Grassroots organising around budgets

In the early nineties, a mass-based organisation, Mazdoor (Labour) Kisan (Farmer) Shakti (Strength) Sangathan (Organisation) (MKSS), started working in one of the most neglected areas of Rajasthan, India. Members of the core group went from village to village asking a simple question: did the people know how much money was coming to their village for development and where it was being spent? This was a simple question the poor could understand but had not dared to ask before.
Mainstreaming gender, public participation and transparency in the budgeting process in Kenya

The MKSS went to the government administration to ask for detailed information on development expenditure. They were told there was no government rule allowing villagers to have this information. To penetrate this ‘Iron Curtain’ between the community and the government, the MKSS launched a people’s campaign – the biggest public campaign in India since the Freedom Movement in the 1940s. The campaign included public hearings where villagers shared stories of corruption with several thousand people. Other activities included sit-in protests and strikes.

In response to these protests, the government established a Committee on Transparency to investigate whether it was feasible to supply photocopies of bills, vouchers and other documents to the public. When the Committee found it was possible, the State Government declared the Committee’s findings secret. However, after a 53-day strike the Deputy Chief Minister revealed that a government gazette had been published allowing access to public documents six months before the strike started. The MKSS then decided to test the power of this gazette.

At first, the local officials said they did not know anything about it. When the MKSS showed them a copy of the gazette, they refused to obey it until further MKSS organising activities forced them to do so. To exert pressure, the MKSS organised a series of public hearings at which it shared its experience with local people. The first meeting resulted in one official returning R100,000 (Kshs 168,490) which she had embezzled. The second meeting resulted in R147,000 (Kshs 248,125) and R114,000 (Kshs 192,078) being returned by two other officials. It was not fear of the law or official disciplinary action that made the officials return the money. It was fear of the people through the public hearings that finally forced them to do so.

Understanding GRB: The concept and objects

India has since made great strides in inculcating a culture of civic participation and access to information in public affairs that Kenyan authorities should adopt to promote transparency, accountability and equity. Citizen participation in governance processes is still wanting in Kenya as gender considerations and effective citizen participation are seldom taken into account. This means that different sections of the population - men, women, boys, girls and special interest groups such as people living with disabilities, the youth and the marginalised, are often left out of or inadequately involved in these processes.

This has created extensive regional imbalances in the country as well as widespread gender inequality both at the national and local levels. One critical process that has excluded majority of Kenyans, and yet it significantly influences every aspect of their lives is the national budgeting process. The budget is the most important policy tool of government because, without money, the government cannot implement any other policy successfully. Most budget processes provide very limited opportunities for participation, leading to lost opportunities to push for genuine citizen priorities and participation in monitoring the allocation and utilisation of public funds. Such inequality and lack of public participation in the budgeting processes has increased the push for Gender Responsive Budgeting (GRB), to ensure that the needs and interests of individuals from different social groups are addressed. Gender Responsive Budgeting is the process of collection, allocation and use of public resources to advance gender equality and women’s empowerment. GRB also targets equitable and accountable allocation and use of public resources. The desired result of GRB is the formulation of gender sensitive budgets based on an assessment of the different roles and needs of women, men, boys and girls in society by the government.

Public participation in the budgeting process

Citizens pay taxes to the government that finance budgetary items; this gives them a say in public expenditure hence they should participate in the budget making process to ensure that their money translates to better services and infrastructure.

Low awareness levels and limited access to information have impeded civic participation in the budgeting process in Kenya. The public needs to be aware of the various avenues and existing mechanisms through which they can participate such as public sector hearings that are usually held annually by the Ministry of Finance.
These sessions are usually advertised in the print and broadcast media to mobilise the public. However, there have been calls to decentralise such hearings from the capital city, Nairobi, to other parts of the country to increase public participation and representation.

Sector working groups comprising ministries, development partners and civil society organisations are another mechanism through which budgetary priorities within particular sectors are discussed. These committees are chaired by the District Commissioner and include other government officers working in different sectors in the locality. Religious, civil society and community group representatives are expected to channel the public’s views in these committees; therefore very few citizens have an opportunity to directly engage in the process. The second impediment towards participation in budget processes is inadequate capacity to effectively interrogate and interpret key sections of the budget and allocations. However, the Constitution of Kenya, 2010, contains progressive provisions on public participation, devolution and access to information among other principles that should address the challenges mentioned as discussed in the concluding section of this article.

**GRB in practice**

The social sectors of water, education and health as well as sectors that encompass national integrity pillars such as Governance, Justice, Law and Order, top the list of priority areas that require special attention towards mainstreaming gender equality and pro-poor initiatives as they have the highest impact on marginalised and vulnerable segments of the population. GRB initiatives, as well as efforts to push for GRB can be carried out by the government, civil society and citizens. For instance, national and local governments can revise their budgets from a gender perspective, civil society can advocate for GRB or train government officials on how to implement it and the citizens can take part in the analyses of budgets or in needs assessment research that may be gender centred.

GRB analysis comprises five steps. The first step is carried out before the actual budgeting process while the rest can only be conducted when an actual budget has been prepared. They also provide a basis upon which decisions can be made on GRB initiatives to undertake. They are:
Mainstreaming gender, public participation and transparency in the budgeting process in Kenya

i. Describing the situation of men, women, boys and girls (and other different sub-groups).

ii. Checking whether the government’s policy on the issues identified is gender sensitive in terms of addressing the issue.

iii. Examining if adequate funds have been allocated to implement gender sensitive and responsive policies.

iv. Comparing planned and actual expenditure as the policy can only be properly implemented if it reflects what the law prescribes.

v. Evaluating the impact of the policy and expenditure so that if there is no impact, then the policy and programmes can be changed accordingly in future.

Budget allocations for expenditure are also categorised into three classes upon which analysis can be conducted and GRB initiatives founded. These allocations, after analysis, will provide information which will be used to create avenues through which GRB initiatives are undertaken and implemented. These are:

1. Expenditure that explicitly targets women, men or a gender issue for example, women’s health programs, special education for girls, purchase of sanitary pads for school girls and programmes for men involved in gender violence.

2. Expenditure which promotes equal employment opportunities for civil servants such as parental leave provisions and training for women managers or supervisors.

3. General expenditure, reviewed on its impact on women and men, boys and girls for instance how many girls are able to access public schools or how many men and women are able to access government adult education programmes; this is important as it entails examining all the policies and programmes to see that they take into account the different needs and interests of women, men, boys and girls.

If there are adequate funds being spent on gender specific activities and if general expenditure impacts women, men, boys and girls in a positive manner, then that budget can be considered as gender responsive.

**GRB as a tool for combating corruption**

Some of the key activities in GRB include awareness-raising and budget literacy training to equip the public with the skills to read, analyse, track and increase participation in terms of drafting and submitting budget proposals. Thus the public will be in a position to read the budget, track and question fund allocation and utilisation. GRB therefore is key in tackling corruption as citizens can monitor expenditure and ensure that it benefits the people in most need, monitor service delivery and ascertain that the target population accesses key services. The GRB process also provides the citizen with: information to challenge discrimination, inefficiency and corruption; and information to hold public representatives and government accountable while recognising the needs of the poorest and the powerless people.

While the Constitution does not contain express provisions on GRB, chapter 12 on ‘Public Finance’ requires the State to observe equity, fairness and consideration for marginalised groups in public expenditure. The devolution of power and resources from national to county governments further propels the spirit of gender responsive budgeting. All Kenyans must therefore claim their stake in the budgeting process, and in so doing, advocate for their entitlements as citizens of Kenya.

This article is the first in a series of articles on gender responsive budgeting by TI-Kenya, which aims to discuss other aspects of GRB and its actual implementation.

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TI-Kenya’s work on Gender Responsive Budgeting (GRB)

Transparency International-Kenya, in partnership with Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) and supported by United Nations’ Women (UN Women), has conducted trainings on GRB in Mombasa and Eldoret. Currently TI-Kenya is training stakeholders on the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of gender responsive budgeting. Up to 70 people from local authorities and the civil society organisations (CSOs) have benefited from these trainings to date.

The trainings have led to the formation of taskforces and development of community score cards. The taskforces, comprising members from the local authorities and civil society organisations, have 17 members each in Eldoret and Mombasa. They are expected to monitor gender responsive budgeting in the allocation of resources at the local level and collect information using score cards from the community to advise advocacy strategies on GRB.
KEEP THE TAP FLOWING: STRENGTHEN TRANSPARENCY, ACCOUNTABILITY AND PARTICIPATION MECHANISMS TO IMPROVE ACCESS TO WATER

Equitable water access in Kenya continues to be compromised by lack of integrity and ineffective regulation of water utilities and informal service providers despite key water sector reforms initiated in 2002. The lower income groups bear the greatest burden under the prevailing circumstances. These were among the key findings highlighted by the National Water Supply Integrity Study (NWIS) launched by Transparency International-Kenya on 7th December 2011 by the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Water David Stower. The report provides an overview of the Kenyan water supply sector in terms of integrity and performance and is based on literature review, discussions with water sector actors and case studies. It targets water sector specialists and key stakeholders involved in policy-making, regulation, water service development and provision in Kenya. The study was undertaken through the Transparency and Integrity in Service Delivery in Africa (TISDA) project between February 2009 and June 2011.

Study Methodology
Six case studies in urban and rural areas inform this report. The urban areas were Kangemi (Nairobi), Migosi (Kisumu), and Old Town (Mombasa) while the rural and small town locations were Kamukunji (Eldoret), Mutego and Kanyoni (Nanyuki). The research methodology was based on a risk map concept which involved an analysis of the performance of the system vis-à-vis integrity and examined the relationships between public officials, regulators, service providers and users in the selected areas.

Key Findings

Water reforms and regulations: Existing legislation such as the Water Act 2002 initiated an important reform process that has considerably developed the water sector but much more remains to be done. Key outstanding aspects of the Water Act that are yet to be concluded include transfer of assets from the municipalities to the Water Boards. The Water Services Regulatory Board (WASREB) lacks sufficient independence and resources to play its crucial role as an independent monitor. An even bigger challenge exists in the form of many users (on average 56% in urban areas) relying on informal water providers including water kiosks, local boreholes, well owners and water vendors. These crucial services are neither regulated nor controlled, further alienating lower income segments in the water supply chain.

Inequity: The Constitution of Kenya 2010 and the United Nations General Assembly Declaration of July 2010 state that clean water and sanitation are a human right. However 41% of Kenyans lack access to reliable water supply. Unaffordable charges further push the commodity out of reach for the common citizens.

Transparency, accountability and participation: On a positive note, the study found that more resources are becoming available for the improvement and expansion of water systems. However, there is limited access to information on cost and technological improvements to enhance efficiency in sector investments. In the formal water supply systems, transparency has increased as the Water Act 2002 clarifies the relationship between different actors although, in some cases, more openness on contracts and decision-making is still required. Recent reported cases of corruption in some water sector institutions have highlighted the need for greater focus on good governance which must be strengthened at all levels, if the full benefits of sector reforms are to be achieved.

Participation, largely determined by access to information by third parties with the option for redress where there

From left: Dr Richard Leakey, Chair Board, TI-Kenya, Eng. David Stower, Permanent Secretary Ministry of Water and Irrigation and Ms Rachael Mbai, Vice Chair, TI-Kenya Board during the launch of the National Water Integrity Study (NWIS) 2011 on December 7th 2011. (Photo/TI-Kenya)
are complaints, is relatively limited. Involvement of the civil society in various processes in the sector is improving but is still quite restricted.

Recommendations

The study recommended the following priority actions to water sector actors and key stakeholders involved in policy making, regulation and water service development and provision.

- Water Service Providers should adopt an improved pro-poor approach in service provision to overcome the high level of inequity in water services which compromises water access, affordability and quality.
- There is need for elaborate regulation and improved capacity to cover the informal sector to curb, for instance, unlicensed/illegal water vending and consumer exploitation.
- Communication to stakeholders and public consultation as well as access to information particularly for the users should be enhanced. Information on user rights and obligations should be broadly disseminated, for instance, through Water Action Groups which have already been established in some major towns.
- Benchmarking and greater transparency is needed in the development of new water supply services. Publishing quality data on the cost of different projects and systems is a feasible first step.
- Corporate governance in Water Service Providers should be strengthened and their interaction with Water Service Boards and the Water Service Regulatory Board (WASREB) improved. Oversight in the sector needs strengthening while procurement processes, anti-corruption legislation and sanctions should be strictly adhered to.

Next Steps

TI-Kenya has initiated evidence-based advocacy with other actors in the water sector to improve integrity and sector performance. The initial response of different actors has been positive as seen through collaboration pacts between water providers and users, following TI-Kenya’s intervention. TI-Kenya has facilitated the signing of two service delivery improvement pacts between Old Town Mombasa residents and the Mombasa Water and Sewerage Company (MOWASCO), and Nanyuki residents and the Nanyuki Water and Sewerage Company (NAWASCO).

TI Kenya has also facilitated various capacity-building sessions for water institutions and intend to work closely with the Water Sector Reforms Office to implement the above recommendations.

Key actors in the sector must consider collaborative governance involving a diversity of private, public and non-government stakeholders acting together towards commonly agreed goals, and aiming to achieve collective rather than individual goals in attaining water access for all Kenyans. “Improving governance in water services is not just about government systems and capacities; it is about a range of non-state agents and their interaction with the government. It is about engaging civil society and establishing a functioning social contract between the government and its citizens to bring about effective basic services. And it is ultimately about the progressive achievement of agreed rights to water,” said Dr Leakey.

Reviewing the Freedom of Information Bill

The Freedom of Information (FOI) network met on 19th January 2012 to review the second drafts of the FOI and the Data Protection Bills. The meeting hosted by Transparency International-Kenya and supported by the Kenyan Section of the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ-K) was aimed at reviewing the two bills ahead of a high-level stakeholders meeting to review the same and facilitated by the Commission for the Implementation of the Constitution on 23rd and 24th January 2012. Key issues raised on the draft FOI Bill at the network meeting included:

- The oversight mechanisms for FOI and whether this should be assigned to an already existing commission or establish an Office of the FOI Commissioner with a lean commission (maximum of 3 commissioners) and a strong secretariat.

- Devolution of access to information:
  The draft bill does not give a concrete mechanism for the devolution of the right to information at the county level.

- Composition of the selection panel of the FOI Commissioners: The panel as proposed in the bill is State-heavy with four out of the six nominating bodies being state agencies.

- Transitional clauses on ‘Access’ should be included in the bill particularly touching on the treat-ment of requests as the relevant FOI structures are being set up and pending the amendment of existing legislation touching on access to information.

- Eligibility of foreign bodies and individuals to access information for purposes of common good such as investigations given that the draft bill only makes reference to the right of citizens to access information.

- The draft Data Protection Bill needs to be reviewed to ensure that it is in total harmony with the FOI Bill.
The residents of Kanyoni in Nanyuki and the Nanyuki Water and Sewerage Company signed an agreement on 15th November 2011 to enhance water service delivery. The agreement which was facilitated by Transparency International-Kenya and witnessed by a representative of the Northern Water Services Board is aimed at demonstrating commitment by both parties in implementing the pact targeting an improvement in equity, accessibility, affordability and reliability of water supply. The parties also pledged to enhance participation and collaboration between the two parties.

The signing of the pact was preceded by a three-day meeting facilitated by TI-Kenya’s Transparency and Integrity in Service Delivery in Africa (TISDA) project, attracted 20 participants including water users and staff of the Nanyuki Water and Sewerage Company. Discussions largely focused on cost effective and time bound solutions to counter challenges put across. The first pact facilitated by TI-Kenya under the TISDA project was signed between the residents of Old Town and the Mombasa Water and Sewerage Company in April 2011 in Mombasa.

Demanding a fresh recruitment of Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission officials

A section of civil society organisations led by TI-Kenya issued a statement expressing disappointment with the process of recruitment of Commissioners to the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (EACC) on 11th January 2012. The statement raised questions on the integrity of the selection process which has stalled and caused a vacuum at the Commission, thus affecting its work. "Important issues were raised in Parliament such as the failure or omission by the executive to give reasons for the rejection of the highest scoring candidates, issues of ethnicity and the lack of demonstrable interest in anti-corruption and governance issues," noted the CSOs.

The CSOs also took issue with the EACC Act, the law instituting the Commission, for failing to provide for the removal of the directorate of the KACC without envisioning a smooth transition in the interim. “We therefore recommend to the executive and Parliament to restart this process and imbue it with the confidence and integrity it warrants. We recommend a fresh recruitment of the commissioners, starting from re-advertising the positions, the setting up of a new selection panel and allowing transparency and integrity to guide the process that will result in the selection of the most suitable candidates to form the commission,” stated the organisations.

The statement was signed by the Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA-Kenya), Centre for Law and Research international (CLARION), International Centre for Policy and Conflict, Kenyan Section of the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ-K), Constitution and Reform Education Consortium (CRECO) and TI-Kenya.
Reforming the education sector

The Constitution of Kenya 2010 creates a new dawn for the Ministry of Education and the Teachers’ Service Commission. The Constitution provides that all teachers will be managed by an independent Teachers’ Service Commission which is only subject to the Constitution rather than the direction or control of any person or authority as under the previous dispensation.

Transparency International-Kenya is thus supporting the development of a new legislation to govern the Teachers’ Service Commission (TSC). TI-Kenya thus spearheaded and supported various stakeholder consultative meetings, under the banner of Elimu Yetu Coalition, to review the TSC Bill between December 2011 and January 2012. TI-Kenya also convened a working group, comprising Girl Child Network and Childline Kenya, which facilitated the compilation of recommendations to strengthen the proposed law. The recommendations were presented to the Commission on the Implementation of the Constitution during a meeting with Commissioner Kibaya Imaania Laibuta on 10th January 2012. The TI-Kenya Deputy Executive Director Teresa Omondi and the Elimu Yetu Coalition Coordinator Janet Ouko later attended a roundtable meeting of state actors involved in the TSC Bill review on 13th January, to further articulate key positions in the bill.

Spurred by limited involvement of non-state actors in various ongoing reform processes in the education sector, TI-Kenya had earlier, on 8th December 2011, convened an education stakeholders’ forum to discuss civil society engagement in the education policy and legislative review. This meeting led to the development of a concrete action plan detailing Elimu Yetu Coalition members’ engagement in the review of the TSC and Education bills as well as general accountability issues in the sector; three working groups were formed to handle the thematic issues with TI-K convening the group on the TSC Bill and getting representation in the other two groups. These groups have since been instrumental in steering civil society participation in reviewing proposed legislation and the Education Taskforce Report launched in February 2012.

According to the Kenya Gazette No. 1064 of January 27, 2011, the taskforce was expected to deliver a proposed sessional paper, a draft Education Bill, a Cabinet memorandum and policy brief in addition to the taskforce report. The taskforce report has been released to the public. The Ministry of Education has set up two committees to review the policy and technical components of the taskforce report and propose a way forward. Civil society organisations under Elimu Yetu Coalition have formulated strategies to effectively engage the ministry and also demand accountability on the taskforce, and other reform processes.

Events roundup

Training of Trainers on the Constitution

Transparency International -Kenya facilitated three civic education training of trainers’ sessions on the Constitution in Nairobi, Kakamega and Mombasa between December 2011 and January 2012. The training targeted thirty representatives in total from community based organisations involved in governance issues in the three counties. The training was aimed at enhancing knowledge on the Constitution to increase the participants’ capacity to carry out civic education and engage in the implementation of the Constitution. Among the topics discussed included the history and key fundamentals of the Constitution-making process in Kenya, national values and principles of governance, leadership and integrity, devolution, civic engagement, and the electoral framework, representation and structure of government.

Community forums preceded the training sessions thus enabling the participants to reach out to members of the public and disseminate the knowledge gained in the training. In Nairobi, the forum was held in Mathare, while Matungu constituency was set alight by the civic education trainers in Kakamega County in December; the forum in Mombasa took place in Tononoka on 27th January 2012. At least 500 people in total were reached through the forums. Members of the public were enriched with information on devolution, leadership and integrity, representation and structures of government and general corruption issues. The civic education training and forum will be carried out in Eldoret in February 2012. This civic education initiative is supported by URAIA Trust.
The 2011 International Anti-Corruption Day celebrations were held in Kisumu, on 9th December, 2011 at the Jomo Kenyatta Grounds. The event themed ‘Blowing the Whistle against Corruption: Leadership and Integrity for Good Governance’, kicked off on high note with an anti-corruption caravan aimed at sensitising Kisumu residents on corruption issues and the significance of the day. The event was also graced by government officials and representatives from different sectors.

The keynote address was delivered by Hon William Cheptumo, Assistant Minister, Ministry of Justice, National Cohesion and Constitutional Affairs. He called on the public to take personal interest in corruption issues by being vigilant in the war against graft. Among the guest speakers was Hon Musikari Kombo, Chair of the African Parliamentarians’ Network Against Corruption (APNAC) whose secretariat is Transparency International-Kenya.

The participants blew the whistle in line with the theme of the day. TI-Kenya, the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission and Federation of Kenya Employers are among organisations that participated in the planning of the event under the banner of the Kenya Integrity Forum.

Chief Guest Speaker Hon. William Cheptumo, Assistant Minister, Ministry for Justice, National Cohesion and Constitutional Affairs, addressing the public during the International Anti-Corruption Day celebrations in Kisumu. (Photo by Michael Ochula, EACC)
Vetting of the Kenya Police

The Kenya Police have topped the Kenya Bribery Index by Transparency International-Kenya for ten successive years, and it is against this background that TI-Kenya has taken a keen interest in the ongoing police reforms. TI-Kenya is a member of the civil society organisations (CSOs) working group on the vetting of the police. The working group is targeting the effective implementation of Article 244 of the Constitution on the functions of the Police Service. Some of the activities include developing vetting instruments, advocate for transparency, accountability and public participation in the vetting of police and monitoring and reporting of the vetting process.

The last meeting of the working group hosted by the Independent Medico Legal-Unit in November 2011 focused on the formation of the National Police Service Commission (the body that will oversee the vetting process). The meeting identified some challenges in the police force including:

1. Political interference
2. Corruption
3. Administrative challenges
4. Low remuneration
5. Misuse and abuse of power
6. Police brutality

The meeting concluded that following the challenges addressed above, “reforms” would not be sufficiently adequate and instead the police force should be “transformed” to enhance service delivery. The meeting also discussed public participation in the vetting process and the need for a witness protection mechanism for individuals who may give information that may place their security at risk.

The organisations agreed to embark on the development of a tool, guidelines and a position paper on the vetting process.
The Future in Our Hands

Adili is a news service produced by TI-Kenya’s Communications Programme. The views and opinions expressed in this issue are not necessarily those of TI-Kenya. The editor welcomes contributions, suggestions and feedback from readers.

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Upcoming events

Annual Integrity Review Forums
Where: Kakamega 29th March 2012 and Nyeri 4th April 2012

Community radio programme on going
Where: Kaya FM (Mombasa 93.1 and 99.7 in Malindi) every Sunday 5pm-7pm
Tune in and listen

Imagine Kenya / TI - Kenya Youth festival
Where: Maji Mazuri grounds, Kasarani 27th - 29th April 2012

Access to information is a RIGHT not a FAVOUR: Demand your right to Know
Petition the Government to legislate a Freedom of Information law on:
https://www.change.org/petitions/i-demand-my-right-to-know

TI-Resource Centre:- you can now view our online catalogue on
http://www.tikenya.org/knowledge.asp?id=1&ID=7
Our resource centre is also open to the public

For advice on corruption related cases contact the Advocacy and Legal Advisory Centres (ALAC) in
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ELDORET: Tel - 053 2033100, Email:alconeldoret@tikenya.org,
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