participants were invited to feel free and to audibly discuss the issues at hand. The researcher and her assistants were careful not to appear to be aligned into any political party side which may shift the discussion to party related rather the issues at hand. The researcher administered the instruments to the respondents who were given ample time to respond to the questions. This ensured achievement of a good return ratio and help respondents to get a chance to seek clarification on items that proved difficult.

The approach adopted by the study -a semi-structured and open-ended approach- enabled the interviewees to discuss their experiences freely (Green & Thorogood, 2004). The team was also sensitive with regard to the use of the respondents' time. The team

endeavored to take the shortest time possible with every participant or group of participants.

Each research assistant had a note book to note some of the striking issues and key emerging themes as well as their thoughts on the process. The principal researcher also kept a field notebook cum diary where the events of the day were summarized and thoughts on the research process, insights on the research findings, and new hunches and ideas were recorded. Other types of information gathered included the biographic data of the respondents as well as the signed consent forms.

Debriefing meetings were held at the end of each day to review the progress, to share thoughts on the overall process, to highlight any challenges and difficulties and to recommend any necessary adjustments. After the team had left the field of data collection, it would gather at location and review the activities of day. Each of the research assistants would share their experience as well as their impressions of the entire process for each single day. The implications for these experiences and impressions were discussed and used to inform the next day's exercise

The interview and FGD questions were mainly open-ended and fitted with appropriate probes to help generate information that could answer the questions of the study. Attention had been paid to devising alternative ways of phrasing questions to ensure clarity. In asking questions, it became evident that some items, even if thoroughly crafted and tested, was sometimes not instantly clear. The concepts which are new with the advent of the new constitution were somehow not easy for some respondents to grasp. To surmount these problems, the researcher and his assistants interpreted the questions in a way that came closest to the supposed position of the interviewee as to the requests of the study design. After the initial interviews, the general responses were emerging and these led the research team as to what to expect for various questions. Reference to these emerging themes help to clarify difficult questions to the participants. The researcher and the research assistants quickly adapted to these interpretations and would foresee the trouble spots and prepared for them in advance (Green & Thorogood, 2004).

3.10 Data analysis

Primary data from the field was hand written with the help of notes takers. Analyzing primary data was done after every day's FGDs cleaned and eliminate errors made by both the participant and notes takers. I reconstructed the original comments, observations and feelings from the field notes every evening, after spending time in the setting. I sought to provide a detailed description of what was observed and a sense of why it was important to the study. In most of the areas FGDs were conducted in the native Kamba dialect. As a native speaker of the language, I, the author personally transcribed the data into English, identifying and refining important concepts. The interview information was analyzed in a systematic way, whereby I established patterns, trends and relationships in the information gathered, and came up with useful conclusion and recommendations. Coding was expected to organize and reduce research data into manageable summaries. The researcher applied manual methods which are hectic and takes long time compared to use of qualitative data analysis software due to financial constrain.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study. The purpose of this study is to assess the determinants of citizen participation in governance based in Machakos County. A total of 182 respondents were targeted by the study (constituting 168 members of the public, 8 MCAs and 6 ministers) out of which 107 participated (including 96 members of the public, 6 MCAs and 5 ministers) giving a response rate of two thirds of the population. The basic data in this study is the observations, conversations, the actual words of the participants reproduced to the best of my ability.

As I prepared to go to the field for this assignment, a thought kept on crossing my mind. This was related to the utterances mainly made by some leaders during the promulgation of the new constitution; that the citizens should not bother reading the proposed draft of constitution, why?! Because the leaders had read and understood the contents of the constitution for the citizens! Thus either the contents of the constitution were good or bad, depending on the camp of either opposing or supporting it. So, have the citizens endeavored to understand the constitution or are they still relying on their leaders' knowledge?

The breakdown of this data is presented in the table 4:1 below.

Table 4:1. Participants demographic representation of the study

Characteristics	Description	public	MCAs	Ministers
Gender	Female	51	4	3
	Male	45	4	3
Age	18- 35 years	20	2	1
	36 & Above	76	6e	5
Location	Urban	36	4	3
	Rural	60	4	3

Education	Primary	9	0	0
	Secondary	90	1	0
	College & Above	8	7	6
voted in 2013	Female	48	4	3
	Male	41	4	3

Table 4.2 FGDs Composition based on constituency

Constituency	FGD 1		FGD 2		Total
	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Machakos Town	4	3	5	2	14
Mavoko	4	3	5	3	15
Masinga	4	2	4	3	13
Kangundo	5	1	4	2	12
Kathiani	4	3	5	2	14
Matungulu	5	4	4	3	16
Mwala	4	2	5	1	12
Total	30	18	32	16	96

4.2.1 Distribution of Respondents by Gender

A total of 96 of the public were interviewed out of which 34 were male while 62 were female. As the participants trouped in to the venues of the meeting, it was evident that the female were more in number and punctual, a sizeable numbers arriving earlier than the set time. The trend of disparity in numbers of women and men attend these forums became more evident, and I continually sought the underlying reasons. I observed that the male participants were hesitant to contribute to this probe while the female counterparts were directing glances to them probably for direction before contributing. The researcher further encouraged them that the information was confidential, neither their names nor the information given will be recorded or given to their leaders. I read some fear most probably of victimization by the leaders or society. To this question, the participants gave factors which were positive to the society like the males being busy in employment engagements in urban centers. When posed with the same questions later in the interview other factors which I presume they felt were shameful, degrading in the society emerged. This was best summed up by a female participant in Matungulu. Sadly shaking her head she said "Most of us women are agreeable and keen to participate in such forums to learn the on-goings in our society. But we are sad about the levels of men involvement in illicit brews drunkenness, Munguuka and other indescribable unexplainable substances 24 hours day in day out. Most of the men living in our homes have become empty shells, they don't recognize themselves leave alone to mind another person or forum like this, which they will only be a source of disruption".

Thus more women would participate in county governance matters more than men given the situation described.

However the County government 6 MCAs and 5 ministers participated. A balance of gender was realized with 3 male and 3 female among the MCAs. 4 male ministers and 2 female ministers were interviewed. This was possible as the interviewer had requested for balance in gender participants and they were readily available in the county offices.

4.2.2 Distribution of Members of the Public by Age.

Out of the 96 members of the public interviewed, only 20 participants were below the age of 35 years with the remainder 76 being above 36 years of age. The reasons advanced by

participants in all the FGDS were that Majority of the youth are majorly under employment or in Colleges making them unable to attend during working days, and that the rest are either involved in drunkenness or disinterested with societal matters thus the low turnout. They have left the burden of development maters to the aged generation. One participant in Matungulu FGD mentioned that majority of female at this youth age bracket may not be able to attend such forums because they had young babies to look after and are not privileged to have the service of house helps/ nannies. A male participant in Kathiani mentioned that the youth especially male, would have attended if they knew there would be money handouts. In the FGD in Masinga, two youth participants said that many people are disinterested in attending this interview session and any other forums because earlier conveners of forums give them fake promises which were never fulfilled, and use them to acquire money from foreigners. 'They call us, waste our time take us photos which they use to gain money from the mzungus'

2 of the MCAs participants were in the youth bracket of below 35 years while 4 were above 36 and above. This may be attributed to the requirements of the new constitution and that the youth are now running for elective posts, actively participating in democratic processes. For the ministers' participants only one was below 36 years while 5 were 36 and above years which may be said to be representation of all ages in the executive positions of the county.

4.2.3 Distribution of Members of the Public by Location

Trans- passing from one constituency to another in the vast Machakos County, I never failed to notice the difference in many physical and developmental aspects which would have impacts either negatively or positively on the citizens participation in the county governance; in climatic conditions thus involvement in varied economic activities which also means varied levels of earnings, from the green coffee farms in Kangundo, Kathiani, Matungulu, the dry savannah shrubs of Mwala and Masinga to the sprawling urban setup of part of Mavoko. ; in infrastructure establishments e.g. constituencies with many all-weather and tarmacked roads to others with more cattle track like roads than any other which in a way related to the Modes of Transport with many of the regions of

Masinga, Yatta and Masinga utilizing Bicycles, beasts of burden and motorcycles constituencies use vehicles. From the numbers of respondents in this study, both the rural citizens and urban citizens were equally interested in participating in forums affecting their society. Considering that only 3 constituencies could be termed to have an urban population, Out of the 96 respondents 36 respondents were from urban setting while the rest 60 were from rural setup. The urban participants are comparatively more than the rural participants, indicating that the urban population is keen on participating in forums than their rural counterparts. The participants from rural setting indicated that they have to walk for long distances to attend county government forums while the urban based participants with the use of readily available vehicles, travel faster and for short distances. I observed that the rural participants though punctual came in panting, smelling of sweat and with dusty feet an indication of brisk and may be long walk. Apparently the urban participants looked clean, smelling fresh.

The members of the county government interviewed were of the opinion that urban citizens are keener on participating in county governance matters more than their rural counterparts. One Minister who seemed so conversant with the new constitution and governance matters, and also being a lawyer by profession was of the opinion that the difference in participation can be attributed to factors like; distance and transport challenges in the rural areas as well as poverty which he says is high in the rural areas than in the urban areas. He further explained that rural folks don't have a daily or weekly source of finance like the urban citizens. Thus may have the challenge of footing transport costs to attend governance forums.

4.3 Nature of citizen participation in Devolved County Governance

This section presents the findings on how members of the public participate in County governance. The researcher sought to establish the levels of understanding of the participants on the topic. Did they know ways they used to participate in the earlier constitution? Personally I could only remember the voting and attendance to Barazas which at one time in late 1980s were mandatory to attend, with Provincial Administrators coercively mobilizing citizens. Apparently Barazas was the only form of participation

known to the participants in the old constitution. A light moment which worked the group to tearful laughter was experienced in Masinga FGD as an elderly male participant narrated how a chief struggled to catch his only two chickens over money meant for "president's Harambee" in their area. A participant sought to clarify from us if these harambees were a form of participation in governance!

Thus participants were to suggest ways in which they thought people could participate in County governance. The following ways were suggested by the general citizens' participants; by voting the leaders they want; by attending Barazas / seminars organized by the county government and choosing representatives to developmental committees. The Ministers and the MCAs interviewed suggested further ways of participation mainly as outlined in the constitution among them; attending consultative meetings, inspection of the County books of accounts, lounging complains on matters they feel are not well addressed and attending county parliamentary proceedings. The list of ways of participation suggested by the participants indicated that they were not fully knowledgeable on the responsibility of participation in the new constitution. The citizens are still basing their roles on the old constitution which of course was in operation for a long time. The comment of one male participant from Masinga FGD is like a summary of the other participants' narrow perspective on how they view participation. He said

"When we vote the honorable members to the parliament, they are supposed to represent us, built us roads, help us in our harambees then come another election year we either elect them back or reject them if they were not of help to us".

When questioned on whether the citizen of the county participate in county governance, The Ministers and the MCAs indicated to the affirmative but indicated that the participation was low and limited which they attributed to limited knowledge of the citizens on how to participate. One female Minister explaining the limited knowledge on means of participation, advanced that majority of the citizen have not read the new constitution and civic education to the citizen had not been fully utilized. The mood at this juncture was one of resignation, one raising eye brows, another raising his shoulders;

gestures indicating that the matters were beyond their powers. From all these and their talk, I read that the elected persons are feeling victims, cornered, in between two hard places. The government expects them to implement, represent and educate the people they represent yet little or no money is given to roll out the civic education while on the other side the citizens are demanding for them service as enshrined in the new constitution.

In the FGDs the participants were asked whether they voted in the last general election. All except two had participated in voting exercise. The reasons advanced by the two who never voted was that there no need to vote, as all the leaders voted in end up being corrupt, high headed and disappear until the next election season. In one of the FGDs in Mwala, the participants enquired whether we were affiliated to or who (Member of Parliament) we were working for. The reason being that the immediate former Member of Parliament and the present Member of Parliament were in competition to please the citizenry in preparation for election in 2017. All the FGDs were of the consensus that most of the citizens participate in the voting exercises, thus the levels of voting in the general election could be said to be very high. When probed further why they dedicatedly participate, all FGDs indicated that they view it as the only tool they can use to uproot inefficient leaders. This is an indication that most of the participants participated in the general election which is a very important aspect of governance involving choosing of the right leadership. Of the dissenting view, a female participant indicated that she never voted, as it was a waste of time and energy. She reasoned that voting may bring in a new person to power but all the voted leaders "behave like they are of the same mother' they behave the same. Thus voting brought no change on leaders' qualities and was not beneficial directly on their lives.

Before enacting and implementing projects and other matters of public concern, the County Government is required to seek the views of the general public. Half of the participating groups were aware of the existence of such forums and half of them had participated in the consultative forums. The half who had participated had accidentally accessed the information of their existence and learnt of their importance through

participating in them. One participant in Tala contributing on why they never participated in county governance forums mentioned that the county government officials keeps them in the dark so that the citizens remain ignorant consequently they wouldn't be knowledgeable to question the officials corruption tendencies.

An overwhelming majority of the participants were not aware and had never participated in examination or scrutinizing of Accounts of the County Government. It was a totally new idea to them, and voiced that the county government officials had never sensitized them on it. Furthermore most of them indicated that they had never read the new constitution to learn on their responsibilities as citizens. When probed further on whether they will participate in scrutinizing of accounts and documents of the county government in the future, participants in the FGDs were hesitant indicating that they lacked the capacity. A member of FGD in Machakos reasoned that scrutiny of accounts should be the responsibility of the educated citizens especially in accounting and of the central government who are the source of all the finance.

All the participants in all the FGDs showed possession of knowledge on and had attended Barazas. This is attributable to the fact that Barazas had been in existence for decades; it's through the same forum the government used to communicate to the citizens and especially through the Provincial Administration. Majority of the participants indicated appreciating and gaining much knowledge from information passed through Barazas forum.

In the initial stages of this section, officials of the county government showed some hesitation in responding to the question. Probably they had never been interviewed on the topic. All the MCAs participants had voted in the last general election because it is one of the prerequisites of being elected. The 8 Ministers participated in the election bearing that for one to be nominated ministerial position, he/she has to be a keen participant of the on goings of both the County and politics.

In interviews with MCAs and Ministers of the County Government, they were asked to mention whether members of the public in Machakos County participate in Governance.

Out of the 8 MCAs and 6 Ministers interviewed, 3 MCAs and 4 Ministers mentioned that the citizens' participation according to the new constitution in County governance is average. This was attributed to the fact that the new constitution was on the foundation stage and required more time and finances to build the capacity of the citizens. The officials were like confirming that the members of the public do not fully participate in County governance.

The MCAs and Ministers were asked to mention the nature of the participation of the members of the public in County governance, they mentioned: views and opinions of the members of the public are sought for by the County governance and adopted, there is presence of representatives of the members of the public in ward governance committees, citizens are part and parcel of the development teams spearheading governance in the ward, they form part of the independent bodies who foster the views of the public, attending regular seminars/meetings to understand the issues affecting the members of the public and through participation in budgeting and formulation of policies.

4.4 Institutional factors influencing citizen participation in devolved governance

This section presents the findings on institutional related factors influencing the participation of the members of the public in governance. To engage effectively, citizens not only need to be aware of their roles and responsibilities but possess knowledge and skills on how to execute these responsibilities. Capacity building consists of developing knowledge, skills and operational capacity so that individuals and groups may achieve their purposes.

4.4.1 Initiatives by the County Government to ensure Public participation

We sought to establish the initiatives by the County government aimed at creating awareness on public participation from the MCAs and Ministers. From the interviews they mentioned the following: 6 six of the Ministers and four of the MCAs mentioned having organized at least 5-7 civic education forums for the last three years since their election, and which they rated as being very effective in positively improving public participation in Governance. Probed why few forums were organized, all the MCAs and Ministers pointed to lack of enough finance to support the exercises. One female minister mentioned that they had not yet customized the National curriculum to the County level

to easily use in civic education in the county. She pointed out that the new constitutions requirements were on the foundation stage with so many areas to set up. And that the available resources were being directed to wanting situations like hospitals, schools and infrastructure.

On strengthening communication networks, All the Ministers and MCAs interviewed indicated to having employed the use of local radio stations/media for awareness campaign especially to create awareness to the general public on their responsibility of participation on the County governance. In all the FGDs, the participants responded positively to frequently listening and acquiring county information from the local Kamba radio stations of Musyi FM, Mangelete FM, Mbaitu FM. However only one minister and one MCA had attempted to employed proper processing and tracking of information generated by public. Both rated it as not an effective mode of raising and encouraging participation in governance. All the MCAs and Ministers acknowledged that most of these methods of encouraging public participation are very effective but the impeding factor was finances.

I find it important to mention this at this juncture. While enjoying a light moment with the MCAs after the interview process, one of the MCA said that the county government and specifically the Governor may not have interest in awareness creation which may have negative effects thus jeopardizing his future re-election but allocated all the finances available to visible development projects like roads, classrooms and lighting. This will serve as campaigning come the next election.

4.4.2 Effectiveness of awareness creation strategies by the County government

In interviews with MCAs on the effectiveness of the awareness creation strategies employed by the County government, majority of the respondents 17 mentioned that they were fairly effective, 6 mentioned that they were very effective while 2 mentioned that they were less effective.

Those who mentioned that the strategies were fairly effective explained that the strategy had created awareness among citizen on the importance of their participation, that members of the public have come to know and participate in governance through seminars and training programmes organized by the County government, creation of awareness has improved turn up by the members of the public during meetings, many members of the public are now well acquainted with their rights and that it has improved coordination of activities within the County. On the other hand, those who mentioned that awareness creation was less effective explained that the exercise has not been properly and effectively done to make more members of the public become aware of their role in governance. They were of the opinion that more appropriate ways should be adopted in the creation of public awareness.

In interviews with the members of the public on the effectiveness of awareness creation strategies by the County government, the general view by the FGDs was that the seminars and trainings called by the County government are few in number in a year, short and they are not publicized thus majority of the citizens are not informed.

In all the FGDs, the participants agreed that the use of vernacular radios is an effective means of promoting awareness citizens. The citizens feel that the county government was not committed to awareness creation, or building their capacity due the vested interests. That an ignorant population will easy to control. In case of a forum for creation of awareness, the official employ technical language making the all process vague, that not much information delivered to the public domain. Those who mentioned that they were effective explained that many people have become more aware of their role in governance, keeping the public abreast on the development projects within the County and that opinion and views of the members of the public are heard.

4.4.3 Institutional factors influencing public participation in Governance

Walking down memory time, a time when the "rule of 210" not long ago, when a chief had powers to arrest you, trial you through 'a Kangaroo court'. Those rules and Laws were ruled out by the new constitution. The big question lingering in my mind is, Has the Citizens mindset moved from when the government institution had those iron fist powers, to the citizens having powers to hold them accountable? On the other hand, the institutional factors enhancing the participation of the members of the public included:

Transparency which improves public confidence hence willing to participate in governance, use of constituency/ward offices for purposes of channeling information relating to governance services and legislation policies, enhanced collaboration structures between MCAs and public, improved system structures for proper public participation, Government involve NGOs to reach the public and the constitution provide for public participation.

In FGDs with the members of the public on the institutional factors hindering the public participation, the participants mentioned the following as the factors hindering their participation in Governance. The public participants felt that some institutional arrangement/formats should be updated to allow public participation at all levels. In all the FGDs the participants mentioned that they were confused on which office addresses what in the county. A participant at Kathiani Township FGD gave an example of a land issue she was facing with the family. She said she didn't know whether to address it through the area MCA, the Chief/ Assistant Chief, lands Department or the police. In FGDs in Kathiani and in Mwala the question of why the Provincial Administration was still in operation and yet it was to be scrapped off as in the new constitution was raised. There was a general indication that the lack of clarity on the arrangement and responsibility of institutions hindered citizens on their participation in governance matters.

Of great concern was the corruption levels and its great negative effect to the participation of citizens in governance. This rages from misappropriation of funds, Nepotism to favoritism in development of some areas. Corruption was mentioned as the greatest hindrance to participation. In the FGDs the participants felt that most of the forums organized by the county government were money eating channels. One male participant at Mavoko FGD agitate tone remarked 'We don't want to be used as rubber stamps for people to 'eat' money, all these leaders are the same, they promise so much during election but deliver nothing later when elected, the leaders are elected poor but grow very rich overnight'. To the participants their participation was not for their benefit but for the leaders organizing. In Masinga FGD in tone a hush, a member pointed that all

the people appointed to the development committees were friends and relatives of the leader.

One common issue raised in almost all the FGDs we interviewed, was that the leaders had no time addressing serious matters affecting citizen but serving their own interest. Thus the leaders prefer the use of channels that benefit them directly and neglect those which would be beneficial to citizens. The citizens were of the opinion that they would prefer if the government would set up formal procedures to host public views, set up proper channels for feedback, and involve/ seek the citizens' views. Furthermore the leaders in County government were inaccessibility to the public.

I encouraged further discussion with the citizen participants to establish their understanding on the topic and to get suggestions of further ways of strengthening citizen and county government cooperation. Though without a specific point, the participants believed there should be varied mechanisms for cooperation between public participation units and MCAs. They feel that institutions should be flexible to accept divergent opinions, providing space for involvement of their views/inputs and more importantly accord them powers to be consulted before implementation of issues affecting them. Civic Education though still not widely used by the county government was mentioned in all the FGDs as the most effective tool enabling them to be aware and participate in governance matters.

The FGD in Matungulu pointed that close cooperation between some MCAs and them has enhanced their participation in the county governance. They gave the example of Katine MCA who they praised for consulting members in identifying development projects, encouraged democratic electing of representatives to development committees and was available for consultation by citizens.

4.5 Individual factors influencing participation in devolved governance Members of the Public

In interviews with FGDs on the factors influencing their participation in governance, the following factors were established: Poverty was mentioned as a major hindering factor to individual's participation in County governance. A participant in Masinga mentioned that they even lack money to travel to where meetings are being held, and moreover they live from hand to mouth which requires they work for food every day. In the FGD in Mwala, Siathani Market a participant expressed fear in even attending meetings because they may be political party 'Kamukujis' (illegal Meetings) which may be dispersed by GSUs police leading to them being beaten senseless and tear gassed. This implies that they are not aware of the change of government regimes and the new constitution.

Communication barriers were also a factor which was mainly presented by many of the participants. When citizens attend many of the forums, they are required to express themselves in Lugha ya Taifa (Kiswahili) which they are not confident in expressing themselves in. Moreover most of the documents are written in English which not all can read and comprehend, thus they opt not to attend. The FGD in Tala Matungulu Constituency a participant pointed that county organized seminars are conducted during the weekdays when majority of the citizens are in the places of employment. Only a few people can find a gap in their busy schedules to attend. There was a general view that participating in any of the awareness forums was a way of enhancing political careers of the people in power rather than for the citizens own good. This is a strong indicator of the citizens' lack of confidence on the county leadership, inconsistency in attending vital meetings and low level of education.

I had low expectations on getting a meaningful feedback on the County representative's individual factors hindering them from encouraging public participation. Would they freely talk about their underbelly? Apparently, they proved me wrong. In interviews with MCAs and Ministers, they mentioned the following factors as individual factors hindering them from encouraging public participation: An MCA pointed that some of his colleagues are driven by self-interest but not service to the people. They dedicatedly

pursue what directly benefits them. A Minister pointed that political differences pose a challenge whereby some leaders only respect decisions or act on that which benefits or emanates from their clan leaders, political parties.

4.6 Socio-cultural factors influencing participation in devolved governance

General belief and expectation is that regions which encompassed white man ways of life especially education had less demeaning cultural burdens while the levels of illiteracy are to be low. Against the grain of the afore stated myth, the socio-cultural factors influencing public participation, members of the public mentioned the following of the influencing participation in county governance: That a sizeable number of the citizens were illiterate thus they are unable to read the bulletins, notices, handed by the County government. That the aged experience challenges of either travelling to the county offices or attending government organized meetings. A woman participant at Machakos town FGD, whose honest and knowledgeable contribution was supported and echoed by many other participants had this to say' 'most of us women who are married and not formally employed have to seek permission and funding from our husbands to attend any meeting whether political, social or economic in nature. Furthermore most of these meetings county government forums are conducted in Either English or Swahili which we understand but are unable to talk fluently. This makes us to shy away. If a forum has financial benefit, the leaders and organizers only inform and invite their family members, friends and their political supporters'.

One of the participants in Mwala pointed that she only attends the meetings approved by the husband. Another participant in Masinga mentioned that most of the men are working in the major cities leaving only women, children and the elderly in the rural areas. This she says is a reason why there is a gender imbalance in attendance in county forums. She further pointed that majority of the elderly are sickly and weak to effectively participate in county matters. In the entire FGDs language barrier was pointed out as a barrier. English and Kiswahili are mainly used in conducting county matters. Yet majority of the citizens are not confident using them.

MCAs and Ministers participants mentioned the following: Men hinder their wives from not participating. They argue that it's a waste of time which could be spend doing other beneficial chores for the family. They decried the illiteracy levels in the citizens. A Minister participant pointed out that many people have the educational certificates but they have run out of practice that they are illiterate; they are unable to effectively communicate especially where English and Kiswahili are applied. He painted a grim picture of the poverty levels among majority of the citizens. The citizens earn very little just to enable them to live from hand to mouth. In some cases they rely on government and NGOs food handouts (Mwolio). Their daily priority is to get food for the day on the table.

The participants were requested to suggest ways of improving public participation in governance in the county. The following suggestions were identified: eradication of poverty through initiation of development projects and creation of jobs, encouraging public participation on governance by incorporating their views, community policing to enhance security especially during the night, holding more of public awareness campaigns and seminars and the use of local language or interpreters, ensuring efficient flow of information from MCAs office to grassroots, proper processing and tracking of information, introduction of more independent bodies for evaluation of public participation such as through assessments, the leaders to stem out tribalism and nepotism educate the society on social barriers like sexual discrimination, sensitize public on importance of all inclusive views, employing human resource required for effective delivery of services, creation of awareness through the local language media, enhancing checks and balances and separation of powers for proper accountability to public, facilitation of public workshops and civic education

MCAs and Ministers recommended that: accountability on the side of County Officers should be improved which will lead to participation of both the officers and citizens in government activities, the public members should be encouraged to make use of local media channels to get information, improvement of County development programmes hence creation of jobs, inclusion of other educative and informative ways like use of bill boards advertisements to capture more citizens, involving the public in decision making

during participation, organizing for outreach programs where the concerns of the members of the public could be sought for and solved not swept under the table, introduction of a more aggressive approach to seminars, and encouraging more NGOs, CBOs in the community, closing the gaps between the leaders and public to function as one entity.

4.7 Description, and rating of the constituencies in Machakos County on public participation in the County Governance.

Machakos County is made of eight constituencies which have varied and different geographical location, economic and climatical conditions. This study covered all the eight constituencies. Basing the rating on the interview experience, the author thus seeks to compare the constituencies in terms of participation in Governance matters of the County. In all the eight constituencies of the Machakos County a great distinction was evident in the levels of participation; the variation was also evident in the varied factors influencing participation played in every constituency.

Below is Table 4: shows the authors rating on her view of the performance of each county consideration on the levels of participation on the county Governance.

Table 4:13 comparison and ranking of the 8 constituencies

Constutuency	Ranking
Machakos Town	1
Matungulu	2
Kangundo	3
Mavoko	4
Kathiani	5
Yatta	6
Mwala	7
Masinga	8

Machakos town- it is situated to the East of the County and is the host to the County headquarters. It possesses a large cosmopolitan urban population, and an equally large rural population. The climatic condition is cool and wetter on the mountainous western region of Mua, Iveti hills and hot and dry on the other regions thus support varied

economic activities like both large and small scale farming, tourism and trade among others. The road network is better developed than all the other constituencies. Poverty level is low in comparison to others and has a history of an educated and politically enlightened population.

During the study it was evidently that they were aware of their responsibility in and indicated more participation in County governance.

2. Matungulu- This constituency is situated to the west of the larger Machakos County. It has several urban area the most notable being Tala Township and Nguluni. It possesses both rural and a cosmopolitan urban population. It borders Nairobi County to the south Westerly side and there exists an historical connection especially trade between them. ¾ of this region is dry notably the vast Koma region. The north region of Katine and Muka Mukuu has rich soils and higher rainfall thus support farming of food stuff and coffee.. However the region is engaged in varied economic activities among them farming both large and small scale, mining of building stones and trade. Its road network is averagely developed. The poverty level in this area is average in comparison to the other constituencies; consequently the area has a large population which is historically politically enlightened. The levels of participation were deemed to be higher in comparison to the other six constituencies.

Kangundo – This constituency is centrally situated in the larger Machakos County and its major economic activity is coffee farming thanks to its rich red soils and higher rain fall than all the other constituencies. It used to be the earlier Kangundo Division headquarter and has a lot of amenities which include a level four hospital, a court, equipped government offices among others. Its road network is averagely developed which makes movement easier. Poverty level is average and the education levels are high and the population is politically enlightened thus their levels of participation is comparatively good.

Mavoko- it is situated to the south of the county and mainly a cosmopolitan urban population in Kitengela, Athi River, Mulolongo and Syokimau but a rural population in Lukenya. The road network is more developed compared to the rest of the county. Its economic activities include farming especially along the Athi river, mining of building materials, has many industries and processing Zone. Though the majority of the population is politically aware, they lack the time due to employment to get involved in Governance matters.

Kathiani:- Its centrally located in the larger Machakos County. With it's mainly mountainous area, the region engages in farming. It has remarkably small urban population around Kathiani Township. The road network is below average developed and the poverty levels notably higher than the other four afore mentioned. Evidently from the study, half of its population is averagely aware of its responsibilities to the governance matters, thus participation to the County government is also average.

Yatta:- Its situated to the west of County and borders both Kiambu and Muranga to the west. It possesses an average urban population around Matuu and the bigger portion is rural. The road network is mainly average and all weather usable. The levels of education and political enlightenment are also average. The area is mainly hot and dry relying mainly on rain for farming. A small section along the Yatta channel is involved in irrigation farming. The population is poor and for a long time has relied on NGOs support and government donations for survival. My take is they have been exposed to many unfulfilled promises thus they believe involvement in County governance matters is for them to be used as rubber stamps for the leaders to acquire money.

Mwala:- It's also centrally located in the Machakos County. It's climatically a dry area and its farming activities are perennially rain based. The social amenities are poorly developed and the roads are also poor save for the first tarmac road which was done three years ago. The level of education, political enlightenment is low. Majority of the youth and educated populace have abandoned the area for towns leaving the women, the old

and children in the area. The urban population is around Mwala and Siathani regions. During the FGDs they indicated that much of their time was used in seeking for water both domestic and for their animals and food. Consequently they have little time left to get involved in County governance.

Masinga- Geographically it is situated to the North West of the County. Climatically its hot and very dry which limit arming to during rainy seasons and grazing. Though the Masinga dam is located here, they are not permitted to use the water for irrigation. The poverty levels are the highest in comparison to all the other constituencies. From the contact during the study, the levels of awareness are low and thus also the participation in governance matters is wanting. Their main valid reasons are the distance from the County headquarters, their state of the roads and lack of information among others.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to assess the determinants of citizen participation in governance in Machakos County. The study was guided by the following specific objectives: to establish the nature of citizen participation in devolved County governance, to find out the institutional factors influencing citizen participation in devolved governance, to determine the individual factors influencing participation in devolved governance and to establish the socio-cultural factors influencing participation in devolved governance.

5.2 Summary of the Findings of the Study

The study findings were as presented below:

5.2.1 Nature of citizen participation in devolved County governance

On the participation on devolved governance, the study found that all the 14 FGDs interviewed had participated in County Governance activities in varied ways among them; participated in development meetings, consultative forums and building committees spearheading improvement on acquisition of social facilities and in Barazas which were used to pass information concerning the county; electing members of development committees; participating in national elections; taken part in seminars and clinics touching on county government awareness and had heard messages educating them on the County through the local vernacular radio stations. They gave the following reason which hinder them not to fully participate in the county Governance; lack of information on occurrences of these forums like seminars, lack of finances to travelling to the headquarters to attend settings, lack of time as they are involved in employment and fear borne out of ignorance of brutality by security forces like in yester years,

Basically, members of the public in Machakos County participate in governance through: giving their views and opinions, electing and presence of representatives of the members of the public in ward governance committees, they are part and parcel of the development

teams spearheading governance in the ward, they form part of the independent bodies who foster the views of the public, holding regular seminars/meetings to understand the issues affecting the members of the public and through participation in budgeting and formulation of policies.

5.2.2 Institutional factors influencing citizen participation in devolved governance

On the creation of awareness among the public, the Ministers and the MCAs mentioned that there were initiatives for making the public aware of ways to engage in County Governance such as: Organizing civic education, strengthening communication networks, use of local stations/media for awareness campaign, holding regular assemblies to enlighten the members of the public, proper processing and tracking of information generated by public, ministers adopt tailor approaches to public participation to suit different stakeholders, new legislation to bridge gap between ministers, MCAs and public and initiation of governance council to facilitate public involvement on affairs of governance. Even though these initiatives were there for creating awareness, many of them were found to be fairly ineffective as indicated by 2/3rds of the participants.

The institutional factors enhancing the participation of the members of the public in governance included: Transparency in conducting County matters which improves public confidence hence willing to participate in governance, use of constituency/ward offices for purposes of channeling information relating to governance services and legislation policies, enhanced collaboration structures between MCAs and public, improved system structures for proper public participation, Government involve NGOs to reach the public and the constitution provide for public participation. On the other hand, the institutions hindering public participation of the public included: Ignorance, outdated structures in government, poor security in the County, playing politics in County matters, some institutional arrangement/formats should be updated to allow public participation at all levels, some institutional arrangements do not embrace public involvement in access of information and decision making, those in authority favoring their individuals/ corruption, leaders have no time addressing serious matters affecting citizen, lacking formal procedures to host public views, lack of proper channels for feedback and

association of public inputs, institutions do not take into account issues related to diversity and lack of principles of democracy/transparency and accountability.

5.2.3 Individual factors influencing participation in devolved governance Members of the Public

Individual factors influencing the participation of members of the public in governance included: poverty, insecurity, lack of time and interest, communication barriers, lack of confidence to participate in the development of the county, lack of sufficient time to attend seminars due to the fact that seminars are conducted during weekdays when most of them are in employment stations, being left out on decision making, those who are not part of the elected teams keep off important meetings, lack of confidence on the county leadership, inconsistency in attending vital meetings and low level of education.

The individual factors of MCAs and Ministers hindering public participation on governance, they mentioned the following: self-interest because they do not want to serve citizens instead they want to serve themselves, political differences results whereby some only respect decisions that emulates from their clan leaders, a perception that they are being sidelined on decision making on important issues creates a room for little concern on participation, Leaders do not involve the public in decision making, members of the public feel that they are being used as rubber stamp for political agendas, lack of trust from leaders especially in handling County finances, politicizing leadership, inaccessibility to leaders and political alienation.

5.2.4 Socio-cultural factors influencing participation in devolved governance

The socio-cultural factors influencing public participation included: poor distribution of resources, poverty, illiteracy, age barriers, public awareness, lack of time to participate, corruption/inefficiency among some stakeholders, political biasness and improper coordination, evaluation and monitoring of activities. Other factors included: unaccountable leadership, inaccessibility to leaders when faced with challenges, selfish leaders who only cheer politicking not performing, women not allowed to participate by husbands, illiteracy, language barrier, too much clanism and nepotism hindering participation, poor health, insecurity, poverty, gender imbalance in the representation in

forums, insufficient number of NGOs standing in the gap for the public, pursuing own interest by leaders and unemployment.

5.3 Conclusions

From the findings of the study, it can be concluded that members of the public in Machakos County participate in County governance in the following ways: participating in development meetings, consultative forums and building committees spearheading improvement on acquisition of health facilities. The study also concludes that institutional factors such as outdated structures, poor security, corruption, tribalism and nepotism, bad governance, continuous development issues, leaders have no time addressing serious matters affecting citizen, lacking formal procedures to host public views and lack of proper channels for feedback and association of public inputs. The study further concludes that individual related factors such as poverty, lack of time and interest, communication barriers and lack of confidence on the county leadership hinder their participation in governance. The study finally concludes that socio-cultural factors such as: poor distribution of resources, poverty, illiteracy and age barriers influence the participation of the public in public governance.

5.4 Recommendations

The following were the recommendations for the study:

The study recommended that more awareness be created among the members of the public. This will encourage their participation in governance as they will know the importance of participation and ways by which they can participate.

The study also recommends that County government should be accountable for the County resources by eliminating corruption, tribalism and nepotism. This will change the attitude of the people towards participating in governance as it will reflect true and fair allocation of resources and job opportunities.

The study further recommends that members of the public should change their attitude towards participation in governance and create time within their busy schedules. Their participation will allow the incorporation of their views for the betterment of lives.

The study finally recommends that members of the public should be allowed to participate in governance without discrimination based on gender. This will encourage general public participation thus ensuring effective governance and development aimed at improving the lives of the public.

5.5 Recommendations for further research

This study was carried out in Machakos County to assess the determinants of citizen participation in governance. The researcher therefore recommends that another study be done to assess the challenges facing the County government in involving members of the public in governance which was not the concern of this study.

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APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR MCA.

I am a Masters student at The University of Nairobi carrying out a research on the determinants of citizen participation in devolved governance in Kenya; a case study of Machakos County. Thank you for the opportunity to discuss with you about citizen participation in governance. Please be free to say when you are not ready to answer any of the questions

- 1 Position in the County Governance.
- 2 Do citizen in Machakos County participate in county governance?
- What some of the institutional factors influencing citizen participation in County governance in Machakos County?
- 4 What are some of the initiatives at the county government aimed creating awareness among the public on their rights and ways of participation in County government.
- 5 How effective are the strategies for creation of aware on public participation on governance?
- What some of the citizen related factors influencing citizen participation in County governance in Machakos County?
- What some of the socio-economic factors influencing citizen participation in County governance in your County?
- 8 What would you recommend to be done to improve public participation in governance at the County level?

Thank you once more for taking time to discuss with me about citizen participation in governance in Machakos County

APPENDIX III: FGDs SCHEDULE FOR MEMBERS OF THE PUBLIC

I am a Masters student at The University of Nairobi carrying out a research on the determinants of citizen participation in devolved governance in Kenya; a case study of Machakos County. Thank you for the opportunity to discuss with you about citizen participation in governance. Please be free to say when you are not ready to answer any of the questions.

- 1. What is your highest academic qualification?
- 2. Did you vote in the general election?
- 3. Have you participated in any governance meeting held by your County government?. If yes, which ones. If no why?
- 4. Do citizen in your County participate in County governance?
- 5. What some of the institutional related factors influencing citizen participation in County governance in your County?
- 6. What are some of the initiatives at the County government aimed creating awareness among the public on their rights and ways of participation in County government?
- 7. How effective are the strategies for creation of aware on public participation on governance?
- 8. What some of the individual citizen related factors influencing citizen participation in County governance in your County?
- 9. What some of the socio-economic factors influencing citizen participation in County governance in your County?
- 10. What would you recommend to be done to improve public participation in governance at the County level?

Thank you once more for taking time to discuss with me about citizen participation in governance in Machakos County.

APPENDIX II: KEY INFORMANTS; MINISTERS.

- 1. Do citizen in Machakos County participate in county governance?
- 2. What is the level of awareness of the citizen on their participation on County governance in Machakos County?
- 3. What are the institutional related factors influencing citizen participation in County governance in Machakos County?
- 4. What are the initiatives at the county government aimed creating awareness among the public on their rights and ways of participation in County government?
- 5. How effective are the strategies for creation of aware on public participation on governance?
- 6. What is the individual citizen related factors influencing citizen participation in County governance in Machakos County?
- 7. What are the socio-economic factors influencing citizen participation in County governance in your County?
- 8. What would you recommend to be done to improve public participation in governance at the County level?

APPENDIX III: WORK PLAN

Period

Approval of the title of the study : January-April 2014

Developing research proposal :

Submission of the proposal :

Data collection :

Data analysis and Project writing :

Proposal defense :

Submission of the project to the Supervisors for marking :

Final submission of the thesis :

Activity

APPENDIX IV: BUDGET ESTIMATES

COST (KSHS)
4,000/=
300/=
500/=
4,800/=
1,500/=
2,000/=
3,000/=
6,500/=
6000/=
7550/=
57,630/=
70,880/=
2,000/=
2,000/=
5,000/=
6,000/=
3,000/=
14,000/=
96,180/=

APPENDIX VI: MAP OF MACHAKOS COUNTY

