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**DECENTRALIZATION AND PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT: A CASE  
STUDY OF ELGEYO MARAKWET COUNTY, KENYA.**

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## **Abstract**

Decentralization and participation have been studied collectively since 1960s. The main assumption has been that decentralization of governance would lead to enhanced citizen participation to development due to proximity of the government to the citizen. Proximity to the citizens by the government would also improve the responsiveness of the government to the needs of the people. This study examines this relationship between decentralization and participation in Elgeyo Marakwet County. The study adopted a case study approach, using semi-structured interviews as the data collection method. Secondary data was also used in the study and comprised mainly of devolutions Acts and county policy papers regarding participation and equitable share of resources.

The target population in my research was government departments working on public participation and economic planning. The target was also the Elgeyo Marakwet citizens and interviewed with officials of a local organization of People with Disabilities(PWDs) and an organization dealing with public participation. The results of the study show that the county has put in place mechanisms to improve citizen participation in development projects. These mechanisms are creation of an office of Director of Public Participation and Civic Education, and enactment of Equitable Development Act(EDA) which works towards ensuring equitable distribution of resources among wards in the county. However, participation of citizens has faced challenges such as, capacity to participate, inadequate resources, access to information on public participation and the problem of marginalization. From the results and discussion, it is evident that despite making progress in development, the county still faces a lot of challenges for its citizens to fully experience and participate meaningfully in development planning, implementation and impact assessment.

**Keywords:** decentralization, public participation, service delivery, Elgeyo Marakwet County.

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## **Dedication**

*To my late parents, Peter and Leah Kinuthia for building a strong academic foundation in me, which has guided me in soaring higher and higher in education and life. You are appreciated!*

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

ADP - Annual Development Plan

ASAL – Arid and Semi-Arid lands

CAC - County Advisory Committees

CBD – Community Based Development

CDC - Constituency Development Committee

CDF - Constituency Development Fund

CDP – Community Development Programmes

CEC - County Executive Committee

CFC - Constituency Fund Committee

CIC - Commission on Implementation of the Constitution

CIDP - County Integrated Development Plan

CoE – Committee of Experts

CoG – Council of Governors

CRA - Commission on Revenue Allocation

DDP - District Development Plan

ECD - Early Childhood Development

EDA – Equitable Development Act

EMC- Elgeyo Marakwet County

GIZ - Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit

IBEA - Intergovernmental Budget and Economic Council

KADU - Kenya African Democratic Union

KANU - Kenya African National Union

KCCDHR - Kerio Center for Community Development and Human Rights

KLGRP - Kenya Local Government Reform Programme

KNCBR - Keiyo North Community Based Rehabilitation

KSG - Kenya School of Government

LATF - Local Authority Transfer Fund

LG -Local Government

MCA - Member of the County Assembly

MP - Member of Parliament

NDP - National Development Plan

NG-CDF – National Government Constituency Development Fund

NGOs - Non-Governmental Organizations

NMC - National Management Committee

OECD – Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

PA - Provincial Administration

PB - Participatory Budgeting

PD - Participatory Development

PFM - Public Finance Management

PRA - Participatory Rural Appraisal

PRSPS – Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers

PWDs - People with Disabilities

SACCOs – Savings and Credit Cooperatives

TA - Transition Authority

UNDP - United Nations Development Programme

USAID - United States Agency for International Development

VDCs - Village Development Committees

WDCs – Ward Development Committees

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## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Background of Study**

Decentralized systems of governance have been advocated for in the field of development to ensure that the government moves closer to the people. By doing this, the citizens will have a better chance of taking part in the government as compared to a centralized system of governance (Odigbo,2013). Previously before states adopted a decentralized system of governance, there existed a big gap between planning and implementation of development policies. The approach used was the top-down model that involved decision making by highest office and then these policies were taken down to the community level for implementation. However, there was no much success in this approach because it depended on how motivated the population was (Kuhne,2010). Kuhne adds that, it is easier for implementation of development policies when the population sees such development projects as their own rather than the government's. Decentralization is thus viewed as a strategy to bring decision-making power closer to the people. In Kenya the decentralization typology is *devolution*.

Kessy explains that (2013) the devolution process happens when power to make decisions is transferred from the national government to a sub-national level (in the Kenyan case the county government) and in most cases these sub-national governments enjoy a high degree of autonomy. The focus of this study is on citizen participation in development and not in politics even though decentralization is a political process. According to Arnstein (1969), the aim of citizen participation is to ensure that there is redistribution of power ensuring that marginalized citizens participate actively in decision-making. This means that they have access to information on the goals and policies being set and their opinions are taken into account. The rationale of decentralization rests on the assumption that by decentralizing governance, government structures will be more efficient and effective and it will uphold transparency and accountability in public resource management. Another assumption has been that, the closer the government to the people, the better the representation of different groups especially vulnerable and marginalized groups (Gravingholt et al, 2006).

## **1.2 Statement of Research Problem**

Participatory Development(PD) has been part of mainstream development since the 1960s. The assumption has been that involvement of citizens at the local level in the development process will enhance development and improvement citizens' capability to take lead in development. PD proponents such as Paulo Freire and Robert Chambers argued that, participatory action created an environment for people to express what their needs were, and that 'putting the last first' was the only way to achieve rural development (Mohan,2001), Previously, participation of citizens in development projects took part in the implementation phase. The policies were made by the government and the citizens were only engaged as recipients. This did not create a sense of ownership among the citizens as these projects were seen as government projects and not the actual people's needs on the ground. PD would therefore create a sense of ownership of development projects and create a sense of leadership and control by citizens of their development agenda (Oakley,1995)

Decentralization has greatly been linked with participation of the public in development. Public participation in this case does not only have to do with taking part in electing leaders but also giving a voice to the marginalized and vulnerable groups at the grassroots level in development matters. Decentralization means that the government moves closer to the people. With this government in place, the assumption is that, it will be more knowledgeable and responsive to the needs of the "poor". Local knowledge should therefore be taken into consideration in both designing and implementing development projects. The new devolved system of governance in Kenya brings hope in terms of equitable distribution of resources among the 47 counties. Furthermore, it may give local residents and marginalized groups a voice and transform them to be active in making decision on issues that directly affect them and have the need to have them urgently acted upon.

## **1.3 Significance of Study**

The County Government of Elgeyo Marakwet has set precedence for the other counties to follow by not only designing public participation policies but by going further and crafting the equitable development bill which will aims to, different wards in the county

have resources allocated to them according to contextual factors. It takes into considerations factors such as population, poverty indices, Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL), development projects in the county and land area. With such considerations, the most vulnerable wards acquire more resources to address development challenges. This study is therefore very important for policymakers in the other counties to adopt similar policies in their counties to help better the lives of their people by giving more attention to vulnerable areas and improve their living standards to ensure there is equity in development across the entire county.

### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

The main objective of this study is thus: to find out what mechanisms and strategies the county government has put in place to enhance and encourage the public's active participation in the development agenda. First learn what are the strengths that come with this approach and the challenges the county government faces in the process of encouraging citizen participation. Secondly, the mechanisms the county government of Elgeyo Marakwet has come up with to tackle these challenges. Have the mechanisms on participation oozed to the local level or have they been well formulated but not implemented.

### **1.5 Research Questions**

1. What mechanisms have been put in place in Elgeyo Marakwet County to enhance citizen participation?
2. How has devolution affected public participation in Elgeyo Marakwet County
3. How has devolution affected service delivery in Elgeyo Marakwet County
4. Has Citizen Participation been enhanced in EMC with regards to Arnstein's (1969) level of participation framework?

### **1.6 Organization of the Paper**

The thesis consists of six chapters and three appendices. The first chapter has looked at the background to the concepts of decentralization and participatory development. Other subtopics under this chapter are, statement of research problem, research questions, objective of study, significance of study and the scope of study. Chapter two will focus on Literature review, theoretical and conceptual framework. In this chapter I will

critically analyze the literature that connects decentralization and development. I will discuss different levels of participation in the ladder of citizen participation as presented by Sherry Arnstein. I will extensively analyze the arguments presented by proponents of both decentralization and participation. This will be followed by criticism against theory of both decentralization and participation. Chapter three will focus on an extended history of devolution in Kenya and the persistent push for a decentralized system in Kenya which eventually led to devolution as a system of governance, after the country adopted a new constitution in 2010. The chapter will further review empirical literature on decentralization and participation.

Chapter four presents the methodology section of the study. Explanations will be given for the choice of location, qualitative method of collecting data, specifically use of semi-structured interviews. Choice of respondents will also be discussed in this section. Chapter five presents the results of the study and it will also discuss the results by analyzing it using the theories of decentralization and participation. At the end the findings will be presented in the ladder of participation to determine what level of participation the people of Elgeyo Marakwet have. Finally, chapter six will summarize the findings of the study and make recommendations for future research in the same field of study.

## **CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **2.1 Introduction**

The last three decades have seen increased advancement by states in developing countries to decentralize their systems of governance. Decentralization has been linked to enhanced development and participation of citizens in development projects for capacity building. For this reason, the USAID and other donor organizations and countries, helped in driving the first wave of participatory development by channeling funds and cooperating with community based development institutions to encourage decentralization and a bottom up approach to development (Mansouri and Rao,2013). The main advocates of decentralization were critical of central government planning which failed to yield development years after the end of colonization. Central governments were blamed on lack of knowledge, thus failure to implement citizens' 'real;' needs at the local level(Manor,2011)

Decentralization can be defined as the transfer of power, authority or responsibility for decision making, planning, management or resource allocation from the central government to its field units, district administrative units, local governments, regional or functional authorities, semi-autonomous public authorities, parastatal organizations, private entities and non-governmental private or voluntary organizations (Rondinelli et al, 1983). From this definition it is no doubt that decentralization is viewed as a form of reform from a certain policy or approach that failed to work. Kessy (2013) defines decentralization as a “strategy of governance to facilitate transfer of power closer to those who are most affected by exercise of power”. In this definition, Kessy asserts that the main reason for decentralization is to bring power closer to the people who otherwise do not have it when the system is centralized. This argument has been supported by proponents of decentralization who questions the responsiveness of centralized governments to the needs of the people at the local level. They support decentralization with the assumption that proximity of the government to the people will enhance the responsiveness of the local government to the needs of the citizens at the local level (Spina,2013: World Bank,1999: Kessy,2013: Bergh,2004: Crook and Manor, 1998). In recent times, definitions of decentralization have moved from an entirely political stand

to a combination of political and development approaches. The common characteristic has been involvement of citizens actively in decision-making on matters that directly affect their lives. Decentralization is treated as a tool to attain development, efficiency, accountability and encouraging citizen participation.

## **2.2 Forms of Decentralization**

It is important to distinguish between different forms of decentralization because countries with decentralized systems of governance can have different approaches to decentralization. These forms are deconcentrating, delegation and devolution

De-concentration entails little transfer of authority to regional or local governments. De-concentration is defined as a process in which the central government transfers specific responsibilities for service delivery to its regional offices. With little autonomy, the field offices are therefore accountable to the central government. Decision-making is therefore done with reference to the central government. This is the weakest form of decentralization as the central government retains, majority or all the power (Bergh,2004: Johnson,2001: Kessy,2013: Hope,2000: Scheider,2003: Gravingholt et al, 2006)

Delegation sees transfer of more responsibility when compared to deconcentrating. According to Gravingholt et al (2006) delegation witnesses more transfer of responsibilities and authorities to local governments and not branches of the delegating authority. This is supported by Bergh (2004) who adds that, the body that the powers are transferred to is not wholly controlled by the central authority but it is still accountable to the delegating power. Definition of delegation is however problematic according to Kessy (2013) because it's definition sometimes fits with privatization which some analysts of decentralization do not see as one form of decentralization. However, the process of delegation is defined to fit as an approach between de-concentration and devolution, depending on the amount of autonomy that is transferred from the central to local government. One last aspect of delegation is that, the delegating authority which in this case is the central government has the power to reverse decisions made by the local government when deemed unfavorable and can also retake all the authority back from the local government.



Devolution is the transfer of authority, responsibilities and resources to autonomous local governing authority. Compared to other forms of decentralization, devolved systems of governance are not accountable to the central government because they have their independent executive and legislature. Devolved units of governance are elected into office by citizens within that devolved unit and therefore they have power to administer in their units. This independence from central government means that these devolved units can make decisions on service delivery such as health, education, revenue collection and so on. The autonomy of devolved units however can be limited especially if they are still reliant on the government in situations where devolution process takes time starting with devolution of some services and not all of them. In most cases the governments still provide resources to the devolved units. In such cases, devolved units are partly accountable to the central government (Bergh,2004: Kessy,2013: Hope,2000: Scheider,2003: Gravingholt et al, 2006)

It is therefore evident that forms of decentralization are determined by the degree of autonomy, responsibilities and resources that are transferred to local governments. They are also influenced by the intentions of the central government. When a central government wants to hold on too much power it will de-concentrate power rather than devolving it.

### **2.2.1 Rationale for Decentralization**

Proponents of decentralization have given a number of justifications for advocating for decentralization. These justifications both political and economic have come up due to failure and weakness of central planning authorities to manage and distribute resources across the country equally (White 2001). Lack of responsiveness to people needs at the local level has led to marginalization of some communities which according to advocates of decentralization, can be reversed by having governments closer to the people.

According to Gravingholt et al (2006) having power and resources closer to the people enables governments to engage citizens in implementing development projects that directly impacts on their lives. This argument is closely linked with that of proximity of the government to the citizens (Barret et al,2007). Fumihiko (2001) supports this argument by stating that decentralization brings public services closer to people, thus

giving them more opportunity to participate in decision making as compared to when there is a centralized system of governance. Furthermore, having the government closer to the people means that it can easily evaluate what are the real needs of the people at the local level. These needs can only be evaluated by active involvement of the people in airing out what their pressing issues are.

Decentralization has been taken as one strategy that can help in alleviation of poverty after failure of centralized system to yield positive results. Bagenda (2007) concludes the debate on decentralization and participation by claiming that having a decentralized system and involving the citizens actively in decision-making creates a sense of ownership in development therefore leading to self-reliance and empowerment at the local level.

Proponents of decentralization maintain that when provision of services is heterogeneous across a country with different needs, a central planning authority becomes inefficient as it does not provide these goods and services equally across the country (Barrett et al,2007). Gravingholt et al (2006) emphasize that compared to central government, the local government can be able to efficiently and effectively provide goods and services to the citizen due to knowledge of what the needs are, which is aided by its closeness to the people. The quick response to local needs can also be attributed to short bureaucratic procedures in decision making and implementation as compared to those of the central government (Fumihiko,2001: Hope 2000: Kessy,2013: Bagenda,2007: Agrawal and Ribot,1999)

Decentralization also strengthens local institutions because authority, functions and resources are developed to them and they therefore must become efficient and effective to ensure that they do not fall into a state of inefficiency leading to the central authority intervening to help in governing. Good governance can therefore be established when stakeholders can reach a reasonably clear common vision, which guides their actions for mutual benefits (Fumihiko,2001). The stakeholders at the local government include but are not limited to, the local government, civil society especially local NGOs, private institutions and citizens. Coordination of activities between stakeholders aims to avoid duplication of activities between agencies and all work in unison in delivering their goods and services efficiently to citizens at the local level (Hope,2000).

It also empowers citizens to take part in decision making in the development agenda. This is made possible by capacity building and ensuring that citizens have the necessary information to understand the process of participation in development planning. It also encourages participation in local electoral processes that were previously done through appointments by central government. Empowering of people creates a sense of self-worth as marginalized group participate in decision making. This has greatly been encouraged by donor institutions and government because it gives citizens power to take part in development agenda as well as equip them with knowledge and skills for future engagement in development (Johnson, 2001). Hope believes by having a decentralized government, optimism will be enhanced and the people will be active than passive in taking part in planning and policy implementation (2000).

Decentralization can also enhance accountability and transparency. Proximity of the government to the people means that they can easily scrutinize the activities of the government making it strive to perform better as it is accountable to the people (Fumihiko, 2001). One main reason for shift from a centralized system is the rampant cases of corruption within the bureaucracy. Decentralization thus seeks to mend this by being accountable and transparent in service delivery and ensuring that the functions are carried out diligently. According to Gravingholt et al (2006) local governments encourage mobilization for local development, local responsibility relates to encouragement for local entrepreneurial development for citizens. This can be made possible by development of a local framework that encourages local knowledge of skills to be concerted to development agenda

### **2.2.2 Risks of Decentralization**

Skeptics of decentralization counter the justifications put across by the advocates of this concept by claiming that decentralization comes with greater risks. These risks according to the skeptics arise because of the gap existing between theory and practice in which the justifications look good on paper but are not very promising when it gets to the implementation.

Decentralization of governance risks capture by the local elites who just like elites at the national level, amass power and wealth at the expense of the local populace. Gravingholt et al (2006) observe that participation is hindered by the capture of local governments by

the local elites. Capacity of the local government to efficiently and effectively provide goods and services has always been brought into question.

Finally, other reasons given by critics of decentralization are: efficiency and effectiveness of service delivery might not be enhanced due to inadequate, social, human and economic capital. Increase in cost of goods and service delivery since a lot of resources, economic or human are needed for a fully functioning local government especially the type with a high degree of autonomy, the poor getting used to not participating or consulted by the government might be reluctant to take part due to lack motivation. (Fumihiko,2001: Fumihiko,2011: Gravingholt et al,2006: Barrett et al,2007: Rondinelli et al,1983).

### **2.3 Participatory Development**

According to OECD (1994) *participatory development is partnership between actors in setting agendas based on local views, challenges and strengths*. Participatory development approaches thus seek to develop projects at the local level based on issues brought up by citizens whose needs seek to be addressed by these development projects. The shift to participation in development can mainly be attributed to the failure of the top-down approach to development common prior to the 1960s when participatory development gained momentum. The need to encourage participation of local communities in decision-making paved way for Community Based Development (CBD), decentralization and participation carried out by both donor organizations and governments (Mansuri and Rao, 2013). In the 1980s, critics of the top-down approach moaned lack of performance by the approach in improving conditions of poor people who seemed marginalized by central governments when resources were being distributed. This led to a push for participatory development approaches led by Robert Chambers (1983), popularly known for his Participatory Rural Appraisal Approach. At the same time, the World Bank was pushing for decentralization. The common stand was that both community development and decentralization should play a crucial role in encouraging citizen participation in development (Mansuri and Rao,2013)

As participation has dominated the field of development in the past decades, there are two dominant schools of thought on participation. One school of thought saw participation as inclusion of people in the development agenda. The top-down approach had excluded people from active participation in development but according to this

school, people have skills and knowledge that can lead to success of projects. The second school of thought views participation in light of tackling structural problems that cause poverty. Exclusion of people means that they do not have access to resources that they need to better their livelihoods. Participation therefore becomes an important process where people seek to gain influence giving them access to resources that they can use to better their livelihoods (Oakley,1995).

Mansuri and Rao (2013), further note that participation can be categorized into organic and induced participation. *Organic participation* it is a term used to described participatory action championed for mainly by social movements who are in opposition of government's top-down approach which has little participation by the people. The main objective is to fight for the rights of the underprivileged who have been marginalized by the government. It is done mainly through creation of membership organizations such as Savings and Credit Cooperatives (SACCOs) to help improve the livelihoods of the people. An example given is that of Grameen Bank in Bangladesh. *Induced participation* on the other hand refers to participation that is advocated for through policy change by a state. This policy change can also be advocated for by external governments that have bilateral or multilateral relations with a state. The most common forms of induced participation are decentralization and community driven development.

### **2.3.1 Levels of Participation**

In studying citizen participation in development, it is important to acknowledge that there are different levels of participation. The level of participation mainly depends on the political will, capacity to participate and skills and knowledge to actively take part in the decision making process. In her article *The Ladder of Citizen Participation*, Arnstein (1969) presents a model that shows different levels of participation from manipulation to citizen control. She presents eight levels of participation.

*Manipulation*- is found at the lowest level of participation which is described as the placement of people into advisory boards so that they are 'educated' or convinced to support an initiative. Arnstein (date) uses an example of Citizen Advisory Committees (CAC) where minorities were placed in committees but during meetings, it was the officials who did the participation in educating, advising and persuading the citizens. The 'educating' part of the citizens was therefore used as an illusion for participation.

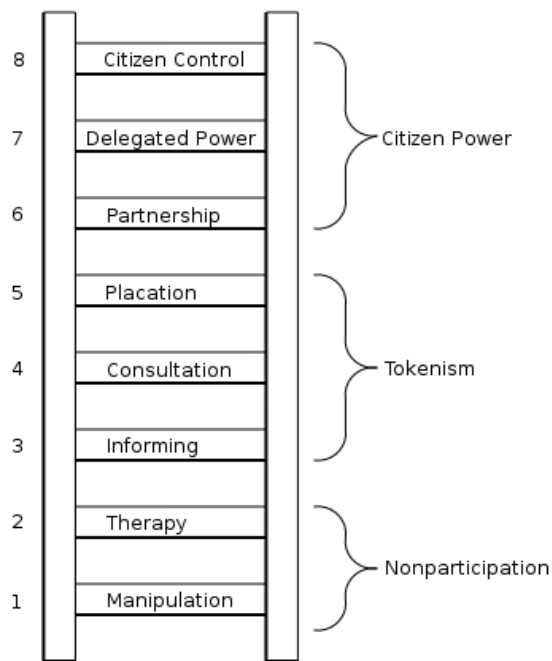


Figure 4: Eight rungs on the ladder of citizen participation  
Source Arnstein (1969)

*Therapy* – this second level of participation is masked as citizen participation but according to Arnstein (1969), it is both dishonest and arrogant. She uses mental health example where citizens are seen as powerless and therefore the experts engage citizens in clinical therapy. The ‘participation’ in this case takes place when citizens are engaged with the experts in the therapy sessions and citizens have no opinion at all in these matters.

*Informing* - Arnstein views this as the first step towards citizen participation. In this level, citizens

are informed of their rights, responsibilities and options. The shortcoming of this level is that the flow of information is one way, from officials to citizens. It is therefore taken as participation because the citizens are given information by the officials but there is little or no room for their voices to be heard

*Consultation* - this goes further by inviting citizens’ opinions and can be a good step towards citizen participation but the shortfall comes in that there is no assurance that their opinions would be taken into account when drafting policies. Methods of consultation include surveys, public hearings and neighborhood meetings.

*Placation* – in this level, the poor are placed in advisory committees on which they are allowed to give advice or plan but the officials have the right to accept or reject the advices depending on their legitimacy of feasibility. Having citizen representatives in such boards depends entirely on how well the citizens push for their rights. The advices can be turned down especially by technical experts who are seen as possessing better skills and knowledge on different human development matters such as health, education, infrastructure and so on.

*Partnership* - going up the ladder, this levels see better participation of citizens as there is an agreement and negotiations between citizens and powerholders. Both parties actively take part in planning and making decisions in advisory boards and different working committees. Partnership is most effective when there is a strong community base and that has the resources to pay its representative as well as to hire technical experts, lawyers and community organizers who will negotiated and partner with the government and other representatives on their behalf. This gives them bargaining power to influence plans being formulated.

*Delegated Power* - due to increased negotiations, citizens somehow acquire a high bargaining power over the decision making process. At this level, citizens have more power as compared to the other levels and actively participate in the decision making process to ensure there is accountability on the public programs and projects. Citizens therefore have a dominant decision making power.

*Citizen Control* - the intention of citizen control is power which enables citizens to be part of programs of projects as key players whose needs are given priority when decisions are being made. This level of participation is the one with the highest degree of participation and what proponents of participatory development advocate for.

The critique against these eight rungs of participation as presented by Arnstein is that, for citizen control power, it is very hard to attain that level of participation in real situations of power relations. If as described in Arnstein on the final rung, it can easily lead to secession claims because of the amount of power that the citizens hold. Moreover, it is argued that this theory is applicable to government programmes and development projects but not applicable in local governance and should therefore be modified to include individuals or groups and their sphere of influence. The final critique is that, the theory does not recognize citizen's participation in elections which is still under citizen control as long as the elections are done freely and fairly (Burns et al.,1994). However, it is very important to have this ladder because in real life situations, participation is contextual and varies between societies. The models of participation are mainly grounded on participation and empowerment in societies The concept therefore bases its rationale on engagement between citizens and leaders in the decision making process(Kessy,2013)

### 2.3.3 Benefits and Challenges to People's Participation

With increased induced participation through decentralization and Community Based Development(CBD) proponents of participatory development have discussed benefits that arise from encouraging and including people in development projects and programmes. The benefits are closely related with those of decentralization because one of the key reasons for decentralization is to enhance citizen participation in local development agendas.

Oakley (1995) claims that participation leads to **efficiency**. Participation means that, the available resources are used in the most crucial development issues. Participation can help minimize conflicts between citizens and policy makers, saving time and energy used by technocrats to educate the people on benefits of certain projects.

**Effectiveness.** The people are given a chance to be proactive in showcasing their knowledge and skills that go a long way in determining the success of the development projects(Oakley,1995). Mollel (2010) adds that actual and sustainable development can be achieved only when the people who are to benefit from certain development projects are part of the decision making process and the implementation.

**Self-reliance.** Through capacity building, participation leads to the empowerment of citizens. The notion of dependence is broken as the people through control of issues that affect them directly, act independently in working towards bettering their lives. Participation aims at improving human development and self-reliance is created in a way that people gain confidence in working positively to improve their lives(Oakley,1995). Participation therefore does not only give them a voice to participate but also a chance to take control in planning and implementing development projects as 'primary owners'.

**Coverage.** The coverage of development in most southern countries is poor with a bigger share of development taking place in urban areas. Decentralization has led to increased approach for rural development programmes aiming at achieving development in rural areas. Rondinelli et al. (1983) contribute to the debate about decentralization and participation by stating that the main goal for development policies is to ensure that benefits are well distributed within a society.



Participation with no doubt has shifted the approach to development. Both governments and donor institutions have encouraged participation of citizens in development. Capacity building and information sharing has enhanced the capability of people to participate in development activities in their areas. Despite this widely accepted approach to development in theory, it has faced challenges and risks in practice.

One issue that comes up with participatory development is cost and time. This argument views the participatory process as time consuming and cost-ineffective because technocrats and local citizens can have different stands on a development issue. This leads to extensive negotiations before a consensus is reached. This is branded as a time wasting initiative especially when some projects need to be implemented quickly (Gravingholt et al.,2006: Oakley ,1995). Prolonged decision making according Gaventa and Valderrama (1999) can be affected by people's capacity to participate. Lack of knowledge and skills means that the capacity of the people to participate has to be enhanced first before participation. In this case the government and local organization partake the initiative of civic education as a mechanism to enhance people's capacity. In urgent projects this can prove to be very costly and time-consuming.

Another challenge of participation as presented by Ahmad and Talia (2011) is the reluctance of people to participate in development projects because development issues are perceived as the role of the government. This notion is created when the government sidelines the citizens in decision making process and thus it becomes a norm. This passiveness of citizens can lead to capture of the local development processes by local elites and the political class. In this case decentralization does not lead to participation as the citizens are still alienated even when they have the government close to them. Lack of citizen engagement by the government can also be attributed to lack of capacity among citizens to participate. Capacity building exercises are sometimes viewed as an additional cost and can lead to lack of engagement which citizens when the government does not want to incur extra cost (Gaventa and Valderrama,1999).

Finally, group participation may hinder participation especially when there are different issues to be addressed. When a local area consists of different religious, ethnic and social groups, it is possible to have different development challenges that they want to be attended to. Taking one project over another can lead to social conflict at the local level.

Stakeholders such as NGOs also focus on specific issues and have special interests in the development process and are not accountable to the entire population (Gravingholt et al,2006) The government in most cases must take care of all the challenges for peace and unity among different groups. This can further be made difficult by lack of sufficient resources to address the development issues in local areas. With many issues to address, the government may lack sufficient resources which can lead to lack of implementation or stalling of projects at the implementation phase (Gaventa and Valderrama,1999).

These barriers mean that the main objectives of participation are not achieved. Below are strategies or mechanisms to overcome these barriers for participation to be achieved.

#### **2.3.4 Mechanisms and Strategies to Overcome Barriers to Effective Participation**

**Citizen Empowerment and Access to Information:** for effective participation as partners in decision-making processes citizens must have the capacity to participate. A government that is willing to have its citizens actively take part in decision-making processes therefore has to carry out civic education for capacity building. As the level of participation goes higher and higher i.e. from consultation to citizen control, the capacity of the citizens has to be high too to ensure an effective decision making process and the sustainability of development projects. Anything less leads to stalling of development projects therefore failing to meet its development purpose at the local level. Furthermore, the capacity building and awareness should also entail education of masses on their rights and responsibilities according to the new set policies (Gaventa and Valderrama,1999). This is crucial in encouraging participation of citizens who were initially marginalized from active participation.

**Participation and Inclusion:** Participation processes can easily be captured by elite and social groups who in most cases have their own agendas. This can alter the initial channels set for full participation of citizens. Most groups have their own personal interests which can affect the purpose of participatory development. According to Gravingholt et al (2006:37) “Possible rural/urban or regional biases should be identified and addressed. Access to participatory mechanisms should be open, equal and transparent for all stakeholders.”

**Participatory Budgeting(PB).** According to Gaventa and Valderrama (1999) this is one of the best experiences of citizen participation where citizens participate in budget

making of their local development issues. This is a very important mechanism because the most pressing projects according to citizens get more funds allocated to them. For example, in an arid area pressing issues such as construction of irrigation schemes for farmers and slaughter houses for pastoralist families are given priority.

### **Conclusion**

The concepts of Decentralization and Participatory Development arose in the same period owing to the failure of central governments to deliver services to their citizens on equal terms. The central governments were deemed corrupt leading to embezzlement of public resources thus crippling delivery of public goods and services. Donor institutions such as the World Bank therefore pushed for decentralized systems of governance to take power closer to the people and to enhance participation of people in the planning of development projects in their areas. The rationale for decentralization mainly has to do with citizen participation, giving a voice to the groups that were marginalized by central governments and to equalize the distribution of resources. The rationale for participation on the other hand is to help in creating a sense of ownership of their development projects thus leading to capacity building, knowledge creation, sustainability of development projects which in turn lead to improvement of standards of living. The concepts look very convincing in theory but skeptics believe they have challenges especially in practice. The key challenge among the two concepts has been the capture of the participation process by the local elite groups for personal interest. This can affect the channels of participation because the citizens will remain sidelined from participating even by the local government. Political will, access to information and capacity building are some factors that determine the success or failure of decentralization and participation of people actively in the development agenda in their locality.

## **CHAPTER THREE: BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **3.1 Background**

The first wave of participatory approach to development was after the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War. It was carried out by the United States Agency for Development (USAID) and other organizations that funded and promoted community development and decentralization. This was carried out with the notion that, involvement of the poor in coming up with policies on development projects that affect their lives would be enhanced by these participatory programmes. This approach was supported by the view that previously, development aid was disconnected from the needs of the poor as they were marginalized and excluded from presenting their most pressing issues (Mansuri and Rao,2013). The main assumption in this case was, involving the poor and other marginalized groups in some aspects of decision making of projects that directly affects them would create a greater connection between the development aid and the beneficiaries. This in turn would ensure their active participation in the implementation process. Participatory development also seeks to incorporate local knowledge and that of the government and donor agencies. In the 1950s the first participatory experiment was carried out extensively in India and was dubbed the Community Development Programme (CDP). According to the 1952 United Nations report on *The World Social Situations*, social workers were encouraged to adopt the bottom-up instead of the top-down approach which had failed in delivery of development at the grassroots level (James,2010).

Participatory approach however waned in the 1980s as it failed to bring reforms in governments especially for those countries that were under centralized system of governance. However, there were renewed efforts after the failure of the Structural Adjustment Programmes by the Bretton Wood Institutions in the 1980s. In the 1990s, the World Bank encouraged countries to formulate Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers(PRSPs), they would use the strategy of consulting the stakeholders before formulation of strategies. Tanzania was one example where these strategies worked well as the people were involved in formulation of poverty reduction strategies at the sub-national and local levels. They were involved in the deliberation process and at the end of the workshops they ranked the most pressing issues and these were then sent to the

capital for evaluation. They were then combined with the other papers from other districts to make up the national PRSP (Lamb et al, 2005). This is one instance of involvement of primary stakeholders early in the consultation process as opposed to their involvement mainly in the implementation of policies imposed on them.

### **3.2 History of Devolution in Kenya**

In the history of Kenya since independence, there have been efforts to initiate decentralization in the country. The different phases of decentralization include, *majimboism*, the local government system, constituency development fund and the county governance system.

#### **3.2.1 Majimboism(Regionalism)**

Prior to Kenya gaining independence, leaders from both Kenya African National Union(KANU) and Kenya African Democratic Union(KADU) took part in consultations on formulation of a constitution in Lancaster, England. These consultations were known as the Lancaster House Conferences whose main objectives was formulation of a constitutional framework and negotiations for independence. They happened in 1960, 1962 and 1963. KANU and KADU were the two parties in the country. KANU was dominated by Kikuyu and Luo, the two largest tribes in Kenya and KADU comprised of other small tribes. KANU advocated for a centralized system of governance while KADU supported a decentralized system *majimboism*. The British supported the call for a decentralized system to ensure that the major tribes do not dominate over the smaller ones (IEA,2010) Therefore, *majimboism* was adopted as a system of governance. After the final Lancaster conference in 1963, Kenya gained self-rule after 70 years of colonization.

With KANU as the ruling party, *majimboism* was going to face a lot of opposition since the party was for a centralized system. After Independence the country adopted a quasi-federal system of governance that comprised of seven semi-autonomous regions with the central government's headquarters situated in Nairobi (Muriu,2012). The system did not thrive due to lack of political will from the ruling party. Implementation of financial provisions and transfer of service delivery were never realized as stipulated in the constitution. KANU started the process of repealing the clause of *majimbo* directly following independence. e. And true to their word and in 1964, *majimbo* was abolished

and a republican constitution was put in place. Power was now concentrated around the presidency. Failure of majimbo to take off was blamed on a lack of political will among the ruling party and unfamiliarity with the system (IEA,2010). After the failure of majimbo, the regional governments were replaced by a system of Provincial Administration (PA), that had previously been used during colonialism. This led to centralization of power and service delivery. (Omolo,2010).

The three roles of PA under colonialism were coordination, control and mobilization of the public to achieve development. The Governor was the head of the colony and the PA therefore acted as the representatives of the Governor in the colony, exercising power through the administrators from village headmen, chiefs and district officers. The British used this administrator to suppress any pressure from the local leaders to form nationalist movements (Gertzel,1970). It is this negative image portrayed by the PA during the colonial era that led to the call for their abolishment and introduction of regional governments.

The call for majimbo resurfaced in 1992 when Kenya moved from a single party system to a multiparty one. This however fueled political-ethnic conflicts as majimboism was closely linked with land issues. The misconception was, with majimbo, it meant that tribes had to move back to their ancestral land. Majimbo was therefore opposed as some tribes feared being expelled from their land (IEA,2010)

### **3.1.2 Local Government System**

Another devolution experience in Kenya was through Local Governments. (LGs) under Kenya Local Government Reform Programme(KLGRP). Under this programme there was Local Authority Transfer Fund(LGTF) and Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plan(LASDAP) (IEA,2010; Muriu,2012). Local Governments existed prior to independence and they enjoyed responsibilities such as primary education, health, roads, maintenance of market places and construction of slaughter houses. However, after independence, the authority of LGs started to decline as much powers were transferred to the ministry of Local Government. The minister had certain powers among them: upgrade existing authorities, establish new authorities and nominate members of the local council without consulting the local residents. In 1969 the authority of LGs further diminished as

health, roads and education were transferred to different government ministries except maintenance of feeder roads and construction of slaughter houses. This was done under the Transfer of Functions Act of 1969. This was further undermined by provincial administrations which supervised the activities of the LGs. Under that constitution there were city, municipal, county and urban councils. The councils were governed by elected councils who elect a mayor from amongst themselves. However, the administration roles were undertaken by civil servants appointed by central government's Public Service Commission PSCs. The motivation of LGs was very low and led to poor performance due to lack of power to plan. This led to the adoption of KLGRP in 1988 whose main objectives were: to restructure the local public sector, improve local public expenditure management and strengthen local accountability mechanisms. It is during this period that LATF and LASDAP were established with the aim of enhancing accountability in financial management of LGs. They were strengthened and given more powers. The impacts were: increased revenue that was generated by the LGs and improved action planning and citizen involvement in identification of development projects (Omolo,2010; Muriu,2012; IEA,2010). LGs remained in place until 2013 when a new government took power under the new constitution

### **3.1.3 Constituency Development Fund(CDF)**

The Constituency Development Fund(CDF) was established through the Constituency Development Fund Act of 2003. According to the Act, "specific portion of annual national budget would be devoted to constituencies for the purpose of development and in particular in the fight against poverty at the constituency level". The Act sought to secure finance for development projects in the 210 constituencies in Kenya. The projects that have been implemented according to Mitullah (2011) are in the fields of agriculture, education, health, electricity, building and improvement of public facilities. To achieve its goal, the Act stipulated that 2.5% of government's annual ordinary revenue would be allocated to CDF. When the Act came into being in 2003, the resources were distributed equally among the 210 constituencies. However, in 2004 an allocation formula would be used in distribution of funds and poorer constituencies would receive slightly more funds. Under the Act, four bodies would oversee decision making of the implementation of the CDF policies. These bodies are: National Management Committee(NMC), Constituency

Development Committee(CDC), Constituency Fund Committee(CFC) and the District Projects Committee.

The Act also stipulated that the responsible Member of Parliament (MP) would work with local communities to come up with decisions on which projects they would want the resources channeled to. The CDF committee would be headed by the MP and would invite proposals from the public basing them on the local needs and preferences. The committee would thereafter prioritize the needs presented by the local community and present the list to the District CDF Committee. The community would ensure that the projects are in line with the CDF regulations before sending the list to the National CDF Committee. The Committee would then approve disbursement of funds to the local communities to begin implementation of their development projects (Romero, 2009; Mitullah 2011).

The CDF is a form of fiscal decentralization whose aim has been to involve local citizens in the development process. The assumption is that since resources are channeled directly to the communities, the CDF will work towards achieving local development as the citizens are directly involved in the fund activities. According to the Kenya School of Governance (KSG) (2015) there has been notable positives and challenges facing the CDF. CDF has led to greater engagement of the citizens in both decision making and implementation of development projects. There has been improved communication and provision of information before the process of citizen participation and finally the establishment of oversight bodies to ensure there is accountability in the utilization of the funds.

Some of the challenges CDF has faced include that the role of MPs as implementers and auditors in the process has raised concerns of transparency and limitation of citizens to participate. Lack of transparency has been noted in selection of committee members, allocation of resources to beneficiaries and project selection (KSG,2015; Mitullah,2011). Secondly, when citizen involvement was evident, it only took part in the planning phase and not implementation or monitoring and evaluation. Thirdly, scarce resources limited citizen involvement as the lack of capacity within the government to provide information to the citizens prior to the participation forums was blamed on the CDF not catering for such expenditures. The CDF has been renamed National Government Constituency



Development Fund (NG-CDF). With its latest amendment in 2015, NG-CDF is now shared among 290 constituencies that came into being in 2013 with the new constitution.

#### **3.1.4 County Governance System**

Another push for decentralization was in 2001 when ministers William Ole Ntimama and Shariff Nassir called for majimboism again to ensure equal distribution of resources (Mwenda et al, 2016). The history of development in Kenya has mainly favored tribesmen of the ruling president and the argument was that majimboism would encourage a more equal distribution of resources across the country. After sustained efforts to have regional governments, the Committee of Experts (CoE), tasked to come up with a new constitution proposed a county system of governance. This was overwhelmingly voted for by Kenyans in the 2010 referendum (Ibid). Later that year the new constitution was promulgated. Chapter 11 of the Constitution is on devolution and led to establishment of 47 counties each with their own government: executive and legislature. This system of governance would ensure transfer of functions and resources from the national government to county governments. It came to being in March 2013 after the country held general elections.

The main strengths of devolution policies are enhancing and encouraging public participation and effective local service delivery. According to the Ministry of Devolution and Planning (2015), the assumptions of the devolution policy is that it will empower Kenyans to take part in democratic process and achieve development. Furthermore, implementation of the policy will empower citizens to take charge of their destiny by actively taking part in decision making on matters that affect their lives. In addition, the goal of this policy is to promote involvement and public participation in decision making, strengthen accountability and effectiveness in delivery of services and enhance the capacity of all levels of governments to deliver their mandate

### **3.2 Practical Experiences of Decentralization and Participation in other countries**

Despite push for decentralization for development and participation by scholars, empirical evidence shows that, there are shortcomings of decentralization and participation.

### **3.2.1 Challenges of Decentralization**

Despite strong arguments for decentralization as presented earlier under the rationale for decentralization, evidence from a research held in Kibaale District, Uganda by Bugenda (2007) confirms the elite and politicians' dominance of the participation process. He observes that when public meetings were held to discuss development issues, the poor, marginalized, women and people living with disabilities rarely attended these meetings and when they did, they hardly spoke because the meetings were dominated by local elites, politicians and the business community. This is supported by David Watson as quoted in Bugenda (2007:07) who claims that "The poor are infrequently consulted on their priorities, the poor have useful things to say unfortunately rarely is anyone listening" he concludes that the poor are still disadvantaged by the decentralization process.

Fumihiko (2011) claims that most local governments despite having the advantage of proximity to the citizens does not necessarily means that they have knowledge on the needs of the people. This is elaborated by Bugenda on the case study of Uganda where respondents claimed that leaders are elected into office depending on party affiliations, region of origin or family background and not on education, technical expertise or leadership competences (2007). He also brings out the capacity of citizens to participate fully in decision-making. Communities lack competence to actively take part in participation and this is made harder by incompetence among the leaders at the local level. He concludes that active participation in local development will remain a rhetoric unless capacity building is enhance among leaders and citizens.

On decentralization in the Kyrgyzstan, Gravingholt et al. (2011) present some challenges that the state is facing with regards to the decentralized system of governance. These challenges include insufficient resources at the local level and lack of qualified personnel in the local government. The issue of insufficient resources for the local government can be attributed to delay in implementation of public finance legislations. On qualified personnel, it seems to be a common problem within new decentralized system as it was noted to be a problem also in Uganda.

### **3.2.2 Positive experiences of decentralization and mechanisms to encourage participation**

Citizen empowerment and access to information is one positive experience presented by Gaventa and Valderrama (1999). They claim that for citizens to actively participate, they must have the capacity to do so and receive the information on participation from the government. They use examples from Bangladesh, India and Zimbabwe where radio stations, theatres and book publications have been used as awareness building tools.

Capacity building in most cases have been used in education of citizens but Gaventa and Valderrama (1999) believe that local government officials also need training. This has been noted to be very important especially for officials who have not had previous leadership experience. They use example of India where some reservations have been made for women and lower caste representatives. In this case they need training so that they can actively and effectively carry out their roles. Another example is from Karnataka where training and leadership programmes have been carried out for newly elected women representatives, this builds their capacity to carry out development agenda especially concerning women. Another perspective used, is that of Uganda and Tanzania where training of officials has been done to enable them to engage citizens in a more participatory manner. Poverty reduction strategies have in this case not only be used in identification of priority pro-poor development needs but also to strengthen capacity of local government officials in participatory planning(ibid). On looking at the strength of decentralization and local participation in Kyrgyzstan, Gravingholt et al. (2011) conclude that in over ten years of decentralization, the local governance structures have been established. The citizens now have direct influence on the local decision making process. This has however been slowed down by limited capacity of the local governments.

Gaventa and Valderrama (1999) add that mechanisms used to promote accountability in governance can range from local elections, strong opposition party, public meetings where officials are put to task on spending to 'report cards' of local governments of service delivery in Bangladesh.

### **3.3 Lessons for Kenya**

According to the Kenya School of Government (2015) Kenya's decentralization is among the most rapid and ambitious processes going on in the world. This is because it involves large scale, political, fiscal and administrative decentralization. The county governments

resumed major responsibilities after the March 2013 elections. They are implementing projects in health, agriculture, local infrastructure among others. With the government and parliament support, several institutions were created to guide the implementation on the devolution process: The Transition Authority(TA), The Ministry of Devolution and Planning, the Council of Governors(CoG), Commission of Revenue Allocation(CRA), Intergovernmental Budget and Economic Council(IBEAC) and the Commission on Implementation of the Constitution (CIC)that oversees the implementation of the new constitution including devolution.

Despite these great strides, Kenya can learn a number of lessons on decentralization from other developing countries that have already shifted to decentralized system. High expectations on devolution in Kenya can lead to frustrations among the citizens. Kyrgyzstan has had devolution for over ten years but it is struggling with inadequate resources and lack of capacity among local officials. The country should therefore take devolution gradually build capacities among citizens and local government officials, develop institutions that will ensure devolution of more functions over time.

Secondly political willingness is key to the success of decentralization and participation. Political willingness can be in terms of amount of resources devolved to the sub-government level. It can also mean availability of information to the people to enhance their capacity before the public participation forums. Communication of these information to the masses determines how well they will be informed to participate. Thirdly, building capacities of both citizens and local government officials is key to the success of decentralization and participation. Capacity building should first and foremost enlighten citizens to make better choices during elections. As noted from Uganda, leaders are mainly elected based on parties. This has mostly been the case in Kenya. The effect has been presence of leaders in office who have no capacity to guide the local citizens in participatory process. Accountability and transparency issues arise in such environments of confusion and weak institutions. The UNDP (2015) concludes that, the capacity challenge is enormous in the country. This lies among both national and county government because the devolved system in Kenya is a very complex. Therefore, the need to build policy, legal and institutional frameworks to guide in implementing the devolution system.

## CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

### Introduction

This chapter is going to describe extensively the methods used in data collection and analysis of the data collected from my field work in Elgeyo Marakwet County(EMC). The chapter will also give a brief description of the study area, target population and the instruments used in the data collection process. Finally, the chapter will look at the problems encountered in the field and how the researcher worked to overcome these problems.

### 4.1 Area of Study and Target Group

The study was done in Elgeyo Marakwet County which is one of the 47 counties in Kenya. Its headquarters are at Iten Town. The choice of Elgeyo Marakwet County was driven by the county's effort to ensure citizen participation in development by enacting the County Integrated Development Plan(CIDP) 2013-2017 and Elgeyo Marakwet the Equitable Development Act-2013 which would work towards ensuring that there is equitable sharing of resources among the 20 wards in the county. Most counties in Kenya have the County Integrated Development Plan(CIDP) which advocate for public participation in development planning. The county however has gone further and enacted the Equitable Development Act of 2015 that is to ensure equitable distribution of resources among different wards by looking at parameters such as: population, poverty index, county flagship projects, land area, Arid and Semi-Arid lands(ASAL), fiscal responsibilities and emergencies(EDA,2015). Development activities at the ward level would be undertaken under the guidance of Ward

Development Committees(WDCs). The county has four sub counties namely: Keiyo North, Keiyo South, Marakwet West and Marakwet East which also happen to be the constituencies of the county. The constituencies are further divided into smaller administrative units called wards. Elgeyo Marakwet has a total of 20 administrative



Figure 5: The Map of Elgeyo Marakwet County. Source Kenya Mpya (2016)

wards(CIDP EMC,2013) Elgeyo Marakwet is among the bottom six counties in terms of the amount of funds received from the national government to fund its expenditures (1.26%) of the total share going to counties. The county has a lot of development challenges as it was marginalized in the previous centralized system of governance. The poverty rate is very high with 57% of the population in the county living below the poverty line (CIDP EMC,2013).

As per the Kenyan National Population and Housing Census in 2009, the population of Elgeyo Marakwet County was 370,712 but through projections, the population was estimated to be around 435,906 as per 2015 with a population growth rate of 2.7% per annum. With increased population over the years there has been increased pressure on the natural resources as well as the social amenities. This has led to increased calls for investment in economic and social facilities such as health, education, Information and Communication Technology(ICT), agriculture, livestock farming, among others.

The labor force age group (15-64) years comprises of 49.7% of the total population. On Human Development Index(HDI), 57% of the people live below the poverty line compared to the national average of 46% and it is even higher in the Kerio valley where 67% live below the poverty line. Agriculture is the main source of income for the majority of the citizens in the county with 76% of the population relying on agriculture. The main food crops grown are maize, wheat, Irish potatoes and beans while cash crops are coffee, pyrethrum and tea. Livestock reared include cattle, sheep, goats and pigs. Other agricultural activities are bee-keeping and poultry. The total area under food crop farming is 88,639.3Ha and cash crop farming is 4003.74Ha. with some parts of the county being Arid and Semi-Arid Lands(ASAL), the main area under irrigation is 6070Ha mainly in Arror and Korober.

The salaried population stands at about 35% who mainly work in the civil service or private sector. Those under self-employment stand at 75% in the rural areas and 25% in urban areas. Unemployment rate is over 50% of the population which can be attributed to aridity in parts of the county and lack of economic diversification.

## **4.2 Research Design**

According to Yin (2009), a research design is a “logical plan of getting from here to there: where *here* are the research questions and *there* is the conclusion about these questions”.

This study was exploring the mechanisms, strengths and weaknesses experienced by the county government of Elgeyo Marakwet in rolling out participatory development in the county. The study employed case study and qualitative method of data collection methods. This approach would help in understanding what changes have been noted with the shift from centralized to a decentralized system of governance. Secondly explore the strategies that the county government has put in place to ensure that citizens who were initially marginalized have a role to play in needs identification, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of development projects within their locality. Thirdly the partnerships between the government and other actors in a bid to improve service delivery in different sectors of the economy. Lastly the strengths that have been realized with the new system of governance in terms of citizen participation, challenges encountered in trying to roll out fully the participatory development approach and how the government is working to deal with the challenges. The case study method was therefore appropriate in order to obtain in-depth information of mechanisms, strengths and challenges experienced in the new system of governance with regards to participatory development.

By taking a qualitative approach, it allowed the respondents to share all the information with regards to my questions. The respondents had no time limitations to answer the questions. The use of case study and taking a qualitative approach was therefore appropriate to ensure that the study captures the real picture of the participatory development mechanisms in the county from both the county government officials as well as from the civil society organizations. This therefore would be easier to analyze with the presented theories of participation and decentralization (George and Bennett, 2004).

#### **4.3 The Sampling Method and the Sample Size**

This study used a purposive sampling method to select informants in Elgeyo Marakwet County. According to Bryman (2012) purposive sampling is done with reference to the research questions of the study. The participants are sampled using a criterion that will help in answering the set research questions. Since I was exploring the mechanisms, strengths and weaknesses of rolling out participatory development in Elgeyo Marakwet county by the new government, my key informants had to have knowledge on

participatory development and planning in the county. Therefore, my key informants on government's plans on public participation were the Director of Public Participation and Civic Education and the Director of Economic Planning in the county. By choosing the two government officials, I would gather data on how the government is working to enhance citizen participation. To ensure that I did not just collect information from the government side, I added participants from two NGOs in the county, Keiyo North Community Based Rehabilitation (KNCBR) an organization for People with Disabilities (PWDs) and Kerio Center for Community Development and Human Rights (KCCDHR).

Collecting the information from both the government and society side would enhance credibility of the research by comparing the data gathered from both institutions. For PWDs, I had three participants, one official of the organization and the other two were people living with disabilities from the county, who happened to be in the PWD offices at the time of the interview. For the NGO dealing with public participation, the informants were both officials of the organization. Taking PWDs as my informants, this was guided by the notion that this group according to the constitution of Kenya is regarded as one of the marginalized groups together women and youth. Being the representative organization of PWDs in the county, the data collected would give an insight on PWDs in the county and their experience on public participation. Finally, KCCDHR would provide me with data from their activities on public participation from the society side.



Name	Sex	Age(years )	Title and Organization
Kilimo Rutto	Male	38	Director of Public Participation and Civic Education- Elgeyo Marakwet County
John Maritim	Male	38	Director of Economic Planning – Elgeyo Marakwet County
Timothy Kiprono	Male	29	Programs Officer- Governance and Social Development-Kerio Center for Community Development and Human Rights(KCCDHR)
Emmanuel Kongin	Male	29	Assistant Programs Officer- Governance and Social Development-Kerio Center for Community Development and Human Rights(KCCDHR)
Joseph Rono	Male	63	Chairperson- Keiyo North Community Based Rehabilitation(KNCBR)
Julian Adhiambo	Female	40	Member- Keiyo North Community Based Rehabilitation (KNCBR)
Patrick Kurui	Male	58	Member- Keiyo North Community Based Rehabilitation (KNCBR)

My sample size therefore comprised of seven informants both from the government and the society. The table above provides a summary of the respondents, name, age, sex, the positions and organizations they represent

#### **4.4 Data Collection Procedure**

The data for my study was collected using primary and secondary sources of information. The primary data was collected through semi-structured interviews. The choice of this data collection method was guided by the nature of the information I needed which was qualitative in nature. I used open ended questions which would make sure that the respondents were not limited to the amount of information they would give for each of the questions in the interview guide. The questions were prepared before the interview based on the research questions and objectives of the study. Other questions arose during the interviews when clarification of information was needed from the respondents. The main reason for choosing this method was because I wanted to understand and gather deep information with regards to the interview questions. Furthermore, these interviews were recorded because it was hard to maintain the flow of the interview and jot down

notes. So I chose to record the interviews and do transcription of the interviews which would be my guide for the analysis section of the study.

The interviews with government officials were done individually. For the PWDs, the interview was done in presence of other respondents who contributed in providing information. The KCCDHR interview was done in presence of one other respondent who is also an official of the organization and contributed to the interview partially. All the interviews were done once and there were no repeated interviews with the respondents. Secondary data for my study was mainly retrieved from the county development papers and also parliament policy papers. They included the County Integrated Development Plan(CIDP) 2013-2017, the Annual Development Plan(ADP)2015-2016 and the Elgeyo Marakwet Equitable Development Act(EDA)-2015. All these documents were accessible and downloadable from the county's official website.

#### **4.5 Data Analysis**

The collected data was analyzed qualitatively by looking at the major themes that arose from the data collected. The study therefore used thematic analysis which was guided both by the research questions and objectives, and the interview questions which were used to obtain information from the informants. Information was put into different categories and key themes and subthemes that emerged were taken as the main units of analysis. Content analysis and direct quotations from the respondents were thus taken into consideration in coming up with the main themes that arose from the study.

#### **4.6 Limitations of the Study and Challenges Encountered**

This study was only limited to finding out what the County Government of Elgeyo Marakwet is doing to enhance active participation of its citizens in development projects and programmes, the strengths from taking this approach and the challenges encountered in this process. On looking at the society side, the information gathered does not represent the whole of Elgeyo Marakwet county but mainly PWDs in and around Iten town. The information also does not represent other marginalized groups such as women and youth groups. The findings can therefore not be generalized as a true picture of the situation in the entire Elgeyo Marakwet county because of the small sample used especially for the marginalized groups.

One of the challenges encountered during the study was the lack of appearance by two government officials I had scheduled to interview: The Deputy Governor and The County Executive Committee(CEC) for Finance. This limited the amount of perspectives I need to base my findings. The second challenge was repetition of information given by PWDs which led to the interview lasting longer than anticipated. The final challenge was lack of information from a youth group and therefore their input would not be included in the analysis of this study

Despite the minor challenges encountered while in the field, I was able to gather data to analyze and conclude my study.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS**

### **5.1 Introduction**

This section presents, the legal frameworks and funding mechanisms for counties, the process of public participation and mechanisms of participation, devolution and public participation in EMC, service delivery in the county and an evaluation of public participation in the county using Arnstein's (1969) ladder of public participation. The chapter will therefore aim at answering the study's research questions which are: What mechanisms have been put in place in Elgeyo Marakwet County as a result of devolution? how has devolution affected public participation in Elgeyo Marakwet County, how has devolution affected service delivery in Elgeyo Marakwet County and has Citizen Participation been enhanced in EMC with regards to Arnstein's level of participation framework?

### **5.2 Legal Frameworks and Funding Mechanisms**

The new constitution promulgated in 2010 brought into being the devolved system of governance in Kenya. As presented in the County Government Act of 2012, Part VIII(b) citizen participation in the county government should be based on: "reasonable access to the process of formulating and implementing policies, laws, and regulations, including the approval of development proposals, projects and budgets, the granting of permits and the establishment of specific performance standard."

Therefore, as is expected by the law, all county governments have to engage the people in the decision making process of development issues. Public participation has been enhanced in the new system with the enactment of different Policy Acts. The Public Finance Management(PFM) Act of 2012(125) stipulates that in the county government budget process, the governments should be able to come up with long and medium term integrated development plans. The PFM Act concludes the section by stating that the County Executive Committee(CEC) for finance should ensure that there is public participation in the budget process. Elgeyo Marakwet County, just like most of the counties, came up with the medium development plan: County Integrated Development Plan (CIDP) 2013-2017, a five-year development plan. The CIDP contains all the development projects that the local government plans to work on during the five years.

Article 107(2b) of the PFM Act stipulates that “over the medium term a minimum of thirty percent of the county government’s budget shall be allocated to the development expenditure”. Therefore, when projects are plucked from the CIDP for annual planning, the county government has to ensure that 30% of total revenue: which comprises of devolved funds and local revenue is directed towards development expenditure.

Article 215 of the constitution on Revenue Allocation outlines that a Commission on Revenue Allocation(CRA) be established whose main function is to “make recommendations concerning the basis for the equitable sharing of revenue raised by the national government; (a) between national governments and county governments and (b) among county governments.” Article 217 gives the Senate the responsibility to determine a basis for allocating counties their share of national resources with consideration of recommendations from the CRA. The first resource sharing formula for 2012-2015 and the CRA recommended formula for 2016-2018 is outlined in table 2.

**Table 2: Source CRA (2014)**

Parameters	Current Formula in %(1 <sup>st</sup> )	CRA Recommended Formula in % (2 <sup>nd</sup> )
Population	45	45
Equal Share	25	25
Poverty	20	18
Land Area	8	8
Fiscal Responsibility	2	1
Development Factor	-	1
Personnel Emoluments Factor	-	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

On the resources to be devolved to the counties, Article 203(2) of the Kenyan constitution stipulates that, *“for every financial year, the equitable share of the revenue raised nationally that is allocated to county governments shall be not less than fifteen per cent of all revenue collected by the national government.”* It goes further in Section 3 and

explains that the raised revenue has to be audited by the Auditor General and approved by the National Assembly. It is this audited revenue that is sharable between the central and county governments.

### **5.3 The Process of Public Participation in EMC and Mechanisms of Participation**

According to the EMC's Director of Public Participation and Civic Education, Kilimo Rutto (Personal Communication, 18<sup>th</sup> February 2016), the CIDP is the result of citizen participation. This means that all the development projects in the CIDP are a result of involvement of the public in identification of needs in their localities and then all these projects are pooled to come up with the CIDP. The county has an Annual Development Plan (ADP) which contains different development projects that the local government seeks to achieve in a particular financial year. These yearly development projects are plucked from the CIDP. Citizen participation is therefore very visible in this case as the law stipulates that, before the projects are presented in the CIDP, they should be identified and presented by the citizens. The tool used to communicate these needs by the citizens is the public forums (barazas). These projects are then approved and documented as the officially approved CIDP

After the projects have been identified, the government works on the fiscal planning of the budget at the same time looking at the most pressing development challenges that need to be tackled first. Like in many development instances the needs presented are very many vis-à-vis the resources available. Therefore, this calls for the need to prioritize the development projects. According to EMC's Director of Public Participation and Civic Education, Kilimo Rutto (Personal Communication, 18<sup>th</sup> February 2016), this is one of the main challenges that the EMC government faces in the participatory forums. Different people have different needs and sometimes a compromise has to be reached to ensure that the government starts working on different projects. He adds that in the past, some projects have taken long to complete because so many mini-projects are initiated with little funding making them stall along the way. He gives examples of cases where Early Childhood Development (ECD) classes take long to complete because funds were divided

among different projects leading to lack of enough funds to complete some projects. The county government with the help of Ward Development Committees (WDCs) work with the citizens to ensure that consultations are held with regards to prioritization of development projects.

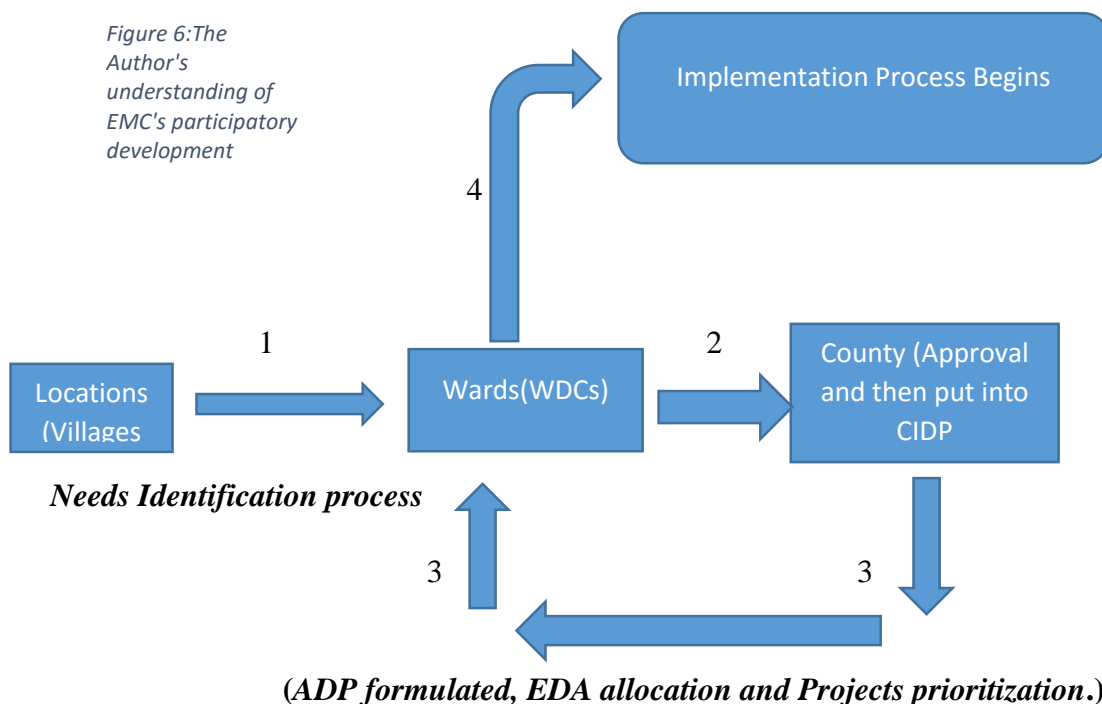
However, it is important to note that the Governor of the county has a manifesto of projects which he has to work on during his term in office. Therefore, according to the EMC Director of Economic Planning, John Maritim (Personal Communication, 19<sup>th</sup> February 2016), the projects that the government works on are not only those decided by the people but also those that the county government views as important for development of the county. These are projects present in the governor's manifesto. The Program Officer for Governance and Social Development, Timothy Kiprono, from Kerio Center for Community Development and Human Rights-KCCDHR (Personal Communication, 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2016) however argues that the development achieved in the county has had little goodwill to engage with the people but political mileage<sup>1</sup>. He further explains that, *"Things have happened that even the public appreciates, roads have been constructed etc. as much as we still lack the good will to embrace public participation, but we are heading there"*. Quality decisions are made because of policy makers' incentives to remain in office. The willingness of government to engage the people remains a key challenge in the development participation.

The participatory process in the county is well defined according to the EMC's Director of Economic Planning, John Maritim (Personal Communication, 19<sup>th</sup> February 2016). The old system of governance comprised from the lowest administrative units: villages, sub-locations, locations, divisions, districts, province and finally the country. In the new system, from the lowest unit is the village, wards, sub-counties, counties and the country. However, the locations from the previous system are still used. One of the key plans in the CIDP, is to have Ward Development Committees(WDCs) and Village Development Committees(VDCs) which would enhance government service delivery all the way to the

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<sup>1</sup> Political mileage in this context has been used to mean that, those elected into offices are able to steer the county towards development without intensive engagement with citizens. However, development is realized, the citizens are happy and they therefore elect these leaders again because of their development track record.

village level. However as Maritim explains, the term *village* is not defined in the constitution and therefore there is a lack of parameters in determining what is a village. This however does not prevent public participation from the lowest level. The government has taken locations as the lowest administrative units to represent villages. The public participation forums therefore start with the location where people converge and come up with development projects that are needed in their location. So when the participatory meetings are held at the ward level, the issues in the village level have already been sorted out and this ensures that no village has been left out and they have the chance to give their priorities. The village level will be activated when the Constitution Implementation Commission(CIC) a body tasked with assisting county governments in interpreting and implementation of the new constitution, comes up with a precise definition of what a village is.



EMC's Director of Economic Planning, John Maritim, (Personal Communication 19<sup>th</sup> February 2016) concludes that, in terms of citizen participation, the devolved system of governance has created a new role for the citizens. Previously the government had the



District Development Plan(DDP) that built up to the National Development Plan(NDP). The DDP worked mainly with need identification at the district level. This was the only phase that included citizen participation, the decision making and implementation process was left to the government. The change in system has therefore seen increased role of citizens in the development projects not just need identification but even to implementation and impact assessment.

#### **5.3.1 Mechanisms that have been put in place in EMC**

One mechanism undertaken by the county in ensuring that citizen participation has been enhanced is the passing of the Equitable Development Act (EDA) of 2015 by the EMC County Assembly. EDA's main objective is to ensure that there is equitable distribution of development resources across all the 20 wards in the county. The Act uses a formula similar to the one used by CRA, to determine resources to be shared among the counties. The following are the parameters to be used in distribution of resources among the twenty wards in EMC. First 60% of the development funds will be divided equally among the 20 wards. The remaining 40% will be divided as follows:

- 1) 38% shall be allocated in accordance with the population;
- 2) 23% shall be allocated in accordance with County flagship projects;
- 3) 22% shall be shared according to poverty index in the wards;
- 4) 8% shall be shall be allocated in accordance in accordance with the land area;
- 5) 5% shall be allocated for emergencies;
- 6) 2% shall be allocated in accordance with the fiscal responsibility
- 7) 2% shall be allocated to Arid and Semi-Arid Lands - (ASAL).

EDA deals with allocation of funds and this works together with the Annual Development Plan(ADP). The ADP contains different development projects in different wards. In this case the projects were determined through citizen participation. Due to limited resources to implement all the projects in different wards, the government works with citizens to ensure phase implementation and needs prioritization. The enactment of the Act was thus intended to ensure that all the wards have funds allocated to them and that citizens in

these wards participate in determining which development issues they want addressed by the government.

The second strategy was the creation of the office of The Director of Public Participation and Civic Education. This office was created five months ago. According EMC's Director of Public Participation and Civic Education, Kilimo Rutto, (Personal Communication, 18<sup>th</sup> February 2016), the main role of the office is to carry out civic education programmes. That is: educating the public about the matters regarding the constitution, devolution, development and scarcity of resources to carry out development. He adds that, most of the people in the county do not know what is in the constitution with regards to their rights to actively participate in development planning in their county. On capacity building, Rutto explains that, the office works on building capacity of the people into making informed decisions with regards to prioritization of needs. EMC's Director of Economic Planning, John Maritim, (Personal Communication 19<sup>th</sup> February 2016) also explains that the capacity building gives citizens information on what is their role in demanding services and what are the limitations of the implementers. therefore, there has to be engagement between the government and the citizens, so that the latter know the budget the government is working on and this can help them priorities their projects.

## **5.4 Devolution and Public Participation in EMC**

The following section presents the positives as well as problems experienced in EMC with regards to devolution and public participation.

### **5.4.1 Positive Aspects of Public Participation**

First, according to EMC's Director of Public Participation and Civic Education, Kilimo Rutto, (Personal Communication, 18<sup>th</sup> February 2016), decentralization has led to active engagement of the citizens in needs identification. This has been made possible by having the government closer to the people. The county government has different departments dealing with different issues in the county. The citizens are getting consulted and their needs being taken into consideration. According EMC's Director of Public Participation and Civic Education, Kilimo Rutto, (Personal Communication, 18<sup>th</sup> February 2016), EMC leads by example in terms of development in the health sector. He explains that all

medical centers now have at least one qualified personnel. He uses an example of an area called Tot where in case of a health issue the county executive in charge of Health can travel to Tot and have first experience on what is happening. This according to him was not the case in the previous system where the central government Minister of Health would send junior officers to the field offices as opposed to travelling there him/herself. The change thus can be seen with regards to implementers being closer to the projects they are working on.

Secondly, public participation has been very important in coming up with the medium development plan of the county: the CIDP. As it is stipulated by the constitution, when coming up with the plan, the CEC of Finance has to ensure that public participation is adhered to. According to EMC's Director of Public Participation and Civic Education, Kilimo Rutto, (Personal Communication, 18<sup>th</sup> February 2016) the CIDP was developed through consultations from the location, ward, sub-county and county level. The consultations start at the location level where the citizens bring forward their needs. The needs are harmonized to ensure that there is no duplication of projects before they are presented at the ward level. The consultations are also done when prioritizing development projects during resource allocation. These consultations on prioritization have led to phase implementations where key development issues are tackled first and others are moved to the next financial year. This has worked well with advice and help of the county government. EMC's Director of Economic Planning, John Maritim, . (Personal Communication, 19<sup>th</sup> February 2016) adds that, the most important part of public participation is that the citizens are involved in need identification, planning and budgeting phases. If the implementation phase is delayed, the blame lies solely on the implementers and not the citizens.

### **Challenges in participation**

Despite the county government working towards ensuring citizen's active participation in development, the following are the challenges that the county is facing.

#### **5.4.1 Problem of Capacity for participation**

The main challenge has been the capacity of people to participate actively in development. According to EMC's Director of Public Participation and Civic Education,

Kilimo Rutto, (Personal Communication, 18<sup>th</sup> February 2016) there is a difference in allowing the people to participate and having them participate meaningfully in development issues decision making process. People living close to urban centers are more knowledgeable and informed in matters of devolution compared to people living in Kerio Valley. The people are not used to taking part in decision making on development matters. As EMC's Director of Economic Planning, John Maritim, (Personal Communication, 19<sup>th</sup> February 2016) said, the people are not bothered in decision making because to them they are used to a system where everything is shouldered by the government. Over 70% of the people do not have the capacity to participate meaningfully in decision making. They therefore get intrigued when told the government have 100 million shillings, they take it as a lot of money that can solve all their development issues in the county. Previously, the people were not used to being consulted before a project was undertaken. They therefore take this new opportunity to present so many projects that the government cannot work on even in 5 years. The county government has therefore rolled out civic education and capacity building. Civic education has been undertaken mainly to help people understand not only devolution but also the Kenyan constitution.

Capacity building has to do with enhancing people's ability to meaningfully participate in the decision making process. This is because according to EMC's Director of Public Participation and Civic Education, Kilimo Rutto, (Personal Communication, 18<sup>th</sup> February 2016), the people are used to poverty and marginalization. The government has to bring into perspective the idea of cooperatives that try to build an enterprise mentality in the citizens. This is important in creation of opportunities for the people and also helps in raising government revenue. The national government has created enterprise funds kitties such as CDF, Uwezo Fund and Youth Fund which encourages enterprising where groups come up with projects and they get low interest loans from the government. However due to lack of capacity to utilize such opportunities, the funds remain unutilized and is returned to the national treasury at the end of a financial year. People are so carried away with white-collar jobs that they do not view enterprise startups or consultancies as job opportunities too. The county government is therefore helping build people's capacities to accept and take advantage of the many funds that can help improve their

livelihoods. Rutto, explains that *“we are trying to encourage the youths into groups to help them kick start businesses or companies. 30% of the tenders are supposed to go to youth and women, currently they are only doing 10% because many young people are not used to work. Encourage them to have tree nurseries, the county government buys the trees for them.”*

Secondly capacity building has to do with getting people to participate in decision making and also prioritization of needs. The funds from the central government and the revenue collected in the county is not sufficient to tackle all the development issues in the county. There is therefore the need to have phased implementation where the most crucial and urgent needs are tackled first. The capacity building thus had to do with encouraging people to actively participate in decision making and also prioritize these needs because of scarcity of resources. The capacity building also has to educate people to understand which functions have been devolved and which ones are still under the national government. Citizens know that they have the government close to them but do not know that the majority of the functions are still under the national government until the county governments build institutions that are able to handle these functions (EMC’s Director of Economic Planning, John Maritim, Personal Communication 19<sup>th</sup> February 2016).

According to Programs Officer-Governance and Social Development, Timothy Kiprono from Kerio Center for Community Development and Human Rights, (Personal Communication, 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2016), a lot has to be done with regards to capacity building projects. Having the same amount of resources across all the wards for capacity building leaves room for many questions. This is based on the fact that different wards have different development challenges: some are arid areas some are not, some have high poverty indices and some have low poverty indices. Capacity building according to EMC’s Director of Economic Planning, John Maritim, (Personal Communication ,19<sup>th</sup> February 2016) has to do with educating people what is expected of them in the new system, what they should expect from the government. Civic education on the other hand should be rolled out to ensure that people understand the positives and the limitations of the implementers.

The weakness of the capacity building as presented in the ADP 2015/2016 is that, it does not specify what the capacity building is meant for. This is supported by Assistant Programs Officer-Governance and Social Development, Emmanuel Kongin, Kerio Center for Community Development and Human Rights, (Personal Communication, 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2016) who claims that capacity building should be specific. Is capacity building to bee keeping, fish farming, animal husbandry, then building their capacity towards production, marketing and sales is well understandable. Having it general as just capacity building therefore makes it too broad and vague. If the capacity building is on public participation, then it should be said so because the capacities differ, the people in wards that have urban centers can easily access information on websites but those in very remote areas require personal guidance. Capacity building cannot be the same in all wards basing it on the realities on the ground.

#### **5.4.2 The Problem of Passing Information to the Public**

The other challenge is how information on participation is disseminated to the people. How do governments prepare the people to ensure that the citizens meaningfully participate in the decision making process? Very short notices are given on intended public participatory forums. They are the main tool of consultations between the county government and the citizens. Programs Officer-Governance and Social Development, Timothy Kiprono from Kerio Center for Community Development and Human Rights (Personal Communication, 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2016) explains that *“a good practice should be, first simplifying the technical information in a simple and easy to understand format, second give them a week to digest the documents and prepare. Authorities should have some discussions in the local radio and TVs stations and discuss this information prior to the public forum. So that the public can internalize the document, people will come knowing what is in the paper.”* The government should therefore give people ample time to first analyze the information given before going to the participatory forums. Simplification of the documents to an easy to understand language would therefore greatly enhance citizen participation.

#### **5.4.3 Problems tied to Funding and Lack of Resources**

Another challenge is the scarcity of resources both from the national government and the revenue collected within the county. Of the resources that are sent to the 47 counties by the central government in the 2015/16 financial year, only 3.1 billion shillings (1.26%) goes to Elgeyo Marakwet County. This means that a lot of development projects have to be phased because only 30% of these funds and local revenue collected, goes to development expenditure. Agriculture is a devolved function and being one key pillar of the economy it means a lot of funds goes to agriculture. These funds are part of the 30% set aside for development expenditure. The county has also not been able to acquire all the staff it needs to run its functions because of shortage of funds. The county government's plan was to have staff down to the village level but due to lack of resources, this target cannot be achieved in the near future. The government is currently working on enforcing the Ward Development Committees(WDCs) because that is what it can be able to enhance with the funds available. EMC's Director of Economic Planning, John Maritim, (Personal Communication 19<sup>th</sup> February 2016) linked this to the high expectations from the public that has seen so many projects in the CIDP. The expectations are very high but yet the allocations are very low.

To help lessen the issue of inadequate resources, the county government of EMC has built partnerships to help in implementing some projects. On capacity building the county government is partnering with United States Agency for International Development(USAID), under the Uraia Trust Civic Education Program, to assist in provision of printouts and other materials that are used in capacity building forums. The Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) is working with the county government in capacity building for county government staff on issues such as public image, customer care and other specific skill. GIZ is also working with youth empowerment programmes in the county. World Vision is working in collaboration with the county government to provide better medical equipment to reduce maternal mortality as well as child mortality.

#### **5.4.4 Problems of Expectations and Devolved Functions**

EMC's Director of Economic Planning, John Maritim, (Personal Communication 19<sup>th</sup> February 2016) claims that the expectations of devolution were very high. Citizens in different counties understood it as an instantaneous process while in the real sense it is a process that takes time. Through civic education therefore, the people would thus understand what the devolution process is about and what is expected of them and the government.

Another challenge is the differentiation between county and central government functions. The people have not been educated to differentiate county and national government functions. The county government therefore tackles a certain challenge and gets the help from the national government. EMC's Director of Economic Planning, John Maritim, (Personal Communication 19<sup>th</sup> February 2016) says *"to them any public officer: county or national government, the public will ask about issues. So you cannot tell them away that you cannot deal with that it is for the central government. We encounter that when we are doing public participation. There should have been a civic education to the public on the roles that have been designated to the central and county government."*

#### **5.4.5 The Role of Politicians in Public Participation**

According to the study, county leaders play an important role in enhancing citizen participation in their areas of representation. Each ward is represented in the county assembly by the Member of the County Assembly(MCA). According EMC's Director of Public Participation and Civic Education, Kilimo Rutto, (Personal Communication, 18<sup>th</sup> February 2016), not all MCAs are the same. Some wards have well informed leaders that help the citizens in making critical decisions. The difference in wards is that, some are in urban centers while others are in very rural settings. It becomes a challenge in the latter when the MCA and a few elites are the only experienced people. This creates room for personal interests as the citizens are confused about the whole system of participation. Rutto thinks bad politics thrive in confusion. This kind of confusion might lead to lack of meaningful participation because a few political leaders and local elites take control of the participatory process. This is done mainly for selfish gains and such politicians are afraid to have people become well-informed because that means that they will vote in



good leaders to replace them. Leaders are therefore very important in enhancing or preventing public participation.

#### **5.4.6 Problems of Marginal Groups**

According to (Personal Communication, Chairperson- Keiyo North Community Based Rehabilitation(KNCBR), Joseph Rono, 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2016), PWDs are still marginalized and they have not had much positive changes in the new system of governance. He claims that the government has not done a follow up with regards to their access to buildings because most of public facilities are not friendly to people with disabilities. On development projects he talks about poultry, livestock keeping and starting of a home-craft project as some of the basic projects that have been started for PWDs by the government. However, lack of enough funding being channeled into these projects has seen collapse of projects after sometime. Julian Adhiambo a member of Keiyo North Community Based Rehabilitation(KNCBR), (Personal Communication, 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2016), adds that, she got assistance from the government and got a hair dressing machine but that was all. She has not been able to open her hair dressing shop because she does not have any funds to buy any materials needed in the shop. The problem therefore is not lack of assistance from the government but full assistance to ensure that everything needed to start these projects is available. Joseph therefore concludes that; the disabled people need more follow-up by the projects until they are able to cater for themselves.

### **5.5 Service Delivery and Devolution in EMC**

#### **5.5.1 Enhanced Efficiency and Proximity to Citizens**

According to the EMC government officials, since moving into the devolved system, service delivery has been enhanced, even if not to the level that they would have wished. First, the county government has devolved functions further to the sub-county and ward levels. These levels have administrators who are representatives of the county government. According to EMC's Director of Public Participation and Civic Education, Kilimo Rutto, (Personal Communication, 18<sup>th</sup> February 2016), this is time and cost effective because citizens who have issues needed to be presented to the county government do not have to travel to Iten; where the county government offices are, to present these issues. They can access the sub-county or ward offices and be able to engage

the county government through these administrators. If the issues are not considered, then the citizens can go to the county government offices as the last resort. EMC's Director of Economic Planning, John Maritim, (Personal Communication 19<sup>th</sup> February 2016) adds that service to the people does not have to do with distance but having a communication channel on which the people can use to pass information to relevant bodies. Creating of offices at lower levels has therefore enhanced communication between the county government and the people.

#### **5.5.2 Devolution of Line Ministries and improvements in service delivery**

Secondly, the need for service delivery has seen devolution of government departments especially in Information and Communication Technology(ICT), agriculture and education. ICT services have not yet got to the ward level but they are at the sub-county level. This means that government ICT services can now be accessed at the sub-county level. Extension officers are stationed in every ward because agriculture is a key pillar of not only of the county's economic but also the Kenyan economy as a whole. Therefore, farmers in need of veterinary services have access to veterinary extension officers at the ward level. Early Childhood Development(ECD) is one of the few devolved functions and therefore is solely under the county government. The county therefore has officers at the ward level who deal with matters pertaining to ECDs. The department of education can therefore be engaged all the way from the county to the ward level. The county has ten youth polytechnics and target to have twenty polytechnics, one in every ward. The government is therefore striving to push service delivery into the wards and further into the village but is impossible at the moment due to funds constraints EMC's Director of Public Participation and Civic Education, Kilimo Rutto, (Personal Communication, 18<sup>th</sup> February 2016)

#### **5.5.3 The EDA and service delivery**

Service delivery has further been enhanced by enactment of the Equitable Development Act(EDA) 2015. This Act seeks to ensure equal distribution of resources from the county to the ward level. Presence of ward administrators means that they can coordinate how these funds are utilized in the specific wards. They act as a communication channel between the county government and the people. As stipulated by the constitution, the 30%

of the devolved funds should go to development projects, the remainder goes to the county's recurrent expenditure (PFM Act, 2012, Article 107(2b)). EDA's aim is to ensure these development funds are equitably allocated among the wards. The projects that these funds will be put into are decided in a participatory manner. The projects are plucked from the CIDP and then discussed with the citizens of a specific ward. The discussions are mainly done in a bid to prioritize the needs at the ward level. All this is done with the help of the ward administrators in collaboration with the county government. Therefore, the people decide whether they want to invest the money in water, bee keeping, fishing, roads, ECDs and so on. The new system has therefore enhanced service delivery as devolution of services further has moved government representatives close to the people.

EDA is a very positive Act in terms of enhancing equal distribution of resources but more has to be done to amend the parameters used in distributing these resources. According to Programs Officer-Governance and Social Development, Timothy Kiprono from Kerio Center for Community Development and Human Rights (Personal Communication, 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2016), equality is about equal development realized in all the wards. If one ward enjoys 100% access to water and another 2%, more funds should go to the one experiencing shortage, but according to the Act, large percentage of development funds (60%) are shared equally among the wards and very little (40%) is left for other underlying development challenges related to population size, aridity or poverty index. Kiprono argues that this is leading to the 'marginalization' of wards that are already marginalized. Distribution of resources should be according to the need. For 2015/2016 financial year, the development funds to the county wards range from 34 million to 45 million shillings. Ironically Aror Ward having the highest poverty index (86.4%) receives the lowest of the funds at 34 million shillings, while Kapchemutwo with the lowest poverty index (24.1%) receives 40 million shillings (Personal Communication EMC's Director of Economic Planning, John Maritim, 19<sup>th</sup> February 2016) therefore believes that there should be amendment to the Act if it really has to address the issue of inequality among the wards. The largest portion of the funds should be allocated depending on specific needs of the wards as opposed to having it equally distributed among the wards.

Programs Officer-Governance and Social Development, Timothy Kiprono from Kerio Center for Community Development and Human Rights (Personal Communication, 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2016) attributes the lack of inequality in distribution to competition among the Members of County Assembly (MCAs). They are more inclined to see their wards allocated equal share as opposed to ensuring that the poorest wards have more funds to address those needs. Amendments to EDA is therefore important in ensuring that the poorest wards have a slightly larger share of resources to address their development challenges.

The tables below present the estimated amount of resources the county receives from the central government, the revenue collected in the county and the share of county funds that is set aside for development resources both at the ward and county levels.

**Table 3: 2016-17 Resource Envelope Estimates. Source ADP 2016/2017**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Resource Type</b>	<b>Amount(Kshs.)</b>
1.	Central Government Transfers (CRA Share)	3,191,548,394
2.	Local Revenue	190,500,000
<b>Total</b>		<b>3,382,048,394</b>
3.	Development Share	1,103,974,859
4.	Asset Financing	576,312,473
<b>Development Grand Total</b>		<b>1,680,287,332</b>

**Table 4: Allocations for wards and county projects. Source ADP 2016/2017**

<b>Allocations</b>	<b>Amount</b>
Ward Projects	813,537,332
County Projects	290,437,527
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,103,974,859</b>
County Projects through Asset Financing	576,312,473
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>1,680,287,332</b>

#### **5.5.4 Marginal Groups Being Excluded**

However, Joseph Rono a representative with a People with Disabilities(PWDs) organization the EMC believes that more has to be done with regards to opening of offices at the sub-county and ward level. The PWDs are represented in one sub-county of Keiyo North but there is the need to devolve these services to the sub-county level to ensure that the people are able to access services there too.

The PWDs office headed by Joseph Rono is a voluntary office with no salaries or allowances. Rono argues that, PWDs need help to acquire land and also construct decent offices. There is a need for assistance to get better conditions to cater for the needs of the PWDs. Elgeyo Marakwet being very famous for world record beaters in athletics only means that PWDs can take advantage of this high altitude training to take part in Paralympics, however this should be done with the help from the government.

On the issues of capacity building, representatives of PWDs believe that a lot has to be done to motivate them to take part in development projects. However, the marginalization starts with gaps in the constitution where women and youth are entitled “*access to relevant training, have opportunities to be represented and participate in political, social, economic and other spheres of life*” but PWDs do not have this entitlement. This creates some marginalization because, women, youth and PWDs are all referred to as marginalized groups in the Kenyan constitution. According to Kipkoskei Kurui a member of Keiyo North Community Based Rehabilitation, (Personal Communication, 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2016) claims that they are to be given a priority because of their disability. He concludes by saying that physically disable people can work well if they are motivated and not pitied: if they are given an opportunity to participate in governance, employment and other economic activities.

#### **5.6 Has Devolution Enhanced Public Participation – Using Arnstein’s Framework**

Finally, on the level of participation in the county with regards to the Sherry Arnstein’s ladder of participation, the county has done well in enhancing citizen participation. The level of participation according to the study falls under consultation phase. According to Arnstein (1969), in this phase, the citizens are informed of their rights, duties and

responsibilities. The information is passed to the citizens and they are allowed to give a feedback and opinions. From the findings of the study, the county government is working on civic education and capacity building for the citizens. This is the first step towards enhancing participation. Having a CIDP that is based on the needs identified by the citizens shows that there have been consultations between the government and the local citizens. This can be attributed to both the county government's effort to engage the people as well as the requirement placed by constitution that county governments and citizens have to take part in the consultation process before final medium or long term development plans are drawn. With capacity of the citizens built, then they can be able to be placed in development committees within the county. This however will take time as the county government is currently working on capacity building to enhance consultations and engagement with the citizens of EMC.

The future of Elgeyo Marakwet County looks very promising but face a lot of challenges with regards to citizen capacity, political goodwill and inclusion of all groups in participation. Despite being one of the counties working on a very low budget due to the resources received from the national government and also revenue collected, the county has made great strides especially in health. EMC's Director of Public Participation and Civic Education, Kilimo Rutto, (Personal Communication, 18<sup>th</sup> February 2016) says *"I think to a very good degree, devolution has done this country good. For the first time, people are experiencing what they have not experienced before. Apart from Elgeyo Marakwet county, I just ask myself, when in the centralized system, would Turkana<sup>2</sup> have received 10 billion shillings. I think devolution is what Kenya needed, if we had this 50 years ago, we would be very far. Because I can just imagine the number of projects we have done in Elgeyo Marakwet, roads we have done, the number of ECDs we have built, in every sub-county we have an ICT center courtesy of 3 billion shillings for this financial year"* Citizen participation has not reached to the level that is expected according to EMC's Director of Economic Planning, John Maritim, (Personal Communication 19<sup>th</sup> February 2016) but having devolution as a process means that full participation takes time

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<sup>2</sup> Turkana is the poorest county in Kenya with a poverty index of 89.7% but with the devolved system, the county receives over ten billion shillings as devolved resources from the central government.

especially in a society where capacity of the people to participate is very low. Programs Officer-Governance and Social Development, Timothy Kiprono from Kerio Center for Community Development and Human Rights, (Personal Communication, 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2016) concludes that *EMC is the first county to have a Director of Public Participation and Civic Education. The Economic Forum and County budget all function making it a unique county. The development has seen citizens from the neighboring Uasin Gishu county travel to EMC to seek health services because of better quality of healthcare. EMC is getting very little revenue and the fact that it is using this revenue to meet immediate needs of the public. The EDA is one of a kind and without it they would be far behind, for them to move at a fast rate there needs to be some amendments to the distribution so that it is actually equal. EMC is disadvantaged in resources because they raise very little and receive very little from the central government, it is in the bottom five among counties receiving very little resources.*

## **5.7 Discussion**

This section seeks to link the research questions, theoretical framework and findings of the study. The discussion will focus on the main themes that arose from the data collection phase. The main themes include decentralization and public participation, service delivery by the county government, capacity building for both citizens and government staff, local partnerships, accountability and transparency, local elite capture of the participation process and availability of resources.

### **5.7.1 Decentralization and participation.**

The study shows that devolution of governance to the county government has been welcomed by both the county officials and the local citizens. Elgeyo Marakwet County being one of the counties that was highly marginalized since independence by the central government is now enjoying some level of autonomy and accessing resources to work on development projects within its area of jurisdiction. Despite enjoying a degree of autonomy, the county remains on the lower end in terms of devolved funds that it receives from the national government to carrying out its functions (1.26% of total allocations to the 47 counties).

According to Rondinelli et al (1983) a majority of the countries in the developing world stuck with a centralized system after independence in a bid to bring cohesion and national building in post-colonial era. However, they started decentralizing their systems of governance in the 1970s and 1980s due to dissatisfaction with national governments' administration and planning. They further explain that the main objective of development policies is not only to raise the standards of living of the poor but also ensure economic growth that would ensure that the benefits are equitably distributed across all segments of society. From the history of devolution in Kenya it is evident that there has been a lot of efforts to move to a decentralized system even prior to independence but all these efforts were frustrated by the government. Even in cases where there has been decentralization in terms of delegation or deconcentrating, the central government still held a lot of power over these decentralized units. Decentralization push was to ensure de-marginalization of some regions and communities. Proponents blamed lack of responsiveness of the government to the needs of the people for the wide spread wave of marginalization where some regions developed faster than others.

This push for decentralization can be linked with proximity of the government to the citizens and improving responsiveness of the government to the needs of the people. Fumihiko (2011) argued that closeness of the government to the people enhances its response to the needs of the people because it can easily evaluate and engage with the people. This proximity also means that people can actively and directly engage with the government on matters of development in their localities. The findings of the study clearly show that the county government in coming up with the CIDP, engaged with the people to ensure that what is in the document is the real needs of the people. The county is also working on implementing EDA that has led to formation of Ward Development Committees(WDCs) which will further increase the proximity of government representatives at the ward level.

By comparing proximity of central and decentralized governments to the citizens, Barrett et al (2007) emphasize that a centralized government is unable to provide goods and services across the country efficiently and effectively where needs differ across the country and therefore need for decentralized government. This is also presented by



Rondinelli et al (1983) as a reason why implementers sought to use a different strategy to implement development policies because of the failure to do so from a central unit. Gravingholt et al (2006) support the argument that, having a local government improves provision of goods and services because the government has the knowledge on what the needs are at the local level which is made possible by being close to the people. From the study, the interview with the Director of Economic Planning shows that the county government has devolved services such as ICT, agriculture and ECDs to the sub-county and ward level through having its staff in these areas. This greatly will enhance the provision of goods and services because it saves time and money as the services and goods are readily available.

White (2001) acknowledges that having a decentralized system can enhance equity in distribution of resources across the county. This is made possible by having a body that ensures all the local authorities within the country access funds that are able to carry out development activities within their areas of jurisdiction. Oakley (1995) adds that if this approach is followed, then in the long-term there can be increased development coverage especially rural areas that have formerly been marginalized in favor of urban centers. Elgeyo Marakwet being a very rural county has worked towards ensuring equity in distribution of resources across the wards by enacting the EDA. The Act aims at ensuring devolution of funds further into the wards depending on their different needs. By using a formula set by the County Assembly, the Act works towards ensuring that all the wards equally acquire development funds to implement development projects within their wards. These projects are picked from the CIDP and put into the Annual Development Plan(ADP). Despite enactment and implementation of this Act, it has not actively led to equity in distribution of resources as the poorest ward(Arror) receives 34 million shillings compared to the richest ward(Kapchemutwo) that receives 40 million shillings. However, there was a mutual recommendation among the respondents that the Act need amendments because having a large percentage of the development funds allocated equally (60%) means that very little is left to be divided on the basis of contextual issues such as aridity of the area and poverty indices. The Act is thus a good start towards ensuring equity in distribution of resources across the ward but it needs fine tuning.

The EMC government's effort to enhance citizen capacity led to the creation of a post of Director and Public Participation and Civic Education in the county. Civic education in this case can mean educating the people on their rights and responsibilities and the role of the county government as expected by the constitution. Capacity building on the other hand refers to the development and strengthening of human and institutional resources. The two terminologies are therefore interrelated when trying to develop citizens' abilities in the participation process. The study shows that the county government is struggling with citizen participation because majority are used to not participating in any way. The government has capacity building projects in all the 20 wards in the 2015/2016 Annual Development Plan. Some respondents asserted that capacity building would be better understood if it was specific, capacity building to do what? Participation, fish farming, bee keeping, fishing, effective irrigation. Another issue that came up was the technicality of some development projects and the information provided to the citizens prior to the participation forums was also very technical. Simplification of the information would therefore enhance the capacity of the people to participate because they would understand all the information presented. Gaventa and Valderrama (1999) conclude that, a government willing to involve the people should provide all the information they need to meaningfully participate.

### **5.7.2 Political Leaders, Local Elites and Transparency**

On the role played by political leaders and local elites, one risk of decentralization has been the fear of capture of the governance and participation process by the local elites. This is driven by selfish personal interests at the expenses of the local populace (Gravingholt et al, 2007). In the study, it is evident that local politicians play a key role in the development and participation process. Some wards in Elgeyo Marakwet are very rural and therefore very few people are well informed on the public participation expectations by the new constitution. According to my respondents, this is where local elites can dominate the process because dominance thrives well when there is confusion. Politicians also raise expectations among the citizens which in turn leads to unrealistic demands from the people that the county government cannot be able to meet (Personal Communication, EMC's Director of Public Participation and Civic Education, Kilimo Rutto, 18<sup>th</sup> February 2016)

This issue of dominance of the local elite and politicians can be directly linked to accountability and transparency. Proponents of decentralization pointed to accountability and transparency issues as one of the rationales for decentralizing governance. The reason for this is, proximity of the government means that the citizens can scrutinize the activities of the government and ensure that goods and services are delivered diligently (Fumihiko, 2011). This claim is supported by one of my respondents who claims that the resources from the central government are limited and therefore embezzlement of these resources can easily be detected especially in cases where a participatory approach is used in allocation of these resources. However, in practice, some cases of corruption have been identified in decentralized systems. The first few years of devolution in Kenya has led to it being termed, *devolution of corruption*. Corruption and misuse of county resources by leaders and staff has led to a debate on whether the country was ready for a devolved system. According to Fumihiko (2011) and Bagenda (2007) domination of the local participation system by the local elites and politicians leads to clientelism and patronage building up to corruption. From the study one respondent mentioned that, even if Elgeyo Marakwet has not been in the spotlight due to corruption issues, no government or institution lacks accountability issues. His argument was that corruption thrives where institutions are weak and thus it's important to train staff on ethical issues and build stronger institutions that are able to carry out development implementations diligently. The focus has always been on the punitive and prosecution phase and not in the preventive phase. It is therefore important to build strong institutions that can withstand and prevent accountability and transparency issues.

### **5.7.3 Challenges to Decentralization - Lack of Capacity**

Decentralization however faces a lot of risks and challenges especially in its implementation process. One of the greatest risks has been the capacity of the people to actively engage with the government. The capacity of the local government is also very crucial in ensuring effective and efficient provision of goods and services. Fumihiko (2011) argues that proximity of the government to the people is not a guarantee that development and efficiency will be realized at the local level. He adds that those elected into office might not have full knowledge on the needs of the people. Those in office do not necessarily have the knowledge to guide the citizens on the best way to approach

development challenges in their area. There is therefore a need to build capacity among leaders and staff so that they guide the rest of the citizens in the participatory process. From the study, the findings show that it is expected of the county government to carry out capacity building and training for its staff for five days every year. The county government partners with organizations such as GIZ in the staff capacity building project.

Capacity building for citizens has been widely documented as one of the challenges to effective and active participation in projects. Capacity of the citizens has been one important weapon to avoid, capture of local participation process by the local elite. Rondinelli et al (1983) acknowledge the importance of political goodwill in encouraging the citizens to play an active role in decision making of development policies. There has been distrust between the citizens and governments previously due to marginalization. The people were never involved in decision making process at any state. This mistrust has led to the local government staff making decisions without consulting the people. The consequences are citizen sabotage, undermining or ignoring these projects completely because they are not of citizens interests. Another issue with citizen's capacity has been the passiveness of people to participate. In marginalized regions majority of the population is not used to being consulted before decisions are carried forward to the implementation period. This is seen solely as a government task (Ahmad and Talib,2011). From the study, the findings show that due to marginalization of the citizens from participation, they still see the decision making process as a task of the government, according to the county government respondents. "Why should they be consulted? The government should move ahead and implement the projects just as it was the case in the previous system of governance.

#### **5.7.4 Challenges to Decentralization - Limited Financial Resources**

Availability of financial resources is a key determinant to effective and efficient decentralization. Resources are need for both recurrent and development expenditure. Limited resources can lead to alienation of people from the participation process. In cases where capacity building is needed, the governments can choose not to undertake this activity because it is very costly (Gaventa and Valderrama,1999). Inadequacy of financial resources vis-à-vis the local needs undermines the provision of goods and services as well

and participation of people in development policy due to lack of skills. Limited resources can also lead to shortage of manpower required to carry out functions of local government. The study indicates that the county has made use of the available resources to carry out development projects. However, with an estimate of about 38 billion shillings' worth of projects in the CIDP vis-à-vis 1.5 billion shillings allocated to development projects yearly, it only shows how inadequate the devolved funds are. The study also shows that the target of devolving functions all the way to the village level cannot be realized soon because of inadequate funds to pay new staff. The county is however working within its means to ensure that the resources available are utilized well to bring maximum development in the county in all keys sectors.

## **CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

### **6.1 Introduction**

This study set out to explore the experiences of public participation in Elgeyo Marakwet County in wake of the new devolved system of governance in Kenya. The research questions for the study were What mechanisms have been put in place in Elgeyo Marakwet County as a Result of devolution? How has devolution affected public participation in Elgeyo Marakwet County? How has devolution affected service delivery in Elgeyo Marakwet County? and has Citizen Participation been enhanced in EMC with regards to Arnstein's level of participation framework?

This chapter will summarize the findings of the study in Elgeyo Marakwet county. The summary will be based on the results and discussions of main theme of decentralization and public participation. Finally, the chapter will give recommendations for further research on decentralization and public participation.

### **6.2 Summary of Results**

The study explores whether there has been changes with regards to public participation with the change of system of governance from centralized to a decentralized. It also looked at mechanisms that have been put in place to encourage and strengthen citizen participation The study finally sought to find out what were the strengths and challenges faced by the county government of Elgeyo Marakwet in their bid to enhance citizen participation.

The study established that having a decentralized system has brought relief and increased expectations of development to the people of Elgeyo Marakwet County. The main reason for this is because the government being closer would improve goods and service delivery to the citizens. True to this assumptions, the findings showed that the county government has been able to devolve some of its departments such as ICT, ECDs and agriculture to both sub-county and ward levels. The target is however to have the departments devolved to the village level when the resources will be sufficient to do so. This is in line with Fumihiko argument that closeness of the government to the people enhances the government's response to the needs of the people as it can easily evaluate and engage with the people (2011).

The results also showed that there is a process that has been put in place to ensure citizen participation. Since the Public Finance Management Act of 2012 expects counties to come up with medium or long term development plans through a participatory manner. EMC has come up with a CIDP 2013-2017 which contains the county's development needs. According to my respondents these needs were identified by the citizens from the location level building up to the county level. Citizen participation according to the study has also been present during the phase of prioritizing development projects because the projects present in the CIDP cannot be implemented all at a go due to inadequacy of resources. However, according to some respondents, the positive development noted in the county might not be necessarily as a result of citizen participation but for political mileage. This means that development is achieved not basically because citizens have been engaged but because those holding political offices want to be re-elected into office due to their track record of development.

Despite the effort to enhance citizen participation in decision making, planning and implementation of development projects, the government has faced challenges. First, the capacity of people to participate meaningfully is a major problem. From the respondents' perspectives, the people do not have the knowledge and skills to participate actively in development planning. This led to the creation of the office of EMC's Director of Public Participation and Civic Education whose main task is to carry out capacity building exercise among citizens and provide civic education on matters of devolution and the Kenyan constitution in general. PWDs respondents suggested more motivation for them to succeed in their projects. Another key challenge has been availability of resources. EMC receives slightly over 3 billion shillings from the central government of which 30%(1 billion) should be development expenditure. Having a 5-year development plan worth 38 billion worth of development projects shows how inadequate the devolved funds are to meet the county development needs.

## **6.2 Conclusion**

From the study, it is evident that devolution has had its share of strengths and challenges. As presented by proponents of decentralization, citizen participation has been one of the main reasons for decentralization in Kenya. According to the study, the county

government is doing its working towards ensuring citizen engagement is present in the development projects formulation process. It might not be that the government has any other choice because the constitution stipulates and advocates for public participation in decision making on matters of development that directly affect them. To ensure that the people are able to participate, the government has created an office dealing with public participation and civic education because it was noted that majority of the citizens do not have the capacity to participate meaningfully in the development process.

However, it is important that the people have the information of what is expected of them in the public participation formulas. This means having simplified, non-technical information that is easy to read and understand. Another issue is specification on the capacity building projects in wards. Most of them have same amount of funds allocated to them which can be untrue because from the study it is evident that different wards have different development challenges.

EDA is a very important strategy towards enhancing equitability in resource allocation between wards. However, if the Act has to ensure that that inequalities between wards are dealt with, the parameters have to be amended to make sure that the poorest of the wards get slightly more resources to fight poverty. Decentralization has helped in delegation of government departments to sub-county and ward level. Agriculture and ECD services are accessed at the ward level with ICT centers present at the sub-county level.

It is also very important to mention that during the data collection, the respondents from the government side were very positive about the decentralized system. They supported the changes and positives that have come with the new system. They were also very honest with mentioning the challenges such as high expectations, lack of capacity to participate and lack of enough resources to fully carry out development in the ward. However, the Civil Society Organizations(CSOs) were very critical of the government in terms of citizen engagement. They were able to point out positives in the new system but dwelled more on what they thought were the challenges and how these challenges can be solved.



Finally, the decentralized system of governance is a very new system in Kenya. Expectations are very high but both central and county governments are working towards understanding the system. All the counties are now getting funds from the central government to build institutions and carry out development. Devolution is a process that takes time especially if sub-national governments have to build institutions first to enable them to carry out functions fully. It is therefore important that all stakeholders work together to ensure that there is a smooth transition into the new system as county governments work to build institutions and get more functions devolved by the central government.

### **6.3 Issues for Further Research**

Due to time and resource constraints, my study was mainly carried out with organizations in Iten, EMC's headquarters. Information from the government's Director of Economic Planning and Director of Public Participation and Civic Education is not fully representative on the issue of governance and citizen participation in the county. The data collected from the three respondents of the Keiyo North Community Based Rehabilitation and two respondents from Kerio Center for Community Development and Human Rights, is not representative of the views of the whole population in Elgeyo Marakwet County.

The gaps in this study can therefore be narrowed by collected of inclusive data on the whole population in the county. This study was mainly investigating mechanisms put in place by the county government to enhance public participation. Further research should therefore look at the citizens and their experience of public participation in the new system of governance. Has there been any changes compared to the old system of governance? Further research should also investigate the impacts brought about by the decentralized system on development in different parts of the county especially with the enactment of the Equitable Development Act(EDA) in 2015. Finally, a study needs to look at how the Intergovernmental relation works with regards to confusion among citizens on the functions of central and county government. since majority of functions are still under the central government and majority of citizens are not yet educated on differentiating these different functions.

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## Appendix One: Semi-Structured Interviews

1. What has changed in terms of (i)governance with the new devolved system?  
(ii)in terms of service delivery to the local citizens?
2. What was the state of services and development when counties started?
3. How much autonomy doe the county government have independent of the central government? Have all the responsibilities been devolved? Which responsibilities are still under the central government
4. How can you translate the input you get from the public into your development plans and budgets? How do you prioritize among the many things ask of their government?
5. Did you have any disaggregated data to help you think of how to prioritize county development?
6. What are experiences of citizens before and after devolution?
7. Is the allocation of resources by the national government enough to fund all the development projects in the county? If not, what other revenue sources the county is exploring to fund its development plans
8. What are the strategies that the government has put in place to encourage and ensure that people participate in development of development plans and budget? Basically how is the government helping citizens take ownership of the development brought by devolution.
9. How is public participation organized in the county? (i)Is it done down to the ward level, (ii) are discussions organized geographically or by sectors or a mix of both?
10. What are the positive attributes related to public participation so far?
11. What are the challenges that the government has experience in its efforts to ensure public participation?
12. What measures have been put in place to tackle these challenges
13. How is the county government carrying out capacity building within the county, for...?
  - (i) The citizens
  - (ii) The County government officials
14. What inspired the enactment of the Equitable Development Act? and has it improved the approach to addressing inequalities among the wards? Is the formula used fair?

15. Tell me about Ward Development Committees(WDCs) and Village Development Committees(VDCs)

**Appendix two: Ward Allocations as per the EDA Formula. Source ADP 2016/2017**

Ward	Area (Km <sup>2</sup> )	Population	Poverty Index	Equitable Share = 40%				Allocation
				ASAL (2%)	Area (8%)	Population (38%)	Poverty (22%)	
				0.8%	3.2%	15.2%	8.8%	
Arror	78.6	6,488	86.5	79	0.03	0.01754	0.03	<b>34,579,962</b>
Chepkorio	93.7	23,349	35.2	-	0.03	0.06311	0.04	<b>40,915,405</b>
Cherangany/Chebororwa	95.2	18,172	58.9	-	0.03	0.04911	0.06	<b>40,110,807</b>
Embobut	151.8	18,488	70.2	152	0.05	0.04997	0.07	<b>42,286,258</b>
Emsoo	152.3	9,602	31.9	152	0.05	0.02595	0.02	<b>35,680,499</b>
Endo	178.6	21,619	78.4	179	0.06	0.05843	0.09	<b>45,153,693</b>
Kabiemit	132.8	18,970	37.7	21	0.04	0.05127	0.04	<b>39,500,734</b>
Kamariny	101.1	23,126	28.1	-	0.03	0.06250	0.03	<b>41,117,128</b>
Kapatarakwa	153.6	25,423	45.4	-	0.05	0.06871	0.06	<b>40,160,781</b>
Kapchemutwo	111.5	19,069	24.1	-	0.04	0.05154	0.02	<b>40,021,959</b>
Kapsowar	123.9	17,057	67.0	-	0.04	0.04610	0.06	<b>45,106,310</b>
Kapyego	308.6	25,057	38.1	-	0.10	0.06772	0.05	<b>40,027,240</b>
Lelan	198.4	20,111	41.0	-	0.07	0.05435	0.04	<b>40,742,714</b>
Metkei	69.8	12,945	43.4	8	0.02	0.03499	0.03	<b>36,316,858</b>
Moiben/Kuserwo	147	19,277	50.4	-	0.05	0.05210	0.05	<b>40,562,370</b>
Sambirir	145.3	21,585	63.8	105	0.05	0.05834	0.07	<b>43,326,170</b>
Sengwer	161.5	18,903	68.2	-	0.05	0.05109	0.07	<b>41,728,839</b>
Soy North	215.2	14,457	76.3	215	0.07	0.03907	0.06	<b>41,080,481</b>
Soy South	234.6	20,370	72.5	235	0.08	0.05505	0.08	<b>44,692,004</b>
Tambach	176.1	15,930	58.7	176	0.06	0.04305	0.05	<b>40,427,120</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>								<b>813,537,332</b>