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GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AND
DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT UNIVERSITY OF
THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

PhD THESIS

SOCIAL CAPITAL AND GOOD GOVERNANCE IN KENYAN PUBLIC PROVISIONING

Collins Ogutu Miruka

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Commerce, Law and Management, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Public and Development Management.

October 2007

DECLARATION

I declare that this project is my original work, achieved through research studies and critical observation. It is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Public and Development Management in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has never been submitted before to the university or any other university or college for academic credit. The information and other sources have been duly acknowledged as required.

Signed:

Date:

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to all African civil servants who soldier on selflessly to deliver on the promises of political and economic independence.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABF	Activity Based Financing
ACP	African Caribbean and the Pacific
AIE	Authority to Incur Expenditure
AKFED	Aga Khan Fund for Economic Development
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
ARV	Anti-Retroviral
AU	African Union
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CBIO	Census-Based Impact Oriented
CDF	Constituency Development Fund
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CID	Criminal Investigations Department
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern Africa
CPI	Corruption Perceptions Index
DC	District Commissioner
DDC's	District Development Committees
DEA	Data Envelopment Analysis
DfID	Department for International Development
DHMB	District Health Management Board
DHMT	District health Management Team
DMS	Director of Medical Services
DP	Democratic Party
DPM	Directorate of Personnel Management
DRG	Diagnosis Related Group
EAC	East African Community
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
FGP	Family Group Practices
FGPA	Family Group Practice Association
FIF	Facility Improvement Fund
FOIA	Freedom of Information Act
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoK	Government of Kenya

HCMT	Health Care Management Team
HIMS	Health Information Management System
HIS	Health Information System
HLI	Health Literacy Index
HMBs	Hospital Management Boards
HMT	Health Management Team
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KACC	Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission
KADU	Kenya African Democratic Union
KANU	Kenya African national Union
KCB	Kenya Commercial Bank
KCPE	Kenya Certificate of Primary Education
KEPI	Kenya Expanded Programme on Immunization
KMPB	Kenya Medical Practitioners Board
KNH	Kenyatta National Hospital
KPTC	Kenya Posts and Telecommunications Corporation
KPU	Kenya People's Union
LDAs	Local Development Associations
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party
LGP	Local Governance Project
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MITI	Japanese Economic Planning Ministry
MLG	Ministry of Local Government
MoH	Ministry of Health
MP	Member of Parliament
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development.
NESF	National Economic and Social Forum
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NHAs	National Health Accounts
NHIF	National Health Insurance Fund
NHS	National Health Service
NHSSP	National Health Sector Strategic Plan
NIE	New Institutional Economics

NPM	New Public Management
NTCP	Network Target Cities Project
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PFP	Policy Framework Paper
PHC	Primary Health Care
PHMT	Provincial Health Management Team
PMO	Provincial Medical Officer
PMOH	Provincial Medical Officer of Health
PMSs	Performance Management Systems
PPPs	Public Private Partnerships
P/PHC	Preventive and Primary Health Care
PS's	Permanent Secretaries
SADC	South African Development Community
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SHI	Social Health Insurance
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
SMOs	Small Movement Organizations
SRH	Self Reported Health
TBAs	Traditional Birth Attendants
TI	Transparency International
UAM	Union of the Arab Maghreb
UKCWA	Umira Kager Clan Welfare Association
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN ESCAP	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
UNICEF	United Nations Children Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VCTs	Voluntary Counseling and Testing Centers
VFM	Value for Money
VRC	Village Resource Centre
WHO	World Health Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization

MAP OF KENYA[1]



[1] Source: http://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/profile/kenya.pdf
Accessed on October 10, 2007

ABSTRACT

In the past decade and a half or so, the pace of civil service reforms in Africa has increased with high profile donor support as well as a growing demand locally for improved service delivery, greater accountability and more transparency. The development partners have promoted the enhancement of an agreed set of principles that characterizes these good governance initiatives. The thesis considers good governance characterized by the elimination of waste, fraud and abuse as well as a diligent regard for the rule of law. The major strategic development partners considered here include the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the European Union (EU).

The thesis argument is that at present, the nature of social capital amongst the various Kenyan publics is a threat to the entrenchment of good governance principles in the civil service as espoused by major development partners. An attempt is made to interrogate the two concepts of good governance and social capital vis-à-vis the current trends of civil service reforms in Kenya. To develop the thesis, an international survey of the literature on good governance and social capital was carried out concurrently with a situational analysis of the Kenyan public provisioning in order to pinpoint policy implications for future reforms.

This was done in order to obtain a theoretical angle to the major concerns of good governance that privilege participation and responsiveness in public provisioning. To answer pertinent questions in this regard, the Kenyan health sector was chosen as a mirror with which to analyze public provisioning in Kenya. The health sector was chosen because of the convenience it offers in terms of access as well as due to the fact that it makes it easy to interview and survey both the community of users as well as the service providers in one place (the hospital). The major finding was that abundant stocks of social capital exist amongst the various Kenyan publics; but it is mainly of the *bonding* and *bridging* type. There is need for society-wide civic education to inculcate the third element, that of *linking* social capital, in order to transcend the limitations of nepotism, tribalism, cronyism and other forms of corruption in public provisioning.

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

After more than forty years of political independence, public provisioning in Kenya is yet to reach the levels aspired for by the founding fathers of the nation as well as the wider populace in general. Whereas the usual claim of lack of resources is understandable, other issues that bedevil public provisioning require or suggest alternative explanations. Between 1963 and 1980, Kenya's cumulative rate of economic growth, at 6.8 percent, was among the highest in sub-Saharan Africa. From the early 1980s up to around the year 2004, Kenyans have experienced a decline in economic growth, employment rate, income, and a host of other quality of life indicators. In 2005, the gross domestic product (GDP), which measures the value of goods and services produced, was $18.7 billion, that is, about $546.80 per person[2].

A robust and independent civil service that delivers quality services on time is still yearned for by majority of citizens in spite of the oft-touted costly struggles against colonialism. Over the years, Kenyan policy makers have experimented with various reforms in order to develop a civil service that executes appropriate types of policies and development programs in the form of sustainable economic development. Kenya boasts of a rich endowment of agricultural, mineral, forest and water resources. However, the country is yet to cast out the shackles of chronic and endemic poverty that afflicts the majority of people. The country is characterized by high inflation and interest rates, falling incomes and rising public indebtedness, against a background of rising education and health costs and other population needs.

Kenya is increasingly adopting the good governance approach to public provisioning but this does not seem to be working as per the above statistics. The researcher is intrigued by this apparent contradiction since, on the face of it, the globally dominant approach to good governance as espoused by the World Bank, The United Nations

[2] Figures computed from annual reports of the Central Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Planning and National Development, Republic of Kenya.

Development Programme (UNDP), the European Union (EU), and others, seems to be an appropriate vehicle for moving the Kenyan civil service forward. In spite of significant investments in the generation of new information and knowledge that constantly feeds the civil service reform processes in the country, breakthroughs towards sustainable economic development and policy management remain elusive. This research explores whether this might be partly due to the fact that reformers have not sufficiently engaged with the concept of social capital and hence its impact on reform drives.

As mentioned above, the 1980s decade seemed to have been a turning point for Kenya in her economic history. Like most developing countries in Africa, a deterioration of commodity prices in world markets, especially tea and coffee, hit the country hard. The global increase in oil prices and more especially the expansion of petroleum refining in the Arabian Gulf at the expense of Kenya's refined exports also hurt the local economy. From the annual *World Development Reports*[3], Kenya's short-term debt reached a peak in 1980. Debt servicing, both short and long-term, still takes away much of the locally needed funds. Amongst other sectors, the impact of this economic downtrend on public provisioning on education, health and social needs still leaves a lot to be desired. These kinds of failings add to the burdens of the vulnerable population groups.

Civil service reforms are often prompted by the desire to mitigate the tenacious trio of waste, fraud and abuse in public provisioning. These global concerns make it very tempting for many reformers to attempt to apply universal solutions to perceived failures of the civil service. Similarly, external experts are often engaged by resource and capacity constrained developing countries with the hope that solutions developed elsewhere can easily be adapted to local situations. Apparently, civil service reform initiatives, driven by the good governance agenda in Africa in general and especially as these apply to Kenya, have had little positive impact on public provisioning.

[3] World Bank, *World Tables,* 1990 – 2005.

For these and other reasons, one may argue that external experts, theories, and practices unduly influence current civil service reform efforts in Kenya. These theories and practices were developed in circumstances significantly different from the socio-political and economic set up of Kenya. This study examines the existing stocks of social capital in selected public institutions in Kenya to determine whether current and mostly imported civil service reform efforts are aligned to these realities. It counter-checks the nature of the existing social capital against the key trends in the contemporary discourse of good governance.

While the study emphasizes issues of fairness and highlights the importance of equity and due process, concerns of efficiency and effectiveness are also kept in focus. The study is also an attempt to restore the people as sovereign in public provisioning. A commitment to quality must of necessity involve the community of users in the design of goods and service. Basically, quality is about meeting individual needs and as such, it behoves those involved in quality management to seek to modify the perceptions of service users favourably.

The operational definition of the concept of social capital employed in this research is that proffered by Putnam (1993) and Coleman (1990). Putnam's initial concern was to explore the relationship between economic modernity and institutional performance. In his investigation of civic traditions in modern Italy, he discovered a strong link between the performance of political institutions and the character of civic life, that is, what he termed 'civic engagement' (Putnam, 1993). Essentially, these definitions divide the concept of social capital into four distinct theoretical strands: *civic engagement, trust, associational norms* and *political equality*. These four dimensions are then compared against *management practice* and *ethos* in the institutions in question as entailed in the on-going civil service reforms. The main purpose of this research is to highlight areas of incompatibility or congruence between the existing nature of social capital and the good governance approach to public management in order to highlight policy implications for future civil service reform efforts. To answer pertinent questions in this regard, the Kenyan health sector was chosen as a mirror with which to analyze public provisioning in Kenya.

1.1 SOCIAL CAPITAL AND PUBLIC GOVERNANCE

In civil service reforms debates, the term governance has assumed a central role given its significance to economics, political science, public administration and development management. According to the World Bank (1992), governance refers to the way power is exercised in managing a country's economic and social resources for development. Other scholars, notably Hyden and Court (2002), have tended to characterize governance as a normative framework, comprising a set of rules under which these institutions and organizations operate. In this category of definitions, governance is measured more in terms of such institutional frameworks as policy, laws and legislation that establish predictability in the environment in which stakeholders conduct their business. Hyden and Court (2002, p. 19) contend that governance is the formation and stewardship of the formal and informal rules that regulate the public realm, the arena in which state as well economic and societal actors interact to make decisions.

From the given definitions, it is apparent that the concept of institutions is a common denominator in the conceptualization of governance. Such institutions include government, business firms, civic organizations and communities. Thus, the concept of governance may easily be tied to that of social capital if the definitions adopted refer to both the institutional operational patterns as well as the normative frameworks under which these are carried out. Looked at this way, governance becomes both a set of processes and an encapsulating framework. The term good governance has gained much currency in civil service reforms. The World Bank (1992, 1994) specifies good governance characteristic features, values and principles. According to the World Bank (1992, 1994), good governance entails, among other things, freedom of information, ensuring citizens voice in decision making process, enforcing a regulatory framework and institutions of market economy, the rule of law, transparency, accountability and maintenance of civil peace and order as well as providing a competent civil service.

Other than bilateral partnerships with developed nations, other development partners considered here include the World Bank, the United Nations Development

Programme (UNDP) and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Both the development partners as well as local agitators of civil service reform, in their quest for improved public provisioning, demand good governance in the sense of a public bureaucracy that largely sticks to the rule of law and is bereft of rampant corruption. This study looks at the concept of social capital to fill a theoretical gap in the implementation of good governance.

The recent theoretical typology or typologies of the concept of social capital can help us properly grasp its implications for public governance. Of the plethora of definitions of social capital, Bourdieu's ([1987]1997) definition captures the crucial components of social capital that are pertinent to this study (Bourdieu's, 1997). For Bourdieu

> Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity – owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word. These relationships may exist only in the practical state, in material and/or symbolic exchanges which help to maintain them. They may also be socially instituted and guaranteed by the application of a common name (the name of a family, a class, or a tribe or of a school, a party, etc.) and by a whole set of instituting acts designed simultaneously to form and inform those who undergo them; in this case, they are more or less really enacted and so maintained and reinforced, in exchanges. Being based on indissolubly material and symbolic exchanges, the establishment and maintenance of which presuppose re-acknowledgement of proximity, they are also partially irreducible to objective relations of proximity in physical (geographical) space or even in economic and social space (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 51).

In the larger frame, the above definition captures three forms of social capital namely: *bonding* social capital (e.g. among family members or ethnic groups); *bridging* social capital (e.g. across ethnic groups); and *linking* social capital (e.g. between different social classes).

The definition given above captures all the elements that are pertinent to this investigation. Since both the government as well as the state can be considered as institutions, it becomes apparent that the concept of social capital is relevant to the delivery of their mandates. Lin and Nugent (1995) define an institution as socially

constructed behavioral rules that constrain the interactions of human beings partly by shaping their expectations of what others will do. By constraining behavior, institutions are mirrored in the appearance of specific behavioral regularities or norms. This definition is broad enough to include entities like laws, constitutions, norms, ethics, and ideology. All these institutions involve rules that define behavior across a particular domain and hence give rise to behavioral regularities. Public provisioning in Kenya, through the civil service, will be looked at from this perspective in the thesis.

The Kenyan civil service has historical roots in the British colonial system. The British and the other colonial powers in Africa administered the African territories using similar models. The customary authority was 'monarchical, patriarchal, and authoritarian' (Mamdani, 1996, p. 39). These traditional forms of authority were mirrored in the individual household units where the leadership of the male head (husband) was generally absolute. For Mamdani, the model:

> [A]ssumed a king at the centre of every polity, a chief on every piece of administrative ground, and a patriarch in every homestead or kraal. Whether in the homestead, the village, or the kingdom, authority was considered an attribute of a personal despotism (1996, p. 39).

Mamdani (1996) characterizes this model as 'personal despotism'. Sadly, this legacy of personal despotism has persisted in many areas of the present African civil service long into the independence era thus necessitating remedial measures. *Qua* Putnam (1993), given path-dependencies in civic settings, it would then be safe to assume that the sometimes poor quality of public provisioning and the general acquiescence of the majority of citizens draws from the absolutism of traditional forms of political organizations or even earlier. Closely related to the concept of hysteresis (a property of physical systems whose states depend on their immediate history), path dependency refers to process outcomes that depend on past actions or institutions such as on the sequence of decisions made by agents and outcomes, and not just on contemporary conditions.

There is a consensus among participants to the public administration debate that recent attempts at structuring civil service in many African countries have at times been counterproductive (see, for instance Olowu, 2001; Grindle, 1997 and Haruna, 2003). Olowu (2001) contends that the reforms have exacerbated the capacity situation in spite of the fact that some of the best-resourced organizations in the world drive these processes (see also, Fukuyama, 2004). There are many explanations for this scenario. It is generally argued that reforms do not go deep enough to address the underlying causes of poor performance in the African civil service, that is, a problem of structure.

This study aims to explore the potential obstacles to the effective performance and reform of the African civil service presumably represented by the existence of a version of social capital that manifests itself as corruption, tribalism, cronyism, nepotism, and so on. Due to path-dependency, it is the contention here that any policy that intends to effectively shape the civil service has to also focus on the relevant dimensions of social capital. Bongyu (2001) cites a number of reasons why the African civil service has failed to deliver over the years. In the case of Kenya, an obsession with 'tribal balancing' in the appointment of top civil servants often means that merit alone is not enough as the political principals must be seen to share the 'cake' of civil service jobs fairly amongst the various communities (Hyden, 1984). Many of the stated arguments for the ineffectiveness of the service, which are agreeable, have not been effectively addressed by previous attempts at civil service restructuring.

For a start, it is now evident that legislation alone is not enough to bring about cultural change in an organization such as the civil service. To beat the strictures of legislation, civil servants at times operate just at the margin of legality to avoid losing their jobs without any meaningful contribution to the mission of the department or unit. Bongyu (2001) describes the goal displacement process thus:

> This occurs when the adherence to the rule originally conceived as a means, becomes transformed into an end-in-itself. Among other things, it is a situation where an official in an administrative system develops behaviour in which discipline or the respect of rules becomes an immediate value,

> with original goals of the organization tending to be displaced or subordinated to his loyalty of rules (Bongyu, 2001, p. 20).

The endemic corruption and chronic inefficiency that pervades the African civil service makes a critical analysis of the social learning process in these institutions necessary. As North (1995) emphasizes, human learning derives cumulatively from the experience of past generations and is thus carried over as culture. This then informs actors' mental models and subsequently the perception of their roles as economic agents. Thus, even if we were to borrow 'perfect' constitutions, their impact would not be the same since the mode of enforcement, and existing social norms would ensure that the results are at variance with the original intentions.

North gives as an example the South American countries that adopted constitutions similar to that of the United States of America's (USA) on attaining political independence. Yet the economic trajectory of these countries has been far from delivering the kind of prosperity witnessed in the USA. The extent of social learning in Africa has been such that both the elite and the public tend to view the state as a limitless source of largesse leading to 'a scramble to get as much as possible from the spoils of the system' (Bongyu, 2003 p. 21).

Many contributors to the civil service reform debate agree on the need for a paradigm shift in the management style by public officials (Bongyu, 2003; Olowu, 2001; Haruna, 2003), a point that Grindle (1997) also reinforces convincingly. She notes, as Olowu (2001) does, that good institutions for career training in business and public administration do emphasize training in organizational and strategic management, negotiation, teamwork, decision making, and leadership alongside the command of traditional technical skills. Regrettably, she observes, the state of the art in public administration in many African countries is yet to catch up in this regard. It is not surprising that the civil service still typifies top-down decision making, favouritism, lack of consultation, and poor capacity to organize work. Given this scenario, reforms should also emphasize a change in the usual way of doing things, in other words, a shift in culture or social capital.

There is a compelling need for those in charge of civil service reform initiative to mainstream 'Cultural Revolution' as part of the reform package. While Grindle's (1997) research vindicates mainstream thinking in contemporary development administration that emphasizes incentive structures and the construction of barriers to rent seeking, she also spotlights cultural aspects. This research thus focuses on a more integrated approach to civil service reforms. As Enrique Pantoja (2002) posits, the relevance of social capital cannot be fully determined unless the power relations that inform social interactions and the extent to which the resultant group actions affect dynamics of access and control are considered.

Bearing in mind the theoretical typology of social capital, civil service reforms in Africa should not shy away from addressing issues of ethnicity. Both Olowu (2001) and Haruna (2003) mention this perceived but rarely addressed phenomenon. In his brief comment on the Namibian civil service, Olowu (2001) even tabulates the staff and their ethnic origins, something many African politicians are often keen to downplay on national platform but harp on incessantly while dealing with their constituents. In the same vein, Haruna (2003) recommends that civil service reforms should be sensitive to the country's ethnic composition. The concept of social capital as advanced by Putnam (1993) assumes ethnic homogeneity that is rare in most African countries including Kenya. The reforms would thus help foster trans-cultural ethos in order to reconcile modernity and localism on the one hand, and bureaucratic and community needs, on the other. Once again, the concept of social capital offers a convenient theoretical entry point into the analysis of ethnic concerns, more commonly referred to as tribalism or nepotism in the civil service.

Good governance principles as espoused by the dominant global voices tend to work towards economic policies that are pro-market, pro-private sector and pro-liberalisation. Politically, good governance principals also require the participation of the people in the governance processes. From the foregoing, it is apparent that the entrenchment of good governance principles assumes a stable democracy. Yet, most young nations such as Kenya, still lack what Ake (1995, cited in McLennan 2000) calls 'interpretative communities' capable of sustaining democratic politics. The researcher's understanding of democratic governance is informed by the Inter-

Parliamentary Union Universal Declaration on Democracy adopted in 1997 as cited in the UNDP Human Development Report of 2002. Amongst other things, the declaration states that:

> As an ideal, democracy aims to protect and promote the dignity and fundamental rights of the individual, instil social justice and foster economic and social development. Democracy is a political system that enables people to freely choose an effective, honest, transparent and accountable government (UNDP HDR 2002, p 55).

It goes on to add that, "Democracy is based on two core principles: participation and accountability" while noting further that, "A key feature of the exercise of democracy is holding free, fair, regular elections based on universal, equal, secret suffrage. An active civil society is also essential." Broadly speaking, Kenya fits the bill of democratic governance in the sense advocated by this declaration. Yet neither do the people enjoy the fruits of this 'good governance' nor is there a wide spread feeling of inclusion.

McLennan (2000, p 24), defines exclusion as 'a process in which the production of discourse is controlled and redistributed through a number of social procedures and relationships, which operate to inhibit the emergence of particular voices and experiences.' The uncanny fact about the stated processes is that a number of them are able to survive in an environment that the UN declaration cited above would consider democratic. In the Kenyan setting, tribalism, traditional practices, religion, and ignorance would be but a few of the factors that are likely to perpetuate the process of exclusion. These challenges cannot be addressed effectively simply by structuralism as recent civil service reform efforts attempt, but require a substantive approach.

It appears to the researcher, that in Kenyan politics, there is a lack of agreement on 'political ground rules' among the various participants. This chaotic situation permeates the entire society thereby stifling the business environment, individual rights as well as public provisioning. There is an urgent need for institutional design that would level the playing field for all the members of the various polities. As Sklar and Whitaker (1991, p. 9) observe;

> Statist mismanagement of the economy in Africa, whether in the form of bureaucratic inefficiency, rent-seeking elites, incentive destroying economic policies, or the systematic abuse of public office for private gain, has produced economic stagnation on a continental scale, irrespective of the ideological orientations or particular African governments (Sklar & Whitaker, 1991: 9).

Both the Kenyatta and Moi regimes took every opportunity to amend the independence constitution to cater for the whims of the ruling class and their cronies. Moreover, the opportunities have not been in short supply, safeguarding national security and africanization policies are but two issues that have been used as an excuse to tinker with the constitution in a manner that increasingly over-concentrated power in the hands of the executive. The emergent powerful executive then proceeded to use this power to criminalize dissent and limit political participation of adversaries (Lamb, 1974). The outcome of this process was the development of what one would be tempted to call an 'imperial presidency' in Kenya.

To engender the practice of good governance, one would hope that Kenyans would make every effort to ensure that the doctrine of power separation is jealously guarded. Constitutional checks and balances as well as broader mass participation in governance processes need to be entrenched in public provisioning. It is arguable that this approach will result in good institutions that would promote social and economic advancements. Rodrik (2003, p. 86) defines good institutions as:

> Corresponding to a social organisation that ensures that a broad cross section of the society has effective property rights. We refer to this cluster as institutions or private property. Such institutions contrast with extractive institutions, where the majority of the population faces a high risk of expropriations by the government, the ruling elite or other agents.

As Rodrik goes on to demonstrate, the evidence from Botswana, where good institutions have resulted in incredible economic growth and social prestige, is an example to emulate.

The failure of development has led to a radical critique of the discourse of development, which has been accompanied by an increasing acceptance of the shortcomings of top-down processes. This has given way to various alternative ideologies of development, where concepts like 'participation' and empowerment'

have achieved greater prominence (see, for instance, Leftwich, 1993). Yet, the researcher thinks that good governance debates do not delve deep enough to construct theories that truly take cognizance of the nature of existing stocks of social capital in diverse polities.

Some of the development and economic problems facing Kenya today have been created by mismanagement and endemic corruption that permeate all levels of the civil service. Currently, there is an on-going judicial inquiry regarding an estimated US $680 million allegedly swindled from state coffers by well-connected individuals who were close to the previous ruling class. These sums are siphoned out of the country and deposited in overseas accounts where they would not be of any economic use to the domestic economy. These internal malpractices combined with failures of the donor-imposed Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) of the 1980's have created hardships for many people.

Over the years, since attaining political independence, African governments have dismally failed to show any meaningful economic contribution that could have resulted from the massive infusion of multilateral donor funds. It is sad to note that South Korea, for instance, was in the same league economically as the East African states in the early 1960s. However, today Kenya and South korea are incomparable economically. Much has been written about the external barriers to economic growth in Africa. This research is part of the larger attempt to look at the internal barriers to capital formation and accumulation that can be dealt with at the local level. In agreement with Cloete (2000) and Fukuyama (2004), the researcher believes that governance deficit is a key barrier to capital accumulation in Kenya, as well as in other developing countries of sub-Saharan Africa. Kenya is yet to develop an administrative capacity equal to the task of socio-economic development.

An investigation on the interplay between the concept of social capital and good governance is thus necessary as an attempt to boost developmental capacity. Conspicuous consumption (Swilling, Simone and Khan 2002), low rate of personal savings, large extended families and the culture of thinking that people are entitled to certain ill-defined goods and services from the government are just but a few

examples of internal barriers to capital formation and accumulation. Perhaps it is well to remember that, "Economic development has much to do with human endowments, social attitudes, political conditions – and historical accidents. Capital is a necessary but not a sufficient condition of progress" (Nurkse, 1953, p. 1).

1.2 PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

On-going research trends correlate social capital in the form of social trust and associational networks, with a multiplicity of desirable policy outcomes such as low crime rates, lower transactional costs and less corrupt and more effective government (Grootaert and van Baastelar, 2002; Isham, Kelly and Ramaswany, 2002). The purpose of this research is to examine through close observation at macro and micro levels, the manifestations of social capital amongst service providers and community of users at selected health delivery sites. This kind of observation will provide a detailed description of what transpires at the interface of service delivery when the existing social capital amongst the community of users interacts with the norms and attitudes of civil servants.

The purpose of the research is to describe as accurately as possible the patterns and processes of the phenomenon of social capital and its probable impacts on public provisioning. Thereafter, a general assessment of current management ethos and practices, especially as presented in the discourse on good governance will be equally examined. The intention is to identify gaps that need addressing before the concept of good governance can be applied usefully to the Kenyan public provisioning.

Civil service reformers often take it for granted that the formal relationship between politicians and administrators is hierarchical in the sense that policy prevails. In practice, the relationship between politicians and administrators is usually more interactive and especially intriguing in the Kenyan case. For instance, Cohen and Atieno-Odhiambo (2004) report a particular account of the struggles by Dr Robert John Ouko to obtain an appointment to see President Moi. Dr Ouko was by then a cabinet minister responsible for Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation.

According to their account, Dr Ouko had been sacked secretly by Moi and was making frantic efforts to meet with the President before his mysterious disappearance and subsequent killing. After Dr Ouko had unsuccessfully tried all the official channels to reach the President, he had to look for a District Commissioner (DC), who in terms of Provincial Administration in Kenya is quite a junior officer, but who also happened to be President Moi's nephew so as to reach the President.

The above story is an illustration of how civil service communication channels and other hierarchies are often undermined by nepotism, cronyism and downright corruption to an extent that formal structures are at times seen as mere window dressing in the structure of the service (see also Badejo, 2006; Ndegwa, 2006; Leonard, 1991; Hyden, 1970, 1983). This practice is in stark contrast to global principles that hold that senior officials do advise on policy, and politicians often dictate how activities should be managed.

For analytical purposes, the study categorizes the concept of social capital into four distinct theoretical strands, mainly to assess the nature of available stocks of social capital. After numerous focus group and key-informant interviews, relevant survey questions were formulated to develop a valid measure of the phenomenon. The questions were designed to capture additional elements to determine whether some of the current management practices and ethos are appropriate to the environment. Questionnaires play a central role in the data collection process. A well-designed questionnaire efficiently collects the required data with a minimum number of errors. The biggest challenge in developing a questionnaire is to translate the objectives of the data collection process into a well conceptualised and methodologically sound study. Leedy and Ormrod (2001), defines a questionnaire as a commonplace instrument for observing data beyond the physical reach of the observer.

The key research argument is that the contemporary discourse in public governance, especially in relation to good governance, fails to take into account the existing stocks of social capital amongst both the community of service users and service providers. In this study, patients represent the community of users while nurses and other medics interviewed represent the majority of service providers.

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The study has largely been motivated by evidence in the literature dealing with social capital that suggests that the concept has large untapped economic payoffs. For example, Fukuyama (1999) cites the success of the Japanese Economic Planning Ministry (MITI) in delivering credit allocation over the years to particular industries, which was deemed vital to the overall performance of the Japanese economy. Fukuyama attributes this success to the prevalence of a unique form of social capital amongst the Japanese bureaucrats and citizens.

In spite of the wide-ranging discretionary powers accorded to the MITI bureaucrats in the discharge of their duties, their performance has on the whole been satisfactory. According to Fukuyama (1999), there has not been an overwhelming public dissatisfaction with the service due to corruption or other failings related to abuse of office by bureaucrats. However, the African experience regarding abuse of office is quite disheartening in a number of instances, leading the study to specifically interrogate the notion of social capital as one of the most probable contributors to poor standards of service provision in Kenyan public institutions (e.g. Fonge, 1987; Daloz and Chabaz, 1999; Ake, 1996; Leonard, 1991).

The notion of social capital is especially pertinent to service delivery in the social sectors such as health where the ordinary rules of a perfectly competitive market do not obtain. The relationship between a doctor and patient is not similar to that of someone purchasing vegetables or a house. It is possible that the majority of people purchasing the latter goods are familiar with the items they are purchasing and are thus better able to discriminate while conducting the purchase. Yet an ordinary patient would not have as much knowledge about medicine provided as the licensed service provider whether a nurse, doctor or pharmacist.

The latter category of consumers is relatively less able to discriminate. Patients are forced by circumstances to depend more on trust. The service users are left to 'trust' that the professional will offer quality service. In the absence of a relationship of trust, clients would only be prepared to pay for the services at the value of the

poorest quality of service available. The concern here is about the perceived bottlenecks amongst the community of service users as well as service providers to effective public provisioning that are pertinent to the concept of social capital.

In this study, the concept of social capital is deployed as a unit of analysis in an attempt to explore the failures of public institutions regarding good governance approach to service delivery. The debate on social capital (see, for instance, Grootaert and van Baastelar, 2002; Isham, Kelly and Ramaswany, 2002) presents an exciting new paradigm in development theory. The norms that constitute social capital generally range from friendship reciprocities all the way to the more complex norms that bind together huge organizations such as trade unions and churches (Fukuyama, 1999). Put simply, social capital refers to the informal and unwritten understandings that enable members of society to relate to each other in mutually beneficial ways.

In the pursuit of individual goals, society members are, in line with the positive tenets of social capital, expected to be mindful of other people's welfare. Henceforth, norms of reciprocations and obligations are created that are ideally self-perpetuating. The researcher is of course referring here to 'positive' social capital to distinguish the phenomenon from the type of associations that are formed by cartels, criminal gangs, and tribal groupings against outsiders. Therefore, the concept of social capital will be employed in this study to describe the informal set of unwritten rules and codes of behaviour that facilitate cooperation and dispute resolution, possibly at low transaction costs.

Whereas the level of service offered by the various government departments may vary from setting to setting as well as amongst the various civil servants, it is possible to discern what appears to be a common culture amongst Kenyan civil servants. As Matshabaphala (2007)[4] posits, both the political leadership and the people can come together to positively influence behaviours and activities in public provisioning along the desired paths. It is for this reason that the researcher feels that the concept of

[4] Matshabaphala, J. (2007) 'Leading a corporate culture premised on quality service delivery,' *unpublished paper*.

social capital can lend a handle to the integration of public provisioning and good governance. Ideally, a well functioning civil service would ensure that public provisioning meets the people's subsistence needs, protection, affection, participatory and other related needs satisfactorily. Matshabaphala (2007) further posits that beyond meeting people's subsistence needs, there is also the need for civil servants to treat clients with respect and engender a sense of belonging.

In attempting to integrate the concept of social capital with that of good governance in public provisioning, the researcher envisages service delivery processes that bring to bear corrective actions while at the same time influencing work teams through motivation and inspiration. As Kotter (1999) shows, leadership is about creating an enabling environment for a multiplicity of constituencies through the way people behave. Matshabaphala (2007) asserts that in the utilitarian paradigm, the fundamental drive is that of giving service to others beyond the motivations of money and status. Thus, correctly deployed, the concept of social capital allows for the abolition of a negative service culture. He also argues that some of the problems encountered in public provisioning are traceable to the state of the country's body politic. Unscrupulous people will naturally exploit the lapses in leadership for selfish gain. They will inevitably put to good use these lapses and make political capital or mileage out of lackadaisical propensities amongst civil servants. Similarly, elements of the civil society may also takes up issues of poor service delivery with the government and development partners. At best, Matshabaphala (2007) observes, such interventions help to keep the civil servants on their toes in-so-far as matters of service delivery are concerned.

At independence, the lack of delivery, maintenance and deterioration of services, was easy to blame on colonialism. Again, as Kotter and Andreasen (1996) show, in the early life of organisations, less than satisfactory work may be tolerated so that new civil servants can be given a chance to come to grips with the challenges and dynamics of their stations. But forty years into independence is a long time and the Kenyan people are justified in demanding better quality public provisioning. Kotter and Andreasen (1996) also posit that the tendency to build a close sense of camaraderie in a young organisation is useful as this helps people in the organisation

to defend themselves from early critics and doomsayers. Nevertheless, these tendencies become problematic if they persist for a long time thus frustrating public provisioning. Perverse forms of social capital are displayed when, say, some civil servants transgress rules with impunity. For various reasons, some bureaucrats often close ranks even behind those doing wrong things in the service.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In many parts of the African continent, the quality of service delivery in the civil service has been less than satisfactory. Over the years, several attempts have been undertaken to reform the service to improve on delivery. Initially, the emphasis was on inputs; better buildings, vehicles, and capacity building. Of late, the emphasis has shifted to downsizing or right sizing, improved pay, and fixed-term contracts amongst other approaches. Hitherto, the outcomes of these endeavours have been ambiguous to say the least (see, for instance, Haruna, 2003; Olowu, 2001 and Bongyu, 2003). Although efforts aimed at improving service delivery in the civil service is a universal concern, it is of great importance in developing countries because of the crucial role that civil servants play in development endeavours.

The core assumption of this research is that the concept of social capital influences to a great degree the quality of public provisioning in Kenya. It delimits the agency of the current civil service reform drivers as characterized by the good governance discourse. To ascertain the impact of social capital on these management practices and ethos, the research seeks to address the following four questions based on the theoretical strands of social capital:

i. How does the aspect of civic engagement impact public provisioning?
ii. What erodes trust in public institutions?
iii. How do the associational norms of both the community of users as well as the service providers affect public provisioning?
iv. How does the concept of political equality influence public provisioning?

1.5 RESEARCH DESIGN

This study employs evidence from research undertaken in four government hospitals in Kenya. It aims to assess the levels of social capital inherent in both the community of users as well as the health service providers to determine whether the current good governance drives are in-line with people's attitudes, values, ethics and expectation. Initially, *in-depth key-informant* interviews as well as *focus group interviews* were carried out in order to tease out some of the underlying themes pertinent to the concept of social capital before developing a more robust but objective *survey questionnaire* that was administered to one hundred and sixty two (162) respondents. The findings were then looked at vis-à-vis the major thrusts of the good governance discourse.

The researcher adopted a case study approach to enhance problem-theory-method linkages. This approach is appropriate given the research questions and the guiding theoretical orientations (see, Yin, 1994). The theoretical orientation is informed by the need to develop concepts and ideas that link research to literature and the gathering of empirical evidence. The main hurdle faced by the research is the need to devise methods to the measurement of social capital that are grounded in the theoretical typology developed by seminal contributors such as Coleman (1990), Bordieu (1997) and Putnam (1993).

This study employs both survey and qualitative research methods in order to understand and describe how the phenomenon of social capital manifests itself in institutional settings. This is achieved by the use of key informants interviews, focus group discussions as well as a survey questionnaire to arrive at understandings and interpretations of how service providers and the community of users at government hospitals interact in relation to social capital. This is because, as Leedy and Ormrod (2001) demonstrates, the gathering of accurate information about the phenomena being investigated is crucial given that this is an interpretive study.

The institutions chosen for this study are severely resource-constrained and many people who patronize them do so for lack of an alternative. In Kenya, it is accepted generally that only those who lack the means to access private health care opt for government hospitals (see, for example, Kimalu and others, 2004). Nevertheless, the great majority of Kenyans have no alternative but to visit these centres. Indeed, it was shocking for the researcher to learn that even the provincial referral hospital would at times go for days without running water. Since the overriding complaint of staff in these institutions is overwork, relatives of in-patients in many instances take it upon themselves to feed, wash and change the patients.

Four government hospitals from each levels of the National Health Service were chosen as case study sites. At the national level, Kenyatta National Hospital (KNH), the national referral hospital in Nairobi was chosen while New Nyanza Provincial General Hospital in Kisumu was chosen under the second tier. Rachuonyo District Hospital in Oyugis and Oboch Community Health Centre, a rural health facility in Nyando District, represented the two lower levels.

It is well worth mentioning here that the logic of a case study is not necessarily representivity but rather that of replication (see Yin, 2001). As such, the survey was not intended to be a representative sample but rather to offer sites that can be studied at depth given the nature of the problem. The purpose of using hospitals was neither to examine healthcare service management generally nor to investigate issues of health sector reforms. Rather, the concern of the study was to look at public provisioning generally in Kenya in order to abstract to the theory of public administration.

The researcher visited each of the four hospitals at least for six days throughout December 2004 and January 2005. Interviews were conducted during these visits. During the interviews, the researcher managed to elicit much more pertinent information regarding the operations of these institutions than had straightforward objective questions been prepared in advance. This was achieved by embedding story prompts while probing into what would otherwise have been politically sensitive topics. It can be argued that these helped to create awareness of responsibility in the

informants as well as letting them know that what they had to say about their experience and personal history was valuable and important.

1.5.1 IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

Purposive sampling was used to select information-rich cases for in-depth study. This type of sampling involves selection of sites and informants based on important characteristics under study. In the course of this study, the researcher carried out fourteen in-depth interviews with various medical personnel and hospital administrators. The researcher also carried out seven focus-group interviews over the same period. The hospitals were largely chosen for ease of access and convenience. The hospitals used in this survey included Kenyatta National Hospital in Nairobi, Nyanza Provincial General Hospital, Rachuonyo District Hospital, and Oboch Rural Health facility in Nyando District.

The researcher chose as key informants mostly the medics who also served as administrators such as the medical superintendents, matrons, and public health officers. As for the patients, the researcher relied on the ward sisters and doctors as guides to those who were in a position to grant an interview in passable English or Kiswahili. The researcher also carried out informal interviews with relatives of the patients and other staff members.

Interviews were carried out on special selected respondents in order to gather information on procedures and processes. In Kenya, the Medical Superintendent is the Chief Executive Officer of a government provincial or district hospital. It is only Kenyatta National Hospital and Moi Referral Hospital in Eldoret that are headed by a Director. The Kenyatta National Hospital is run more as a parastatal and is the biggest referral hospital in the country. The researcher was not able to meet the top management at Kenyatta National Hospital. Interviews at Kenyatta were mainly with the nurses and the patients. In both the Provincial and the District Hospitals, the researcher was able to interview the Medical Superintendents, the Chief Nursing Officers, the Public Health Officers and the Head Matrons at length ranging from

thirty minute sessions to two-hour long sessions per sitting per day. The researcher conducted twenty-two such interviews.

The researcher used face-to-face interviews with these officers as the method has the distinctive advantage of enabling the interviewer to establish rapport with potential participants and hence gain their cooperation. Personal interviews also allow the researcher to clarify ambiguous answers and, when appropriate, seek follow-up information (Burns, 1999; Silverman, 1993).

1.5.2 FOCUS-GROUP INTERVIEWS

Focus group interviews with patients, nurses and relatives of patients were limited to 6 to 10 patients as recommended in many research textbooks (see, for instance, Leedy and Ormrod, 2001; Neuman, 1997; De Vos and Strydom, 2001). Each informant in the study was informed of the purpose of the study and assured of confidentiality and anonymity. The interviews were conducted much like a dialogue between informant and interviewer. The questions were open-ended and the researcher made conscious effort to build rapport with informants. The researcher mainly focussed on the four theoretical elements of social capital. The researcher proceeded to probe further into relevant topics whenever informants mentioned them during the tape recorded interview.

Open-ended questions allow the interviewee to explore different aspects of the subject so that a more complete and valid picture emerges, without any sense of the respondent trying to guess what the interviewer wishes to hear. Some of the tape-recorded interviews are over an hour long as the approach at times made respondents delve into long narratives. As Mishler (1986) points out, narratives move interviews beyond question and answer formats by bringing out the more deep-seated problems and insights of the informants. By allowing informants to elaborate and encouraging them to extend their responses, they are empowered to put forth their own views. Reisman (1993) also recommends the use of open-ended questions and less structured questions in eliciting narratives.

Burns (1999, p. 131) argues that the open-ended types of questions are especially valuable where the aim is to explore informants' 'perceptions, beliefs or opinions and to provide opportunities for unforeseen responses or for those which are richer and more detailed than responses obtainable through fixed choice questioning.' The open-ended questions also allowed respondents to offer unrestricted spontaneous expressions to help 'gather authentic understanding' of the experiences and viewpoints of the participants (Silverman, 1993 p. 10).

At various times during the fieldwork, the researcher did arrive at the selected hospitals before the opening times and joined the often-long queues of patients waiting for attention. It is through the casual conversations with the patients that the researcher was able at times to steer conversations to enable him to gain some insights into the operations of the hospitals and the expectations of patients. During these conversations, the researcher would often begin with the topical issues of the day before turning to issues and events around the hospital. While this kind of data capture was not originally envisioned for the research, the tit-bits of information captured was useful in many instances when the researcher later had to interview medical officers as well as nurses.

1.5.3 SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

After the initial fieldwork carried out towards the end of 2004 and early 2005, the researcher developed a survey questionnaire to quantitatively capture the same elements from the community of users and the service providers. The questionnaire was administered at the Provincial and District Hospitals from the beginning of December 2005 to the end of January 2006. The bulk of the copies of the questionnaire, 30 in number for nurses and 70 in number for patients were administered at Kenyatta National Hospital in Nairobi, which is the hospital is the premier medical referral institution in East and Central Africa. The qualitative phase helped the researcher to refine the questions to avoid ambiguity, confusion, and vagueness (see, for instance, De Vaus, 1991 on social survey research design). The researcher opted for closed questions at this stage to capture the perspectives of the

respondents since the onus of interpretation falls on the respondents whenever objective type questions are used.

Having settled for objective type questions, the researcher chose the Likert scale for the response format. The Likert scale was developed by Rensis Likert in an attempt to improve the levels of measurement in social research using standardized response categories in survey questionnaires (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001). The scale was modified to a four-point scale for ease of re-scaling during analysis. The scale was modified as shown in the following example:

Most people in your neighborhood are trustworthy.

__Strongly Agree __Agree __Disagree __Strongly Disagree

Burns (1999) describes the quantitative method as suitable in obtaining objective results. Using the Likert scale to solicit quantitative data, the researcher was able to keep under control the amount of data received from the responses of both the health service users and providers. Through the Likert scale, it is easy to manipulate data since the respondents indicate only agreement or disagreement with a given statement (see, Appendix on survey tables).

1.5.4 DATA ANALYSIS

The analysis of the interview questions for selected service providers and recipients was mostly qualitative. The qualitative approach allowed additional insights to be gleaned about the non-quantifiable stocks of social capital. The qualitative method also helped to explain some of the issues that the quantitative data did not bring out clearly. The qualitative approach also allowed the researcher to test the validity of certain assumptions that are inherent in the theoretical formulation of social capital.

The researcher used more than one criterion to triangulate the captured research information thereby corroborating the sources in an effort to build an inter-subjective consensus concerning the perceptions on social capital as observed in the research sites. Triangulation involved multiple information sources, multiple personnel in information collection and multiple analysis and interpretation

(respondents, researcher, assistants, resource persons and documentary evidence) to enhance the validity and reliability of the study findings.

In employing qualitative research methods, an attempt was made to study human action from the perspective of the social actors themselves. Babbie (2001, p. 85) posits that 'the primary goal of studies using this approach is defined as describing and understanding rather than explaining human behavior.' Qualitative research entails that the researcher plans to observe, discover, describe, compare and analyze characteristics, attributes, themes and underlying dimensions of a particular unit. Qualitative research, according to De Vos (1998, p. 15), deals with data that is primarily verbal and quantitative research methodologies deal with numerical data.

The narrative process collects data to describe lives and is therefore quite useful for either focus group interviews or in-depth individual interviews. The information gathered in this way was used to design the survey questionnaire (see Appendix II for details). Returned questionnaires were later analysed using standard statistical packages namely SPSS and NCSS. Descriptive statistics was mostly used on the captured data in order to analyse the nature of social capital available and determine how best to incorporate this evidence into public provisioning.

The data for this study was multidimensional with four levels (four response options). However, for the purpose of analysis, these levels were further divided into two levels. The two levels adopted were simply 'positive' and 'negative' in describing available stocks of social capital. To assess reliability, Cronbach's alpha test was conducted on the data. Cronbach's alpha test checks for a model's or survey's internal consistency sometimes called a 'scale reliability coefficient'. Cronbach's alpha assesses the reliability of a rating summarizing variables, which measure some underlying factor. A score is computed from each variable and the overall rating, called a 'scale' is defined by the sum of these scores over all the variables.

Cronbach's alpha test can be written as a function of the number of variables and the average inter-correlation among the subjects response. Below, for conceptual purposes, is the formula for the standardized Cronbach's alpha test:

$$\alpha = \frac{N \cdot \bar{r}}{1 + (N-1) \cdot \bar{r}}$$

Here N is equal to the number of items and r-bar is the average inter-item correlation among the items. From this formula, if the number of items is increased, there is an increase in Cronbach's alpha. Additionally, if the average inter-item correlation is low, alpha will be low. As the average inter-item correlation increases, Cronbach's alpha increases as well. This makes sense intuitively - if the inter-item correlations are high, and then there is evidence that the items are measuring the same underlying construct. This is really, what is meant when someone says they have 'high' or 'good' reliability. From the research data set, the Cronbach's Alpha value was more than 0.5 implying that reliability is high given that the data is multi-dimensional with two dimensions; 'postive' and 'negative.'

1.6 LIMITATIONS AND DELIMITATIONS

In this section, the researcher would further wish to reiterate that this is primarily a research project in public administration/governance and not in health policy. The study neither addresses issues of health sector reforms directly nor those regarding health services management *per se*. Hospitals were simply chosen as case studies in public provisioning. Indeed, public schools, veterinary services, or any other aspect of public provisioning in Kenya could have been used, as is in fact used to elaborate on some of the results, without the study losing its purpose and significance.

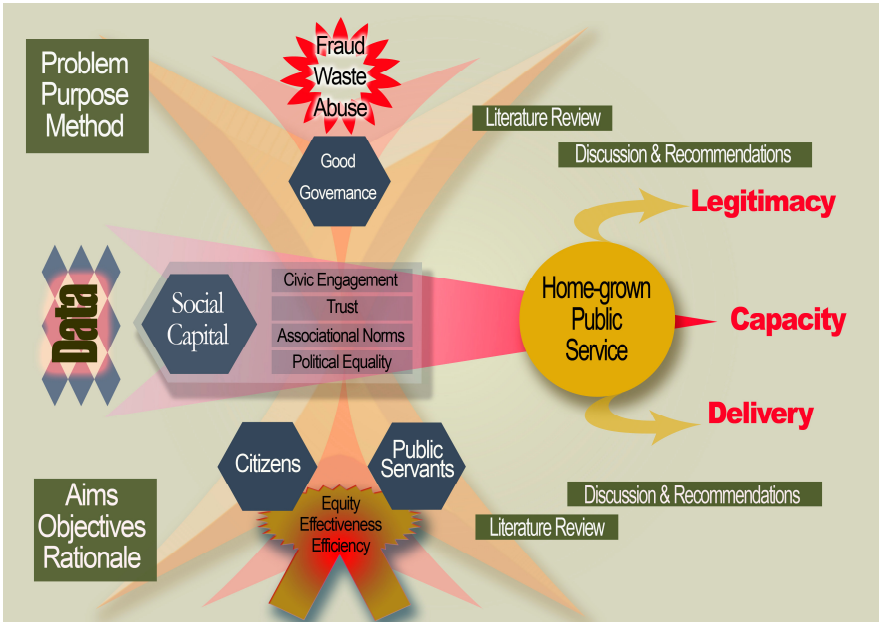
Due to limited time and resources, the cases studied were not representative of the entire public health service in Kenya. This, however, was a deliberate choice. The study is intended to be useful mainly for its replication logic rather than the representivity logic. The intention was to describe and explain the phenomenon of social capital as accurately as possible and to determine its possible impact on the good governance discourse as these relate to service delivery.

1.7 SUMMARY OF THESIS

Figure 1-1 on the next page captures the conceptual framework of the thesis concisely. The trio of waste, fraud and abuse are seen as challenges that could be addressed effectively by the good governance ideals as espoused by the dominant development discourse voices. Yet, as is shown in the diagram, the good governance principles are often impeded or catalyzed by the existing nature of social capital amongst both the civil servants and the people served. The aim of integrating the concepts of social capital and good governance is to eventually realize public provisioning that is legitimate, has the capacity to deliver, and actually delivers satisfactorily to the various clientele publics.

In the past decade and a half or so, the pace of civil service reforms in Kenya has increased given the high profile donor support as well as the growing demand locally for improved service delivery, greater accountability and more transparency. The development partners have promoted the enhancement of an agreed set of principles that characterizes these good governance initiatives. The argument is that the nature of social capital amongst the Kenyan people is a threat to the entrenchment of good governance principles in the Kenyan civil service.

FIG 1-1: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE THESIS



The main purpose of this research is to highlight areas of incompatibility between the existing nature of social capital and the good governance approach to public management. To answer pertinent questions in this regard, the Kenyan health sector was chosen as a mirror through which to analyze public provisioning in Kenya. The health sector was chosen because of the convenience it offers in terms of access as well as due to the fact that it makes it easy to interview and survey both the community of users as well as the service providers in one place (the hospital).

Given the research problem, the study was then organized in the following manner in order to achieve problem-method-theory linkage. The Introduction section delves into the motivation for the research, its aims, objectives and rationale, and methodology. The introduction also attempted to show the connection between public provisioning and the concept of social capital. Conceptual issues are discussed in Chapter Two. It is in this chapter that the ideas of the 'citizen', 'customer', 'public' and 'deliberative democracy' are explored as a theoretical framework in order to show their relevance to the formulation of any governance paradigm that seeks to mitigate public dissatisfaction with service delivery.

Chapter Three proffers a survey of the literature on the twin concepts of good governance and social capital. Under the concept of good governance, problematic areas to the concept of social capital are delineated and discussed in order to demonstrate the theoretical gaps. It is the position in the thesis that the role of the citizen does not begin and end with voting in periodic general or local government elections and therefore the citizenry-- as an integral segment of public governors-- and public managers and leaders must continually 'deliberate' democratically to improve quality and levels of services and goods. It is in this effort to establish a nexus between the people served and public managers and leaders that deliberative democracy theory, especially those of Iris Marion Young (1996, 2000) (Communicative Democracy) and public sphere theory represented here by Nancy Fraser (1993) (Participatory Parity), are employed in order to tie the three concepts of social capital, good governance and public provisioning into one coherent thesis.

Chapter Four is a situation analysis of the Kenyan public bureaucracy and its stakeholders. It thus offers a glimpse into the global imperatives of good governance as well as the manifestations of social capital amongst the various Kenyan publics. It is assumed in this Chapter that the bureaucrats are in fact also representatives of the wider populace of the country. Thus, it is argued here that it is difficult to realize a civic regarding bureaucracy if the people who serve in that administration are not inherently civic-minded. A rudimentary working of social capital is also given in this section with the presentation of a local community organization as a case study of what communities are already doing to augment public provisioning.

The data for this study is presented in Chapter Five. The qualitative data, survey results as well as secondary data related to this study are offered in this chapter. The manifestations of the four strands of social capital amongst both the community of users as well as the service providers are described here in detail. The analysis of these findings is then carried out in Chapter Six. While the predominant associational networks have been heavily influenced by ethnic chauvinism in many instances, the study argues that ethnicity *per se* is not a threat to good governance. Nevertheless, the problematic nature of this phenomenon is demonstrated here to further show the intimate connection between social capital and good governance. The administrative developmental capacity is also examined with relation to the existing stocks of social capital. Here, the idea of a developmental state is looked at from the perspective of administrative capacity.

Finally, Chapter Seven offers some insights into the implications of reconciling the available stocks of social capital with the global drives for a universal set of good governance principles or what one may call 'ideal type' good governance. The initial misgivings about the concept of good governance and social capital are re-examined with regard to the evidence on the ground in order to develop frameworks for new policies as well as to shed some light on the theory of public administration.

CHAPTER TWO
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The purpose of this Chapter is to shed clarity on the linkage between the research problem (service delivery), the theoretical framework adopted in the study and the research strategy deployed. The Chapter begins by offering a conceptual understanding of key terms used in the study. After these basic definitions, the subsequent sections move on to cover a theoretical framework followed by core concerns in public provisioning debates. The Chapter therefore explores the key theoretical assumptions of the main concepts used in the research in order to articulate a coherent theoretical framework. The argument offered here is that the relationships between good governance, social capital and public provisioning are more fundamental than the simply technocratic notion of improving service delivery. The core contention of the researcher is that the basic link amongst the three concepts is located in public engagement and participation and therefore policies aimed at reforming the civil service for better service delivery must engage with these issues critically.

The challenge was to interrogate the twin concepts of social capital and good governance in a manner that captures accurately the manifestations of the former and the implementation of the latter while allowing for practical responses that are of value to policy makers to be developed with regard to public provisioning. This approach will allow for the appraisal of the existing stock of social capital amongst both the service providers and the community of users to determine whether the character of the available stocks does have an impact on public provisioning and more importantly on institutionalising principles of good governance. The idea is to promote a good governance model that effectively privileges participation and responsiveness in public provisioning. To do this effectively, the research traces the roots of good governance to public sphere theory. The three interrelated thematic areas of public sphere theory, namely, democratic governance, deliberative democracy, and participatory parity permeates the good governance discourse as a precursor but not as a defining tool. These concepts will be explained in detail in the next section.

2.1 THE PUBLIC AND ITS PROBLEMS

This section of the chapter focuses on basic definitions of key terms used in the thesis. Fundamental definitions of the three concepts of 'public', 'customers' and 'citizens' are explored here in order to show how they fit into the dictates of good governance and social capital. Furthermore, it is important to look closely at these key terms to situate them theoretically within the models of deliberative democracy that is assumed here to inform governance generally and good governance to some extent.

The concept of the 'public' is dealt with here first. This is necessary because good governance demands both 'public consultation' and 'public participation.' The definition of 'public' is here traced back to Emmanuel Kant's (1784) essay on enlightenment.[5] In this often-quoted essay, Kant emphasizes the importance of 'public reasoning.' In this work, Kant argued that the public sphere is a process of production rather than a pre-ordained object. By this, he meant that most adults can influence the public sphere with their own output. This can be done in the process of intellectual practice or commentary that is then posted into the public realm. In the process, such a commentary, whether in the form of a book or a poster, becomes a disembodied public. Indeed, Kant urges all citizens to play this role in what he refers to as public reason. In a sense, the researcher takes the position that this is the genesis of the notion of a responsive public that does not always take the authorities 'at their word' so to speak.

The definition of 'public' and the sphere of its emergence and operation that emerges from these discussions is that of 'customers' and 'citizens.' By these accounts, 'public' covers both individual persons and groups of individuals in social organizations being treated as either inclusive or collective. While Habermas (1979; 1989 and 1996) develops a theory of the citizen as a 'deliberative democrat,' Rawls (1993) on the other hand develops a liberal conceptualization of the citizen as a voter that sits much more comfortably with the view of a citizen as a customer. That is, the

[5] Emmanuel Kant (1784) *An Answer to the Question: What is Enlightenment?* Available on many sites on the Internet. See for instance, [http://www.english.upenn.edu/~mgamer/Etexts/kant.html] retrieved on August 31, 2006.

customer as an individual interested in a particular service or goods. This is because Rawls (1993 pp. 188-9) gives an account of political organization that demands from the state the provision of public goods. He contends that public goods are necessary if free and equal citizens are to enjoy freedom.

On the other hand, Habermas' (1979; 1989 and 1996) conceptualization of the citizen as a deliberative democrat is a bit more constraining in this regard because he incorporates republican attributes. Habermas provides a better model of an on-going legal and constitutional building that easily accommodates new social and historical conditions. This is because his discursive constitution allows for a dynamic relationship between constitutional and ordinary politics. He is alive to the fact that there is an element of choice that is unavailable to the customer regarding services provided by the government. In this conceptualization, the citizen is forced to 'deliberate' since her choices are delimited to which services should be provided by the government and how.

In the thesis, the formulation of a civic republican citizen by Kymlicka (1995) is preferred. This is a conceptualization that can be traced all the way back to Aristotle. The civic republican tradition argues that people determine their true nature through deliberation and action with fellow citizens in the public sphere. This is pertinent to the concept of social capital given that civic engagement is a key pillar of the concept as envisaged in this study. For Kymlicka (1995), the citizen is a member of a community that governs and is in turn governed by state authority. While Rawls (1993) tends to over-emphasize the role of the citizen as a voter (unlike customers, citizens have voting rights) by arguing that casting a vote in an election makes a citizen an active participant in state decisions, the civic republican tradition urges people to actively give directions to the government rather than be mere customers of government services. Rawls (1993) would seem to be advocating 'mandatism,' that is, citizens confer to the elected representatives the power to act on their behalf without question for the entire duration of the elected term. This would make the governors accountable to the citizens for all the decisions made on their behalf only at election times.

It is contended here that the civic republican tradition confers a number of privileges to the citizen. To begin with, it enables citizens to query the policies of the powers that be, putting them on their toes to regularly initiate consultative exercises not only for the purposes of informing the public about new policies but also with the intention of incorporating their views. In this manner, the people are kept abreast of governmental decisions leading to greater transparency in accordance with the dictates of good governance. This approach assumes that the nature of social capital existing amongst the people should be such as to compel the majority of the populace to seek to know the reasons for the various government policies and decisions. Furthermore, the people are supposed to be able to debate and discuss these issues freely. Having looked at the 'public' and the 'citizen,' we are now better placed to consider the issue of 'public participation' that is so closely tied to the concept of social capital in the thesis.

In concluding this section, the researcher wants to re-emphasize that the study makes a distinction between the public and the citizen. Whereas the citizen has rights as well as obligations to the state, the public is a member of a polity who may not necessarily wish to be overburdened by the demands of the state rather than the statutory responsibilities like paying taxes and being generally peaceable. It is for this reason that the study tends to use 'the people' more often rather than the constraining term of the 'citizen.' The term 'the people,' is here used instead of the older term of 'an ordinary member of the public.' The researcher is convinced that the use of the term 'citizen' as commonly understood, theoretically speaking, does diminish the importance of the concept of social capital. The dominant conception of good governance employees the notion of citizen indiscriminately thus treating citizens of the more economically advanced countries in a similar manner like those of the developing economies and thus losing out on the particular manners of how the various publics interact with their administrators and governors.

2.1.1 PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

The dominant conceptualization of good governance envisages public participation based on the notions of involvement, consultation, and partnership in the process of

decision-making (see, generally, Minogue, Polidano and Hulme, 1998). The 'public' is thus allowed to assert their influence in governmental decision-making. There is a danger that some governors would often want to limit public involvement in the decision-making process at the level of consultation not elevate the concept to the level of partnership. Ideally, participation is about capital and power (see Fraser, 1993). Power in this case refers to the ability to influence decisions while capital ensures control. Thus, it becomes apparent that consultation is not the same thing as participation. This is at times carried out with the connivance of the people if they lack the capacity to engage with public issues effectively. The researcher desires the involvement of the community of users in decisions that ensures control of public provisioning processes in order to achieve partnership. As Kant put it, whenever the people lack enlightenment, they tend to obey authority unquestioningly. On another level, the nature of social capital existing amongst the people may make some segments of the populace to blindly support authority as will be demonstrated later on in the thesis.

Public participation has evolved from the Platonic idea of direct representation in a democracy to today's representative democracy. Plato, in his *Republic*, presents the idea of good as the supreme idea, which is the source and the basis of the existence of the entire world of ideas (Santas, 2006). In this Platonic conceptualization, in a society characterized by desirable forms of social capital, every member of the society would be informed by the idea of good while making decisions. However, today's world is limited to a form of participation conceived as a consultative process between governors and the governed.

The 'ideal type' good governance as advocated for in the thesis perceives participation as process and is wary of instances where the public are only invited once the authorities have devised and shaped a policy proposal. There is need for the people to be involved in public policy processes right from the initiation stage to implementation in order to satisfy Fraser's (1993) participative parity model to be discussed shortly. Such a practice of regarding participation as a process, ensures that the interaction with the public is continuous. This participation should involve both the expression of views as well as collaboration between the people and the state in

public provisioning. The first part of this participation would be satisfied by Rawls' (1993) liberal conceptualization of the citizen as voter. The second aspect requires the civic republican citizen (Kymlicka, 1995) who engages with the governors and is engaged with through a variety of consultative and lobbying processes in order to decide on services and their delivery

In a sense, deliberative or discursive democracy elevates public consultation beyond mere lobbying. This is because of its down-playing of voting and demands of a trade-off between representative democracy and consensus decision-making (see, Elster, 1998). Thus, we can view the public as the party initiating lobbying while government can be seen as the party initiating consultation. Some sort of consent on the part of the public is expected in consultation as information flows between the government and the public. For this to happen, government must from time to time initiate some form of consultative exercise with the purpose of informing or educating the public participants to enhance their social capital by developing capacity for civic engagement amongst the populace. On the other hand, there is also need for consultative exercises with the sole purpose of gathering information on the views of the public participants to inform public policy as well as routine governance processes.

The role of social capital in processes such as described above would be to sustain voluntary and active involvement. On the part of the state, there is need to develop formal mechanisms to regularly involve the people in consultative exercises. Thus, public participation becomes an indicator of the degree of influence between governors and the governed as in Hyden's (1983) concept of reciprocity and legitimacy. According to Hyden (1983, 1970, 1973), attempts to transform the African peasant by the introduction of developmental interventions such as dependency-creating technology, artificial and narrow-issue credit schemes as well as crop-specialization in rural development have failed because of the tenacious nature of the bonding social capital amongst these communities. He calls these bonds 'affective ties' that sustains what he conceptualizes as the 'economy of affection.' Based on his experiences in East Africa, he contends that African farmers value human relations as just as much as profit thus often undermining strategies akin to

the dominant characterization of good governance that treats citizens purely as market-oriented entrepreneurial people. In these situations, reciprocity and legitimacy thus become the primary principle of exchange, in spite of the fact that modern states are premised on a fully monetarized and commercialized environment. It can be seen from the proceedings here that effective participation has the potential for citizens to exercise some form of control on the governors. The main difference between effective participation and mere consultation is the fact that whereas the former enables citizen control of governance processes and public provisioning through delegated authority and partnership, the latter exhibits tokenism through placation, consultation and informing. We will now proceed to look at the concepts of deliberative and participatory democracy and their relationship to the concept of social capital in more detail.

2.1.2 DEEPENING DEMOCRACY

The concept of social capital has civic engagement as one of its key tenets. Both in his work on socio-economic justice as well as later on when he develops the concept of an overlapping consensus, Rawls (1972; 1987) considers the issue of civic virtue as critical for a citizenry that wants to engage with the governors actively in development goals that realize social justice. As mentioned earlier, Rawls (1993) would seem to restrict civic engagement to voting yet participatory or deliberative democracy demands much more given the combination of the terms 'participatory' and 'democracy.' While in Platonic terms democracy can be rendered simply as a rule by the people, modern societies have to develop ways to make such a system work.

In modern societies, it is often very difficult to get individual society members to participate in decision-making of all governance processes. Such an arrangement would simply be impossible. Several factors can be cited for the impracticality of the ancient model of democracy, such as economic growth, the competitiveness of elites, political representation as practiced in parliamentary democracy, the principle of separation of powers, and freedoms and rights of various kinds (see, for instance, Rawls, 1993). Indeed, even in the original Greek setting as captured by Plato in the

Republic, it seems that popular participation was not regarded as a paramount indicator of democracy as it was only for a select few.

Participation *per se* is not an important indicator of democracy. Whatever weight is to be given to participation thus depends on the political dispensation prevailing in a polity. Of course, the most direct measure of participation would seem to be an election. However, when it comes to governance of service delivery or public provisioning, then elections are not viable and other means of people involvement have to be explored. Once the citizens have been granted the right to compete for office and political support, there remains the very real task of development management. Thus, for deliberative democrats (see, for instance, Elster, 1998), the modern states' contemporary institutions do not necessarily encourage ideals of participatory citizenship as they often tend to be vote-centric. Deliberative democrats thus advocate for changes to be effected on these political structures in order to increase the involvement of citizens. This position challenges the citizens themselves to develop capacity to engage with the state effectively.

The argument in the thesis is that the existing social capital amongst a majority of the populace in Kenya is actually a threat to this idea. That is, many citizens, whether as government service providers or as a community of users, tend to organize themselves into formidable groups to make material demands on the state rather than see themselves as deliberative democrats engaged in the same mission as the state. This is the entry point of social capital. To use Kant's (1784 p. 2) own words:

> Perhaps a revolution can overthrow autocratic despotism and profiteering or power-grabbing oppression, but it can never truly reform a manner of thinking; instead, new prejudices, just like the old ones they replace, will serve as a leash for the great unthinking mass.

It is often taken for granted, especially in the liberal democracies of the West, that free and open political competition results in good governance (see, for instance, Fukuyama, 1993). This is because, it is assumed, that leaders so elected tend to be responsive to the citizens' concerns. However, issues to do with social capital such as the predominant associational norms and trust may at times conspire to defeat these objectives. Nevertheless, and because of the potential shortcomings of the vote-

centric approach, deliberative governance expands the space of engagement to also include lobbying political representatives and officials, protesting, party campaigning and group activity. However, wherever adverse stocks of social capital exists, then only select groups participates effectively thus undermining good governance.

Potential shortcomings of the vote-centric approach include the threat of rigging as well as low voter turnouts. Furthermore, a higher voter turnout does not necessarily mean that there is a higher commitment to democracy on the part of voters and that a lower voter turnout means that there is a lower commitment to democracy. As Booysen (2006)[6] once pointed out in the case of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, a number of political players and political parties in the country are not in the game to 'lose.' They participate with the sole intention of winning and often failure to win means a rejection of the outcome of elections. Deliberative democracy offers a window of hope of taking on board some of these entrenched viewpoints. In the case of large parts of Africa including Kenya, formal voting also becomes problematic since it is quite difficult to determine 'voting quality,' that is, how many voters are able to cast their vote on the basis of detailed policy preferences. Deliberative democracy forces us to think about issues of political rationality, competence, consensus and ideology. In a way therefore, deliberative democracy would much more easily build on and influence the existing stocks of social capital much more than the current notions of democratic participation as described above.

Whereas good governance proponents insist on formal channels for entrenching participatory opportunities in the form of school governing bodies, District Health Management Boards (DHMBs) as essential to increased citizen participation in governing processes (see, for instance, ESCAP, 2005), deliberative democrats, such as Nancy Fraser (2001) and Young (2000) would call for the enhancement of the representative process. Fraser (2001 p. 6) goes further to develop pillars of social justice amongst which is what she conceptualizes as 'participative parity.' According to her, participative parity requires social arrangements that permit all (adult) members of society to interact with one another as peers. She goes on to show that this would depend on two factors namely: distribution and recognition. She

[6] Paper presented at the Wits (P&DM) informal weekly lunchtime academic conversations in 2006.

characterizes the former as the 'objective' factor requiring that participants must have the material resources to ensure their independence and access to goods. Regarding the latter, which she terms as the 'intersubjective' factor, she argues it requires that cultural values express respect for all members of society and do not discriminate against some because of their 'difference.' This latter distinction is indeed very pertinent to the Kenyan case where there are traditional norms that at times militate against the achievement of such parity.

These ideas are further propounded on by Young (2000) to ensure a greater reach even amongst the least articulate in a society in terms of public policy grammar. Young (2000) interrogates issues of political inclusion and exclusion in multicultural societies in order to attain democratic ideals. She develops the idea of communicative democracy in order to deal with politics in a more inclusive way. Political inclusion in many societies including Kenya is at times threatened because the processes of debate and decision making often marginalize individuals and groups because the norms of political discussion are biased against some forms of expression especially for the illiterate members of the society. For example, the Kenyan Parliament carries out most of its business in English except for the rare occasions where a few members chose to make their contributions in Kiswahili, yet the majority of the populace are not able to engage with the debates in English. Furthermore, it is often difficult to achieve participative parity in traditional democratic practice in political settings akin to that of Kenya also because of the existing deep material inequalities.

Young (2000) thus broadens our understanding of democratic communication by reflecting on the positive political functions of narrative, rhetorically situated appeals, and public protest. For her, concepts such as those of the civil society and the public sphere need to be reconstructed to accommodate plural forms of communication among debating citizens societies. She argues that the scope of a polity should extend as wide as the scope of social and economic interactions that raise issues of justice. Take as an example globally driven environmental policies here. We often find that most African countries have highly sophisticated legislation around these issues that often do not take account of the local people's interaction with say wildlife. This often so because the dominant forces pushing for the adoption of such legislation is

at times removed from the local experiences of say the Maasai in Kenya or the Khoi-San in Botswana. Young's reflections are interesting in the sense that she would appear to be recommending the establishment of global democratic principles, while at the same time maintaining the need to preserve significant local autonomy in governance in order to promote political equality. This position neatly captures the essence of this research study in the argument for the development of governance paradigms that are in sync with the local populace while at the same time meeting the expectations of global principles.

Both models of participative parity as well as communicative democracy respond positively to the challenges of equality of participation within group activities in which more often than not the advantaged individuals in society are able to get heard as opposed to the disadvantaged. It is important to keep in mind Fraser's (2001) distinction between distribution and recognition in participative parity for it is often in distribution that service delivery challenges are situated. This is due to differences in talents and resources; for example, the advantaged have education, literacy and personal wealth, and the internal democracy for the representation of their group interests. These models offer an escape route from the 'iron law of oligarchy'[7] since it is the tendency of representation of members within groups. Because representation is skewed in an oligarchy, it follows that participation will be skewed as well. This is possible even in the presence of very strong political parties since corporate pluralism can easily cause the control of the public agenda to be alienated from the citizens and elected representatives (see also, Wiredu, 1996). It is worth repeating here that democracy, in accordance with the deliberative model, has more to do with social interactions than with corporate structures thus offering a theoretical handle that would be handy in deepening the reach of the state in African contexts using such pertinent concepts as social capital.

[7] Wikipedia traces the 'iron law of oligarchy' as a political theory to the German sociologist Robert Michels in his 1915 book, Political Parties. The theory states that all forms of organization, regardless of how democratic or autocratic they may be at the start, will eventually and inevitably develop into oligarchies. An oligarchy is here taken to mean government by a few, especially by a small faction of persons or families as well as those making up such a government. Available at [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iron_law_of_oligarchy]. Retrieved on July 3, 2006.

The way ethnic considerations have been manipulated to sabotage multiparty politics is a case in point in trying to show that sometimes what is good for the gander is not necessarily good for the geese. The two general elections in Kenya carried out soon after the re-introduction of multiparty politics were heavily influenced by ethnic considerations. It is scenarios such as this that has made Wiredu (1996) observe that the demise of the one-party system has made the problem of working out a suitable political system an urgent one in Africa. According to him, it is doubtful that the system of multiparty democracy can meet the democratic aspirations of the people for socio-economic development. Wiredu (1996) argues that multiparty politics has an in-built tendency to place any one group of persons consistently in the position of the minority that can easily develop into disaffection with the system.

However, his recommendations for Africa are rather radical. He advises that Africa should dispense with multiparty democracy. He does not argue in favor of single parties. He urges African leaders to try to learn from traditional forms of governance that relied more on consensus rather than majority rule *per se*. Wiredu (1996) is also worried about political parties because, by definition, they are organizations of people of similar tendencies and aspirations with the sole aim of gaining power for the implementation of their policies. Thus, they lack the required degree of acceptability to infuse elements of meaningful and effective citizen participation into the notion of participatory democracy.

In a participatory environment and given the right forms of social capital, individual citizens recognize their roles and responsibilities within a larger community as well as knowing about other citizens' needs. Through debate, compromise and decision, people learn to link their concerns with those of others. They thus learn to deploy what Adam Smith referred to as self-interest properly understood (see, Putnam, 1993). This conceptualization of participation is pertinent to the idea of social capital because it privileges political education over socialization insofar as both public and private decision-making practices are concerned. Having explored in some detail the environment into which public provision is situated, we will now move to look at the impetus for service delivery reforms.

2.1.3 IMPETUS FOR SERVICE DELIVERY REFORMS

This study grapples with the question of how government and the citizens in general can work together for the co-production of quality goods and services. Civic engagement and community participation are seen as possible channels that could be used in restructuring the social fabric of the Kenyan nation state. Such a move would ensure that in many instances, the communities themselves are able to identify the services they need. Berlyn (1997 p. 2) takes this point further by pointing out that the community itself is a 'plethora of contrast' as regards issues around literacy, language, incomes and so on. This diversity offers an increased motivation for the government to devise a common thread to pull all the separate parts together. As a young nation, there is a need for unity of purpose, action and effort to build harmony and coherence to help the fight against crime, violence and corruption.

From the late 1980s, the major drive for public sector reforms emerged at first from the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) and later on by the importation of private sector practices in the public sector. Indeed, even the clamor for multiparty politics in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa was simultaneously awakened by the demand for efficiency, transparency and accountability by the people from the governors (see, for instance, Stiglitz, 2002). These moves were mainly propelled by, on the one hand, increasingly dwindling resources, and on the other hand, a more demanding and increasingly better-informed citizenry. Similarly, the need to address growing poverty as well as great advances in technology especially those relating to Information and Communication (ICTs) also added to the impetus (Minogue, Polidano and Hulme, 1998).

With a new type of democratic public governance unfolding, it became increasingly difficult to maintain traditional hierarchical command control models of governance that had supported the authoritarian dispensations. On the other hand, citizens begun to query instances where there were escalating costs of intervention with little evidence of return on investment; the silo approach to governance resulting in inefficient and ineffective service delivery and waste in resource of government; the 'one size fits all' solution approach and other sources of poor service delivery

(Ndegwa, 2006; Morton, 1999). One could say these were the seeds of the idea of a responsive and consultative (used here in the sense of encouraging participation from stakeholders) governance approaches (see, Stiglitz, 2002; Swilling, Simone and Khan, 2000).

These practices easily tie into the concept of social capital once civil service reformers latch onto the notion that effective delivery of a range of government services requires productive working relationships based on mutual respect and cooperation between the community of users and service providers. With such arrangements, transaction costs (often vastly escalated by corruption amongst other system failures) as well the perennial scarcity of resources within a developing country context would tend to be much more effectively dealt with within theory. Thus, it is argued in the thesis that the establishment of a shared purpose, shared principles, and performance monitoring principles and shared skills development goals should precede the formulation of a good governance code. Furthermore, even though outside the scope of the thesis, any code of good governance cannot by itself counter the effect of constrained funding, legislative limitations on agencies activities or lack of skilled practitioners in a particular area to mention but a few.

Today, it would seem that most public provisioning concerns are being addressed by the incorporation of private sector management techniques for service excellence. For example, there has been much emphasis on innovation and entrepreneurship (see, for instance, Moore, 1995; Osborne and Gaebler, 1992) in terms of how service delivery could be improved to satisfy the customer who is also a citizen. This has often meant the introduction of a management culture that emphasizes the centrality of the citizen as a customer as well as accountability for results. With this shift in orientation, also comes structural or organizational choices that promote decentralized control through a wide variety of alternative service delivery mechanisms including quasi-markets with public and private service providers competing for resources from policymakers and donors (see also Manning, 2000).

Kenya retains to a great degree the tradition of the British civil service that was bequeathed to her on attaining independence. There is still strong evidence of

hierarchical bureaucracies, which have not been replaced by chains of inter-linked contracts. As Alford (2002) states, current global civil service reform efforts are aimed at making governance processes and services more client-focused. He also points out that this restructuring is grounded also on the premise that governments are increasingly running short of resources to address service delivery and hence the call for alternative ways of delivery that brings government close to the people. Added to these efforts has also been the need to improve coordination across policy, program and service delivery.

All over the world, citizens are demanding seamless service delivery or one window structure to promote responsiveness to client needs and overcome jurisdictional boundaries (see, for instance, Osborne and Gaebler, 1992; Arts and Tatenhove, 2004). Citizens are frustrated with duplications, gaps and lack of integration. One option to address these challenges would be for the government to prioritize partnerships between departments and with non-government sectors as delivery vehicles. These developments have created room for cultural change in the carrying out of regular government business.

The concept of social capital is flexible enough to accommodate the notions of accountability and risk management that are emerging as key areas for good governance. The challenge is getting the right balance between upwards accountability and downwards responsiveness. Theoretically, social capital offers a framework for developing a zone between vertical, horizontal and citizen accountability given the networks of reciprocity and obligations that it entails. The result of civil service reforms should be to develop a coordinated and collaborative method of achieving desired ends for complex problems. The way the Constituency Development Fund (CDF)[8] has been used in some constituencies is a good example here. A number of constituencies have used the money allocated to build clinics without coordination from the Ministry of Health. As a result, there are hospital buildings in some constituencies that are closed because of lack of medical personnel

[8] CDF is one of the most welcome policy innovations of the current Kenyan government. Under the CDF Act of 2003, the government allocates 2.5% of its annual ordinary revenue to the constituencies directly. The amounts allocated are weighted according to the poverty levels of each constituency.

and equipment as the MoH does not have the resources to staff and equip these buildings. It can be argued that had the concerned CDF management committees been adequately advised, they may have opted to say, sink boreholes that would vastly increase health risk management in terms of public health requirements rather go for facilities based care that are not sustainable.

2.2 POLITICS AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION INTERFACE

With regard to the thesis, the inter-phase between public administration and politics is pertinent precisely because most political players see the instruments of state power as a tool for influencing public provisioning in favor of their constituents. As has been demonstrated by many observers of the Kenyan political scene (see, for instance, Leonard 1991; Hyden, 1983; Badejo, 2006), Kenyans are keen observers of who gets what post especially at the higher levels of the civil service. Holders of these posts are often seen as representatives of ethnic groupings rather than as substantive holders of the positions in their own rights. Such perceptions fly in the face of global principles that model political and administrative management on a delineation between policy and the work of politicians, and management and the work of senior public officials.

Even in the best case scenario, the lines are difficult to draw and the relationships between Executive Authorities, Heads of Departments and Advisors remain an issue of concern and analysis. The politics/administration interface has and continues to be a subject of academic interest and numerous publications have been produced on the subject (see, for instance, Chandler 2000; Price 1975; Brooker 2000). The core issues related to the concepts of social capital and good governance in the exploration of the nature of executive relationships in the different systems explored here concern the nature of governance, the values which define civil service and the extent of trust between the different players. The depth and nature of the interaction varies between countries and processes. For example, the United Kingdom created largely autonomous executive agencies in the United Kingdom as a means of breaking the power of traditional ministries and their civil servants. Sweden has

struggled to undertake a similar exercise largely because the nature of the political-administrative interface was so different (Molander, Nilsson, and Schick, 2002). Other than for historical reasons, one can argue that Kenya does not have a systematic and scientific home-grown rationale for the current bureaucratic structure.

The politics/public administration boundary, in particular, is a common source of conflict. In some contexts, elected and appointed officials work side-by-side, without regard to status and formal roles. On the one hand, they may agree, disagree and debate the consequences quite effectively and amicably. In other contexts, the relationship can be dysfunctional. Ndegwa[9] (2006) narrates how soon after independence, *Mzee* Kenyatta felt that the land subdivision and redistribution to Africans was proceeding too slowly and decided to lead the exercise himself one day. Ndegwa (2006) says that at the end of the day, Kenyatta felt exhausted and decided to reward himself with the best orchard within which stood a beautiful and magnificent colonial mansion.

The above story as told by Ndegwa (2006) illustrates the importance of drawing boundaries between politics and public administration. In drawing the boundary, a key issue is whether the greater concern should be to promote policy coherence, improve service delivery, protect administrative due process, or all of the above, which is normally the global concern of good governance. The literature mostly contends that a focus on policy coherence results on functions that are more likely to be horizontally integrated complicating accountability relationships in the executive while the more common model of interaction protects administrative due process and focuses on vertical accountability (see, Minogue, Polidano and Hulme 1998; Kirkpatrick, Clarke and Polidano 2002). This is typified by a separation of politics and policy making from administration on the assumption that government is more efficient when administration is walled off from political influence. This is one of the

9 Mr Ndegwa was the first independent Kenya's Secretary to the Cabinet and Head of Civil Service under President Mzee Jomo Kenyatta. After four years at the Office of the President, Ndegwa moved on to become the first African Governor of the inaugural Central Bank of Kenya (CBK). He was also the chairperson of the famous Ndegwa Commission of 1971 that inquired into civil service structure and remuneration, a handy primer that continues to provide reference to policy adjustments within Kenya's Civil Service.

arguments of good governance that is often short circuited by ethnicity (read as an undesirable trait of social capital) as will be demonstrated later on.

In a sense, according to Hyden and Court (2002), a growing concern with efficient and effective service delivery has blurred these boundaries, resulting in a merging of political and administrative concerns through a strategic alliance in the name of improved delivery. Indeed, according to Hyden and Court (2002), it is this blurring of boundaries that has enabled the Bretton Woods Institutions to delve into what traditionally would have been considered the internal politics of a sovereign state in the name of good governance. In functionally integrated departments, policy and administration are joined yet separate. Often, top positions are reserved for political appointees, but the remainder is held by civil servants. Procedural rules that specify how civil service positions are to be filled, purchases made, and other administrative actions carried out are intended to create a politics-free public administration (Wilson 1989).

Within a country's context and culture, there are also informal understandings of where the boundaries are drawn, how they are enforced, when and how politicians intervene and how contact between the two areas is maintained. Yet, according to Fonge (1997), however complex the resultant structure adopted, there is no guarantee of improved public administration purely based on this separation.

Max Weber argued that the tension between the expertise of managers and politicians' control of the machinery of the state, represented a key to understanding modern government (Beetham 1985). Since then, a large literature has developed on the subject. Opinions tend to be divided between those who consider that managers' expertise provides them with a hegemony in policy-making (administrative dominance), and other, more recent approaches, focusing on institutional arrangements that allow to politicians to effectively influence implementation. Both perspectives concur that a modern professional administration cannot operate without broad authority delegated by political leaders.

A comparative analysis of broad approaches identified in the review of the relevant international experiences demonstrates that the manner in which roles are defined and boundaries set, cannot be isolated from the history of the country, the specific public sector transformation experience and the values established for the public administration system within the country. Drawing from international experiences, is thus not just a matter of application of specific approaches, but require a careful reflection on the appropriateness of the approach to the intended context and values established for public administration.

2.3 FROM PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION TO PUBLIC GOVERNANCE

The practice of public administration has undergone a constant process of evolution. Shabbir Cheema (2005) cites four key phases through which the conceptualization of public administration has evolved, namely: traditional public administration, public management, new public management and governance. There is a direct relationship between effective and efficient public administration and democratic governance. In addition, public confidence in the political system and the legitimacy of a given government is increased where the public provisioning system is effective and the various public institutions work in concert towards the protecting citizen's rights and ensuring efficient and effective use of public resources. For Cheema (2005:1) however, the public sector management capacity to achieve these objectives is determined by among other things merit-based recruitment; effective human resource development strategies; motivation and commitment of civil servants and transparent processes of policy formulation, budgeting and implementation.

Increasing globalization has meant that the public sector is under even greater pressure to increase its capacity to deal with the opportunities and challenges presented by globalization. Notably, this has meant a shift from control, to a greater concern with accountability and transparency, along with effectiveness and efficiency (*Ibid* 2). Traditional public administration was perceived as a set of structures, institutions and processes characterized by among other things, hierarchy, continuity, impartiality, legal-rational authority and professionalism. It was charged with providing human security, protecting property, establishing and enforcing societal

standards. In practice, however, public administration faced severe criticism for its slowness, red-tape, paternalist approach to citizens, waste of resources and its overwhelming focus on process and procedures instead of outcomes.

The second phase, public management, focused on the application of management principles including efficiency, effectiveness, customer-orientation and greater sensitivity to public needs. It further called for expanding the role of the private sector and minimizing the public sector. In essence, Cheema (2005 p. 2) notes, it sought to use private sector principles in public sector organizations.

According to Cheema (2005), the third phase, termed New Public Management, improved on these objectives by further focusing on outcome-oriented partnerships between the public and private sectors in service delivery. Its guiding principles were among others:

i. flexibility to cope with on-going changes in national and global environments;
ii. citizen empowerment to promote efficient, results-oriented management;
iii. new responsibility mechanisms that go beyond compliance mechanisms to search for innovations, and emphasize results over process;
iv. introducing business principles in public affairs;
v. promoting professional ethics in the public sector; and
vi. performance management and budgeting.

The fourth phase is Governance, which is often defined as a 'system of values, policies and institutions by which a society manages its economic, social and political affairs through interactions within and among the state, civil society and private sector' (Cheema, 2005 p. 3). Governance involves three actors: the state, which creates a conducive political and legal environment; the private sector, which generates jobs and income and the civil society, which facilitates social and political interaction. Good governance has recently been seen as the means to achieve the millennium development goals, chiefly based on its concern with equality of opportunity and the pursuit of equity in the form of social and economic justice for all citizens.

From the above four phase, what emerges is that public administration has retained its traditional functions of the state including maintenance of law and order, setting societal standards and goals and protecting citizens. However, the above four phases suggest that public administration has historically responded to the new contexts, challenges and emergent needs, by constantly revising its objectives and evolving new strategies to meet its goals. Because of the set goals, there is a need therefore to put in place a system of performance measurement.

Performance measurement literally means quantifying action. Neely and others (2004) draw on a marketing perspective in defining performance measurement. In their view, organizations are seen to be performing or meeting their goals when they are able to satisfy their customers with greater efficiency and effectiveness than their competitors (Neely and others 2004:1). This definition lays emphasis on effectiveness and efficiency. Effectiveness refers to the extent to which the customers' needs are met, while efficiency refers to how economically the organization's resources are used in achieving customer satisfaction. In this view then, performance measurement can be defined as a process of quantifying both the efficiency and effectiveness of a given set of actions. In the public sector, efficiency refers to the extent to which the government 'produces a given output with the least possible use of resources' while effectiveness indicates the 'amount of the end product, the real service to the public that the government is providing' (Hatry 1978:28).

Productivity measurement in the public sector is a useful monitoring device that enables the government to keep abreast with problem areas, achievements and improvements in service delivery. Pidd (2005) argues that performance in public provisioning should be measured for three main reasons:

i. to establish what works; that is to use quantitative measures for evidence-based policy by measuring and comparing the performance of different delivery and policy options
ii. to identify functional competences
iii. to promote public accountability

Neely and others (2004) suggests a useful model for designing a performance measurement system. In their view, when designing such a system, it is important to bear certain questions in mind such as:

i. Have all the appropriate elements (internal, external, financial, non-financial) been covered?
ii. Does it include measures relating to both long-term and short-term objectives?
iii. Have measures been integrated both vertically and horizontally?
iv. Do any measures conflict with one another?

For many scholars however, service delivery is a difficult terrain to measure especially with regards to effectiveness and efficiency as these are chiefly qualitative and very relative features, which often defy conventional quantification. There has been a broad range of approaches to performance measurement in the public sector. Hatry (1978) suggests that efficiency measurement can take various forms including:

i. The ratio of number of units of work accomplished per unit of input
ii. Utilization- availability measures, which entails logging employee time to distinguish time spent in productive activities from time spent in non-productive activities.
iii. Ratio measures of output quality
iv. Productivity indices that measure percent of change across time, and lean towards relative rather than absolute efficiency.

In the United States of America context, Hatry (1978) outlines a number of measurement methods adopted to measure productivity in the public sector. The first method involves measuring output/input ratios. To use this method, the bureau of labor outlined an integrated list of output indicators and used these alongside employee-years to compute productivity indices. In this case, the focus was primarily on labor productivity and not monetary expenditure. Although this method was effective in measuring changes in productivity across time, its main shortcoming lay

in its relative nature. Further, this method was not able to measure effectiveness in service delivery nor could it measure the quality of these services. Another area of concern with this method is its aggregate nature that makes it too generic and therefore unable to capture the specificities of different services.

In the second instance, effectiveness-measurement procedures are employed. These include the use of inspectors to assess the effectiveness and quality of services delivered by a given sector. Another method used in the U.S. context is regular rating of various local government services by citizens. This is often complemented by surveys of random citizens. Last, comprehensive measurement systems may be deployed. The complexities of government services makes it necessary to adopt multiple productivity measurements for each service in order to provide comprehensive knowledge of productivity in service delivery. The Total Performance Measurement System Approach (TPMS) is an example of such an approach (Hatry, 1978). In TPMS, performance data is collected on both input-output ratios and client perceptions of service quality. Added to these are employee attitude surveys, after which the three sets of data are integrated and analyzed. This method combines productivity measurement and productivity analysis while allowing one to identify productivity problems for purposes of improvement.

In spite of a growing receptiveness to performance measurement in the US public sector, Hatry (1978) is skeptical about the analytical capabilities o state and local governments. A further concern is making these performance measures attractive enough to persuade people to co-operate in the measurement effort and use. For this, Hatry (1978) proposes incentive systems to encourage administrators to analyze productivity and implement change. A third key concern is the value and availability of standards, norms and targets for productivity measures

Examining what they term the 'performance measurement revolution' Van Aken and others (2005) are concerned about the slowness and in some cases failure in full implementation and effective use of performance measurement systems. In their view, part of the problem lies in the fact that most measurement system design frameworks do not provide comprehensive detail on implementation, including how

to integrate measurement systems with other organizational systems - including strategic planning and reward systems—and tracking implementation progress (2005:401).

In light of this, Van Aken and others (2005) propose the application of what they term improvement system assessment tools (ISATs) designed to assess the maturity and effectiveness of an organization's system for integrated improvement. The ISAT provides a framework for collecting data and assessing performance measurement systems in the context of the other organizational improvement systems. This includes assessing degree of alignment with other systems, tracking implementation progress, evaluating measurement system maturity, and measuring current performance levels.

The ISAT thus caters for both the needs of practitioners and researchers spontaneously. For practitioners interested in detecting and addressing problem areas, indicating clear direction for improvement, as well providing an assessment of current maturity, the specific feedback from ISAT is quite handy. On the other hand, ISAT provides a detailed framework for collecting data across organizations and building an empirical database for analyzing various elements in the overall improvement system that correlate not only with effective measurement system implementation but also with performance results achieved by the system.

The primary attraction of ISAT lies in its objective of assessing the development and use of performance measures within the context of the overall system with the objective of integrated improvement. The elements of ISAT that work towards this performance measurement include examining issues such as:

i. To what extent measures were developed using a structured approaches with cross-functional involvement
ii. The quality of the set of performance measures for a given organization i.e. whether they are focused, balanced and aligned with the organization's direction and strategies

iii. To what extent performance measures are effectively deployed in the organization, with communication to key internal and external stakeholders
iv. The quality and effectiveness of data collection and analyses processes
v. The levels and trends portrayed by the measures, compared to goals and relevant benchmarks

Essentially, Van Aken and others (2005) draw on the Belgian experience of performance measurement, alongside other global experiences, and in their analysis, highlight the current gap of actual implementation processes in performance measurement. In their view, the lack of sustained reflection on the actual process of performance measurement has largely compromised these attempts to measure performance productivity.

In his analysis of the application of performance measurement systems in the U.K. public sectors, Pidd (2005) finds that in spite of the desirability of performance measurement systems as an important process in keeping track of public provisioning, in many ways such measurement systems appear to be impeding service delivery rather than promoting and indeed improving it. Pidd (2005) cites the example of the United Kingdom's performance regime, which lays emphasis on six key concerns. These include:

i. The Public service Agreements (PSA) set national standards. These specify the goals to which public managers should aspire and towards which they should organize and plan
ii. Devolved funding and flexibility is give to units to be directed towards achieving targets. The service managers develop delivery plans and specify how to implement them
iii. Regular benchmarking and monitoring of progress sing performance indicators during the period covered by PSAs.
iv. Transfer of best practice is encouraged to allow units to learn how best to operate through local autonomy
v. The services and the units that deliver them are held to account against he PSA targets using inspection regimes and published data

vi. Services, units and managers that meet their targets are rewarded and those that do not may suffer.

Although this model seeks to integrate as many generic measures as possible, while allowing individual units space to shape out their unique objectives and targets, Pidd (2005) argues that in practice, this has resulted in a number of unintended consequences. Pidd (2005) cites eight common unintended consequences that include:

i. Tunnel vision: when service managers, faced with many different targets, choose the ones that are easiest to measure and ignore the rest
ii. Sub-optimization: when service managers choose to operate in ways that serve their own operation well, but may damage the performance of the overall system
iii. Myopia: focusing on short-term objectives at the expense of longer-term objectives
iv. Measure-fixation: when outcomes are difficult to measure, there is a common tendency to use indicators based on measurable outputs, hence the indicator becomes the focus of attention rather than general outcomes
v. Misrepresentation : a form of fraud involving distortion of performance data to create a favorable impression
vi. Gaming: this involves deliberately under-achieving in order to secure a lower target in the next round of activity
vii. Ossification: this occurs when the performance indicator is past its sell-by date and has lost its purpose but no one bothers to remove or revise it.

In dealing with these dysfunctional ties that sometimes occur in spite of the best intentions of people, Pidd (2005) proposes the adoption of the tenets of the Best Value Programme. This is an improvement programme whose main aspects are summarized as 4C's:

i. Challenge: each local authority is required to set goals that ensure that its services are in the top 25% of all local authorities

ii. Competition: all services should be open to competition from other providers, including private sector
iii. Consultation: local authorities are required to seek public opinion of their services
iv. Comparison: local authorities must evaluate the quality their services using qualitative indicators so that they benchmark themselves against other authorities.

The above views and observations gleaned from the United States, Belgian and United Kingdom experiences of public sector performance measurement at different times in the history of public administration give pointers towards a range of concerns in modern public administration practice. There is need to bear in mind, throughout the process of performance measurement; from the point of system design to implementation, the possible obstacles that may impede the achievement of the goals of performance measurement. In general, development partners have encouraged civil service reforms in Kenya by offering both funding and policy support.

2.3.1 DEVELOPMENT PARTNERS

A number of strategic partners for development have heavily supported Kenyan civil service reform. Amongst the major supporters of Kenya's civil service reform programmes include the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Britain's Department for International Development (DfID), Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), Denmark, Canadian International Development Agency and the World Bank. Figure 2-1 below is a summary of Official Development Assistance (ODA) flows into Kenya from development partners. The World Bank concentrates on project finance while the IMF deals with issues such as balance of payment support and international trade. The World Trade Organization (WTO) is primarily concerned with trade discrimination and excessive tariffs.

There is need for the economic planners to emphasize policies that promote home-grown solutions to the development challenges. It must be remembered that the international financial institutions are not 'donors' as they are sometimes referred to.

These are banks with shareholders who want to realize returns on capital employed (Swilling, Simone and Khan, 2002). The interests of the major shareholders/stakeholders in these institutions do not always tally with those of the recipient countries.

TABLE 2-1: FLOW OF AID, PRIVATE CAPITAL, AND DEBT

Flow of aid, private capital, and debt	
ODA received (net disbursements), Total (US$ millions), 2003	483.5
ODA received (net disbursements), Per Capita (US$), 2003	15.2
ODA received (net disbursements), as % of GDP, 1990	13.9
ODA received (net disbursements), as % of GDP, 2003	3.4
Net foreign direct investment inflows as % of GDP, 1990	0.7
Net foreign direct investment inflows as % of GDP, 2003	0.6
Other private flows as % of GDP, 1990	0.8
Other private flows as % of GDP, 2003	0.8
Total Debt Service as % of GDP, 1990	9.2
Total Debt Service as % of GDP, 2003	4.0

Another issue of concern in this era of globalization is the speed with which capital moves across borders. This is of concern here because of the high levels of corruption locally. Often, politicians and senior government figures who loot public coffers transfer their ill-gotten wealth abroad. Sudden and heavy movement of capital out of the economy has disastrous consequences to the domestic economy. The experience of the East Asian tigers in this regard should serve as a lesson to all policy planners in this arena to ensure that there are in-built mechanisms to deal with such a scenario.

Currently, the development partners are very helpful in this regard, as they have been instrumental in the search for public funds that may have been looted and siphoned out of the country into foreign bank accounts and assets. There is need to set in place a systematic approach to the development of financial expertise to deal with these issues which are currently of international concern. This is one of the areas

where local capacity needs to be urgently developed to undertake the complex work involved effectively as well as to handle other aspects of globalization that affects domestic governance.

2.3.2 LOCAL RESPONSES TO GLOBALIZATION

Kasimis and Papadopoulos (1999, p. 1) define globalization process as:

> The character of rapid changes occurring across the globe, referring to the increasing inter-connections among different localities, practices and systems as well as illustrating the impact of particular incidents or processes which have occurred in specific areas upon the rest of the world.

The increase in foreign direct investments by multi-national corporations, the Internet, technological innovation and the globalized financial markets are continuously breaking down the traditional borders of modern states. This makes the developmental space, such as Kenya, a global space and the response to local situations should be reflective of what is happening in the global arena. Yet, there is no evidence that the differentiation in performance among national economies will reduce. This makes it imperative for governments to continue playing a role that would maximize comparative advantages.

There is however, a perceived danger that globalization has opened the way for new liberal imperialists to impose their views on hapless states. Mr. Robert Cooper (2002), in an article published by 'The Observer' newspaper in Great Britain wrote that:

> The challenge of the post-modern world is to get used to the idea of double standards. Among ourselves (i.e. in the West), we operate on the basis of laws and often co-operative security. But when dealing with more old-fashioned kinds of states outside the post-modern continent of Europe, we need to revert to the rougher methods of an earlier era- force, pre-emptive attack, deception, whatever is necessary.
>
> The most logical way to deal with chaos, and the most often employed in the past, is colonization. But colonization is unacceptable to post-modern states (and, as it happens, to some modern states too). It is precisely because of the death of imperialism that we are seeing the emergence of the pre-modern world. What is needed then is a new kind of imperialism, one acceptable to a world of human rights and cosmopolitan values. We can already discern its outline: an imperialism, which, like all imperialism, aims to bring order and organization.

Though we can already design the outline of this imperialism, it does not necessarily follow that it is universally accepted. Marks (1997) has pointed out the lack of

penetration that faces this Fukuyama-type logic in the Islamic nation states of the Arab world.

Nearer home, president Mugabe of Zimbabwe has consistently made political capital by attacking these arrogant claims and bundling them as proof of sinister motives against African states. The adage to think globally and act locally has to be in-built throughout the decision-making mechanisms of the public bureaucracy if Kenya is to maintain its relevance in the configuration of post-modern states. Another issue of global concern dealt with here is that of human rights.

2.3.3 HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES

Part of the impetus driving the current clamour for a new constitution in Kenya is the demand for a Bill of Rights to be entrenched in the constitution. At the same time, the East African Community (EAC) treaty mentions human rights as one of the fundamental principles of the Community. On fundamental principals governing the achievements of the objectives of the EAC, Article 6-section d of the Treaty reads as if copied from the conceptualization of good governance discussed in this research:

> Good governance including adherence to the principles of democracy, the rule of law, accountability, transparency, social justice, equal opportunities, gender equality, as well as the recognition, promotion and protection of human and peoples rights in accordance with the provisions of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights.

Human right issues have to be given prominence in the new dispensation if Kenya is to stake a claim amongst the newly developed nations. Mainstreaming of gender issues, meaningful poverty reduction strategies and provision of primary healthcare, all these would broadly enhance the formation and accumulation of social capital as defined by Putnam (1993).

Considering the gender issue for instance, women's empowerment should not be a buzzword in publications intended for international donors but should result in the release of women's potential in boosting all the sectors of the economy. Traditional beliefs sometimes greatly impinge on some forms of human rights as constituted in contemporary discourse. These issues need to be surfaced and addressed. There have

been instances in Kenya, where some Members of Parliament, have actually encouraged the circumcision of girls for fear of losing support amongst sections of their constituents who carry out the custom. The imperatives of good governance dictates that previously marginalized groups should be freed in the new scheme so that their productive capacity is captured for the societal well-being. Kenya has ratified the following international human rights instruments (UNDP, 2006):

i. International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, 1948
ii. International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, 1965
iii. International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966
iv. Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979
v. Convention Against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, 1984
vi. Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989

One of the most common problem with the gender agenda particularly where the approach adopted is that which tends to departmentalize the concept is the issue of 'tokenism'. Kenya is increasingly adopting legislation that stipulates that the number or proportion of positions to be filled by women rather than addressing the issue of women empowerment. With such tokens, the male dominated power structures end up nominating their female cronies to fill up such quotas, a practice that defeats the whole purpose of women empowerment. It is not uncommon in East Africa to find that mostly the wives and mistresses of powerful politicians fill up such public positions.

2.3.3 PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

At times, when outsiders overly influence public management agenda, then a mismatch occurs between the policy or policies developed and local aspirations. Environmental policy in Kenya is one such example. One could argue that legislation around environmental governance is over-developed in Kenya in relation to other

issues of similar importance. The thoroughness with which Kenyan legislation proposes to deal with environmental issues is way above the problem as is experienced domestically. The suspicion that the issue is donor-driven is apparent when one considers that environmental issues that are of immediate concern to local inhabitants are either glossed over, or omitted totally. Issues such as charcoal burning, overgrazing, nomadic pastoralist communities, poor land tilling habits, human – wildlife conflict, over fishing in inland water bodies and careless disposal of waste among urban dwellers are not given they weight they deserve locally.

The buy in of local communities on environmental management needs to be cultivated. There is a perception amongst many rural communities that environmental policies are geared more towards serving the needs of western tourists rather safeguarding the livelihoods of the local. It is a known fact that the number of local visitors to game parks and other areas that are reserved for tourist attraction are negligible. Local newspapers frequently carry reports of elephants and hippos destroying crops, crocodiles attacking bathers and so on. The result of these unfavourable interactions is a growing disenchantment with the wildlife amongst the local populace who are restrained by law from killing the animals or harming them in any way. Here then, is another example of an instance where the law, albeit in utmost good faith, is clearly out of step with local aspirations.

Urban governance in the post-modern realm probably presents environmental managers with their toughest challenge in service delivery. There are for instance, cultural manifestations that beat the very purpose of modernity in urban areas in the region. There are urban dwellers who would want to slaughter animals in their residences during particular celebrations say to commemorate rights of passage, as well as those who would like to rear chicken, pigs and even grow crops in their urban spaces. These practices combined with the expanded economic penetration of social service provision such as the commercialization of water supply calls for more home grown solutions rather than grafting models from the West.

In this section, we have only highlighted a few issues of concern in governance that illustrates the interplay between social capital and good governance. Mc Lennan

(2000) argues that with modernization, states tend to focus less on defence but will be increasingly concerned with the organization and regulation of citizens. In Kenya, both the administrative capacity as well as effective public provisioning is still in dire need of reforms. Mc Lennan aptly captures the challenge facing Kenya and other similar countries when she observes that:

> Public administration, like governance, is closely linked to understandings about social development, because it refers to the sets of activities and processes related to social regulation. While governance is primarily concerned with legitimation and the distribution of social goods, administration is concerned with the production and the delivery of social goods (McLennan, 2000 p. 10)

Traditionally, public administration in Africa has been riddled with corruption and political interference. The demarcation between civil service and the executive authority has been blurred with the executive attempting a one-man show. The result has been rape and plunder of state coffers and a demoralised workforce that is barely functional. Often there is a lack of initiative as civil servants attempt to anticipate the preferences of the ruling elite before taking action on any issue.

High standards of public governance are the essential foundation for achieving sustainable economic growth and social cohesion. Without high standards, there can be no confidence in the integrity of public institutions or indeed in the value of democratic processes in promoting and protecting the interests and well-being of citizens. Good governance and the fight against corruption should not just be new catchwords in international cooperation. If well formulated well enough for people to buy into it, the concept of good governance stands a chance of improving public provisioning.

There is increased concern among the members of the public and donor agencies about conflicts of interests amongst public sector managers. There is need for public sector transparency, responsiveness, and accountability. Members of the public should as much as possible be allowed access to information on government activities in order to petition government and seek redress through impartial administrative and judicial mechanisms. One would therefore hope that Kenya is able to structure its civil service in a proactive manner to avoid the vices mentioned

above. Monteiro (2002, p. 19), perhaps summarizes best what needs to be done in this regard:

> Developing countries have to find their own solutions and not stick to outmoded models of the so-called developed countries or be lured by fashionable new trends for the sake of conservatism or all-out innovation. Intellectual independence in conducting the reform process is to be regained. Developing countries have enough brainpower to find their own solutions. Of course, we have seen one way of keeping independence is the make-believe process we see in place in many countries, where rhetoric replaces action.

Kenya, like similar developing nations, needs to develop an independent research capacity that would enable the organization to come up with world-class home-grown solutions to the ills plaguing the public bureaucracy. Conspiracy talks and bar room banter will not help convince any serious person that Aids is caused by the white man or that the World Bank has an agenda to forever impoverish Africa. Genuine knowledge generating media and internationally recognized research would be, in the author's opinion, a better approach to our socio-economic development predicament. In the next section, we return to the Kenyan polity and re-examine the quest for a home-grown public bureaucracy.

2.4 A LEGITIMATE PUBLIC BUREAUCRACY

For a developmental state, one of the key missions of the public bureaucracy is of course poverty reduction. Thus, both technological and human resources in the civil service have to be developed in tandem to support poverty reduction. There is good reason to suppose a strong link between administrative capacity and development. The isolation and challenges facing the Kenyan civil service vis-à-vis the people need to be addressed bearing the mission of poverty reduction in mind. In this particular instance, knowledge management and communications technology, as inherent in good governance, would be critical for a public bureaucracy dedicated to community development in novel ways granted the perennial resource limitations.

To produce rapid innovation within the civil service, the dominant discourse of good governance demands that public bureaucracies manage the various communities distinctively and thus be more responsive to local needs. For Kenya, this may entail

treating the many ethnic communities differently just as much as treating the various administrative boundaries' constituents differently. The researcher disagrees with a centralized administrative state that deigns to treat the pastoralist Maasai in the same manner as the agriculturalist Kikuyu as well as the predominantly fishing communities around Lake Victoria in the same manner.

Uniformity in the centralized civil service sometimes necessitates inappropriate organizational designs (Leonard, 1991). Take the case of the Ministry of Livestock and Fisheries Development. Because of the hierarchical manner in which the Ministry is organized, the Kenyan civil service has National Departmental Heads, Provincial Heads, and finally District Heads. Due to this arrangement, Kenya has, for instance, District Heads of Fisheries even in districts where there are no fishing activities such as in the arid northern parts of the country. These kinds of inappropriate organizational designs erode on the supposed gains of efficiency and effectiveness. Often, one would argue that decentralization that strengthens local governance may address these kinds of issues.

For such an endeavour to succeed, a public bureaucracy that is responsive and sensitive to the diverse communities in order to serve them effectively developmentally is necessary. As Wheeler and others (2005) reveal, many successful sustainable enterprises in developing countries often involve informal networks that include businesses, not-for-profit organizations, local communities, and other actors. The role of the bureaucracy would thus be to ensure that these networks lead to continuous reinvestment in an area's financial, social, human, and ecological capital.

Depending on the nature of existing social capital in a polity, it is not automatic that localized decision-making translates into a socially just or ecologically sustainable polity. For this reason, the state still needs to maintain some form of oversight on local governance if only to protect the vulnerable members of communities such as the girl-child and the perceived 'foreigner.' As Purcell and Brown (2005) caution, an over-concentration on the local or what they consider as 'the local trap' often constrains development on a range of topics in development research, including

productive conservation networks, agro-forestry, community-based natural resource management, common property regimes and community-based collaboration.

This is often because of capacity restraints amongst the locals. This is really of great interest not only in Kenya but in many African countries where resources are often found in one part of the country and 'the rulers' or those who make decisions on the use of these resources largely come from different parts of the country. In Kenya for instance, many commentators aver that coffee and tea have been given prominence because both the present and past leaders hail from areas where these crops are grown. The management and policies on maize and sugarcane, crops largely grown in areas perceived as opposition zones have never received much attention from the Kenyan government traditionally (see also, Leonard, 1991).

Another example regarding the 'local trap' that Purcell and Brown (2005) warm about concerns the relations between Botswana and Zimbabwe[10]. As might be expected, most political leaders in Botswana keep cattle. As such, they take very seriously out-breaks of contagious cattle diseases such as the foot-and-mouth disease. They would thus ensure that whenever there are out-breaks, quarantines are effectively enforced and often the Minister concerned would occasionally tour the border posts between the two countries to ensure that a quarantine is imposed.

Yet on the Zimbabwean side, one might say that because most of their leaders are either tobacco farmers or businesspersons, they tend to adopt a more cavalier attitude to these kinds of outbreaks. This is in sharp contrasts to their reaction regarding out-breaks of either tobacco blight or any other issue affecting tobacco. It is these kinds of parochial and whimsical policy making that the EAC must avoid in developing genuine administrative capability.

Linking the concepts of good governance, social capital and public provisioning requires strong connections to be established between the decision-making organs of the state and the front-line and management level of the bureaucracy to facilitate

[10] This particular example was initially brought to my attention by a Masters student from Botswana, Sethunya Fani, in early 2006. I have since, upon enquiry, had the same story confirmed by a number of Masters Students who come from either Botswana or Zimbabwe to study at Wits.

good joint planning at the individual level and help in pre-empting or dealing with problems. Let us take as an example a hypothetical local community development partnership between a housing association and a local community association, involving housing for low-income earners. From a theoretical perspective, network analysis (in this case read as associational norms) can be deployed effectively to analyze and understand the structure of the relationships that make up multi-organizational partnerships. Civil servants, the private sector, and the community leaders can use the results generated by traditional network analysis to strengthen relationships among public and non-profit organizations, thereby building the community's capacity to address critical needs in areas such as the one considered here. We could, for instance, begin by finding out if any of the employees of the housing association originally come from the same community or understand their way of life deeply. Such knowledge becomes very handy when it comes to such sensitive issues as the location of a cemetery, market centre and so on.

From such local knowledge and capacities, it becomes possible for instance, to come up with a development project that easily combines both civic and business functions. Lack of this local capacity often means that civil servants continually operate outside their comfort zone and push the boundaries of their ability to intervene effectively in development terms. It is for this reason that the researcher proposes the identification and moulding within communities, self-organizing groups in which diversity of experience, real-world perspective, strategic input, influence and referrals come together.

In a sense, this means incorporating and taking cognizance of the nature of existing stocks of social capital in every development initiative. Because of the innate social capital in these communities, the local notables could easily become the key players acting as connectors. Thus, the bureaucracy would have found a way to make the local opinion shapers willingly share information and power, knowing they can be asked to reciprocate some time in the future.

Studies conducted elsewhere around the globe indicate that such a scenario is feasible. As an example, Russel (2005) working in Canada found out that the teacher-

librarian community's advocacy network, the diminished state of school libraries in Canada, and the Ministry's emphasis on traditional literacy priorities have had significant effects on the development of information literacy policy. From this we learn that even seemingly disparate government departments could very easily, through strategic planning, be made to either work together for a common purpose or work at cross-purposes to defeat the overall objective of administrative capacity in the first place.

For example, teachers, in addition to their normal duties, could be used to help administer or rollout Anti-Retroviral (ARVs) in the villages where doctors and nurses are hard to come by. Doctors would then be asked to oversee the process and concentrate on cases that are beyond the intervention of these teachers following, say, national set guidelines. Even better, given the stigma associated with HIV/Aids, older children may collect drugs for their parents who in many cases would be known to the teachers. There are a number of organizations outside the government that are doing-- and have been doing --wonderful developmental work in Kenya for a number of years. My only source of worry in this regard is that the Kenyan government, beyond registering these organizations, is never quite keen to establish a structured relationship even with some very long-term players such as the religious organizations. Take for instance the case of the Aga Khan Development Network.[11] This organization has been operating in Kenya in various sectors including in education and health. Yet the only time we read of their engagement with the government is when they are seeking permits and licenses for their various activities.

Given that one of the often-cited drawbacks of letting Non-Governmental Organizations take charge of a country's development agenda is the lack of what one might call an unbiased peer review process, the government needs to intervene in such cases as the provision of medical services to communities by charitable organizations at least to redress this challenge. The government can also come in to link such organizations to the broader community and public bureaucrats. Ensuring

11 The Aga Khan Development Network is an international development agency dedicated to promoting entrepreneurship and building economically sound enterprises in the developing world. Its funding wing, The Aga Khan Fund for Economic Development (AKFED) focuses on building enterprises in parts of the world that lack sufficient foreign direct investment. For more information, visit their website at http://www.akdn.org/

that public bureaucrats understand the role of these organizations and positively engage with them as co-producers in development will serve to limit the suspicion with which some government officials often treat NGOs engaged in low profile but high value development activities such as civic education.

Back to the concept of social capital, it is important to reiterate here that social capital is the power of social networks and relationships that constitute communities. Thus, growing social capital entails bringing together community assets including individual community members, voluntary associations, and institutions. Considering petty crime for instance, social capital delivers on such aspects as early intervention and a growing emphasis on creating networks, cooperation, and partnerships with many different actors with a stake in preventing crime rather than mere vigilante groups that are often more problematic than the crimes they purport to prevent.

2.5 CONCLUSION

This Chapter has explored the key theoretical assumptions of the concepts employed in this study to articulate a coherent theoretical framework. The underlying themes in governance were first explored and then a review of the forces, regional and international pushing for the dominant approach to good governance has been delineated. An overview of reform thrusts elsewhere was also proffered to give a sense of the global direction of the good governance movement. In many senses, the experiences of these countries offer valuable lessons for developing countries such as Kenya.

Civil service reforms in Kenya are already moving towards the performance measurement regime of public administration. The reformers need to bear in mind the fact that the socio-cultural and political environments of public administration and the public sector in developing countries are bound to have certain differentiators, which may necessitate the tailoring of these lessons to suit local realities. What is not in doubt though is the supreme importance of civil service performance measurement, which, if used as a means rather than an end in itself,

may yet herald the much-desired transformation in service delivery and by extension the practice of governance in the developing world.

Having captured accurately the manifestation of the concept of social capital amongst the community of users as well as service providers, this research will help to shed light on a basic conceptual and empirical question: Is the existing nature of social capital compatible with the dictates of good governance? This study therefore offers a unique opportunity for the examination of policy implications of the concept of social capital. The study will further clarify the concept and its use in policy discussions and serve to place the debate on social capital in an African context.

The idea of greater participation in public governance has the potential to address the 'interaction gap' of lack of coordination between various stakeholders (both vertically and horizontally) and the great need for capacity and resources in our communities. There is need for structures to be put in place that enable communities to manage their own development affairs much more actively. Such structures are impossible to develop without a clear understanding of the existing nature of social capital. As noted in the literature survey on the concept of social capital, in nearly all cases, the sharing of facilities and the synergy of providers and users should result in more-cost effective and efficient provision of services. The next Chapter is an extensive literature review of the twin concepts of social capital and good governance.

CHAPTER THREE

SOCIAL CAPITAL AND GOOD GOVERNANCE

The discipline and practice of public administration has witnessed major paradigm shifts in the last half a century or so. This is partly due to increasing pressures and expectations that the way people are governed should reflect modern methods of efficiency and effectiveness as well as the increasing demand by citizens all over the world that governments should be more open to democratic accountability. The last decade or so has seen the rise of governance as an entrenched terminology in describing the state, market and society interactions. The purpose of this chapter is to show the assumed linkage between the concepts of social capital and good governance and thus expose gaps where the current research contributes to theory building in public administration.

In the first part of this chapter, an explorative literature review of the notion of social capital is undertaken within the context of public governance in Kenya. The analysis is carried out under subsections delineated by the four measures that Putnam (1993) employs as indicators of the levels of social capital within a society. The first bundle of measures, as proposed by Putnam, falls under civic engagement while political equality forms the next band of measures. 'Solidarity, trust and tolerance' constitute the third measure. Associations, defined as social structures of cooperation, are listed as the fourth proxy. The second part of the chapter reviews what contemporary literature treats as the foundations of good governance. The section on good governance is arranged according to the eight accepted principles of good governance.

The Chapter thus sets out to show the theoretical gap in the concept of good governance that can be filled with conscious application of the concept of social capital to civil service reforms. The aim here is to show that heedless application of the principles of good governance might not work very well if proper thought is not given to the social contexts where public provisioning takes place. Whereas legislative frameworks are necessary and unavoidable in civil service reforms, these frameworks

by themselves account for very little if the clientele publics as well as the community of service providers fail to buy into the structures and systems.

3.1 THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

In this section, the concept of social capital is reviewed under the four theoretical typologies mentioned above. The section contains a diverse collection of views on the concept of social capital ranging from neo-Marxist to those views held by global bodies such as the World Bank and the United Nations' Development Programme (UNDP). Bourdieu (1987) represents the Neo-Marxist views on social capital in this research. He emphasizes the role played by different forms of capital in the reproduction of unequal power relations in a society. On the other hand, if we take Putnam (1993) to represent the liberal view, this conceptualization takes rational action as the starting point and is thus atomistic in the sense that it is individual-centred. Fukuyama (1995) also develops a very distinctive approach to the study of social capital in that he integrates the concept of trust in his analysis of social capital to argue that social capital has economic payoffs in the form of lower transaction costs. Last and most importantly, development partners such as the World Bank, Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), European Union (EU) and the United Nations' Development Programme (UNDP) mostly view social capital as the glue that holds the society together[12].

Many writers on the concept of social capital trace its first appearance as a coherent theme in Hanifan's (1916) discussion of rural school community centres (see, for instance, Grootaert and van Baastelar, 2002; Isham, Kelly and Ramaswany, 2002). Hanifan used the term to describe those tangible substances that count for most in the daily lives of people. Hanifan's (1916) was particularly concerned with the cultivation of good will, fellowship, symposia and social intercourse among those that make up a social unit. Jacobs (1961) is also cited frequently as a notable early contributor to the notion of social capital in relation to urban life and

[12] See, the United Kingdom's Social Analysis and Reporting Division, Office for National Statistics October 2001. Report available online at [http://www.statistics.gov.uk/socialcapital/downloads/soccaplitreview.pdf] Accessed on March 14, 2007.

neighbourliness. The World Bank (1999) states that increasing evidence shows that social cohesion is critical for societies to prosper economically and for development to be sustainable.

As has been shown earlier, the notion of social capital is a multifaceted concept. Amongst other things, the term is widely understood to refer to institutions, relationships, attitudes, and values that govern interactions among persons and contribute to economic and social development (Grouter and Van Baseliner, 2002). World Bank, (2001), similarly defines social capital as institutions, relationships and norms that shape the quality and quantity of societal interactions. On the other hand, Landry, Mara and Lamari, (2001) refers to social capital as the resources gained from participating in relationship networks that are relatively institutionalised. Coleman (1990) takes a slightly different tone when he observes that social capital is made up of relationships of authority, relationships of trust and norms.

From the above definitions, it is apparent that the notion of social capital is an important theoretical instrument that facilitates cooperation, risk sharing and collective action leading to mutual benefits. In a study carried out in the rural areas of Tanzania, Narayan and Prichett (1996) were able to show that increasing social capital utilisation lead to increase in household incomes and this had a positive influence on household welfare. Cooperative norms, interpersonal trust and social ties improve the quality of social interaction in the society, contribute to work productivity and help reduce transaction costs, all of which influence the process of development and economic growth. This is not to say that there is agreement amongst all writers on the usefulness of the concept of social capital. For instance, Fine (2000) is uniquely critical of social capital, explaining how it avoids a proper confrontation with political economy. According to this author, the concept of social and has become chaotic and is at best, a convenient scapegoat for the failure of development.

Other scholars who are skeptical about the usefulness of the concept of social capital for social sciences include; Arrow (1999), Durlauf and Fafchamps (2004), Harriss (2002), and Solow (1999). Most of these writers are uncomfortable with the

difficulties of measuring social capital, the shortcomings of empirical research, the role of social capital in the World Bank's research activity, and the opportunity to consider social capital as another form of capital, together with human and physical capital. Nevertheless, this study concentrates on the positive tenets of the concept as the researcher is convinced that the positive attributes of the concept far outweigh the negative ones.

In this research, social capital is treated as an offshoot of social cohesion the contention being that the constructs of social inclusion/exclusion and social capital form part of social cohesion. According to Castells (2000), globalization and modernization, has generated a pattern of social flux associated with the crisis of identity or self, a social crisis, and a political crisis. The role of social cohesion in social relations therefore becomes increasingly relevant when formulating public policy. Forrest, Ray and Kearns (2001) capture the importance of the concept of social capital in governance debates when they assert that functional social cohesion requires all the component parts of a society to fit smoothly and collectively contribute to societal well being with minimal conflict between individual and societal goals. For Forest, Ray and Kearns (2001), the elements of social cohesion include common values and a civic culture, social order and social control, social solidarity and reductions in wealth disparities, social networks and social capital and territorial belonging and identity. This view is in agreement with that of a number of development partners who perceive social cohesion as conflict-free development of society and its diverse members towards common economic, social and environmental standards.[13]

Other pertinent definitions of social capital include Torpe's (2003, p.28) conceptualization that treats the concept as 'social connections that facilitate coordination and cooperation among people'. And, as earlier cited, Bourdieu (1997[1987], p.51) defines social capital as 'the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less

[13] See, the United Kingdom's Social Analysis and Reporting Division, Office for National Statistics October 2001. Report available online at [http://www.statistics.gov.uk/socialcapital/downloads/soccaplitreview.pdf] Accessed on March 14, 2007.

institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition…which provides its members with the backing of collectively owned capital.' Consequently, Putnam's (1993) conceptualization of the concept of social capital as the norms, social networks and associations that generate collective solution for common problems through collective action becomes a useful summary of these many perspectives.

From the above, it is apparent that the concept of social cohesion and social capital are theoretically useful in seeking to address the effects of social exclusion. As Davies (2005) puts it, social exclusion refers to the state where certain minorities are dissociated from mainstream society. Davies (2005, p.5) explains that the conditions of life of this minority are characterized by extreme poverty that includes '…unemployment, discrimination, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime and bad health…' Parkinson (1998) argues that whereas general deprivation is usually defined in terms of low income and material want, the concept of social exclusion conveys more as it emphasizes the ways in which people are locked out of the social, economic and political mainstream. This characterization is really useful here as it offers a theoretical handle to discuss: unemployment and insecure employment; homelessness; inadequate housing and high levels of debt and arrears; low educational attainment; lack of mobility; limited access to essential services; poor health and lack of citizenship rights amongst other concerns of social and economic policy.

It is apparent that, from the discussions above, that there exists a relationship between social cohesion and social and economic development. Indeed, this is the position of Putman (1993) who demonstrates the relation of social capital and economic advancement by showing how the networks, norms and trust amongst a community influences the quality of life and bring about positive social and economic change. Kay (2005) reinforces this point by pointing out that the absence of social capital is evidenced by declines in community cohesiveness and social underdevelopment which in turn leads to increased crime, a desire to leave the area, mutual suspicion, lack of information, few social facilities, lower health standards and a degraded physical environment.

In as much as there is need for the promotion of social cohesion through the development of associations and networks, it is necessary to point out that there are negative aspects to these. A shortcoming of social cohesion is that it can produce ties with negative consequences on society such as gangs and this is especially pertinent for areas with scarce economic resources. Organizations, which may be internally cohesive, may have external conflicts with outsiders (World Bank, 1999). In the next section, we are going to look at each of the four strands of social capital separately in some detail.

3.1.1 CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

In this study, following after Putnam (1993), civic engagement is broadened to include individual and collective actions designed to identify and address issues of public concern. Given this definition, it is then apparent that not all public affairs stakeholders are, so to speak, civically engaged. A parent joining a school governing board, a citizen actively participating in the Mayor's public budget speech, voting in local and national elections, and so on, would be good examples of civic engagement in this regard. Equally important to the concept of civic engagement in this study is the feeling of belonging and ownership in the political, social and economic communities to which citizens belong.

The theoretical construct of civic engagement is important in governance if the intention is to practice politics that is not only organized hierarchically. The hierarchical organization of politics often results in governance practices that is largely shaped by personal advantage as well as sectarian interests. Thus, it is the researcher's contention that the culture of personal rule and bureaucratic despotism as in Mamdani (1996) need to be fully discarded in favour of 'generative politics' (Giddens, 1994). It is this 'generative politics' that, according to some scholars (e.g. Giddens, 1994; Fukuyama, 1992), has seen the West since the Second World War practice public governance as a collective deliberation on public issues.

Since the early 1990s, civic groups, led mostly by the church and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), have begun to play prominent roles in public governance not only in Kenya but also in many sub-Saharan countries (Shraeder, 2000). The result has been greater improvements in the political arena towards good governance especially as it relates to the translation of popular will into public policy. According to Edwards and McCarthy (2004), social capital plays a central role in facilitating the mobilization of social movement organizations (SMOs). However, once formed, these associations need to have staying power in order to last. In Kenya, one only needs to look at the numerous civic organizations that came into being specifically to challenge the policies of the Moi administration but which were quickly dissolved with the advent of the new administration once their founders realized that they could be assimilated in the current government (Steeves 2006; Omolo 2002).

Kenyans appear to need a lot more of systematic civic education exercises than is currently available largely through the efforts of NGOs and religious organizations. Patrick (2004) posits that the core mission of civic education is to develop competent citizens who have the knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary to participate responsibly and effectively in the political and civic life of a democracy. He characterizes competent and responsible citizens as informed and thoughtful about the principles and practices of democracy. Such citizens would participate generally in their communities through membership in voluntary civil associations. Other than this, competent and responsible citizens are also supposed to act politically to accomplish public purposes as well as have moral and civic virtues, such as responsibility of the common good.

To date, there is no evidence that the growing number of educated Kenyans has been trained especially in the virtues of collaboration beyond the basic bonds of ethnic communities. Even today, major political parties in Kenya are organized around tribal lines[14] and are more reflective of regional groupings rather than ideological stands.

[14] The researcher realizes that the problem of ethnicity is much more complicated than presented here. What is offered here is purely a manifestation of the phenomenon especially as it affects the twin concepts of social capital and good governance. For a much more nuanced reading, Michael Schatzberg's (1988), *The dialectics of oppression in Zaire,* Indianapolis and Bloomington: Indiana University Press and Janet MacGaffey's (1987), *Entrepreneurs and Parasites: the struggle for indigenous capitalism in Zaire,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Africa Studies Series 57) are highly

Educational achievements seem to be revered for their own sake rather than as means of fundamental transformation of the society. According to Coleman (1990), social capital consists of some aspects of social structure, and it facilitates certain actions within the same structure.

It is important for society to be structured in such a way as to create closure in the social network. This would ensure that all actors are connected in a way that facilitates the imposition of obligations as well as sanctions on all members. These obligations and sanctions depend on the trustworthiness of the social environment. He also points out that the society should be modelled in such a manner as to facilitate free flow of information throughout the social structure as a basis for action. To give an example, free flow of information would be compromised in circumstances where taboos might dictate that certain information cannot be passed to say, children, women, or people from other ethnic groups.

3.1.2 POLITICAL EQUALITY

The research conceptualizes political equality a notch higher than the more commonly accepted liberal notion of frequent and regular elections held under universal suffrage. Whereas the legal provisions enabling this kind of political participation is important, it is argued here that more is needed to encourage genuine political engagement amongst the citizenry that would supersede the undercurrents of ethnicity and other social norms that might threaten the workings of a full-blown western-type democracy. For example, violent conduct during elections often serve to disenfranchise the vulnerable such as women and thus deny them political equality in practice.

Once more, post-independence Kenya's political dispensation can generally be characterised as authoritarian. The fact that Kenyatta, Moi and the current Kibaki regimes have, to varying degrees, exercised unbridled state power are necessitating the

recommended as their studies could very easily be generalized to most sub-Saharan African countries including Kenya. The former investigates in detail the forms of state coercion and persuasion that Zaire suffered under Mobutu and the opportunities for resistance under such conditions while MacGaffey delves into the emerging entrepreneurial class and its interactions with the formal political sector.

perennial quest for a better constitutional dispensation (Steeves 2006; Omolo 2002; Korwa and Munyae 2001). In earnest, attempts to consolidate democracy in Africa began in the early 1990s. They are yet to bear fruit. Initiatives to plant democracy in Kenya have had a shaky start. To date, Kenyans are still haggling over a proposed new constitution, thirteen years since the clamour for a new constitution began. However, indications are that the little democratic gains are irreversible and future prospects are favourable (Badejo 2006; Ndegwa 2006).

Maurice Duverger (1964) makes a distinction between the quality and nature of political participation. This is based on Ferdinand Toennies' categories of *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *Gesellschaft* (society) and it is quite telling when employed on the Kenyan political scene. The attachment of an individual to family, town, village or race is quite spontaneous and natural. These relationships would be categorized under *Gemeinschaft*. Here, it would seem that party membership is determined more by *Gemeinschaft* than *Gesellschaft*. This probably explains the frustrations of many observers of the Kenyan political scene, including this researcher who marvels at the high level of political tension in Kenya in spite of the fact that the existing parties do not have ideological differences (see, for instance, Badejo, 2006). Other than the political party organization structure, there is no substantial difference in the manifestos of the variety of major parties.

In the case of Nigeria, Sklar and Whitaker (1964) observed that political party top echelons tended to reflect primary ethnic foundations. The Nigerian situation is not dissimilar to Kenya today. Yet, soon after Guinea's political independence, Sekou Toure was bold enough to declare that tribalism will be a thing of history in no more than four years in Africa (see, Willhoite, 1988). On this point, Sekou Toure seems to have been mistaken. This 'counter - Toureian' pattern persists in most of contemporary Africa. It is easy to see that religious affiliations and tribal backgrounds of party top brass have political ramifications in African parties[15].

[15] Theorists of deliberative democracy are alert to the destructive potential of tribalism. However, they do not worry too much about it because it is a complicated characteristic of political parties especially in Africa. Tribalism is seen as troublesome but not necessarily as a threat to good governance. This is especially plausible given that, on the face of it, tribalism did not seem to hinder the fight for political independence. Political parties are the forging ground for political leaders some of whom end up becoming government officials, e.g. as parliamentarians and ministers. Even then, there is no pretence

It is a standard posit in sociology that disparate groups usually come together in the face of a common external threat. The reception American soldiers got in the war-torn Somalia when both the Clinton and Bush Administration attempted to restore some order in the republic in the early 1990s is a testimonial to this posit. Although the Somalis had hitherto failed to reach a broad political consensus since the ouster of Siad Barre, they easily came together to defeat the small army that the Americans sent to restore the rule of law in their country. The same thing also happened in Kenya prior to the 2002 general elections. Once the opposition leaders realized that none of the parties could defeat Moi's well-oiled political machine by itself, they hastily came together under an umbrella political party christened National Rainbow Coalition (NARC),[16] to defeat Moi's preferred successor, Uhuru Kenyatta, KANU's flag bearer.

However, as soon as NARC ascended to power, the coalition began to crumble with cabinet ministers disagreeing in public regarding the provisions of constitutional offices in the envisaged new constitution. Internal conflicts, as Colletta and Cullen (2000) observe, erode severely the stocks of social capital available in affected countries. Whereas interstate conflicts would ordinarily necessitate the mobilization of national unity, internal conflicts undermine interpersonal trusts and communal group trusts, particularly given the existing social pluralism in most countries. In the course of these conflicts, norms and values that are essential for collective action are destroyed, thereby making post-conflict reconciliation increasingly difficult.

3.1.3 SOLIDARITY, TRUST AND TOLERANCE

In this work, solidarity, trust and tolerance are viewed from the widely held perspective that Africans, overall, generally work together for the good of

in deliberative democracy theories that political parties will be the vehicle for the aspirations/visions/interests of the people. The term 'the people,' is used here to imply a much broader segment of society than citizenry that is limited to 'adult voters' in aggregative democracies like in Kenya. For a much more elaborate defense of ethnicity, which may be at odds with the arguments of the thesis, interested readers may peruse a special edition of *African Studies,* Vol. 65 No. 1 of July 2006.

[16] That is, a party of parties akin to the tripartite alliance within the African National Congress (ANC) involving the South African Communist Party (SACP), Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the original ANC.

communities through extended family systems as well as through clan-based loyalties. Indeed, Hyden (1983, 1994) conceptualizes this phenomenon as the 'economy of affection.' According to the thesis, urbanites and rural dwellers in many parts of Africa are tied together through networks of kinship and tribal obligations that often undercuts indigenous capital growth as well as class formation required for industrial take-off. Hyden argues that the high premium placed on personal relationships continually ties down these societies to peasant modes of production. While the researcher does not necessarily agree with Hyden's conclusion regarding the relationship between a peasant mode of production and the high premium placed on personal relationships, the study adopts the characterization of social relations as pertinent to the understanding of solidarity, trust and tolerance as employed here.

Ideally, power, conflict and class have no place in social capital (Schuurman, 2002). For Schuurman (2002), the social capital debate places civic society on a high pedestal where it is reduced to the image of a large company. The main function of social capital in this case would be to facilitate the exchange of information via social networks to lower individual transaction costs and hence produce an aggregate surplus value at societal level. This is especially important in settings where there is little trust in formal institutions that are supposed to safeguard property rights and honour contracts. Malhotra's (2003) definition of social capital is especially apt for this section. He defines social capital thus:

> Social capital refers to the internal social and cultural coherence of society, the norms and values that govern interactions among people and the institutions in which they are embedded. Social capital is the glue that holds societies together and without which there can be no economic growth or human well-being. Without social capital, society at large will collapse (Malhotra, 2003, p. 20).

Thus, the relationship between community solidarity and transaction costs becomes quite evident. Communities that are close-knit due to the abundance of social capital would tend to develop low transaction costs as most expenses that would be incurred as exchange costs are mediated by the existence of reciprocal trusts. As Riggs (1964) observes, the whole social and economic structure of a polity, ranging from the nature of marriage vows to the emergence of associations and reorganizations of

bureaucracy, are always transformed by the introduction of contract procedures and exchange safeguards.

Tribalism[17] is another major bane to the effective accumulation of social capital. To analyse better the impact of tribalism on social capital, it will be necessary to split it into its two forms as manifested in Africa. Sklar (1960) distinguishes between 'pantribalism' and community partisanship. 'Pantribalism' is tribalism as practised in urban areas amongst modernized urban dwellers. Community partisanship is the affirmation of traditional values in the rural areas. The elite in urban areas feel they need to bring together disparate groups especially for political purposes. This necessitates the formulation or reconstruction of tribal identities that bring together larger groups. For instance, in South Africa one would now talk of Nguni speakers rather than Zulus or Xhosas; in Kenya, the term Kalenjin would bring together the entire highland Nilotes, rather than referring to them as Pokots, Nandis, and so on. According to Sklar (1960), tribalism is deleterious to national well-being since tribal movements thrive on ethnic group conformism and loyalties that pulverize horizontal loyalties crucial to young nations. Moreover, where tribal loyalties entail implicit attachments to traditional values and institutions, these may at times be irreconcilable with the requirements of modern social progress. The terrible burden that traditional norms at times put on women are but one such example.

On the surface, one may be deluded by the thick expanse of associational densities such as strong kinship ties found in African polities as indicative of the abundance of social capital. However, these associations are choked by the constraints that either of the two forms of tribalism discussed above entails. Therefore, it is imperative that aspects of bonding and bridging are emphasized to capture the potential benefits of social capital for the entire society. With careful nurturing, social capital can help in leverage in linking to public institutions, effectively bridging across to other disadvantaged groups and bonding in terms of developing community level supports and mutual care at local level (NESF, 2003).

[17] The researcher is aware of the controversial nature of the word tribalism. Nevertheless, I have chosen to use the word here for lack of a better word to make my point. Interested readers may refer to Andreski (1968) for socio-anthropological meanings of the words 'tribe,' 'ethnicity,' and 'nations.'

3.1.4 ASSOCIATIONS: SOCIAL STRUCTURES OF COOPERATION

In this study, the researcher is concerned with associations as they come into existence both at the workplace as well as amongst communities. While local organizations often spring up spontaneously in response to some common need such as security, work parties or community development assistance; workplace associations are always called into being by specific interest groups that could be labour, professional or welfare-based. Distinctive social structures and practices are the embodiment of civic communities' mores and values (Putnam, 1993). Civil associations contribute to the effectiveness and stability of governments in many ways. As Alexis de Tocqueville points out (Mansfield and Winthrop, 2002, p. 7), it is necessary for the efficient functioning of democracy to have institutions that serve to

> [I]nstruct democracy, if possible to reanimate its beliefs, to purify its mores, to regulate its movements, to substitute little by little the science of affairs for its inexperience, and knowledge of its true interests for its blind instincts, to adapt its government and time and place; to modify it according to circumstances and men (Mansfield and Winthrop, 2002 p.7).

Associational networks facilitate free flows of information about technological developments, character references, educational and training opportunities, job prospects, and about credit worthiness of prospective entrepreneurs amongst other things. In Africa, the most vibrant, relevant, and visible forms of the vast array of associations have traditionally been the church, student organizations and the labour unions. Of late, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have been on the ascendance as well as a growing number of professional associations. These associations are important because in many cases, given their horizontalism, they overcome the legacies of verticalism and individualistic mechanisms inherent in everyday political discourse (Putnam, 1993).

At the height of single party dictatorship in Kenya, many intellectuals were forced to seek refuge abroad either to escape imprisonment or for dear life (see, for instance, Badejo, 2006). Among the best known such intellectuals in the Kenyan case are most probably Professors Ali Mazrui and Ngugi wa Thiong'o. Both the Moi and Kenyatta regimes adopted mainly two methods of dealing with possible rivals for state power:

co-option or exit. Those who could not be convinced to join the ruling elite or eliminated often sought and found refuge abroad. This brain drain left the civil society bereft of effective organizational capacity. Indeed, for a long time, the only expanding professional groups in many African countries have only been the civil service and the army (Schraeder, 2000; Ake, 1996). These have severe restrictions as to the manner in which they can mobilize themselves into associations without contravening their employment terms.

In general, repressive regimes rarely engender conditions for the development of appropriate stocks of social capital (see, generally, Grootaert and van Baastelar, 2002; Isham, Kelly and Ramaswany, 2002). Social capital cannot develop in an environment pervaded by networks of personal rule. The governance structure in Kenya continues to be heavily tilted in favour of an individual leader rather than legally based institutions. This personality cult is organized ordinarily around a series of concentric circles of patron-client relationships in which the leader personally selects senior government appointees, who in turn choose the cohorts to head the line departments, and so on. This arrangement fosters a personality cult that crumbles with the demise of the leader to the detriment of the entire society.

The rot in social capital has not been restricted to the ruling class alone. The general populace have equally strayed from developing effective networks of mutual social advantage. The vice has percolated to the general populace who overwhelm the captains of state with spurious urgent demands for social and financial services. Self-interest if properly understood, as Alexis de Tocqueville informs, would militate against such demands (Mansfield and Winthrop, 2000[1835]). As variously argued, the state as constituted in Africa engenders the institutionalisation of ethnic entitlements, rights and privileges that foster differentiated and unequal status of citizenship (Hyden, 1994; Mamdani, 1996; Schraeder, 2000). Citizenship has thus been de-individualized and manifests itself more as a group phenomenon.

The apparent dearth of sufficient stocks of social capital to foster development in the continent has to be reversed. There is need to find traces of common themes that readily unite people. As the review reveals, it is not so much that Africa lacks stocks

of social capital. Rather, the present stocks of social capital that abound in the continent are not of the 'right' kind. There is need for associational norms that transcend the bonds of kinship, clans, and ethnic communities. Even more preferable, the bonds should be such as to facilitate a mass-driven continental political union.

Further, these bonds must be long lasting and not simply tactical manoeuvres employed on the face of a perceived common enemy. Such tactical moves are normally relegated to the background as soon as the enemy disappears. The concept of social capital, if tied to the concerns of transaction costs, presents great potential for accelerated development on the continent. Its greatest appeal lies in the fact that it does not require substantial funds for its implementation. What is required is a paradigm shift so that the debate is elevated to encompass all aspects of development drives. The next section will look at constraints to social capital accumulation.

3.1.5 CONSTRAINTS TO SOCIAL CAPITAL ACCUMULATION

There are constraints to the formation of social capital. A number of scholars, notably Mancur Olson (1971[1965]; 1982) and North (1989, 1990 and 1995), have contributed immensely to the understanding of the logic behind collective activities. They have identified factors that might mitigate the problems of economic opportunism and shirking in collective action. Of particular interest are the criteria given for successful collective action.

These scholars argue that collective action is more feasible for smaller groups. It is also desirable that the group be as homogenous as possible in origin. The longer the group has been in existence or members have interacted with one another also adds to group coherence and stability. However, social and physical proximity among group members is desirable. This can be mediated by improved communication. The objectives of group members, as well as the distribution of power or wealth among group members, need to be differentiated in a complementary manner. Lastly, the group needs to be alert to possible losses arising from inaction.

A glance at the criteria listed above immediately informs, for instance, why *ujamaa* was such a dismal failure in Tanzania. Upon gaining independence from Britain in 1964, the Tanzanian leader, Dr Julius Nyerere, adopted a raft of social and economic development policies under the rubric of *Ujamaa*. The details of *ujamaa* were published as a development blueprint in the *Arusha Declaration* of 1967 (see, Nyerere, 1977). In the *Arusha Declaration*, Nyerere pointed out the need for an African model of development on the basis of African socialism. *Ujamaa* comes from the Swahili word for 'extended family' or 'family hood' and is premised on the notion of *ubuntu* that posits that a person becomes a person through the people or community. For Nyerere, an African 'extended family' meant that every individual is in the service of the community. Thus, a community characterized *ujamaa* if co-operation and collective advancement were taken as the rationale of every individual's existence. In this system, personal acquisitiveness was prohibited in the belief that this would facilitate the distribution of wealth through society horizontally rather than vertically. Informed by this blueprint, Tanzania embarked on a decade of extensive 'villagerisation' in order to entrench *ujamaa* onto to the national psyche.

In spite of the failures of *ujamaa* (see, for instance, Barkan, 1994), self-help movements that predate the contemporary independence era are still alive and growing ever more popular in many parts of Africa. In Tanzania, insubordination pervaded the civil service ranks at the height of the socialist rhetoric when everyone was simply a comrade. While the practice might have had some virtue as a manifestation of political equality, it certainly wreaked havoc in the civil service and among corporate workers. For this reason, this study concentrates on the interaction between the social capital that exists amongst the community of users, that is, acts of cooperation and reciprocity that are not called into existence by the state, and that social capital that exists amongst service providers who have been brought together under a government organization. Thus, for instance, the study is interested to determine whether the high premium placed on inter-personal relationship is necessarily antithetical to the efficient functioning of a modern state institution.

Nevertheless, *ujamaa* is the exception rather than the rule. The prevalence of community partisanship in African countries is a great challenge indeed for a

vigorous analysis of the concept of social capital. The onus on African leaders at all levels is to find ways of bridging these bonds so that they transcend the narrow ethnic boundaries that define them at present. What is heartening is that, were one to start from scratch in an attempt to create institutions that foster social capital, such as in a post-conflict situation, there is a lot that can be implemented relatively easily. This research therefore disregards the school of thought that argues against state efforts to create social capital by condemning such initiatives as harmful to civil society (Schuurman, 2002). On the contrary, as studies in Ireland have shown (Ireland, NESF, 2003), state involvement is needed to provide links and bridges across bonds that the civil community may have created.

The real barriers to the effective accumulation of appreciable stocks of social capital remain the four guises of constraints to collective action that game theorists have developed over the years (Putnam, 1993). The first guise is the public good characteristics that pervade social capital. Public goods are often provided by the state. This becomes problematic in societies where the state is not seen as legitimate and hence everyone scrambles to get as much as possible from the state by investing as little as possible into the common pool. In the next guise, commonly referred to as the tragedy of the commons, no herder is able to limit grazing by other herders' flock. The ones who lose are those who limit their own grazing, yet uncontrolled grazing destroys the common meadow on which the livelihood of all herders depends. An exciting example on this aspect may be the persistent bribe giving as well as bribe taking in public provisioning. Particular officials who do not take bribes may be seen as naïve just as those citizens who do not pay bribes while seeking government services may continually lose out to those who pay bribes.

The third guise presents itself in the dismal logic of collective action. Here, every agent would benefit if all struck simultaneously. In Kenya, this scenario may best be explained by the quest for democratic reforms. Those activists who were the first to talk openly against the high-handedness of the government and the ruling party often lost property or even life (see, for instance, Badejo, 2006). Thus, even though it benefited everyone once democratic gains were made, it took a great deal of conviction for anyone to speak out openly against injustices of the system. However,

whoever strikes first risks betrayal by facing the consequences alone, so everyone waits, waiting to benefit from some other agent's haste. The last guise is the prisoner's dilemma, beloved by many social scientists.

In the prisoner's dilemma, game theorists assume that a pair of accomplices is held incommunicado in separate cells and each is informed that if he or she alone implicates the other accomplice, then he or she will be freed unconditionally. However, this accomplice is warned that should he or she remain silent while the other confesses, he or she will be punished especially severely. If both accomplices remain silent, both would be freed with light punishment. Since both accomplices are unable to coordinate their stories, each is better off telling on the other, no matter what the other does. The only reason why a prisoner's dilemma kind of outcome is not evident in every day life is the presence of trust in society. Not only is it necessary to trust others before acting cooperatively, it is equally necessary to believe that others trust you.

All the four guises require an orderly social environment for one to attempt to solve the lack of cooperation. As Alexis de Tocqueville notes, people resent more the use of power that they consider illegitimate rather the use of power *per se* or the habit of obedience (Mansfield and Winthrop, 2002). Nevertheless, the existence of a strong and popular government, as an honest enforcer of norms to overcome the constraints of collective action, is only part of the solution (North, 1990; Fukuyama, 1995). No contract can cover every conceivable contingency, given the fact that coercion has its limits. Therefore, there is a strong need for voluntary informal networks of trusts and associational mores of reciprocities and obligations to supplant these guises. In the next section, we move on to look at contemporary scholarship on the good governance paradigm to locate gaps where the concept of social capital may be inserted.

3.2 RATIONALE FOR THE GOOD GOVERNANCE PRINCIPLES

In this study, the researcher articulates internationally accepted norms of good governance of Inter-Governmental Organizations such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Organization for Economic Co-operation

and Development (OECD) and the World Bank. Using the models of good governance that these organizations advocate, emerging literature on public administration and theory is selected and woven around these themes in order to locate both practice and theory gaps, that is, where the concept of social capital may or may not be inserted.

The United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UN ESCAP, 2005 p. 1) define governance as 'the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented).' This study also adopts ESCAP's definition of good governance which captures the eight themes delved into hereunder. According to ESCAP (2005 p. 1), good governance:

> [H]as 8 major characteristics. It is participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and follows the rule of law. It assures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities are taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making. It is also responsive to the present and future needs of society.

In the following sections, we will look at these characteristics one by one to determine how they relate to the concept of social capital available on the ground so to speak.

3.2.1 PARTICIPATION

Popular participation as a mechanism for promoting good governance has been on the rise in Kenya since the early 1980s when it was mostly dubbed the 'bottom-up' approach. In Kenya, the envisaged District Focus captured the bottom-up approach for Rural Development where the district was envisaged to be the focal point of all development activities (See, Sessional Paper Number 10 of 1986, the 'District Focus for Rural Development' Strategy; Leonard, 1991). In Kenya, the overall objective was to have development focused at a regional level under the auspices of different District Development Committees (DDCs). Driven as a part of good governance, it was seen as vital to efforts to improve the welfare of poor people in countries where elites had hitherto benefited disproportionately from policies conceived at the top without reference to ordinary citizens at the bottom. For the rest of Africa, this was evident, for instance, in the bias of most development initiatives in favor of urban

centers (Golloba-Mutebi, 2004). Donor pressure also helped at this stage to reverse the trend of top-centeredness.

It would of course be premature to assume that all countries will or should automatically accede to these internationally accepted norms of good governance. Non-compliance does not always mean mischief on the part of governors. Some of these elements may be difficult to implement either because of diverse cultures or at times due to economic reasons. This is what has led other scholars, notably Merilee Grindle (2004) to suggest the notion of 'good enough governance.' She argues thus:

> Considerable analysis can be carried out at a general level, but ultimately, setting priorities and developing strategies for improving governance in pursuit of poverty reduction must be determined on a country-by-country basis. Nevertheless, getting good governance is extraordinarily difficult. Even getting good enough governance is fraught with ambiguities, challenges, and the potential for failure and less-than-anticipated results. Good - or good enough - governance is a long-term objective, and efforts to achieve it will often be halting and reversible (Grindle, 2004, p.542).

Nevertheless, this study assumes that development partners will, indeed, live up to their potential to strengthen accountability and governance, starting from the premise that securing agreement on universal principles is itself a significant accomplishment if this could be achieved. The challenge today is how to ensure that international standards are applied effectively in practice. An attempt in this direction at a continental level has been the formation of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), as an arm of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). To adhere to these international norms, willing governments require political will, technical capacity, and resources to undertake these new approaches.

In Kenya today, the fight against corruption especially in high public offices, is gaining momentum rapidly. This is one area where both the donor communities as well as civil society actors are in complete agreement. Such confluence of interests at times makes it possible for the rulers to involve the larger citizenry in policymaking. The involvement of citizens in policy-making allows governments to tap new sources of ideas, information and resources when making decisions albeit at a higher cost in the short run (see, Morton, 1999; Badejo, 2006; Ndegwa, 2006).

The demands of effective participation require governments to invest adequate time and resources in building robust legal, policy and institutional frameworks. For effective engagement, Caddy (2001) argues that government needs to articulate its objectives in seeking the views of the public from the start. This must be done without raising unrealistic expectations. It is now a commonly accepted axiom that transparency, public consultation and participation are more important than ever to improve policy and reinforce democracy and stability.

It is self-evident that new and more complex models of organization are emerging in both the public and voluntary sector just as much as new problems arise. The new models range from community-based organizations to full-blown public-private partnerships. They all strive for the active participation of their members and/or users and the governance of their activities. White (2001) argues that the patterns of governance emerging in these new models present a different set of problems for the management sciences. This means that policy, strategy and accountability are now being developed within a complex network of different organizations drawn from the public and voluntary sector, aiming to govern or regulate the public sphere. She posits that governance has supplanted management as an issue for the management sciences in these new approaches, and hence the need for a paradigm shift. She advocates for the deployment of management science (read as rational policy) in order to make clear the difference between good governance and effective management.

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries have often pushed for the trio of popular participation, good governance, and democracy as part of the dialogue of cooperation between developed and developing countries. It is possible for Kenya to learn from these experiences. As Love (1991) shows in the case of Latin America, the vicious cycle of underdevelopment, high population growth, poverty, malnutrition, illiteracy, and environmental degradation, can be broken by a three-pronged approach. This approach encompasses sustainable economic growth, environmental sustainability and slowing population growth, and a broadened participation of all the people in the productive processes and a more equitable sharing of the benefits. We will now look at aspects of the rule of law.

3.2.2 RULE OF LAW

There is no gainsaying the fact that public opinion is a critical restraint on political and administrative action. This is because, broadly, so many regulators, rule makers, and law enforcers are making decisions or advocating policies that directly affect the balance between liberty and security. The general importance that is attributed to health policy is gauged by its ranking among the most intractable problems in developing countries. The researcher believes that the persistence of corruption in the health sector and the civil service in general has more to do with structural factors than the attitudes and values of both service providers and the community of users. As Kanin (2003 p. 1) observes in the case of the Balkans, 'In this area, and others at the margins of the global economy, these problems are central aspects of existence, not temporary aberrations destined to disappear once 'good governance' and 'rule of law' set in.' Li (2000, p. 1) characterizes the concept most pertinently when he observes:

> The difference between 'rule by law' and 'rule of law' is important. Under the rule 'by' law, law is an instrument of the government, and the government is above the law. In contrast, under the rule 'of' law, no one is above the law, not even the government. The core of 'rule of law' is an autonomous legal order. Under rule of law, the authority of law does not depend so much on law's instrumental capabilities, but on its degree of autonomy, that is, the degree to which law is distinct and separate from other normative structures such as politics and religion.

Put differently, one can illustrate using the examples of 'rule by law' such as was witnessed in Nazi Germany or in South Africa during the apartheid years as opposed to the 'rule of law' which is among the key pillars of good governance. Kanin (2003) argues convincingly that economic marginality and fragmentation tend to create a tradition of 'Big Men.' These big men or local notables acquire the authority and legitimacy to restrict access to resources and power. The current and previous Cabinet Ministers in charge of the health portfolio in Kenya have countless times bemoaned the existence of corruption syndicates involving junior ministry officials that apparently the ministers are unable to curb. One might argue that it would be better for Kenya and other developing countries to enter into more and more strategic agreements with international development partners to mitigate such bureaucratic failures.

The Cotonou Partnership Agreement between the African Caribbean and the Pacific (ACP) group of developing countries and the European Union (EU) of 2000 is a fine illustration of such an initiative[18]. By this agreement, the EU is committed to refocusing its development policy and reforming its aid administration with the intention to move to reciprocal regional free trade agreements. The agreement places strong emphasis on good governance, the rule of law and human rights. The covenant also creates space for an enhanced role for non-State actors, the private sector, and the adoption of a rolling programme of aid provision.

Similarly, at the heart of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) is the desire to implement rule of law, good governance, and economic reform. Unfortunately, the continental body needs external financing in order to achieve these lofty ideals. Indeed, nearly all regional bodies to which Kenya belongs such as the East African Community (EAC) subscribe to these principles. Furthermore, there are growing efforts by international Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) to promote civil society, good governance and the rule of law as well. Yet not much seems to have been achieved in the pursuit of good governance on the ground. This is what has forced some observers to look more closely at the organic development of the whole society (social capital) or what Ake (1996) calls the power of the people. We now turn to the need for transparency in public governance.

3.2.3 TRANSPARENCY

Technological changes have revolutionized nearly all governmental processes. The general citizenry wants good governance. People are only comfortable once they know that government programs are well managed. These conditions of necessity require greater openness and transparency; otherwise, it would be impossible to hold politicians, the Government, and civil service officials accountable for results. Internet-based technologies are already bringing important changes in the nature of governance. Some theorists have maintained that the adoption of networked information systems is accompanied by inevitable shifts toward democratic government (see, Castells, 2000). Yet the experiences of China and many other

[18] The partnership document is available on-line at:
http://www.acpsec.org/en/conventions/cotonou/accord1.htm. Retrieved on June 14, 2005

developing countries would force us to concede that technologies are secondary factors as instruments of change in levels of democracy or types of governance.

There is need for a pro-active set of policy innovations that offer an avenue for comparing modern conceptualizations of data privacy with the legal principles created in seminal privacy decisions related to informational privacy laws. Great Britain's new Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) is one such example (Roberts, 2005). The act is intended to empower citizens by granting a right to government documents. However, as Roberts (2005) points out, the law will be implemented in an environment accustomed to centralized structures for communications and has potential for disruption and bureaucratic transgression that need be ring-fenced prior to implementation. The author cites Canada's Access to Information Act as a near-perfect piece of legislation that weaves around that political pit-falls quite successfully. The on-going civil service reforms in Kenya would do much better to learn from these debates.

Away from the community of users and the policy formulators, public managers need to be trained on how best to collect, disseminate, and evaluate information for decision-making. Haque (2005) develops brief but exciting theoretical underpinnings of information gathering and decision making that would be of great use to any modern public manager and more in developing country setting. He argues that more information gathering and subsequent use of sophisticated information gathering tools serves as an important myth promoting greater legitimacy and confidence in the government's ability to provide security to the citizens.

Haque (2005) suggests appropriately that the rational choice approach to security is limited in its ability to evaluate values that are embedded into the decision-making processes. However, being cognizant of the non-rational rulings placed on technology-based policy initiatives, Haque (2005) points out that public managers can be guided towards responsible values to avoid the dark path of control, surveillance, and the loss of freedom. The recent introduction of the so-called breathalyzers used to determine alcohol levels in the blood stream of motorists by the Kenyan police is a moot point. The zeal with which corrupt police officers employed the device and the subsequent national uproar led to court action ordering the discontinuation of

the device is highly consistent with the expositions of Haque (2005). The breathalyzers were routinely and regularly used by police officers next to public alcohol drinking places and often late at night with so much gusto that one would be tempted to believe that the real motivation for using them was to extort bribes rather than save lives.

The current reform thrusts of the Ministry of Health's rationalization program concentrates on privatization, introduction of user fees, increased use of technology and decentralization for more visible results as advanced by the New Public Management (NPM) discourse. Some theorists are now positing that because of NPM's zealous commitment to results, there is a danger that we may lose on the values (see, for instance, Piotrowsky and Rosenbloom, 2002). This tension, between democratic-constitutional values such as representation, participation, transparency, and individual rights and efficiency gains from the adoption of private business practices, calls into sharp relief the issues of social capital. Apart from decentralization, the other three components of NPM are at least at one remove from both the concepts of good governance and social capital. Nevertheless, the three components have the potential to improve governance through more efficient service delivery.

One must also be alert to the dangers of 'technocratic' governance given that public managers, with minimal involvement of the people, can still achieve this ideal level of efficiency and effectiveness. An example from the fieldwork carried out for this research may serve to illustrate this point. One of the nurses recounted an instance where a colleague of hers who had been regularly absent from duty was filing fake returns in terms of the performance management system currently in place[19]. In one of her reports, she had indicated managing a notifiable disease that in her haste, she did not categorize as such. The baffling thing is that her report went through the system past her immediate supervisor, through the District Medical Officer of Health as well as the District Public Health Officer into the provincial and national levels without this anomaly being detected. It was only when the World Health Organization (WHO) officials checked what was coming from Nairobi that they

[19] Field visit interview, Kisumu, 10 January 2006.

sought clarification from the home country as to why a notifiable disease had gone unreported that a flurry of activities was put in place to track the concerned medic only to realize that this had been a fake report.

3.2.4 RESPONSIVENESS

Creating institutions that foster the production of objective and balanced policy analysis is a challenging task for all types of regimes let alone poorly resourced ones such as Kenya's. The tension between the demands of neutral competence on the one hand and a responsive bureaucracy on the other often rises to the boil in the exercise of executive authority. The challenge for civil service reformers is to design institutions that enjoy neutral competence and are, at the same time, responsive to the demands of citizens. Although these demands may appear contradictory at first sight, they are indeed reconcilable.

One of the dictates of good governance is that bureaucracies must become much more responsive to citizens as clients. It is difficult to fault this standpoint. Yet, in many parts of the country, state penetration is still minimal. The only evidence of state presence is often the presence of government appointed chiefs and other instruments for maintaining law and order with no supporting mechanisms for effective citizen engagement with the state. Yet it should not be lost on observers that even in the best of circumstances, say, where the state percolates through every sphere of citizens lives, modern societies still confront a growth in citizens' inactivity (Vigoda, 2002).

Institutional scholars have been able to demonstrate the presence of resources for structuring arrangements to promote the production of objective and balanced policy analysis. For instance, Weimer (2005) argues that organizations can be formed with intentions to achieve neutral competence and be insulated from political interference by erecting some forms of independence from executive manipulation. This, he reckons can be done by promoting exchanges based on professional norms as well as by leveraging participation in international organizations to counteract domestic biases. In this arrangement, transparency is then deployed strategically to facilitate balancing of views or to shame severe abuses.

Indeed, the starting point of any responsive program of action or management should always be the budget. An institution's budget represents a statement of its priorities and plans. A proper deployment of the budget should ensure sustainable development with a proper social bias. Social issues such as gender, human rights, and political equality can be addressed through the budget. For example, gender-responsive budgets have been deployed effectively amongst some of the rich nations of the North successfully to promote gender-equitable resource allocation and revenue generation (see, for instance, Rubin and Bartle, 2005). This is one of the areas where district-based health management boards are well placed to contribute to.

The politics of service delivery is such that citizens are increasingly demanding not only responsiveness but also collaboration. The concept of social capital offers good governance an opportunity to make progress towards higher levels of cooperation and collaboration with various social players such as the private sector, the third sector, and citizens. This is because, as Vigoda-Gadot (2004) citing examples from the experiences of the Israeli government demonstrates, a collaborative approach in public provisioning is in the end a socially desirable trend with meaningful benefits that reach far beyond the important idea of responsiveness.

The idea of collaborative administration thus fits very well with the assumptions of participatory democracy. It has been shown for instance, that high-quality public participation can affect participants' beliefs in desirable ways (see Halvorsen, 2003). Halvorsen (2003) shows that there is a high correlation between exposure to quality participation and participant beliefs about the trustworthiness and responsiveness of a public agency. This was also confirmed by the results of this research. The same also holds true for the value of including different viewpoints in public meetings (in other words, consensus building).

3.2.5 CONSENSUS BUILDING

The potential for discourse between citizens and front-line administrators, those who directly deal with citizens, has not been properly explored in Kenya's public discourse. It is this space, that of discourse between service users and service

providers, which is targeted for consensus building by the dictates of good governance. Too often, the fine print as well as 'standing orders' are used to muzzle creativity or any areas where negotiations and a little thinking outside the box could help improve public provisioning. The challenge for would-be reformers in the civil service is to engender the ability and willingness of administrators to act on citizen feedback.

Many service providers as well as the community of service users all over the world still tend to favor the easy chair of the customer over the sweat and turmoil of participatory involvement. Vigoda (2002) argues that the way forward is toward enhanced collaboration and partnership among governance and public administration agencies, citizens, and other social players such as the media, academia, and the private and third sectors. In a young nation such as Kenya, it would be useful to ponder, whether there is any coherent form of public opinion that bureaucrats and politicians need to listen to or respond. Nevertheless, this is now the arena where there is need for enhanced collaboration and partnership among governance and public administration agencies, citizens, and other social players, for example, the media, academia, and the private and third sectors in civic education to realize the benefits of living in a modern state.

Whereas Kenya has witnessed a sporadic and impermanent rise of vigilante groups (see, for instance, Kagwanja, 2003), the proper way to begin mass concretization of civic virtue is probably through neighbourhood councils in urban areas as well as community councils in rural areas. Such a move would be carried out with the intention of increasing citizen participation in governance and make government agencies more responsive to local needs. Another promising resource for mobilizing involvement among groups that are underrepresented traditionally in the governance process is faith organizations. In conjunction with welfare societies, religious missions may be effective vehicles to focus on issues of social justice as opposed to local community action. This will require a targeted strategy of outreach and organizing deliberately directed toward these institutions.

Given the Kenyan government limited resource base, it is necessary for policy makers to turn increasingly to private and non-profit sectors for the resources to

provide social services. Exciting examples have been cited of similar countries adopting new non-profit organizations as part of, say, health sector reform as an example. Brinkerhoff (2002) cites Family Group Practice Associations (FGPAs) of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan as effective intermediaries between government health agencies and newly created family group practices (FGPs), which are providing improved levels of primary health care. The concept of social capital is relevant here as it would be embedded in the formation of FGPAs who are then better able to mediate between health agencies and the community of users.

Brinkerhoff (2002) shows that the FGPAs have helped to improve the efficiency and the effectiveness of health service delivery, and have contributed to making the top-heavy and cumbersome health systems in both countries more flexible and responsive even though their policy advocacy role is still relatively incipient. Institutions such as the FGPAs provide a potential avenue for increasing external input into policy decisions and bringing issues that would otherwise have been outside the purview of public policy back into focus.

Illiteracy, technological difficulties and a host of other factors, popular participation in governmental processes has slowed the take off in a number of African countries. This lack of participation in some way robs the state of its legitimacy in the eyes of the people and hence the existence of social capital that at times undermines public provisioning. However, evidence from some African countries that have embarked on the path to modernization and democratization provides some hope. Charlick (2001) demonstrates that although local government reforms have been limited in Africa, research in Mali and Guinea has shown that under particular circumstances, the result is often a more responsive civil service. He dismisses the fear often expressed by some civil society actors that the focus on local government may be narrowing the opportunities of non-governmental associations to influence development policies as unconfirmed.

3.2.6 EQUITY AND INCLUSIVENESS

Before embarking on the broader debate of social inclusion/exclusion and social justice, it is necessary to provide a political economy of social policy in Kenya.

Without such an undertaking, it would be difficult to impose the dictates of the debate, especially as embodied by the writings of Marion Iris Young (2000; 1997; 1990). What is required is an examination in terms of three interrelated processes: the rise in a population surplus to capital; the rejuvenation of a reserve army of labour power; and the decline of the commodity form of labour power.

Public administration is incrementally moving on a reform track that leads from responsiveness to collaboration. As has been cited above, scholars such as Vigoda-Gadot (2004) have attempted convincingly to enrich the discussion on the current state of new managerialism in public administration and to explain why and how it makes progress towards higher levels of cooperation and collaboration with various social players such as the private sector, the third sector, and citizens. The adoption of this trend in the local scene may help policy makers realize a socially desirable outcome with meaningful benefits that reach far beyond the important idea of responsiveness. To borrow further from Vigoda-Gadot (2004), the idea of collaborative administration thus challenges responsive public administration with intent to further enrich it socially. This is because, the collaborative model, whether bureaucracy-driven, citizen-driven, or private-sector-driven, is realistic and beneficial even if it cannot be applied fully.

The challenge in the Kenyan context is to secure buy-in from the practitioners themselves. Necessarily, civil servants must embrace civil service reform goals for any meaningful successes to be realized. To this end, an examination of local management practices is necessary in order to determine the potential contribution of aligning staff priorities with policy objectives. As Riccucci and others (2004) demonstrate, there is need to interrogate agency structure and several aspects of public management from a micro perspective that prior research has linked to agency performance.[20] It is now commonly accepted that management practices and the structuring of agency responsibilities matter hence reformers have to create conditions under which staff have clear signals about what is expected of them in addition to providing them with the resources and incentives to realign their priorities.

[20] Such as training, performance monitoring, staff resources, leadership characteristics, and personnel characteristics in order to determine what front line workers believe.

Achieving inclusiveness, even in regions with low literacy levels and generally poor resources might not be very hard if the necessary political will is mobilized. There are numerous examples of satisfactory attempts of this nature from different parts of the world. Duckett (2003) cites a two-stage process as employed in China in order to incorporate citizens' influence on social policy. She shows how, in the initial stage, bureaucratic interests within the central Chinese government influenced the adoption of a new national social health insurance framework. Later on, she argues, the framework was modified following local implementation experiences that allowed other bureaucratic and non-bureaucratic interests to be expressed. This examination shows that policy process in the health sector can be particularly protracted and incremental but effective.

The concept of social capital is also pertinent to the development of a strong civil society given that civil society offers a potential source of organized drive to achieve a more inclusive governance paradigm. This approach is not new in developed countries where associations are increasingly participating in matters concerning social policies. According to Warren (2002), the fight against the problems of social exclusion and the development of a social agency field offer many opportunities for partnerships between the civil society and public actors. Globally, there is a widening of space for civil society groups to participate actively in the implementation of policies with or sometimes instead of government administrations.

At the same time, Warren (2002) argues, many strong associative networks intervene directly as experts supporting the ministerial cabinets that coordinate policy formulation in a number of countries. She especially cites the case of France where many aspects of social reforms are, in large part, founded on analyses and ideas provided by associative actors. Given the concerns of capacity limitations, there would be little reason against adopting such an approach in Kenya.

3.2.7 EFFECTIVENESS AND EFFICIENCY

For purposes of determining effectiveness and efficiency from the perspective of service users, it is important to examine the actual and desired use of performance measures for management and external reporting purposes, as well as perceived

impediments to their effective use. Both internal and external verification of measures of efficiency and effectiveness should be broadly acceptable to all stakeholders.

Further preliminary issues should be the identification of potential and actual impediments to the development and meaningful use of performance measures, since presently; performance measurement appears to have been accepted as a useful and necessary managerial tool. These endeavours are attempts to ensure that outcomes provide guidance to public-sector administrators and professionals for planning and decision-making purposes and to the citizenry in general as reliable performance reporting standards.

There is no gainsaying the fact that African civil service systems play important roles in the management of socio-economic development and change. In the case of the health sector for instance, these tasks are made even more daunting by the scourge of HIV/Aids and rampant corruption. In order to deliver on these mandates, public systems must be effective, efficient, transparent, and results-oriented. Failures in any one of these requirements contribute to a deficit of good governance as it were.

Nze and Nkamnebe (2003) believe, as indeed many other public affairs stakeholders in the continent do, that for public bureaucracies in Africa to perform and enhance good governance, old ineffective structures and processes used in the administration of public business, must yield place to more results-oriented management philosophies, processes, and practices. This is necessary in order to internalize effectiveness and accountability for the common good in the civil service.

The above recommended practices will then make it easy for public affairs stakeholders to initiate measures akin to 'Value for Money' (VFM) auditing. Indeed, in developed countries, VFM has been part of the control environment in public administrations for over 30 years now (Morin, 2001). As mentioned earlier, this is necessary because larger and larger numbers of academics and administrative reformers are of the opinion that good governance practices could help bring about a higher degree of efficiency, effectiveness, and responsiveness in the governing process. However, this is not to say that good governance is a fix-all solution to all

challenges facing African public administration. As Lam, (1997) points out in the case of Hong Kong, there are a number of drawbacks inherent in the discourse. Questions of accountability, legitimacy, lack of a coherent strategy, neglect of dominant social values, decreasing morale, and adaptation of the civil service are not all dealt with unequivocally by the new paradigm.

3.2.8 ACCOUNTABILITY

Political corruption poses a serious threat to the stability of developing democracies by, amongst other things, eroding the links between citizens and governments, deepening the poverty problem and further widening the gap between the rich and the poor (See, for instance, Fukuyama, 2004; Stiglitz, 2002). In recognition of this problem, the current World Bank supreme has adopted zero tolerance to corruption as his credo. As mentioned earlier, the greatest danger that corruption poses to African countries is that rampant corruption runs the risk of poisoning public sentiment toward democratic politics. It also makes the general populace suspicious of the entire public policy system as demonstrated by the fieldwork results.

Current trends in public management generally demand the so-called lean and efficient state. This has often meant on one side, a growing tendency to outsource a number of functions and services traditionally associated with the government (Hood, 1992). These new arrangements are not necessarily free from the marauding gangs of corrupt government officials who are always on the look out for ways and means of ripping off the state. The new arrangements therefore require ever more stringent contract accountability forms. The reformed civil service must therefore develop higher levels of accountability effectiveness, especially in terms of specifying social service contracts and selecting appropriate accountability strategies. However, Romzek and Johnston (2005) point out that accountability is often undermined by the use of risk shifting, reliance on a system of multiple competing providers, and the adoption of new information technologies. These conclusions contradict the conventional wisdom, theory, and existing research on contracting.

Even though accountability is a core concept of public administration, it is a very difficult concept to define operationally. Yet, as Koppell (2005) argues, disagreement

about its meaning is masked by consensus on its importance and desirability. Koppell (2005) actually develops a five-part typology of accountability conceptions. In his model, transparency, liability, controllability, responsibility, and responsiveness are defined as distinct dimensions of accountability, thus providing a conceptual handle of the concept. The exciting thing about the proposed definition, labelled multiple accountabilities disorder, is the fact that conflicting expectations borne of disparate conceptions of accountability undermine organizational effectiveness. This is so often the case in the Kenyan scene where partly due to widespread instances of poverty, the citizenry generally overwhelm the state with myriads of demands.

One possible solution to these problems would be the effective deployment of the concepts of organization field and accountability environment to government programs. O'Connell (2005) argues that the formula for accountability inspired by agency theory is frequently impossible to apply because program accountability can be an emergent property arising from the actions of the major actors in a program's field. Theory is restricted to defining performance standards, measuring performance, and applying sanctions based on measured performance.

On the other hand, the utility of conceptualizing accountability as an emergent property of the program's field lies in the fact that costs normally go down once actors clearly define their roles for example as brokers, providers and clients. This conceptualization is quite useful for designing programs that are more accountable. This is probably one reason why Great Britain's National Health Service has received great acclaim globally (Ferlie and others, 1996). Given this approach, it then becomes less challenging to determine the relationship between administrative service performance and citizen satisfaction in the application of market models to public provisioning.

Nevertheless, it must be pointed out here that in spite of the general support for the governments' use of service delivery targets, many people have serious reservations about their operation in practice. One often encounters allegations of cheating, perverse consequences and distortions in pursuit of targets, along with unfair pressure on professionals. As Briscoe (2004) points out, the supposed increase in accountability and transparency, which target setting engenders in theory is often

compromised by insufficient heed being given to the risks of over-interpretation in the presence of large, often inadequately reported uncertainty. To address these shortcomings, a number of measures should be put in place including ensuring greater local autonomy to construct more meaningful and relevant targets. This is to ensure they are as few as possible and focus on key outcomes, widening the targets' consultation process to involve professionals and service users, and reforming the way in which targets are set to move away from the simplistic haphazard approach.

To entrench accountability in the management practice and ethos of the Kenyan civil service, it would be useful to theorize administrative work as a practice within the environment of NPM. Wagenaar (2004) categorizes administrative practice into four theoretical strands, namely, contextuality, acting, knowing, and interacting. The scholar contends that the visible aspects of administrative work, that is, decisions, reports, negotiations, standard operating procedures, structures, legal rules, lines of authority, and so on, are effectuations, enactments of the hidden, taken-for-granted routines.

The almost unthinking actions, tacit knowledge, fleeting interactions, practical judgments, self-evident understandings and background knowledge, shared meanings, and personal feelings (in sum social capital), are the bedrock that constitute the core of administrative work. Taken wholesomely, these four strands make up a unified account of practical judgment in an administrative environment that is characterized by complexity, indeterminacy, and the necessity to act on the situation at hand.

The challenge of entrenching accountability in governmental processes ultimately rests in creating effective Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) systems. As Gordillo and Anderson (2004) demonstrate, effective M&E for public policy is not only related to the supply of information and the delivery of new knowledge to policy makers, but more importantly to their demand for lessons learnt about the effects of earlier policies. The onus therefore falls on governments to construct institutional arrangements (both organizational and cultural) that support the transformation of policy lessons into policy actions. Gordillo and Anderson (2004) show that the likelihood of this transformation is related closely to the capacity of institutions to

deliver mechanisms for downward accountability and processes for organizational learning. This is a daunting challenge indeed given the severe power and information asymmetries that characterize the institutional context of many developing countries' national governments.

3.3 CONCLUSION

This chapter offered a concise survey on theoretical developments regarding the twin concepts of social capital and good governance. Relationships and structures were identified that can lead to more effective services. It is accepted that the emphasis on both collaboration and user involvement is a progressive and necessary development that is best enhanced by the incorporation of the concept of social capital into good governance discussions. However, the research argues that the efficacy of such strategies is limited and subject to cynicism unless accompanied by a commitment to a social order in which deliberative democracy is much strengthened. Indeed both the preceding and discussions to follow are best summarized in Figure 3-1 below which seeks to demonstrate the link among the three concepts of social capital, good governance and public provisioning.

Civil service bureaucracies in Africa play important roles in the management of socio-economic development and change. These tasks impose a number of imperatives on these institutions: they must be effective, efficient, transparent, and results-oriented. Public affairs stakeholders in the continent are unanimous in their call for African civil service systems to entrench good governance practices. This means that archaic, ineffective structures and processes used in the administration of public business must yield place to more results-oriented management philosophies, processes, and practices. Figure 3.1 maps the theoretical linkages. For instance, the social capital concept of social cohesion links to the good governance ideals of participation and inclusiveness leading to a fair distribution of public goods in public provision terms.

FIG 3-1: THEORETICAL LINKAGES

Social Capital	Good Governance	Public Provisioning
Civic Engagement NATURE: *social cohésion*	Participation Inclusiveness	Fair distribution of public goods
Political Equality TYPE: *Bridging*	Rule of law Responsiveness Equity	Enhanced access Limited corruption User charges Privatization
Trust TYPE: *Bonding*	Transparency Accountability Effectiveness	Reduced transaction costs Lubricate governance processes Sustainability
Associational Networks TYPE: *Linking*	Freedom of information Efficiency Consensus building	Flow of information Cost-sharing Decentralization

The chapter has demonstrated, albeit briefly, the relationship between governance and development, and that the crisis of governance underpins the host of development woes facing Kenya and other countries in Africa. In sum, the literature surveyed demonstrates the fact that human interactions are bounded by a variety of institutional arrangements both informal and formal glued together by the different types of social capital. It is also worth mentioning that there seems to be distinct shades of discourse coloring the social capital debate. In the next chapter, a situational analysis of the Kenyan public provisioning space is offered in order to reveal the tensions therein.

CHAPTER FOUR
KARIBU KENYA – THE POLITICAL LOCALE

In this chapter, most of the background material relating to the global principals of good governance, manifestations of the phenomenon of social capital locally, and public provisioning in Kenya is proffered. In a sense, this chapter offers a situational analysis of the Kenyan polity (political locale) concerning the theoretical concepts as well as their implication for policymaking locally. To do this, the chapter has been divided into four sections. The first section offers a broad political overview of Kenya followed by a section reviewing developments in Kenyan civil service since attaining independence in 1963. The Kenyan national health care governance system is looked at in detail in the third section.

The review on the Kenyan civil service offers details on the historical search for good governance that began with the fight for independence. The founding President of independent Kenya stated that the quest for the African government was to eliminate the trio of poverty, ignorance, and disease (see, Ndegwa, 2006). The good governance debate is still about these issues and much more. In the course of this Chapter, public sector spending priorities, commitment to health sector, and an overview of the human development index over the years in Kenya is presented. Indeed, the Chapter offers a background against which the inventory of social capital will be carried out. For this reason, it traces not only the governance priorities of the Kenyan state since independence, but also identifies some of the salient practices of the Kenyan peoples that the researcher feels civil service reform efforts need to take into account.

Finally, a review of the current major policy thrusts underpinning the reform efforts of the Ministry of Health (MOH) in their pursuit of improved service delivery is offered. While the existing policy framework has fifteen pillars (see, GoK, 1994), the research concentrates on the four areas of decentralization, privatization, the introduction of user fees and the incorporation of the state of the art technology in service delivery.

4.1 A POLITICAL OVERVIEW OF KENYA

Kenya, a member state of the East African Community, lies between latitudes 4.21 0 N and 4.28 0 S and between longitudes 34 0 E and 42 0 E. It covers an area of slightly over five hundred and eighty square kilometres. It is bisected into almost half horizontally by the Equator and vertically by the 38 0 E meridian lines. Kenya's northern neighbours are Ethiopia and Sudan while Somalia lies more to the North East. Uganda lies to the west of Kenya with Tanzania covering the southern border. Kenya has a famous coastline in the east bathed by the warm waters of the Indian Ocean. The three East African countries share Lake Victoria, with Uganda having the bulk of the waters at 51% and Kenya having 7% of the waters jut into the Nyanzan Gulf. According to the 2004 estimates, Kenya has a population of about thirty two million people. By faith, this population comprises 40% Protestants, 30% Roman Catholic, 6% Muslim, and 23% other religions.[21]

Administratively, Kenya is divided into eight provinces including the Nairobi area. The Central Province is in the middle of the country, Coast Province bordering the Indian Ocean and Eastern Province to the left of Nairobi Province. The expansive Great Rift Valley has its natural features defining the Province by the same name while towards Lake Victoria we have both Nyanza and Western Provinces bordering Uganda. North Eastern Province borders Somalia to the North East and Ethiopia to the North. These provinces are divided into administrative areas known as districts. Currently, there are seventy-six districts. As of October 2006, the Government workforce stood at slightly over one hundred and ten thousand (110, 000) including thirty five ministers, fifty assistant ministers and fifty two Permanent Secretaries (PS's) or heads of departments in the PS grade[22].

Kenya attained political independence from Great Britain on December 12, 1963 with *Mzee* Jomo Kenyatta as the first Prime Minister. The independence constitution originated from the deliberations of the historical Lancaster House constitutional

[21] Central Bureau of Statistics (2006), Ministry of Planning and National Development, Republic of Kenya.
[22] See, Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Planning and National Development official website available at [http://www.cbs.go.ke/] accessed on March 14, 2007 and the Kenyan government official website at [http://www.kenya.go.ke/] also accessed on the same date.

conferences held in London in 1960, 1962 and 1963. The second conference created the Upper House or Senate to safeguard white settler interests and granting of independence modalities and a Lower House to represent the people's voices. The final conference settled constitutional arrangements for Kenya's independence as a dominion under the Queen of Great Britain. Prior to this, the struggle for independence had culminated in the *Mau Mau* uprising and several labour movement protests leading to the declaration of emergency in 1952 and the arrest of several leaders, including Jomo Kenyatta, who was later to become Kenya's first President[23].

Following the enactment of the inaugural constitution, a general election was held between May 18 and May 25, 1963 with Kenya African National Union (KANU), led by Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, emerging victorious over Ronald Ngala's Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) and the African People's Party led by Paul Ngei. On June 1, 1963 internal self-government was granted and the day came to be known as *Madaraka* day. Among the first constitutional amendments after attaining independence was the proclamation of a Republic with *Mzee* Kenyatta as the first President, heading a cabinet of 18 Ministers on December 12, 1964. This day, referred to as *Jamhuri* Day (Kiswahili for Republic) is still observed as a national holiday in Kenya to date.

The first major national political disagreement over governance in Kenya resulted in the resignation of Kenyatta's principal assistant, Vice-President Oginga Odinga, on April 14, 1966. He broke away to form the Kenya People's Union (KPU), reintroducing the multiparty status after Ronald Ngala and Paul Ngei had led their parties to cross the floor and join Kenyatta's KANU in government. Another major constitutional amendment in 1966 saw the Upper House, or the Senate, and the Lower House or the House of Representatives, amalgamated to form the National Assembly.

[23] The historical overview rendered here, especial that covering the first period of post-independent Kenya, has been put together mainly from the following works: Odinga, A. O. (1967) *Not yet Uhuru*, Nairobi: Heineman; Goldsworthy, D. (1982) *Tom Mboya: The Man Kenyans wanted to forget,* Nairobi: Heineman; Badejo, B. A. (2006) *Raila Odinga: An Enigma in Kenyan Politics,* Lagos and Nairobi: Yintab Books and Ogot B. A. and Ochieng W. R. (1995) *Decolonization and Independence in Kenya, 1940 – 1993,* London: James Currey. Reference has also been made to the Kenyan government official website as indicated above.

Soon after this constitutional change, Oginga Odinga's successor as Kenya's Vice-President, Mr Joseph Murumbi resigned due to ill health and Kenyatta appointed Mr Daniel arap Moi to the post early in 1967. Since Independence, Kenya has regularly held elections starting with the 1969 general elections that were held one year later than constitutionally stipulated. Another general election followed in 1974. Kenyatta died on 22nd August 1978 and was succeeded as President by Daniel arap Moi who oversaw the 1979 general election and called a snap general election in 1983. Subsequently, elections have been held regularly (5-yearly) in 1988 and 1992 with the latter seeing the re-introduction of multiparty politics in Kenya.

Moi's tenure saw the constitutional banning of multiparty politics in 1982. Previously, after the banning of Oginga Odinga's KPU in 1969, Kenya had become a *de facto* one party state. Nevertheless, this situation was again reversed in 1991 when Parliament amended legislation to allow for multiparty politics once again. General elections in 1992, 1997 and 2002 were thus held under multiparty political dispensation since the seventh parliament had repealed section 2(a) of the Kenyan constitution which barred the formation of any other party besides KANU. KANU, under Moi's leadership, narrowly won both the 1992 and 1997 general elections. Moi was constitutionally barred from running for office in the 2002 elections. He anointed Uhuru Kenyatta, a son to the late President Jomo Kenyatta, as his preferred successor to take over KANU as well as national leadership. Just before the 2002 general elections however, Mwai Kibaki, Moi's former Vice-President from 1978 to 1988, joined forces with other KANU dissenters and founded the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) that overwhelmingly defeated Uhuru Kenyatta. Mr Kibaki was sworn in as President on the 30th of December 2002.

The Kenyan Parliament has two hundred and twenty two (222) members excluding the Attorney General who is an *ex-officio* member by virtue of being the chief legal advisor to the government. Kenya is divided into 210 parliamentary constituencies each represented by a Member of Parliament (MP) who are complimented by an additional twelve Nominated Members allocated to each party represented in Parliament on the proportion of parliamentary strength.

4.2 THE DAWN OF POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE

Indigenous Africans were excluded from the colonial voting franchise in Kenya. It was only in 1944 when Mr Eliud Mathu was appointed the first African to the Legislative Council (LEGCO) to represent African interests (see, generally, Morton, 1999, Ndegwa, 2006; Odinga, 1967). Later, in 1957, eight Africans were sworn in as members to the LEGCO after regulations had been amended to allow for the elections of African members. Colonial occupation, the unequal distribution of land between the colonists and indigenous Africans, and the exclusion of Africans from the voting franchise became the major driving forces behind the wars of liberation and the developments that resulted in the Lancaster House Agreements of 1960, 1962 and 1963[24].

Like most African countries, Kenya emerged from colonialism with large sectors of the population living in poverty. The existing physical and economic infrastructures that the newly independent state inherited had been developed mostly to serve the interests of the colonial masters (Ndegwa, 2006; Leonard, 1991). As Leonard (1991) argues, the colonial state imposed laws and policies that were generally in asymmetry to the African population needs as it sought to prioritize the needs of the colonizing population groups, to the detriment of indigenous population groups. This is what Leonard (1991) contends is the genesis of the current pre-occupation with law and order amongst the emergent African states including Kenya. One could also argue that these discrepancies fuelled resistance to colonial rule that led to the eventual establishment of an independent Kenyan government.

The attainment of political independence in the year 1963 for Kenya represented a major turning point in governance terms. With political independence, the people expected that democratic and socialist ideals from the pre-independence struggles would lead the transformation of the previously highly unequal colonial society. This was informed by the rallying cry of the local liberation movements as articulated by

[24] Lancaster House Constitutional Conferences were held in London (1960 and 1962) and Nairobi (1963) to negotiate Kenya's independence constitution.

political parties as well as the vanquished *mau mau* freedom fighters. The *mau mau* fighters had mobilized their soldiers mostly on the basis of land (Ndegwa, 2006). On the other hand, the registered political parties especially the dominant KANU (Kenya African National Union) and KADU (Kenya African Democratic Union) defined their nation-building agendas primarily in terms of democratic participation (of all citizens) in political governance, and the redress of inequalities in economic opportunity, land and asset ownership (Ndegwa 2006; Morton, 1999).

It is difficult to say whether Kenya's liberation struggle was driven by socialist ideals as was later to be claimed by some post-independence leaders (see, for instance, Odinga, 1967). Nevertheless, an effort was made towards a new phase of social restructuring, resulting in the locally famous *sessional paper*[25] *no. 10* of 1965. This economic policy paper was an effort to describe what was by then conceptualized as *African Socialism*. The focus was to enable previously marginalized social groups regain political, economic and social power that they had lost because of colonialism.

The transition to post colonialism was associated with extensive state involvement in the economy, as the post-colonial state sought to align, or establish symmetries between laws and policies on the one hand with population needs (Leys, 1979; Leonard, 1991; Morton, 1999). For Kenya, the first two decades after independence was therefore characterized by financial and economic controls and the near establishment what others might perceive as a welfare state. As a corollary to this approach, economic services were extended to previously neglected population sectors resulting in phenomenal growth in the state sector as reflected mostly in education and health.

From 1963 onwards, Kenya embarked on an impressive program of public investment in education and health. This enabled the new Government to fast tract its Africanization programme that mostly entailed the replacement of European bureaucrats with black Kenyans especially in the higher echelons of the civil service

[25] While Parliament is in session, all reports and papers that are deposited with the Clerk from the Government are called Sessional Papers. Each Sessional Paper is given a number and listed in the daily Votes and Proceedings.

and the armed forces. On the economic front, the more pressing need was for the new regime to alter land ownership in favor of Africans as well as to devise ways of ensuring ownership of business enterprises by blacks. The issue of land was especially tricky given the *mau mau* uprising and the dominance of some of their leaders in the post-colonial government (Ndegwa, 2006).

The colonial government promulgated the Land Titles Ordinance of 1908 which required all persons being or claiming to have an interest in whatever immovable property in the coastal region of Kenya to make a claim and declared that all land concerning which no claim or claims for a certificate of ownership were made to be deemed Crown land (Maini, 1967). As Ongwen (2004) shows, the indigenous people made no claims to land for a variety of reasons. In the first instance, they were unaware of the Ordinance. Second, the Ordinance had no relevance to their ownership system. Third, the colonial government and courts believed that no African, individually or as community, had any title to land. Because of these reasons, land occupied by Africans was effectively treated as ownerless.

Earlier, on December 13, 1899, the colonial government had decreed that under Britain's Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1890, the imperial power had control over and could dispose of waste and unoccupied land in protectorates where there was no settled form of government and where land had not been appropriated to the local sovereign or to individuals (Maini, 1967). This paved way for the second phase of land appropriation that saw the settlers' acquisition of land in the so-called White Highlands that once again proceeded from the premise that the land was unoccupied (Maini, 1967; Ongwen, 2004). The settlers were only required to pay a fee of 10 cents per acre to Her Majesty's government. For these and other reasons, the independent Kenyan Government immediately embarked on land reforms as a key thrust of governance. The first land resettlement program was introduced immediately after independence, sponsored by the United Kingdom based on 'willing buyer willing seller' principle.

It did not take long for disenchantment to emerge from these land redistribution policies. The first major disagreement between the new political leaders, principally between President Kenyatta and his then Vice President Odinga took an ideological

turn with the Odinga camp insisting that ceilings must be placed on land ownership and that the 'willing buyer willing seller' principle was shortchanging Africans (see, Badejo, 2006; Ndegwa, 2006; Morton, 1999). The Odinga camp resigned from Government and formed a party, Kenya Peoples Union (KPU). Amongst other issues, KPU manifesto highlighted corruption in the administration of the land policy in addition to class bias (Odinga, 1967; Badejo, 2006).

The Kenyatta-Odinga disagreement was later on to acquire strong ethnic undertones. The two represented the two largest ethnic groups in the country then. Members of the Kikuyu community were perceived to be largely behind Kenyatta while the Luos were perceived to be die-hard Odinga followers (see, Morton, 1999; Ndegwa, 2006). Thus, unfortunately, what was purely a governance issue acquired an ethnic bias. Nevertheless, the governance issue remained. The governance issue was the failure of the land resettlement policy to reach the goals of restoring justice in land ownership, ensuring increases in land productivity and agricultural output, and reducing population pressure in the overcrowded communal lands. To date, Kenyan public governance is still struggling under the clutches of tribalism.

The modern African state, especially as regards the development of administrative capacity, is indeed a contradiction in terms in more than one respect. Take for instance, the developments in the New Institutional Economics (NIE) especially an overview of the same as rendered by Leys (1996) and Harris, Hunter and Lewis (1995). From the NIE, one would imagine that Africa is not developing because of the tenacious customs and tribal practices. Yet every successive government in Kenya has tried, going by official pronouncements, to eradicate these practices in the public bureaucracy including the decree by Moi soon after taking over the reigns of power, that peoples' tribes should not be recorded in any official government document (see, generally, Korwa and Munyae, 2001).

As Korwa and Munyae (2001) show, Moi went on to ban all tribal associations including football clubs. *Luo Union*, then a veritable powerhouse in club soccer, had to change its name to *Re-Union Football Club.* Other club soccer powerhouses that had to change their names included the *Abaluhyia Football Club* (a proud symbol of the

Luhyia community, which, to retain its acronym, re-styled itself as *Association Football Club. Gor Mahia Football Club* (named after a famed Luo magician, had to make do as *Gulf Olympic Rangers.*

To Moi's credit, soon after the re-naming of these so-called tribal football clubs (since majority of their supporters come from certain tribes), institutional clubs, those supported by either parastatals or private companies started to do very well in the domestic league. Teams like the then *Kenya Breweries FC* (supported by the giant Kenya Breweries since renamed East African Breweries), *Mumias Sugar FC* (supported by Mumias Sugar Company), *Utalii FC* (an outfit supported by the Ministry of Tourism) began to do very well because of the steady financial base. The irony was and still is the lack of a solid fan-base. You thus ended up with champions whose supporters could barely fill a single stand in a stadium whereas the losers had all the fans.

Thus, we begin to witness a scenario where government's policies for the realization of asset and income redistribution, land reform, economic stability and growth were increasingly being viewed through an ethnic lens. The period immediately after independence was also strongly influenced by socialist rhetoric and numerous government proclamations were aimed at enlisting the peoples' participation and active support in the development process (Leonard, 1991; Ndegwa, 2006). The desire was to implement policies based on socialist, egalitarian and democratic principles under conditions of rapid economic growth, full employment, price stability, dynamic efficiency in the allocation of resources and ensure that the benefits are equitably distributed.

As Ndegwa (2006) shows, many policy initiatives in this early period were premised on expectations of substantial inflows of aid to support the Government development programs. Later on, in the mid 1980s, the government's high level of social spending had developed into a trend that was not easy to reverse especially since the government also sought to consolidate its sense of political power and control over the nation state (Ake, 1996; Barkhan, 1994; Hyden, 1983). Thus, more and more, the government began to rely on development partners or donors to fund

its spending program in the form of foreign loans and grants. Internally, the government also increasingly resorted to domestic borrowing. Initially, this worked fine as the year of independence had generated a high level of optimism regarding prospects of international development aid and other resource inflows. This period was also bolstered by the favorable weather, the good prices and high export demand for grain, and low debt thresholds, which meant a rapid agricultural recovery and initial high rates of economic growth (Hyden, 1983; Leys, 1979).

In the first decade of independence and prior to the 1973 oil crisis, education and health infrastructure and services expanded tremendously. This rosy picture was, however, to be arrested in the 1980's when cumulative negative effects generated by rising public expenditures, fiscal, and monetary expansion, against a background of an international recession, currency devaluations, and the drought of 1983-1984 began to manifest first as economic instability and eventually as economic decline (Morton, 1999; Ndegwa, 2006). The economic recession meant higher domestic prices, falling investment as well as falling employment levels. As interest rates rose sharply, aggregate investment demand fell, with the negative repercussions on employment and incomes. Annual economic growth rates plummeted and the country's debt service ratio began to rise.

Thus, the post-independence governance initiatives that were characterized by a strong interventionist state, not only failed in terms of income and asset redistribution, land reform and transformation and the redress of colonial economic inequalities, they also resulted in the economic instability which justified the introduction of market reforms (World Bank, 1999). The economic developments also represented major reversals on key policy positions; they reflected the failure of the independence government to translate its visions and goals from anti-colonialism struggles into policies that comprehensively addressed population needs.

4.3 STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMMES

From the early 1990s, the World Bank and other development partners in conjunction with various African states including Kenya decided to intervene much

more forcefully in the domestic economies to stem the economic decline discussed above. From independence, Kenya had mainly adopted interventionist approaches, with the state as the 'engine of development,' based on *sessional paper no. 10* of 1965. The structural adjustment programmes adopted in the 1990s aimed at entrenching market approaches to promote an enabling environment for investment and economic activity. Unfortunately, for the government, Morton (1999) shows how these market-led reforms coupled with global recession and unfavorable weather conditions combined to actually intensify economic hardships amongst the local populace. The introduction of SAPs came with promises of new development aid and greater recourse to foreign borrowing forcing the Kenyan government to either consolidate its working relationship with the Bretton Woods Institutions or face further economic decline unassisted (see also, Hempstone, 1997).

The programs were mainly motivated by the desire to put in place fiscal restraint mechanisms that would reduce opportunities for the governing class to dip their fingers in state coffers for private gain (cf. Swilling, Simon and Khan, 2002). Structural Adjustment Programmes were also based on the proposition that democracy or 'good governance' is a necessary condition for economic development (Leftwich, 1993). Among the unwelcome outcomes of the programs has been the stiff increase in unemployment and subsequently crime has spiralled in major urban centres. Even though the debate is still on, one might be tempted to argue that the drastic retrenchment that was carried out in the civil service at the height of SAPs also ended up exacerbating the administrative deficits of affected countries.

Kenya reluctantly agreed to most of the SAPs proposals. Nevertheless, the SAPs policy reforms coincided with increased indebtedness, rising domestic prices, falling investment, rising unemployment, and heightened political competition following the introduction of multiparty politics. It is also during this period (mostly in the 1990s) when the nation witnessed the re-emergence of militant trade unionism, growing civic society activism and the rebirth of effective political opposition (Morton, 1999; Hempstone, 1997).

President Moi appointed the so-called 'Dream Team' then headed by the renowned Kenyan conservationist of European extraction during the turbulent 1990s. This was a team assembled at the instigation of the World Bank to help streamline the Kenyan civil service during the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). Other than Dr Leakey, three or so other prominent Kenyan personalities either in academia or local and international bodies were brought in to help re-structure the bureaucracy in line with the dictates of good governance.

Non-strategic government assets were to be disposed of, the personnel right-sized by freezing new mass recruitments as well as encouraging early retirement through the golden handshake. It took little less than two years before the unease between Moi's lieutenants and the new mandarins set in. Rumours were all over Nairobi as to the cause of these tensions but the researcher will only highlight two incidences as reported by the Kenyan newspapers regarding Leakey's exit from the civil service.

In the first incidence, Dr Leakey announced a salary increment to all cadres of the civil service as the cabinet and the development partners had agreed. For those who claimed to know Moi well, this was unacceptable. For in pork barrel politics as practiced in Africa (see, for instance, Barkan, 1994), only the 'Big Man' could announce such massive 'good news.' Thus, Leakey jumped the gun and incurred Moi's displeasure in the process. In another incident, it was claimed that the Permanent Secretary for Finance (a post equivalent to the Director-General of the Department of Finance in South Africa) demanded audited accounts from the Presidency regarding Moi's foreign trips and this was precedent setting. In the end, Moi's regime parted company with the 'Dream Team' without ceremony.[26] In sum, SAPs policies were not translated into successful outcomes quickly. The SAPs failed to quickly usher in financial and economic dispensations that adequately address the challenges of neo-liberal globalization.

[26] Numerous accounts regarding Dr Richard Leakey's tenure as head of the Kenyan civil service were carried continually by Kenya's two leading daily newspapers, *The Daily Nation* and *The East African Standard*. The British Broadcasting Corporation's Africa section also gave broad coverage of his tenure. A search on 'Dr Leakey,' 'Kenya,' 'civil service' on the BBC's website carried on 20/7/2006 yielded seven pages of various articles pertinent to the issues raised.

4.4 EDGING TOWARDS GOOD GOVERNANCE

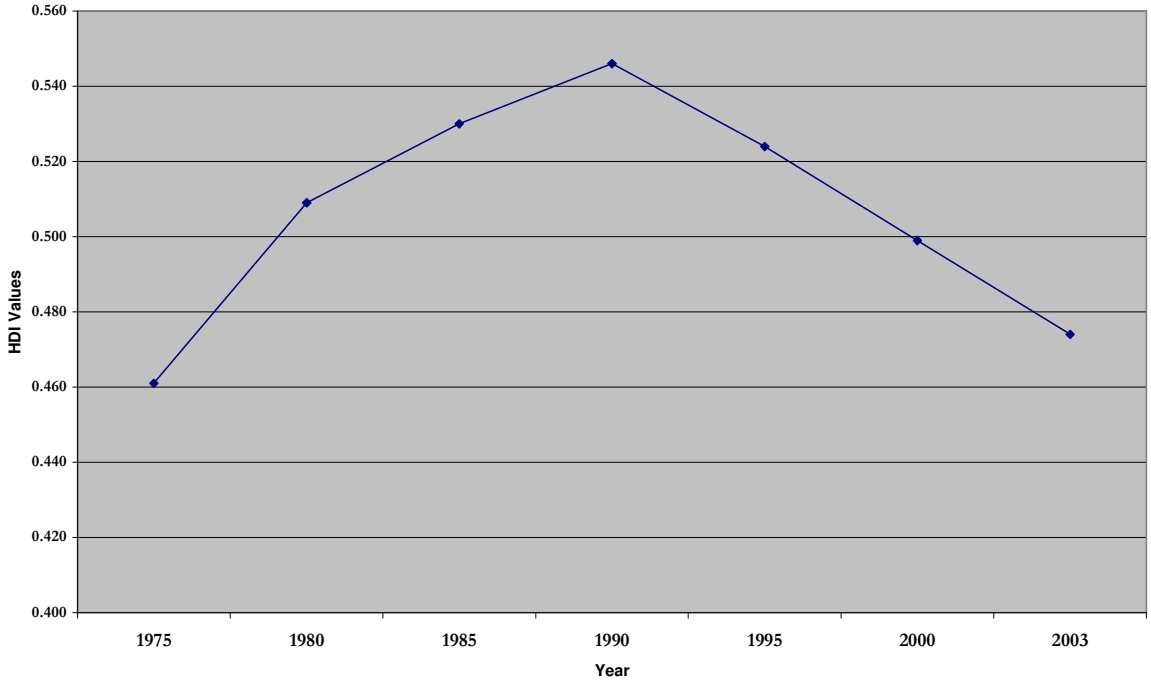
With the SAPS having failed to produce quick-wins, there has been a gradual move to complement these policies with the globally dominant ideals of the concept of good governance. The idea behind the push for good governance is to have a generally corruption-free society that adheres to the rule of law with high quality public provisioning. There has been a near universal realization that without an alternative economic program that prioritizes human development, developing countries are headed towards economic oblivion (UNDP, 1997; World Bank, 1999). At the onset of the new millennium, Kenyan schools and hospitals were increasingly doing without requisite infrastructure, materials and resources to deliver quality services. With the dwindling inflow of public resources into the sector institutions, there is lack of critical repair, maintenance and infrastructural support services. Taking the health sector as indicative of the general decline, government hospitals, particularly in the rural areas, have dilapidated infrastructure while essential drugs are not always available. In addition, communities, with their scanty financial resources, cannot afford private health care.

The decrease in governmental expenditure on social services has strained relations between the state, civil servants and the people. Prior to the year 2003, successive Kenya Human Development Reports have highlighted the deepening of prevalence of poverty and income inequality. An extract of key human development index from the 2006 UNDP *Human Development Report* is summarized in Table 4-1 below. The latest UNDP *Human Development Report* ranks Kenya at number 154 out of 177 countries surveyed (UNDP, 2006). The market reforms under SAPs appear to have led to the intensification of poverty, and the worsening of conditions of living for large majorities as captured in Figure 4-2 that shows human development index trends from 1975 to the year 2003.

From the late 1980s into the present time, the response of development aid donor communities, civil society movements and the opposition to economic decline has been to mobilise the public against economic mismanagement leading to an enhanced clamour for good governance (see, Morton, 1999; Hempstone, 1997).

Thus, there is a broad consensus amongst the various public affairs stakeholders as for the need to entrench good governance practices as articulated by the dominant players globally. After decades of political independence, the goal of social and economic security remains distant in Africa. Most African countries, and Kenya in particular, are witnessing trade losses and other transfers through debt servicing that are increasing faster than population needs. We will now move on to look specifically into the public governance of the health sector.

FIG 4-1: HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDEX TRENDS[27]



[27] UNDP *Human Development Report 2006,* Available at: http://hdr.undp.org/hdr2006/, Accessed on May 6, 2007.

TABLE 4-1: SELECTED HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDICATORS[28]

Human Development Index	**Value**
Human Development Index Value	0.475
Life Expectancy at birth in years	47.2
GDP per Capita (PPP, US$)	1,037
% of Population Living Below $1 a Day	22.8
% of Population Living Below $2 a Day	58.3
% of Population Living Below the National Poverty Line, 1990 - 2002	42.0
Total population in millions, 1975	13.5
Total population in millions, 2003	32.7
Projected Total population in millions, 2015	44.7

4.5 THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH

The Ministry of Health (MOH) has the following as its vision: *'An efficient and high quality healthcare system that is accessible, equitable and affordable for every Kenyan.'* This is underpinned by the following mission statement: *To promote and participate in the provision of integrated and high quality promotive, preventive, curative and rehabilitative health care services to all Kenyans.*[29] The key functions of the Ministry of Health include the following:

i. Provision of Preventive, Promotive, Curative and Rehabilitative Health Services
ii. Public/Environmental Health
iii. Reproductive Health Services
iv. Control of Communicable diseases
v. Health Research, Inspectorate and Standards
vi. National Public Health Laboratory Services

[28] UNDP *Human Development Report 2006,* Available at: http://hdr.undp.org/hdr2006/, Accessed on May 6, 2007.
[29] See: http://www.health.go.ke/ retrieved on October 26, 2006

vii. Mental Health Services
viii. Health Education and Training
ix. Medical Supplies Services
x. Registration and Control of Drugs
xi. Registration and Control of Health Facilities
xii. Registration and Control of Health Professionals
xiii. Promotion and Regulation of Alternative Healthcare Financing
xiv. Control and Regulation of Health Related Statutory Boards

The national healthcare system can be categorized into three segments comprising of the public sector, the non-governmental, and the private sector. The Ministry of Health (MoH), Ministry of Local Government (MLG), and health services of other ministries and parastatals make up the public sector. The voluntary sector run by faith-based organizations as well as other not-for-profit organizations constitute the non-governmental segment. The business fraternity completes the pie in the form of medical services provided directly by private health facilities and health professionals in private practices. Traditional medicine, consisting of herbalists, bonesetters, spiritual healers and other practitioners now seem to be outside the purview of public policy.

According to the MOH (2006),[30] the public sector offers the bulk of healthcare services in the country. Fifty-eight percent of all healthcare facilities, 52% of all beds and 70% of all health personnel are directly under the public sector. Compared to the private sector, the voluntary sector plays a minor role. The lowest level of healthcare service delivery is the rural health facility. These dispensaries and health centres provide the bulk of health services and form the first level of contact with the community. District hospitals support the rural facilities while in turn they are overseen by provincial hospitals. The intention is for the district and provincial hospitals to provide referral and outpatient services in addition to the requisite technical backstopping to the facilities directly in contact with communities. Nationally, Kenyatta National Hospital and Moi Teaching and Referral Hospital are at the apex as key referral, research and teaching facilities. Table 4-1 below gives an

[30] http://www.health.go.ke/ retrieved on October 26, 2006.

indication of the Kenya government's commitment to health spending while Table 4-2 indicates priorities in public spending.

TABLE 4-2: COMMITMENT TO HEALTH[31]

Commitment to health indicators	
Public Health Expenditure, % of GDP, 2002	2.2
Private Health Expenditure, % of GDP, 2002	2.7
Health Expenditure per Capita, PPP US$, 2002	70
% of Births attended by Skilled Health Professional, 1995 - 2003	41
Physicians (per 100, 000 people), 1990 - 2004	13

Like all other Kenyan ministries, the Ministry of Health is headed by a Permanent Secretary (PS) who is the Accounting Officer and the Chief Executive. The Director of Medical Services (DMS) is under the PS. Though it is difficult to distinguish the roles of the two, the DMS is in charge of all technical issues regarding health in the ministry (see, MoH, 1997). In addition to the demands of reporting to political principals represented by the Minister, Assistant Ministers, and the Permanent Secretary, the current DMS has over twenty Divisional Heads reporting to him.

TABLE 4-3: PRIORITIES IN PUBLIC SPENDING[32]

Public Spending	**% of GDP**
Public Expenditure on Education, % of GDP, 1990	6.7
Public Expenditure on Education, % of GDP, 2000 - 2002	7.0
Public Expenditure on Health, % of GDP, 2002	2.2
Military Expenditure, % of GDP, 1990	2.9
Military Expenditure, % of GDP, 2003	1.7
Total Debt Service, % of GDP, 1990	9.2
Total Debt Service, % of GDP, 2003	4.0

Provincial Medical Officers of Health (PMOHs) who are always doctors by qualification and members of the Provincial Health Management Team (PHMT) serve as intermediaries between the Ministry headquarters and the districts. They also

[31] Source: UNDP (2006) *Human Development Index Report*.
[32] Source: UNDP (2006) *Human Development Index Report*.

oversee standards, performance, coordination, regulation and control of all health services in the public and private sectors in their areas of jurisdiction. This arrangement allows the national headquarters to concentrate on national policy setting, coordinating the activities of all healthcare practitioners, monitoring, and evaluating the impact of policy changes. At the district level, the District Health Management Boards oversee all health sector activities. The DHMBs includes representatives of consumers and other interested groups to ensure the prudent use of cost-sharing funds or user-charges.

According to the *Kenyan Economic Survey of 2006,* the MOH operates as the single largest operating unit within the civil service. The total recurrent expenditure on health increased from Kenya Shillings 17.6 billion in 2004/05 to Kenya Shillings 19 billion while development expenditure decreased from Kenya Shillings 5.1 billion to Kenya Shillings 4.5 billion in 2005/06. The number of health facilities increased by 3% from 4,767 in 2004 to 4,912 in 2005. Similarly, the number of registered medical personnel increased by 4.2% from 63, 227 in 2004 to 65, 914 in 2005. Regarding promotive and preventative health, national full immunization coverage improved from 59% in 2004 to 63% in 2005.[33] In spite of these impressive figures, the quality of healthcare in Kenya has declined even though there have been absolute increments in budgetary allocations (Kimalu, Nafula, Manda, Bedi, Mwabu, and Kimenyi, 2004). According to Kimalu and others (2004), reasons for this decline include lack of complementary skills and equipment as well as inadequate allocations towards operations and maintenance.

According to the Ministerial Rationalization Programme Report of 1997 (MoH, 1997), the MOH has undergone various reviews in the past all aimed at improving its operations. The report notes that the Abdulllah Committee of 1985 and the Muya Committee of 1986 as well as the Directorate of Personnel Management (DPM) Committee of 1993 are some of the remarkable reviews. The Abdullah Report of 1985 highlighted inappropriate organizational structure, poor personnel management, improper supply of drugs and equipment and poor maintenance of drugs and

[33] Central Bureau of Statistics (2006), Ministry of Planning and National Development, Republic of Kenya.

equipment. The Muya Report of the following year concentrated mostly on the harmonization of schemes of service for the various professional cadres in the Ministry of Health with the ultimate objective of attracting and retaining skilled personnel for improved productivity.

The DPM report of 1993 focused greatly on both operational and strategic management aspects of the MOH. Strategically, this report noted the MOH had no common discernible approach to its mandate. Furthermore, the various ministerial programmes have no clear objectives. The DPM report attributed this scenario to the lack of an organizational chart, schedule of duties as well as an unclear chain of command. It is worth noting that a number of issues raised in these three key reports are yet to be implemented.

According to Kimalu and others (2004), other factors aggravating the MOH service delivery constraints include an acute shortage of drugs and other medical supplies often due to budgetary limitations, pilfering, and inefficient procurement and distribution procedures. The commitment of Government towards the promotive and preventive services as a cost effective measure does not appear to be matched by appropriate resource allocation. It seems as if, due to political considerations, an undue emphasis has been placed on facilities-based care. It is easier for government officials and politicians to claim successes in 'development' by pointing out the number of hospitals built (as a tangible item) rather than engage in the more complicated (albeit more beneficial to the public) debates around promotive and preventative health. The result of this practice has been to shift the burden of this important task to strategic development partners such that key programmes like the Kenya Expanded Programme on Immunization (KEPI) and Control of Diarrhoeal diseases are almost entirely donor-funded.

Regarding human resources, complaints of overwork and poor pay amongst MOH employees are overwhelming. The DPM report of 1993 showed that doctors and nurses were rarely housed near their workplaces. The report also pointed out that promotions in the ministry were seen to be arbitrary especially given that the MOH's policy is to appoint only qualified medical doctors as Medical Officers in the

institutions, at the District level and at the level of the Province. This means that long serving medics such as senior Nursing Officers and Health Administrators are regularly by-passed by young doctors when appointing Medical Officers.

4.6 HEALTHCARE SERVICE MANAGEMENT

Kenya is yet to develop a framework for health indicators agreeable to the majority of stakeholders. Even more telling, is the lack of a set of indicators for assessing the quality of practice management. Nevertheless, it is generally accepted amongst practitioners and in many publications and policy documents of the Ministry of Health (MoH) that the following six dimensions are key health indicators (see, for instance, Kimalu and others, 2004): infant and under-five mortality rates; life expectancy; crude birth and death rates; fertility rates; nutritional status; morbidity; and indicators of environmental health.

Globally, there are acceptable sets of health indicators that are helpful in understanding and interpreting summaries of global health statistics reported in professional journals and international publications (see, Larson and Mercer, 2004, for instance). According to the two authors, global health indicators can be divided into those that directly measure health phenomena (e.g., diseases, deaths, use of services) and indirect measures (e.g., social development, education and poverty indicators); these are also referred to as proximal and distal indicators respectively. On the basis of population statistics describing levels of education attained and access to safe water and sanitation, it is possible to categorize a country fairly accurately as having a population with high, medium or low burden of disease.

Larson and Mercer (2004) also draw attention to the fact that global health indicators used in developing countries for the most part address morbidity, mortality and important precursors of both whereas in developed countries, a large proportion of the key health indicators reflect lifestyles and individual behaviour such as physical exercise, smoking, diet, or substance and alcohol abuse.

In spite of the acknowledged limitations of many health indicators and the reservations one might have about the accuracy of health statistics derived in developing countries, Larson and Mercer (2004) nonetheless do provide useful

estimates of a population's state of health. Although the absolute estimates may lack accuracy, they constitute valuable heuristic measures by which to monitor change within a population over time.

The prospects of Kenya achieving the Millennium Development Goals by the target date of 2015 are not good. The goals are to eradicate extreme poverty; to achieve universal primary education; to promote gender equality and empower women; to reduce child mortality; to improve maternal health; to combat HIV and AIDS, malaria and other diseases; to ensure environmental sustainability as well as to develop a global partnership for development (NEPAD, 2003). Crisis proportions have been reached in the deterioration of life expectancy and falling incomes, HIV/Aids infections, incidents of famine to mention but a few (see, Kimalu and others, 2004). Governance deficits, irrelevant macroeconomic policies and the difficulties of competing in global markets compounded these crises. It is often said that priorities for countries like Kenya must entail investments in basic education and health, infrastructure, agriculture and manufacturing (see, for instance, Sen, 1999; Stiglitz, 2002).

Health indicators in developing countries are further complicated by the difficulty not only of accessing health records but also by the fact that many illnesses simply remain unreported as many people do not go to hospitals for diverse reasons. Many researchers rely on what is commonly referred to as self reported health (SRH). Rahman and Barsky (2003) examine the value of SRH as an indicator of underlying health status in a developing country setting. They argue that SRH is an easily recorded, multifaceted, nuanced indicator of underlying health status that is significantly associated with measured physical performance. Furthermore, SRH appears to be independent of age- and gender-related norms. In a resource-constrained context like Kenya, it would seem prudent for the authorities to encourage such practices and formulate policies that would cater for them to enhance co-production of quality health services that is responsive to the needs of a vast majority of people. Currently, mechanisms are not in place in the Kenyan health system that could help to capture SRH.

Statistics regarding malnutrition as a health indicator for many countries is available from the World Health Organization (WHO) Global Database on Child Growth and Malnutrition. The database is accessible online with free downloadable standard data-entry form from the WHO website. Scientists have been using growth assessment because it best defines the health and nutritional status of children while serving as a useful indirect measurement of a population's overall socioeconomic status.

Where, for lack of resources, the country is unable to generate its own data sets, it would be advisable if policies were deliberately designed to incorporate such freely available data. New surveys are included on a continuous basis and updates are published bi-monthly on the database's web site. As De Onis and Blossner (2003) demonstrate, the experience of the database can be regarded as a success story of international collaboration in standardizing child growth data. The authors recommend this model for monitoring other nutritional health conditions that as yet lack comparable data.

There is a need in Kenya for health policy formulators to urgently develop a rational data analysis model that can be implemented by public sector management for assessing the efficiency of the national health system. Such a system should be available to health care managers in order to make it easy to understand the factors associated with good performance of a health system (De Onis and Blossner, 2003). On the international scene, the World Health Organization (WHO) has set health standards in the form of 21 targets - Health 21 - and the European Union (EU) is developing a set of health indicators whereby national health status can be measured.

Such a database would also to help to contribute to health literacy in general. Health literacy as a discrete form of literacy is becoming increasingly important for social, economic and health development (see, Kimalu and others, 2004) The government routinely undertakes a number of public health campaigns that are very expensive to monitor and evaluate and yet are designed to reduce the disease burden amongst the populace if only the message carries through. In this respect, it is important to re-examine the role not only of education but specifically that of literacy to see if major advances cannot be made against malaria, tuberculosis, HIV/Aids and so on.

As Kickbusch (2001) puts it, the positive and multiplier effects of education and general literacy on population health, particularly women's health, are well known and researched, yet a closer look at epidemics, especially in Africa; indicate a complex interface between general literacy and health literacy. While general literacy is an important determinant of health, it is not sufficient to address the major health challenges facing developing and developed societies. Thus, regarding the concept of social capital, ways must be found (akin to Young's (2000) model of communicative democracy) that could be used to tap into cultural repertoires to enhance public health as well as health risk management beyond mere pamphlets and media blitzes that do not often capture the imagination of a large majority of the people.

If it were otherwise, diseases such as HIV/Aids would not ravage the universities in a similar if not worse manner than in the villages! Kickbusch's (2001) idea of a health literacy index (HLI) is quite helpful. HLI could become an important composite measure of the outcome of health promotion and prevention activities. It could be used for instance, to document the health competence and capabilities of the population of a given country, community or group and relate it to a set of health, social and economic outcomes.

The challenges of organizing health service delivery in a manner that provides adequate quality and coverage of health care to the population against a background of economic recession and limited resources is not unique to Kenya. What this study calls for in response to these challenges is the use of research-informed evidence while implementing reforms in the health sector. Proposed policy thrusts must not be so incongruent with the evidence on the ground. Current drives including efforts to develop indicators of performance which assess and reward use of resources at the local level to improve coverage, utilization and quality seem not to have borne much fruit going by the number of complaints in the press and elsewhere regarding service delivery in Kenyan hospitals. Similarly, other interventions such as the integration of service delivery at district level with more decentralized planning to make services better responsive to local needs as well as changes in basic and in service training strategies seem to have faired no better.

A number of key people within the Ministry of Health (MoH) in Kenya seem to realize that primary health care needs to be given greater priority in order to better serve the most vulnerable groups amongst the populace (MoH, 1997). For instance, the Ministry now acknowledges that pharmacists could make a greater contribution to the provision of primary health care than is currently the case and hence the introduction of community pharmacies. Smith (2004) observes that the particular strengths of community pharmacy services commonly cited include their accessibility within many communities and the opportunities for advising on the management of health problems.

As Smith (2004) further observes, the potential for pharmacy to respond to health care needs and contribute to specific health policy objectives is receiving greater prominence internationally as well. However, in spite of this widely acknowledged potential, developments in this regard have been limited in Kenya. Fieldwork undertaken for the purpose of this research revealed that a number of medical officers have been suspended over the management of newly introduced community pharmacies which are regarded as cash cows by some unscrupulous health care managers.

The concept of social capital especially ties well with pertinent issues regarding proper pharmaceutical practices. Pharmacy is concerned with promoting the safe and appropriate use of drugs (which in many cases are also poisonous). While drug use, as Smith (2004) notes, in developing countries has frequently been described as irrational, pharmaceutical companies and some traders often thrive on the sale of fake drugs and imitations. In a number of instances, health care workers narrated to the researcher their frustrations with patients who reported sharing medication with their relatives. This often results in under-dosage as well as faulty treatment for the party on self-medication. This is one of those instances, strong solidarity in the guise of social capital could be ill-advised.

For example, some researchers were able to count more than forty variations and word play on the common drug *septrin* (Falola and Ityavyar, 1991). The use of medical drugs is thus influenced by a wide range of factors, including health and drugs policy, the organization and provision of health care, the availability of

objective information, and health beliefs and cultural perspectives regarding health and drug therapy.

The Kenyan government has been toying with the idea of a national health care akin to that of Great Britain for a long time now. The Minister in charge has been able to rope in the support of the world-renowned economist Jeffrey Sachs who seems to agree that Kenya can afford a modern type of Social Health Insurance (SHI) scheme given the political will. Proponents of SHI schemes routinely cite the case of Latin America where many countries have put in place similar schemes.

The researcher is concerned, however, given the nature of the Kenyan civil service, that the proposed SHI will not achieve equity and financial sustainability objectives. Whatever the case, it is clear that the design of SHI must take into account issues pertinent to the theoretical typology of social capital to avoid unscrupulous practices by both administrators and beneficiaries. Thus, it would make better sense to concentrate on health risk management and public health issues that could easily be grafted on the premises of social capital and mutual assistance.

The Kenya government has given emphasis to cost-recovery in health care administration (GoK, 1994, 1997). This is a major policy shift from the post independence scenario when free and accessible health care to all was the clarion call. Because of this shift, there is now an even greater need for guidelines on economic evaluation. Where the amounts collected in terms of cost-recovery do not warrant detailed accounting and audit systems that are in and of themselves a drain in the health systems organizational resources, such charges should be looked at afresh with a view to terminating them. The administration of the funds is further complicated by the standing instruction from the Ministry that no patients should be detained at institutions for lack of payment (GoK, 1997).

One other area of concern in Kenyan health governance relates to the management of external resources. From a case study of several African countries, Walt and others (1999) grouped factors constraining the management of aid by Ministries of Health under three themes: context and timing, institutional capacities and the interplay of power and influence in negotiations over aid. They highlighted in their findings two

factors that are often overlooked; the inter-relationship of formal and informal relationships, and the extent to which incremental changes are tolerated.

Walt and others (1999) contend that these two factors are important in facilitating management of resources. Their overall conclusion is that coordination and management of external resources is perpetually in a state of flux, involving a changing group of actors, many of whom enjoy considerable autonomy, but who need each other to materialize their often somewhat different goals. The involvement of international strategic partners in the realization of health objectives either by the deployment of experts or the granting of funds is a complex managerial issue that is highly dependent on institutional and systemic issues within both donor and recipient environments. Yet it would seem that no conscious effort has been made by the Kenyan government to specifically deal with this aspect.

The Ministry of Health runs numerous aid supported projects. With the declared broad objectives of supporting reforms in the health system, one of the key areas of donor support is managerial capacity development, particularly of district, hospital and provincial health structures (see, for instance, Schneider and Gilson, 1999). However, national government and aid donors tend to coordinate these initiatives poorly.

The researcher visited a remotely sited community health centre that never seemed to experience regular drug shortages simply because the health centre is supported by an international aid agency. Research interviews with medical superintendents show that things were better during the presence of external experts within hospitals. Yet the good times lasted only as long as the overseas consultants stayed; with the situation frequently getting worse afterwards than prior to the intervention. For these very reasons, some scholars, notably Fukuyama (2004) have warned external support in terms of capacity at times often make things worse at the end. Such inadequately thought-out interventions may also erode social capital in terms of trust. Community members often come to view the expatriates as saviours from often-unscrupulous local medics and thus lose confidence in local expertise. Fukuyama (2004) thus advocates for the establishment of a clear national framework that can enhance the

contribution of donor aid to strengthening the health system without falling into such pit-falls.

4.6.1 HEALTH CARE QUALITY

Scholars and practitioners alike now agree that it is possible to define good health care management practice across a set of domains such as infrastructure, staff, information, finance, quality and safety and so on. As MacKinnon (2004) states, there is simple arithmetic to the rising costs of health care, just as there exists a formula to undertake national income accounting. Most observers agree that it is very unlikely that a resource-restrained country like Kenya would be able to afford free health care services for all hence the need to emphasize co-production systems that would factor in the concept of social capital.

Worldwide, health care costs are increasing at a faster rate than the revenue of many governments and health care costs increasingly cut into the budgetary allocations of other social programmes. Citing the case of Canada, MacKinnon (2004) warns that health care is increasingly becoming unsustainable even if the federal government were to commit 100% of its surpluses to health care. She advocates an open-minded discussion of change, devoid of standard bureaucratic posits that depict new ideas as 'taxing the sick' or 'privatizing the system.' Discussing equity without considering service quality and access is not enough.

The researcher believes that at the systemic level, it would be extremely difficult to sustain a proposition calling for a fully privatized health system. Nevertheless, there is a need to introduce some form of competition within the Kenyan national health system that would have a positive influence on quality. Currently, there is an emerging literature on hospital competition and quality with empirical studies focusing on conditions and outcomes (see, for instance, Romano and Mutter, 2004). Methodologies are being developed to overcome bias from unmeasured severity and discharge practices in order to provide more accurate measures of in-hospital mortality and complications. There is a need to develop home-grown standards of quality measurement in order to implement quality of practice in studies of hospital competition that an appropriate blend of public/private mix might deliver.

At present, not enough effort is being put on the ground to improve information management systems especially in the district hospitals, which still rely largely on hand-written and type-written paper-based filling systems. It was revealing during the fieldwork that none of the hospital administrators mentioned the lack of information management systems as a serious problem. Hospital administrators in all the hospitals visited expressed concerns about staffing shortages and emergency department waiting times and quality but were unable to link this in part to the dilapidated state of information technology.

Issues of good governance are currently in the forefront of both public and corporate governance. Health care is no exception. Being a pillar of good governance, improved accountability is often called for as an element in improving health system performance. As Brinkerhoff (2004) argues, the concept of better accountability may seem straightforward on the surface. However, it contains a high degree of complexity. He thus advocates a rigorous conceptual and analytical clarity if accountability is to be more than an empty buzzword. He elaborates a definition of accountability in terms of answerability and sanctions, and distinguishes three types of accountability: financial, performance and political, or democratic.

The kind of analytic framework proposed above for mapping accountability would thus help identify linkages among health sector actors and interrogate capacity to demand and supply information as well as exercise oversight and sanctions. Brinkerhoff (2004) characterizes three accountability purposes, namely, reducing abuse, assuring compliance with procedures and standards, and improving performance. This is motivated by the fact that accountability does help to generate a system-wide perspective on health sector reform as well as help identify connections among individual improvement interventions, and thus reveal gaps requiring policy attention. The overall impact would be to enhance system performance, improve service delivery and contribute to sound policymaking.

The policy thrusts of most health reforms introduced in Kenya over the past decade or so have concentrated mainly on structures (GoK, 1994, 1997). It is the contention in this study that the focus on facilities based care has been driven by political considerations in terms of 'visible development' that can be used to canvas for votes

during elections. Very little effort has been put on primary health care (PHC) per se, as well as the attitudes of staff and community of users. The health status of many sub-Saharan countries has been on the decline for the last fifteen years or so. Many studies show that a combination of new and old infectious diseases such as HIV/Aids, tuberculosis, malaria, and rising rates of non-communicable diseases has led to reduced life expectancy in a number of countries. The populations of Zimbabwe, Zambia, Kenya, and South Africa have lost more than 10 years in life expectancy in a short space of time (see, for instance, Green, 2004; Kimalu and others, 2004).

Green (2004) shows that this situation is in many instances made worse by public health systems which, in many of these countries, have all but collapsed as a result of chronic under-funding and loss of or lack of personnel. He cites as an example of policy incongruence the fact that immunization rates for the six basic childhood vaccines in developing countries have been dropping in spite of intensive WHO-driven polio eradication and measles campaigns.

With the introduction of the New Public Management (NPM), Kenya has promoted health care partnerships with the private sector, and cost recovery in government hospitals, to increase resources in the public sector. At the same time, Kenya has been trying to ensure appropriate access to healthcare for those without means to pay. The enduring challenge remains that of ensuring access to individuals who are unable to pay for one reason or the other.

While a number of structural changes have been introduced in the civil service, in line with the practices of NPM, cultural and attitudinal changes are yet to be effected appreciably in the public sector to change the attitudes of civil servants to make them welcoming to service users. Overall, equity in health care remains theoretical rather than practical and the social goals of the reform have not been achieved nor properly articulated.

In health systems management, there is always the tension between systemic level interventions and programmatic level intervention (see, Carol, 1996). Going through the ministry's policy documents that are core to health, it is not clear whether a

determination has been made on how much resources should be spent on sector wide reform (GoK, 1994, 1997). Neither is it clear how much resources will be spent on specific programs aimed at producing improvement with particular problems such as HIV/Aids or malaria. Surely, both are needed since vertical programs are unsustainable without well functioning healthcare systems.

Yet some vertical programs such as the Voluntary Counselling and Testing Centres (VCT's) have already taken off very well structurally and administratively. It must be said though that on the surface, many recent health reforms have achieved improvements in capacity building and in structural and technical quality of care, even though the concepts of 'evidence' and of 'participation' have been less pronounced (see Kimalu and others, 2004). The prospects of sustainability of the gains made so far appear to be good only that they need to be further built on in light of the emerging evidence.

Governments in developing and transitioning countries are turning increasingly to the private and non-profit sectors as partners to complement dwindling resources. Kenya seems not to have given this direction a policy priority. Countries such as Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan are experimenting with the creation of new non-profit organizations as part of health sector reforms (see, Brinkerhoff, 2002).

One other avenue for cost-cutting and quality improvement in health care service delivery is in the use of medicines. Inappropriate prescription reduces the quality of medical care and leads to a waste of resources. To address these problems, Laing and Horgezeil (2001) suggest a variety of educational and administrative approaches to improve prescription practice. Many of the promising interventions are relatively inexpensive. For instance, simple methods are available to monitor drug use in a standardized way and to identify inefficiencies.

At present, Kenya conservatively employs intervention approaches that have proved effective in some settings such as standard treatment guidelines and essential drugs lists. Pharmacy and therapeutics committees, problem-based basic professional training and targeted in-service training of health workers are the other interventions that are yet to be practiced much more vigorously. As Laing and Hogerzeil (2001)

recommend, other interventions such as the training of drug sellers, education based on group processes and public education, need further testing, but should be supported.

Laing and Hogerzeil (2001) point out that other simplistic approaches exist that have proven ineffective, such as disseminating prescribing information or clinical guidelines in written form only. They further contend that sufficient evidence is now available to persuade policy-makers that it is possible to promote rational drug use. The deployment of such effective strategies is more likely to improve the quality of health care and reduce expenditure on drugs. Similar approaches can be developed to deal with slightly more complicated scenarios such as the movement toward self-sufficiency in vaccine supply. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the World Health Organization (WHO) have developed a vaccine procurement manual for use in environments similar to those in Kenya.

4.6.2 THE HIV/AIDS PANDEMIC

Kenya is reeling under the severe weight of the increasing HIV/Aids scourge, as is the case elsewhere in Africa. Government and interest groups' awareness campaigns are staggering. Yet there is no appreciable behavioral change. Studies of pregnant women in Kenya have shown particularly increasing HIV/AIDS prevalence rates. However, there has been some good news of late with recent data showing falling HIV prevalence in Nairobi.[34] On the flip side, there is a growing population of both urban and rural adolescents, many of whom are also considered poor and vulnerable, namely, street children, orphans, and sex workers. These groups need attention on how best to address their health needs.

According to Sclar, Garau and Carolini (2005), a consensus is now emerging among experts that the HIV/Aids scourge is less a pandemic and more similar to a series of overlapping epidemics. It is now becoming evident that there is no pre-defined approach for dealing with this situation. Instead, for Sclar, Garau and Carolini (2005),

[34] About 1.5 million people in Kenya have died of AIDS-related causes since 1984. Kenya's HIV/AIDS prevalence has fallen from 14% in 2000 to 7% in 2004, and about 1.4 million HIV-positive people live in the country, according to AFP/News24.com (AFP/News24.com, 2/2). Retrieved on September 22, 2005.

the unique social, historic, and urban context in which the disease manifests itself must lead to the creation of solutions that suit local conditions.

Perhaps, this explains why the United States of America government has reframed HIV/Aids in Africa as a national security threat rather than a public health problem (Coyle, 2005). However, as a rule, and as Brazil's successes amply demonstrate, only when prevention programs are integrated into comprehensive health programs that include treatment and mitigation do we observe a marked decrease in the rates of incidence and prevalence (Sclar, Garau and Carolini, 2005).

Under the rhetoric of 'national security,' it is generally accepted that responsible governments are responsible for the protection of their citizens. The rapid spread of HIV/Aids is challenging these long held political theories. It is clearly in the developed world's interest to act in concert with developing nations to stem the spread of HIV/Aids and other infectious diseases. Yet the developing nations themselves must play the leading role in the fight against the disease. However, the stakes are high as the rapid expansion of antiretroviral drug treatment to countries in urgent need is a huge and difficult undertaking. With antiretroviral drugs priced well beyond the budgets of most nations and individuals and without an HIV vaccine, behaviour modification is virtually the only variable that offers hope for saving life and blunting the epidemic.

Hot on the trail of HIV/Aids infections, other challenges have ensued, such as the resurgence of tuberculosis, which are being borne mainly by the poor. In harmony with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), Kenya must continue to anchor health at the centre of the development agenda. Factors that affect good health negatively are also deleterious to learning, productivity, growth, and wealth to mention but a few. Combating HIV/Aids infections also demands focused attention on the diseases that disproportionately affect the poor, with emphasis on children and women. In the next section, an overview of key policy thrusts informing health sector reforms as well as other government ministries will be presented.

4.7 KEY TRENDS IN CIVIL SERVICE REFORMS

The development of Kenya's Health Policy Framework Paper (PFP) in 1994 can be said to have been a watershed in the MOH's rationalization process. In response to the challenges of implementing the PFP, the MOH developed the National Health Sector Strategic Plan (NHSSP) (1999-2004) which has subsequently been succeeded by NHSSP (2005-2010). This study categorizes the fifteen key policy areas identified in the PFP (1994) into four broad policy thrusts.

As part of a rational policy process, the PFP (1994) first deals with the requisite legislative frameworks before delving into four broad areas specific to the strategic direction of the Ministry in order to improve service delivery. However, the first set of policy thrusts advocated for by the PFP (1994) demonstrates a clear move towards enhanced collaboration and partnership among government and public administration agencies, citizens, and other social players such as the media, academia, and the private and third sectors. This set of policy proposals are in the thesis consolidated under privatization.

The second broad area of policy concerns the financing of the health sector not only by the Government as had been the case prior to 1992, but to also involve other stakeholders. Collaboration in this regard is to be expanded to include Non-Governmental Organizations, the donor community, the private sector, faith-based organizations and the private sector. The challenge is on how to bring on board these other actors and retain the traditional public administration practice of respect for law, politics, citizens, and values. For the purposes of the thesis, the introduction of user-charges or cost-sharing is treated as part of this philosophy.

The other remaining policy thrusts could broadly be divided into two strategies; decentralization and the incorporation of technology in governmental processes. In both movements, the main issues of concern remain the reduction of disease burden, the provision of drugs, provision of facilities and equipment and the participation of key stakeholders in service delivery. One recurring challenge though, as Ryan (1999) shows is the fact that rational approaches to public administration are inherently value-laden, emphasizing norms such as institutional integrity, representation or

efficiency. It would appear as if no deliberate attempts have been made to find ways of incorporating the concept of social capital into these reform efforts.

4.7.1 PRIVATIZATION

As was demonstrated on the earlier section on public sector productivity, it is now increasingly being accepted all over the world, especially as in-grained in New Public Management (NPM), that financial performance and other performance dimensions such as new product development and overseas investment are actually higher for private sector-run businesses than for government. Hence, firms with lower state-ownership tend to be more likely to pursue optimal returns. Under NPM, states are advised to retain only so-called strategic assets (Ferlie and others, 1996, Minogue, Polidano and Hulme, 1998). Given the foregoing, a number of policy initiatives contained in the PFP (1994) are concerned with the creation of a favourable environment for the increased participation of the private sector, non-governmental agencies and communities in the expansion and provision of health services.

By using airports as a test case, Domney, Wilson and Chen (2005) have tried to test this assumption. They came up with very interesting results. They undertook to compare the profitability and technical efficiency of airports[35] in New Zealand and in Australia. In New Zealand, the government has adopted the NPM recommendation of minimalist interference in the running of businesses while the Australian government often intervenes actively in the running of state firms. Thus, the two cases represented different degrees of market power under differing regulatory regimes. Their study is unique in that they measured efficiency and profitability separately.

They further used this independent measure in regression analyses to determine whether efficiency, regulation, or privatization is related to airport profitability. They found that for firms with monopolistic characteristics operating under minimalist regulation, profitability is related to market power, not efficiency improvements. Moreover, for firms operating in a regulated environment, they found that

[35] Airports are generally firms operating in a monopoly industry.

profitability is related to regulation, which constrains market power but does not impede efficiency. What is of interest in their findings is the fact that this evidence shows that the effects of privatization cannot be assessed independently of industry structure and regulation.

Back to Kenya, what the above findings imply is that local reformers considering disposing of state assets in poorly developed markets such as prevails in the region must introduce either competition or regulation if efficiency is a desired outcome. In essence, for Domney, Wilson and Chen (2005), privatization and competition are not only complementary, as often understood by many practitioners and academics, but they are essentially bedfellows. Thus, they suggest that in the absence of competition, regulation is required to control market power.

Regarding health care, it seems just about everyone realizes how important it is for the state to get involved in some way in order to protect vulnerable groups' access to health care. Yet, on the other hand, reality shows that the Kenyan Government cannot afford to provide quality health care to the magnitude required now. As will be shown in the next chapters, the introduction of user-fees for health care services in Kenya has been chaotic to say the least.

In his 2006 Budget Speech to Parliament, the Minister of Finance stated that the Government remains committed to providing low-cost and accessible healthcare to all Kenyans by continually reorienting policy towards preventive healthcare provision, including expanding immunization coverage, while ensuring efficient and effective healthcare service delivery countrywide. Realizing that whatever budgetary allocation available is not sufficient to cater for current needs, he added that the Government plans to partner with outside donors to set up mobile medical programmes targeting vulnerable groups such as the physically handicapped and nomads.

The truth of the matter is that health care provision is choking off government's capacity to invest in other sectors (see, Kimalu and others, 2004). The ever-growing public expectations, especially with the advent of the HIV/Aids scourge is creating

uncontrollable cost pressures. On the other hand, the government is faced with a mass exodus of doctors seeking greener pastures elsewhere and especially to South Africa. The system needs more money and personnel now, and a great deal more in the future. Raising money through general taxation is no longer a viable option. All the leading aid donors to Kenya (The United States, Canada, Germany, Japan, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and Great Britain) have of late closed ranks to demand better governance from the Kenyan Government without which they withhold any development assistance. Therefore, the Government is left only with the options of either raising user-charges or pursuing in a structured fashion, public-private partnerships.

4.7.2 INTRODUCING USER-CHARGES

As presently implemented, user-charges are a minor source of finance for national the health care system in Kenya. According to the regulations, revenues generated from user charges and insurance claims are to be deposited into the Health Care Services Fund more commonly known as the Facility Improvement Fund (FIF). The revenues so generated are to be retained separately by the boards and are supplementary to budget allocations from the treasury[36].

Indeed, the prevailing attitude to health care budgetary allocation assumes that there are no user charges and therefore ignores important implications for equity and efficiency. The Government needs to develop a model of priority setting in which the fixed health care budget can be augmented by user charges. Otherwise, the existing charges are merely a nuisance to the system. Whereas the charges deny access to a great number of people, they barely impact on the national budget or on the running of the individual hospitals as was confirmed by the field study to be discussed later.

The Government of Kenya (2002 p. 11) Guidelines for the Cost-Sharing Programme demands:

[36] See, GoK, MOH (2002) *Guidelines for District Health Management Boards, Hospital Management Boards and Health Care Management Committees*

i. 100% local retention of revenue: currently 75% of revenue is allocated to the health facility collecting the funds and 25% to preventive and primary care activities (P/PHC)
ii. Local planning for the use of revenue: Facility-level planning for use of facility funds, and district level planning for use of P/PHC.
iii. The revenue is additive and 'no-year': That is, Treasury should not reduce MOH allocation because of cost sharing revenue, and unspent funds can be carried to the next year.
iv. Inpatient and outpatient fees higher at hospitals, lower at health centres, and lowest (or free) at dispensaries.
v. Vigorous pursuit of National Insurance Fund (NHIF) reimbursement for inpatients, which enhances the equity of the programme.
vi. Protection of vulnerable groups through discretionary waivers for the poor and exemptions for specific target services.

To arrive at optimal charges, a variety of factors outside politics and equity come into play. Smith (2005) employs methods analogous to models of optimal commodity taxation to develop a set of rules for the inclusion of a health technology in the subsidized health care package, and the calculation of its associated co-payment rate. His results indicate that optimal levels of subsidy depend on the cost-effectiveness of the intervention, its price elasticity of demand, the epidemiology of the associated disease, and the policy maker's attitude towards equity.

These would only constitute the starting point of policy decision regarding the appropriate user-fees and implementation format. This is important because, as studies from elsewhere have shown (see, for instance, Clarke, 2002), negligible user fees often make the poor and the elderly to decrease their use of the system, while other categories increase their usage. The result is zero cost savings, primarily because there is no change in the use of hospital services. What I am advocating for here is not simply the introduction of user charges; rather I am saying that inadequate public funding for the services needed by patients will lead to no choice at all with very predictable consequences.

4.7.3 DECENTRALIZATION

Having introduced the Cost-Sharing policy (user-charges) in 1992, the MOH formed the District Health Management Boards (DHMBs)[37] to oversee the utilization of the cost-sharing funds. Their full responsibilities include[38]:

i. Representing the community interest in the health planning process
ii. Review, approve and forward cost sharing Authority to Incur Expenditure (AIE) requests and estimates of recurrent and development budgets
iii. Work with District Health Management Teams (DHMTs), Health Management Teams (HMTs) and Health Care Management Teams (HCMTs) to coordinate and monitor the implementation of Government of Kenya (GoK) and non-GoK health programmes
iv. Identify implementation programmes and seek corrective action
v. Advocate for cost sharing and promote health awareness among the various publics and
vi. Making policy recommendations to the Minister for Health on health matters through the Provincial Medical officer (PMO).

However, the research findings indicate that these structures are often overwhelmed by the larger, long established and much more effective Provincial Administration structures. A Provincial Commissioner, who is an appointee of the head of state, administers each of the Kenyan eight provinces. The Provinces are further divided into Districts headed by District Commissioners. Below this level is the Division, which, in many instances, has boundaries coinciding with Constituency boundaries for Members of Parliament. Below the Division are Locations headed by Chiefs while Assistant Chiefs look after sub-Locations that are the smallest administrative units. All these officials, from the Provincial Commissioner down to the Assistant Chief, fall under the Provincial Administration, a docket held by the Minister for Provincial Administration and Internal Security in the Office of the President.

[37] District Health Management Boards were established in 1992 by Legal Notice No. 162 of the Public Health Act (Cap. 242).
[38] See, GoK, MOH (2002) *Guidelines for District Health Management Boards, Hospital Management Boards and Health Care Management Committees.*

Thus, these administrators are an extension of the Presidency. They do not offer much in terms of decentralization as articulated by good governance proponents. According to Leonard (1991), these provincial administration structures are a relic of colonialism whose sole purpose was to maintain law and order. None of the officials is elected and they often owe their loyalty to the appointing authority (Cohen and Atieno-Odhiambo, 2004). In the majority of cases, the office holders do not hail from the regions they head. They are viewed as agents of the state and nothing more. In the heydays of the Moi era, the Chiefs and their assistants were useful in ensuring that opposition candidates were kept at bay and were not given much opportunity to interact with members of the public. To date, the structures are used to coordinate relief supplies in areas affected by famine and other emergencies. There are always complaints that they tend to favour government supporters while distributing relief supplies. Because the DHMBs are required to liaise with the District Development Committees (DDCs) headed by the District Commissioner, they are often captured by political and other sectarian interests thus compromising their ability to deliver on their mandates. Thus, there needs to be a conscious effort to reconsider the institutional design rules used to achieve decentralization in this instance.

Kenyan civil service reforms are yet to focus properly on the potential of initiatives decentralized to the sub-local level. There is need to develop institutions that have been designed both to effectively manage public provisioning and to improve the people's participation in local government management decision making. New attempts at devolving power and responsibility to these sub-local structures should be more flexible to local conditions rather than directed by national policy. Because of the complexities of tribal and clan interest balancing in these settings, it is important to adopt, in the words of Coaffee and Johnston (2005), a 'pragmatic localism' in dealing with issues of decentralization locally. There is need to design ways of transferring national programs and funding to the districts and to further devolve these programs' responsibilities to local governments. Because of the capacity problems envisaged, collaboration among interdependent national and local governments would still need to be advanced.

The overarching purpose of the decentralization and devolution processes should be to open new opportunities of community-based involvement in policy and decision-making at various local levels. Innovations such as decentralization of decision-making power to lower administrative level, and recognition of the local community's role in managing their natural resources, for example, game reserves and mineral resources.

In summary, decentralization offers a number of challenges especially in terms of capacity regarding such issues as accountability and financial reporting. There is need to harmonize the accountability requirements for the various organizational forms in the Kenya civil service such as parastatals, government departments and local governments. As Hay (2001) demonstrates in the case of Australia, these disparities can be explained by differences in the principal-agent relationships involved. The principal-agent relationships themselves vary because of divergences in the nature of the activities carried out by the various organizations and their varying levels of importance.

4.7.4 HIGH-TECH FOR PUBLIC BUREAUCRACY

Every other year, especially in the more advanced economies, promising new technologies intended to make life better are unveiled. Dragon (2006) lists some of the exciting developments that have surfaced in the last few years to include a wrist-watch that painlessly measures blood glucose levels every 20 minutes, ultrasound beams that destroy tumours with only minimal surgical intervention, and a vaccine that cures about 50% of cases of psoriasis.[39] The latter development, she points out, could lead to cure for other autoimmune diseases such as rheumatoid arthritis.

For Dragon (2006), new technologies often help fuel pressure to increase spending. She contends that this normally happens in four spheres namely; with competition between health care providers; new drug developments and scientific discoveries; best practice guidelines and treatments; and direct pharmaceutical advertising to the public. The encouraging thing, however, is the fact that cost-effectiveness studies

[39] *American Heritage Dictionary* defines psoriasis as a non-contagious inflammatory skin disease characterized by recurring reddish patches covered with silvery scales.

show a great number of technologies to be cost-efficient as well as having improved health outcomes.

To broaden the above discussion to public provisioning generally, it is important to highlight here the fact that, regarding the incorporation of technology into governmental processes, good governance tries to promote an agenda of citizen-centric and accountable government. In the case of Kenya, like indeed in many developing countries, e-government for instance, is very difficult to implement given the characteristics of the local administration, the socio-economic context and the dynamics of the technological infrastructure.

Nevertheless, technology, especially which promotes innovation in governmental processes should be encouraged. Innovations are needed to make bureaucratic processes more relevant, encourage participation in decision-making, and improve living conditions in many parts of the world. One such technology, which readily comes to mind, is the introduction of the cell phone in the public arena as well as in private application.

Previously, in Kenya, it could take up to three years for someone to obtain a telephone landline upon application for the same. Today, the cell phone has penetrated into even the remotest corners of the country. Telephone landlines have remained mostly a preserve of the well-to-do and institutional users. In the last general elections, cellular phones were used to report results to the head office in Nairobi immediately upon verification by the returning officers. This reduced the number of complaints regarding tampering with results appreciably. In addition, in a number of other areas, innovations could greatly boost institutional efforts to cost-effectively design and expand services to citizens.

Back to the national healthcare management system, one cannot over-emphasize the role of an efficient Health Information Management System (HIMS). Yet the Kenyan Health Information System (HIS) Unit would seem to be largely moribund (GoK, 1997, pp. 161-162). HIS was started in 1980 as an initiative to collect health data for planning and management. The Unit oversees Biostatistics, Medical Records,

Computer Section, Library and the District Management Information System. The major responsibilities of the HIS unit include:

i. Collecting, processing and the analyzing of the health information generated by health facilities;
ii. Acting as a centre for epidemiological information and data;
iii. Compilation and distribution of periodic reports
iv. Training personnel in data collection methods; and
v. Developing the instruments for data collection

The Unit has been plagued by a host of problems and has not performed to expectations. First, its management is suspect given that a medical doctor rather than an economist as had been recommended back in 1993 heads the Unit (GoK, 1997). The argument has been that a medical doctor is better-utilized providing medical services rather than managing a data unit. Second, the unit is severely under-equipped especially in terms of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs). As it is currently, the unit is not offering any meaningful support to the District Health Management Teams (DHMTs).

4.8 CONCLUSION

States all over the world are retreating from the direct provision of goods and services to that of managing the macro economic policies, provision of legislation and regulatory framework, provision of basic public goods and services and the protection of vulnerable groups within the polity. Good governance discourse supports this trend. It is also clear that current decentralization efforts in Kenya do not go far enough. Thus, there is need to device ways of incorporating grassroots organizations into public provisioning. Such organizations have the potential for an expanded conceptualization of good governance that would further help to improve public provisioning. Local associations also offer convenient platforms for empowerment drives and increased stakeholder participation in development efforts. Developmental states like Kenya must therefore provide communities with adequate social institutional structures for improved economic effectiveness if decentralization strategies are to succeed.

Too often, public sector reforms initiated in Kenya tend to neglect the people aspect. There is too much emphasis on systems and equipment without proportional consideration of say, for lack of a better term, 'political culture.' From common definitions, political culture is not the same thing as political ideology. While political ideology refers to a common agreement as to what government should do, political culture is unique to nation states.

Therefore, it is possible to disagree on political ideology but still share a common political culture. Thus, for instance, Somali warlords easily ganged up against the United States' forces (viewed as a common threat). Nevertheless, they are still unable to share a common political ideology. The Chapter has demonstrated that the core of governance reforms in Kenya have mainly identified tools and instruments for good governance through networks of public, private, and non-profit organizations. In many instances, reform initiatives have failed to privilege the people (who are the toolmakers and tool users) in any initiative aimed at improved public provisioning. It thus becomes apparent why quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial governance processes are necessary. These include deliberative democracy, public conversations, participatory budgeting, collaborative policymaking, and alternative dispute resolution to mention but a few. These would allow the people and stakeholders to actively participate in the work of government.

The motivation, active involvement, and grassroots level organization of communities are mandatory for development. These strategies must be accompanied with increased emphasis on the least advantaged (such as female-headed households, child labourers, etc) in the formulation and implementation of poverty reduction strategies. These concerns must also be factored into the creation of administrative, social, and economic institutions for increased social welfare. This calls for a change of attitude amongst public administrators. Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind the ethnicised nature of these local organizations. The challenge is to build onto these organizations the requisite links necessary to transform them from primordial bonds into effective developmental networks in line with the tenets of the concept of social capital. In other words, state machinery is needed to help develop

linking social capital from the abundant *bonding* type and the emergent *bridging* social capital.

There is need for an expanded civic education system in Kenya designed in a way that enhances the formation of social capital amongst the various Kenyan publics. It is the author's opinion that social capital is highly developed in Africa but only within the ethnic communities. However, these bonds are of the vertical type of dependency and exploitation giving rise mainly to patron-client relationships. The challenge is to harness social capital at the national stage. In the next chapter, we will look closely at the available social capital in the country to determine whether it would be useful for improved public provisioning.

CHAPTER FIVE

AN INVENTORY OF THE STOCK OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

This chapter presents the findings of the fieldwork regarding the manifestations of the phenomenon of social capital in Kenyan public provisioning. The concept of social capital is surveyed from four theoretical perspectives: civic virtue, trust, associational norms and political equality. The results from focus group interviews as well as in-depth interviews are presented first followed by the survey results. It assumed in this Chapter that the bureaucrats are in fact also representatives of the wider populace and hence the survey sought to measure the nature of existing stock of social capital amongst both the community of users as well as the service providers.

The aim of this chapter is thus to highlight those aspects of civil service reforms that current initiatives have given little attention to. It is hoped that by giving prominence to the concerns raised here, the public perceptions of the Kenyan bureaucrats as well as actual service delivery would improve appreciably. By this endeavor, the researcher hopes to debunk the often-observed predilection of many Kenyan civil servants to be estranged from the policies they are supposed to implement in the first place. It is apparent that the lack of buy-in into a number of government projects is not only limited to the people who use the services but in many instances includes the service providers as well.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore factors that engender mistrust between service providers and the community of users of government services and thus erode the requisite stocks of social capital that would be required for good governance to take root. The manifestations of pertinent issues such as ethnic chauvinism and its potential both for building and destroying social capital are described here. Other issues such as transparency and capacity building are also discussed. Here, capacity building is considered from the viewpoint of knowledge acquisition and regeneration in order to enhance or grow further the manifestations of desirable traits of social capital and good governance.

5.1 ACCOUNTING FOR CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

In the thesis, the concept of social capital has been articulated as an analogy to human and physical capital. That is, the concept is understood as a factor that influences productivity. The literature reviewed also made implicit assumptions about the sources of social capital and factors that inhibits its development. The key thing about social capital is the fact it is most useful when embedded in a dense network of reciprocal social relations. This study broadens the construct of civic engagement to include individual and collective actions designed to identify and address issues of public concern. The feeling of belonging and ownership in the political, social and economic communities to which citizens belong is also considered part of this construct.

Of interest to the thesis is the characterization of civic engagement as articulated by Putnam (1993) that rates events such as voter turnout, newspaper readership, membership in choral societies and literary circles, soccer clubs, as key to civic engagement. From this perspective, the various hospitals that were visited had patients and workers who had dense networks of civic engagement indeed. From the onset, a visitor to any of the hospitals is often confronted by nearly as many relatives of the patients as the patients themselves indicating the presence of very strong traits of bonding capital. Other groups milling around the hospital compounds included religious leaders and members of various faith communities who would often come to console their loved ones. There would also be one or two odd aspiring politician who would come to check on the state of government services.

5.1.1 NARRATIVE ACCOUNTS OF CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

The majority of the people in government hospitals who come in as patients are, as confirmed by field visits, people who had no access to private medical care. Nearly every patient the researcher talked to wished they could afford private medical care that they deemed to be superior to what the government hospitals offered. This difference was actually more heightened at Kenyatta National Hospital where there exists a private wing. Kenyatta National Hospital is the premiere referral hospital in

the region and often people from all over the country end up here for complicated medical services. This often means that waiting times are very long and even when appointments are secured, there are still very long queues to contend with. Yet, because of its unique position as the national referral hospital and a teaching hospital for University of Nairobi medical and nursing students, a number of leading medical practitioners are found here. Kenyatta National Hospital private wing is very prestigious and is often frequented by a number of senior figures either in government or in private practice seeking health care services.

As for the upcountry hospitals, the urban ones still tend to be patronized more by the economic underclass as the demand for services is often overwhelming given the meagre resources. The rural-based health facilities are frequented mostly by expectant women, emergency cases of accidents or violent conflicts, or children brought by parents for immunization and other ailments. These rural-based facilities are also in competition by alternative health care service providers such as traditional birth attendants, bone-setters and other traditional doctors who dispense herbs and other remedies for various ailments. Faith-based organizations, just like elsewhere in the country, are also gaining prominence by offering all sorts of spiritual cures to their believers.

Amongst the doctors, it was only in the one district hospital visited by the researcher where a doctor claimed not to practice privately. Legislation and regulations regarding the employment of doctors and indeed other civil servants in Kenya do not bar private practice (Ndegwa, 2006). All other doctors interviewed for this research had private practice running alongside their government job, or worked part-time in private medical institutions. As for the nurses and other paramedics, some operated private community pharmacies, others medical laboratory centres still others had completely different lines of business such as selling second-hand clothes, furniture shops and in one instance a metal workshop.

The researcher was often perturbed by the different attitudes that some health care service providers interviewed adopt while working at private hospitals as opposed to when working for the government. One matron for instance told the researcher that:

> In Aga Khan Hospital (*one of the high cost private hospitals in Kenya*) is where we really work. There is no work here in this hospital. In Aga Khan the patient is King and their relatives do not bother you too much. Here we just play[40].

This approach to civil service work has bleak implications for civil service reforms that merely fiddle with structures. It would appear as if some government workers believe that they do not have to give their best as employees of the state. While political science literature continually offers many different strands in the definition and conceptualization of citizenship, it is difficult to see how the various definitions capture the happenings in many African countries[41]. As Bongyu (2001) says, it seems that to many Africans, the state is seen as a source of endless largesse that every one has to scramble for as much as possible.

Another nurse gave the example of how subordinates use detergent while cleaning in the hospital. In December 2004, the researcher actually stood at a corner and watched a lady cleaning the floor pour nearly a half of the contents of a 1 kg detergent box on the floor to clean an area less than four square meters. When asked whether she would use similar amounts of detergent in her own house for the same job, she happily replied in the negative telling us that she did not have as much resources as the government[42]. This would seem to justify Bongyu's (2003) observation that most people in Africa see the state as an endless source of largesse.

It is important to reiterate here that civil servants are professional citizens with the duties of establishing and sustaining a relationship with other citizens and serving the larger common interest. While my observations in South Africa and Tanzania are to the contrary, it would appear to me as if, and this is borne out by the data as shown in Table 5-1, there is a very weak tradition of citizenship in Kenya. It would appear as if a lethal combination of a crude legal framework for citizenship and a weak culture of constitutionalism protecting rights and obligations have created a populace that is largely estranged from the formal workings of the state.

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[40] Interview, 6 December 2004.
[41] The definitions of citizenship are assumptive of liberal, representative democracies, and so local governance is not their basic feature at all.
[42] Field visit, 14 December 2004.

The public handling of the Rift Valley fever[43] outbreak in some parts of the country in late 2006 is a case in point. After the government warning that people should not eat un-inspected meat, that is, meat certified by a government veterinary surgeon as fit for consumption, amongst many ordinary people that the researcher interviewed, there was uncertainty on two fronts. There are those who believed that the meat traders would fake government stamps of inspection and still sell unsafe meat and thus would not trust meat sold in public places whether bearing a stamp or not. Similarly, there were those who did not trust the veterinary officers to do their job impartially and suspected that the meat traders would bribe them to certify even unsafe meat. In either case, service delivery was compromised by concerns that are closely linked to the issue of social capital.[44]

The data is, however, encouraging in one aspect; there seems to be an active tradition of solidarity and a sense of community in isolated communities that still needs to be engendered and subsequently allowed to develop bridges to envelop bigger communities rather than just clans. Indeed, while discussing the issue of the Rift Valley fever with one of the respondents, he told me that:

> In spite of the misgivings surrounding the prevalence of this Rift Valley fever thing, nobody would dare to slaughter a sick cow for consumption during family gatherings. Similarly, no one would pay as part of bride price, a cow or bull he suspects might be unwell[45].

The tension for the thesis advanced here is why similar honesty is not extended while dealing with other members of the public outside immediate family members. Theoretically, with regard to the concept of social capital, this would point to the lack of bridging social capital to link the various primordial bonds for the good of the larger entity subsumed by the state (Putnam, 1993).

There are some areas in Kenya, where for instance, it is difficult for a primary school head to work outside her clan[46]. Such a scenario falls far short of the ethical

[43] Wikipedia defines rift valley fever as a toxic generalized febrile virus disease of humans and animals in South and East Africa, transmitted by a mosquito, and characterized by headache, photophobia, myalgia, and anorexia. Available online at [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rift_Valley_fever] Accessed on March 15, 2007.
[44] Sources: Focus group interviews, 2004 – 2006.
[45] Interview, 10 January 2007.
[46] Interview data, 16 December 2005.

citizenship that encourages participation and obligation envisaged by this research. In such situations, the civil servant's role of promoting ethical citizenship and democratic government is severely hampered even if the traditional duties of efficiency, economy, and effectiveness are realized. Herein lies the major tension in civil service reform in Kenya. On the one hand, there is the need for civil servants to be accountable for values and recognize that their authority is exercised on the behalf of citizens, yet on the other hand, to ensure professionalism, the same community of users need to be encouraged to think differently.

From the foregoing, a vicious circle of sorts develops. First, in line with the doctrines of good governance, civil servants are expected to be responsive and to think as citizens first and only as public administrators afterwards. Yet, not only the civil servants, but also all public affairs stakeholders in general, are expected to inculcate a sense of noble civility on the citizens. It looks daunting, but the challenge for the Kenyan civil servant remains the revitalization of the meaning of citizenship and the roles and responsibilities that come with it. This is what the thesis conceptualizes as a 'civic-regarding public provisioning.' For the government of the day to realize this 'civic-regarding public provisioning,' the art of government must be elevated through a discourse of public management that never tires of inventing better ways to engender citizens' ongoing involvement with the public policy and governance process.

All public affairs stakeholders, should in the ideal case, view themselves primarily as change agents with a primary responsibility to the public of building a better Kenya for all. Thus, a challenge is created of making citizen participation not only meaningful, but exciting as well. A note of warning needs to be sounded here though; increased citizen participation is not always positive. To realize this, one only needs to visit Kenya prior to a general election and witness the paralysis that often grips the whole nation as everyone stays glued to the electoral process to the exclusion of everything else. It is these kinds of tensions that need to be managed properly and effectively. Democracy does not begin and end with periodic elections, rather, the general citizenry need to acknowledge the fact that the essence of good governance is to promote self-government and encourage citizen participation in public policy development.

A striking feature of the Kenyan public administration is its uniformity. The researcher was amazed by the fact that basic attitudes regarding corruption and approach to one's work are so similar, pervasive and ubiquitous in all public institutions. As the researcher found out from site visits to the selected hospitals, the kind of behaviour exhibited by the nurse cited above is pervasive throughout the service. It is as if there were a textbook image of public administration offered to all government workers. Indeed, the quality of service offered in all the government hospitals was so similar that one may be forgiven for mistaking several nurses for one and the same nurse.

The worrying thing is the manner with which both the communities of users as well as the civil servants have come to accept petty corruption and sloppy service as the order of the day. It is common for a relative with a patient to be advised to pay a doctor on the side for better service and so on. It is also taken as normal for medical and laboratory technicians to run contraband 'pharmacies' as well as doctors who advise their private clients to get admitted into government hospitals so that they would attend to them in a public hospital without disclosing this information to the hospital administrators[47]. In the Kenyan case, it would appear as if no one sees the service user as the centre of the administrative act.

In more practical terms, public spiritedness should be manifested in being mindful of other people's welfare without too much external policing. Yet, what the researcher found in the field was often in complete contradiction to this stance. One of the nurses narrated to the researcher her frustrations with some of the patients and their relatives thus:

> I am supposed to be here to do nursing work that by itself is already overwhelming given the number of patients we handle here. You will find that may be fifty percent or even more of my time is used acting like a class monitor controlling patients and their relatives. Some of these young patients bring along the music systems and play them too loudly for comfort. I also play cat and mouse games with relatives of patients who do not want to come in at the prescribed visiting times and keep popping in and out while we are doing our rounds. You cannot believe it, but there are times I have had to dash out and chase goats and cows away from the hospital compound. The people around here allow their livestock to graze

[47] Sources: Key informant interviews, 2004 – 2006.

> on the hospital grounds and sometimes these animals trample on hospital linen hang out to dry[48].

As the researcher found out on numerous site visits, many respondents concurred with the observations cited above. This suggests that public provisioning in the country is not only complicated by special interests (mainly networks of corruption), size (in terms of state penetration in some areas), tribalism, and so on, but also by unique social circumstances as illustrated above. Civil servants are thus embroiled in a myriad of problems many of which are not of their own making and beyond individual solution. Yet, as representative citizens, the onus is on them to redefine the concepts of justice and equity and seek legitimacy amongst the people they serve. Civil servants, working in tandem with other public affairs stakeholders, are in a pole position to review communal values of public provisioning.

The recent attempts to embrace Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) to help solve capacity problems have equally run into problems related to the concept of social capital and the general lack of trust in government services. In the rural areas for instance, mobile clinics run by religious organizations are often overwhelmed by the sheer numbers of patients lining up for services as is indeed recognized by the government in existing policy documents (GoK, 1994, 1997). With the realization that PPPs could also be extended to include relationships where two or more private entities come together to initiate and manage a programme or a project for the benefit of the public, the Kenyan government has started posting nurses to hospitals and clinics run by religious organizations to help boost their capacity. However, as one of the nursing sisters informed the researcher during an interview, there are still hitches that need to be ironed out:

> We appreciate that the government is trying to help us by bringing these people here. The only problem is that they come here with their public hospital work culture and lower our standards. The new Sister for instance, is rarely ever at work on time. In fact, I really wonder how the government expect these people to improve our reporting system given their lax approach to work. If the government wanted to improve health-reporting systems, then they should give us information officers and not these lazy nurses. The

[48] Interview, 14 December 2005.

> problem is made worse by the fact that we do not have mechanisms in place to discipline them professionally[49].

For PPPs to work well in accordance with the dictates of good governance and in recognition of the available stocks of social capital, appropriate methods of health care provisioning must be worked out by the state.

The issues of corruption for instance, could easily derail attempts at building successful PPPs. The various anti-corruption drives that have been launched in Kenya in the recent past are yet to bear fruits to the satisfaction of the majority. That probably explains why 91% of all respondents believed that public procurement is undertaken shoddily. One nursing Sister had this to say about corruption in the hospital:

> Look at this operating theatre. There are no toilets in here. The room sizes are so small it is difficult to wheel in a stretcher. You would think that there are no government regulations concerning hospital buildings. The rules are often overlooked to allow well-connected individuals to carry out shady work for the government and be paid hefty sums so that they give kickbacks to those responsible[50].

In Kenya, the difficulty has been in determining the proper balance among the pay structure, power, and accountability. To this end, parliament has recently passed a Public Officer's Ethics Act (2003). Parliament also enacted legislation to create the Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission (KACC) and so on. However, these legislations have done little to convince sufficient numbers amongst the public affairs stakeholders that the battle is being won. The *National Corruption Perception Survey* conducted by KACC in 2005 is shown in Figure 5-1 on the next page. Amongst other things, the *Public Officers Ethics* Act prohibits public officers from using their office to organise or officiate at *harambees*, which are considered a potential source of corruption. The Act says in Section 12:

> A public officer shall not use his office or place of work as a venue for soliciting or collecting harambees or either as a collector or promoter of a public collection, obtain money or other property from a person using his office in any way to exert pressure.

[49] Interview, 9 December 2005
[50] Interview, 9 January 2006.

Like in most other developing countries, corruption is proving to be a great impediment to development in Kenya. As is generally known, corruption deletes the faith of citizens in the legitimacy of the state. The Kenyan Chapter of Transparency International (TI) annually releases the areas of prevalence of fraud and corruption. Corruption is perpetuated in the form of bribes, inventory stock, construction projects that never take off, security-related procurement, fruitless expenditure, procurement generally, inflated bills, ghost workers, irregular expenditure, asset theft, unauthorized expenditure, and so on. The Kenyan Anti-Corruption Commission has also begun to release similar surveys every so often and their data do not differ much from those of TI.

What we learn from all this is that we do not only require ethical civil servant behaviour from within the civil service but ethical conduct from every member of the public. The problem with the concept of good governance as presented in this research is that it hardly goes beyond concerns with the familiar shortcomings in character and judgment that give rise to waste, fraud, abuse, and mismanagement. The cancer of corruption eats into the repayment of the domestic and international debt burden, military and civilian retirement benefits, net promises for social security such as retirement and pension funds, and potential bailouts of parastatals.

Given the existing Constitution, Kenya would seem to have a viable system of checks and balances that should ensure transparency and accountability. What is apparently lacking is the social capital to imbue public actors with the requisite values, ethics and integrity to implement the systems satisfactorily. An appropriate social capital base will then supplement the law and applicable professional standards. However, it must be emphasized that the good governance discourse on modernizing, reinventing or reengineering the state has indeed placed strong emphasis on values and ethics as a preferred means for civil service reform efforts. The only problem would seem to be the fact that there is an underlying assumption of global values held by people and civil servants globally.

The proposed entrenchment of good governance principles would have to take place in an environment where both the social and the political environment do not present public managers with ethical challenges created by undue political pressure

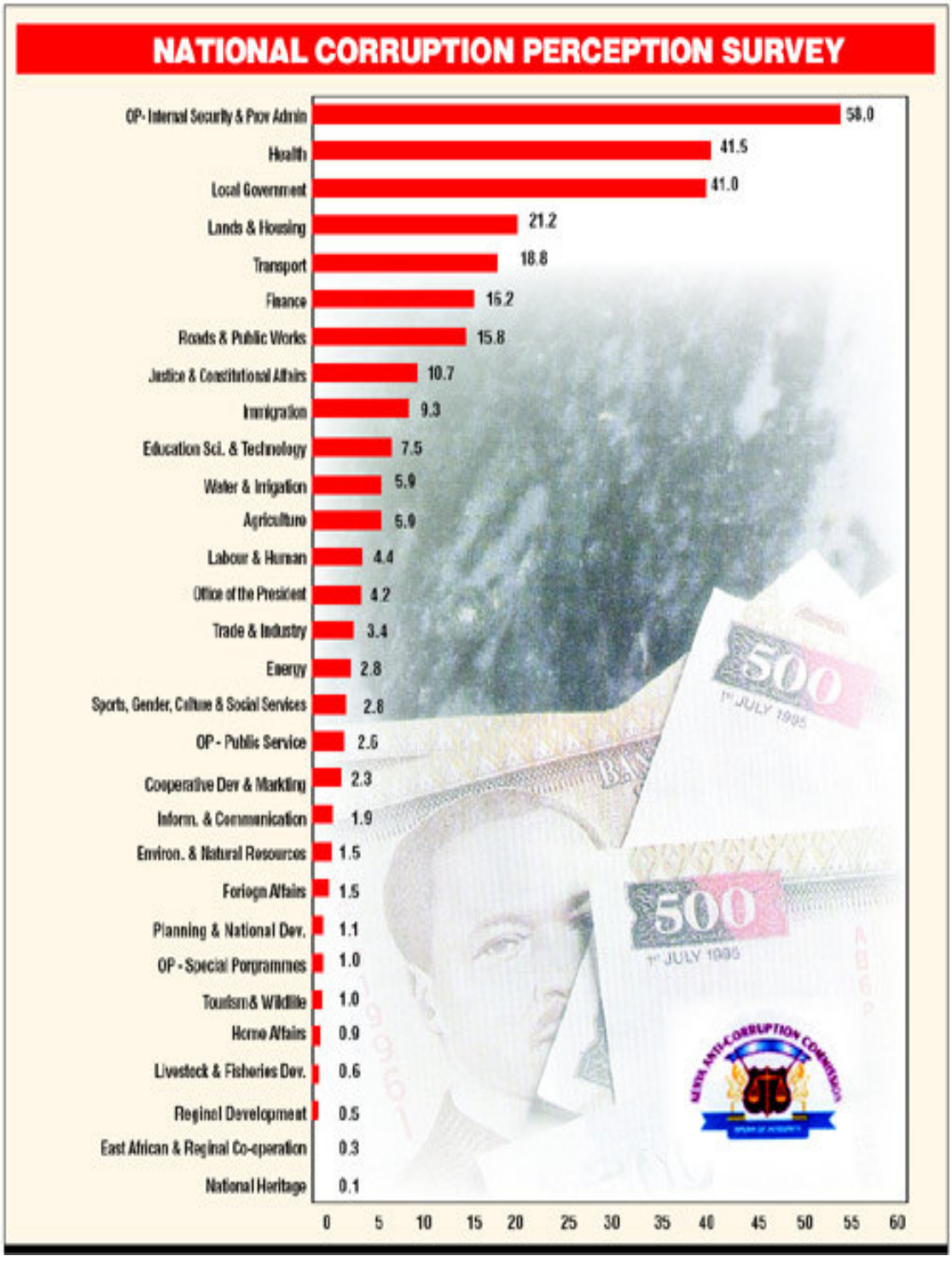
and demands for special treatment by various interest groups. Yet the political economy of Kenya is rife with just the opposite of these assumptions. Let us recall that due to lack of resources in most of our public institutions, bureaucrats are sometimes faced with ethical dilemmas regarding distributive and procedural justice. For instance, does a nurse in a public hospital with no syringes ask a patient to buy one in order to receive treatment in a public hospital? Whereas this particular practice happens regularly and some patients are happy to buy hand gloves and syringes in order to be attended to, there is no formal provision for such arrangements in the regulations.

In other words, an acute lack of resources may at times exacerbate ethical pressure on civil servants. Equally, political responsiveness also often threatens ethical considerations. Here, the researcher has in mind an experience on one field visit when a local Member of Parliament drove into the hospital with a sick patient[51]. He wanted the patient attended to urgently. At the same time, he instructed the hospital staff to waive[52] charges for the patient as he insisted that the patient was unable to pay the modest charges. The staff at this hospital agreed to carry out the orders of the Honourable Member of Parliament after a brief moment of hesitation when they had to consult the medical superintendent.

Financial management in the government hospitals have also been further unnecessarily complicated by the introduction of user charges often referred as Facility Improvement Fund (FIF) by the MOH. In all the hospitals visited, the superintendents complained of the stresses of managing the revenues, which were in all the cases, too little to make an impact in the running of the hospitals and yet had stringent accounting mechanisms attached to them[53].

[51] Field visit, 9 December 2005, Kisumu.
[52] According to the Ministry of Health Guidelines, exemptions and waivers are meant to ensure that no Kenyan is refused access to essential health services. An exemption is defined as an automatic excuse from payment based on the patient meeting certain criteria set down in circulars by the MOH. On the other hand, a waiver is a release from payment based on financial hardship. Patients must request a waiver and judgement must be made as to whether the case is a deserving one.
[53] Field visits, 19 – 23 December 2005 and 16 – 20 January 2006.

FIG 5-1: KACC'S SURVEY ON CORRUPTION



Source: Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission Survey (2006)[54]

[54] Published in the *EastAfrican Standard* of Thursday July 6, 2006

This scenario is due to the fact that the government had not fully bought into the idea of charging user fees in the first place for such a crucial service as health care in an environment where the majority of users barely earn enough to even feed themselves. In one of the rural health facilities, the Sister in charge was of the opinion that:

> It is useless to go to town and have a meeting on how to manage this money. The money we get from user fees is not enough to buy syringes and paraffin for the stoves we use to boil water. The security man we employed last year has now left because we cannot afford to pay him regularly. These fees have added an unnecessary administrative burden on us[55].

However, the donor community who threatened to withhold further assistance unless the measures were put in place browbeat the government into implementing 'cost-recovery' measures. The result has been a disheartening scenario where the charges set are too low to make an impact on the running of the hospitals and are at the same time too high for the majority of the people who desperately need the services.

Complicating the above scene even further are the rent-seekers in government who never fail to seize any opportunity to indulge in petty corruption whenever there is money to be swindled. Added to this is the lack of training for many civil servants (i.e. doctors and nurses) in the art and craft of financial management. Just like managers in the private sector, public managers are now being called upon to manage the financial affairs of their respective entities.

An alternative to the training of existing public managers in financial management would be to hire experts in the highly relevant subjects of budgeting, forecasting, control, and financial analysis. It is unlikely that the government with the current salary structure would ever be able to attract 'good' management accountants and financial managers competent enough to play key roles in providing the necessary financial support information for management decisions.

[55] Interview, 20 December 2005.

In the context of this study, it is important to conceptualize public administration within its social and political environment before we can think of a universal culture of good governance. Treating terms like 'the philosophy of public administration' or 'public administration theory' as universals underlies an assumption of inter-subjective understanding and acceptance of the key referents namely; 'public,' 'administration,' and 'public administration.' Allowing for the fact that we are still enjoying the benefits of the 'linguistic turn,' one would thus still expect that the social, political and cultural values of different natural settings would easily embed themselves in local administrative practices.

5.1.2 SURVEY QUESTIONS ON CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

The first question in this section asked whether the respondent thought that the government cared about her. Starting from this perspective was useful for the researcher in order to determine whether the respondent would in turn be able to do anything that might be interpreted as assisting the government to obtain its objectives. The argument here is that one would not likely work in the interests of an entity that they perceive as not caring for their welfare. Indeed, such a person, if we assume the methodological individualism of economics, would be much more tempted to get their own back from the state in order to maximize their returns as rational actors. For instance, from this perspective, it might appear rational for an employee who feels 'underpaid' to supplement her income through pilfering or petty corruption. The reverse was also assumed to hold by maintaining that an individual who perceives the government as caring would be motivated to go the extra mile in the performance of her duties.

Regarding the community of users, it is the contention here that a high proportion of those who believe that the government cares for them would be less likely to sabotage the system either by engaging in petty corruption, supporting public officials who do not deliver on their mandate by introducing other considerations rather than just performance of duties. Conversely, those who answered negatively were assumed by the researcher to lean the other way.

The respondents were also asked whether they believed that there are individual sacrifices worth making for the community. This type of question often invites a socially correct response. However, as Leedy and Ormrod (2001) advises, two other supplementary questions were asked later on in the section on civic virtue, just to verify the motivations of the first response. Thus, questions number four and five asked the respondents whether they believed that helping others increased laziness and whether they normally help out at local groups as volunteers. The response set was then checked for ambiguity. Probably due to the rather elaborate instructions that were given to the respondents, both verbally and in writing prior to the filling in of the survey forms, not much ambiguity was found in the response to the three questions.

The third question asked whether Chiefs were necessary for good governance. This question was prompted by the observation that nearly all reform initiatives that seeks to secure the involvement of the people at the grassroots, including the Ministry of Health's (MOH) own initiative in the form of DHMBs, tended to incorporate the provincial administration in their structures. Thus, the question was meant to interrogate the wisdom of this practice.

To further test the persistence of the feeling entered as a response to question number one, question number six asked respondents whether they believed that public institutions procure their supplies transparently. This is important especially in relation to the MOH reform efforts where nearly all the previous reports on reform initiatives have mentioned procurement, especially drugs, as a contentious area in need of urgent reforms for efficiency and effectiveness in service delivery.

The next two questions were designed to elicit the more general sense of patriotism and identification with the country. Question number seven asked the respondents whether they knew all the verses of the national anthem by heart while the next question asked whether they knew what each of the public holidays commemorated. These questions are important as the issues asked about help to consolidate what Anderson (1983), on his reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism, called imagined communities. Table 5-1 on the next page is a summary of the questions asked and the responses.

TABLE 5-1: SURVEY FINDINGS ON CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Quest1	The government cares about me	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	55	45
		Nurses	53	47
		Combined	54	43
Quest2	There are individual sacrifices worth making for the community	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	79	21
		Nurses	87	13
		Combined	82	18
Quest3	Chiefs are necessary for good governance	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	77	23
		Nurses	75	25
		Combined	76	24
Quest4	Helping others encourages laziness	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	18	82
		Nurses	18	82
		Combined	18	82
Quest5	I normally help out at local groups as a volunteer	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	69	31
		Nurses	83	17
		Combined	75	25
Quest6	Procurement procedures of most public institutions are transparent	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	11	89
		Nurses	5	95
		Combined	9	91
Quest7	I know all the three verses of the national anthem by heart	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	75	25
		Nurses	79	21
		Combined	76	24
Quest8	I know what each of the national public holidays commemorate	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	93	7
		Nurses	90	10
		Combined	92	8
Quest9	I regularly contribute to *harambees*	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	53	47
		Nurses	72	28
		Combined	60	40

Harambees are a form of self-help community partnership that has been around in Kenya for quite some time now. It normally entails the identification of a need, say a primary school or someone in need of school fees, and then an organizing community arranges a meeting where people gather with the sole purpose of raising the money. Kenyan politicians are adept at hijacking all sorts of functions of this kind. Whether it is raising money for funeral expenses or for some lucky student to go and study abroad, politicians at all levels would most likely be involved. Nevertheless, ordinary Kenyans, out of their own good heart, often contribute financially or materially whenever approached to participate. Interested readers may seek further details on this phenomenon by referring to Mbithi's (1997) excellent piece on *harambee* and self-reliance in Kenya. With this in mind, the last question on civic virtue sort to know whether respondents regularly contributed to *harambees*.

To conclude, this section on civic engagement has demonstrated the fact that people are informed by both personal value judgments as well as specific policy measures. The aim was to articulate the construct of civic engagement as a desirable input into the public provisioning by using the case of government hospitals. The section has engaged in this understanding by discussing the many dimensions of the construct of civic engagement at the individual and organizational level. From the data collected, we begin to realize that the concept of civic engagement is closely related to ideas of participation and empowerment and hence the nexus with the concept of good governance.

5.2 ACCOUNTING FOR TRUST

By looking at the construct of trust, the researcher attempted to identify instances where both the community of health care service users as well as the service providers worked together to engender increased control over, and to improve health care service delivery. In order to reach a state of complete physical, mental and social wellbeing, an individual can only do so much. Other facets of health promotion require the efforts of all members of the community. Every community member must be able to identify and to realize aspirations, to satisfy needs, and to change or cope with the environment without unnecessary encumbrances from other members of the society.

In most of the cases considered for this study, the patients often had great trust in the health workers competence or had no means of verifying the assumed competence. On the other hand, the health workers often took their clients confidence for granted and in many cases rarely bothered to explain reasons for particular prescriptions and procedures. Indeed, in many instances, patients told the researcher that asking many questions was often seen as signs of a troublesome patient that in many cases saw such patients receive intentionally poor services. At times, the researcher saw health workers attend to patients while talking on their cell phones at the same time. Rarely though, did any of these instances of blatant poor service delivery even elicit official complaints. Often, the patients knew neither who to complain to nor the formal procedures of lodging a complaint.

5.2.1 NARRATIVE ACCOUNTS OF TRUST

The element of trust is especially pertinent in the practice of medicine. For instance, some patients confided in the researcher that they feared to be tested for HIV/Aids because they suspected the nurses would tell their relatives and friends about their status without consulting them. For those who believed in witchcraft and traditional medicine, they at times felt that the doctors and nurses using modern medicine did not quite understand the nature of their ailment. Again, given that the Ministry of Health (MOH) does not ordinarily consider one's ethnic background prior to posting, it became apparent to the researcher that some patients felt short-changed, especially if they do not speak fluent Kiswahili or English, that a medic from a different part of the country should offer them service. The lack of trust and perception of poor quality services resulting from this kind of arrangement was captured by one elderly lady who had visited the hospital and had just been seen by one of the nurses. She had this to say:

> That young woman comes from this area and now because she is in that white uniform she even refuses to greet me in Dholuo. What are those of us who never went to school supposed to do? I spoke to her in my broken Kiswahili and she started writing things even before I finished explaining the nature of my illness to her. They have now given me only painkillers.

> Why is the government not employing people who have the time to talk and listen to us?[56]

As can be seen from the remarks above, the issue may not be about ethnicity *per se* but could be stretched to include an uncaring attitude or just pure communication problems.

We need to acknowledge the historical inevitability of ethnic groupings without imputing to them negative ideologisations that may be conveyed by the term ethnicity.[57] Like in many other developing countries, the Kenyan national health system is inadequate given the demands placed upon it. Whether it is the equitable distribution of physical health facilities or the appointment to senior posts in the Ministry of Health (MOH), just like in other Government Ministries, Kenyans analyse these issues through an ethnic lens. It is common knowledge that these senior managers are able to unfairly sway government resources to their home areas. One of the patients in a hospital the researcher visited had this to say:

> Now they have brought this Kisii man here because they want we Luos to suffer. How come we cannot have a Luo Medical Superintendent in Kisii homeland yet they are always posting foreigners here? It is because they do not care about services here and want this man to take even the little we have here away[58].

The sentiments expressed here were widely shared by the other patients who visited this hospital. What this demonstrates is that ethnic sentiments may at times overshadow obvious issues of delivery failures. The patients here were basically laying the blame of system failures on the gentleman who had been appointed the medical superintendent hopefully only on the basis of his qualifications. Yet, as far as the researcher could establish, failures such as lack of drugs and equipment could not be easily pinned on him. His major failure seemed to be the fact that he was Kisii and not Luo by birth.

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[56] Interview, 17 January 2005.

[57] It is of course possible that favours are simply being given based on who is familiar to whom without necessarily saying one nurse will dogmatically operate in the ethnic mode and ignore patients from other ethnic groups. The issue is also further complicated by the fact that it is impossible to measure what we may call here, for want of a better term, ethnic attitudes, even though we can see manifestations of them in practical reality without falling into the trap of anthropological determinism.

[58] Interview, 7 December 2005.

Regarding trust, the field visits also revealed that many people have come to accept petty corruption as the normal way of life in public places. In the case of a public hospital for instance, it would be very difficult for an ordinary person to know whether there are medicines or not as the standard response will be negative. At the same time, the patients suspect that there is medicine but the nurse or doctor is merely posturing in order to extort a bribe. Therefore, in a normal scenario where both parties 'trust' each other, the patient would straight away pay 'something small' in order to obtain the drugs or whatever it is he or she wanted. Ordinarily, this would work without a problem. However, if the lack of drugs is genuine or if the corrupt service provider does not trust the new 'customer', then there is real tension and an acute dissatisfaction with 'the service.' A circle of distrust is thus created that is extremely difficult to solve in the formal organizational sense[59].

The above scenario is often abetted by invoking tribal loyalties. For instance, if we are Luo, and the doctor or nurse is Luo as well, then we would be seen as disloyal or foolish to tell on a fellow Luo and so on. It is as if the corrupt tribesman were stealing on behalf of the community. It is thus the researcher's contention that serious public provisioning reforms must come to grips with these issues and not merely sweep them under the carpet. These issues must be addressed right from the community leadership level. It is not an impossible task to minimize the effects of tribalism in the civil service.

Lack of transparency engenders the misuse of public power for private gain. The misapplication of public power occurs when politicians and bureaucrats deviate from prescribed rules and procedures when carrying out public duties in order to gain personally at the expense of the general public. Nevertheless, by its very nature, it is not always easy to characterize corruption. For instance, Kenyan doctors are allowed to run their own private practice while at the same time working for the

[59] The scenario describe here was especially common at Rachuonyo District hospital where the then Medical Superintendent was not an indigene of the area and neither spoke nor understood the local language.

government[60]. In the rural health facility that the researcher visited, most of the patients interviewed in a focus group discussions, concurred with one of the participants who had this to say about the Clinical Officer in charge:

> She is not here now because she is still busy at her pharmacy at the market. She has to pass by there to see what drugs are missing so that she come here and pick the government issued drugs to re-stock. Most of the drugs they prescribe here are not available in the hospital yet similar drugs are available in her pharmacy. Indeed, she is stealing both time and resources from the government. She never reports to work before ten in the morning yet the health centre is supposed to open at eight in the morning[61].

The potential conflict of interest is enormous in such arrangements yet the government is unable to do better than this because it cannot afford market-related salary to keep the doctors working full time. This point also rekindles another peculiar characteristic of the Kenyan civil service. Often, only professionals who are unable to secure employment elsewhere end up working for the government. This may have a bearing on the actual and perceived quality of services offered and might help explain the depletion of whatever trust the people would want to place on the service providers.

Transparency International[62] has developed over the years a handy tool for the measurement of actual levels of corruption in a country. Christened the Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), it does offer public affairs stakeholders an overview of the perceived levels of corruption within a country. In the past ten years or so, a review of the Kenyan CPI indicates that key public institutions such as the police, home affairs, Parliament and so on are the ones perceived to be most tainted with corruption by members of the public.

[60] See the Ndegwa Commission Report of 1971 that inquired into civil service structure and remuneration. It this report, subsequently adopted by the government, that recommended that civil servants be allowed to run private businesses if these did not create a conflict of interest.
[61] Interview, 24 January 2005.
[62] Transparency International is an international non-governmental organisation devoted to combating corruption. The Kenyan Chapter is one among more than 85 independent national chapters around the world. It works at both the national and international level to curb both the supply and demand of corruption. Their website address is: http://www.transparency.org/

As for the issue of putting trust in public institutions, the Kenyan Chapter of TI has not been spared controversy either. Towards the end of former President Daniel arap Moi's regime in 2002, TI assumed a very high profile with key revelations on what was happening in public procurement and provisioning. However, with the exit of that regime, the new regime had the goodwill of most actors in the civil society as well as the local chapter of TI itself. Public perception currently is that TI has been taking it easy in order to appease comrades who are now in the driving seat of the current government. Internally, this has seen a number of boardroom squabbles forcing the board to sack two Executive Directors in less than two years (Cf. Okwemba, 2006).

While the ordinary Kenyan is becoming less and less patient with corruption, the political leaders are yet to catch up on this. A case in point is the recent (2006) hefty increments in allowances for Members of Parliament including Ministers and their assistants. A sober assessment of the economic situation in the country would reveal that the economy cannot sustain such pay awards yet the honourable members went ahead to award themselves these increments since they had the power to do so. The result is that a majority of people end up losing faith in such a key institution as parliament as captured by the survey results shown in Table 5-2. The fight against corruption calls for modern, open, and visible institutions. Yet these kinds of developments also serve to estrange the people from the governors. The worst that might happen in such a scenario is that a populist leader could rise who would lead the people against these very august institutions and thereby defeating democracy as we understand it now.

Back to hospitals, the issue of trust is especially pertinent in situations where the agent, in this case the doctor or nurse, knows more or has more power than the client (patient) has. In such a scenario, there is every need to promote trust between the community of users and the service providers in order to avoid what Akerlof (1970) called the market for lemons. Akerlof (1970) demonstrated that there is a cost for dishonesty in a situation where majority of the sellers have more knowledge than the buyers and yet the buyers do not trust the sellers. Essentially, he argued that the determining price would be that of the lowest quality possible in order to counteract

the tensions between private benefits and social benefits. To illustrate, say some fifty people are selling their used cars to a similar number of prospective buyers who do not know much about vehicles. Some of the sellers may exploit the opportunity to literally dump junk on the unsuspecting buyers (private gain). On the other hand, the buyers may be so distrustful of the sellers that they are only willing to offer the price equivalent to buying a piece of junk (private gain). In such a scenario, there is a residual social loss since both those who are selling relatively good cars as well as those who would have paid slightly higher prices are left to operate at the worst possible level.

Now, a hospital that would operate like the market of lemons described above would be a nightmare. Yet, a great many numbers of Kenyan government hospitals operate just like this. Not many patients and their relatives expect fair treatment. Therefore, once patients or their relatives are in need of medical care, they begin to shop for either a medic they know quite well or even better, a medic who also happens to be a relative in order to be assured of good treatment. If this fails, then they look out for a medic who will offer good services if paid 'something small' in addition to his or her government pay. If things do not work out this way; which, ironically, should not be the case, the patient often feels short-changed no matter what a very well meaning medic may do. One Medical Superintendent made the following observations regarding this scenario:

> Sometimes I get so frustrated I begin to think that it really does not matter. The relatives of the patients are always the problem. If they do not know you personally and are unable to approach you with the intention of bribing you, they always suspect that you are not doing enough. Throughout my career, I have often been approached with bribes in instances where I had already done my best. My standard response has always been to explain that I have already done my best and there is no need to even attempt to bribe me. By the look on most of their faces, I often have the feeling that they do not trust me. However, those who believe me are often left with a sense of surprise that 'free' quality service can be obtained at a government institution. In my frustration, I sometimes ask those who are willing to 'pay' to come and visit me in my private practice so that they can genuinely pay for the services. The amazing thing is that it often those relatives who can actually afford to pay who attempt to bribe me[63].

This poisoned atmosphere generally makes it very difficult for Kenyans to trust

[63] Interview, 19 January 2005.

professional opinion generally. The offshoot is that issues such as rape, political murders, and so on, are rarely ever 'solved' in the public mind even after a court of law or a government commission has long since declared the matter officially closed (see also Cohen and Atieno-Odhiambo, 2004). This is why political corruption just as much as petty corruption, pose such a serious threat to the stability of polities. Corruption does this by eroding the links between the people and governments.

The challenge in the Kenyan case is how to ensure that citizens connect their views about corruption to appraisals of their leaders, authorities, and institutions. Hyden (1983) cites an interesting case in this regard that happened in Nairobi. He attended a general meeting of a co-operative society where the external auditors read a damning indictment of the out-going management regarding their use of the co-operative's resources. He thus expected the meeting to vote them out of office. To his surprise, the self-same people were re-elected at the meeting. He found out later that the majority of the voters in this meeting were from the same ethnic group as the 'looters' and hence, somehow, ethnic concerns overrode issues of good governance! The researcher is convinced that this lack of connection is what makes Kenyans make a 'bad' choice of leaders again and again both at the local government and at the national level. By 'bad,' I mean leaders who fail to deliver on the promise of development.

Issues of trust are especially pertinent in health care. In the absence of sufficient trust, doctors and nurses would be vulnerable to numerous lawsuits for all manner of alleged malpractice. On the other hand, blind faith in the medics would offer them a blank check to carry out work shoddily at times. The researcher once witnessed a doctor operate on a patient using a normal hand held torch[64]. Whereas the nurses were very critical of the doctor for carrying out the operation, which in their opinion was not even an 'emergency,' none of them had the courage to stop him. There were also similar cases of doctors carrying out their duties while drunk and so on. The researcher believes that a more informed citizenry would be able to rise against such practices and would make the relevant boards responsible for professional conduct take appropriate action. Away from legal and technical redress, a society endowed

[64] Field visit, 17 December 2004.

with public-spirited people would not let such blatant abuse of office go on. The researcher asked at one of the focus group discussions why the patients were tolerating medics who were known to abuse alcohol while on duty and the person who spoke for the group said this:

> It is as if all these people work in concert. If you blame one of them, the others become defensive and they start treating you as an enemy. Again, it is difficult to refuse their services given the high cost of private hospitals. Traditional herbalists are no longer reliable. Even young men who have just finished school pretend to be herbalists. These government doctors are clever. If the Member of Parliament complains about their services then they simply say it is politics![65]

Much more worrying in the Kenyan case is the fact that many people are losing confidence even in Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) as well. Ideally, NGOs as well as the broader civil society should be well placed to complement capacity deficits in the civil service. However, most NGOs are today being seen as special purpose vehicles designed by enterprising owners to solicit for donor finance and nothing else of substance. There is need to redress this low confidence in the civil society. A Medical Superintendent had this to say about a not-for profit organization who had just funded renovations for a procedure room in the hospital:

> These people are not genuine. They just want to impress their donors and show them that they are doing some work so that the funds keep coming. What is sustainable about refurbishing one room in a hospital that has more than one hundred similar rooms? How does it improve the service when adjacent rooms are not attended to? To begin with, these people did not even ask me what our priorities as a hospital were. They simply wanted a room to renovate and the head matron chose the procedure room. I suspect she chose the room because it is closer to her station![66]

Most Kenyan parks, streets, squares, public buildings and other public spaces are often in a state of disrepair in comparison to the executive cars and elegant houses that Ministers, Permanent Secretaries (PS's) and other senior public managers in the government own. It is common knowledge that these properties need a thorough overhaul and it is crucial that they are included in regeneration initiatives, yet the

[65] Interview, 17 December 2004.
[66] 21 January 2005.

government as well as the public do not seem to give this problem the urgency it deserves.

Some of the older patients interviewed recollected that in the early days after independence, they would often bump onto the glass doors of two of the major hospitals we visited because the doors would be so clean they would not notice the glass barrier. Today, everything seems to be falling apart in these hospitals. In one hospital, we found wooden door shutters being used as mattresses, patients sharing beds, unkempt corridors, paints peeling off walls and so on, thus further compounding patients' misery and discomfort. The following pictures do capture to some extent the depressing conditions of the wards and hospital buildings generally.

The photo marked as Figure 5-2 shows a ward with patients sharing a single bed. There is also a bustle of activities going on without a health worker in sight. The gentleman in dark robes is actually a preacher who has come to pray for healing for the patient while the other relatives carry on chatting and talking with patients. Similarly, the other photos serve to show the general overcrowding and neglect that is so pervasive in the Kenyan government hospitals. Kenyan public land-use decisions are often characterized by protracted conflict between stakeholders. When the current government came to power, one of its first acts was to try and clear all public places such as road reserves and so on of all illegal structures. This raised a lot of outcry in some sections locally as well as amongst some international observers who thought that the poor were disproportionately affected, as most of the structures that were destroyed were slum dwellings of the poor.

In many instances, these conflicts would be genuine reflections of irreconcilable differences of opinion. However, the conflicts in Kenya are mostly fuelled by the shady manner in which public land is generally allocated and the fact that those allotted these properties rarely ever seem to care about the public welfare at all. In sum, it is necessary to emphasize the fact that human cognitive limitations restrict the ability of an individual to process information. Nevertheless, making assumptions based on the common good is not too much to ask from both the governors and the governed. Overt selfish motives often lead to the framing of individual choices that lead to mistaken preference formation and contribute to unnecessary conflict.



FIG 5-2: WARD PHOTO 1

A ward in New Nyanza Provincial General Hospital: Photo taken by the author in 2004



FIG 5-3: WARD PHOTO 2[67]

[67] Photo taken by the researcher at the New Nyanza General Provincial hospital in December 2004



A ward in New Nyanza Provincial General Hospital. Photo taken by the author in December 2004



A corridor adjacent to one of the wards at New Nyanza Provincial General Hospital. Photo taken by the author in December 2004

5.2.2 SURVEY QUESTIONS ON TRUST

How do we ensure that Kenyans see bureaucrats purely as civil servants and not as Kikuyu or Luo first?[68] It is amusing, but the fact of the matter is that whenever any of the local notables refer to their personal physicians, it would be either a man or woman from their home regions (read tribe) or an expatriate. How then do such mind-sets fit in with the good governance discourse? We are concerned with this question here because the underlying assumption of good governance is what John Rawls[69] calls an overlapping consensus based on a purely political conception of social justice and development, leaving aside comprehensive worldviews (moral, philosophical, religious views and so on) of the particular ethno-cultural groupings involved in such public reasoning/deliberation. These and other pertinent questions will be discussed in this section and in the rest of the chapter especially about the respondents' answers as summarized in Table 5-2.

As with the concept of civic virtue, the researcher formulated nine questions regarding trust that respondents were expected to answer one way or the other. The most common question that one frequently meets in the literature and instruments designed to elicit the level of trust in a community was included in the questionnaire as question number ten. The question is often expressed as: *Do you feel that most people can be trusted?* This question is often predicated in the widely accepted belief that, as human beings, we normally tend to trust only the people we believe trust us in return. This lack of trust or the presence thereof is what gives rise to the agency problems tackled in game theories. For this reason, the researcher felt compelled to include the question here.

This question was further followed by additional eight others that sought to confirm that the presence or absence of trust was not just a desire or a feeling but a deep-rooted conviction that could affect the quality of services delivered substantially.

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[68] Here, we are presuming established cognitive categories of ethnicity, which influence people's conduct in a deliberate manner. As theories of multiculturalism show, the existence of diverse ethno-cultural groupings need not undermine efforts in public reasoning, i.e. Kant's precursor to good governance.

[69] See, John Rawls, 'The Idea of an Overlapping Consensus,' *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies,* Vol. 7, No. 1. (Spring, 1987) pp. 1 – 25.

Thus, when question numbers two and three ask whether respondents do trust their neighbours with children and whether they do visit their neighbours regularly, it is all in a bid to know whether the particular neighbourhoods where these respondents come from have a sufficient sense of community. The sense of community is needed in order to enable collective action and deliberation on any range of issues including public governance, which is the concern of this study.

When the survey asks whether teachers are good proxy parents or whether most of the respondents' friends are from their own tribes, it is in a bid to determine how far the sense of trust affects service delivery. The researcher's position here is that in a community where most people do not see teachers as good 'proxy' parents, they are also not likely to trust the doctors just as much. While in Kenya the issue of trust (or lack of trust) has not led to many court cases on negligence and professional misconduct, it is my belief that one of the reasons that leads a number of Kenyans away from government hospitals whenever they can afford alternatives is lack of trust.

Question numbers sixteen and eighteen deal with the same angle in different circumstances. I sought to find out whether the respondents are likely to once in a while give away some of their private physical space for the greater good of the community. My argument regarding holding group meetings in a private residence revolve around the estrangement of the people from the government or otherwise as well as the interpersonal relations within the communities. For instance, one might be willing to host group meetings in her house, but this can only take place if she can also trust the people she is inviting to her home. Question eighteen deals with the same issue but more at a personal level by asking about a relative. Again, with some limits, one would hope that a community that takes care of its weaker members until they are able to stand on their own feet has a higher chance of progressing together and thus helping reduce inequalities.

Question seventeen deals with a pertinent question to the MOH and many other people in Kenya. Kenya inherited a unitary civil service from the British and yet we

have eight Provinces and forty-two tribes with distinct cultural practices. There is need to explore and articulate officially whether this situation has any bearing on the

TABLE 5-2: SURVEY FINDINGS ON TRUST

Quest10	I feel that most people can be trusted	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	16	84
		Nurses	16	84
		Combined	16	84
Quest11	I would trust my neighbour with a child	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	31	69
		Nurses	22	78
		Combined	28	72
Quest12	I visit some of my neighbours at least once in a week	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	62	38
		Nurses	45	55
		Combined	55	45
Quest13	Teachers are good proxy parents	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	87	13
		Nurses	90	10
		Combined	88	18
Quest14	Most of my friends are from my tribe	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	19	81
		Nurses	27	73
		Combined	22	78
Quest15	Inter-tribal marriages are always trouble	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	13	87
		Nurses	20	80
		Combined	16	84
Quest16	I have no objections to holding group meetings in my house	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	60	40
		Nurses	56	44
		Combined	59	41
Quest17	Local public institutions should always be managed by locals	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	54	46
		Nurses	57	43
		Combined	55	45
Quest18	I would not mind a relative staying in my house for some time	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	88	11
		Nurses	79	21
		Combined	85	15

performance of officers who might be posted to head an institution in an area where she is perceived to be an outsider. While official government records do not refer to these kinds of conflicts, it is my considered opinion that a lot of policy estrangement witnessed during implementation of government projects is in part fuelled by this practice. Whenever I talked to any of the officers in a similar situation to that described here during my field interviews, there were lots of 'these people,' 'they think,' 'we will do it for them' and so on. On the other hand, those officers working in their own home regions tended to use words like 'we will do,' 'we need,' 'we are neglected by the government' and so on. For these reasons, question number seventeen sought to establish whether the MOH's practice is in tandem with the feelings on the ground.

5.3 ACCOUNTING FOR ASSOCIATIONAL NORMS

People cannot achieve their fullest health potential unless they are able to take control of those things which determine their health. This must apply equally to all ethnic communities as well as to all women and men. Thus, the prerequisites and prospects for quality health care cannot be ensured by the health sector alone. People in all walks of life are involved as individuals, families and communities in the search for good quality public provisioning. It is for this reason that the researcher considered the construct of associational norms as it relates to the concept of social capital, to be pertinent here. Most Kenyan communities are characterized by dense networks of associational norms defined by kinship obligations. The researcher did encounter a number of patients that traversed long distances in order to be attended to either by a relative or by someone who is personally known to a relative.

Public provisioning that promotes health of necessity goes beyond health care and therefore ought to take account of the existing associational norms and how these impact on service delivery. For the strategies to be effective, the programmes must be alive to local needs and take into account differing social and cultural systems. This is currently very difficult to achieve in the Kenyan case because of the unitary system of government that means everything is controlled from the centre with the requisite need to have uniform operating procedures for purposes of accountability

and control. These concerns are especially pertinent to the health sector where concrete and effective community action in setting priorities, making decisions, planning strategies and implementing them is crucial for good results.

5.3.1 NARRATIVE ACCOUNTS OF ASSOCIATIONAL NORMS

The 'ideal type' good governance practice as presently conceived require civil service reformers to identify and mould mechanisms that would deliver optimal returns developmentally through the interaction of the state, market, civil society, and the people at large. The underlying assumption of the good governance drive is that the implementing polity has people who effectively engage in governmental processes. Concepts such as deliberative democracy, public conversations, participatory budgeting, and collaborative policymaking are based on these assumptions. A closer look at the social structures and associational norms prevalent in Kenyan communities shows that there might be other considerations beyond capacity that might work to counteract or hijack these well-intentioned processes to the detriment of public governance.

A good example of how prevalent associational norms do not often fit into modern liberal democratic model of parliamentary democracy in Kenya concerns political parties. In Kenya today, as mentioned previously, nearly every big ethnic community has a 'mother' political party. In addition, because Kenyan parliamentary elections are constituency-based, it means that any aspiring politician who is not endorsed by the *de facto* community leaders does not stand a chance of getting into elective politics no matter the personal attributes (see, for instance, Badejo, 2006; Cohen and Atieno-Odhiambo, 2004; Schartzberg, 1987). This also means by extension that political party manifestos are useless since the party leader is in effect the party. Thus, Kenyan political leaders change parties in a whim; and they move with their supporters!

The questions for this section were designed to elicit information that could be used to determine the predominant nature of associational norms amongst the respondents. This was motivated by the observation that clan and welfare associations tend to permeate nearly all levels of Kenyan societies. Right from the

grassroots where village associations for funeral and burial plans predominate over co-operatives to the universities where there is a proliferation of district based (hence ethnic) associations. My sense is that professional, trade and labour unions should supersede these associations if public institutions are to be protected from the often overwhelming demands placed on them by such inward-looking associations.

The issue above has been raised somewhat differently by Fukuyama (1992; 2004) when he decries the dearth of appropriate leadership in the less developed countries. Fukuyama's argument is that places like Africa do not lack leadership generally. What he forcefully brings out as lacking in many cases is leadership strategically formed and forged to lead specific modern day public institutions based on the western model of liberal democracy. His contention is that most of the current institutional leaders developed their leadership abilities in other contexts that might not be immediately relevant to the mandates guiding the institutions that they are often asked to lead. This is especially relevant to Kenya where a host of examples immediately come to mind.

During former President Moi's administration, Kenya had a trained medical doctor, in the name of Dr Wilfred Koinange, as the Permanent Secretary for the Ministry of Finance for a very long time. This was not due to a lack of appropriate personnel; rather, it was the result of intriguing political appointments at this time. Another baffling case involved the appointment of Dr Benjamin Kipkorir, a historian of considerable repute, as the Chief Executive of Kenya Commercial Bank (KCB). By then, KCB was state-owned. It matters little how well these people performed their functions, what is in contention here is the perception by some key public affairs stakeholders that these appointments were influenced by other considerations besides merit. These appointments are of interests to us here as they touch on an aspect of social capital that the thesis treats as associational norms. As observers of the Kenyan civil service reforms and operations aver (see, Hyden, 1984; Barkan, 1994; Leonard, 1991; Korwa and Munyae, 2001), these appointments were often due to political connections (Dr Koinange is closely linked to the Kenyatta family) or at times pure ethnic sentiments (Dr Kipkorir being seen to have secured his position as

a prominent Kalenjin who President Moi could trust as one from his own community).

The Ministry of Health (MOH) has also had its fare share of inappropriate appointments. However, most of these cases are based more on inflexible bureaucratic ideals rather than outright political manipulation of the appointment process. In the MOH, because of the department's insistence on paper-based qualifications, it is impossible for other medics besides medical doctors to be appointed as District Medical Officers or Provincial Medical officers since their procedures stipulate that only a qualified medical doctor should be appointed to these posts. The MOH's own rationalization report of 1997 pointed the demoralizing effects of this practice on long-serving health administrators, economists and planners amongst other cadres (also see, Mwanzia, Omeri and Ong'ayo, 1993).

Given the limited reach of the government and general modern modes of communication in the areas considered, the quality of the information received might be suspect. One would imagine that this information is based often on rumours, customs and other traditional modes of sharing that might not be especially compatible with modern ways of working. The researcher was particularly intrigued by the case of one young girl who had ostensibly been admitted to hospital suffering from stomachache. As the ward sister narrated:

> This girl was brought here three days ago by her elder sister with claims of stomach-ache. We subsequently realized that she had actually been trying to terminate a nascent pregnancy at home using an assortment of drugs and herbs that might have actually killed her. When the elder sister realized that things were not going as planned, she rushed her here and informed the parents that the younger sister was suffering from stomach-ache. While the pregnancy could not be saved, we got her out of danger and she is now stable. The problem now is that she arranged with one of the support staff to still the remains of the stillborn child and throw it away without informing the parents. Now, she cannot be discharged because the parents are unable to pay for the slightly higher costs of treatment as compared to what they might have paid if it were only a case of stomach upset[70].

[70] Interview, 24 January 2005.

The case is intriguing from a number of perspectives considering the issues raised in the thesis. First, there is the willingness by the blood sister of the patient to help her younger sister using traditional herbs and an odd assortment of drugs. The drug combination might have been learnt from some older relatives and friends or from medical quacks that are often found in the village. Second is the criminal act of illegally disposing of a dead body. This is interesting because the ward sister who narrated the story to the researcher was also willing to 'help' the poor young girl by not reporting this criminal matter to the police who would further 'complicate' the issue in her reckoning. Third and of equal interest was the willingness by the support staff to 'help.' These things are of interest because the actions all draw from the existing nature of social capital that at times seem to sabotage official procedures often with the desire to help the victims.

Because of the nature of 'hardcore issues' the medical staff dealt with on a day to day basis such as the case narrated above, the concept of social capital becomes quite pertinent in public provisioning in such environments. Given the scenario above, the researcher was not too surprised that none of the medical superintendents interviewed mentioned information management or just computers as one of the key resources wanting, yet it is common knowledge that the institutions are in dire need of these facilities. Indeed, nearly all the review reports cited earlier point to the fact that the Health Information Systems (HIS) Unit is barely functional. Contemporary literature on information and knowledge management concurs that effective information assurance is the key to reliable management decision-making, customer trust, business continuity, and good governance (see, for instance, Rooney and others, 2003). Herein, therefore, lies a latent contradiction when managers over-rely on informal sources to manage information rather than modern organizational channels.

5.3.2 SURVEY QUESTIONS ON ASSOCIATIONAL NORMS

Question number nineteen deals with the issues discussed above but in an indirect manner. The question was especially meant for the medics who often are not indigenous people. The medics are often professionals posted to their workstations

from the MOH headquarters. It was therefore important to know, as part of cultural sensitivity, whether they do have friends around the workplace. I noticed during the fieldwork that most nurses and doctors working in hospitals outside Nairobi only stay around their places of work during weekdays. They often travel back 'home' on Fridays and only come back by Monday morning at best. There is need for a programme that encourages the younger professionals and new recruits to blend into their surroundings and develop friendships and acquaintances amongst the people with whom they work. A subsequent question probes these issues further by enquiring whether respondents know where to get information to make life's decisions. Amongst patient respondents, this question was meant to test whether they would consider the medics as well as other people amongst their friends and relatives as sources of advice and guidance.

The thinking here was guided by the realization that amongst most rural and semi-urban communities, often the government fieldworker, be it a doctor, nurse, teacher or veterinary officer, is also the most informed. As a result, these field officers are also the local opinion-shapers. The argument here is that if, within the confines of the facilities, a proportionately high number of respondents would claim not to know where to look for advice concerning major issues of life, then the nearest field workers would be failing somewhat in relation to the concept of social capital and good governance. For the medics, given that this group comprises mostly doctors and nurses, the researcher was interested to know whether they are self-assured enough to play the envisaged role.

Question number twenty-one deals with the issue of a distressed neighbour. In a sense, the researcher is trying to use the word neighbour to distance the respondent emotionally from the subject of concern. Again, such a move is informed by the desire to test whether as the society modernises, such nuances would be strong enough to elicit different responses. This question is meant to counterpoise the earlier one asking about staying with a relative. Though a bit remote, these questions provide a way of capturing the diverse nuances of both the concepts of social capital and good governance. While social capital is more about repeat dealings and the

warmer side of the human heart, the concept of good governance seems much more related to effectiveness and efficiency devoid of emotional nuances.

TABLE 5-3: SURVEY FINDINGS ON ASSOCIATIONAL NORMS

Quest19	I am likely to run into friends whenever I go to town	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	72	28
		Nurses	54	46
		Combined	65	35
Quest20	I always know where to look for information to make life's decisions	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	70	30
		Nurses	70	30
		Combined	70	30
Quest21	I would happily do a favour to a distressed neighbour	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	88	12
		Nurses	85	15
		Combined	87	13
Quest22	I am available to serve in a management or organizing committee for local groups	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	80	20
		Nurses	75	25
		Combined	79	21
Quest23	I would not mind joining local community action to deal with an emergency	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	93	7
		Nurses	98	2
		Combined	95	5
Quest24	I normally take part in local community projects	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	66	34
		Nurses	84	16
		Combined	73	27
Quest25	I belong to at least one local group	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	64	36
		Nurses	84	16
		Combined	72	28
Quest26	Every part of this country feels like home	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	90	10
		Nurses	90	10
		Combined	90	10
Quest27	Strangers moving into my community are readily accepted by neighbours	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	41	59
		Nurses	43	57
		Combined	42	58

The next four questions all deal with the issue of local community groups. The issue of leadership of such groups is dealt with first. Availability to lead, such as serving in a management committee, is quickly followed by a question asking about availability to serve by dealing with a community emergency. The third question in this vein seeks to determine the frequency of participation, while the final question on the same issue seeks to confirm whether such participation is structured.

The second-last question serves to confirm or deny the response given in question number nineteen. For instance, it would be difficult for one to state that she regularly runs into friends whenever she goes to town and then deny that the place feels like home in the traditional sense of the word. Finally, question twenty-seven enquires whether strangers moving into one's community are readily accepted by the locals or not. This question is designed to test the strength of local networks and to determine their basis. The assumption here is that if the existing associations are mostly clan or ethnic-based, then it becomes very difficult to accept outsiders.

5.4 ACCOUNTING FOR POLITICAL EQUALITY

Health care and economic development are closely related as the fundamental conditions and resources for health care are peace, shelter, education, food, income, a stable ecosystem, sustainable resources, social justice and equity. A secure foundation in these basic prerequisites is often only possible through stable political systems. Just as good health is a major resource for social, economic and personal development and an important dimension of quality of life, underdevelopment and poor governance can generally easily result into low quality health care. Thus, political, economic, social, cultural, environmental, behavioral and biological factors have an impact on health status. For instance, in all the hospitals visited save for one, the chief executives were male. Indeed, even the one lady superintendent was actually holding the post on an acting capacity and was eventually replaced by a male doctor during the course of this research. The lady superintendent told the researcher that the gender issue was not being tackled with the seriousness it deserves[71].

[71] Interview, 14 December 2004, Kisumu

On the other hand, the rural health facility visited for the purposes of this study was headed by a Registered Nurse. Male patients interviewed at this facility confided in the researcher that they often feared to discuss some health concerns with the lady as this was culturally problematic for them[72]. The two observations fly in the face of health promotion objectives that focus on achieving equity in health. As it is, it appears as if there is little deliberate governance action being pursued to reduce differences in current health status and ensuring equal opportunities and resources to enable all people to achieve their fullest health potential. Political interventions undertaken to ensure a secure foundation in a supportive environment including access to information, life skills and opportunities for making healthy choices were not obvious in the hospitals visited.

5.4.1 NARRATIVE ACCOUNTS OF POLITICAL EQUALITY

As had been alluded to in Chapter Three, game theory is the study of ways in which strategic interactions among rational actors produce outcomes with respect to preferences of the involved parties, none of which outcomes might have been intended by any of the parties involved. As a pertinent example here, we could look at the role of prices charged to patients as. In game theoretic considerations, such a policy instrument for may be used to alter a number of variable regarding health care management from say waiting times to the choice of hospital. In short, game theory is the logic that covers the interrelationships amongst incentives, strategic interactions and outcomes.

Regarding the concept of social capital and public provisioning in the health sector, game theoretic considerations would offer a useful handle to, say, develop a more general model of condom use both as a contraceptive choice as well as a device for controlling the spread of HIV/Aids. One Community Health Worker recounted to the researcher her experiences as a person living with HIV/Aids:

> My husband died five years ago from what I suspected were HIV/Aids related complications. I fell very sick about two years later and thereafter went for voluntary counseling and testing and was confirmed positive. Since then, I have accepted my situation and lived positively. I live normally and look quite healthy to an ordinary observer. The problem is, a number of

[72] Interview, 6 December 2004, Oboch Health Centre.

> men I know would like to marry me or get involved with me sexually and either do not believe me when I say I am HIV positive or simply do not care. This condom business is really a great failure amongst our people. It really does not matter whether the men are highly educated or not, medics or lay people, they all struggle to use condoms consistently[73].

Men mostly use condoms either for disease prevention or as a contraceptive tool. The female involved in this case could only attempt to persuade her prospective partners to use condoms by talking candidly about her status. In these kinds of circumstances, non-cooperative game theory is useful in modeling the separate utility functions. From her account, the community health worker would seem to exhibit the kind of social capital that is desired here while most of her would be male partners do not. The issue would be to determine why, in spite of the information, there is apparently no behavioral change. Could it be that the concerned people do not believe in the entire HIV/Aids discourse or just condoms? Whatever the reasons, we now begin to see why, even if all the tenets of good governance as discussed in this research are put in place, it would not guarantee the desired outcomes in this particular case of HIV/Aids.

In the case of the health worker and her male suitors, game theory becomes more useful as a policy analytical tool. This is because situations in which what counts as one agent's best action (for the community health worker) depends on the expectations about what one or more other agents (suitors in this case) will do, and what counts as their best actions (for them) similarly depend on expectations about her.

Other examples could be cited to lend credence to the argument of the thesis that good governance as currently espoused not adequate to improve public provisioning without grounding onto the concept of social capital. It is possible to enact legislation that would enhance the co-option of elements of social capital into public deliberations. For instance, victims whose human health and property value are damaged by pollution from a neighboring source can petition and often do get remedies from courts of law. Yet, in poorly resourced communities such as the ones studied in this research, legal action is often out of the question due to costs. Indeed, in many cases and in all the hospitals I visited, poor services and acts of negligence

[73] Interview, 28 January 2005.

by the medical workers were often attributed to the failure of the government in general to provide high quality services or blamed on the local Member of Parliament.

This habit of lobbying local parliamentarians to put political pressures on the public institutions to perform can at times be counterproductive as was revealed by the earlier cited case of a Parliamentarian browbeating civil servants to waive fees outside the government's framework for such actions. Such practices undermine the otherwise genuine role that mediated negotiations should play such situations. The researcher did establish from interviews that most of the patients who visit government hospitals do not posses health insurance and therefore often find themselves in situations where they cannot pay for services that they need urgently and would thus be better served by negotiated settlement. It is only in one instance in the rural health facility studied here that the researcher witnessed a male patient being asked to provide bricks in lieu of fees that he could not raise. Being a brick maker, the man was very happy to oblige. This was an innovation of the Nurse that had no basis on established procedures[74].

As can be seen from the above example, where the existing nature of social capital does not encourage co-production amongst the community of users and that of service providers, even well-meaning actors increasingly face agency problems such as described above and again here below. In the case of government hospitals, especially the larger ones, the administrators are forever concerned with issues of fraud:

> The problem is in determining who can and who cannot pay. At first, we use to turn everybody away who said they could not afford to pay as their numbers were unmanageable. However, this became politically untenable and we had to relent a bit. Nevertheless, the problem persists. Nowadays, we resort to such crude methods like monitoring the quality of food that relatives bring to the patient in order to tell whether they are able to pay or not. Even when the patients are able and willing to pay, we have numerous instances where our own cashiers collude with the patients to under-charge and generally manipulate bills[75].

[74] 6 January, 2006 Oboch Health Centre.
[75] Interview, 17 January 2005.

In the current civil service reform approaches, it is irrelevant whether public goods are conceptualized as a take-some or give-some game. That is, it is irrelevant whether public provisioning is conceptualized as produced or extracted. Because of this approach, it has been easy to ignore the concept of social capital.

As was presented earlier in the literature survey for this research, a number of studies show that many people have other-regarding preferences, potentially including preferences for altruism, reciprocity, and fairness. From this observation, it is apparent that the anti-politics approach to civil service reforms, as in the sense of being indifferent to the concept of social capital, might not avail much to public affairs stakeholders. Rather, investigations to determine why people possess such preferences and what functional purpose they might serve in the real world of policymaking and governance are called for. From the literature, it is apparent that evolutionary and social learning perspectives both predict that cooperative sentiments should only exist if they bring benefits that outweigh the costs of other-regarding behavior.

Theories of costly signaling suggest that altruistic acts may function, with or without intention, as signals of unobservable qualities such as resources or cooperative intent, and altruists may benefit even unintentionally from the advertisement of such qualities. The researcher was often amazed at the number of relatives who at times turned up to either clean or help feed some in-patients who would otherwise not have been cared for by the under-resourced and often overwhelmed hospital workers. Nevertheless, in spite of the persistent calls by academics and policymakers for community participation in public provisioning in line with the dictates of good governance, this research demonstrates that the micro-level manifestation of participation is highly varied and unsatisfactory. As has been shown in earlier discussions, many participatory programs do not empower communities and foster democratic governance and many are not sustained for long periods.

In line with the researcher's pre-site visit assumptions, the fieldwork revealed the disproportional representation of women and men in the government hospitals. First, there are far too many female nurses as compared to their male counterparts.

Second, they are equally far too many female patients as compared to male patients. The mutability of the gendered identity and status of women citizens does not, from the data collected for this study at least, seem to present any major tensions in public spiritedness (see Tables in Appendix III). As is commonly accepted in the social sciences, social relations and political activism are often understood not only in terms of the conquest of a space but also as the disruption of the existing social arrangements. The research data somewhat captures these assumptions but not overwhelmingly so. We can, for instance, see that more men than women believe that the government cares about them individually (66% as opposed to 63%) but this difference is not significant.

Similarly, a slightly higher proportion of women (90% as opposed to 84%) believe that chiefs are necessary for good governance. The key point to note here in relation to the twin concepts of good governance and social capital is the fact that a very high proportion of the surveyed sample believe in externally imposed sanctions as opposed to self-governance. With regard to public provisioning, this might present a bit of a challenge pertaining to decentralization if people tend to expect 'things' to be 'done' or 'given' to them. The tension becomes much more apparent if one considers decentralization to entail a strong sense of community ownership and initiatives regarding development interventions and public provisioning.

Equally disturbing is the fact that more than forty years since independence, a number of Acts of Parliament have never been substantially amended to reflect the shift from colonialism to political independence. For instance, the Public Order Act requires certain public meetings to be licensed in advance, thereby giving the incumbent administration the leeway to restrict meetings and rallies of opposition political parties as well as non- political meetings, such as civic education seminars and workshops run by church groups. Similarly, the Chiefs' Authority Act gives Chiefs wide powers including those of arrest and detention and restriction of movement. Also pertinent here is the Administration Police Act that allows the Provincial Administration direct control over a section of the police, reinforcing the powers of local chiefs and District Commissioners over the locals and thus promoting disenchantment amongst the people.

5.4.2 SURVEY QUESTIONS ON POLITICAL EQUALITY

The final section of the survey questionnaire had nine questions dealing with questions touching on political equality generally to ascertain its relevance to social capital and good governance. By asking whether respondents enjoyed living among people of different lifestyles, question twenty-eight sought to establish the level of tolerance of diverse opinions amongst the participants. For a young nation like Kenya, politicians often extol the virtue of unity above many things. Yet, as Lodge (2004) points out, the discourse of unity can at times be politically very repressive. Criminalising dissent is just one-step removed from this discourse. Where unity is privileged above everything else, the person or people with different views are often seen as political saboteurs or stooges of foreign interests who should be dealt with severely. In the Kenyan case, this is how multiparty politics proponents were viewed initially with some leaders of Kenya African National Union (KANU) party, the then ruling party, calling for the chopping off of the fingers of anybody who dared to give the two-finger multiparty salute in the early 1990s (see, Badejo, 2006; Cohen and Atieno-Odhiambo, 2004).

As a follow up, the next question asks respondents whether other people who are from different ethnic groups and living in the same area with them make their quality of life any better. This is not an idle question in an environment where people from certain ethnic communities are associated with particular skills or professions. It is common knowledge that some politicians in Kenya often refer to whole communities as 'cooks and watchmen' (in reference to Luhyias), 'fish-eaters' (in reference to Luos), 'brown-teeth' (in reference to Kikuyus) or 'dancers' (in reference to the Kamba). The sad thing is that the phrases are usually used as an insult. Whereas this tradition of stereotyping Kenyan ethnic groups started long before colonialism and was further entrenched by the colonialists (both in their works of fiction as well as in the process of implementing government policy[76]), the modern day Kenyan government is yet to put in place clear policies to disabuse Kenyans of these notions.

[76] See, for instance, the works of Karen Blixen perhaps the best-known of which is her (1985) *Out of Africa,* London: Century

To show how at times politicians have used ethnicity to remove some burning governance issues from the national agenda (state sphere) to the primordial realm (ethnic agenda), a statement from the former President, Daniel arap Moi, will be offered here as an example. Moi, in his official biography, let pass a claim that the disappearance and subsequent death of Kenya's then Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation Minister in 1990 was a Luo affair (see Morton, 1999; Cohen and Atieno-Odhiambo, 2004). By a Luo affair, he meant that the Minister must have been killed by fellow Luos and thus the death probably did not merit national attention.

Question number thirty-one tackles a crucial aspect regarding good governance. The question asked respondents whether they considered the local police as generally fair arbiters. It is important to know the position of respondents in this regard because over and above their usual duties, Kenyan police are regularly called upon to restore and maintain peace amongst warring communities whenever conflicts break out over pastureland or cattle rustling. Indeed, during the notorious so called 'tribal clashes' precipitated by the multiparty debates, communities would often ask that policemen from the two quarrelling communities should not form part of the police contingent dispatched to restore peace in those areas. Such a situation definitely has implications for good governance and service delivery bearing in mind that quality is often heavily influenced by perceptions.

Higher up the political ladder, the respondents were asked whether they considered the president as a dictator. This is a pertinent question given that traditionally, the Kenyan president has been ubiquitous, making policy pronouncement on nearly all issues. My fear is that if a majority of the people feel that the President is a dictator, then they would at best implement government policies grudgingly and at worst not implement them at all. The assumption here is that it is not rational to obey a dictator willingly. In a similar vein, question number thirty-four asked the respondents whether they thought that their local Member of Parliament (MP) was doing a good job. This is an important question considering that the local MP often sits in a number of public schools' boards, Hospital Management Boards (HMB's), District

Development Committee (DDC), Constituency Development Fund (CDF) management committee, and similar structures at the grassroots.

These perceptions might have grim implications for development especially in situations where locals believe that their MP did not win the elections honestly. In the case of CDF, matters of governance become even more complicated given that the MPs vote for the CDF funds in Parliament and yet preside over the funds in their constituencies. Nevertheless, the CDF is a move in the right direction given the emphasis on decentralization that good governance requires. However, because it is a one-sided form of decentralization, that is, it is only an expenditure side of the equation as the locals do not contribute to it, there are chances that in the absence of proper social capital, the funds may be used less carefully since it might be regarded as free booty.

In the same vein, respondents were asked whether they knew the name of the local District Commissioner (DC) and whether they thought that the District Health Management Boards were doing a great job or not. The question on the DC was in accord with the question enquiring whether Chiefs are necessary for good governance given the prominent role that they play in decentralized planning in Kenya (see Leonard, 1991). Knowing the name of the DC would be taken as at least being aware of his or her immediate presence and relevance.

Back to the institutions, the respondents were asked to indicate whether their workmates also doubled up as friends and subsequently whether they felt as part of a team at work. It is possible that one's workmates are also one's friends but this does not automatically mean that they would work as a team and vice versa. Therefore, the two questions were split into question numbers thirty-two and thirty-three to elicit the different nuances that were then analysed separately.

TABLE 5-4: SURVEY FINDINGS ON POLITICAL EQUALITY

Quest28	I enjoy living among people of different lifestyles	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	82	18
		Nurses	80	20
		Combined	81	19
Quest29	Other ethnic groups living in my community make life in my area better	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	67	33
		Nurses	76	24
		Combined	71	29
Quest30	I trust the local police as fair arbiters	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	32	68
		Nurses	25	75
		Combined	29	71
Quest31	The president is a dictator	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	26	74
		Nurses	31	69
		Combined	28	72
Quest32	My workmates are also my friends	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	90	10
		Nurses	82	18
		Combined	87	13
Quest33	I feel part of a team at work	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	94	6
		Nurses	98	2
		Combined	96	4
Quest34	My local Member of Parliament is doing a great job	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	34	68
		Nurses	24	76
		Combined	31	69
Quest35	I know the name of the local District Commissioner	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	30	70
		Nurses	42	58
		Combined	34	66
Quest36	District health management boards are useful	Respondent	Positive	Negative
		Patients	78	22
		Nurses	80	20
		Combined	78	22

5.5 CONCLUSION

An unsavoury aspect of the Kenyan public administration is the fact that it enjoys very little trust from the people it is supposed to serve. A common indicator of this mistrust is how little people value information from government especially if the state broadcaster that is still struggling to be a true public broadcast station carries the news. We must also bear in mind a point raised early in this research, that public administrators are representatives of the various Kenyan publics. They thus share this self-same mistrust of the government.

This is probably why it is so common to hear civil servants talk of 'they' whenever issues of public policy are raised by members of the public. Whenever one tries to enquire why a certain procedure is in place, you are likely to be advised that 'they' have decided to do this and that without ever knowing who 'they' are. This is perhaps an unconscious acknowledgement of the sense of estrangement that not only front office staff feels about policy but also at times even senior civil servants feel the same.

While ethics codes are good in principle, the researcher has laboured here in this chapter to demonstrate that they have limited utility in bolstering public trust. A clear association between such codes and changed behaviour is yet to be realized. What is badly needed in the Kenyan case is a means of providing an internal moral guide for all public administrators and not just oversight tools to be deployed by their superiors. Rebuilding trust in government and by extension public provisioning is a task beyond civil service reforms *per se*. We need a wholesome approach that guides the individual behaviour while at the same time retaining some level of discretion.

Kenyans of all occupations seem to have lost trust in government institutions as impartial service providers. For instance, many people would be astonished to learn that one has obtained a passport or a driver's license without 'knowing someone' or 'paying something small.' Of course, it is not always true that this is always the case. There are numerous examples of exemplary civil servants as well as institutions. However, this is the perception of a great number of people.

The chapter has looked at issues of transparency in public management, public management ethics, ethnicity, and the management of common resources in an effort to show how civil service reforms (the search for good governance) interacts with existing stocks of social capital to produce sometimes very unwelcome results. The researcher has endeavoured to show that public governance offers an opportunity for politicians and administrators to engender the appropriate stocks of social capital in the communities they serve.

Social isolation and extreme selfishness are learnt behaviors. As such, they can also be unlearnt especially for young people. The researcher thus argues that we need leaders who will endeavor to ensure that trust in public institutions is built into modern communities. Equity issues must also be considered in public provisioning as excluded groups tend to be more distrustful of public institutions and this further erodes legitimacy. We will now turn o the analysis chapter to find out what the manifestations of social capital here portend for civil service reforms.

CHAPTER SIX

APPRAISING THE STOCK OF AVAILABLE SOCIAL CAPITAL

This chapter demonstrates that the predominant associational norms within many Kenyan communities are not dynamic enough to engender a vibrant social capital required for a highly efficient and functional public administration as envisaged by the good governance discourse. It appears as if there is a very strong sense of solidarity amongst the Kenyan people given the strong sense of family ties and resilient traditional values. However, these ethnic binds are yet to be enmeshed sufficiently into national values capable of galvanizing the general populace into a single entity as a nation. Indeed, even at the local level, an overly strong ethnic or clan loyalty may often be to the detriment of public provisioning, as some examples considered in this chapter will show.

In public governance, the lack of cohesion beyond ethnic loyalties is often demonstrated by the vibrancy of ethnic and district based welfare associations as opposed to professional or interest group associations. Thus, other than trade unions, rotating savings and credit associations, statutory professional associations and churches, it was very rare amongst the respondents interviewed for this research, to find people who belong to vibrant interest group association for such activities as hiking, book clubs, non-statutory professional association and so on. In the case of a hospital for instance, one would frequently find welfare associations based on districts of origin and ethnic considerations rather on purely economic activities such as co-operatives. This chapter focuses on the mechanisms required to develop networks capable of influencing public provisioning positively.

6.1 SOCIAL CAPITAL AND PUBLIC PROVISIONING

The drive for good governance in Kenya seems, especially when development partners are involved, to move towards ever more rigorous legislation (see, for instance, GoK 1994, 1997). The policy framework paper (GoK, 1994) for example, contains a number of recommendations that require new legislation. This study contends, however, that the way forward should be for civil service reformers to

undertake baseline studies of the existing legal and political infrastructure underpinning public management. Such a move must be tied to a general understanding of the people regarding public provisioning before drawing up a 'code' of good governance to make things work better.

This research examines the performance of public administrators (as represented by nurses) at hospital settings in Kenya. However, this is considered vis-à-vis the behaviours and characteristics of their clientele. The argument is that the critical decision-making power and functions of public governance requires public administrators to be better trained in understanding the norms and obligations that characterize the communities they serve. It is, for instance, very difficult to offer quality service to a community of users (in this case, patients) who consider the service provider as an impostor serving at the behest of particular political masters. The converse becomes true when civil servants posted to particular regions of the country feel like 'foreigners' in those regions.

In line with the global trend of 'reinventing government' (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992) based on market-driven policies and structures, Kenya has adopted some major reforms in governance since independence often at the behest of the Bretton Wood Institutions as well as other major international aid donors (Leonard, 1991). This study is interested in the fact that there is a growing tendency to overlook the implications of these reforms not only for the rights and entitlements of the people in Kenya but also regarding the existing stocks of social capital. This is the case because the basic ingredients of the reinventing government paradigm entail the gradual replacement of civil service by private sector and the transformation of public management based on business principles. There is still need therefore to find means of entrenching aspects that pay more attention to the concept of social capital in pursuing such reforms in governance.

Thus, there is a need both in theory and in practice, to develop a clear conceptualization regarding our understanding of what it means to be a citizen or the oft-touted 'patriot' in the Kenyan context. The contention here is that contemporary global discourse on this subject especially as presented in the works of Will Kymlicka

and others[77] do not accurately describe the African situation. Therefore, it is not optimal for governance reformers to advocate for the adoption of donor-led good governance paradigms that assume values that are not in tandem with the character of people in the targeted countries without taking into account the concept of social capital. These values often work better in the private sector. This is essentially because most public-sector organization-client interactions differ from the private-sector customer transaction in a variety of ways. As Alford (2002 p.1) proposes;

> [T]he central feature of the customer model - the notion of exchange - can be broadened in a way that accentuates the importance of administrators' responsiveness to their publics. In a social-exchange perspective, government organizations need things from service recipients - such as cooperation and compliance - which are crucial for effective organizational performance; eliciting those things necessitates meeting not only people's material needs but also their symbolic and normative ones. Engaging these different forms of exchange with clients is not necessarily inconsistent with an active citizenship model.

Thus, there is a gap to be filled in developing a holistic approach to conceptualizing an understanding of the relationship between people's behaviour regarding public institutions (organizations) and the movement towards good governance. I posit here that the concept of social capital allows for the integration of the economic, symbolic and educational contribution of many voluntary actions, to civil service reforms. 'Appropriate Citizenship' if indeed one can be allowed to use such a term, is a critical component for the optimal realization of good governance practices. The challenge for civil service reformers is to identify avenues for fostering values of public spiritedness and spontaneous involvement by both the bureaucrats and the ordinary people in order to develop a more responsive civil service.

From the social capital perspective, devolving service responsibility and the co-production of government services is one of the better ways to cope with fiscal stress and negative public attitudes. Community-run pharmacies and the incorporation of traditional health workers such as the Traditional Birth Attendants (TBA's) are

[77] Will Kymlicka (2000, 2004, 1989, 1995a, 1995b, 2001) has written extensively on the subject of citizenship, civic virtue and multiculturalism. Some of his best works available locally include: *Citizenship in diverse societies* / edited by Will Kymlicka and Wayne Norman; *Ethnicity & democracy in Africa* / edited by Bruce Berman, Dickson Eyoh & Will Kymlicka; *Liberalism, Community, And Culture; Multicultural citizenship: a liberal theory of minority rights; Politics in the vernacular: nationalism, multiculturalism, and citizenship; The Rights of minority cultures.*

practical examples of co-production that builds community involvement in the health sector. This would not be an easy undertaking. Nevertheless, if adequate skills are combined with research and extensive consultations with the communities involved, there is a likelihood of success (Levine and Glenn, 1984). Already, some hospitals, especially the rural facilities, effectively incorporate traditional birth attendants (TBA's) as part of their community outreach programs. As Levine and Glenn (1984) point out, the TBA's, because they live in the community, tend to know their clients much better than ordinary medics and are better placed to handle and extend credit to their patrons. Since they also normally accept payments in kind, they are a relief to community members who often experience acute cash-shortages.

The Policy Framework Paper (PFP) of 1994, as well as both the first and the second National Health Strategic Plan (NHSSP) for the period 1999 – 2004 and 2005 – 2010 do not adequately deal with the issue of community involvement to the point where one can honestly say that the communities are able to influence policy. For example, the communities at the grassroots level have no clear mechanisms of joining or influencing the deliberations of the District Health Management Board (DHMB). The PFP and the NHSSPs mainly set out the following three principles:

i. Service delivery will focus on an approach that takes human capital development at the core of its interventions.
ii. The Kenyan Essential Package for Health (KEPH) will increasingly focus on the health needs of the individual through the six life cycles of human development.
iii. Interventions will emphasize community based care to be provided by community owned resource persons (CORPS);

As is widely accepted today, affirmative action is not demonstrated, it has to be asserted for it to be meaningful. Fraser (1993) makes this point much more forcefully by her concept of participative parity that emphasizes not just distribution (demonstration) but also a recognition by peers in order to achieve parity. Young (2000) adds on to this by suggesting the idea of communicative democracy – where policy makers are urged to go out of their way to ensure that even the views of those who cannot write and read are collected to ensure inclusiveness.

According to Skilbeck (1970) as well as Boydston (1981), John Dewey offers an exciting way, though not entirely convincing, given his distrust of the masses generally, of understanding democracy. He expands the concept of democracy beyond just a form of government to a way of life, an ethical ideal, and a personal commitment that easily resonates by the concerns of social capital raised in the thesis (see, Skilbeck, 1970; Boydston, 1981). Dewey assumes that democracy is a way of life in which individuals are presumed to be self directing and able to pursue their own goals and projects. Thus, individual benefit and the common good are mutually enhancing in a democracy.

Dewey is key to the thesis because he successfully reconciles both public and private interests through what he conceptualizes as their democratic reciprocity. He contends that social membership in a democracy entails certain responsibilities and in return, the society has the responsibility to take those actions and pursue those policies that remove obstacles to the realization of any individuals' full membership and participation. It is generally accepted that citizen participation can foster better citizenship at the community level. However, periodic elections as in representative democracy, is only the first step to good governance. Fair and proportional representation in governance can be achieved by creating voting systems that provide a more accurate representation of interest groups and that at the same time reward political participation.

Here, I will offer as an example, the case of Rwanda, because this is replicated in diverse ways in the Kenyan scene at both the constituency level and at the national level. We imagine practising representative democracy of one person one vote in a country hugely polarised into two groups with one group having an overwhelming majority of more than two-thirds. The challenge then becomes one of convincing 'the assured losers' that participation is still beneficial. Indeed, according to Wiredu (1996), such a project is an impossibility and he in fact dismisses political parties as a non-viable tool of political governance in Africa on this point as well as on a host of cultural differences between the African and the modernizing West.

Globally, this kind of problem seems to be solved partly through devolution or put more succinctly through the principle of *subsidiarity*. By this principle, it is

acknowledged that the people closest to the problem, should be allowed to manage and design the solutions. In the case of South Africa, for instance, this would seem to work well for the better-endowed municipalities but other municipalities would seem to be hard-done by this arrangement for lack of capacity (see, Lodge, 1999). The well-off municipalities have easily incorporated collective problem solving and public sponsorship of neighbourhood organizations.

Here again, capacity building, social capital and good governance concepts seem to be pulling in different directions. Whereas the co-production of government services enables citizens to contribute to public provisioning and to better understand service delivery dynamics, the capacity demands for efficiency and effectiveness seems to impose career service expertise that may be deemed hostile to democratic citizenship by some observers. To elicit the relevant information regarding the various theoretical strands of the concept of social capital from the respondents, interviews as well as survey questions were used and the interpretation of their responses are discussed in the following sections.

6.2 IMPLICATIONS OF CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

The concept of social capital is closely related to that of civic capital. As McGregor and Sundeen (1984) posit, self-government is impossible without citizens who possess civic capital. They define civic capital as an awareness of government, its purposes, and the citizens' options. If, as our data shows, that 75% of the sample surveyed (see Table 4-1) normally help out in local groups as volunteers and 82% believe that there are sacrifices worth making for the community, then there would appear to be much involvement in public affairs without the attendant results that McGregor and Sundeen (1984) hope for.

Civic education, as often carried out by Non-Governmental Organizations, does help in building civic capital. Again, the little that Kenyan pupils are taught in school as part of the syllabus in History and Civics/Government is also helpful in the pursuit of civic capital. Yet our data would seem to warrant a much more thoroughgoing education beyond the memorizing of the national anthem and the public holidays as pupils in primary school are often taught. Indeed, 92% and 76% of all participants

knew what the public holidays meant and all the three verses of the national anthem respectively yet only 54% of the respondents thought that the government cared about them.

As the survey results indicate, the Kenyan civil service as represented here by the health service is held in low esteem by many service users. Yet, there are many areas of the country, where the only social services available are those offered by the government. There are vast numbers of people, especially in the rural areas, who are only served by government run schools, hospitals, cattle dips, veterinary services and so on. The main cause of this low regard for the civil servant can mainly be attributed to her failure to serve the public. From the data collected for this research, the public feel alienated from governance processes, they do not feel part of local public institutions and often, their opinions are not sought on critical issues touching on public provisioning. On their part, the service users interviewed for this research also did not exhibit much keenness to be involved in deliberations around public provisioning even within the limited accommodation provided currently in existing governance processes.

The problem seems to lie in the fact that very few people seem to understand or believe in citizens' rights and obligations. As Chandler (1984 p. 1) notes, the founders of the American republic believed that citizens are of necessity virtuous and further still, that civil servants must be honorable. In the words of Chandler:

> Virtuous citizens must practice moral philosophy, believe in the values of natural law, and accept moral responsibility to uphold the American regime values, and understand and practice civility. To become honourable bureaucrats, public administrators must be able to assess the moral significance of policy, genuinely care for the public, take moral risks to trust others, and believe in noblesse oblige. Public administrators, as virtuous citizens, must also be led by the American regime values and be committed to the attainment of moral nobility.

To be fair, many Kenyans will tell you that that they love their country and they probably do. The trouble is, no one seems to be ready to act as the custodian of the 'Kenyan values' or even know what the values really are**.** The Kenyan values are a hotchpotch of sympathy, love, solidarity and ethnic affiliations that are open to

interpretation by everyone as he or she sees fit. That would probably explain why 76% of the respondents believe that chiefs are necessary for good governance while 91% of all respondents believe that procurement in public institutions is not transparent. This figure is even higher for nurses among whom 95% consider procurement in public institutions to be corrupt. In the next section, we are going to look at public-private partnerships as an option for enhancing the civic-regarding public provisioning envisioned here.

In the next three sections, we are going to discuss what the findings on civic virtue as an aspect of social capital portend for three dimensions of public provisioning. First, we will look at Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) followed by a section on women and civic engagement and finally consider the implications for a civic-regarding public bureaucracy on public confidence in governing institutions.

6.2.1 PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS

Partnerships here are considered as any coalition that brings together the leaders of public and private groups to invest in public provisioning. Perhaps we need to highlight right from the onset that it is the duty of the government to create and sustain the infrastructure necessary for success in these ventures by, among other things, focusing on community attention and stimulating action, seeking funding and developing policies and legislation that enhance public provisioning.

The Ministry of Health's (MOH) policy objectives in strengthening other service providers is informed by the desire to expand the potential that exists among non-governmental, private and the mission sub-sectors in order to increase their participation in healthcare service delivery[78]. Public-Private partnerships (PPPs) can involve many actors all at the same time. For instance, an interagency collaborative effort can involve health care organizations, social service agencies, and an academic research centre. The theoretical challenge that easily comes to mind whenever one envisages PPPs are the multiple and often competing demands of stakeholders who

[78] See, Government of Kenya, Ministry of Health (1997) *Ministerial Rationalization Programme: Report on Policy and Organization Review,* Nairobi: Government Printing Press and Government of Kenya, Ministry of Health, (1994) *Kenya's Health Policy Framework,* Nairobi: Government Printing Press.

undertake any collaborative project. Yet, there can be many lessons to be learnt when partners from different settings work together to design and implement a program.

In the case of the health sector, poverty, in its various manifestations directly affects disparities in health status. Whereas there is a tiny segment of the population who can afford health services comparable to that available in advanced countries, the majority are heavily dependent on the public health system that in any case is already overwhelmed by the challenge[79]. Thus, PPPs offer an opportunity in health care provisioning that can alleviate systemic barriers to health services for the majority.

However, this assertion is in stark contrast with the findings of a research undertaken by an independent health charity in Great Britain, the King's Fund, and the NHS Alliance (which represents primary care groups in England and other parts of the Great Britain). Their findings indicated that there is little evidence that public-private partnerships can increase funding and improve services within the NHS (see Kmietowicz, 2001).

One would be easily tempted to dismiss the study cited above off-hand as irrelevant to Kenya. The national health system in Kenya even with the best of intentions just simply cannot cope with the demands placed on it vis-à-vis its meagre budget. Even more pertinently, one cannot help but wonder at the relatively 'better' service delivery offered by hospitals and clinics run by religious organizations judging by their popularity even in the rare instances where such institutions charge market fees for their services.

The CBIO involves determining local health priorities as defined both by locally acquired epidemiologic information and by the local people themselves. In the Kenyan case, such a system can easily be introduced in the form of school-based health centres. Such health centres would then need to forge strong relationships with managed care organizations. These relationships would be necessary for the

[79] See, Government of Kenya, Ministry of Planning and National Development, Annual *Economic Surveys,* Nairobi: Government Printing Press. While the economy grew by an average of six per cent over 1964-1980 and 4.1 per cent over 1980-1990, the period 1990-2002 saw a fall in individual incomes with GDP growth of 1.9 per cent against a population growth of 2.9 per cent. However this bleak picture is now on the reverse trend since 2003 with a growth in the GDP of 5.8 per cent in 2005.

long-term sustainability of these centres since they can provide support and resources.

In this research, the researcher would also like to expand the concept of PPPs to include the partnership of a shared vision. This is especially pertinent in the health sector where the community of users have much to contribute in terms of keeping the system working. As it is now, in many government hospitals, and certainly, in all the hospitals the researcher visited, relatives do feed and bathe patients as the few nurses available either are overwhelmed or are simply not interested in their work. The proposal here is that better ways should be worked out to factor this practice into the formal system so that positive elements of the practice may be formalized.

The creation of the district health management boards (DHMB) was a step in the right direction especially as it pertains to PPPs. Theoretically, the DHMB combined with therapeutic and service changes are better placed to drive new professional relationships between hospital management and business concerns in their area of adjudication. To ensure that DHMBs release their strategy appropriately, stakeholders must be involved in negotiating partnership deals in the envisaged relationships. Simply put, this would mean that the DHMBs should be given a higher profile than they currently enjoy. And on their part, the DHMBs have to carry out an examination of core competences in order to revamp the hospitals.

It is possible to stretch this idea even further and hope the treatment offered in Kenyan hospitals would be supplemented or augmented with existing traditional medicine. During the field visits, the researcher did, in a number of occasions overhear some nurses advising mothers attending ante-natal clinics to opt for traditional medicines for some ailments. The advice would often be offered in some form like this: 'For this and this ailment, you really do not need to come here, ask any one of the child's grandmothers to help you out.'[80] The challenge, as has already been emphasized, is to find ways of incorporating these kinds of social capital into the formal workings of the public provisioning system.

[80] Field visits, 19 – 23 December 2005

6.2.3 BUILDING CONFIDENCE IN PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

Civil service reforms are mainly concerned with the trio of waste, fraud and abuse. Thus, this section sets out to review organizational designs that support ethical behaviour, market forces that compromise administrative ethics, unintended outcomes of anticorruption reforms and lastly, administrative ethics in global perspective. All political regimes in Kenya since independence have set out, from their public declarations, to remove corruption in the civil administration. This drive has gained renewed impetus in the present time because of growing citizen awareness of their rights as well as a global push for good governance by international strategic development partners.

The GoK (1997) report on policy and organization review raises questions with regard to the equitable distribution of physical facilities on a demographic basis. The report shows, for instance, that constituencies that are represented in the national Parliament by perceived political heavyweights such as cabinet ministers have more hospitals and clinics per square kilometre than demographically comparable areas of the country. Similarly, Mwanzia, Omeri and Onga'yo (1993) also decry the lack of policy measures to direct the spatial location of health facilities throughout the country. To counter urban bias as well as inter-district and intra-district disparities, both studies cited above urge clear national policies regarding appropriate and affordable targets for physical planning and implementation to counteract local political interests and pressures. Indeed, the central government is best placed to ensure equity by subsidizing poorer districts yet this crucial role is not clearly spelt out. As it is currently, we have the culture of 'road-side pronouncements' where the President or the Minister delivers policy statements on political matters without prior consultation or subsequent follow-up (see Cohen and Atieno-Odhiambo, 2004; Badejo, 2006).

6.3 IMPLICATIONS OF TRUST

Most of the respondents: 54% amongst the users and 57% amongst the professionals felt that locals, that is, people from the same area, should manage local institutions such as hospitals, schools and so on. It is thus apparent that the available stock of

social capital tends more to support 'bonding' but not 'bridging' associational norms as discussed earlier. This means that there is a need to diversify the health care workforce and collect better ethnic health data if we are to achieve a responsive civil administration as demanded by the dictates of good governance. Yet this is not likely to happen because the government's stance is that ethnic issues, given the task of nation building, should not divide people. Actually, no official Kenyan government document records a person's tribe, in an effort to curb tribalism/ethnicity. Thus, a major tension exists between the official orchestration of nation building and the feelings on the ground regarding attachment to the community.

In essence, the researcher argues that this very stance is an affront to good governance. This is because, in the economically advanced countries of the North where the paradigm of good governance emanates, consumer satisfaction, evaluation and cultural competency are considered high priorities in the discourse. Indeed, in these countries, standardized tools for measuring consumer satisfaction are readily available even in government offices. Actually, the pretence to the priority of national unity in Kenya is confounding. Considering that this study was carried out both in the city and in rural settings where communities are quite homogeneous ethnically, it was surprising to find most respondents indicating that most of their friends are from different tribes (73% for nurses and 81% for patients). Again, 87% of patients interviewed and 80% of nurses interviewed claimed that intertribal marriages are not always trouble.

What the findings indicate to the researcher is that 'tribalism' has often been so much maligned and demonized that it is impossible to know what to make of it anymore. Yet tribalism is the most often cited complaint against many public institutions in Kenya, probably second only to corruption in my reckoning (see, Cohen and Atieno-Odhiambo, 2004: Badejo, 2006; Korwa and Munyae, 2001). While this is the case in Kenya, the developed countries tend to deal with the issue much more practically. In these countries, researchers interested in the issue are perennially trying to develop instruments for cultural sensitivity and the like (see, for instance, Arthur and others, 2005).

One other remarkable finding from the field survey was the low levels of trust that exist within both the community of users as well as the service providers. Only 16% of both groups interviewed agreed that people can generally be trusted. On the other hand, 85% of all the people interviewed stated that they would not mind accommodating relatives in their houses while 59% would not mind holding group meetings in their homes. What this shows is the fact that trusts have been reduced to a very small network of relatives and close associates to the extent that one would argue it might impact negatively on service delivery. A common problem that came up again and again during the focus group interviews as well as during open discussions with the hospital administrators centred on this issue of trust and ethnic sentiments.

Most commentators on Tanzania for instance would agree that Mwalimu Julius Nyerere elevated political discourse in that country beyond tribalism (see, for instance, Barkan, 1994). I would argue, much like, Fredericksen (2004) that leadership development is not only an investment in human capital but it is a great catalyst for social capital as well. The challenge for political leaders in Kenya is to promulgate as widely as possible the current problems facing all Kenyans and thus help to engender consensus over goals and develop a unified commitment to national goals just as Nyerere achieved in Tanzania.

On paper, many African countries including Kenya should be quite prosperous. Kenya has a relatively high literacy rate, substantial arable land and lack of open conflict. Yet it would seem that poor governance has been dragging the country behind because of the lack of a common aspiration to unite the nation. One recalls for instance, that Kenya missed the opportunity to host the 1996 Africa Cup of Nations not because it lacked the necessary infrastructure, but because the people then running the football association in the country were perceived by the government to be opposition sympathizers. Regarding tribalism, the successive governments have repeatedly failed to find a balance between the considerable ethnic diversity of the country (forty-two tribes) and their aspirations for socio-economic development.

The researcher was intrigued by the fact that Kenyans in many instances fail to aggregate in terms of classes as in the economically advanced countries but rather prefer the bogeyman of tribes/ethnic communities. Many answers have been given in this regard before (see, for instance, Andreski, 1968; Leys, 1979; Fukuyama, 2004). Writing before the heyday of the concept of social capital, the earlier two authors never quite succinctly linked the theory to this problem. While Fukuyama (2004) maintains that it is a problem of cognition, for the researcher, the issue of social capital is closely linked to poverty as well. Thus, unlike tribes, economic status is relatively unstable in poor countries like Kenya where the movement from poverty to employment and back is often so rapid. This makes it much more attractive to fall back on the issue of tribe rather than economic class or religion.

From the preceding discussions, we can see that tribalism often influences local policymakers and citizens far more than they are often willing to admit openly. Yet, the good governance paradigm, and understandably so because of its origins in countries where 'tribe' is not an issue, is practically silent on the issue. There is thus a need to frame the problem of tribalism for deployment in academic research concerned with public administration. This is necessary because social problems have to be construed in such a manner as to arouse citizens and compel policymakers to respond.

Given the interactions between good governance and social capital, it would seem to demand that an appropriate good governance code could only be developed after a thorough analysis of historical backgrounds and political and economic developments. As it is now, reformers in developing countries will only cherry pick from the reform package and in some cases amend them unconsciously in the light of factors such as ethnicity, political culture, party dominance, and so on.

To conclude, this section has considered the view that the management of ethnic and cultural diversity in the Kenyan civil service should be made much more overt. As it stands currently, the management of these tensions is undertaken covertly resulting in unproductive tensions that severely undermine confidence and morale among civil servants and the society. It is understood that these tensions impact negatively on

levels of job satisfaction, the quality of the work environment and, ultimately, on performance and output.

6.3.1 TRANSPARENCY FOR IMPROVED GOVERNANCE

Transparency is essential if any public provisioning function is to gain widespread legitimacy. Even though most governmental processes are complex and long-term, the public must have some trust and confidence that the processes are legitimate and not Mickey-mouse schemes to rip them off in some hideous manner. In theory, the 'ideal type' good governance requires innovative personnel able to realize substantial public benefits, including improved service quality, risk sharing with the private sector, and cost savings. For the civil servant to do this effectively, he or she must enjoy public good will. Effective and desirable social capital would thus enable the achievement of market-driven competition, equitable risk sharing, effective performance guarantees, and appropriate transparency in innovative governmental processes without undue suspicion.

The pervasive lack of trust in public institutions in Kenya probably explains even why so many services are centralized and not automated at the same time. We would imagine that the corrupt civil servant hates automation as it curtails his or her chances of rent seeking while at the same time the ordinary non-law abiding citizen would also hate automation because it is harder to manipulate generally. However, it is for the very reasons discussed above that the researcher contends that the use of technology stands a better chance of improving public governance in Kenya rather than impoverishing the people for lack of access and the other regularly cited reasons. For example, e-government and new public management have a potential to transform radically the relationship between the state and the people to avoid some of the bottlenecks listed above. A simple thing such as the forced introduction of cash registers in all stores has great implications for tax compliance for instance.

The case of mobile phones is another interesting development that completely transformed the way Kenyans live at such a short period. Prior to the introduction of mobile phones, the defunct Kenya Posts and Telecommunications Corporation

(KPTC) could keep a potential customer on the waiting list for up to two years or never install the requested fixed line at all. Moreover, the contested phone bills were another issue of public complaint. With the introduction of mobile telephony, the revamped corporation is now offering much improved services.

Not much has been written on the issue of trust, transparency and the adoption of state of the art technology in government. However, Welch (2005) offers an interesting perspective on how Internet use, citizen satisfaction with e-government, and citizen trust in government are interrelated. He maintains that radical information technologies may work to alter the production and maintenance of trust just like discussed above. Even more interesting, he demonstrates the link among citizens' experience with e-government, satisfaction with e-government and government web sites, and general trust in government. In short, he posits that government web site use is positively associated with e-government satisfaction and web site satisfaction and that e-government satisfaction is positively associated with trust in government.

As much as one would love to see transparency in the Kenyan civil service, this must not spell the death knell for innovation in government. There is need for innovation that makes bureaucratic processes more relevant (see Moore, 1995). Part of creating public value involves encouraging widespread participation in decision-making, and improving living conditions of the people served. Because innovation is not often associated with governance and civil servants, the researcher believes it should be one of the key pillars to good governance. Kenya needs to develop civil servants who are able to develop cost-effective products and expand services to citizens.

The researcher is of course aware that tensions will inevitably arise when the demands of transparency, ethics, and innovation are compounded (see, Moore, 1995). Nevertheless, civil service reform efforts should rather be geared towards the solution of such conflicts whenever they arise rather than avoiding the issue altogether. Given this perspective, researchers will be able to analyze the familiar failings in character and judgment that give rise to waste, fraud, abuse, and mismanagement from a different perspective.

There are many reasons for this apparent apathy. Primarily, it is usually accepted and expected that civil servants work shoddily, such that only 50% of all patients interviewed thought the nurses treated them with respect. Second, there is always the issue of lack of adequate numbers of personnel. Only 9% of all the respondents thought the hospitals were adequately staffed (5% of nurses and 12% of patients). In fact, the disparity in perception also helps to explain why the public often believes that the service providers are generally tardy.

Another issue is that of language. The Ministry of Health does not deploy personnel depending on language spoken. All Kenyans who have gone to school past the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) are expected to be fluent in English and Kiswahili - a feat rarely ever achieved in majority of the cases one might add. Thus, it is generally assumed that majority of Kenyans are either able to express themselves in Kiswahili or English and this is not generally true even in urban areas. The researcher witnessed in many occasions a number of patients struggling to express themselves in Kiswahili much to the amusement of some nurses. It was even more puzzling to realize that some of the patients who were really struggling to speak in English or Swahili were at times actually speaking to medics from their own ethnic communities. However, for some reason, the staff members concerned were convinced that government business must be conducted in English or Kiswahili but preferably English, which is the government's stand for lack of a clear language policy.

In fact, a combined 96% (95% of nurses and 97% of patients) of all respondents believed that a working knowledge of Kiswahili or English is necessary for good service in government hospitals. It is also important to note that the Kenya Medical Practitioners Board (KMPB) and other relevant bodies that may intervene to arbitrate in cases of professional misconduct always conduct their business in English. This might further serve to alienate the masses from these key governing institutions.

The above practices coupled with the fact that reports from bodies like the KMPB are generally not accessible even for people with a modest amount of schooling, makes for an environment where it is virtually impossible to implement the good governance rhetoric. It is therefore no wonder when occasionally even the nurses themselves do advise some patients to seek help for some ailments at 'home' (meaning traditional cures). Further complicating the scenario is the fact that Kenya's consumer associations are yet to take root. Compare this with a place like Canada where they have such groups like the Canadian Organization for Rare Diseases, Doctors for Research Integrity, the Hospital Employees Union, the Society for Diabetic Rights, Women and Health Protection, PharmaWatch, the BC Persons With AIDS Society to mention but a few.

6.3.2 BUILDING CAPACITY FOR GOVERNANCE

Community leaders who understand the association habits of the members of a community could tap into such concepts to build or strengthen relationships among public and non-profit organizations, thereby building the community's capacity to address critical needs in areas such as health, human services, social problems, and economic development. A good example is when the World Bank as part of their efforts to strengthen the Kenyan civil service undertook to pay the salaries of highly competent Kenyans sourced from abroad and locally to beef up the civil service. The research supports such initiatives believing that these people generally understand better the local mindset more than personnel that are even more qualified but are not indigenous.

Similar efforts have been attempted internationally as well. The Local Governance Project (LGP) in Iraq is an appropriate example to cite here (see, Brinkerhoff and Mayfield, 2005). The project was designed to include the establishment of representative councils, service delivery capacity building, civil society strengthening, decentralization policy development, and civic dialogue. All these activities integrated the concept of social capital and good governance even though these were not explicitly stated. The authors demonstrate that these activities contributed to changing interactions between citizens and government by reaching across disparate

individual social and ethnic groups. It is the kind of effort needed in Kenya if only to a much larger scale.

Even while calling for lean governments, it is extremely essential that the role of civil servants in development generally and capacity building in particular is not lost sight of. Mc Lennan and Ngoma (2004) contend that we need to review the meanings of public administration, inclusive governance, and sustainable development in a globalized context in order to determine the role of public administration in sustainable development in local contexts. However, the researcher's contention is that we would rather review local contexts in order to explore the kind of public administration that would sustain our society in the current global dispensation. This is because it might not be very useful to try to develop institutional capacity for paradigms that are foreign to our social learning experience. That kind of capacity building, as Fukuyama (2004) notes, is often more destructive than no intervention at all. The point is, as in the present case, one should not start from a given end such as good governance, and aim to build capacity to execute it without considering the underlying structure, which in this case would be social capital.

From the above arguments, it becomes clear that concentrating on building leadership and management capacity in the middle ranks of the civil service does not necessarily improve the quality of public provisioning nor enhance public trust on government services. The core challenge is to try to initiate an ambitious leadership development strategy for a complex society torn between the modern and the pre/post-modern. Such leaders would then be very useful in the transformational efforts yearned for by all public affairs stakeholders. So developed leaders would then be much better able to realize their own local version of 'good governance' that may be in tune with the structure and demands of their societies. In contrast, it is unfeasible to try to implement systems that perform brilliantly in different contexts but have no guarantee of delivering in local contexts (cf. Leonard, 1991; Hindess, 1989; Fukuyama, 2004).

From the above discussions, we realize that excessive or 'better' regulations even though they may have some benefits, still leave much more to be done in civil service reforms in order to meet the expectations of public affairs stakeholders. The

researcher believes that regulatory impact on service delivery in Kenya has achieved less than optimal results because of this neglect to consider the concept of social capital. At the very least therefore, it would seem to me as if innovation in meeting the demands of an increasingly better informed but culturally localized citizenry is the major hurdle in civil administration reforms in Kenya. Therefore, capacity-building efforts should be streamlined to this end.

Capacity building in quasi-government organizations is necessary for one other reason. When these organizations join hands with local governments, their utility can be improved markedly. The challenge I presume would be on how to develop suitable accountability mechanisms so that citizens do not end up with an extended form of ineptitude. One key area where the NGOs can help in most visibly is in the policy process. This high profile but low impact arena is essential since the basis of equitable development and implementation of policies is the participation of citizens and community-based organizations in the policy process. Such participation rests upon equitable access to relevant information and effective use of that information by citizens.

One other issue that is closely related to the issue of capacity is to do with decentralization. Decentralization has come to be accepted as one of the key pillars of the new management as well as good governance (see, Hood, 1992). Kenya's decentralization efforts have been moving on albeit haltingly since the early eighties. Nevertheless, little effective power has been decentralized. What seems to be happening in the case of District Health Management Boards (DHMB's) is that only planning has been decentralized (see also Mwanzia, Omeri and Ong'ayo, 1993). The result is that even the planning itself becomes more of a mere wish list to be used to petition central authorities. Mwanzia, Omeri and Onga'yo (1993) also point out that the ambitious implementation of the DHMB's has marginalized the role of the province.

Mwanzia, Omeri and Ong'ayo further argue that a number of functions that are presently undertaken by the Ministry of Health (MOH) headquarters should be devolved to Provincial Health Management Teams (PHMT's). They contend that the

PHMT's are better placed to carry out evaluation and monitoring of health systems performance, management and financial audit, continuing education and on-the-job training, and support for problem-based operational research. Back to the wider nation building agenda, decentralization becomes tricky in Kenya if one considers the fact that we are still trying to build a single nation out of a conglomeration of forty-two disparate tribal groupings. Thus, decentralization must be seen as part of a wider process of national political and economic change that cannot be planned without due regard to identity and unity.

The danger is, given the wide economic disparities that exist in Kenya, other regions may completely be locked out in terms of infrastructure and human resources if decentralization is carried out haphazardly. Again, tribal sentiments deleterious of social capital may be invigorated such that other Kenyans may be considered foreigners in particular regions. A properly planned decentralization must therefore be accompanied by capacity building of individuals and local institutions. Otherwise, we risk perpetuating the current divide whereby for instance, the people of Northern Kenya talk of going to Kenya whenever they intend travelling to Nairobi.

The apparent conflicts are often due to half-commitments to decentralization. This is further accentuated by capacity deficiencies in the districts. To ameliorate these tensions, Ribot (2003) recommends five measures. First, he suggests the establishment of local democratic government as a priority. This should then be complemented by applying multiple accountability measures. The multiple accountability measures should be in addition to elective politics as a further support to democratic local institutions. Third, he suggests that the local populations should be engaged by transferring discretionary powers before transferring management burdens. The above is a most welcome proposal indeed. However, this approach is rarely ever followed in the rush to appease local communities. As a corollary to this, power should thus be transferred prior to undertaking capacity building. Finally, he urges planners to shift from an oversight and management-planning model to a minimum-standards model in order to help create greater local autonomy nested within national objectives.

For some reason, capacity building in local government has often received enthusiastic endorsement by external development partners. Romeo (2003) shows that this has been made possible by the development of a theoretical framework that links civil service decentralization reforms to poverty reduction via improved local governance. Funds meant for decentralization thus easily get spent on parallel efforts to build local government capacity. The researcher believes that this is one of the sites that offers a convenient starting point for the development of management styles that take into account the social structures of the communities being served. This does not always have to be in a big scale.

For instance, many butcheries in Kenya employ Muslims to ensure that the meat is *halaal* (acceptable to the faithful) even though there are government-employed veterinarians and public health officers who vet the meat to ensure that it is fit for human consumption. Such small sensitivities always go a long way in improving the responsiveness of the administration using local capacities.

In the health sector in particular, it is possible to combine primary care development and community participation through the DHMB's. This would require that their responsibilities are expanded to include carrying out local health needs assessments and identifying unmet health needs through regular household surveys. Right now, only 58% of the nurses interviewed and 49% of the patients felt that the local medical superintendents were responsive to their needs.

It was only 41% of the nurses and 18% of the patients who believed that essential medicines are always available in their local hospital. Were the proposals here to be implemented, DHMB's would be in a better position to determine local health provision and tailor services to local requirements. However, the current boards function under a framework of centrally determined guidelines and regulations. This is because the boards were created not really to enhance trust and local capacity development *per se*, but rather as part of structural adjustment programs that mainly emphasized financial deregulation and fiscal and monetary restraint.

In sum, civil service reforms in Kenya have tended towards increased rationality and transparency because these are the core values of the strategic partners. Transparency

and rationality offer the partners simple indications of effectiveness and economic development. Thus, elements of trust are easily overlooked in these interventions especially given the difficulties of determining civic culture. Other difficulties that confront the decentralization experiment include the piecemeal nature of the initiatives and the deeply embedded patterns of hierarchy in society and state.

6.4 IMPLICATIONS OF ASSOCIATIONAL NORMS

From our data, it is evident that the information flows within the communities considered is very complex. For instance, 70% of all respondents, -and that is 70% both for the nurses interviewed as well as the patients, - state that they know where to look for information to make life's decisions. Another baffling outcome in the data was the fact that 75% of the nurses interviewed and 80% of the patients stated that they were available to serve in a management or organizing committee of local organizations. This is surprising because, ordinarily, one would expect the nurses to be so overwhelmed with work, given their responses in the in-depth interviews that they would not have the time to participate in these activities. However, the researcher is convinced that these responses were honest. The fact of the matter as was established through interviews with both patients and health workers is that the Kenyan civil servant is often so pre-occupied with the affairs of the community at large often to the detriment of their performance at work.

Similar high positive scores were obtained for statements like: '*I would happily do a favour to a distressed neighbour', 'I would not mind joining local community action to deal with an emergency'* as well as '*I normally take part in local community projects*.' For civil service reformers, it thus becomes necessary to go beyond formulating codes of good governance to seek to engage with the contextual, attitudinal, and administrative characteristics of both the community of users as well as the service providers in order to understand civil service reforms in local settings. Thus, professional issues touching on themes like expertise, experience, and entrepreneurship must be juxtaposed with institutional issues like empowerment and devolution as well as contextual issues regarding external or environmental control factors (social capital).

Given the above proceedings, it becomes clear why civil service reforms require much more than just organizational re-design. Undoubtedly, there is much to learn in global paradigm shifts regarding such concepts as interactive planning, network management, stakeholder dialogue, deliberative democracy, policy discourses, governance, and the like. All that is proposed here is to look at these issues with a particular setting in mind and especially the concept of social capital in this regard.

For instance, the concept of power seems to have been relegated to the background with the current focus on the New Public Management and good governance. Yet incorporation of social capital into the debate will make it imperative to engage with issues of power much more deeply. Being a multi-layered concept (see, Arts and Tatenhove, 2004), integrating social capital into good governance makes for an accessible framework for the analysis of power in public policy.

From the foregoing, it is clear that our endeavour here is to find a common ground for tapping into value-added chains of global paradigms based on local socio-economic setting with ubiquitous direct interdependencies and interactions. This is a complicated task indeed in the present circumstances. For instance, while 90% of all respondents indicated that every part of the country feels like home, only 42% agreed that neighbours readily accept strangers moving into their communities.

In a sense, these two questions neatly capture what transpires in our civil service reforms. It is as if everyone agrees with the proud picture of good governance or whatever strategy that needs to be adopted, but at the implementation stage, all manner of complications arise. It is for this reason that both macro and micro-level studies of successes and failures become extremely important. There is not much in the literature that deals neatly with the above-mentioned problems. However, Elsner (2004) proposes a very exciting way of looking at what he calls net-externalities. He conceptualizes net-externalities as 'strategic' strong uncertainty, and omnipresent collective-good and social-dilemma problems very much akin to the problems considered in this research. He broadens his definition to include co-ordination failures such as those in the form of conventional market failure as well as the deployment of inappropriate institutional co-ordination. To cope with these

constraints, he advocates for sustainable innovation both in technological and institutional terms.

With these in mind, Elsner (2004) envisages the development of a collectively learned, institutional co-ordination through emergent collective action and networks with good governance. The beauty of his framework is that he formulates a hybrid system that consists of well-governed networks and a new approach towards more comprehensive and deliberate interactive and institutional public policy. Such an arrangement, he contends, is capable of supporting collective learning and emergent institutional co-ordination.

Thus, with due regard to the existing stocks of social capital, it is possible to develop a home-grown civil service that is more open, inclusive, as well as deliberative in its approaches to decision-making. Better and more innovative approaches to knowledge and information management has the potential to lift the majority of Kenyans from the confines of looking at every public issue from the narrow perspective of ethnic gains into greater transparency and more open engagement from the perspective of regulators, industry, community and pressure groups. The erosion of traditional ethnic institutions that were previously responsible for maintenance of collective infrastructure has not yet been complete.

Kenyan public provisioning is still beset by the conflict between the traditional and the modern (Leonard, 1991). Other than in the four or so big cities, people still predominantly like to live and work in their 'home' towns. This explains the reason why 65% of all respondents reported that they are likely to run into friends whenever they go into town. It is therefore important for all public affairs stakeholders; that is, local government, business associations, and nongovernmental organizations to take into account social and institutional sustainability even while working closely with external expertise and finance.

As Ratner and Gutierrez (2004) observe, communities are not fixed social units, but should rather be seen as a conglomeration of social interactions that are continually in flux. The two authors contend that even though the state and the market have

traditionally eroded traditional institutions of local governance, both still have the potential to reaffirm communities by deliberately building the relationships of shared responsibility necessary to manage the commons.

The interesting thing about the good governance drive is its strong component of decentralization. Thus, the earlier reform efforts in the 1990's to date have called for the abolition of hierarchical administrative governance structures in favour of self-governing networks for various motives, one of which is to improve the authenticity and democratic quality of public decisions. Yet these moves could easily balkanize fragile societies like Kenya into tribal cocoons with no national identity. It does not have to be this way. Leadership is required to engender an emergent community that is free of ethnic encumbrances as far as public policy making and governance is concerned. As mentioned earlier, self-governing networks can successfully arise out of trade unions, religious organizations, professional associations and the like in order to transcend ethnic loyalties. What is required is a benevolent state involvement to steer associative pluralism away from tribal inclinations.

This is not to say that all forms of ethnic solidarity or associations are bad. We are only concerned here with networks that operate in cartel or gang-like fashion. Traditional African charity has served to deal adequately with a number of complex problems that beset both the modern state and society. The fact that 87% of the respondents aver that they would happily do a favour to a distressed neighbour is indeed to be welcomed in these hard times. These traditional networks have coped remarkably with problems of joblessness, homelessness, health care, and so on.

The majority of the literature on networks and collaboration is quite positive (cf, Raab and Milwald, 2003). These traditional solidarity norms may just be the appropriate devices to tackle public management problems and successfully coordinate political, social, and economic action. The challenge is how to integrate them into the apparatus of modern states.

Among other challenges, providing the space and opportunity for meaningful participation of the private sector and civil society networks in the building of the

kind of civil service envisaged in this research may well be the trickiest from the institutional as well as the organizational standpoint. To respond to this challenge, participants from civil society, business, international organizations, and governments need to join forces in an innovative form of governance that celebrates national symbols, is legitimate in the eyes of the public, has the capacity to deliver on its mandate, and actually delivers.

There is nothing innate in the existing stocks of social capital to suggest that a model of organization in which officials act impartially, accept clear lines of accountability and supervision, and define their day-to-day activities through rules, procedures, and confined discretion cannot work. Such an arrangement might help mitigate the consequences of pork barrel politics where state resources are often used to unfairly favour some regions over others (Brakan, 1994; Leonard, 1991; Hyden, 1984). In the case of the Ministry of Health (MOH), this is often seen in the intra-district and inter-district disparities in the location of physical facilities. Well-connected politicians amongst the ruling cliques always manage to have health facilities located within their constituencies while more deserving areas but without the appropriate political connections are left to languish in deprivation. It used to be a common joke in Nairobi during the heyday of Moi's administration that urban roads were in deplorable state while the Rift Valley, Moi's home Province, had good roads that women were using as drying beds for grain. One would hope that participation that includes public deliberations regarding the national and local government budgets as in some Latin American countries (see, for instance, Baiocchi, 2003) would ensure that such practices become a thing of the past.

To conclude this section, it is important to reiterate that good governance practices can be improved vastly by modifying and incorporating social capital. This means taking cognizance of the formal and informal rules as well as the structures and processes by which communities normally solve their problems and meet societal needs. To do this, it is essential that trust and commitment to the governance arrangement is obtained from all stakeholders. There is need to devise ways of promoting effective partnerships between the government, civil society and the private sector for improved service delivery.

To achieve the above, civil service reformers must be willing not only to educate the public, but also to learn from the public mundane matters such as the running of churches and other community organizations that often seem to be better run than some government organizations. It would not be far-fetched for government to, for instance, contract with faith-based and community-based social service providers for improved service delivery. This might enable the understanding of the role that social capital plays as a lubricant in the social service system. While civil service reforms in Kenya mainly focus on efficiency and accountability in order to bridge management deficits, this study seeks to argue that reforms will be much more successful if due attention is paid to the cultural context (read as social capital).

6.5 IMPLICATIONS OF POLITICAL EQUALITY

This is the last of the four thematic sections attempting to reconcile the available stocks of social capital with good governance in accord with the dictates of a developmental state. Political equality is considered last in this chapter because of the extreme importance the author believes it plays in economic development. The researcher believes that unless democratic and participatory processes are put in place, economic growth alone will not result in sustainable and broad-based prosperity and well-being of the majority.

The section begins with an overview of the field findings regarding political equality before moving on to explore the overall implications for an enhanced administrative capacity that not only takes account of global and regional developments, but that is also seen as legitimate domestically and is well equipped theoretically to deliver on its mandate. This is to reflect the growing importance of regional economic blocks as well as to appreciate the growing influence of development partners in Kenyan public governance. Key international partners in the civil service reform programme include the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Great Britain's Department for International Development (DfID), Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), Denmark, Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), and the World Bank.

In a sense, this section tackles the fourth and final research question by examining administrative developmental capacity in relation to the existing stocks of social capital. This section treats the idea of a developmental state from the perspective of administrative capacity not only domestically, but also regionally given the current push for regional integration into the East African Community (EAC). Again, the study demonstrates that there is much more to be gained by seriously looking into the concept of social capital regarding governance demands even at the regional level. The section concludes by re-emphasizing the need to minimize the traditional tensions between the political and the public administration interface and the need to ensure that reforms are embedded or at least reflect the political choice and social structure of Kenyans in general.

Africa seems to be moving away from the overt political turmoil that characterized most parts of the continent from the on-set of political independence up to the early 1990's. One hopes that the previous denial of full citizenship (see, Mamdani, 1996) rights to selected individuals and groups in Africa will be outdated. While many would agree that the causes of economic under-development in Africa are many and varied, it is equally valid to say that there exists a vicious cycle that makes governance deficits slow down the democratization process required for poverty eradication and better life for all.

The fact that settlement patterns in Africa reflect ethnic origins is a major issue that easily affects public provisioning yet is rarely ever mentioned in the literature on African civil service reforms or by the national governments themselves[81]. Yet, there is abundant theory elsewhere in the social sciences and legal discourses that might easily give a handle to the analysis of this phenomenon if only there were the will to incorporate such concerns. This collective amnesia is not only confined to academics and politicians, but there seems to be a concerted effort even by the general populace

[81] Ordinarily, this is a normal product of social capital and its impact on urban migration and is not necessarily a bad thing. In fact, similar patterns obtain in international migration. However, a problem arises when civil servants, because of ethnic prejudices, decide to regulate access to certain public goods based on these patterns.

not to acknowledge the fact that ethnic chauvinism (or tribalism as it is often referred to in the local newspapers) exists.

For instance, a combined total of 81% of the respondents stated that they enjoy living amongst people of different lifestyles while a slightly lower figure, 71% of all respondents, stated that other ethnic groups living in their communities enrich their lives (see Table 5 - 4 showing summary findings on political equality). This is very hard to believe for someone familiar with the Kenyan setting.

There are approaches that one could adopt to deal with the issue of ethnicity in public provisioning. Let us consider the issue of special rights first. Social conservatives often use the term special rights to refer to laws that extend rights to minority groups. Special rights may be deployed effectively as a political device to mobilize power and enhance civic education. As a theory, the concept un-packs relations between the majority and the minority and offers the possibility of social relations characterized by the presence of both universalistic and particular norms thus effectively altering relations amongst the governed. This notion also serves to expand the reach of deliberative democracy. As Stychin (2004, p. 14) observes in the case of the European Union:

> [C]laims to difference can also be framed in the language of rights, which underscores the political indeterminacy of the discourse of rights more generally. Within the context of the EU, this is apparent in terms of the "rights of member states" in the face of EU law, and language such as the "margin of appreciation" and "subsidiarity" underscores the concern for a right of *national* communities to be different.

This argument compels us to look into the connections between associations and democracy. To handle this problem, Fung (2003) distinguishes the idea of associative contributions to democracy into four component parts. First, he looks at what 'contributions' generally entail. Second, he proceeds to examine the different kinds of associations before investigating how these contributions contest ideals of democratic governance in diverse political contexts. Fung (2003) suggests that associations enhance democracy in at least six ways: through the intrinsic value of associative life, fostering civic virtues and teaching political skills, offering resistance

to power and checking government, improving the quality and equality of representation, facilitating public deliberation, and creating opportunities for citizens and groups to participate directly in governance.

Because, as Fung (2003) observes, the above contributions are not all mutually consonant with one another, and different forms of associations are better suited to advance some contributions rather than others, the existing political culture needs to be understood before appropriate civic education can be carried out. Our data reveals that 28% of the respondents think the president is a dictator. Yet only 34% know the name of the local District Commissioner. Questions must therefore be asked as to how a system that on one hand seems to be far removed from the lives of the ordinary citizens can at the same time be quite repressive in practice. The data would seem to support Fung's (2003) contention that the democratic priority of associative contributions depends crucially on contextual features of particular societies. Civic educators must therefore decide whether to promote associations that resist repressive tendencies or those that foster compliance and respect for political institutions.

The Kenyan political culture can also be improved by borrowing from the successes of other spheres of social life. The researcher has often marvelled at the apparent success of the big religious organizations such as the Catholic Church, the Anglican Church of Kenya, and the Muslims in fostering unity amongst adherents in spite of the ethnic diversity. The state needs to learn something from some institutions that could be used to strengthen administrative capacity. This would be in line with the propositions of the communicative model of democracy (see, Young 2001) that call for expanded inclusiveness by looking at other modes of communication to enhance governance and promote participative parity (see, also, Fraser, 1993).

The researcher is not suggesting that Kenya should reconsider its status as a secular state. The exclusion of religion from political life has indeed served Kenya well given her religious diversity. What is called for here is a novel adaptation either of principles underpinning ethnic tolerance in religious organizations as well as their perceived efficiency in service delivery or the incorporation of religious bodies as

part of the public-private partnerships that are increasingly gaining ascendancy in public provisioning.

In the past few years, since the on-set of multiparty democracy, Kenya has at times come very close to full-blown ethnic clashes. Lives and livelihoods are often lost in these needless skirmishes often instigated by ethnic chauvinists who do not respect other people's property or life. The onus is on the bureaucracy as well as the political leadership to ensure that security for people, communities and property is maintained for sustainable development and for democracy to take root. In the survey findings, 82% of the nurses interviewed said that their workmates are also their friends while of the same sample, 98% of the respondents claimed that they felt part of a team at work.

One would very much like to believe that these are true reflections of the situation on the ground since there have often been sporadic claims in the newspapers of politicians introducing ethnicity in the public bureaucracy. As Korwa and Munyae (2001) document, this often takes the form of appointments to plum positions in line ministries where ministers tend to ensure that mostly people from their ethnic communities (or even worse, from their constituencies) get these posts. The appointment of the current head of the Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission (KACC) helped to bring these dissensions to light as the constitution stipulated that the Director and Assistant Directors be approved by Parliament.

The debate on this appointment generated so much rancour as some Members of Parliament felt that the then Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, was appointing his kinsman to the important position to protect his own interests as well as that of the ruling class[82]. The then Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs was soon forced to resign over corruption allegations. Many Kenyans believe that the

[82] President Kibaki, who hails from the most populous ethnic community in Kenya, the Kikuyu, is perceived to be a close confidante of the then Minister, Mr Kiraitu Murungi. Mr Murungi's community, the Meru, are ethnic cousins of the Kikuyu and are perceived by many Kenyans as one and the same community. Matters were not made any easier given the historical fact that both Mr Murungi and the current head of KACC, Mr Ringera, were at one time legal associates while practising as advocates of the High Court of Kenya.

slow pace of investigations into his involvement in the alleged acts of corruption is due to his proximity to the current head of KACC.

On the security front, it has been the practice since independence that sensitive security dockets are held by people from the President's own community. President Kibaki is closely following this trend. The current Minister for Defence is a fellow Kikuyu and a long-term political supporter of the President. The Criminal Investigations Department's (CID) Director is also a fellow Kikuyu. This makes matters very complicated administratively. Take the case of the Kenya Police Service. The Police Commissioner is supposed to be the accounting officer to public affairs stakeholders regarding police matters.

Yet there have been instances where the police boss has admitted publicly that, Kamau, the CID Director failed to report to him regarding sensitive operations such as the March 2006 raid on the premises of the independent *East African Standard* newspapers and their sister *Kenya Television Network* station[83]. It would appear as if the Minister could not trust the Police Commissioner, a Somali from Northern Kenya, with such sensitive information and instead opted for the confidence of a fellow Kikuyu.

Contemporary literature on public governance is awash with warnings regarding such practices. Ball (2005) reiterates what has now become a standard posit of development commentators that politicised as well as badly managed or ineffective security bodies and justice systems often create instability and insecurity. I, however, beg to disagree with him when he goes on to say that:

> The existence of unprofessional and unaccountable security forces derives in large measure from the failure to develop effective democratic political systems. Without democratic checks and balances, security forces can all too

[83] The offices of *The East African Standard* newspapers as well as their sister media house *Kenya Television Network* were raided and set on fire by masked gunmen on the night of March 1, 2006. It was subsequently learnt, on the admission by the Minister for Provincial Administration and Internal Security, Mr John Michuki, that the masked gunmen were in fact police officers acting on the behest of the Minister. Amongst other news houses, the Kenyan newspapers as well as the British Broadcasting Corporation Africa service carried these reports and many articles touching on these happenings are still available on the websites; www.bbcworldservice.com, www.nationmedia.com and www.eastandard.net respectively.

> easily be used for partisan political purposes or intervene directly in the political process (Ball, 2005 p. 2).

This position might explain why only 32% of patients interviewed and 25% of nurse respondents indicated that they would trust the local police as fair arbiters. However, unless Ball (2005) meant to expound on the words 'effective democratic political systems' further, the Kenyan situation would confound his conclusions. As explained earlier, ethnicity (read here as negative social capital) can easily sabotage even the best-organised public bureaucracy. Berg-Schlosser (1985) for instance, has shown that the Kenyan political space is an interesting but a deviant case in terms of consociational democracy. From her analysis of published sources, official documents and data from a general population survey she conducted, she finds the official orchestration of unity in Kenya at odds with the tenets of consociational democracy. Her understanding of consociational democracy, which the researcher also shares, advances a system of consensual multi-ethnic power sharing as opposed to simple majoritarian rule. Consociational democracy would appear to be the most appropriate form of governance for countries like Kenya because of the specific, highly fragmented 'plural' social bases of politics in Kenya yet the existing state institutional arrangements appear to pull in the opposite direction.

The above discussions further convinced the researcher that civil service reforms must begin at a more fundamental level rather than just organizational development, human resource development, capacity building and the other kit and caboodle that normally accompanies such good governance rhetoric. An interesting example is that of Cameroon as illustrated by Fonge (1997). Outside of South Africa (and that is disregarding the administrative capacity of the South African public bureaucracy in absolute terms), probably the Cameroonian civil service was the most sophisticated after independence given that it comprised the Anglican tradition of the English-speaking side as well as their French-speaking counterparts. In spite of the complexities of merging two national systems, the merger itself was generally a success. Nevertheless, the same organizational engineering and competence that was deployed to achieve the merger has on the other hand failed to deliver on its governance promises (see, for instance, Mbembe 2001). The frightening reality that the situation of Cameroon illustrates is that technical and managerial efficiency alone

as espoused by the good governance discourse is necessary but not sufficient to capacitate a public bureaucracy to deliver on its mandates. For this reason, the researcher is convinced that the concept of social capital is best placed to fill in this gap.

In sum, it worth mentioning that overall, Africa seems to be headed in the right direction given the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and its arm, the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) amongst other developments. The only problem seems to be that of pace and substance. Substance in the manner mentioned in the research; that the reforms tends to be more cosmetic and do not properly grapple with socio-political issues. The sentiment one often hears in some circles that a poor country must first develop economically before it can democratize must be banished. Simply put, democratic governance is good for development.

Africans must take the initiative and utilize the available funding from international strategic partners interested in civil service reform to develop home-grown robust systems that address the kind of fallacies discussed here. At present, development funding to low-income democracies is generally on the decline. To better reduce poverty and propel economic growth, administrative capacity must be enhanced. As emphasized within the deliberative democratic model of governance, constitutional democracy with a parliamentary system of government at the heart of the system and a commitment to hold regular, free, and fair elections is only the beginning of good governance.

6.6 CONCLUSION

To conclude this chapter, there is need to make an assessment of the existing stocks of social capital and its implication in public provisioning. The summary table of Figure 6-1 here below presents the implications in a concise format. The findings are not fluttering and there is need for leadership at every level of the society to reverse these trends. Figure 6-1 maps the practice gaps related to the theoretical linkages of social capital and good governance in public provisioning. For instance, the social capital concept of social inclusiveness linked to the good governance ideals of

participation and inclusiveness actually leads to pork-barrel politics and intensified ethnicity rather than a fair distribution of public goods as envisaged in theory.

FIG 6-1: THEORETICAL LINKAGES

Social Capital	Good Governance	Impact on Public Provisioning
Civic Engagement NATURE: *social cohesion*	Participation Inclusiveness	Pork-barrel politics is the norm thus giving rise to a skewed and inefficient distribution of public goods. Ethnicity and other partisan interests cripple genuine participation and inclusiveness.
Political Equality TYPE: *Bridging*	Rule of law Responsiveness Equity	Access is denied to the vulnerable and the deserving. Corruption makes user charges, privatization and agencies counter-productive.
Trust TYPE: *Bonding*	Transparency Accountability Effectiveness	Low trust levels increases transaction costs thus further hampering governance processes and curtailing sustainability as common resources are used haphazardly and recklessly.
Associational Networks TYPE: *Linking*	Freedom of information Efficiency Consensus building	Rumors and innuendos are the order of the day as dissent is criminalized and opposition is driven underground. State forced to employ coercive power more often through centralized structures as people shy away from cost-sharing.

As undesirable as the outcomes in the third column in Figure 6-1 suggests, evidence from the data collected for this research seems to indicate that the current existing nature of social capital may be leading to the eventual entrenchment of such a scenario. There is need for an expanded civic education system in Kenya designed in a way that enhances the formation of positive social capital. It is the researcher's opinion that social capital is highly developed in Kenya but only within narrow spans. Politically, social capital is felt most at the ethnic level where tribal king pins

sway voters within their communities at will regardless of party ideologies and moral stance. On the economic front, it seems as if the available stocks of social capital hardly go beyond kinship ties and thus is only useful for repeated dealings amongst a select few. These bonds are of the vertical type of dependency and exploitation giving rise for instance to the occurrence of large extended families placing unbearable burden on the few members of the family engaged in gainful employment to support the unemployed. The challenge is to harness the capital at the national stage.

The issue of identity formation concerning governance poses a unique challenge in the domestic scene. There seems to be no distinction between activism in struggle and leadership in governance. Those who played leading roles either in the independence struggle or in the fight for democracy in the later years of self rule and are now in leadership positions frequently feel that their sacrifice was ultimate and that they are no longer answerable to the people or that their countries now owe them special favours. These kinds of attitudes greatly diminish the potential of good governance.

Language would be a good starting point to achieve national social cohesion. The researcher is inspired by the Tanzanian example, where Kiswahili has been used to mould a nation out of the many ethnic communities. Many social commentators on the African political scene would agree that in spite of its economic status, Tanzania is not engrossed with ethnic tensions that are prevalent in other parts of the continent. The onus is on Kenya to learn from her neighbour especially about how the post-independence leadership of Tanzania managed to elevate political discourse above tribalism.

Development is a major *idée force* that faces developing countries today. As the search for prosperity gains momentum, the leaders must find ways of operationalizing governance in such a manner as to achieve sustainable development. With economic prosperity, incidences of crime will reduce as more and more people are absorbed into productive and gainful employment. The governments will be better able to pay their employees. It has been alleged that the low pay that is offered by the poor states

also induces corruption. This sometimes turns even law enforcement agencies into criminal gangs and extortionist bribe seekers.

Actually, real peace and security are impossible to achieve in an atmosphere of want and extreme lack. Social capital is key to economic growth and all concerned with development in Kenya must also focus in identifying ways in which civic traditions maybe improved or developed to ensure prosperity for all. Similarly, for public governance in Kenya to gain legitimacy and attain the requisite capacity for delivery, there is need to take into account the social capital inherent in the populace. This should precede large-scale experimentation with the ideas emanating from the global good governance discourses.

CHAPTER SEVEN
CONCLUSIONS – IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICYMAKING

In this chapter, the two concepts of social capital and good governance are brought back together with the intention of integrating the two as promised in chapter One. The chapter thus consolidates previous discussions in an attempt to abstract findings into public administration theory. To do this, all the eight principles of good governance as reviewed in earlier chapters are summarised and the theoretical gaps that can be mediated by the concept of social capital surfaced.

The above treatment is proposed to clearly show that there indeed exist theoretical gaps in the discourse of good governance that can be filled by the concept of social capital to make civil service reforms more effective and relevant to public affairs stakeholders in Kenya and probably in similar countries elsewhere. It is important to keep in mind that the original aim of the study was to abstract to the theory and practice of public administration and not to health sector reforms or healthcare service management.

The study was concerned with the fact that public sector reform initiatives as driven by the dominant global voices in Africa in general and Kenya in particular seems to have had limited impact on public provisioning in spite of the strong support these strategies enjoy from development partners. Public provisioning is yet to reach desired standards and have actually worsened in some sectors due to growing poverty, internecine conflicts, the HIV/Aids epidemic and so on. In the last decade or so, Kenyan civil service reform efforts have generally been aligned to the dictates of the good governance discourse to deal with the tenacious trio of waste, fraud, and abuse and yet this does not seem to be working. The researcher was intrigued by this fact and proceeded throughout the thesis to explore the fact that these good governance principles presuppose particular types of public engagement, sets of relationships, and management practices which may not be present in Kenya in the manner and character assumed.

Specifically, the researcher started with the core assumption that the concept of social capital influences to a great degree the quality of public provisioning in Kenya. While the field findings suggest that the concept of social capital delimits the agency of the current civil service reform drivers as characterized by the good governance discourse, those involved with the initiatives do not seem to take cognizance of this reality. To ascertain the impact of social capital on public provisioning, the research sought to address four key questions based on the theoretical strands of social capital.

First, the construct of civic engagement was discussed and analysed extensively to determine its influence on public provisioning. The enquiry revealed that pork-barrel politics is emerging as the norm in Kenya thus giving rise to a skewed and inefficient distribution of public goods. Furthermore, ethnicity and other partisan interests cripple genuine participation and inclusiveness thus eroding grievously social cohesion. Second, the loss of trust in public institutions was found to engender increased transaction costs thus further hampering governance processes and curtailing sustainability as common resources are used haphazardly and recklessly.

The third aspect of social capital, associational norms amongst both the community of users as well as the service providers, manifested itself mostly in forms that fuelled hearsay, rumor, and innuendo rather than the flow of knowledge and reliable information. Such an environment made it difficult to achieve consensus on public provisioning deliberations. On its part, the government often responds to this kind of environment by criminalizing dissent, resulting, for instance, in the political opposition being driven underground. Subsequently, the state finds itself employing coercive power more often through centralized structures. The end result is a people who are even further removed from public policy making and its implementation. Last and most importantly, the construct of political equality was found to be more honoured in breach than in practice. This has meant that access is often denied to the vulnerable and the deserving. Similarly, corruption makes user charges, privatization and agencies counter-productive and thus end up defeating the purpose of adopting good governance principles in the first place.

This research has amply demonstrated that the concept of social capital has much to offer in civil service reforms. That is, the right kind of social capital is needed in order for the dominant conceptualizations of good governance to be effective. In practice, this means a bottom up approach to civil service reforms. In the past, reforms have often been initiated according to the dominant practices in the West rather than in accordance with the wishes of the people. On the other hand, there is need for society-wide civic education so that the people are co-opted into the public bureaucracy as co-producers and not be considered as merely docile recipients of public provisioning. It is with the above objectives in mind that the following subsection will re-examine each of the key parameters of good governance identified in Chapter Two to see the limitations of the current proposals and seek to develop measures to beef them up theoretically. Thus, the researcher has not developed a new theory, but only identified specific areas that need to be incorporated to good governance in order to take account of the existing nature of social capital.

Overall, Kenya has had stable and reliable support for the executive for the most part of the post-independence period. On other measures of political effectiveness such as voter turnout, political rioting, and political deaths, the performance has largely been wanting. In the new era of multiparty politics, Kenyan political entrepreneurs have mostly failed to organize citizens beyond tribal lines into coherent political parties with succinctly articulated ideologies. In fact, in many instances, the politicians have intentionally retreated to their ethnic cocoons to sustain and supplement political organizations. Even after the 2002 General Elections, perceptions persisted that the various political parties were based on ethnic groupings. The Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) was seen as Luo-based, the Democratic Party (DP) as Kikuyu-based, Ford-Kenya as a Luhyia party and Ford-People as Kisii-based. The former ruling party, KANU, is still perceived as a Kalenjin party in spite of the fact that its nominal leader is a Kikuyu, Mr Uhuru Kenyatta, who is a son to the founding father of the nation.

The depredation of social capital in the public sphere in Kenya began soon after the colonisers officially left. The nationalist bourgeois who took over the reigns of power

at the dawn of political independence in Kenya soon realized that they were in office but not in command of the economy. Partly for this reason, a frenzied loot and plunder of public coffers cropped in soon after independence. In other words, most post-independence leaders took advantage of opportunities offered by political power to secure economic bases for their political careers. To achieve this, the economic role of the state was extended as widely as possible. One parastatal (a company or agency owned or controlled wholly or partly by the government) after another was created in the process. With the parastatals, came cronyism, nepotism, and other manifestations of corruption. The response from the people has been that of alienation from the state and other formal institutions. As for the ordinary people, once they realized that the elite were mostly corrupt, a great number of them resorted to contraband trade and other informal trading activities that evaded the ravenous appetite of the appropriative state.

7.1 GOOD GOVERNANCE

A central concern of the thesis is that more work needs to be done by all public affairs stakeholders in Kenya to engender and enforce a concerted campaign to raise civic republicanness (Kymlicka, 2002) among the people in the whole society. A number of works on citizenship and nationalism narrowly allude to the people as voters, thus, mere clients of the state. Many states in sub-Saharan Africa are yet to shift paradigmatically from aggregative or vote-centric democracies to deliberative democracies (of good governance), let alone from mere conglomerations of ethnic communities to proper nations in which deliberative (more inclusive and more participatory) governance is the rule rather than the exception.

Seen in this light, the concept of citizenry in Africa as the embodiment of civic virtue is too narrow a conception. Civic virtue as employed in this study refers to the collection of qualities and attitudes held by the citizenry in relation to the state and public provisioning. Here, citizenry is broadened to imply all the people before, during, and after the periodic general elections that are often thought to promote the health and stability of polities through active and full participation in decision and policy-making processes. Patriotism, tolerance of diverse values and public

spiritedness are common examples of such virtues that go along way in enhancing the legitimacy of a state.

The researcher argues here that there are insufficient levels of civic engagement amongst the people to enable the efficient operation (good governance, especially as presently propagated by key development partners of the Kenyan government) of public institutions. A massive campaign of civic education is called for to enable both the providers of government services and the community of users to derive optimal benefits from engaging with public institutions. This proposed thoroughgoing education must be carried out in all public arenas. The public spaces considered here include the market economy, the polity, society, as well as civil society.

These are the civic qualities needed amongst Kenyans for better public provisioning. This is an undertaking beyond the scope of institutional development alone. In fact, one may argue that effective institutional design and development presuppose the existence of more than just functional social capital. The Kenyan public administration environment is characterized by both fiscal stress and distrust by the people. There is need for novel ways to deliver basic social services and enhance participative citizenship. Levine and Glenn (1984) offer five alternative methods of public provisioning that could be considered for the Kenyan case. These include: privatizing service delivery, inter-governmentalizing service delivery arrangements, improving operating productivity, 'de-professionalizing' bureaucracies, and lastly devolving service responsibility. They argue that each of these models impact to a different degree on the perception of citizenship and citizens' attitudes toward public provisioning.

Thus, civic education as presently available in Kenya must be augmented by not only the knowledge and skills of public administrators, but also be further backed up by the power of the political establishment in order to nurture the requisite social capital for good governance. This challenge, as McGregor and Sundeen (1984) note, will require civil servants to assume new intra-agency, local community, and extra-community roles.

With regard to the health sector specifically, the above sentiments imply that the best course of action is for the government to consider the international trend in health services Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) where the more common form involves the pooling of budgets between health bodies and social service departments. For instance in Britain, the National Health Service (NHS) and the nation's prison service are forming a partnership to fill gaps in healthcare provision for prisoners (Anderson, 1999).

While the task is for the government to address the serious challenge of increasing access to health care and improving the quality of care Kenyans receive, it should be borne in mind that whatever interventions are put in place will be impacted on by the undercurrents of ethnicity and distrust as indicated above. Thus, the challenge must be broadened to include the development and training of culturally competent providers just like, say, the United States of America government has tried to do especially regarding minority access to health care (see, for instance, Kennedy, 2005).

Importantly, the concern with good governance is a desire to reform the civil service in order to provide better quality services while reducing demands on taxpayers. As opposed to private business concerns, it is thus important to remember that concepts like economy, efficiency, effectiveness, transparency, accountability, choice, and value for money have been introduced into the civil service in order not to overwhelm the national fiscus. The key focus thus remains effective, efficient, and responsive public provisioning.

A commitment to involving the people in issues of governance as deliberative governance presupposes entails the formulation of appropriate policies to ensure that the people are capacitated to participate effectively and not merely as watchdogs of who gets what. There is an interesting discourse in Kenyan political economy called the 'national cake.' Politicians are in the habit of talking about sharing the national cake fairly without correspondingly telling people how to bake the national cake collectively. It seems to me that even the concept of participation is being driven in this way albeit inadvertently.

Community participation is required so that the process of public provisioning is fair, transparent, and accountable. Admittedly, this should be an important goal for participation. Nevertheless, it would be equally important to engage members of the public in the joint production of goods and services so that the government does not solely bear the blame of implementation failure. A corollary to the above argument would be for the government and the people to explore ways of community partnerships or networks of collaborating public and Non-Governmental Organizations in addressing public problems and needs. Given the disparate interest groups in Kenya coupled with the issue of ethnicity, it is important to find a theoretical framework to analyze and understand the structure of the relationships that make diverse partnerships work effectively. Provan and others, (2005) develop just such a tool using the theoretical framework of networks. The theoretical typology of networks is akin to the issue of associational norms as discussed in the concept of social capital.

The researcher believes that NGOs can be re-invigorated by adopting straightforward organizational and managerial innovations such as strategic planning, board development, new technology, communication, reorganization, and employee training and better accounting procedures. There is need to have some sort of performance and impact scales for NGOs in Kenya for these organizations to gain legitimacy. Otherwise, as things stand today, the Kenyan NGOs risk turning into some kind of business for academics and enterprising individuals rather than practical attempts to solve society's problems. Indeed, many of the current existing NGOs are themselves in dire need of capacity building if ever they are to serve their stated purpose (Gibbon, 1995).

The researcher is not advocating for the complete abandonment of the rule of law; rather, the position here is that public administration reform should combine a viable state management framework with a political strategy aimed at institutionalizing and legitimizing the social capital of the community. Kenya is blessed in the sense that civil service reforms have received considerable donor support. What is needed is a way in which this considerable goodwill can be challenged into a manner that reflects the local social learning experience. For instance, in an environment where politics is

still mired in scarcity issues (Giddens, 1995; 1998), the content and trajectory of reforms must take into account the political struggle over control of state resources.

Compounding the problems of capacity deficit are issues associated with civil service ethics. Everyday, Kenyans witness numerous incidents of unethical behaviour by a variety of politicians and state employees. Ongoing cases of political and bureaucratic corruption raise questions beyond capacity development. Moreover, it is now known that the mere presence of laws does not prevent unethical behaviour. Therefore, there is a parallel need to put in place systems of government that will obtain the necessary legitimacy to ensure compliance without undue coercion. In this regard, the importance of good leadership, institutionalized partnerships between government and national and international NGOs, and capacity building for transparency and accountability is stressed.

It has often been accepted that part of the reason why many African states rarely develop committed bureaucrats is the fact that the people never actually founded the governments that run these societies. Thus, the state is often looked at as a source of endless largesse to be extracted for the personal gain of public office holders (Bongyu, 2003). Having realized this trend, the onus is therefore on the reformers to ensure the mentality or the remnants thereof of the so-called struggle tactics that spilled over into the civil administration after independence are completely erased. It cannot be overemphasized that it is the duty of current governors to ensure that the conditions necessary for the institutionalization of sound governance practices are established. It should be borne in mind that activism in struggle requires a slightly different set of skills than leadership in governance.

Ribbot (2003) has developed a set of criteria for decentralization concerning natural resources that may very well reconcile the demands of nation-building with the dictates of good governance. He argues that the local institutions being chosen to receive powers and the degree and form of power transfers by themselves do not necessarily establish conditions for more efficient or equitable use and management of resources. Rather, he contends that a combination of locally-accountable representation and discretionary powers are also needed. These contentions are

indeed true in the case of DHMB's, which were hastily implemented with great fanfare a few years ago in Kenya but are yet to deliver any tangible benefits to the man on the streets. As Ribot (2003) shows, when such an alternative local institution is created alongside democratic local bodies, this and the failure to transfer discretionary powers can undermine local democratic bodies and concentrate powers in the executive branch.

If social structures change slowly, it then becomes important for public administration scholars to devise governance approaches that are appropriate to local situations. The big question would be how to devise a governance approach that is not easily undermined by ethnicity and other sectarian interests that often hamper public provisioning in African countries. In other words, the challenge is to develop good governance practices that would deliver developmentally and at the same time are in line with the existing stocks of social capital.

One other avenue that good governance opens up for the exploration of social capital is that of participation. Participation in governance provides opportunities for public affairs stakeholders to engage in critical debates regarding the type of public bureaucracy required for a developmental state like Kenya. Even apparently innocuous gatherings like the budget presentations could be turned into an opportunity for stakeholders to help mould public provisioning positively. There are moves afoot by some of the current members of the Kenyan Parliament to create a Parliamentary Budget Office to help scrutinize the budget prior to the official budget speech by the Minister of Finance.

In the next section, the implications of the concept of social capital to each of the eight characteristics of 'ideal type' good governance will be considered. All the eight principles of good governance as reviewed earlier will be re-examined in order to locate gaps that can be theoretically filled by the concept of social capital. Each of the four strands of social capital developed from the theoretical typology of the concept will be marched against the eight principles in order to draw conclusions and specific recommendations for public sector reforms praxis in Kenya. Tables 7-1a and 7-1b captures the postulations in a summarized format.

TABLE 7-1a: SOCIAL CAPITAL AND GOOD GOVERNANCE MATRIX

CONCEPTS	**SOCIAL CAPITAL**	***Civic Engagement***	***Trust***	***Associational Norms***	***Political Equality***
GOOD GOVERNANCE	***Participation***	Public-spirited citizens	Accommodate dissenting opinions	Engage in professional and other inter-class associations	A democratic political dispensation that elicits the participation of everyone
	Rule Of Law	Law-abiding citizens	Law is applied without fear or favor to all and sundry	Self-regulating communities that require minimal policing	Entrench the practice of constitutionalism
	Transparency	Avoid conflict of interest situations in dealing with issues of public concern	Public declaration of wealth by key functionaries	Protect whistle-blowers	Free and fair regular elections
	Responsiveness	Citizens engage bureaucrats and politicians on issues on the day actively	Promote neutral competence in policy formulation and guarantee access to information	Engender the formation of interest-group associations	Occasional referenda and plebiscites on contentious issues

TABLE 7-1b: SOCIAL CAPITAL AND GOOD GOVERNANCE MATRIX

CONCEPTS	SOCIAL CAPITAL	*Civic Engagement*	*Trust*	*Associational Norms*	*Political Equality*
	Consensus-Building	Respect and accommodate diverse views	Do not criminalize dissenting opinions	Avoid political intimidation	Develop a culture of grassroots consultation
	Equity And Inclusiveness	Ensure access by all who need services	Avoid ethnic and religious prejudices and other forms of sectarianism	Avoid traditional practices that impinge on the rights of women, children and other vulnerable groups	Broad-based political parties that do not rely only on ethnic loyalties
	Effectiveness And Efficiency	Public provisioning unencumbered by political considerations	Clearly articulated regulations, procedures and governance processes	Frequent civic education on the contemporary issues of the day	All major political parties need to get state funding so as to, amongst other things, conduct leadership training for all party cadres
	Accountability	Ensure personal integrity in dealing with public issues	A written explanation for all decisions upon such a request	Engender the formation of consumer associations	Clearly articulated party manifestos

7.1.1 PARTICIPATION

The study argues that popular participation is a mechanism for promoting good governance. Indeed, Kenya joined this movement in earnest in the early 1980s with the publication of Sessional Paper Number 10 of 1986.[84] The Paper sought to make the administrative district the focal point of development activities in a bid to promote popular participation through the so-called 'bottom-up' approach. Even today, there is an increased agitation for the District to be made the focal point of all development activities. Because of this, the creation of new administrative districts is often contentious in Kenya.

The concern with regard to theory is whether these structures by themselves are able to foster deliberative democracy as well as participatory parity. This question is relevant here because both the concepts of deliberative democracy as well as that of participatory parity were employed in the in the study as precursors to the concept of good governance although not as defining tools. The findings suggest that this is not the case. From the perspective of social capital, the researcher argues that, as a start, there is need to engender public-spiritedness amongst all citizens before their participation can be meaningful.

This is only possible once all Kenyans view and see themselves as Kenyans rather than members of diverse ethnic groups first. More people joining professional and other inter-ethnic associations such as trade and labor unions would be a good start. This would be part of the national 'baby steps' in the path to the realization of John Rawls 'overlapping consensus' (Rawls, 1987). For as it is currently, ethnic chauvinism at times makes it look like 'stealing' from the national collective for the supposed benefit of the ethnic community is tolerable to a section of Kenyans. Such consensus would allow for the accommodation of dissenting opinions so that citizens do not mentally exit from the state but are instead turned into deliberative democrats. These developments must be hinged on a democratic political dispensation where people freely choose and change their leaders regularly.

7.1.2 RULE OF LAW

Since, broadly speaking, so many regulators, rule makers, and law enforcers are making decisions or advocating policies that directly affect the balance between liberty and security, there is need to develop clear restraints on both political and administrative action. Throughout the thesis, the researcher has attempted to highlight the fact that both political corruption and other forms of corruption are rife in the Kenyan civil service. There are structural factors as well as factors due to the attitudes and values of both service providers as well as the community of users. Good governance tends to take care of the structural factors by privileging the rule of law.

The privileging of the rule of law in Africa is, however, oblivious to the subtle phenomenon of 'goal-displacement' as indicated in the literature reviewed. The literature survey offered numerous examples where bureaucrats have tended to operate just within the margins of the law in order to subvert the spirit of specific legislations. Again, the good governance movement seems to completely ignore the ever-present phenomenon of 'Big Men' in the continent. It is not surprising therefore that the permanent criticism levelled at the Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission (KACC) is its inability to apprehend and successfully prosecute any top politician and state corporation chief executives often mentioned adversely in government audit reports.

Thus, at the level of theory, there is still need for the development of paradigms of reform that would take into account the social learning curves of particular societies in order to properly deal not only with rule-making but also effective rule-enforcement. The case of Tanzania, was cited as an example to show that political discourse can be elevated beyond ethnicity as part of good leadership. Further south in the continent, President Mbeki also offered his colleagues an example by firing the Deputy President, Mr Jacob Zuma, after one of his financial advisers was found guilty on charges of corruption. This was a welcome move indeed since previously in many instances in Africa, such high ranking personalities have often gotten away with gross misdeeds because of their influence and power thus deepening the problem of patron-client relationships.

Selective and retrogressive application of the law is another problem area that needs to be dealt with regarding the concerns of good governance. At one time, the Moi regime had the law changed to ensure that people who were already in custody regarding the failed August 1982 coup attempt did not escape pre-meditated punishment. What the study has shown in this regard is that 'legal fundamentalism' is no panacea to the ills of the Kenyan public administration.

7.1.3 TRANSPARENCY

As argued previously, citizens only become comfortable with governmental processes once they know that government programs are well managed. These conditions of necessity require greater openness and transparency in order to compel politicians, government ministers, and civil servants to be accountable for results. The corollary to this is that the capacity of citizens to understand the political positions and actions of their individual representatives, and therefore hold them more accountable, must be improved.

It is difficult to envisage how to mediate the distance between the rulers and the people given literacy and technological barriers. Nevertheless, political processes must be made more transparent so that citizens can have constant access to information on what their Members of Parliament and other politicians at lower levels are actually doing. Similarly, public managers need to be trained on how best to collect, disseminate, and evaluate information for decision-making. Both in the discussion on communicative rationality as well as in participative parity, a note was made that even those who cannot read and write, are still capable of articulating their views if only the necessary will and effort is made to collect their views and disseminate information to them in ways accessible to them.

Transparency helps by minimising rumours and unfounded allegations. At the same time, it is impossible to deliberate on issues that one is not informed about. Substantive democracy would require that all political players are given equal opportunity to articulate their views. In the ideal scenario, the society becomes a perfect theatre for the exchange of political ideas. However, for societies such as exists in many areas of Kenya, political principals play a much bigger role than mere

'social facts.' Indeed, this is what makes politics to be played more as a group phenomenon rather than by rational choice as assumed by the predominant literature on governance. By some strange arrangement, very few of the people interviewed for this study, even amongst some of the highly educated service providers who participated in the survey, did not come across as deliberators ready to engage in the Kantian-style 'public reasoning.'

7.1.4 RESPONSIVENESS

Apparently, in Kant's view of the European enlightenment, it was not enough to promote public reasoning for its own sake. His essay on the Enlightenment[85] is alive to the fact that there is both benefits and risks in allowing the people to reason publicly (that is, to comment on topical issues). On the one hand, people who reason together publicly mature in reasoning and hence escape from the tutelage by public authorities. On the other hand, the public use of reason can result in the severe criticism of legislation and laws of the status quo and render the regime unstable or wrought with conflict. Nevertheless, he urges all who can to reason publicly and to set before the world thoughts concerning better formulation of existing laws. As shown earlier, deliberative democrats take this position a notch higher by claiming that an important aspect of a democratic state is its responsiveness to the needs and aspirations of the people.

However, a word of caution needs to be sounded here. There is a very thin line between responsiveness and populism. Leaders must not lose sight of their aligning role, which is to guide the people to a desired future state, in an attempt to respond to demands that might compromise that future state. Political expediency traps leaders easily into these kinds of situations. The position of this research is that deliberative and communicative models of democracy are theoretically equipped to handle such threats of populism. Under liberal democracy, responsiveness is often taken to mean that people use peaceful means to replace and change leadership while the leadership on its part allow the people to freely criticize, pressurise and organize

[85] Emmanuel Kant, *What is Enlightenment,* 1784

around public issues without undue interference. Thus, elected officials remain accountable to the electorate who can choose not to re-elect them.

The vote-centric democracy is vulnerable to leaders who have learnt to manipulate it, either by whipping up tribal sentiments or outright vote rigging. Such leaders tend to stay in public office for inordinately long periods without being responsive to the needs of significant segments of the people. It is also important to keep in mind that responsiveness must be thought of ex-ante especially in the case of organizations. It is improbable that an individual or an organization can be effectively responsive to events that they did not anticipate. Thus, a truly responsive entity must also be home-grown and participatory in nature.

7.1.5 CONSENSUS-BUILDING

As a young nation, Kenya desperately needs a robust form of democracy, greater accountability and integrity, the participation of people in public life and social justice. Great attention must also be paid to strengthening national identity and unity as part of nation building. Because of the diverse ethnic composition of the country, there will always be a danger that majoritarian practices would tend to exclude some ethnic groups from positions of leadership. This is why deliberative democracy becomes much more essential to the Kenyan scene rather than mere voting and the 'winner takes all' presidential system currently in place.

As was demonstrated earlier, public affairs stakeholders in Kenya watch keenly the appointments to the upper echelons of the civil service as well as the military and the diplomatic corps. However qualified, appointees to the civil service should be seen to be representative of the diverse nature of the ethnic groups in the country. Kenyatta's legacy has often been pilloried for having at one time, appointed eighteen out of twenty-one Permanent Secretaries (PS) from the Kikuyu community. It is not that these people were not qualified; rather, it was and still is the perception that they received preferential treatment for being from the 'right' ethnic community.

Such sensitivities make consensus-building mandatory. While it would be possible to satisfy the development partners with the appointment of such highly qualified people to positions of governance, the domestic observers would have none of it if

local concerns such as those mentioned are not addressed. The issue of consensus-building is especially pertinent in Kenya today given that the issue of constitutional review has been going on since 1995 without an end in sight. After a great endeavour lasting several years, Kenyans rejected the draft constitution in a referendum held last year. Given the protracted nature of the process, one would imagine that the fight is over such issues as human rights, citizenship, and so on. Yet, the real cause of disagreement is about whether Kenya should have a Prime Minister and what the powers of the Prime Minister and the President should be. In essence, unless a consensus is achieved amongst the political elite, it is impossible to make progress on some of the most basic issues fundamental to good governance.

Back to the bureaucracy, it would seem to me that the challenge for civil service reformers is to engender the ability and willingness of administrators to act on feedback rather than join the people in complaining as well. For many people, it still requires much effort to encourage participatory parity. This would help develop enhanced collaboration and partnership among governance and public administration agencies, citizens, and other social players such as the media, academia, and the private and third sectors. There is need for enhanced collaboration and partnership amongst these parties in civic education for participatory involvement. It is common in Kenya, for instance, to find that the well to do never bother to vote in national elections unless they are directly involved in the campaigns in some way.

7.1.6 EQUITY AND INCLUSIVENESS

Technically, equity and inclusiveness touch on three interrelated processes namely: the rapid rise in population that outstrips the country's current resources; the massive rise in unemployment figures; and the introduction of new technology that in many cases seem to render a great number of people jobless. Theory adds to this mix the issue of parity. All the four issues need to be examined in detail before issues of equity and responsiveness can be addressed effectively. Again, as mentioned previously, governance needs to move from mere responsiveness to collaboration in order to address public provisioning concerns equitably and inclusively.

Good governance enhances collaboration by incorporating various social players in governmental processes. These various players must be included not only to advance the aims of equity (the redistributive aspect) and inclusiveness (recognition) but also as a proactive measure to ensure responsiveness. Former President Moi was probably speaking for many when he argued that constitution-making is not for Wanjiku.[86] What he meant was that ordinary Kenyans had no role to play in the search for a new constitution. Instead, he wanted the the constitutional review process to be left to technical experts. Well, not many Kenyans agreed with him and eventually a Constituent Assembly was settled on that played a part in the ill-fated draft constitution that was rejected at the 2005 referendum.

With regard to Wanjiku, Moi represents a number of top-level political and bureaucratic operatives in Kenya who are suspicious and critical of any model of democracy that places excessive faith and power in the hands of the people. Such a perspective offers deliberative democracy few prospects. In effect, their position would mean that participatory democracy is unworkable, that the democratic public was a myth, and hence that governance should be delegated exclusively to political representatives and their expert advisors.

Moi's stance above would seem to call for a centralized democracy led by a middle class buttressed by a technocracy in which public administrators are guided by experts whose objectives and disinterested knowledge go beyond the 'narrow views' and the 'parochial self-interests' of the people. Yet, it is difficult to identify such disinterested technocrats. It for this reason that the researcher employed John Dewey's[87] contention that democracy should not be confined to the enlightenment of administrators or to insiders like industrial leaders.

While Dewey was no advocate of deliberative democracy as is understood today, he, nevertheless, highlighted the importance of public deliberation in political decision-making. His position was somewhat in contrast to that of Kant as discussed earlier.

[86] Wanjiku is a common maiden name amongst the Agikuyu. In this context, Moi used the name in the sense of 'every Tom, Dick and Harry.'
[87] See, Boydston J. A. (1981) (Ed.) *John Dewey, The Later Works, 1925 – 1953,* Carbondale: South Illinois University Press.

He was wary of discussions that neither elicit facts nor appeal to widely-shared meanings. In trying to reconcile the two concepts of social capital and public governance, Dewey's position becomes useful because of his contention that whereas social inquiry and policy design can be done by experts, all the relevant facts and potential implications of such inquiry and proposed policies should remain a public trust. That is, the public trust must be guarded against the intrigues of private interests.

Even more problematic with regard to social capital and good governance when it comes to equity and inclusiveness is the issue of traditional practices that at times undermine the freedoms and rights of women and children and some minority groups such as gays and lesbians. In an attempt to deal with these kinds of issues, the Kenyan constitution, for instance, grants Muslims the leeway to apply Shari'a[88] on personal matters to do with inheritance, marriage and so on. Similarly, various kinds of marriages are acceptable under the Kenyan laws, namely: civil, traditional, Christian, Islamic and Hindu. These provisos have, nevertheless, not prevented dissatisfied parties from going to court after failing to secure their interests within these systems.

The legal frameworks that give leeway to designated groups are, nevertheless, difficult to implement in a public administration without some form of extensive deliberation between the people and the governors. For example, it is difficult for school headmasters enforce a strict adherence to the school uniform where Muslim pupils are involved as sometimes the school uniform is not considered an appropriate form of dressing by the Islamic community. On the other hand, most butcheries find it easy and expedient to have a Muslim involved in the slaughter and the preparation of various animal meat to make the food *halaal*.[89]

7.1.7 EFFECTIVENESS AND EFFICIENCY

There is a need to develop a set of performance measuring systems (PMS) that both the community of users and service providers understand. In many instances, PMSs

[88] The code of laws based on the Koran.
[89] Meat that has been prepared in the manner prescribed by shari'a.

have been introduced and lots of training conducted internally so that employees and executives get to understand the systems. However, no corresponding effort is put to ensure that external stakeholders understand the system as well. In early 2006, there was a lot of fanfare in the Kenyan press when President Kibaki asked his Ministers to sign performance contracts. Yet the researcher's lingering suspicion is that many people did not have any idea what these performance contracts entailed.

For purposes of determining effectiveness and efficiency from the perspective of service users, it is important to examine the actual and desired use of performance measures for management and external reporting purposes, as well as perceived impediments to their effective use. Both internal and external verification of measures of efficiency and effectiveness should be broadly acceptable to all stakeholders.

Further preliminary issues should be the identification of potential and actual impediments to the development and meaningful use of performance measures, since presently; performance measurement appears to have been accepted as a useful and necessary managerial tool. These endeavours are attempts to ensure that outcomes provide guidance to public-sector administrators and professionals for planning and decision-making purposes and to the citizenry in general as reliable performance reporting standards.

Since the Kenyan health sector is only in the infant stages of implementing thoroughgoing performance monitoring systems, it would be advisable to launch pilot enhanced productivity program in selected health care delivery sites. Selected units and agencies should be required to put forward proposals for new or improved services without giving them additional financial resources for a specified period.

After such an exercise, it would be worthwhile to evaluate the performance, achievements, and challenges of the initiative before wide scale implementation. The purpose of such an endeavour would be to assess critically the overall effectiveness of the proposed system, possible sites of resistance, the measures and safeguards for quality service, and the human resources management strategy required. The analysis of outcomes should include perspectives from all stakeholders.

7.1.8 ACCOUNTABILITY

In Kenya today, both economic and political corruption pose a serious threat to the stability of the state. Amongst other things, corruption erodes the links between the people and their governors, deepening the poverty problem and further widening the gap between the rich and the poor. By poisoning public sentiment toward democratic politics, corruption also makes the general populace suspicious of the entire public policy system.

The move towards a lean and efficient state has meant in one part, a growing tendency to outsource a number of functions and services traditionally associated with the government. These new arrangements are not necessarily free from the marauding gangs of corrupt officials who are always on the look out for ways and means of ripping off the state. The new arrangements require ever more stringent forms of contract accountability. Yet what is needed are managers with a passion and commitment to their jobs while serving people who trust them.

7.2 IMPLICATIONS FOR HEALTH CARE GOVERNANCE

Amongst the community of users, it is important that the government commence a sustained campaign to educate people on issues of personal finance. Finances play a crucial role in sustaining good health. The World Health Organization (WHO) defines good health as a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.[90] Thus, in a broad sense, managing one's money well and knowing where one stands financially by forecasting needs for the life-style of choice, are all necessary activities leading to good health.

Realistically, until the basic needs of life are met, the greater joys of socializing, esteem and fulfilment cannot be achieved. These considerations become even more urgent given the fact of the growing dominance of a global financial and trading

[90] Preamble to the Constitution of the World Health Organization as adopted by the International Health Conference, New York, 19-22 June, 1946; signed on 22 July 1946 by the representatives of 61 States (Official Records of the World Health Organization, no. 2, p. 100) and entered into force on 7 April 1948.

system that seems to be condemning many African countries to perpetual dependency and marginalization. Added to this grim scenario is the fact that overseas development assistance in general and for health in particular has dropped substantially during the past two decades.

Development partners helping with health sector reforms should be encouraged to help with pharmaceutical reforms as well. For instance, the World Bank is the largest single source of finance for health in low and middle-income countries as well as a major player in the field of pharmaceuticals (Falkenberg and Tomson, 2000). Around 30% of the recurrent government health budget in Kenya is used to procure drugs. Therefore, drugs are among the most salient and cost-effective elements of health care and often a key factor for the success of a health sector reform. However, due to diverse reasons, drugs are often being used incorrectly leading to serious health problems and a heavy financial burden on the health system. Hence, Falkenberg and Tomson (2000) believe that lending priorities set by the World Bank could be used to promote public health sector reform, leading to the rational use of affordable and available drugs of good quality in developing countries.

On the other hand, the Kenyan government could request the World Bank to improve its pharmaceutical sector involvement by promoting drug policy research and development. The World Bank has an advantage given its experience from working with both the private and the public sector and its in-house expertise in health economics. In sum, as much as Kenyan health sector reformers are open to international learning by developing political space in policy making and by developing mechanisms for international exchanges, hence broadening international experience and changing values, there is still room for the appropriation of local conditions that take account of the concept of social capital into these global practices.

7.3 CONCLUSION

It is important to acknowledge the fact that today's public administrator operates in an age of globalization driven largely by neo-liberal agenda. Increasingly, the border between public management and private management is blurring. For this very reason, and given that scandals are no rarer in the private world of business, it is

important to construct more appropriate theories not only of governance but of social capital as well in the pursuit of social and economic development.

There is need for novel ways that would help civil servants deal with situations that involve conflicting and irreconcilable values. There is need for values that promote greater awareness among administrators about their own values before encouraging them to seek ways of harmonizing these values with those of others. To do this effectively, our administrators will need to be further empowered to take account of the concrete specifics of particular practical situations in handling conflicts of values, if any.

Trust in public institutions is closely linked to the issue of legitimacy. Each of the eight governance themes discussed above cannot be achieved in an environment where the political dispensation and the existing stocks of social capital do not allow for trusting relationships to develop between the governors and the governed. What is clear from all this is that civic education to inculcate civic engagement underpinned by effective government communication is key to an acceptable and capable public bureaucracy that is trusted by the people. The overarching argument here is that the dominant model of good governance as espoused by development partners and picked up by the government and major NGO's has not had the desired effect. This is partly because local civil service reformers have not factored in the nature of social capital required to sustain these initiatives.

Development is a major *idée force* that faces developing countries today. As the search for progress and prosperity gains momentum, leaders should find ways of implementing governance in such a way as to achieve sustainable development. With economic prosperity, incidences of crime could be reduced as more and more people are absorbed into productive and gainful occupations and have viable income. The governments will be better able to pay their employees. It has been alleged that the low pay that is offered by poor governments also induces corruption. This sometimes turns even law enforcement agencies into criminal gangs and extortionist bribe seekers. Even incidences of domestic violence may reduce as abused spouses

are freed by economic power and need not stick with abusive partners purely on pecuniary grounds.

Actually, genuine peace and security are impossible to achieve in an atmosphere of want and extreme lack. Social capital is key to economic growth. All those concerned with development in Kenya should also focus on identifying ways in which civic traditions may be improved or developed to ensure prosperity for all. Similarly, for public governance in Kenya to gain legitimacy and attain the requisite capacity for delivery, there is need to take into account the social capital inherent in the people.

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APPENDIX I: CONSENT FORM

Dear Participant,

This survey is intended to assess the stocks of social capital inherent among Kenyan citizens and how these impact on the delivery of health care services in government hospitals. You have been chosen for this survey because of your experience in this regard. This research is part of my PhD research looking at the interplay between social capital and public governance. Kindly complete this questionnaire here today. Complete the questionnaire by circling the response you feel is most appropriate. Filling the questionnaire will take about 30 minutes.

Your participation in this research is voluntary. You may refuse to participate, discontinue participation, or skip any questions you don't wish to answer at any time without penalty or loss of the benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You will probably not receive any direct benefits from participating in this research. Only I, Collins Miruka, the principal researcher, will have access to research results associated with your identity. In the event of publication of this research, no personally identifying information will be disclosed. To make sure your participation is confidential, please do not provide any personally identifying information on the questionnaires.

Questions about this research study should be directed to me or to Dr Anne Mc Lennan. We can both be reached at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, Graduate School of Public and Development Management, No. 2 St David's Place, Parktown, Republic of South Africa. Email: miruka@pdm.wits.ac.za

I certify that I have read this form and volunteer to participate in this research study.

NAME: _____

SIGNATURE: _____ DATE: _____

APPENDIX II: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION A: CIVIC VIRTUE

[1] The government cares about me

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[2] There are individual sacrifices worth making for the community

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[3] Chiefs are necessary for good governance

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[4] Helping others encourages laziness

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[5] I normally help out at local groups as a volunteer

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[6] Procurement procedures of most public institutions are transparent

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[7] I know all the three verses of the national anthem by heart

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[8] I know what each of the national public holidays commemorate

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[9] I regularly contribute to *harambees*

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

SECTION B: TRUST

[10] I feel that most people can be trusted

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[11] I would trust my neighbor with a child

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[12] I visit some of my neighbors at least once in a week

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[13] Teachers are good proxy parents

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[14] Most of my friends are from my tribe

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[15] Inter-tribal marriages are always trouble

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[16] I have no objections to holding group meetings in my house

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[17] Local public institutions should always be managed by locals

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[18] I would not mind a relative staying in my house for some time

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

SECTION C: ASSOCIATIONAL NORMS

[19] I am likely to run into friends whenever I go to town

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[20] I always know where to look for information to make life's decisions

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[21] I would happily do a favor to a distressed neighbor

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[22] I am available to serve in a management or organizing committee for local groups

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[23] I would not mind joining local community action to deal with an emergency

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[24] I normally take part in local community projects

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[25] I belong to at least one local group

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[26] Every part of this country feels like home

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[27] Strangers moving into my community are readily accepted by neighbors

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

SECTION D: POLITICAL EQUALITY

[28] I enjoy living among people of different lifestyles

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[29] Other ethnic groups living in my community make life in my area better

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[30] I trust the local police as fair arbiters

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[31] The president is a dictator

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[32] My workmates are also my friends

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[33] I feel part of a team at work

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[34] My local Member of Parliament is doing a great job

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[35] I know the name of the local District Commissioner

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

[36] District health management boards are useful

1=Strongly Agree 2=Agree 3=Disagree 4=Strongly disagree

APPENDIX III: FREQUENCY TABLES

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT FREQUENCY TABLE REPORT [SEX=1 MALE]

Frequency Distribution of Quest1
The government cares about me

Quest1	Count	Cumulative Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent	Graph of Percent
1 Strongly Agree	2	2	3.57	3.57	|
2 Agree	35	37	62.50	66.07	||||||||||||||||||||||||
3 Disagree	19	56	33.93	100.00	|||||||||||||

Frequency Distribution of Quest2
There are individual sacrifices worth making for the community

Quest2	Count	Cumulative Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent	Graph of Percent
1 Strongly Agree	17	17	27.42	27.42	||||||||||
2 Agree	35	52	56.45	83.87	|||||||||||||||||||
3 Disagree	10	62	16.13	100.00	||||||

Frequency Distribution of Quest3
Chiefs are necessary for good governance

Quest3	Count	Cumulative Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent	Graph of Percent
1 Strongly Agree	10	10	16.67	16.67	||||||
2 Agree	34	44	56.67	73.33	|||||||||||||||||||
3 Disagree	16	60	26.67	100.00	||||||||||

Frequency Distribution of Quest4
Helping others encourages laziness

Quest4	Count	Cumulative Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent	Graph of Percent
1 Strongly Agree	6	6	13.33	13.33	|||||
2 Agree	5	11	11.11	24.44	||||
3 Disagree	34	45	75.56	100.00	||||||||||||||||||||||||||||

Frequency Distribution of Quest5
I normally help out at local groups as a volunteer

Quest5	Count	Cumulative Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent	Graph of Percent
1 Strongly Agree	9	9	15.79	15.79	||||||
2 Agree	38	47	66.67	82.46	||||||||||||||||||||||
3 Disagree	10	57	17.54	100.00	|||||||

Frequency Distribution of Quest6
Procurement procedures of most public institutions are transparent

Quest6	Count	Cumulative Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent	Graph of Percent
1 Strongly Agree	2	2	5.71	5.71	||
2 Agree	3	5	8.57	14.29	|||
3 Disagree	30	35	85.71	100.00	|||||||||||||||||||\

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT FREQUENCY TABLE REPORT [SEX=1 MALE CONT'D]

Frequency Distribution of Quest8
I know what each of the national public holidays commemorate

Quest8	Count	Cumulative Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent	Graph of Percent
1 Strongly Agree	23	23	37.10	37.10	||||||||||||||
2 Agree	34	57	54.84	91.94	||||||||||||||||||||||
3 Disagree	5	62	8.06	100.00	|||

Frequency Distribution of Quest9
I regularly contribute to harambees

Quest9	Count	Cumulative Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent	Graph of Percent
1 Strongly Agree	10	10	18.18	18.18	|||||||
2 Agree	28	38	50.91	69.09	||||||||||||||||||
3 Disagree	17	55	30.91	100.00	||||||||||||

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT FREQUENCY TABLE REPORT [SEX=2 FEMALE]

Frequency Distribution of Quest1
The government cares about me

Quest1	Count	Cumulative Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent	Graph of Percent
1 Strongly Agree	2	2	2.67	2.67	|
2 Agree	45	47	60.00	62.67	||||||||||||||||||||
3 Disagree	28	75	37.33	100.00	||||||||||||||

Frequency Distribution of Quest2
There are individual sacrifices worth making for the community

Quest2	Count	Cumulative Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent	Graph of Percent
1 Strongly Agree	25	25	29.07	29.07	|||||||||||
2 Agree	49	74	56.98	86.05	||||||||||||||||||||
3 Disagree	12	86	13.95	100.00	|||||

Frequency Distribution of Quest3
Chiefs are necessary for good governance

Quest3	Count	Cumulative Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent	Graph of Percent
1 Strongly Agree	28	28	32.18	32.18	||||||||||||
2 Agree	50	78	57.47	89.66	||||||||||||||||||||
3 Disagree	9	87	10.34	100.00	||||

Frequency Distribution of Quest4
Helping others encourages laziness

Quest4	Count	Cumulative Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent	Graph of Percent
1 Strongly Agree	9	9	13.43	13.43	|||||
2 Agree	9	18	13.43	26.87	|||||
3 Disagree	49	67	73.13	100.00	||||||||||||||||||||||||||

Frequency Distribution of Quest5
I normally help out at local groups as a volunteer

Quest5	Count	Cumulative Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent	Graph of Percent
1 Strongly Agree	18	18	20.45	20.45	||||||||
2 Agree	48	66	54.55	75.00	|||||||||||||||||||
3 Disagree	22	88	25.00	100.00	||||||||||

Frequency Distribution of Quest6
Procurement procedures of most public institutions are transparent

Quest6	Count	Cumulative Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent	Graph of Percent
1 Strongly Agree	2	2	4.65	4.65	|
2 Agree	7	9	16.28	20.93	||||||
3 Disagree	34	43	79.07	100.00	|||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||

Frequency Distribution of Quest7
I know all the three verses of the national anthem by heart

Quest7	Count	Cumulative Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent	Graph of Percent
1 Strongly Agree	38	38	41.76	41.76	|||||||||||||||
2 Agree	39	77	42.86	84.62	||||||||||||||||
3 Disagree	14	91	15.38	100.00	||||||

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT FREQUENCY TABLE REPORT [SEX=2 FEMALE CONT'D]

Frequency Distribution of Quest8
I know what each of the national public holidays commemorate

Quest8	Count	Cumulative Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent	Graph of Percent
1 Strongly Agree	44	44	47.31	47.31	||||||||||||||||
2 Agree	45	89	48.39	95.70	|||||||||||||||||||
3 Disagree	4	93	4.30	100.00	|

Frequency Distribution of Quest9
I regularly contribute to harambees

Quest9	Count	Cumulative Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent	Graph of Percent
1 Strongly Agree	10	10	11.36	11.36	||||
2 Agree	46	56	52.27	63.64	|||||||||||||||||||
3 Disagree	32	88	36.36	100.00	|||||||||||||

Combined Frequencies

quest1 The government cares about me

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	4	2.5	2.5	2.5
	2 Agree	82	50.9	51.3	53.8
	3 Disagree	47	29.2	29.4	83.1
	4 Strongly Disagree	27	16.8	16.9	100.0
	Total	160	99.4	100.0	
Missing	0	1	.6		
Total		161	100.0		

quest2 There are individual sacrifices worth making for the community

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	43	26.7	27.6	27.6
	2 Agree	85	52.8	54.5	82.1
	3 Disagree	22	13.7	14.1	96.2
	4 Strongly Disagree	6	3.7	3.8	100.0
	Total	156	96.9	100.0	
Missing	0	5	3.1		
Total		161	100.0		

quest3 Chiefs are necessary for good governance

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	40	24.8	24.8	24.8
	2 Agree	83	51.6	51.6	76.4
	3 Disagree	26	16.1	16.1	92.5
	4 Strongly Disagree	12	7.5	7.5	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

quest4 Helping others encourages laziness

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	15	9.3	9.3	9.3
	2 Agree	14	8.7	8.7	18.0
	3 Disagree	83	51.6	51.6	69.6
	4 Strongly Disagree	49	30.4	30.4	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

quest5 I normally help out at local groups as a volunteer

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	26	16.1	17.0	17.0
	2 Agree	88	54.7	57.5	74.5
	3 Disagree	33	20.5	21.6	96.1
	4 Strongly Disagree	6	3.7	3.9	100.0
	Total	153	95.0	100.0	
Missing	0	8	5.0		
Total		161	100.0		

quest6 Procurement procedures of most public institutions are transparent

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	4	2.5	2.5	2.5
	2 Agree	10	6.2	6.3	8.8
	3 Disagree	66	41.0	41.5	50.3
	4 Strongly Disagree	79	49.1	49.7	100.0
	Total	159	98.8	100.0	
Missing	0	2	1.2		
Total		161	100.0		

quest7 I know all the three verses of the national anthem by heart

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	51	31.7	31.7	31.7
	2 Agree	72	44.7	44.7	76.4
	3 Disagree	30	18.6	18.6	95.0
	4 Strongly Disagree	8	5.0	5.0	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

quest8 I know what each of the national public holidays commemorate

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	68	42.2	42.5	42.5
	2 Agree	79	49.1	49.4	91.9
	3 Disagree	10	6.2	6.3	98.1
	4 Strongly Disagree	3	1.9	1.9	100.0
	Total	160	99.4	100.0	
Missing	0	1	.6		
Total		161	100.0		

quest9 I regularly contribute to harambees

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	20	12.4	12.7	12.7
	2 Agree	75	46.6	47.5	60.1
	3 Disagree	50	31.1	31.6	91.8
	4 Strongly Disagree	13	8.1	8.2	100.0
	Total	158	98.1	100.0	
Missing	0	3	1.9		
Total		161	100.0		

quest10 I feel that most people can be trusted

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	4	2.5	2.5	2.5
	2 Agree	22	13.7	13.7	16.1
	3 Disagree	88	54.7	54.7	70.8
	4 Strongly Disagree	47	29.2	29.2	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

quest11 I would trust my neighbor with a child

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	3	1.9	1.9	1.9
	2 Agree	40	24.8	25.6	27.6
	3 Disagree	76	47.2	48.7	76.3
	4 Strongly Disagree	37	23.0	23.7	100.0
	Total	156	96.9	100.0	
Missing	0	5	3.1		
Total		161	100.0		

quest12 I visit some of my neighbors at least once in a week

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	9	5.6	5.7	5.7
	2 Agree	78	48.4	49.7	55.4
	3 Disagree	51	31.7	32.5	87.9
	4 Strongly Disagree	19	11.8	12.1	100.0
	Total	157	97.5	100.0	
Missing	0	4	2.5		
Total		161	100.0		

quest13 Teachers are good proxy parents

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	21	13.0	13.5	13.5
	2 Agree	116	72.0	74.4	87.8
	3 Disagree	12	7.5	7.7	95.5
	4 Strongly Disagree	7	4.3	4.5	100.0
	Total	156	96.9	100.0	
Missing	0	5	3.1		
Total		161	100.0		

quest14 Most of my friends are from my tribe

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	9	5.6	5.6	5.6
	2 Agree	26	16.1	16.3	21.9
	3 Disagree	79	49.1	49.4	71.3
	4 Strongly Disagree	46	28.6	28.8	100.0
	Total	160	99.4	100.0	
Missing	0	1	.6		
Total		161	100.0		

quest15 Inter-tribal marriages are always trouble

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	8	5.0	5.0	5.0
	2 Agree	17	10.6	10.7	15.7
	3 Disagree	76	47.2	47.8	63.5
	4 Strongly Disagree	58	36.0	36.5	100.0
	Total	159	98.8	100.0	
Missing	0	2	1.2		
Total		161	100.0		

quest16 I have no objections to holding group meetings in my house

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	22	13.7	13.8	13.8
	2 Agree	71	44.1	44.7	58.5
	3 Disagree	44	27.3	27.7	86.2
	4 Strongly Disagree	22	13.7	13.8	100.0
	Total	159	98.8	100.0	
Missing	0	2	1.2		
Total		161	100.0		

quest17 Local public institutions should always be managed by locals

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	40	24.8	24.8	24.8
	2 Agree	49	30.4	30.4	55.3
	3 Disagree	48	29.8	29.8	85.1
	4 Strongly Disagree	24	14.9	14.9	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

quest18 I would not mind a relative staying in my house for some time

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	32	19.9	19.9	19.9
	2 Agree	104	64.6	64.6	84.5
	3 Disagree	18	11.2	11.2	95.7
	4 Strongly Disagree	7	4.3	4.3	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

quest19 I am likely to run into friends whenever I go to town

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	26	16.1	16.4	16.4
	2 Agree	78	48.4	49.1	65.4
	3 Disagree	38	23.6	23.9	89.3
	4 Strongly Disagree	17	10.6	10.7	100.0
	Total	159	98.8	100.0	
Missing	0	2	1.2		
Total		161	100.0		

quest20 I always know where to look for information to make life's decisions

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	33	20.5	21.3	21.3
	2 Agree	76	47.2	49.0	70.3
	3 Disagree	36	22.4	23.2	93.5
	4 Strongly Disagree	10	6.2	6.5	100.0
	Total	155	96.3	100.0	
Missing	0	6	3.7		
Total		161	100.0		

quest21 I would happily do a favor to a distressed neighbor

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	49	30.4	31.0	31.0
	2 Agree	88	54.7	55.7	86.7
	3 Disagree	15	9.3	9.5	96.2
	4 Strongly Disagree	6	3.7	3.8	100.0
	Total	158	98.1	100.0	
Missing	0	3	1.9		
Total		161	100.0		

quest22 I am available to serve in a management or organizing committee for local groups

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	34	21.1	21.5	21.5
	2 Agree	90	55.9	57.0	78.5
	3 Disagree	28	17.4	17.7	96.2
	4 Strongly Disagree	6	3.7	3.8	100.0
	Total	158	98.1	100.0	
Missing	0	3	1.9		
Total		161	100.0		

quest23 I would not mind joining local community action to deal with an emergency

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	66	41.0	41.5	41.5
	2 Agree	85	52.8	53.5	95.0
	3 Disagree	5	3.1	3.1	98.1
	4 Strongly Disagree	3	1.9	1.9	100.0
	Total	159	98.8	100.0	
Missing	0	2	1.2		
Total		161	100.0		

quest24 I normally take part in local community projects

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	33	20.5	21.0	21.0
	2 Agree	81	50.3	51.6	72.6
	3 Disagree	38	23.6	24.2	96.8
	4 Strongly Disagree	5	3.1	3.2	100.0
	Total	157	97.5	100.0	
Missing	0	4	2.5		
Total		161	100.0		

quest25 I belong to at least one local group

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	31	19.3	19.6	19.6
	2 Agree	82	50.9	51.9	71.5
	3 Disagree	38	23.6	24.1	95.6
	4 Strongly Disagree	7	4.3	4.4	100.0
	Total	158	98.1	100.0	
Missing	0	3	1.9		
Total		161	100.0		

quest26 Every part of this country feels like home

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	63	39.1	39.9	39.9
	2 Agree	79	49.1	50.0	89.9
	3 Disagree	11	6.8	7.0	96.8
	4 Strongly Disagree	5	3.1	3.2	100.0
	Total	158	98.1	100.0	
Missing	0	3	1.9		
Total		161	100.0		

quest27 Strangers moving into my community are readily accepted by their neighbours

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	11	6.8	7.1	7.1
	2 Agree	54	33.5	34.6	41.7
	3 Disagree	62	38.5	39.7	81.4
	4 Strongly Disagree	29	18.0	18.6	100.0
	Total	156	96.9	100.0	
Missing	0	5	3.1		
Total		161	100.0		

quest28 I enjoy living among people of different lifestyles

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	43	26.7	27.2	27.2
	2 Agree	85	52.8	53.8	81.0
	3 Disagree	22	13.7	13.9	94.9
	4 Strongly Disagree	8	5.0	5.1	100.0
	Total	158	98.1	100.0	
Missing	0	3	1.9		
Total		161	100.0		

quest29 Other ethnic groups living in my community makes life in my area better

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	32	19.9	20.4	20.4
	2 Agree	79	49.1	50.3	70.7
	3 Disagree	34	21.1	21.7	92.4
	4 Strongly Disagree	12	7.5	7.6	100.0
	Total	157	97.5	100.0	
Missing	0	4	2.5		
Total		161	100.0		

quest30 I trust the local police as fair arbiters

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	8	5.0	5.1	5.1
	2 Agree	38	23.6	24.1	29.1
	3 Disagree	70	43.5	44.3	73.4
	4 Strongly Disagree	42	26.1	26.6	100.0
	Total	158	98.1	100.0	
Missing	0	3	1.9		
Total		161	100.0		

quest31 The president is a dictator

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	21	13.0	13.5	13.5
	2 Agree	22	13.7	14.2	27.7
	3 Disagree	72	44.7	46.5	74.2
	4 Strongly Disagree	40	24.8	25.8	100.0
	Total	155	96.3	100.0	
Missing	0	6	3.7		
Total		161	100.0		

quest32 My workmates are also my friends

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	47	29.2	29.6	29.6
	2 Agree	91	56.5	57.2	86.8
	3 Disagree	15	9.3	9.4	96.2
	4 Strongly Disagree	6	3.7	3.8	100.0
	Total	159	98.8	100.0	
Missing	0	2	1.2		
Total		161	100.0		

quest33 I feel part of a team at work

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	56	34.8	35.0	35.0
	2 Agree	97	60.2	60.6	95.6
	3 Disagree	5	3.1	3.1	98.8
	4 Strongly Disagree	2	1.2	1.3	100.0
	Total	160	99.4	100.0	
Missing	0	1	.6		
Total		161	100.0		

quest34 My local Member of Parliament is doing a great job

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	12	7.5	7.6	7.6
	2 Agree	36	22.4	22.9	30.6
	3 Disagree	61	37.9	38.9	69.4
	4 Strongly Disagree	48	29.8	30.6	100.0
	Total	157	97.5	100.0	
Missing	0	4	2.5		
Total		161	100.0		

quest35 I know the name of the local District Commissioner

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	18	11.2	11.5	11.5
	2 Agree	36	22.4	22.9	34.4
	3 Disagree	63	39.1	40.1	74.5
	4 Strongly Disagree	40	24.8	25.5	100.0
	Total	157	97.5	100.0	
Missing	0	4	2.5		
Total		161	100.0		

quest36 District health management boards are useful

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 Strongly Agree	33	20.5	21.0	21.0
	2 Agree	90	55.9	57.3	78.3
	3 Disagree	21	13.0	13.4	91.7
	4 Strongly Disagree	13	8.1	8.3	100.0
	Total	157	97.5	100.0	
Missing	0	4	2.5		
Total		161	100.0		

Split Frequencies

quest1 The government cares about me

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	1	1.6	1.6	1.6
		2 Agree	31	50.8	50.8	52.5
		3 Disagree	19	31.1	31.1	83.6
		4 Strongly Disagree	10	16.4	16.4	100.0
		Total	61	100.0	100.0	
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	3	3.0	3.0	3.0
		2 Agree	51	51.0	51.5	54.5
		3 Disagree	28	28.0	28.3	82.8
		4 Strongly Disagree	17	17.0	17.2	100.0
		Total	99	99.0	100.0	
	Missing	0	1	1.0		
	Total		100	100.0		

quest2 There are individual sacrifices worth making for the community

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	17	27.9	28.3	28.3
		2 Agree	35	57.4	58.3	86.7
		3 Disagree	5	8.2	8.3	95.0
		4 Strongly Disagree	3	4.9	5.0	100.0
		Total	60	98.4	100.0	
	Missing	0	1	1.6		
	Total		61	100.0		
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	26	26.0	27.1	27.1
		2 Agree	50	50.0	52.1	79.2
		3 Disagree	17	17.0	17.7	96.9
		4 Strongly Disagree	3	3.0	3.1	100.0
		Total	96	96.0	100.0	
	Missing	0	4	4.0		
	Total		100	100.0		

quest3 Chiefs are necessary for good governance

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	17	27.9	27.9	27.9
		2 Agree	29	47.5	47.5	75.4
		3 Disagree	10	16.4	16.4	91.8
		4 Strongly Disagree	5	8.2	8.2	100.0
		Total	61	100.0	100.0	
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	23	23.0	23.0	23.0
		2 Agree	54	54.0	54.0	77.0
		3 Disagree	16	16.0	16.0	93.0
		4 Strongly Disagree	7	7.0	7.0	100.0
		Total	100	100.0	100.0	

quest4 Helping others encourages laziness

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	7	11.5	11.5	11.5
		2 Agree	4	6.6	6.6	18.0
		3 Disagree	31	50.8	50.8	68.9
		4 Strongly Disagree	19	31.1	31.1	100.0
		Total	61	100.0	100.0	
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	8	8.0	8.0	8.0
		2 Agree	10	10.0	10.0	18.0
		3 Disagree	52	52.0	52.0	70.0
		4 Strongly Disagree	30	30.0	30.0	100.0
		Total	100	100.0	100.0	

quest5 I normally help out at local groups as a volunteer

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	11	18.0	18.3	18.3
		2 Agree	39	63.9	65.0	83.3
		3 Disagree	7	11.5	11.7	95.0
		4 Strongly Disagree	3	4.9	5.0	100.0
		Total	60	98.4	100.0	
	Missing	0	1	1.6		
	Total		61	100.0		
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	15	15.0	16.1	16.1
		2 Agree	49	49.0	52.7	68.8
		3 Disagree	26	26.0	28.0	96.8
		4 Strongly Disagree	3	3.0	3.2	100.0
		Total	93	93.0	100.0	
	Missing	0	7	7.0		
	Total		100	100.0		

quest6 Procurement procedures of most public institutions are transparent

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	2 Agree	3	4.9	5.0	5.0
		3 Disagree	21	34.4	35.0	40.0
		4 Strongly Disagree	36	59.0	60.0	100.0
		Total	60	98.4	100.0	
	Missing	0	1	1.6		
	Total		61	100.0		
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	4	4.0	4.0	4.0
		2 Agree	7	7.0	7.1	11.1
		3 Disagree	45	45.0	45.5	56.6
		4 Strongly Disagree	43	43.0	43.4	100.0
		Total	99	99.0	100.0	
	Missing	0	1	1.0		
	Total		100	100.0		

quest7 I know all the three verses of the national anthem by heart

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	21	34.4	34.4	34.4
		2 Agree	27	44.3	44.3	78.7
		3 Disagree	8	13.1	13.1	91.8
		4 Strongly Disagree	5	8.2	8.2	100.0
		Total	61	100.0	100.0	
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	30	30.0	30.0	30.0
		2 Agree	45	45.0	45.0	75.0
		3 Disagree	22	22.0	22.0	97.0
		4 Strongly Disagree	3	3.0	3.0	100.0
		Total	100	100.0	100.0	

quest8 I know what each of the national public holidays commemorate

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	28	45.9	45.9	45.9
		2 Agree	27	44.3	44.3	90.2
		3 Disagree	4	6.6	6.6	96.7
		4 Strongly Disagree	2	3.3	3.3	100.0
		Total	61	100.0	100.0	
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	40	40.0	40.4	40.4
		2 Agree	52	52.0	52.5	92.9
		3 Disagree	6	6.0	6.1	99.0
		4 Strongly Disagree	1	1.0	1.0	100.0
		Total	99	99.0	100.0	
	Missing	0	1	1.0		
	Total		100	100.0		

quest9 I regularly contribute to harambees

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	8	13.1	13.1	13.1
		2 Agree	36	59.0	59.0	72.1
		3 Disagree	13	21.3	21.3	93.4
		4 Strongly Disagree	4	6.6	6.6	100.0
		Total	61	100.0	100.0	
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	12	12.0	12.4	12.4
		2 Agree	39	39.0	40.2	52.6
		3 Disagree	37	37.0	38.1	90.7
		4 Strongly Disagree	9	9.0	9.3	100.0
		Total	97	97.0	100.0	
	Missing	0	3	3.0		
	Total		100	100.0		

quest10 I feel that most people can be trusted

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	2	3.3	3.3	3.3
		2 Agree	8	13.1	13.1	16.4
		3 Disagree	29	47.5	47.5	63.9
		4 Strongly Disagree	22	36.1	36.1	100.0
		Total	61	100.0	100.0	
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	2	2.0	2.0	2.0
		2 Agree	14	14.0	14.0	16.0
		3 Disagree	59	59.0	59.0	75.0
		4 Strongly Disagree	25	25.0	25.0	100.0
		Total	100	100.0	100.0	

quest11 I would trust my neighbor with a child

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	1	1.6	1.7	1.7
		2 Agree	12	19.7	20.3	22.0
		3 Disagree	27	44.3	45.8	67.8
		4 Strongly Disagree	19	31.1	32.2	100.0
		Total	59	96.7	100.0	
	Missing	0	2	3.3		
	Total		61	100.0		
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	2	2.0	2.1	2.1
		2 Agree	28	28.0	28.9	30.9
		3 Disagree	49	49.0	50.5	81.4
		4 Strongly Disagree	18	18.0	18.6	100.0
		Total	97	97.0	100.0	
	Missing	0	3	3.0		
	Total		100	100.0		

quest12 I visit some of my neighbors at least once in a week

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	1	1.6	1.7	1.7
		2 Agree	26	42.6	43.3	45.0
		3 Disagree	24	39.3	40.0	85.0
		4 Strongly Disagree	9	14.8	15.0	100.0
		Total	60	98.4	100.0	
	Missing	0	1	1.6		
	Total		61	100.0		
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	8	8.0	8.2	8.2
		2 Agree	52	52.0	53.6	61.9
		3 Disagree	27	27.0	27.8	89.7
		4 Strongly Disagree	10	10.0	10.3	100.0
		Total	97	97.0	100.0	
	Missing	0	3	3.0		
	Total		100	100.0		

quest13 Teachers are good proxy parents

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	8	13.1	13.6	13.6
		2 Agree	45	73.8	76.3	89.8
		3 Disagree	5	8.2	8.5	98.3
		4 Strongly Disagree	1	1.6	1.7	100.0
		Total	59	96.7	100.0	
	Missing	0	2	3.3		
	Total		61	100.0		
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	13	13.0	13.4	13.4
		2 Agree	71	71.0	73.2	86.6
		3 Disagree	7	7.0	7.2	93.8
		4 Strongly Disagree	6	6.0	6.2	100.0
		Total	97	97.0	100.0	
	Missing	0	3	3.0		
	Total		100	100.0		

quest14 Most of my friends are from my tribe

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	4	6.6	6.7	6.7
		2 Agree	12	19.7	20.0	26.7
		3 Disagree	31	50.8	51.7	78.3
		4 Strongly Disagree	13	21.3	21.7	100.0
		Total	60	98.4	100.0	
	Missing	0	1	1.6		
	Total		61	100.0		
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	5	5.0	5.0	5.0
		2 Agree	14	14.0	14.0	19.0
		3 Disagree	48	48.0	48.0	67.0
		4 Strongly Disagree	33	33.0	33.0	100.0
		Total	100	100.0	100.0	

quest15 Inter-tribal marriages are always trouble

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	6	9.8	9.8	9.8
		2 Agree	6	9.8	9.8	19.7
		3 Disagree	24	39.3	39.3	59.0
		4 Strongly Disagree	25	41.0	41.0	100.0
		Total	61	100.0	100.0	
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	2	2.0	2.0	2.0
		2 Agree	11	11.0	11.2	13.3
		3 Disagree	52	52.0	53.1	66.3
		4 Strongly Disagree	33	33.0	33.7	100.0
		Total	98	98.0	100.0	
	Missing	0	2	2.0		
	Total		100	100.0		

quest16 I have no objections to holding group meetings in my house

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	8	13.1	13.1	13.1
		2 Agree	26	42.6	42.6	55.7
		3 Disagree	19	31.1	31.1	86.9
		4 Strongly Disagree	8	13.1	13.1	100.0
		Total	61	100.0	100.0	
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	14	14.0	14.3	14.3
		2 Agree	45	45.0	45.9	60.2
		3 Disagree	25	25.0	25.5	85.7
		4 Strongly Disagree	14	14.0	14.3	100.0
		Total	98	98.0	100.0	
	Missing	0	2	2.0		
	Total		100	100.0		

quest17 Local public institutions should always be managed by locals

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	19	31.1	31.1	31.1
		2 Agree	16	26.2	26.2	57.4
		3 Disagree	15	24.6	24.6	82.0
		4 Strongly Disagree	11	18.0	18.0	100.0
		Total	61	100.0	100.0	
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	21	21.0	21.0	21.0
		2 Agree	33	33.0	33.0	54.0
		3 Disagree	33	33.0	33.0	87.0
		4 Strongly Disagree	13	13.0	13.0	100.0
		Total	100	100.0	100.0	

quest18 I would not mind a relative staying in my house for some time

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	14	23.0	23.0	23.0
		2 Agree	34	55.7	55.7	78.7
		3 Disagree	10	16.4	16.4	95.1
		4 Strongly Disagree	3	4.9	4.9	100.0
		Total	61	100.0	100.0	
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	18	18.0	18.0	18.0
		2 Agree	70	70.0	70.0	88.0
		3 Disagree	8	8.0	8.0	96.0
		4 Strongly Disagree	4	4.0	4.0	100.0
		Total	100	100.0	100.0	

quest19 I am likely to run into friends whenever I go to town

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	7	11.5	11.5	11.5
		2 Agree	26	42.6	42.6	54.1
		3 Disagree	15	24.6	24.6	78.7
		4 Strongly Disagree	13	21.3	21.3	100.0
		Total	61	100.0	100.0	
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	19	19.0	19.4	19.4
		2 Agree	52	52.0	53.1	72.4
		3 Disagree	23	23.0	23.5	95.9
		4 Strongly Disagree	4	4.0	4.1	100.0
		Total	98	98.0	100.0	
	Missing	0	2	2.0		
	Total		100	100.0		

quest20 I always know where to look for information to make life's decisions

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	7	11.5	11.9	11.9
		2 Agree	34	55.7	57.6	69.5
		3 Disagree	12	19.7	20.3	89.8
		4 Strongly Disagree	6	9.8	10.2	100.0
		Total	59	96.7	100.0	
	Missing	0	2	3.3		
	Total		61	100.0		
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	26	26.0	27.1	27.1
		2 Agree	42	42.0	43.8	70.8
		3 Disagree	24	24.0	25.0	95.8
		4 Strongly Disagree	4	4.0	4.2	100.0
		Total	96	96.0	100.0	
	Missing	0	4	4.0		
	Total		100	100.0		

quest21 I would happily do a favor to a distressed neighbor

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	19	31.1	31.1	31.1
		2 Agree	33	54.1	54.1	85.2
		3 Disagree	5	8.2	8.2	93.4
		4 Strongly Disagree	4	6.6	6.6	100.0
		Total	61	100.0	100.0	
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	30	30.0	30.9	30.9
		2 Agree	55	55.0	56.7	87.6
		3 Disagree	10	10.0	10.3	97.9
		4 Strongly Disagree	2	2.0	2.1	100.0
		Total	97	97.0	100.0	
	Missing	0	3	3.0		
	Total		100	100.0		

quest22 I am available to serve in a management or organizing committee for local groups

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	12	19.7	19.7	19.7
		2 Agree	34	55.7	55.7	75.4
		3 Disagree	11	18.0	18.0	93.4
		4 Strongly Disagree	4	6.6	6.6	100.0
		Total	61	100.0	100.0	
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	22	22.0	22.7	22.7
		2 Agree	56	56.0	57.7	80.4
		3 Disagree	17	17.0	17.5	97.9
		4 Strongly Disagree	2	2.0	2.1	100.0
		Total	97	97.0	100.0	
	Missing	0	3	3.0		
	Total		100	100.0		

quest23 I would not mind joining local community action to deal with an emergency

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	29	47.5	47.5	47.5
		2 Agree	31	50.8	50.8	98.4
		3 Disagree	1	1.6	1.6	100.0
		Total	61	100.0	100.0	
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	37	37.0	37.8	37.8
		2 Agree	54	54.0	55.1	92.9
		3 Disagree	4	4.0	4.1	96.9
		4 Strongly Disagree	3	3.0	3.1	100.0
		Total	98	98.0	100.0	
	Missing	0	2	2.0		
	Total		100	100.0		

quest24 I normally take part in local community projects

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	18	29.5	29.5	29.5
		2 Agree	33	54.1	54.1	83.6
		3 Disagree	6	9.8	9.8	93.4
		4 Strongly Disagree	4	6.6	6.6	100.0
		Total	61	100.0	100.0	
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	15	15.0	15.6	15.6
		2 Agree	48	48.0	50.0	65.6
		3 Disagree	32	32.0	33.3	99.0
		4 Strongly Disagree	1	1.0	1.0	100.0
		Total	96	96.0	100.0	
	Missing	0	4	4.0		
	Total		100	100.0		

quest25 I belong to at least one local group

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	12	19.7	19.7	19.7
		2 Agree	39	63.9	63.9	83.6
		3 Disagree	6	9.8	9.8	93.4
		4 Strongly Disagree	4	6.6	6.6	100.0
		Total	61	100.0	100.0	
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	19	19.0	19.6	19.6
		2 Agree	43	43.0	44.3	63.9
		3 Disagree	32	32.0	33.0	96.9
		4 Strongly Disagree	3	3.0	3.1	100.0
		Total	97	97.0	100.0	
	Missing	0	3	3.0		
	Total		100	100.0		

quest26 Every part of this country feels like home

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	26	42.6	43.3	43.3
		2 Agree	28	45.9	46.7	90.0
		3 Disagree	3	4.9	5.0	95.0
		4 Strongly Disagree	3	4.9	5.0	100.0
		Total	60	98.4	100.0	
	Missing	0	1	1.6		
	Total		61	100.0		
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	37	37.0	37.8	37.8
		2 Agree	51	51.0	52.0	89.8
		3 Disagree	8	8.0	8.2	98.0
		4 Strongly Disagree	2	2.0	2.0	100.0
		Total	98	98.0	100.0	
	Missing	0	2	2.0		
	Total		100	100.0		

quest27 Strangers moving into my community are readily accepted by their neighbours

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	2	3.3	3.3	3.3
		2 Agree	24	39.3	40.0	43.3
		3 Disagree	25	41.0	41.7	85.0
		4 Strongly Disagree	9	14.8	15.0	100.0
		Total	60	98.4	100.0	
	Missing	0	1	1.6		
	Total		61	100.0		
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	9	9.0	9.4	9.4
		2 Agree	30	30.0	31.3	40.6
		3 Disagree	37	37.0	38.5	79.2
		4 Strongly Disagree	20	20.0	20.8	100.0
		Total	96	96.0	100.0	
	Missing	0	4	4.0		
	Total		100	100.0		

quest28 I enjoy living among people of different lifestyles

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	12	19.7	20.3	20.3
		2 Agree	35	57.4	59.3	79.7
		3 Disagree	9	14.8	15.3	94.9
		4 Strongly Disagree	3	4.9	5.1	100.0
		Total	59	96.7	100.0	
	Missing	0	2	3.3		
	Total		61	100.0		
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	31	31.0	31.3	31.3
		2 Agree	50	50.0	50.5	81.8
		3 Disagree	13	13.0	13.1	94.9
		4 Strongly Disagree	5	5.0	5.1	100.0
		Total	99	99.0	100.0	
	Missing	0	1	1.0		
	Total		100	100.0		

quest29 Other ethnic groups living in my community makes life in my area better

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	12	19.7	20.3	20.3
		2 Agree	33	54.1	55.9	76.3
		3 Disagree	13	21.3	22.0	98.3
		4 Strongly Disagree	1	1.6	1.7	100.0
		Total	59	96.7	100.0	
	Missing	0	2	3.3		
	Total		61	100.0		
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	20	20.0	20.4	20.4
		2 Agree	46	46.0	46.9	67.3
		3 Disagree	21	21.0	21.4	88.8
		4 Strongly Disagree	11	11.0	11.2	100.0
		Total	98	98.0	100.0	
	Missing	0	2	2.0		
	Total		100	100.0		

quest30 I trust the local police as fair arbiters

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	3	4.9	5.0	5.0
		2 Agree	12	19.7	20.0	25.0
		3 Disagree	24	39.3	40.0	65.0
		4 Strongly Disagree	21	34.4	35.0	100.0
		Total	60	98.4	100.0	
	Missing	0	1	1.6		
	Total		61	100.0		
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	5	5.0	5.1	5.1
		2 Agree	26	26.0	26.5	31.6
		3 Disagree	46	46.0	46.9	78.6
		4 Strongly Disagree	21	21.0	21.4	100.0
		Total	98	98.0	100.0	
	Missing	0	2	2.0		
	Total		100	100.0		

quest31 The president is a dictator

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	8	13.1	13.8	13.8
		2 Agree	10	16.4	17.2	31.0
		3 Disagree	22	36.1	37.9	69.0
		4 Strongly Disagree	18	29.5	31.0	100.0
		Total	58	95.1	100.0	
	Missing	0	3	4.9		
	Total		61	100.0		
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	13	13.0	13.4	13.4
		2 Agree	12	12.0	12.4	25.8
		3 Disagree	50	50.0	51.5	77.3
		4 Strongly Disagree	22	22.0	22.7	100.0
		Total	97	97.0	100.0	
	Missing	0	3	3.0		
	Total		100	100.0		

quest32 My workmates are also my friends

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	17	27.9	28.3	28.3
		2 Agree	32	52.5	53.3	81.7
		3 Disagree	10	16.4	16.7	98.3
		4 Strongly Disagree	1	1.6	1.7	100.0
		Total	60	98.4	100.0	
	Missing	0	1	1.6		
	Total		61	100.0		
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	30	30.0	30.3	30.3
		2 Agree	59	59.0	59.6	89.9
		3 Disagree	5	5.0	5.1	94.9
		4 Strongly Disagree	5	5.0	5.1	100.0
		Total	99	99.0	100.0	
	Missing	0	1	1.0		
	Total		100	100.0		

quest33 I feel part of a team at work

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	24	39.3	40.0	40.0
		2 Agree	35	57.4	58.3	98.3
		3 Disagree	1	1.6	1.7	100.0
		Total	60	98.4	100.0	
	Missing	0	1	1.6		
	Total		61	100.0		
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	32	32.0	32.0	32.0
		2 Agree	62	62.0	62.0	94.0
		3 Disagree	4	4.0	4.0	98.0
		4 Strongly Disagree	2	2.0	2.0	100.0
		Total	100	100.0	100.0	

quest34 My local Member of Parliament is doing a great job

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	5	8.2	8.6	8.6
		2 Agree	9	14.8	15.5	24.1
		3 Disagree	24	39.3	41.4	65.5
		4 Strongly Disagree	20	32.8	34.5	100.0
		Total	58	95.1	100.0	
	Missing	0	3	4.9		
	Total		61	100.0		
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	7	7.0	7.1	7.1
		2 Agree	27	27.0	27.3	34.3
		3 Disagree	37	37.0	37.4	71.7
		4 Strongly Disagree	28	28.0	28.3	100.0
		Total	99	99.0	100.0	
	Missing	0	1	1.0		
	Total		100	100.0		

quest35 I know the name of the local District Commissioner

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	8	13.1	13.3	13.3
		2 Agree	17	27.9	28.3	41.7
		3 Disagree	21	34.4	35.0	76.7
		4 Strongly Disagree	14	23.0	23.3	100.0
		Total	60	98.4	100.0	
	Missing	0	1	1.6		
	Total		61	100.0		
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	10	10.0	10.3	10.3
		2 Agree	19	19.0	19.6	29.9
		3 Disagree	42	42.0	43.3	73.2
		4 Strongly Disagree	26	26.0	26.8	100.0
		Total	97	97.0	100.0	
	Missing	0	3	3.0		
	Total		100	100.0		

quest36 District health management boards are useful

respondent			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nurse	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	15	24.6	25.4	25.4
		2 Agree	32	52.5	54.2	79.7
		3 Disagree	6	9.8	10.2	89.8
		4 Strongly Disagree	6	9.8	10.2	100.0
		Total	59	96.7	100.0	
	Missing	0	2	3.3		
	Total		61	100.0		
Patient	Valid	1 Strongly Agree	18	18.0	18.4	18.4
		2 Agree	58	58.0	59.2	77.6
		3 Disagree	15	15.0	15.3	92.9
		4 Strongly Disagree	7	7.0	7.1	100.0
		Total	98	98.0	100.0	
	Missing	0	2	2.0		
	Total		100	100.0		