

**ANALYSIS OF MULTIPARTY POLITICS AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN  
KENYA**

**BY**

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## DECLARATION

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## DEDICATION

This Thesis is dedicated to the political parties of the Republic of Kenya and those who have fought in certain circumstances paying the ultimate price in their struggle towards the democratization process.

To those in academia, whose purpose is to expound the discourse of multipartism in Africa, so as to in the end, help in the attainment of development and democracy in the continent.

Those who fought for the end of single party era in Kenya and to those who have always ensured that political development continues.

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Commissioner, Mandera County, Dr. Thomas Juma, Hon. Nimrod Mbai, MP Kitui East, Hon. Peres Simam, MP Eldoret South, Mr Arthur Osiya, OOP, Mr Paul Famba, OOP, Mr Nicholas Odulwa, RC Office, North Eastern, Asha Kiva, DCC Timau and Fr. Amos Musingila.

## ABSTRACT

A political party system is a key component of the democratization process of any society. The utility and role of political parties in any political party system determines socio-political and economic development. Political parties, nonetheless, can equally be abused by the political system, members and environmental structures within which the party is situated. This jeopardizes the democratization process. The general research objective was to study multipartism and its impact on democratic elections in Kenya. The specific objectives were to trace the historical development of multipartism in Kenya, explain the role of the political party in Kenya's political system, and illustrate the link between multipartism and the democratization in Kenya and to explore the role of electoral practices to the democratization process in Kenya. The theory used is Rokkan and Lipset's Social cleavage theory. The research design adopted was the descriptive survey design. The target population for this study were the electorate and institutions and included; the IEBC staff, Registrar for party's staff, Political Parties members, Election Observers, Government administration Staff and Independent Institutions. The targeted electorate consisted of registered voters in the four sampled constituencies from the four Counties. The populations included members of the two major coalitions, professionals from the electoral commission, government and academia. Purposive sampling was used to get the desired sample. Data was collected using interviews and open-ended questionnaires. Data was analysed qualitatively and quantitatively. Quantitative data was analyzed by frequency tables and percentages. Qualitative data was evaluated, classified into logical thematic categories based on the objectives and then coded. The analysis of the structured items was done by using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences. Unstructured items were analyzed manually along major concepts and themes, and the results presented using descriptive statistics. Conclusions were drawn from the analyzed data, leading to recommendations and suggestions for the role of political parties in the electioneering process. This study uses Kenyan General Elections from 1992 to 2013 as units of analysis in investigating the level of democratic development in the country since the inception of multipartism and comparing them with the elections between 1969 to 1992 when Kenya was a single party system. This is then based on the democratic structure of politics, the place and contribution of political parties and the manner of electioneering. The main findings of the first objective included the democratization process in the country being hampered mainly by social cleavage-based patron-client politics in the country. The second objective's main finding is that the institutional character and internal dynamics of political parties needs reform so as to be in tandem with the demands of democratization, while the third objective's key finding was that regardless of the constitutional changes, the political structure in Kenya does not have regard for developing multiparty and democratic structures. The last objective's key finding is that the electoral process in Kenya needs reform and development to international standards. This study recommends a review of the manner with which social cleavages are constructed, political party development and the entrenched patron client politics that are now part of political culture. This thesis argues that while multipartism offers an opportunity for political development in Kenya, democracy needs to be nurtured so that it can be fruitful. By use of political parties, electoral processes and institutions and other related public institutions, multiparty systems should be exploited for the benefit of democracy in developing countries like Kenya.

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## DEFINITION OF TERMS

**Clientelist-patronage Politics:** Refers to political culture where political elites, acting as patrons, control their electorates and constituents through other junior politicians who act as clients

**Democratization:** The process within which a political system continually adopts more and more democratic principles through laid down legal structures and international standards of democratic ideals

**Internal Party Dynamics:** Refer to the structural and organizational capacity of a political party in regard to its final appearance, strength and role.

**Multiparty politics:** Also called multipartism. Is a political systemic structure where more than one political party exist in constant competitive political processes such as through elections and representations.

**Political Party:** An institution that is organised with the sole objective of competing for and capturing political office by members with the same ideology

## GLOSSARY OF TERMS

- Asili:** Is a Swahili word meaning original
- Bila madoadoa:** Is a Swahili phrase meaning ‘without spots. This phrase is used in the political vocabulary to mean doing something without inclusion of that which does not belong.
- Clean suit:** A slang used in Kenyan politics to mean voting for a certain party from the top to the lowest elective positions
- Majimbo:** Swahili word meaning ‘regionalism’. It is used in political discussions to describe the desired manner of decentralization by use of the major former eight provinces.
- National Cake:** Means the national wealth that a state has at its disposal for redistribution to the development agenda
- Party hopping:** Means moving from one party to the other by members in such a inconsiderate manner to the rules and constitutions of political parties for self-gain.
- Ugatuji:** Swahili word meaning decentralization of power to local units of governance

## ABBREVIATIONS AND ACCRONYMS

<b>CCM-</b>	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
<b>CGTN-</b>	Chinese Global Television Network
<b>CORD-</b>	Coalition for Reforms and Democracy
<b>COTU -</b>	Central Organization of Trade Unions
<b>DP-</b>	Democratic Party
<b>ECK -</b>	Electoral Commission of Kenya
<b>FAP-</b>	Frontier Alliance Party
<b>FORD –</b>	<b>Asili</b> - Forum for Restoration of Democracy-Asili
<b>FORD -</b>	Forum for Restoration of Democracy
<b>FORD – Kenya</b>	Forum for Restoration of Democracy in Kenya
<b>FORD– People</b>	Forum for Restoration of Democracy for the People
<b>FPTP-</b>	First Past The Post
<b>GEMA –</b>	Gikuyu Embu Meru and Akamba Association
<b>IEBC-</b>	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
<b>IGAD -</b>	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
<b>IIDEA-</b>	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
<b>IPPG-</b>	Inter-Parties Parliamentary Group
<b>KADDU -</b>	Kenya African Democratic Development Union



<b>KADU-</b>	Kenya African Democratic Union
<b>KAMATUSA</b>	– Kalenjin Maasai Turkana and Samburu Association
<b>KANU-</b>	Kenya African National Union
<b>KAU-</b>	Kenya African Union
<b>KBC-</b>	Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
<b>KCCB -</b>	Kenya Conference of Catholic Bishops
<b>KENDA -</b>	Kenya National Democratic Alliance
<b>KNUT -</b>	Kenya National Union of Teachers
<b>KPU-</b>	Kenya People’s Union
<b>KUPPET-</b>	Kenya Union of Post Primary Teachers
<b>LDP-</b>	Liberal Democratic Party
<b>LPK-</b>	Labour Party of Kenya
<b>MCC -</b>	Maedeleo Chap Chap
<b>MP-</b>	Member of Parliament
<b>NAK-</b>	National Alliance Party of Kenya
<b>NARC-</b>	National Rainbow Coalition
<b>NCCK -</b>	National Council of Churches in Kenya
<b>NDP-</b>	National Development Party
<b>NGOs-</b>	Non-Governmental Organizations

<b>NIMD-</b>	Netherlands Institute of Multiparty Democracy
<b>ODM-</b>	Orange Democratic Movement
<b>ODM-K -</b>	Orange Democratic Movement-Kenya
<b>PNU-</b>	Party of National Unity
<b>PR-</b>	Proportional Representation
<b>PUSETU -</b>	Public Servants Trade Union
<b>SDP-</b>	Social Democratic Party
<b>SMD-</b>	Single Member District
<b>SMS-</b>	Short Message Service
<b>SUPKEM -</b>	Supreme Council of Kenyan Muslims
<b>TNA-</b>	The National Alliance
<b>URP-</b>	United Republican Party
<b>US-</b>	United States

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

This chapter introduces multiparty politics and democratization in Kenya as concepts under research. It also introduces the role political parties have played in the contexts of ideologies, political systems and the development matrix in Kenya within the African continental setup has gone through since independence. More importantly, the level and quality of elections are introduced as a way of gauging the democratization level and entrenchment of multipartism. These are organized under the background, problem statement, research objectives, research questions, rationale and scope of the study.

#### **1.1 Background to the Study**

Political parties are vital political institutions for the functioning of a modern democracy. They are essential for the organization of the modern democratic polity and are crucial for the expression and manifestation for political pluralism (Mutua, 2006; 109, 113). Political parties are presumed to be central to the democratization of any state. Defined as an organization whose prime objective is to mobilize its supporters to assume a leadership role, a political party of any significance is viewed or views itself in terms of providing alternative policy platforms, ideological direction, as well as redefining the agenda of government (Makara, 2007; 44).

Political parties are pre-eminent institutions of modern democratic governance. The general consensus in comparative political thought and among policy makers is that political parties play a central role in deepening and fostering democracy in both established and emerging democratic polities (Maiyo, 2008: 13). This is aptly captured by the assertion that “political parties created democracy and modern

democracy is unthinkable, save in terms of the political parties” (Schattschneider, 1942: 1). The relevance of political parties in the organisation of modern politics and governance is not a recent phenomenon of contemporary societies. Political parties have been part and parcel of political organisation since the creation of the nation state.

The large body of knowledge, theoretical assumptions and models of interpreting political party systems have largely been developed from western experiences (Rakner, Menocal & Fritz, 2007). Consequently, the normative conceptualisation of political parties draws largely from studies based on social and political developments in western societies. Political parties in the classical sense were a product of the industrial revolution characterised by rapid socio-economic development and attendant social and class conflicts arising from cleavages between the ruling class and the workers (Choe, 2003). These tensions provided for the development of distinct social movements with clear ideologies and interests. Political parties thus emerged out of mass social organisation to meet the challenges of the day.

In the post-World War II and Cold War era, the role of ideology did become less important, prosperity became more widespread, socio-economic disparities waned and religious convictions and cleavages gave way to increased secularism in Western Europe. This evolutionary path led to the transformation of the original twin “mass” and “cadre” (elite) parties into what Kirchheimer (1966) calls the “catch-all-party” which sought to govern in the “national interest” instead of representing particular social groups or interests (Maiyo, 2008: 15)

These rapid socio-economic changes led to a transformation of the political system where governing became more technical and the mass media became the main

medium of electoral communication. Consequently, party cadres and membership became increasingly redundant as party leaders by-passed them and communicated directly with the electorate (Hague and Harrop 2007).

African political parties are products of distinct historical, socio-economic and political conditions that contribute to their character and functioning different from those in western democracies. The only somewhat parallel historical point with the European model was the immediate pre and post-independence period when African political parties were broad-based mass liberation movements embodying a single ideology of liberation from colonial rule (Maiyo, 2008: 16). Independence political parties, formulated under the single ideology of majority African rule provided a unifying force among societies that were historically antagonistic along ethnic lines.

Unlike the majority of their western counterparts almost all African nation states (with the exception of countries such as Somalia) lack in distinctive cultural or ethno-linguistic homogeneity. They are highly heterogeneous along ethnic, regional, religious or clan cleavages (Maiyo, 2008: 16). Although western European polities such as the Netherlands may have had rifts encompassing Calvinists, Socialists, Catholics, western entrepreneurs, southern small farmers etc, they remained relatively stable and political competition was contained within established structures and traditions (NIMD, 2008).

African societies, on the other hand, lack in socially entrenched and institutionalised political, social and governance structures along which political competition can be channelled. They are therefore highly fractious and fragile. Political competition and organization tend to follow these pre-existing fault lines which in turn determine the structure of political parties. Manning (2005:718) characterizes African parties as “not

being organically linked to any particular organized social group, and so have often resorted to mobilizing people along the issues that are ready on hand – ethnicity, opposition to structural economic reform – without regard for the long-term consequences”.

The paradox of the majority of African political parties is that most are poorly organised and lack institutional capacity. Their decision-making processes are unstructured and power often lies in the hands of the party leader and a few cronies who are usually wealthy enough to bankroll the party (Wanjohi, 2003). The role of the party membership is reduced to a bare minimum, usually to endorse decisions already made. Political mobilisation assumes the form of personality cults and loyalty is often to the party leader as opposed to the party as an institution. This encourages the politics of “party hopping” where leadership disagreements may lead to members jumping from one party to another.

On the other extreme are the well organised, highly centralized and structured parties that have been in power since independence such as *Chama Cha Mapinduzi* (CCM) in Tanzania (Mutua, 2006; 120). Centralisation, however, takes away decision making power from lower party organs and branches and concentrates it on a core group of party oligarchs such as the Central Committee of the CCM. Such parties are usually found in single-party regimes where the party and the State are so fused that they became indistinguishable from each other. Whatever the case may be, both categories of parties, either by default or design, are considerably lacking in internal democracy (Maiyo, 2008: 18).

In Africa especially, the continuing debate on the sequencing of democracy and development as well as the developmental prerequisites for democracy is more

pertinent. Some African leaders such as Kenya's former President Daniel Arap Moi have advanced similar arguments to explain their preference for single party rule (*The Standard*, July 22, 2008). Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni imposed a total proscription of political party activity on the grounds that political parties breed conflict in fragile nation states; they are authoritarian, urban based groupings of small elites; they are corrupt; they have no clear policies; there is a lack of a middle class to support their existence; they are manipulated by external actors to achieve neo-colonial or imperial interests by proxy; or that other systems are more democratic than multiparty systems (Okuku, 2002).

The search for peaceful, transparent and credible elections has had a long history to the people of Kenya. This search started with the advent of independence and has gained momentum ever since. Elections and indeed the principle of democracy being new to Kenyans, has had several predicaments in its development due to the societal injustices accrued upon the Kenyan citizenry, first by the colonialist and later on by the independence leadership. The introduction of political parties was initially well planned for but soon turned into a de-facto single party system, perhaps for the good, as the nation was told; to unify the divided nation against a return to colonialism; but this plan failed desperately as this killed multiparty politics.

Ideological differences amongst independence leadership soon became reflected in political party formations and their respective manifestos. Ethnicity and partisan development based on political party stronghold support mushroomed as each of the ethnic communities struggled to assume to power to have a share of the "national cake". This became the platform of war to attain power, and as such elections were used as the arena. The process of electioneering, to this extent therefore, has not

known peace, transparency and credibility and attempts to have this changed have been met with utmost rejection (Chege, 2009; 31).

This study sought to establish a working explanation of political parties as institutions of political organisation as key determinants to the success, definition and determination of electioneering processes in Kenya. It explores the various conceptions of political parties in comparative political thought and literature and contextualizes this within the broader debate on democracy and more specifically participatory democracy. It pays particular attention to the historical, socio-economic and cultural determinants of the evolution and development of political parties.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Elections in Kenya still remain critical to the societal fabric. Over the past two decades, each election cycle has resulted to not only loss of property and human rights abuses, but loss of life. Political parties being at the centre of the whole process are important in the determination of as to whether peaceful, transparent and credible elections will be held. Toerell (1999) points out that democratic theorists and policy makers generally concur on the critical role that political parties play providing a link between their members and elected representatives. This process is nonetheless undertaken within certain socio-political factors that any community has that distinctively provides a challenge to the role of political parties.

Scholarly gaps exist on the quality level of multiparty politics in Kenya in the context of quality elections, the impact of a high number of political parties; currently standing at more than 40 (Maiyo, 2008), and both positive and negative impact multipartism has had on Kenya's political realm. Kenyan political system has had coalition building, broadened democratic space and inclusivity in decision making for



voters. These have led to improved quality of service delivery from public institutions. But on the flipside, ethnic violence, patron-client political management, disregard for electoral laws and dictatorial tendencies of political parties continue to hamper Kenya's democracy.

Scholarly work on democratization in Kenya and Africa (Matanga, 2000) are limitedly linked to multiparty politics in the scope of the correct number of political parties, impunious political environment, dynamic social cleavages and the cost of democracy especially in Africa. Equally, progressive constitutional changes, peaceful transitions, coalition construction and management and the improving electoral management in Kenya is narrowly studied.

Democracy in Kenya is yet to be fully developed, including at party levels and is yet to be fully developed as was anticipated in the inception of multiparty elections in 1992, following the repeal of Section 2A of the Constitution. Secondly, instead of solving democratic problems, including its low levels, multipartism has brought more problems including strengthening ethnic, religious and class cleavages and party clientelism.

This study, therefore, aimed to investigate the specific circumstances under which multipartism in Kenya was established, managed and their respective context within the democratic electoral process in, so as to determine their contribution to the democratization agenda in Kenya.

### **1.3 Research Objectives**

The general research objective was to study multipartism and its impact on democratic elections in Kenya. The specific objectives were to:

- 1) Trace the historical development of multipartism in Kenya

- 2) Explain the role of the political party in Kenya's political system
- 3) Illustrate the link between multipartism and the democratization in Kenya
- 4) Explore the role of electoral practices to the democratization process in Kenya

#### **1.4 Research Questions**

- a) What is the nature of historical development of multipartism in Kenya?
- b) What is the role of political parties to the Kenyan political party system?
- c) What is the link between multipartism and democracy in Kenya?
- d) To what extent do electoral processes contribute to democracy in Kenya?

#### **1.5 Rationale of the Study**

The study on multipartism and democratic elections beckons much attention within the African developmental agenda. In Kenya, elections are vital and at the centre of the new constitutional framework that looks to a brighter more democratic Kenya. This topic, however, is limited in scope owing to the extent of studies done on African political parties and electioneering in comparison to already established political party systems and electioneering processes of the West.

There is an urgent need to independently study African democratic discourse. This approach in the researcher's view is relevant in distinguishing characteristic variations between political parties within and between emerging African democracies and those pertaining to established Western democratic political institutions. Political parties are essentially products of social organisation for political power and are best studied and understood in juxtaposition with the social-historical forces at play providing the context in which they emerge and operate.

The historical, social, economic and political realities shaping the development of African political party systems are however markedly different and require a new set

of theoretical tools and approaches in order to fully capture the essence of their role in African politics. Normative approaches to the study and analysis of political parties in Africa tend to assume prescriptive perspectives that imply some sort of structural imposition as opposed to appreciation of organic development of parties (Janda, 2005). These approaches are therefore not best suited for the study and analysis of political parties in emerging democracies in Africa. This position is further compounded by the fact that debate still abounds even in established western democracies regarding the effectiveness of political parties in enhancing democracy in the wider society. As van Biezen (2004) argues, “their increasing inability to perform many of the functions seen as essential to a healthy performance of democracy” has been the subject of heated debate among comparative political scientists.

Secondly, little research has been done to investigate internal aspects of political party structures, functioning, and institutionalisation in general and processes of internal democracy in particular. Only recently has some exploratory work been done on certain aspects of intra-party democracy if only from an institutional and capacity building perspective as opposed to a real focus on the process-oriented approach that prioritises and strengthens membership participation. Recent work by Mohamed Salih (2007) and Michael Chege (2007) under the auspices of International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IIDEA), only begin to scratch the surface of an increasingly complex and pertinent area of inquiry. The study on internal dynamics helps in understanding the modes of behaviour and characterization that parties assume in electioneering processes.

Similarly, political pluralism tends to be equated with the presence of multiple political parties contesting elections without regard to the political environment in

which they operate and the internal institutional structures and processes by which these parties offer real choices and options to the electorate. It is this realisation that has sustained the long fight for constitutional and political reform in all three East African countries to provide a level playing field for all political parties (Musambayi, 2003). Increased civic awareness from mass civic education programmes especially since the late 1990s may have increased voter turnout and participation (or failing to as was witnessed in 2017) in elections in Kenya, but this is more a reflection of the voters' faith in the electoral process as a means of changing leadership, as opposed to faith in political parties as institutions of democracy (Chege, 2007). This necessitates the study of the several cleavages to which the voters belong and the tag along parties follow to attract followers within several cleavages.

There is therefore a need for more detailed and comprehensive research into processes of party democracy among political parties that goes beyond mere analysis of political party systems. This research attempts a preliminary step in this direction by seeking to investigate the state of political parties.

### **1.6 Scope of the Study**

This study focuses on the link between multipartism and democracy in elections. The major concern is whether there was a difference in democratic practise in these elections, different from the previous elections in the single party era that were reported to be non-democratic in nature. This study was limited to the electioneering process, probing therefore the institutions that are and still are involved in elections in Kenya.

The study was based in Nairobi, Eldoret, Bomet and Homa Bay Counties in order to get a correct representation of political demographics of the country. The area of

concern to the researcher was based on the foundation that multipartism is hinged on progressive development to any country. This is however, determinant on the uptake of multipartism. How it is used or manipulated determines that varied results witnessed through such avenues as elections, quality of politics and models of governance. In Kenya, multipartism was re-introduced in 1992 and has been in practise up to date. The continued varied results of elections and quality of politics regrettably portray a negation to the ideals of multiparty politics in comparison to what the general public expected. The study uses Social Cleavage theory, propounded by Lipset and Rokkan (1967) to explain the various reasons that constitute the formation and practise of political parties, in the end therefore, hoping to give answers to the research questions of the study.

### **1.7 Conclusion**

This chapter introduces the study and focuses on the background, problem statement, objectives and questions, rationale and scope of the study. It introduces the concepts of multipartism and democratization in Kenya and Africa and explains why the study is important to study the same. This is owing to the fact that Africa is continually changing politically and new perspectives that get on board the political scene have huge impacts on the understanding of democracy. The next chapter focuses on reviewed literature from various sources. This information is thematically reviewed based on the objectives of the study.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 2.0. Introduction

This chapter focuses on reviewed literature on multiparty politics and democratization in Kenya using a thematic structure. These themes are on the historical development of multipartism, the role of the political party in Kenya's political party system, the link and between multipartism and the democratization processes and the contribution of electoral processes to democratization process in Kenya. The Social Cleavage theory as espoused by Lipset and Rokkan (1967) is also reviewed.

#### 2.0.1 Conceptualization of a Political Party

As early as the 18th century, Edmund Burke described a political party as “a body of men united for promoting, by their joint endeavours, the national interest upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed” (Churchill, 1963). Modern political parties however exhibit three distinct characteristics lacking in Burke's definition. First, they have become more organised and centralised institutions with bureaucratic structures, secretariats and paid staffers. Secondly, modern parties do not necessarily work towards a national interest, but any kind of interest including regional, ethnic, racial, religious or economic objectives.

Thirdly, parties are not organised along a “particular principle” as many manifests a conglomeration of varying interests, ideologies, principles and objectives. Fourth, political parties are largely organised with the sole objective of competing for and capturing political office (Hague and Harrop, 2007). The nature, forms and functions of political parties have continued to evolve in response to socio-economic and

political changes in society. Earlier conceptions of political parties have therefore demonstrably changed over time (Maiyo, 2008: 14).

The element of competition and striving to govern is a central component of modern political parties. Sartori aptly describes a political party as “any political group identified by an official label that presents at elections, and is capable of placing through elections, candidates for public office” (Sartori 1976: 63). This definition however still falls short of capturing the organisational as well as interest aggregation and articulation dimensions of political parties. It is thus preferable, for the purposes of this discussion, to adopt the definition by Maliyamkono and Kanyongolo (2003:41) that “a political party is an organised association of people working together to compete for political office and to promote agreed-upon policies”. This definition, in the view of the researcher fits the description and tenets of the social cleavage theory that is used as the study’s theoretical framework.

Some of the modern writers on political parties have argued that political parties promote an oligarchy instead of popular democracy. Robert Michels is noted for his so-called iron law of oligarchy:

“[A party] ...is an organisation which gives birth to the domination of the elected over the electors, of the mandataries over the mandators, of the delegates over the delegators. Who says organisation says oligarchy.” (Michels R., 1962, 48)

Michels based his sociological argument on the idea that organised minorities tend to dominate unorganised majorities. That is why large crowds are usually unable to make effective decisions.

More recent writers on political parties believe that parties are inevitable for a democracy to work (Huntington S., 1968, Apter, 1967, Almond & Verba, 1963).

Apter conceives political parties as instruments of modernisation in developing polities. He argues that “the political party is such a critical force for modernisation in all contemporary societies that the particular pattern of modernisation adopted by each is quite often determined by its parties.” (Apter, *ibid*; 179) Apter stresses further that the genesis of political parties is difficult to disentangle from the evolution of societies and states. Parties therefore depend upon the degree of modernisation in society for their pluralism and diversity.

In a similar argument along the modernisation continuum, Huntington sees political parties as modicums of political assimilation, consciousness and participation produced by the process of modernisation. Further, political parties produce a stable balance between participation and institutionalisation of modern politics (Huntington, *op cit*; 397). In this regard; parties are seen as important for organising the modern structures of power, encouraging participation, minimising a likelihood of political instability and enhancing proper governance of a modern state.

Huntington’s thesis is that a society which “develops reasonably well organised political parties while the level of political participation is still relatively low is likely to have a less destabilising expansion of political participation than a society where parties are organised later in the process of modernisation” (*Ibid*, Huntington, p. 398).

What is lacking in these conceptualizations is the perspective on the environment within which these political parties exist. For them to assume their attributes, as portrayed by Almond, Verba and Huntington, they must be shaped by their ecology.

This study thrives to contextualize political parties within the African political realm.

This raises the all-important question of citizen participation. Almond and Verba make a very interesting distinction between citizen and subject. While a citizen is



perceived in terms of his or her civic roles that is, in terms of his effective participation in governance as well as questioning certain policies, a subject does not participate in making rules nor does s/he seek to influence policy outcomes (Almond & Verba, 1963, p.214). In other words, the level of civic responsibility possessed by a citizen assumes that s/he is free to participate in any organisation that makes it possible for him or her to influence government processes. Therefore, political parties play a significant role in interest articulation as well as interest aggregation, hence influencing the policy agenda of government. In less developed countries generally and Kenya in particular, parties play an important role of national integration through the function of representation of various groups at national and sub-national levels(Almond G & Coleman, 1960, 239–246).

In the particular case of Sub-Saharan Africa, Coleman noted that parties were held together by the cement of fighting for self-government from the colonial rulers. The subsequent post-colonial years witnessed a rapid emergence of dominant parties. Thus, while in other areas, parties played a strong integrative role, this was only successful in a handful of African countries. Possibly, the presumptive anti-party sentiments amongst the political elites in most African countries could be a result of this “false start”. Coleman’s assertion of a “false start” should be extended, as this study does, to other inherent problems that parties faced as their respective African states got older. Such problems include conflicts, militarism and coups, institutional failure, “assumed threat” of neo-colonialism and ideological schism especially during the Cold War era.

Whether the political elites like parties or not, by levying accusations against them such as promoting corruption, spurring conflict and causing instability; it appears that such vices do not override Duverger’s assertion that “a regime without parties is of

necessity a conservative regime” (Duverger, 1954, 426). Generally, parties are notable for mobilising and socialising the public for political purposes. They operate as vehicles for articulation and aggregation of diverse social interests in society; recruit political elites by nominating and selecting candidates for public offices, influence government agenda, policies, and public actions; cause governments to act more transparently and accountable for their actions; and propose alternative policy agenda.

Political parties are important ingredients in building democracy. What is lacking in Duverger’s assertion is how political parties do all these. This research hopes to reveal that there are two important aspects; a) the use of social cleavages and b) political client-patron aspects that are integral to African political functioning.

Duverger continues to point out that parties are vehicles for strengthening the electoral systems and processes. They are the means for strengthening accountability in institutions especially the parliament. They strengthen the partnership with civil society organizations. They mobilize disadvantaged groups such as women, the people with disabilities, and the youth to actively participate in public decision making (Duverger, 1954, 426). Huntington supports this by pointing out that parties have a continuous engagement with the government in all matters of public concern. Most importantly, they hold the government accountable for its policies and actions. Dominant regimes however will find means of suppressing political parties, claiming that the dominant party or no-party state has the means for mobilising the population for development purposes which opposition political parties would only be keen to subvert (Huntington,407).

Huntington however dismisses this argument by arguing that the progress of modernisation increases the fragility of the no-party state and that the stability of the

modern political system depends on the strength of its political parties because it is the parties which have institutionalised means of mobilising support, hence political stability (Huntington, p.407). To this extent, the opponents of political parties acknowledge that they are essential for democratic governance. However, they rarely accept their idea of pluralistic competition for power. In Kenya particularly, the dominant political forces take politics to be a job for life and are unwilling to allow other organisational forms that may question the status quo.

The contribution of political parties to the growth and practice of democracy has been a contested phenomenon (Elischer, 2008), right from the time of Athenian democracy to the time of modern state independence. Similarly, political parties play a crucial role in the day to day life of a nation state. This chapter will attempt to conceptualize the political party so as to develop and find the gap in the existing literature on the effect political parties have in the electioneering process in Kenya.

## **2.1 The Historical Development of Multipartyism in Kenya**

### **2.1.1 The Origins of Political Parties in Africa**

Mozaffar(2005a) explains that the history of African political parties may appear to be a relatively “long” one if we look at the origins of the first party on the continent; the True Whig Party, set up in Liberia in 1860. He notes that by 1945 however, in a region that was still largely under colonial rule, less than a dozen parties had been “established by small groups of African elites as the organized expression of their political demands for reforming the colonial system, gaining access to colonial governments and influencing colonial policy” (Mozaffar 2005a: 395). It was only with the independence of African states, and during the period that immediately preceded it, that parties began to proliferate in the Sub-Saharan context. Between 1945 and 1968, as many as 143 new political parties emerged on the continent, the

essential vehicles for the mobilization of national electorates that were eventually being given the suffrage and for the formation of the first independent governments (Mozaffar 2005a: 395).

Multipartism soon proved to be poorly rooted on the continent. It was not long before party pluralism was abandoned. In different ways, most African countries opted for replacing it with one-party states or military regimes. In the space of a few years, authoritarian forms of government came to prevail virtually on the entire continent. Multiparty politics was only retained in Botswana, Gambia and Mauritius, while it was introduced in Senegal and Zimbabwe during the 1970s and 1980s, but this was most often under the auspices of hardly challenged dominant parties.

It was only with the emergence of an African version of the global “third wave” of democratisation processes, between the late 1980s and the early 1990s that the situation began to change. During the early 1990s, virtually all sub-Saharan countries shifted from army-dominated or single-party-dominated regimes to formally democratic systems. Unsurprisingly, structural limitations such as widespread and extreme poverty, low literacy levels, or state weakness, established political practices notably, authoritarian rule and corruption and the freshness of political reforms in these countries raised legitimate doubts about the depth of ‘democratic’ change. The latter, in many cases, was in fact limited to make up exercises. Overall, however, reforms undoubtedly brought about a significant return of multipartism in sub-Saharan Africa (Carbone, 2006: 2).

### **2.1.2 Multipartism Development in Kenya**

The Kenyan Political Party landscape has undergone fundamental changes from the independence period to date. In explaining how the focuses of parties have changed

over the years, Jonyo (2013) points out that it is useful to divide the period into phases. To him, this offers a better understanding of major political milestones. These phases are: pre-independence; post-independence (1963-1969); 1970-1990; and late 1991 to present. This review will follow Jonyo's Phases. The researcher further added the multiparty phase of post-independence. These include; (a). Pre-independence phase (pre – 1963), (b) Multiparty post-independence phase (1963 – 1969), (c) Single party phase (1970 – 1991) and (d) Multiparty phase (1992 – to date).

During the pre-independence period, their main focus was magnification of the peril and promise of democratic governance. They embodied nationalist sentiments and vehemently fought for emancipation of countries from colonial subjugation. In the first years of the post-independence period era, parties developed an inclination towards one-party governance status, but in spite of this, embraced and practiced reasonable democratic practices. In the period 1970-1990, parties lost all pretensions to democracy and became personal tools of authoritarian leaders, typified by the events surrounding the formation and proscribing of the Kenya People's Union (KPU), and consequently, lost their savor as democratic institutions.

Political competition was almost entirely suffocated and only the Kenya African National Union (KANU) remained as the dominant party, and later the only political party, after it engineered constitutional changes in 1982 to make Kenya a *de jure* single party state (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung,2010). In 1991, Kenya became a multi-party state and hitherto, parties have had mixed results. Initially, they seemed critical in organizing public preferences and national agenda and generally performed their generic functions.

Along the way, they have taken off this trajectory and there is concern that political parties still operate as personal outfits or tribal alliances, concerning themselves more with consolidation and retention of power rather than developing and implementing policies once in office or undertaking the core roles of political parties. This is cause for concern as the role of political parties is not limited to strategizing to capture and retain power. Political parties in a democracy have several functions that include leadership recruitment, political socialization, interest aggregation, and organization, policy formulation, political representation and mobilization.

Political parties are the vehicles of representative democracy. They play several critical roles to make representative democracy a reality. These include; representing societal interests within the state (by participating in Parliament), socializing political leaders on the principles of democracy and democratic participation, carrying out political education and communication (by providing information on which the voters may base their selection of candidates before them) and carrying out political mobilization and encouraging the public to cast their votes in elections. Other functions are recruiting political leaders, aggregating and articulating interests, promoting pluralistic debates by presenting alternative policy platforms and integrating the diverse groups within a country into a cohesive nation (Bosire, 2010: 7).

The importance of political parties in the democratic process cannot, therefore, be overemphasized. The agitation for the repeal of section 2A of the constitution, which prohibited the existence of parties other than the Kenya African National Union (KANU), was at the core of the struggle for democratization, which preoccupied Kenyans in the late 1980s and early 1990s. This struggle for the right to have many

political parties was labeled the second liberation (the first being liberation from colonialism).

However, the reintroduction of multiparty politics in December 1991, as Bosire (2010) points out, though a huge step in the country's journey towards becoming a competitive representative democracy, merely resulted in the proliferation of political parties most of which remain ineffectual. The parties have performed dismally in their traditional roles. They have also failed to articulate coherent ideologies, develop concrete political programmes, establish national following and practice internal democracy. Most of them at best serve as electoral vehicles, only heard of at election time, with no known contacts in between elections. Indeed, five multiparty elections down the line and the country is yet to transit into a full-fledged representative democracy (Bosire, 2010: 7).

However, Bosire's argument does not give credit to political parties that have over the years contributed to the socio-political development of the country. Similarly, it doesn't link political parties to positive aspects the country has gone through thanks to political parties including political transitions and two constitutional referenda.

In the context of dissent and diversity in the social order and body politic, parties are supposed to be 'parts' of a whole and should pursue the interest of their members and the national interest within agreed principles. This is in contradiction to factions which engage in vicious and selfish struggles for control of government positions and benefits. Political parties in Kenya have tended to behave more like factions than parties.

Although political parties are expressions of social structural conflict situations (cleavages), they more than any other democratic institution have the capacity to

generate positive crosscutting cleavages by aggregating diverse interests rather than articulating specific ones. Political parties in Kenya have tended not to articulate socio-economic or any other democratically acceptable ideological cleavages and have tended to articulate interests on the basis of ethnicity, thereby, intensifying already existing societal divisions, tensions and conflicts (Patel, 2001: 155; Whitehead, 2000: 3).

The absence of ideological or policy platforms has not only seen parties appeal to ethnic emotions but also indulge in patronage and corruption, which have further heightened perceptions of ethnic inequality and/or exclusion within the political system. This phenomenon was especially magnified in the period leading to the constitutional referendum in 2005, through to the 2007 General Elections when a dispute over the tallying of presidential votes resulted in widespread post-election violence that led to the death of over 1000 people and the displacement of another 500, 000 (Kriegler Report, 2007)

Party loyalists and ethnic kingpins were in most cases rewarded with and other key positions and property including land since the aftermath of the first multiparty elections in 1992. Patronage became the main currency in intra-party and national politics. Under this milieu, party and national elections fall far short of being democratic; a situation Kenyan politics is yet to overcome (Anstead 2008; Brown, 2001). In addition to what Carbone (2006) argues, those perceived to be opposed to the party and national leader were punished by being denied access to resources, especially government services and development funds, both as individuals and as communities.



Another important factor that has affected the emergence and growth of political parties and which is not fully stated in literature is the nature and operations of the colonial and post-colonial administrations. The centralized administration, inherited from the colonialists, operated and still operates as the arm of the executive, while district-oriented faction-ridden political parties, an emblem of the divide and rule strategy and an impotent legislature, became assets of the Kenyatta and subsequent administrations (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2010).

Some of the measures inherited that affect the operations of political parties to date include registration of political parties and licensing of public meetings, which were subject to manipulations and often under direct influence of the executive to wade off opposition. The expectation that parties would become autonomous institutions to challenge the state was then a myth. The distribution of power and other resources between the government and the opposition has, ipso facto, been inequitable since the beginning of colonial rule (Onyango, 2015 :190).

Political parties have played a crucial role in the development of multipartism in Kenya. There is no universal definition of the term political party. Most definitions dwell on structure and purpose and the key constitutive aspects of political parties (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2010). These appear to be the salient attributes of a political party and although their choice is arbitrary they may, nevertheless, offer a clearer explanation of what a political party is. Parties, could be viewed as organizations that contest elections and engage in other public activities designed to share in staffing government and in influencing policy. They possess an identifiable label and generate a cadre of supporters.

Some analysts including (Widner, 1992; Okoth & Omenya, 2014) view parties as elite-owned instruments for seeking and maintaining political power. But this may not necessarily always be correct. In a democracy, parties are not personalized, and limited to serving only the interests of the elite. Rather, they have structures, rules, procedures, norms and principles. Also, they are institutionalized coalitions, not just for elites but for the mass of members as well. Their formal machinery or structures are found at all levels of political activity; national, regional, county, district, constituency, ward, and indeed all the way down to the grassroots. They operate within specified legal frameworks that define their membership, composition, roles and functions, financial base, and operational rules and discipline (Oyugi, Wanyande & Odhiambo-Mbai, 2003: 53; Patel, 2001: 160; Jonyo, 2013: 5, 15). But in the context of Kenyan politics, it is hard to differentiate party mechanisms with the needs of the top management or leadership of parties, who generally belong to the elite class.

Surface analysis of Kenyan politics has always suggested party ineffectiveness and little consolidation due to a myriad of factors, the main ones being ethnicity, personalization of institutions and excessive focus on power rather than policy engagement and service to the people (Elischer, 2008). They are often overly manipulated to address short term goals rather than inculcating enduring democratic culture.

Generally, political parties in Africa played a key role in the nationalist struggles against colonial rule. On attaining independence however, most of the ruling parties of the day either outlawed opposition parties, criminalized their activities or their contribution to national debate/policy were belittled and disparaged (Makara, 2007: 44). After independence, most African rulers proclaimed one-party states. Whether

undermined by the civilian or the military, the consequences of diminishing the role of political parties in building democratic states and societies were disastrous. Dictatorship, authoritarianism, cronyism, corruption and economic collapse became rampant, leading to the ubiquity of collapsed or failed states in Africa (Carborne, 2006)

Despite the fact that competitive multiparty regimes governed well immediately after independence, this gain was short-lived as selfish post-colonial leaders abandoned the ethos of democratic pluralism. As some scholars including Carborne (2006) have pointed out, most of the post-colonial leaders in Africa chose to rule in a style similar to that of the colonial rulers by relegating the majority of the people and isolating the opposition groups. These tendencies sowed the seeds of authoritarian rule in Africa (Goran H., 1983, 45).

The last decade of the twentieth century was characterised by a resurgence of multipartism in Africa (Riedl, 2014). The return of political parties produced a discontinuity not only in the continent's political life, but also in the study of African politics. A number of new researches were carried out that were largely based on existing theories and concepts in political science. These new works thus contributed to an increased integration of the study of politics south of the Sahara with mainstream political science. A key context of these studies is party pluralism or as is called multipartism.

Party pluralism had first emerged in sub-Saharan Africa during the final stages of the colonial period, on the eve of independence, in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The transplant of this Western arrangement, however, was quickly rejected by virtually all African societies, much like what happened to other political dispensations

originating from Europe, such as the modern state, liberal constitutionalism or representative government. It was only in the early 1990s that a new attempt at establishing multiparty systems began to take place in a continent historically inclined to refuse or distort democratic rules and practices (Carbone, 2006: 1).

Carbone points out that as more and more countries became involved in the process; the resurgence of multipartism in Africa sparked a number of new analyses of parties and party systems. Such analyses were largely based on established political science theories and concepts, and thus promoted a better integration of the study of politics south of the Sahara with that of politics in other regions of the world. This study reviews these inquiries into the insights and advances produced by these recent studies, focussing on the key issues raised by the return of party pluralism in Kenya and on the utility of existing models, theories and approaches for its understanding on the effectiveness and internal dynamics of political parties.

## **2.2 The Role of the Political Party in Kenya's Political Party System**

Contemporary research and policy discourse on democracy in Kenya tends to focus more on socio-economic and political benefits accruing from recent developments in democratisation. This developmental perspective seeks to establish causal linkages or correlations between democratic gains and socio-economic progress through such concepts as good governance (Berendsen, 2008). It argues that participatory democracy plays a central role in increasing citizens' involvement in policy development, decision making and generally empowering them with the means to hold their leadership to account, thus producing more responsive governments. However, the gap is that the input of the political party as a vehicle of democracy is not given equal opportunity in studies.

The complexities and sheer size of modern societies, bound under the unitary notion of the nation-state, do not however make for effective and efficient participatory democracy in the ideal sense of Athenian direct democracy. The limitation of direct democracy as a viable model of contemporary governance has therefore led to a shift in favour of representative democracy. The choice between direct and representative democracy is however still contested in comparative political literature (Teorell 1999). Consensus is however emerging in the majority of research on democracy in favour of representative democracy and the role of political parties as key actors in the democratisation process (McMahon 2001).

Political parties however face a credibility challenge. Internal democracy is therefore indispensable if political parties are to fulfil their role as legitimate and credible agents of democratisation in the wider society. This research sought to expand existing knowledge on the role of political parties in elections with specific reference to how processes of centralisation, inclusiveness and institutionalisation influence levels of participatory democracy.

A wealth of research and a significant body of theory has been developed on political parties in western societies based on the study of political party systems and party politics in such countries as the United States, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries (Scarrow 1999). There however seems to be a gap in empirical research and general body of knowledge regarding the role of parties in elections in Kenya bearing in mind the ever-increasing importance of elections that all have accorded including the African Union (AU).

To the contrary, the highly democratic systems in Switzerland with its relative preference for direct democracy in the form of regular referenda has been contrasted

with the democratic and interest-based party politics in the U.S for instance, and their developments wholesomely placed on Africans to follow in the roadmap of democratization (Anstead 2008, Ladner and Brandle 1999).

The difference, the researcher points out, is based on the following. The first is social cleavages: while African political parties draw heavily from cleavages including ethnicity, western parties rely heavily on ideology, while others rely on race and class cleavages for membership. The second bases are parties in the West are entrenched in democratic ideals that have been inculcated over the years backed by strong economies. African parties have been pulled behind by weak democratic ideals such as single party systems, military influences or rule and poor economies that continue to suffocate democracy

### **2.2.1 The Utility of Political Parties**

The foregoing conceptualisation of political parties is derived from a general consensus on the utilitarian and functional view of their perceived “usefulness” in modern democracies. According to Diamond (1997:23) the importance of political parties lies in the functions they perform in modern democracies by linking citizens to government. These include the articulation and aggregating of diverse interests, recruitment and preparation of candidates for electoral office, crafting policy alternatives and setting the policy agenda, organising and participating in electoral competition and forming effective government and thus integrating groups and individuals into the democratic process.

Consequently, political parties not only provide the means by which citizens can participate in the governance process, but also structure the political landscape to enable competition between varying interests and policy objectives (Arowolo and

Aluko, 2012; 1, 6). This characterises the classification of political regimes advanced by Robert Dahl, (1971) which categorises democratic processes along the two dimensions of political competition and political participation. The gap that these scholars fail to fill is the circumstances under which political competition and participation take place. Robert Dahl's assumption of categorizing parties into political competition and participation, in the view of the researcher is conflicting. For competition to take place, there must be competition. In Africa, the issue with political parties is the context within which competitions take place. These competitions by virtue of their structure favour certain aspects or persons; and how citizens participate in political processes leads to shrouded interest articulation and public policy.

Political parties as forms of social organisation continue to evolve or emerge in response to changing socio-economic and political realities. Modernisation theorists such as Samuel Huntington argue that the significance of political parties goes beyond the mere utilitarian function of contesting and capturing or retaining political power. According to this theory, political parties are necessary and crucial institutions in the construction of a stable and participatory political order as well as ensuring progressive modernisation and development. Huntington sees political parties as serving the important function of interest aggregation, channelling disparate social groupings and interests into a common socio-political platform and thus providing a stabilizing effect to an otherwise fractious society (Manning, 2005:717).

Normative approaches to party politics are particularly popular among policy makers, democracy building advocates and democracy assistance programmes in emerging or post "Third Wave" democracies (Huntington 1991). These programmes are often

carried out by surrogate institutions of established political parties or political order in western democracies. They often propagate the view that their form of political organisation is the ideal to which emerging democracies ought to emulate. Modernisation theory's appeal therefore lies in the perceived ability of political parties to provide a unifying force in the face of deep rooted and pre-existing social cleavages such as ethnicity, regionalism, caste, racism, clannism or religious differences that often ignite social tensions and, in some cases, civil conflict.

In order to fulfil these normative functions, Manning (2005) argues that political parties are expected to have a "strong social base, offer distinctive platforms which appeal to a core set of voters and be able to attract and retain party activists and potential leaders". This implies a certain level of organisational strength and complexity, institutionalised mass support and strong linkages to broad social organisations such as labour unions and peasant organisations (Huntington, 1968).

### **2.2.2 Understanding Parties as Political Institutions**

The modern analysis of politics in Kenya began as part of the studies on "political development" that flourished during the 1950s and, especially, the 1960s. Despite the fact that such studies often downplayed the role of political institutions, political parties were rapidly acknowledged as an important role, both as manifestations and instruments of political development. However, it is imperative to point out that during this time, parties were just taking shape in most of Africa and their scientific study was based on the development of other established parties in the developed world. African parties were expected to follow in their trend. Thus, several collective and individual works were produced on the subject.



In an inquiry into processes of political change in developing countries, for instance, Huntington emphasised the role political parties could play in integrating the diverse and newly-mobilised sectors of society: “in a modernising society ‘building the state’ means in part the creation of an effective bureaucracy, but, more importantly, the establishment of an effective party system capable of structuring the participation of new groups in politics” (Huntington, 1968:401).

La Palombara and Weiner (1966) devised a typology of party systems starting from the distinction between “non-competitive party systems” and “competitive party systems”. The latter were in turn classified depending on whether alternation in power took place or, on the contrary, evidence of party hegemony emerged (La Palombara and Weiner 1966). The trend towards the establishment of one-party and one-party domination was also observed by Coleman and Rosberg, who distinguished systems controlled by parties displaying a “revolutionary-centralizing” tendency from those with a more “pragmatic-pluralist” attitude (Coleman and Rosberg 1966:6).

To further deepen the understanding of one-party politics, scholars such as Zolberg (1966) decided to focus on specific sub-regions of the continent. What the studies of parties conducted between the 1960s and the early 1980s shared was a common concern not so much with the democratic progress of the countries involved, but rather with their “political development”. The concept of “political development” is quite controversial and no longer as fashionable as it once was. What is relevant here, however, is that it never entirely overlapped with the notion of democratisation. Certainly, elements such as “equality” or “participation” were occasionally included among the defining features of political development.

Most often, however, it was a different kind of change that were seen as the essence of political development, including the “differentiation” of political structures, the construction of state “capacities” that would make authority more effective, and the “institutionalisation” of organizations and procedures. Democracy was not the top priority. As a matter of fact, the single-party and military states that were taking root in Africa were seen by some as legitimate options. This is because they appeared to be the safest way to promote rapid economic development and national integration. Geddes (2002) opines that the existence of weakness of existing knowledge on political parties in developing countries. The gap is that early studies of Kenyan and indeed African politics and parties were not driven by theories of democracy.

The new, recent wave of studies (Maiyo, 2008; Bosire, 2010; Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2010) of Kenyan parties clearly marks a break. The reforms of the 1990s postulate the centrality of democracy as a value and a goal in itself, something whose achievement cannot be negotiated – at least not in principle – nor ‘traded’ for economic progress or national unity. In this sense, multiparty reforms denote a significant (if far from clear-cut) discontinuity not only in the political life of the continent, but also in the study of this reality. They contributed to a growing integration of the study of politics in Kenya within mainstream political science.

This increased integration was first prompted by studies of the democratic transitions, and then fostered by a series of further steps, such as the analyses of electoral systems and results, the inquiries into the democratic consolidation of reformed countries, the study of the public opinions of voters, the examination of the policy outcomes of the new regimes among others (Carbone, 2006: 3). The increasingly frequent use of political science tools (that may include the notions of “effective number of parties”

or “electoral volatility”) and theories (for example relating to party dominance, to the effects of electoral laws, to the institutionalization of party systems) testifies to the fact that analyses of Africa’s emerging parties and party systems are part of this broader trend.

### **2.2.3 Features of Political Parties**

Corruption related to political party funding poses one of the greatest threats to democratic and economic development worldwide. Corrupt election finance practices compromise the greatest asset of democracy: the faith and support of ordinary citizens in the political system (De Vries & Solaz, 2017). Opaque finances and undemocratic decision-making discourage participation in political parties and encourage cynicism about the prospects for reform.

Over the past three decades, the issue of party finance and political corruption has gained increased international attention, and a variety of officials and activists around the world have begun to address the problem through public awareness campaigns, legislative initiatives, reporting requirements, and spending limits (Bryan, S. & Baer, B. 2005: 7). While these solutions have addressed some of the problems, implementation often depends on a sophisticated and well-funded spectrum of laws, enforcement regimes and political will to change a combination of factors not easily found in most countries. Kenya fits in this set of countries.

Political financing and corruption may represent a greater problem in Africa than in any other region of the world. With multiparty systems younger than other parts of the world, and with governments facing ever-increasing challenges across the continent, African political systems remain fragile (Bryan, S. & Baer, B. 2005: 7). Political

corruption further undermines these weak systems, erodes the confidence of citizens, and threatens political stability in many countries.

Jonyo (2013) argues that party finance is impacted by a number of political and social factors, including the post-colonial political history of most African countries; practices of patronage and gift giving in many countries; political constituencies based on tribal, ethnic and regional interests, rather than on ideology; and weak political organizations. Developing solutions requires an understanding of how money corrupts politics, which differs from country to country.

African political parties are weighted with historical, cultural, and economic handicaps. While multiparty democracy has fostered the development of civic and political rights, it has demonstrated only limited effectiveness in confronting the continent's economic and social problems. For millions of poor, illiterate African voters, the reality of political competition challenges the legitimacy of participatory democracy. For example, in a comparative series of public opinion surveys conducted in twelve African countries, the Afrobarometer found that in Southern Africa, despite widespread popular support for democracy, public attitudes towards representative government are less positive when "it comes to the key dimensions of trust, responsiveness, and corruption in governments." (Bryan, S. & Baer, B. 2005: 7)

Following the independence movement of the early 1960s, most countries in Africa evolved into one-party states that blurred the line between the nation and government. This led to a situation in impoverished countries wherein relatively wealthy ruling parties used state resources to buy political support. At the same time, a majority of African opposition parties or political movements representing alternative ideas were repressed, marginalized, or forced into exile, leaving them with few resources, no

access to constituents, and weak organizational structures. As one-party states gave way to multi-party systems in the early 1990s, the disparity between ruling and opposition party resources was significant, and in most cases, remains so to this day. (Bryan, S. & Baer, B. 2005: 7)

Recent appeals by civic activists and some political leaders for political party finance regulations and anti-corruption measures indicate a need to further balance the democratic playing field to ensure fair competition (Shulika, Muna& Mutula, 2014). The combination of increased scepticism by African voters and recognition of the problem by academics, activists, politicians, and civic leaders has created an environment for a more open debate concerning the need for greater reforms in the area of political party financing and corruption in Africa.

Although there is a growing awareness about the problems of party financing in Africa, solutions have not fully emerged (De Vries & Solaz, 2017). This gap is due in part to the fact that little empirical data exists to help understand the complexities of party financing in developing democracies. Approaches to impose legal restrictions on spending, reporting requirements on fundraising and campaign spending, and public funding for parties have failed because most African parties have insufficient capacity to comply with such regulations. At the same time, government agencies lack the ability to enforce laws and regulations.

As part of the study conducted in their research Bryan and Baer (2005) point to a number of basic questions including: How do parties and candidates raise money, how much money is being spent on campaigns, for what purposes is money being spent and what is the nature of the problems associated with money in politics? Other issues are; from the perspective of political actors, what works in addressing the

problems, what solutions are being tried or proposed and what is needed in terms of technical and financial assistance?

The key findings in their research were as follows:

First, the social and political costs of corruption are existent, and a majority of political and civic leaders recognize that many of the problems related to political corruption stem from deficiencies within political parties themselves. To a great extent they note, there is a willingness to address the problems related to corruption in party financing, and a strong desire among many political leaders to create more accountable party organizations through both internal and external reform, along with a stronger civil society. A gap they fail to fill is the position and contribution of the electorate in corruption. In Kenyan politics, this it is almost a norm for the electorate to demand for bribes before voting in a candidate.

Secondly, they find that one of the great challenges facing political reformers is that little is known about the details of money in political parties or in campaigns. Political party financing patterns are extremely opaque, and the decisions about raising and spending money are usually controlled and managed by only a few individuals. Relatively few politicians in their research could provide concrete details about party funding operations. This is a gap and limitive in the sense that apart from party funding, the aspects of how political funds are spent and its ramifications to electoral process and results. What is the place of weak, small parties and independent candidates who have limited funding?

Overall, Bryan and Bear in their findings suggest that the majority of political party and candidate funds are raised from legitimate sources. These sources include party-

related activities, such as fundraising events and membership dues; contributions from the private sector; public funding schemes; individual donations from citizens; and foreign donations. Similarly, they add that most party and candidate expenditures go to legitimate and necessary political activities such as rallies and events; paid media outreach; campaign materials and paraphernalia; and personnel and administrative costs. But the gap they fail to fill is that poor party fund management is pervasive in Africa, often related to weak organizational structure and lack of internal democratic practices. This study hoped to fill this gap by contextualizing internal party dynamics in Kenyan political parties.

Fourthly was that vote-buying or the use of money and direct benefits to influence voters is of concern to political elites around the globe; however, it represents the smallest category of party and candidate spending. Definitions of vote-buying reveal a continuum of practices ranging from traditional party campaigning and legitimate party appeals to institutionalized corruption.

A fifth concern expressed by most politicians was that business interests and wealthy individuals engaged in politics are stifling democratic participation, undermining the development of economies and transforming the nature of government. Repeatedly, concerns were raised about the rising number of wealthy individuals who seek office in order to gain access to and control over lucrative contracts, and business contributors who demand paybacks from those whom they support politically. As a result, the political establishment is often seen as a circle of wealthy individuals who make policy decisions based on private interests, rather than the common good.

The sixth issue is that in many instances, political accountability is for sale to the highest bidder. Candidates, often financed by patrons or godfathers, may compromise

their independence, neutrality, and platforms to serve as proxies for their benefactors. Political parties do the same by accepting funds from business interests that intentionally support campaigns as a way of ensuring lucrative contracts with the state, or possibly worse yet, for assurances that the state will turn a blind eye to their illegal business practices. In some cases, candidates are willing to forgo political competition or abandon their political parties in exchange for money (Bryan, S. & Baer B. 2005: 8).

They also point out that many countries; candidates bear the burden of personally financing the majority of their campaign expenses. More than four out of five respondents state that they supply the majority of funds for their campaigns, often at the risk of personal bankruptcy. As campaign costs increase, more and more qualified candidates interested in reform are limited by their lack of personal financial resources. As a result, many resort to relationships with individual donors who expect preferential treatment once the candidate is elected, or worse, many reformers choose not to run at all, leaving the field to candidates who are independently wealthy. However, this falls short and fails to fill the gap on the impact of individual funding to political parties. This study hopes to show the relationship between funding and weaknesses of parties in regards to carry out its functions. Without crucial funding, may crumble and even some retreating to sub-national levels like regions or ethnicities.

Legal and regulatory frameworks are recognized as essential and important tools in combating political corruption. Nevertheless, most of those interviewed said that passing laws alone is not the solution, and that the enactment of laws that are disregarded or not enforced may in fact worsen political corruption. Weak



enforcement is particularly a challenge in developing democracies with few resources and competing priorities for government spending (Bryan, S. & Baer B. 2005: 8). In this finding, they fail to compare and explain the legal and regulatory frameworks not only affecting parties but also other public institutions including legal, regulatory and enforcement agencies. As this study will show, there is a resultantly weak system as corruption in political parties remains unchecked by institutions mandated since they don't have infrastructural capabilities. To think of party financing in Kenya based on these findings, correctly portrays the picture as the situation is.

### **2.3 Multipartism and the Democratization Processes in Kenya**

Approaches advanced to explain is centred on certain minimum socio-economic pre-conditions are necessary for democracy to thrive. Further, the low socio-economic condition of a polity and the distinct lack of clear ideological foundations, allow for the development of 'client list' and 'patronage' based political structures through which access to, and distribution of state resources can be channelled.

While describing the socio-economic basis for the lack of intra-party democracy in western societies, Otto Kirchheimer (1966) aptly captured a picture that is as much applicable to African political systems including Kenya. In his view, contemporary political parties are characterised by the decreasing influence of individual party members, lack of specific class appeal in favour of other pre-existing social cleavages in order to appeal to voter support base, increasing autonomy of the leadership from internal checks and balances, and the complete lack of ideology in the parties' programmes.

In Kenya especially, the continuing debate on the sequencing of democracy and development as well as the developmental prerequisites for democracy is more

pertinent. Some leaders such as Kenya's former President Daniel Arap Moi have advanced similar arguments to explain their preference for single party rule (*The Standard*, July 22, 2008). Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni imposed a total proscription of political party activity on the grounds that political parties breed conflict in fragile nation states; they are authoritarian, urban based groupings of small elites; they are corrupt; they have no clear policies; there is a lack of a middle class to support their existence; they are manipulated by external actors to achieve neo-colonial or imperial interests by proxy; or that other systems are more democratic than multiparty systems (Okuku, 2002).

While some of these attributes may apply to some political parties, it is certainly not the case that they are an accurate characterisation of political parties across the country (McMahon 2004). It is arguable that political parties may not be the cause, but rather a reflection of pre-existing social cleavages and proscription or restriction of political party activity may not be the solution to these problems. Counter intuitively, effective and well-functioning political parties can serve as a pressure valve by which social tensions and frustrations can be channelled through peaceful means.

The importance of well-functioning, effective and internally democratic political parties cannot therefore be overstated. Political parties that guarantee a degree of effective and transparent membership participation in deliberation of policy, leadership selection and overall decision making can instead provide avenues for social cohesion, minimize possibilities of open conflict and facilitate peaceful resolution of conflict.

Internal party dynamics determine to a large extent the output of the said political parties have, and the quality of their service delivery. To this extent therefore, the question is how independent are Kenyan political parties? The dynamics of electoral agencies also count as the more independent they are, the surer electorates are in the nexus of credible elections and peaceful processes.

Carey (2002) in his study on the strategies of interest aggregation and representation of the main political parties in Kenya, Zambia and DRC, seeks to find out how did the differences in these countries influence the current state of democratisation? He compares the characteristics and development of the main political parties in Kenya, Zambia and the Democratic Republic of Congo, considering the period from their independence in the 1960s up to the late 1990s and offers an exploratory analysis of the differences and similarities that might have led to the, more or less, successful establishment of political parties and democratic regimes in these countries (Carey, 2002: 1).

The main question this article addresses is why these three countries, with a shared number of characteristics at the outset, have ended up with such different political regimes. The parties were compared along four dimensions: Colonial heritage, the saliency of ethnicity, political communication between the party elite and the periphery, and their link to civil society. These are the salient issues that do determine the in-house characteristics of political parties in Africa.

The findings he made are that political structures inherited from their colonial pasts encouraged exploitation of both ethnic and regional links and strengthened patronage networks. The colonial heritage in all three countries enforced the role and importance of ethnicity, regionalism and local patronage in the political process of interest

aggregation and representation. Other key findings include; first, in recent years, political parties have used ethnicity as a strategic tool to strengthen their position of power. The more central the issue of ethnicity is to the political process, the less democratic the political parties involved are likely to be. A second argument is the less active political communication is in a country, the more difficult it is to achieve a multi-party system.

It is suggested that a country with relatively weak links between the party centre and the electorate, but with a broad and educated elite, has the most democratic potential. Therefore, it appears that although an active link between the party elite and its base is necessary, the nature of the base also plays a crucial role in determining the odds of democratic consolidation (Carey, 2002: 1).

Carey (2002) points out that for sustainable formations of political parties, the following should be factored. First, it is not enough to have a vibrant civil society. Civil society needs to be independent from the state and from its supervision, to have its main actors centrally located in urban areas and to include an educated middle class. Secondly, it is crucial that civil society has a powerful representation that is united, strong in both numbers and in the degree of institutionalisation, and that it develops independently from the government. Only such an opposition seems to have the potential to successfully challenge an incumbent regime. Lastly, civil society based on traditional groups can represent an obstacle to the establishment of political parties and democracy. Civil society's commitment to democracy needs to be actively fostered in this set of circumstances.

The minority in political parties in the context of this research include majorly the women, youths and the disabled. Based on the spirit of the new constitution, there is

the clarion call for their inclusion in all political matters in Kenya. Their inclusion means that they can be able to add in their views and especially on other minority groups. The importance of focusing on the minority helps in understanding the inclusiveness of the electorate in political issues, which is an important aspect in determining peaceful and credible elections.

Brown(2001) argues that prior accounts of Moi and KANU's re-election in Kenya's 1992 and 1997 polls overemphasise divisions within the opposition and underestimate the role of international actors. In Brown's article; What Keeps Moi in Power, he draws on interviews with central players and internal donor documents and demonstrates that aid donors played a central part not only in initially advancing the cause of multiparty but subsequently also, on several occasions, actively impeding further democratisation.

Donors twice knowingly endorsed unfair elections (including suppressing evidence of their illegitimacy) and repeatedly undermined domestic efforts to secure far-reaching political reforms, which were a prerequisite for an opposition victory and a full transition to democracy. In the face of anti-regime popular mobilisation, donors' primary concern appeared to be the avoidance of any path that could lead to a breakdown of the political and economic order, even if this meant legitimising and prolonging the regime's authoritarian rule. (Brown S, 2001, 725)

The role of political parties in any polity underscores their necessity as institutions of social, economic and political governance. The functions of political parties as earlier stated include representation of societal interests in legislatures; political socialization and participation; political education and communication; recruitment of political leaders; policy formulation; and working towards national cohesion. These roles vary

from one political system to another, based on contextual factors as well as the level of political development. In an ideal democracy, these roles are perceived as requisite and must be performed in a specified manner (Hofmeister & Karsten, 2011).

Maiyo (2008) elaborates that political parties in Kenya have certain characteristics that influence intraparty democracy. That most parties tend to draw their support mainly from their ethnic base; they tend to be dominated by their founders or key funders; their activities revolve around influential personalities; most of them have no registered membership and have not been keen to recruit members; have weak ideologies which are often unknown and are of little influence in policy-making; have difficulties organizing functions, even party elections are often flawed and infiltrated by rival parties; and they do not have structures that strongly link them to the citizenry. However, he saves the picture for political parties by pointing out that parties in Kenya have made strides toward involving the citizenry in recruitment process, especially during nominations for elective office. The year 2007, though with numerous flaws, marked one of the better conducted party nomination exercises since independence (Maiyo, 2008).

During the run-up to the 2007 general elections, the main contenders, ODM, PNU and ODM -Kenya, formed elections boards to preside over parliamentary and civic nominations. Parties' eligibility criteria varied, especially in terms of nomination fees. However, the process suffered logistical problems, ranging from late receiving nomination materials to the appointment of polling officials. For instance, in Nyando Constituency, ballot papers for ODM nominations arrived in the night, while they did not arrive at all in some polling stations and in Busia, while PNU failed to appoint polling clerks in some stations (Bosire, 2010).

There were cases of disruptions of the nominations of otherwise a credible nomination process. Losing candidates often meted violence on prospective winners or disrupted the voting process. For instance, in Kuresoi Constituency, irate supporters of the incumbent MP, Moses Cheboi, confiscated and burned ballot papers at Olenguruone, claiming that there was rigging. There was also violence in Westlands constituency in Nairobi between supporters of ODM's Fred Gumo and his opponent Ashif Amin Walji. In Ugenya constituency, chaos erupted, when the name of one of the perceived front-runners for the parliamentary seat on ODM ticket, Steve Mwanga, was found missing from the ballot (Bosire, 2010: 22).

In other cases, coalition partners could not agree on the formula for the nominations especially in PNU. The question whether to apply the rule of comparative advantage among affiliate parties or free-for-all approach where parties could field candidates as they wished. A single candidate for every elective post was the preferred option in order to defeat other parties' candidates in the general election (Wanyama & Elklit, 2018). Such contentious issues limit the role of parties in effective recruitment and mobilization.

In some cases, candidates that lost in the nominations, accompanied by supporters, marched with to the party headquarters to demand a nomination certificate, which the leaders often issued. In many other cases, the losing candidates from other parties obtained certificates even before nominations were done, such as was the case in Nyaribari Chache constituency. The disaffected 'losers' defected to other parties and won seats in the general elections (Bosire, 2010). These tendencies found their way into national politics as the must win syndrome becomes the reigning principle among politicians. These nomination irregularities are pervasive across parties and should be checked (Kriegler Report, 2008). The lack of measures to ensure heavy penalties for

parties that flout democratic principles and practices which would be necessary for effective deterrence, justice and fairness to prevail is fit for review. An academic review of the loss of moral foundations and respect for laws of natural justice which has eroded the party system's credibility is equally needed.

Apart from nominations to the ballot, nominations to the Legislature are also riddled with intrigues and are not an outcome of a consultative process within parties. Various complaints, although most of them based on personal interests, have emerged, questioning the rationale for nominations and whether the nominations complied with the IPPG norms, which require nominations to be done in accordance with parties' parliamentary strength as well as taking care of special interests. ODM-K and PNU faced the most formidable opposition as to their nominees. The complainants threatened to go to court to compel the party leaders to reconsider the nomination list. Special interests have often not been a critical consideration, but instead cronies and funders of political parties are given priority (Kriegler Report, 2008).

Internal democracy also focuses on the role of party members in the formulation of policies. In Kenya, party members are hardly involved in the policy process, although the Political Parties Act (Section 17(a)) stipulates this as a right of the member: to participate in political activities which are intended to influence the composition of policies of government (Maiyo, 2008). Although this entails use of enormous resources for implementation, it is worthwhile for the nurturing and development of a participatory policy process and a culture of political inclusion. This would also enhance accountability in representation, by giving representatives specific mandates. Parties are expected to conduct free and fair elections, meeting the standards of democratic principles, norms and practices. There should be participatory decision-making in parties, both at the grassroots and at national party organization.



Thus, party electoral and institutional reforms are necessary if Kenya has to make strides toward a democratic state and society. Internal democracy, thus, has to address the endemic problem of lack of transparency in the nomination process, voter bribery, intimidation, vote buying and official interference with the results. All these could be, to a large extent, minimized if the implementation of the Political Parties Act is done in spirit and letter. The Act outlaws some of these malpractices and requires political parties to enhance democracy, even in utilizing the public funds provided for in the Act. The lack of or weak intraparty democracy affects the entire political system and what happens therein is often replicated in the larger system or becomes an input in subsequent democracy-related decisions at the national level (Hofmeister W and Karsten G., 2011).

#### **2.4 Multipartyism and Electioneering Process in Kenya**

Political parties are supposed to be agents of competition for power in a set and codified manner. According to Hofmeister and Karsten (2011) political parties are central institutions of a modern democracy (Hofmeister and Karsten, 2011: 9). This is not the case with Kenya. These parties are instead used to groom successors. Although this is a common feature even in the U.S, which is considered to be one of the most advanced democracies in the world, the individuals being groomed are poised to be the best among the leading elite and stand tall on the ever-changing modalities and tastes of the American voter.

The difference with reference to the case of grooming in Kenya is that candidates are forced upon Kenyans to pick, and at times this is done with force by secluding other candidates with good qualities. During the 2002 general elections, the then powerful president Daniel Moi selected the incumbent President Uhuru Kenyatta as the flag-bearer of Kenya African National Union (KANU). The latter lost to former President

Mwai Kibaki. This is not exclusive to presidential candidates but spreads down the curtain to the lowest elective positions in the country. For example, one would find a candidate seeking a Ward Representative post being aligned upon by another candidate who is viewed as powerful locally. The same could be said of the respective candidates seeking to portray themselves as allies to a certain leader who is tentatively high up the authority ladder so as to win support of the voters (Aowolo and Aluko, 2012; 3).

In the same breath, there is the issue of party domination over strongholds. In what is called '*clean suit*' or '*bila madoadoa*' (Without spots), Kenyan voters are encouraged to vote for one party from the top to the bottom, regardless of whom they vote for. This expounds the notion of forcing candidates on voters just because they are members of a certain party.

Institutional character of political parties in Kenya can also be a contributing factor to their role in electioneering in the country. Are these parties part of the transformation that the electioneering process does demand? In most cases, elections are used as a means that justifies the end. It does not matter how the process stipulates or has laid down procedures to be followed. Elections are to favour certain pre-set agenda, at any cost then after the realization of the same can attempt to pretend that there is democracy. In analysing the main tenets of political parties in Kenya, greater emphasis is based on; ideology and party manifesto, alliance formations, ethnicity and membership base, financing of political parties, individuals behind political parties and governance of and constitutions of political parties.

### **2.4.1 Some of the Roles of Parties in Electioneering**

The mobilization role of parties in Kenya is often effective depending on issue saliency and on ethno-cultural cleavages, especially ethnicity to concretize their appeal and impact (Kwatemba, 2008). Issue-based mobilization such as the independence struggle, the agitation for multi-party democracy in early 1990s, and constitutional review referendum of 2005 and 2010 or any other issue of national importance, have often attracted phenomenal support from the citizenry (Kanyinga, 2014). It can be argued that the ideal strategy and structure of mobilization by Kenyan political parties falls short of the ideals practiced in developed democracies. Most prominent is the lack of issue-based mobilization and fairness in terms of access to public media.

However, such mobilization is not based on enduring party loyalties. Rather, it is often a temporary phenomenon, which fizzles away ‘shortly’ after realization of the specific purpose (Kwatemba, 2008). It has often been the case in Kenya that the party in power or the dominant member of a coalition often uses state resources, including government vehicles and funds, the Provincial Administration and other civil servants, and security agents to campaign and mobilize support for the party/government position in a struggle between the government and opposition parties (Kagwanja & Southall, 2009).

During mobilization, promises that parties outline to the electorate aim is appealing to different ethnicities, invariably aiding the mobilization process. For example, during the run-up to the 2007 elections, the debate about how to decentralize power was interpreted differently by ODM and PNU. The ODM Party advocated for regional governments (Majimbo or Ugatuzi), as means of ensuring equitable distribution of national resources (Kadima & Owuor, 2014). In its campaigns, the PNU interpreted

the ODM programme on regional governments as a scheme to eject the Kikuyus from the Rift Valley and other places where they have settled. By so doing, PNU hoped to get Kikuyu support. However, attempts at ethnic mobilization were not new. Campaigns in the 2005 referendum followed this trajectory (Krug, 2000:29, 30, 31).

Access to the media, state or privately owned, is critical to political mobilization. The state-owned broadcaster corporation, Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC), often displays biases in coverage, especially during election campaigns (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2010). State media often favor the governing party, or coalition of parties, while opposition parties are often given negative publicity or none at all. The options available for parties to exercise their liberty, under these circumstances, with financial and logistical challenges, are limited. For example, during mobilization for the 2005 referendum, the government (a coalition of NAK, Ford-People, et cetera) extensively used KBC television and radio to popularize their support for the *Wako Draft* (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2010). Also, parties in power improve their reach in mobilization by using state resources to bribe voters. NARC, just as its predecessor (KANU), used relief food to bribe and attract support during the 2005 referendum campaigns (Bosire, 2010: 9).

Legitimate and fair utilization of state resources would most likely help remove this damaging dependency syndrome. Strict rules, especially controlling utilization of state media, should be part of the process of democratic consolidation and improvement of interparty competition. This would significantly help inculcate fair play that would embed democracy at party level. This would also shift interparty discourse from the realm of power and ethnicity into the realm of democratic values and ethics, and nationhood.

Political advertising, as a form of political mobilization, especially on television, print and other electronic media, has emerged as the most popular among parties, although it is prohibitively costly (Sindane, 2010). This mobilization strategy seems to be keeping pace with technological advances. For instance, in the run-up to the 2007 elections parties used live television broadcasts and radio sound-bites, leaflets, posters, billboards, e-mails and telephone text messages (SMS) to mobilize voters. The major parties (ODM, ODM-K, and PNU) spent a greater proportion of their resources in political advertising, which smaller parties could not afford (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2010). Likewise, parties have evolved structures relating to mobilization, committees as well as activist groups were deployed in the process.

Most parties that follow their leaders' positions on salient national issues, rather than follow party ideology, are often weak as instruments of political mobilization (Kwatamba, 2008). This is one of the main reasons for polarization and disintegration of parties in Kenya. This tendency often overlooks the saliency of party processes and members' preferences on important national issues. Consequently, this undermines the vitality of party structures in shaping decisions.

Party ideology is critical to political mobilization. Kenyan political parties espouse some ideological leanings, although they generally lack commitment in practice. For example, ODM, NARC-Kenya, ODM-Kenya, and KANU officials claimed that their parties are concerned with equitable sharing of national resources, creating employment for the youth, extending social and health services to all Kenyans, establishing welfare programs to cushion the most vulnerable in society, providing free education for all, et cetera (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2010). During election campaign, mobilization has been effective using slogans that address these avowed

maxims that often become proverbial when the party gains the reins of power (Hofmeister and Karsten, 2011).

#### **2.4.2 Political Parties and Political Recruitment in Kenya**

Since Kenya's independence in 1963, recruitment has been the most controversial feature of the electioneering process, both during single-party as well as in multiparty Kenya. Although party constitutions stipulate that respective parties are decentralized and largely open and democratic in their recruitment processes, practice shows that Kenyan parties are heavily centralized and generally undemocratic (Kagwanja & Southall, 2009).

In major parties such as KANU, ODM, TNA and URP, party leaders have considerable power of patronage, enabling them to place their preferred candidates into electorally favorable constituencies, or in high-ranked positions on party hierarchy to continue serving the interests of the party leader. On the other hand, in decentralized processes, nomination decisions in each locality largely rest in the hands of party members (Wanyama & Elklit, 2018). However, in some instances, the choice of the majority is varied in favor of the party leadership's choice. Thus, caution should be taken as practice, in most instances, deviates from structural provisions.

Kenyan parties have generally not taken political education seriously. There are no established party programmes aimed at educating members on various issues of national concern as well as values in democratic governance (Otieno, 2013). A semblance of serious participation in political education usually emerges during electioneering period. The dearth of political education is alleviated somewhat by the engagement that civic education groups, NGOs, the media, and educational

institutions have with the public. In cognizance of this void, the Political Parties Act requires parties to offer political education as part of their programs.

Party governance portrays the existence of a yawning gap between ideals and practice. Also, as a society, Kenya needs political education, especially on values and ethics, now than ever before. This might help counteract impunity and other problems facing the country. Each political party needs to draw a strategy, a program of activities and ensure clear goals and purposes of political education to engage its members. Education on responsible citizenship, sanctity of the rule of law, principles of democracy, political tolerance and competition, respect for human rights, national unity, national healing and reconciliation, should be among the critical issues.

#### **2.4.3 Legal Framework in Political Parties**

Party legal framework or regime refers to legislation specifically designed to regulate activities and life of political organizations, including political parties (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2010). Its source can be constitutions, special party laws such as Political Parties Act, laws and rules that govern elections and electoral processes, parliamentary organization, political party finances, other political activities (such as organizing demonstrations, political meetings), and regulations that govern activities of voluntary organizations that are involved in politics. This framework confers formal recognition to political parties and their roles. It is through this legal framework that political parties acquire legal personality.

Parties in developed democracies enjoy the status of freedom from the state for them to secure their functions, especially as the institutions to galvanize democratic political will or the general will (Nwogu, 2015). They are free to choose their objectives and pursue them. However, the same seems not to be the case in African

parties. (Kanyinga, 2014) contends that African parties while being constructed under universally accepted legal structures, operate otherwise. In Kenya, parties have been accused of failing in this aspect. Parties should possess equality of status which implies equality of opportunity to enter inter-party competition for public office. In this respect, the state should act as a neutral umpire, without taking sides.

Equally important is the accountability requirements for parties. They should be accountable to the public, especially when they receive public funding. Party financing is especially critical for it raises questions of freedom and independence of the party with regard to favours that might be expected by the donors. Party law safeguards these freedoms, although not without repercussions on the operations of political parties (Mihyo, Musahara & Mukuna, 2016). Political parties in Kenya receive funding from the government. There are other sources including membership fees. However, the reality in Kenyan political parties as regards party finance remains shrouded with scanty information revealed to the public.

There are various reasons that could explain why political parties require such a legal regime. Parties have established themselves as ‘engines of the political process’, and thus make rules and regulations for themselves, such as was the case in the 1997 Inter-parties Parliamentary Group (IPPG) initiative and the Grand Coalition Agreement of 2008 (Krug, 2000: 28, 38). Party laws could serve political parties well and could also be used to suppress party activities. They could enforce political accountability among parties by requiring them to live up to democratic ideals. Conversely, party legal regimes can be perverted such that instead of promoting democracy, they can serve the partisan ends of the incumbent party government, such as it has been evident in Kenya since the dawn of multipartism in 1991 (Okoth & Omenya, 2014).



However, inter-party competition is often viewed as zero-sum in the sense that one party's gain is another party's loss, especially in terms of votes, offices and power. These are some of the scenarios that were witnessed in the Grand Coalition Government (Schreiber, 2016). The latent competition and open discontent were essentially about the sharing of political goodies. Since 1992, Kenya has adopted an 'open electoral market approach' to political competition, where a large number of parties have always entered the race with disparate fortunes (Krug, 2000). Of great concern, therefore is the input such parties has on the democratization and multiparty agenda. Similarly, the effect they have on political processes becomes of concern.

Nevertheless, the political party legal regime should provide for basic political freedoms such as freedom of expression, access to information, associational autonomy, among others, that are the lifeblood of democracy. Without a legal regime, party activities would be stifled and party success would almost solely depend on heroic and charismatic leadership that would be ready to wrestle the governing party to the ground. In some cases, party law is critical even to the existence of parties such as was the case between 1982 and 1991 Kenya. The repeal of Section 2A of the constitution opened the flood gates of inter-party-political engagement (Whitehead, 2000: 1; Patel, 2001: 169).

Legislation of political parties in Kenya is essentially informed by the need to reduce alternatives and structure political competition (Cheeseman et al, 2019). This is likely to favor the big parties as opposed to new entrants that lack a wide appeal, visibility, strong ideological or politico-ethnic base. The spread of winning candidates is so skewed that one would question the rationale of having such a crowded party field. Excessive fragmentation can be dealt with by legal requirement such as is the case in the Political Parties Act. The question, in this regard would hence be whether it is

better to reduce the number of parties or leave the competition to market forces and the law of natural selection.

However, power to outlaw some political parties could be misused by those in power. Rather than strengthening interparty competitiveness, it could be used to eliminate competitors that might seem a threat the status quo or incumbents (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2010). For this reason, the right to outlaw parties should be restricted and incumbents and their close agents should not be involved in the process and guarantees of the rule of law should fully apply. Also, for effective competition to occur, the character of parties must be scrutinized to ensure meaningful and competitive elections. In order to achieve this, parties must be consequential by demonstrating their worth through numbers in parliament, membership, and by being accountable. An existing gap is the unavailability of ways to measure the character of parties within the Kenyan political system.

The Constitution of Kenya is perhaps the most important legal framework that governs political parties. It refers to political parties largely as it pertains to their legislative and recruitment functions. To qualify for election to the National Assembly, the Constitution requires that a person be nominated by a political party in the manner prescribed by an Act of Parliament. Section 40 of the constitution stipulates that resignation from the sponsoring party would imply a loss of a Parliamentary seat, reiterating the importance of political parties in the country's governance and law-making process (Krug, 2000: 36).

The Political Parties Act is similarly a crucial legal framework for parties. It provides for various matters close to the heart of political parties. Party registration is the mandate of the Registrar of Political Parties. Besides party registration, the Registrar

is responsible for arbitration of disputes between members of a political party. The Act establishes the Political Parties Disputes Tribunal, which determines with finality inter-party and intra-party disputes, such as disputes between coalition partners, and appeals from decisions made by the Registrar of political parties.

The Act prohibits party formation based on ethnicity, age, tribal, racial, gender, regional, linguistic, corporatist, professional or religious basis or one which seeks to engage in propaganda based on any other matters (Section 14). According to the Act, founder members are required to be people with integrity, fit to hold public office and qualified to hold an elective position. This would help strengthen parties and enhance their national appeal (Jonyo, 2013: 10).

The Act also restricts membership to a party to one at a time. It anticipates that parties have established and registered membership. The arbitrary expulsion, as was the case during single-party era, is a thing of antiquity. Expulsion is allowed when a member violates the party constitution or principles and rules and must be accorded a fair hearing. Unwarranted suppression of another person's lawful political activity is punishable by imprisonment and/or fine (Section 17 (7) & (8)). Deregistration is also an option if a party contravenes the Act. This might promote intraparty accountability, although it could also be invoked to punish perceived enemy party or parties.

**Parliamentary Standing Orders:** The Parliamentary Standing Orders both enhance as well as restrict party operations. For instance, they restrict party operations by setting certain thresholds in terms of how many seats an opposition party or an opposition coalition should have to be recognized as official opposition. The current Standing Orders require thirty for such coalition to be recognized by Parliament.

Furthermore, the Standing Orders require Members to seek written consent from the leader of their parties if they wish to form a coalition of opposition, in the absence of rightful coalition following the above requirement. This condition is impossible to meet in the Kenyan scenario because the dominant parties are all in government and would be counterproductive to them to issue such consent (Krug, 2000: 42).

Smaller parties such as KADU and friendly Members from the ruling grand coalition tried to form official opposition in 2008 but to no avail (Bosire, 2010: 26).

What should be done to get over this crippling situation where the government rules without effective checks? Could the standing orders be reviewed to guarantee the right of opposition in Parliament? This would probably provide incentives to parties that might not form government to work toward forming coalitions to check it.

It is evident that to strengthen political parties as effective and democratic institutions, there is need to focus on the party legal regime, which is one of the key components of party operational milieu. Focus must be on the Political Parties Act, the national Constitution, the Parliamentary Standing Orders, other laws such as the Public Order Act, among others. An enabling legal environment is a prerequisite for party strengthening and institutionalization.

Kenya, like many modern states of the world practices representative democracy in which the sovereignty of the people is exercised through their elected representatives. Since a representative democracy assigns significant powers to the elected leaders, there are legitimate concerns about how the leaders are chosen, the expanse of their jurisdiction, as well as their scope of influence. This is why the electoral system is an extremely important aspect of any democratic country. Simply put, it is the electoral system that dictates who represents how many people and in what area or jurisdiction.

An electoral system is essentially the method by which the votes of the electorate are translated into seats in the national legislative body. The two most popular electoral systems in the world today are the Single Member District (SMD) and the various forms of Proportional Representation (PR). We also have the two-round runoff system of single member districts practiced mostly in the Francophone African Countries. Kenya is currently under the SMD, also called the First Past The Post (FPTP) system, which is sometimes criticized for creating electoral districts (constituencies, as they are called in Kenya) of unequal populations thus leading to disproportionate regional representation at the national assembly. Another common criticism of the SMD system is that it makes it possible for political parties to have a greater proportion of the seats in parliament than their proportion of the vote. So that it is possible for a party that enjoys say a 50% majority of the total vote to have less than a 50% majority in parliament. This is however not to suggest that other systems are not without shortcomings (Krug W, 2007; iv).

Under Proportionate Representation (PR) for instance, it is difficult for the electorate to hold individual legislators accountable because voters may choose between alternative lists of many candidates who represent different political parties without specific districts. This poses a unique problem in a context like Kenya where legislators play a direct role in the development of their constituencies.

The challenge, therefore, is to discuss possible models of electoral system that will address the problem of disproportionate representation while at the same time avoiding the lack of accountability in the PR system (Krug W, 2007; v).

## **2.5 Theoretical Framework**

This study uses the Social Cleavage Theory as its theoretical framework. This theory was developed by Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan in 1967. The social cleavage theory is a concept used in sociology and political science to explore how society is divided into groups. Social cleavages are acknowledged divisions in society based on specific factors and are used to describe, among other things, voting behaviour. The benefits of such an approach can be seen in two closely related subfields, such as the dynamics of party systems and the effects of electoral systems.

### **2.5.1 Social Cleavage Theory**

According to social scientists Lipset and Rokkan (1967), for a social grouping to be termed a social cleavage, it must meet three conditions. First, there must be a division in society based on a particular demographic or socioeconomic factor. Examples of such factors are class, vocation, ethnic group and religious affiliation. This characteristic must serve to separate them from other members of society. Second, people on one side of a social divide (or cleavage) must be aware of the characteristic that bonds them together, and they must demonstrate willingness to act to promote the interests associated with their social identity. Finally, there must be some sort of institution in place that can provide organizational support to the interests of those on a particular side of the social divide.

### **2.5.2 Background to the Theory**

Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan developed the theory of social cleavages in the 1960s as they examined political behaviour displayed in Western Europe. They asserted that the political trends being observed were the result of decades-old social divides framed in terms of class, religion and region. Therefore, they began to see

divides over the breadth of the state's influence and the moral character that defined "family" as not just individual issues but patterns of political behaviour that stemmed from these deep-seated social divides Sitter, 2002: 428, 429).

Social cleavages can be used to describe how political party systems are formed within a society. As groups exhibit disparate voting tendencies based on fractures in society, they associate more and more with bodies of ideological thought that turn into political parties. The breakdown of party affiliation and proportion of representation in each party solidifies over time, as people exhibit the same voting behaviour based on the same social rifts. With the passage of time, then, party systems emerge, with old parties carrying the same constituencies' decade after decade and defining the political landscape of the society (Bornschieer, 2009: 6, 7).

The party systems described by Lipset and Rokkan were built on such strong fundamental divides that they were able to consistently withstand attempts by other parties to enter the political fray. The 1970s, though, saw an explosion of minor party participation that seemed to defy the traditional groupings. This development suggested, therefore, that the Lipset and Rokkan analysis no longer applied because society had been mobilized to action based upon a diversity of modern motivations, which dismissed the uniform block voting of the past.

The continued use of the term social cleavages has also been endorsed but adapted for a less rigid purpose than that which Lipset and Rokkan had in mind. In this viewpoint, the party system itself, as seen in sheer number of distinct parties, is not the most important factor to determine inherent social divides. Instead, the diversity of hidden social conflicts is where social cleavages lie (Bornschieer, 2009: 9, 10). Party loyalties, then, take a back seat to specific issues in society, which party elites try to harness to

sway voters. This is where this research will mainly focus on amongst other tenets of this theory. It is all about the influence that specific individuals and the procedures they set that affect the political standing of political parties in Kenya, influencing therefore the voter in general.

This is also exemplified in the relationship between political socialization and culture and political parties. Through the social cleavage theory, we get to understand the culture and socialization of people and therefore understand their response to political issues, and in this case, political party action and behaviour in elections. Examinations of Africa's party systems by assessment of cleavages follow different analytical routes, mostly based on theoretical and conceptual tools derived from Western political science.

It is of relevance to study the concept of multipartism using social cleavage theory, as did Lipset and Rokkan do in the 1960's because it responds well to the understanding of social constructions in Kenya. The theory helps the researcher understand such questions as why people choose to be under specific cleavages, and demand that their political representations including political parties be established as so. Secondly, is the discussion of how much developed or underdeveloped is multipartism under such cleavages. Thirdly, what are the socio-political and economic issues that contribute to the founding of such cleavages, and how are they relevant to political parties and political processes like democratization. Fourthly is the attempt to answer if there is a triangular relationship between the above questions as regard the development of politics in Kenya.



## **2.6 Conclusion**

This chapter focused on literature review based on the themes on the historical development of multipartism in Kenya, the role of the political party in the Kenyan political realm, the link between multipartism and democratization and the impact of electoral practices on democracy in Kenya. These themes were reviewed from varied literature covering both African and global scholarly work on democratization and political party systems, providing the political situation in Kenya as it is and since independence.

This chapter also discussed the Social Cleavage theory fronted by Lipset and Rokkan (1967). These theorists postulate that membership to political parties is based on social cleavages such as ethnicity, clanism, religion and race. This study reviews the impact of such cleavages on political parties and the political system in general. The next chapter focuses on research methodology of this study.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

This chapter focuses on the research methodology of the study. The main aim of the study was to analyse multiparty politics and democratization in Kenya. This was done by focusing on gaining insight into political parties, their internal structures and procedure and the image built by a party in the context of Kenyan politics, and how these are transferred to electioneering process. To achieve these objectives, an extensive literature research was carried out. This involved a review of recent and relevant documents, articles in journals, newspapers and research reports on the issue.

The empirical research used was qualitative methods of data collection and analysis. The qualitative method was used to get data representing the views of the respondents who majorly included; IEBC staff, Registrar of Political party's staff, and Administration officers.

#### **3.1 Research Design**

The research design used was Descriptive survey research design. According to Gall and Gall (1996:237), the main purpose of a survey is to collect data from the participants about their characteristics, experiences and opinions, in order to generalize the findings to a population that the sample is intended to represent.

Descriptive survey research designs are used in preliminary and exploratory studies to allow researchers to gather information, summarize, present and interpret for the purpose of clarification (Orodho, 2002). Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) on the other hand gives the purpose of descriptive research as determining and reporting the way things are. Borg & Gall (1989) noted that descriptive survey research is intended to

produce statistical information about aspects of phenomena. Since the study focuses on multipartism and democracy, their analysis is broad and involves analysing several years' history and the impact these have had on contemporary features. Descriptive survey is best suited to correctly report on Kenya's multipart politics as it describes how the several factors that multipartism is built on, and why they are that way.

This study formed the basis for developing a scholarly contribution to the undertaking of expansion of democratic principles and practical solutions to the difficult election process that Kenya is now used to. This is the basis on which the recommendations with which this dissertation conclusion was based.

### **3.2 Study Area**

The study was carried out in one constituency in four Counties in Kenya; Nairobi City, Homa Bay, Bomet and Uasin Gishu. Nairobi is the administrative capital and its hosts all major institutions and political parties in Kenya. One constituency was chosen since the information sought would be satisfactorily got in the unit. Homa Bay is located in South Western Kenya by Lake Victoria and neighbours Uganda. Bomet is also located in South Western Kenya's South Rift Valley region under the former Rift Valley Province. Uasin Gishu County is located in Western Kenya's North Rift Region.

Singleton (1993) advises that the ideal setting for any study should be easily accessible to the researcher and should be that which permits instant rapport with the informants. These four counties were chosen because they were within reach to the researcher. These Counties also have fairly significant populations and participate in political developments of the country fully therefore qualifying them to be studied.

### 3.3 Target Population

Target population is defined as all the members of a real or hypothetical set of people, events or objects to which a researcher wishes to generalize the results of the research study (Borg & Gall, 1989). The target population for this study included the electorate and institutions that are part of the democratic process and impart greatly the direction of multipartism in Kenyan elections. Under institutions, those targeted included; the IEBC staff, Registrar for party's staff, Political Parties members, Election Observers, Government administration Staff and Independent Institutions. Under the electorate, they consisted of registered voters in the four sampled constituencies from the four Counties named above. The total electorate population for this study were 228, 577 subjects. Table 3.1 provides the figures of registered voters.

**Table 3.1: Target Population**

County	Constituency	Code No.	Registered Voters
Nairobi	Kibra	278	97,813
Homa Bay	Homa Bay Town	249	34,356
Bomet	Bomet Central	197	46,353
Uasin Gishu	Kesses	146	50,055
<b>Total</b>	-	-	<b>228,577</b>

Source: IEBC Voters Register, 2013

### 3.4 Sampling Design and Sample Size

#### 3.4.1 Sampling Procedure

The researcher used purposive sampling to get the various institutions. The targeted institutions are; Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), Registrar of Political Parties, the current major parties under both coalitions that are Jubilee coalition and The National Super Alliance (NASA) and the Government. The choice of these institutions was informed by deliberate/non-probability sampling since it involves purposive selection of particular units in a broad category for constituting a sample (Kothari, 1985: 15). The researcher further used purposive sampling to get the

desired number of respondents in the selected institutions until a point that considerable information had been collected or attained saturation point, and cluster sampling to get respondents in the form of speciality or professionalism within these institutions. Mark Mason (2010) points out that only a minimum number can be required in qualitative research before getting to saturation point in closed targets or quarters like the institutions the researcher targeted. Using this model, the researcher targeted ten (10) respondents from each of the above institutions. This made the sample size from institutions stand at fifty (50) since they are five institutions. Those individuals sampled were regarded as having knowledge in multiparty and democratic history and current political trend in Kenya.

The researcher purposively sampled four Counties in Kenya based on the researcher's ability to reach these Counties easily and familiarity with the targeted respondents. These Counties are; Nairobi City, Homa Bay, Bomet and Uasin Gishu. In each of the Counties, the researcher further purposefully sampled one constituency using the same reasons. The choice of sampling one constituency was arrived at based on the fact that information gathered in the other constituencies would have been the same, and that this would be more effective and cheaper. This was also due to their centrality to political landscapes and sizes of populations. These constituencies also feature prominently in the political development of multiparty politics of Kenya. These constituencies are Kibra, Homa Bay Town, Bomet Central and Kesses.

The researcher further sampled voters who are members of the two main coalitions using Nassiuma's (2000) formula of 30% of the population to get a sample, the coefficient of variation of 10% and standard error of 0.02 were used. The formulae are as follows;

$$n = \frac{NC^2}{C^2 + (N - 1) E^2}$$

Where

n = Sample Size

N = Population

C<sup>2</sup> = Covariance

E = Standard Error

$$n = \frac{228,577 \times 0.10^2}{0.10^2 + (228,577 - 1) 0.02^2}$$

$$= 24$$

The total sample size estimated an approximate proportion of the target population. The sample size was 24 respondents comprising of voters who must have participated in at least two (2) General elections. The researcher further used this sample size in every constituency to get a sample size of ninety-six (96).

The final sample size was arrived at by adding that of the voters (96) and that of institutions (50) to give a final sample size of one hundred and forty-six (146).

### **3.5 Data Collection**

#### **3.5.1 Primary Data**

The data collection procedure relied to a large extent on interviews and questionnaires as primary sources of information. However, analysis of reports published by various government departments and commissions were also used. This is due to the nature of information being sought as being sensitive. Such reports include the Kriegler and Waki Commissions' Reports which contain information regarding electoral practices in Kenya. These informed the development of multipartism, the effect of single party rule and the general democratic ecology in Kenya.

### **3.5.2 Secondary Data**

Secondary data constituted information from library-based research of literature in books, journals, newspapers and the internet on multiparty politics in Kenya since 1992 to date. Of importance are the periodic general elections and the two referenda of 2005 and 2010. Secondary data provides for the understanding of the scope of political parties, especially on multipartism so that the researcher can conceptualize it based on the chosen theoretical framework and draw conclusions.

### **3.6. Data Collection Instruments**

The data collection instruments chosen for the study are Interview Schedule and open-ended questionnaire. Their use varied depending on the information being sought and the target informant so as to ensure that all needed information is arrived at.

#### **3.6.1. Interviews**

Interviews were used as a primary data collection tool in sourcing information from key individuals who took part in or were in one way or another involved both as primary or secondary stakeholders in any general election process. The main respondents were members of the IEBC, Registrar of Political parties, Political parties, Officials in the public and private sector, public servants in the Interior departments, and those who were directly involved in elections negotiations from selected institutions like NGO's.

Collis and Hussey (2003) point to the strengths of interviews being that it gives the researcher a better position to observe first hand and understand a particular situation and improves the awareness of the researcher to social processes that can influence behaviour by allowing the researcher to observe the relationship of different variables. These strengths were of benefit to the study since the analysis of political parties lies

in qualitative approach, implying the need to observe and understand the circumstances of the Kenyan multiparty engagement in politics and democracy, and to compare the different variables of the circumstances under study in the various elections.

However, its weaknesses are that access to an organisation for overt participation may be very difficult and that researchers may lose their objectivity if they develop an emotional attachment to the people they are observing. These de-merits of interviews posed a serious challenge to the collection of data owing to the extent of the scope of the study on multipartism in Kenya as a case study of democratization discourse. This is further complicated by the personalities that were interviewed who are currently in high ranking positions of leadership and were difficult to meet and build the rapport needed to conduct an interview. In the end, forty-three (43) interviews were done. All the interviews were key informant interviews. These interviews were done between April and June, 2017.

### **3.6.2 Questionnaires**

This data collection method was used to get information from respondents in the selected institutions. The questionnaires were open ended in nature since the research is by a large proportion qualitative in nature. The questionnaire sought to determine the manner in which political parties contribute to democracy within the multiparty structure and resultantly compare this with regard to the periodic elections held in Kenya since 1992.

Collis and Hussey (2003) point to the advantages that it enables the researcher to get below the surface, explore and probe encourages respondents to think and offer considered answers based on the research topic and that it encourages respondents to



give honest opinions. Open ended questionnaires provided the in-depth information by probing multiparty politics in Kenya. Through the several respondents that are in the profession of political bodies and related fields such as security and administration, the researcher gained broad views that allowed for both qualitative and quantitative assessment of democracy and multiparty politics in contemporary Africa.

Its disadvantages include responses that can be hard to collate and that the research may be difficult for others to reproduce, making findings be open to doubt or question. It poses the challenge of collating, and in the context of multipartism which is contextualized within unique environmental circumstances that are understood by different respondents differently.

The total questionnaires returned to the researcher were seventy-three (73) in total as shown in table 3.2.

**Table 3.2. Actual Returned Questionnaires**

Constituency	Sample Size	Actual Sampled size	Percentage
Kibra	24	21	87.5
Homa Bay Town	24	19	79
Kesses	24	16	67
Bomet Central	24	17	71
<b>Total</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>76</b>

Source: Researcher (2021)

### 3.7 Data Collection Procedure

The researcher communicated to all respondents, their institutions and relevant authorities in advance. As regards those who were directly involved in the electioneering process, they were interviewed while those who have knowledge on

multipartism in Kenya politics was given questionnaires. Interviews were done at designated places that the respondents chose while questionnaires were distributed and collected after a given period.

### **3.8 Data Analysis and Presentation**

Data received was analysed qualitatively and quantitatively. Quantitative data was analyzed by frequency tables and percentages. Frequency tables represent the most commonly used method in presenting data in descriptive research (Kathuri and Pals, 1993:117). Qualitative data was evaluated, classified into logical thematic categories based on the objectives and then coded.

The analysis of the structured items was done by using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Unstructured items were analyzed manually along major concepts and themes, and the results presented using descriptive statistics. Conclusions were drawn from the analyzed data, leading to recommendations and suggestions for the role of political parties in the electioneering process.

#### **Pilot Study**

Before the actual data was collected, the researcher conducted a pilot study in Homa Bay Town constituency using one respondent in each of the targeted category of the sample. This respondent was not included in the final study population. Therefore, the pilot study participants were 5 interviewees and 8 respondents for the questionnaires. giving a total of 13 cases, which is the minimum number of cases required for conducting analysis as recommended by Whitehead et al (2016).

The purpose of the pilot study was to enable the researcher to ascertain the reliability and validity of the instruments, and to familiarize himself with the administration of the questionnaires and, therefore, improve the instruments and procedures.

### **3.7 Reliability and Validity of Research Instruments**

#### **3.7.1 Reliability**

Reliability entails the extent to which a measurement of a phenomenon provides stable and consistent results. It is also based on repeatability of tested results (Taherdoost, 2016). Testing for reliability is important as it refers to the consistency across the parts of a measuring instrument. A pilot study was done. This pilot study enabled the researcher to assess the clarity of the questionnaire items. In the end, inadequate or vague items found were improved to enhance the quality of this research instrument and reliability of data collected.

Split-Half technique of reliability testing was employed. This entailed the pilot questionnaires being divided into two equivalent halves and then a correlation coefficient for the two halves computed using the Spearman Brown Prophecy formula (Oso, 2016). This correlation coefficient indicated the degree to which the two halves of the test provided the same results. This way, it described a perfect internal consistency of the test. Reliability was then tested.

#### **3.7.2 Validity**

Validity refers to how accurately a method measures what it is intended to measure, and based on the research results (Taherdoost, 2016). Validity explains how well the collected data covers the actual area of investigation. It means “measure what is intended to be measured”. All assessments of validity are subjective opinions based on the judgment of the researcher.

To ensure validity, a pilot study was done as the determining factor of face validity. Oluwatayo (2012) opines that face validity refers to researchers’ subjective assessments of the presentation and relevance of the measuring instrument as to

whether the items in the instrument appear to be relevant, reasonable, unambiguous and clear. The data collected, therefore, in the pilot phase was reviewed so as to ascertain the validity of the research instruments and data collected.

The process of validation of research instruments to ascertain their performance was done by comparing them to other similar instruments so to ascertain criterion validity. This validity is described to be the relationship between the scores of a research instrument in comparison to another similar instrument (Oso, 2016). Criterion validity is also referred to as absolute validity.

It is the ability of a study/instrument to predict results at some later date (Taherdoost, 2016). The researcher administered a pilot test to a section of the sample and waited for a certain date before administering the same instrument. The validity of the data instrument used was then ascertained by comparing the results.

### **3.9 Ethical Considerations**

Cognisance was taken of the fact that this study is investigating very sensitive issues likely to elicit hostility, insecurity or concealment of the real data required from the participants. Confidentiality and privacy are, therefore, ensured for subjects to safeguard their interests.

An introductory letter was sought from the Department of History, Political Science and Public Administration to be presented to the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI). Resultantly, a research permit was also sought from NACOSTI and was granted.

Permission to carry out the research was sought from the participants, the political party management, and relevant authorities, including the Ministry of Internal

Security, IEBC, Commission for National Integration and Cohesion and Administration. Participation of respondents was voluntary. It was clearly explained to participants that the purpose of the research is to collect data and use it for academic work only. It was further clarified to them that the political party the researcher is affiliated to was not in any way revealed and that the researcher does not represent any other political party that is or is in any context a nemesis.

The researcher assured participants of strict confidentiality in relation to information obtained during the research. Thus, participants were required to make informed decisions and elaborate on the best method they preferred to provide the relevant information required.

### **3.10 Conclusion**

This chapter focused on research design and methodology. It entailed the manner with which sampling of respondents and data was collected. It also focused on data analysis and ethics of research observed. The next chapter will deal with analysis of data of the first theme; Development of multipartism in Kenya.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DEVELOPMENT OF MULTIPARTISM IN KENYA

#### 4.1 Introduction

This objective focused on the development of Multipartism in Kenya. This chapter reviews the historical aspects that multipartism has been founded on including the years of 1967 to 1992 when it was suspended, and the country being under the single party era under the Kenya African National Union (KANU) Party. Through this development, the level of democratization and the quality of political parties of elections today are discussed.

#### 4.2 Development of Multipartism in Kenya

At independence, Kenya was a multiparty state. The development of multipartism in Kenya has followed a somewhat difficult path. Almond G & Coleman (1960, 239–246) point out that Kenya like many African countries has had a mixed fortune in its multiparty story. While the post-independence Kenya was anchored in multiparty politics, that was soon reversed by the first administration in 1969, argues Jonjo (2013). Kenya became a single party de jure system up to 1992 when multiparty politics was returned. The events of the single party era, respondents argue, “have had far reaching consequences for the country, both positive and negative”.

Table 4.4. Summarizes the development of multipartism in Kenya.

Africa in the late 1980s and early 1990s was characterized by a general trend towards plural politics and multiparty electoral competition. The popular political clichés were "elections," "multipartism," "civil society," and "democracy." Between 1985 and 1991, no less than twenty-eight authoritarian regimes were forced to liberalize the political arena, while multiparty elections were held in eight countries. By 1997,

about three-quarters of all African countries were under "democratic rule," succumbing to the logic of periodic elections, albeit mostly with questionable content (Adejumobi, 2000).

Respondents point out that, "two factors may account for the changing political scene in Africa". "The first is within the context of declining economic fortunes and severe material poverty of the people". Thus, authoritarian and one-party rule appeared to have undermined their social capital and political legitimacy. Alternative political choices in competitive multiparty elections and democratic politics became possible. Secondly, "the shift in the international political economy coalesced to make a difference in the choice of political systems in Africa as the hegemony of liberal capitalist ideology led to the "internationalization" of the issues of market reforms and liberal democracy".

The object of liberal democracy, therefore, became a major issue in bilateral and multilateral development cooperation, between Africa and the western world. Multilateral institutions like the Commonwealth, the OECD, the European Union (EU), the IMF, the World Bank and the United Nations began to promote the cause of human rights, the rule of law and democracy as issues of concern in their support for Africa. Similarly, major donor countries like the United States, Canada, Britain and France also made democratic issues prerequisites for the continued flow of aid and economic assistance.

**Table 4.1: Development of Multipartyism in Kenya**

<b>Features of multiparty development</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>Total</b>
Multipartyism in Africa is built on strong democratic mechanisms	Freq.	14	27	23	14	12	90
	%	16	30	26	15	13	100
The government has done a lot to expand democratic ideals	Freq.	14	19	19	20	18	90
	%	15	21	21	23	20	100
External powers or factors have greatly impacted on the advancement of multiparty politics	Freq.	10	12	30	19	19	90
	%	11	14	33	21	21	100
State legal structures have had a positive impact on political parties	Freq.	9	18	23	23	17	90
	%	10	20	26	26	18	100
The decline of the role of political parties is due to internal party mechanisms	Freq.	6	17	17	27	23	90
	%	7	19	19	30	25	100
The state of affairs contributed greatly to the wave of democratization in the 1990's in Africa	Freq.	8	16	22	27	17	90
	%	9	18	24	30	19	100
The role of historical injustices in the Kenyan political history is an important aspect in political party development	Freq.	10	15	15	23	27	90
	%	11	17	17	25	30	100

**Source: Researcher (2021)**

**Key**

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree

**Source: Researcher, (2021)**

Regarding strong democratic processes, from the findings in table 4.1., majority of the participants in the study disagree 27 (30%) that the political parties in Kenya are built on strong democratic process. 23 (26%) of the participants were neutral on this subject matter while 14 (16%) completely disagree and 14 (15%) and 13 (12%) agree and strongly disagree respectively. Majority of the respondents involved in the study seemed to disagree with the statement that political parties in Kenya are built on



strong democratic process. They stated that these political parties in the country lack any democracy within themselves in as much as they point fingers to other institution that they claimed democracy. This was mainly evident during nomination for various parliamentary seats and even for position within the party.

A lot of bribing and even violence was witnessed during nomination and party election throughout the years (Kriegler Report, 2008; Waki Report, 2008). Political parties have had very limited opportunity to contribute positively to the process of democratic governance in the country. This explains why parties remain weak. They lack institutional support, an enabling political will and financial resources to facilitate their role in the transition to effective democratic politics.

In the wake of the third wave of democratization (Huntington, 1991), competitive authoritarianism emerged as a prominent regime type. These regimes feature regular, competitive elections between a government and an opposition, but the incumbent leader or party typically resorts to coercion, intimidation, and fraud to attempt to ensure electoral victory. Despite the incumbent's reliance on unfair practices to stay in power, such elections occasionally result in what Howard and Roessler, (2006) call a "liberalizing electoral outcome" which often leads to a new government that is considerably less authoritarian than its predecessor.

It is this slow and progressive improvement that results from parties' steady adherence to democratic procedure. It is the case since authoritarianism cannot be extinguished over a short period of time. However, as shown in table 4. 1., political parties have in the recent past negated this development. The 2017 General Elections portrayed a far much less democratic threshold in the realm of internal democracy

(such as direct nominations, *Daily Nation*, April 4<sup>th</sup>, 2017; pp1), party nominations (*Daily Nation*, 23<sup>rd</sup> May, 2017; pp5)

The government as a player in politics and as a product of political parties contributes immensely to democratic ideals in one way or another. When respondents were asked whether the government has done a lot to expand democratic ideals, these were the outcome as per the respondents 14 (15%) strongly disagree, 19 (21%) disagree, 19 (21%) were neutral, 20 (23%) agree and 18 (20%) of the respondents strongly agree. From the findings that were recorded and analysed from the study, the opinions of the participants of the study were not decisive as to whether there was support of the government towards political parties.

Some thought that the government was supportive especially with new introduction and legislation that called for funding of political parties but for some the view was in the opposite especially for opposition parties. They noted that the government was used and used their power and machinery at their disposal to hinder and frustrate these political parties. The advancement of political parties was as a result of their relationship towards the government. Although most political parties in Africa have developed an antagonistic relationship with their governments, they still have a working relationship (Mazoffar, 2005a). The support required of the government is to provide financial, legal and stable political environment with which the political parties can thrive with.

It is these features that governments exploit in a clientelistic approach to weaken political parties. Parties that try to take up a national outlook are invaded by governments and reduced to regional or ethnic parties (Wambua, 2017). This was and is still effected in Kenya to date, a respondent points out. He further gives the

example of FORD which with background influences from KANU, was reduced and broken up, thanks to infighting and strong ethnic rivalries its leadership couldn't resolve.

External powers and other factors greatly impact on the advancement of multiparty politics in any country (Kakuba, 2010). As shown in table 4.1, respondents provided the following data as regards external powers or factors having greatly impacted on the advancement of political parties. 10 (11%) disagree with this predisposition, 12 (14%) disagree, 30 (33%) are neutral on the subject matter. 19 (21%) agree with it, while 19 (21%) strongly agree with it. These results show that without a doubt external powers or factors indeed have a great impact on the advancement of political parties. These external forces can be a hindrance to advancement but could equally be taken as an opportunity for growth and advancing of these political parties.

External powers have immense influence on how the country is structured in economic, social and more importantly the resultant political aspects. Respondents argue that, "the Structural Adjustment Programmes II (SAPs II) of the 1990s immensely shaped the politics of the developing world including the introduction of multiparty politics". Other respondents point to, "the emergent influence of The East, especially China and other newly industrialized counties (NICs) otherwise called the Asian Tigers". Apart from South Korea, others are not well developed politically and more importantly democratically.

It is this feature that more and more African countries are emulating. That if Asian tigers can make it economically without political reform, then African countries can. A respondent argues that, "it is these influences that have resulted in the loss of the gains made in the democratization process as countries in Africa quickly abandon the

carrot and stick model of foreign policy of the West and rush to the East since the latter does not question their political environment”. Nonetheless, Hagmann and Reyntjens (2016) opine that the influences of the West stick around and are also influenced by International Organizations and corporations.

State legal structures have an impact on how political parties, just like any other public institution runs and performs. Table 4.1.provides the view of respondents as regards the state legal structures have had a positive impact on political parties, the findings were as follows: 9 (10%) of the respondents strongly disagree with the statement, 18 (20%) disagree, 23 (26%) were neutral on the matter, 23 (26%) agree with it and 17 (18%) strongly agree. The respondents gave results suggesting that the state legal structures still had room for improvement and could still have a positive impact on political parties. They noted that on paper things looked to be promising and that if these legal structures were to be manifested and abided, then indeed they would have tremendous and very progressive effects on political parties and the democracy of the country. Many noted that most of the political parties had proper structures and manifestoes but rarely applied these structures in carrying out their mandate.

Party legal framework or regime refers to legislation specifically designed to regulate activities and life of political organizations, including political parties. Its source can be constitutions, special party laws such as *Political Parties Act*, laws and rules that govern elections and electoral processes, parliamentary organization, political party finances, other political activities (such as organizing demonstrations, political meetings), and regulations that govern activities of voluntary organizations that are involved in politics. This framework, respondents argue, “confers formal recognition to political parties and their roles”. It is through this legal framework that political

parties acquire legal personality (Political Parties Act, 2011). However, legislation of political parties in Kenya is essentially informed by the need to reduce alternatives and structure political competition, which is likely to favour the big parties as opposed to new entrants that lack a wide appeal, visibility, strong ideological or politico-ethnic base.

Scholars of political science including (Nyaluke & Connolly, 2013; Kakuba, 2010) repeatedly note the centrality of parties to the effective functioning of a democracy. Parties are arguably the single most important organizations in electoral politics. Parties are viewed as essential institutions for organizing political competition, and they are expected to play critical roles in aggregating societal interests, linking political leaders to their constituents, and recruiting future generations of political leadership (Kakuba, 2010). However, political parties' role has been dwindling in the Kenyan political arena. Respondents point to the, "weaknesses, limited resources and limitations to meet the requirements of the Political Parties Act compounded by their low membership base that is not outside their social cleavage". The Kriegler report on the post-election violence recommends far reaching legal measures to be put in place (Kriegler Report, 2008)

The findings of the study on matters of the decline of the role of political parties to be due to internal party mechanisms as shown in table 4.1.. were as follows: 6 (7%) of the respondents strongly disagree with the statement, 17 (19%) of the respondents disagree, 17 (19%) were neutral and 27 (30%) and 23 (25%) agree and strongly agree with the statement respectively. These results established that political parties have lost significance and relevance in the society over time due to the internal party mechanisms which are poorly structured and only focus on gaining power for top leadership. These mechanisms do not focus on societal issues and how to solve them.

In addition, the respondents showed that such factors lead to many political parties' wrangles with people fighting to attain or maintain their power and influence in the party.

The study also showed that lack of accountability and trust due to poor internal party mechanisms were to be blamed for the same. This supports the observation by Hermel, Robert and Savsand Lars (1993) that Further analysis of political parties reveals that it is not only funding that undermines the efficacy of their operations. Other factors are also influential. In particular, ethnic cleavages, religious affinities, and class-based dominance have crippled the work of political parties as drivers for democratic governance. These not only subvert the project of building strong social bases but also, promote clienteles politics, extensive patronage; hence lack of transparency in public policy and clean governance.

As regards the contribution of state of affairs to the wave of democratization, how each country in Africa handle the democratization wave of the 1990's determined how multipartism was embraced (Huntington, 1991). The table 4.1. shows the percentage of the respondents that agree that the state of affairs in the 1990s did impact on the end of the single party system. The findings were as such: 8 (9%) strongly disagree, 16 (18%) disagree 22 (24%) were neutral, 27 (30%) agree, and 17 (19%) strongly agree. This outcome shows that democracy in the 1900s was subject to the state of affairs as at that period of time. This outcome is concurrent with many other studies across the African continent and even globally (Cheeseman, 2019; Adejumo-Ayibiowu, 2019) which show that democracy in many cases can solve or deal with the prevailing circumstance in a country.

Understanding the state of affairs in Kenya in the 1990s is crucial in elaborating the change from single to multiparty political system. One respondent points to, “the cold war era demise as the big the game changer. She quotes, “international relations (IR) scholars Huntington and Kenneth Waltz that this change would affect the entire world”. Here in Kenya, she adds, “was in the change of the party system”. Other respondents point to the “harsh economic times and the difficult place the government was in including pressure to reform in exchange for aid”.

Since historical injustices were pointed out as the most prominent failures of political institutions in Kenya, table 4.1. Summarises the Likert scale responses on such injustices. The findings on the role of historical injustices in the Kenyan political history is an important aspect in political party development were as follows: 10 (11%) strongly disagree, 15 (17%) disagree 15 (17%) were neutral, 23 (25%) agree, and 27 (30%) strongly agree. The role of historical injustices in the Kenyan political history is an important aspect in political party system development as was shown by the results of this study. Based on the findings, most respondents agreed that these historical injustices are foundational and help to drive the agenda of most in not all political parties in the country. Ranging from land issues, to violence and mistrust among various parties, the results showed that these factors are strategic in forming, running and sustaining the agenda of a majority of the political parties.

Respondents point to the “alienation of KPU from power despite winning in both senate and house of representatives in the 1966 elections as the beginning of injustices towards political parties and an indicator towards the inevitable demise of multiparty politics in Kenya”. By KPU being pushed to the back, and this being allowed gave precedence to future party injustices, agrees Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (2010). This is because ruling parties could get away with such vices. Several injustices done to

political parties along the way and especially during the single party era, have contributed to the weakness seen in political parties to date. Respondents also point out “the targeting and witch-hunt party leaders went through, and their supporter cleavages as a major contributor to the low membership in political parties today”. Such political vices, Elischer (2008) points out are rampant in Kenya.

#### **4.3 Characteristics of political parties in Kenya**

The characteristics of political parties is crucial in the conceptualization of the history of multipartism and the resultant democratization that ensued. The characteristics as portrayed by political parties today reflect the rich history in the country’s voting manner since the colonial administration. As discussed in the literature review, the theory of social cleavage is realized in the membership of political parties in Kenya. The questions sought out were if membership to political parties cut across Kenya? How and what is the influence of the minority/elite members and how it impacts the country in terms of cohesion and integration in ideological cleavages (ethnic, religious, race, elite/class)? Table 4.5 gives the results collected from the respondents.



**Table 4.2.: Social Cleavage Membership Characteristics of Political Parties**

Political Party	Social Cleavage (counts)						
	Race	Elite	Unionist	Gender	Religion	Ethnic	Regional
KANU	0	4	8	15	0	35	14
JUBILEE	2	5	38	34	0	27	18
ODM	2	4	56	34	0	34	21
UDM	0	18	3	2	0	87	81
WIPER-K	0	4	7	15	0	58	45
FORD-K	0	2	61	12	0	72	84
Third-Way							
Alliance	0	19	4	16	0	25	18
NARC	0	3	2	63	0	41	47
NARC-K	0	4	1	69	0	45	56
MCC	0	17	1	8	0	53	48
ANC	0	19	42	4	0	57	42
FORD-P	0	2	22	6	0	79	80
FAP	0	7	8	5	72	84	80
CCM	0	3	2	4	0	80	76
Others	1	10	4	11	12	79	75
Total	0.33	8.07	17.27	19.87	5.6	57.07	52.33
(Average)							

**Source: Researcher, (2021)**

To join or not to join a political party is based on certain social cleavages that pre-exist in the society (Whitehead, 2000: 3). This was evidenced in the data collected on 14 (fourteen) political parties (as at 2017). The cleavages examined were; race, elitist, unionist, gender, religion, ethnic and regional cleavages as shown in table 4.2.

Racial social cleavages were identified as those groups that associate with either Black, Hindu Asian and Anglo-white Kenyans. These are the three major races that exist in Kenya. A fourth group identified is the Arab ethnic group. This group, however, identifies itself through religious cleavages. As shown in table 4.2., it is in Jubilee and ODM political parties that racial cleavages are seen, albeit with 2 counts each. It is the case due to the fact that racism is not a compelling or attractive political mobilization tool unlike in other countries like South Africa. However, those who choose to join these two parties using racism, do so as to either protect their interest or

support one of their own who is vying for a political seat. The Members of Parliament (MPs) for Kisumu Central, Kesses and Meru South, according to one respondent, are examples.

Elitism is regarded as one of the most severe social cleavage in modern Statehood and political party mobilizer (Oyugi, Wanyande & Odhiambo-Mbai, and 2003:53). Capitalism and liberal democracy are argued by Moravcsik, (2010) as the foundations of elitist social cleavages. Kenya being a liberal democracy, elitism surely exist. Elites in Kenya include persons with high level connectivity to both national and international governments. They are in the business sector and other lucrative industries.

As shown in table 4.2., political parties that don't have national support are notorious for having elites as their members. Parties including United Democratic Party (UDM) at 18 counts, Third Way Alliance at 19 counts, Maendeleo Chap Chap (MCC) at 17 counts, Amani National Congress (ANC) at 19 counts and Other parties at 10 counts. Respondents point out that "this is due to such persons seeking to win seats, regardless of a party, and in so doing, protect their properties, interests and their own". "They also join these little-known parties to avoid party primaries".

Respondents also point out that "elites use such parties in order to get political weight to support either an incumbent, or a challenger from without the mainstream party. This ensures they avoid public limelight and scrutiny". Respondent provide "the FAP (Frontier Alliance Party), LPK (Labour Party of Kenya) and MCC (Maendeleo Chap Chap) which were affiliate political parties to Jubilee, where so many elites enlisted". Respondents also point to "membership to political parties by elites as an avenue to criminal vices such as money laundering and impunity". In essence, knowing that

politicians get a lot of support and clamour, resultantly, more less prosecutable (Briscoe & Goff, 2016).

A respondent argues that, “unions also form a strong base for political party membership”. In the world over, unions, especially trade unions have reshaped the directions, ideologies of some of the most powerful countries by using their uniting issued as basis for forming political parties and proceeding to take over governments (Streeck et al., 2003). In Kenya, the respondent adds, “trade union backed Tom Mboya who rose to be one of the most prominent politicians in Kenya’s history”. In the political parties of the day, the major unions that determine membership of parties include Central Organization of Trade Unions (COTU), Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT), Kenya Union of Post Primary Teachers (KUPPET) and Public Servants Trade Union (PUSETU). Others include Students’ Unions.

COTU, according to respondents, is mainly inclined to the opposition and more so FORD-K, ODM and ANC. This was attributed to many of its members forming the bedrock of the blue-collar workforce in Kenya. KNUT and KUPPET was also mentioned as an important political recruiter since they represent teachers whose number is 250,000 and above (Ministry of Education, 2019). According to respondents, “they have used their numbers to augment for better salaries and workmanship environment”. “In the 2017 General Elections, these unions’ leaders openly campaigned for the NASA flag bearer and in the process KNUT Secretary General, Wilson Sossion was nominated to the Senate while KUPPET Secretary General Milemba Omboko elected to the National Assembly”, notes an interviewee.

Students’ Unions, according to respondents, also play a crucial role in the support base of political parties. ODM and FORD-K according to respondents have the most

part of support from Student Unions. These students take part in rallies and protests called by the said political parties. The examples of James Orengo and Babu Owino were given by respondents as leaders who rose from Students' Organization of Nairobi University (SONU) of the University of Nairobi. Other respondents also explain that "even the Jubilee party and its affiliates have the support of Student Unions, though not at the same level as that of the opposition". The respondent gives the example of "Kabando Wa Kabando of SONU, Aden Duale, Joshua Kutuny, Aaron Cheruiyot all of Moi university Students' Organization (MUSO) of Moi University as being groomed in University politics". The unionist that join the jubilee party at 38 counts are mostly from unions in the business community and operators in the *jua kali* (artisan and technical) sector.

Gender as a social cleavage was responded to as not as important a factor in party membership. However, respondents agree that the female gender do not have or don't associate with this cleavage in matters relating to politics. Women who decide to join politics, nonetheless, use their gender to win over supports and members. All the mainstream parties were reported to have had this feature. Women make political choices that since there is "*a-third rule*", their chances of being supported are high. As such, many women join parties. Nonetheless, the huge support given to NARC and NARC-K by women as shown in table 4.2at 63 and 69 counts respectively is due to the party leaders of these parties being women.

Religion as a social cleavage, just like race, constitutes the least basis for joining a political party in Kenya. Respondents agreed that Kenya's history, apart from the late 1980s and early 1990s, the religion one belongs to has never mattered. During that time, Muslims, especially in the Coast, felt the need to form their own political party so as to agitate for Muslim rights (Ndzovu, 2009; pp 4,5). There was a general feeling

by the Kenyan Muslims that they had been secluded from government for so long. This according to Ndzovu (2009) was thwarted under the Moi regime by the Late Karisa Maitha. As shown in table 4.2., the membership of FAP that connotes 72 counts of religion-constitutive base is mainly because its members are drawn from the pastoralist communities in North Eastern and Upper Eastern regions. Their main religion is Islam. The 12 counts as shown is due to radical Christians who choose to join political parties or political activities to agitate for fundamental religious tenets. A respondent gives the 2010 referendum as an example.

Ethnicity according to data received formed the major basis of social cleavage footing in joining political parties. Kenyans in general, respondents point out, “join political parties because it is their own. That political parties are vehicles for attaining State power so as to have the space to eat the national cake, according to their needs”. As shown in table 4.2., ethnicity was by far in average the major reason of joining and supporting a political party at 57.07 counts.

The basis for regional social cleavages is due to coalitions arrived at by two or more ethnic groups coming together to form or support a political party. Respondents provide the examples of ODM, Jubilee, Third Way Alliance and KANU at 21, 18, 18 and 14 counts respectively, as parties that don't have strong bases in the homeland of at least two ethnic communities. In certain instances, an ethnic group can be spread across a wide berth of territory, thus forming a regional cleavage. Regional social cleavages are also attained by the unilateral support given to parties by related ethnic groupings, specifically the Nilotic, Cushitic and Bantu Ethnic groups. Such parties as shown in table 4.2. are UDM, FORD-K, FORD-P, FAP and CCM at 81, 84, 80, 80 and 76 counts respectively. These communities tend, over Kenya's electioneering history to support each other politically. One respondent noted that, “this is partly due

to the GEMA, KAMATUSA and Coast Alliance related politics in the single party era”. “The bonds created then, just don’t fade easily”, he concludes.

#### 4.4 Multiparty and Single Party Systems in Kenya

Comparison of the state of affairs in the country in both single and multiparty era is important so as to ascertain which system is better and in what circumstances. The issues under scope in the comparison are; Politics and governance during the two eras, membership to political parties (here the research tried to find out if the members were enormous during either of the systems, and for what reasons) and achievements of parties in terms of mobilization, development to the country, impact on public policy, direction of the country’s ideology, impact on foreign policy (relations and general image of the state as portrayed by the political party). For example; what or how did the country regard and work with the OAU/AU, treat the apartheid regime, its stand on the cold war, regarded her neighbours, among others. in the single party era and how all these features are today under the multiparty era.

**Table 4.3: Achievements of Political Parties**

Achievements	Single Party Era		Multiparty Era		
	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	
Social	43	48	46	52	
Mobilization	46	52	61	68	
	Economic	34	38	54	60
Public Policy	60	67	67	75	
Foreign Policy	50	56	41	46	
National Integration	56	62	37	42	
Ideology Conceptualization	66	74	31	35	
National Development	52	58	60	67	
Democratization	28	32	72	80	
Constitutionalism	40	45	70	78	
Institutionalism	40	45	60	67	
Political Inclusivity	33	37	66	74	
Political Effectiveness	60	67	52	58	
Party Development	46	52	56	63	

**Source: Researcher, (2021)**

It is important to assess the achievements of political parties in reviewing the development of multiparty politics in Kenya. This question sought to compare the development of political parties and how they were able to perform in both eras. Under mobilization, the extent to which a party mobilizes social, political and economic features for development is paramount. As shown in table 4.3, Multiparty era political parties did better at mobilization at 52%, 68% and 60% as compared to 48%, 52% and 38% respectively. The reasons for these are mainly because political parties when operating within a multiparty setup, tend to compete and in return, their image and technical knowhow is improved. This was lacking in the single party era because the patron was the leader of the country. The party assumed some so called “executive” status and role. “At one time, the District Branch KANU chairperson was more powerful than the District Commissioner”, a respondent points out. The contribution of a party to public policy making is much better in the present multiparty era as shown in table 4.3., with 75% over 67% in the single party era. This was attributed to the fact that like mobilization, public policy is more inclusive with inherent principles of public participation. This was not the case in the single party era where the leadership, especially in the party decided what was good for their constituents on their behalf.

However, the party under a single party system was found to do better in foreign policy, national integration and ideology conceptualization. Each of these features were found to be doing better as shown in table 4.3. with 56%, 62% and 74% over 46%, 42% and 35% in the multiparty era respectively. Political effectiveness also did better in the single party era at 67% over 58% in the multiparty era. It was pointed out in the collected data that these four performed better owing to the centralized and

unified manner of national politics. Respondents point out, “that this was and still is the benefit of single party systems.

States in such systems have strong foreign policies owing to the strong or towering figure the heads of state enjoy back at home; which catapults him/her to more accolade status than their counterparts in the region”. “The example of Presidents Yoweri and Kagame of Uganda and Rwanda respectively are provided as examples”. One interviewee argues therefore that, “these Heads of State have more status than their East African counterparts, all thanks to single party tendencies in their countries that have overpowered multiparty politics .Moyo (2021) opines that having and commanding respect in the AU and other regional bodies depends greatly on an individual’s own country.

National development, democratization, constitutionalism, institutionalism, political inclusivity and party development at 67%, 80%, 78%, 67%, 74% and 63% were found to be better under a multiparty system over 58%, 32%, 45%, 45%, 37% and 52% respectively in the single party system as shown in table 4.3. It was argued that national development is as a result of public participation and inclusivity, as discussed above, and directly involved in democratic principles and constitutionalism. Such features as separation of powers, creation and maintenance of strong independent institutions; does not create a vacuum for political parties to fill, as was the case in the single party era.

Parties are secluded to policy and interest articulation and in the legislature only. A respondent however, argues that, “keeping a party secluded is not the best choice”. While supporting multiparty systems, he calls for, “strong political parties, just like in Uganda, Tanzania and Rwanda to be replicated in Kenya”. He goes further to explain



that, “strong parties ensure national development, which in turn gives room for the growth of democracy and institutionalism”. Kakuba (2009) argues in agreement that no system, single or multiparty will work within a poor economic environment.

#### **4.5 Level of Democratization**

The level of democratization in the country is critical in assessing multipartism over a number of years. The researcher, moreover, sought to find out the input of every regime in post independent Kenya to date. By using these various regimes, the question sought after is how has democracy developed over the years? Table 4.7 summarizes the responses.

**Table 4.4: Development of Democracy since Independence**

Democratic Ideals	1963-1966		1967 – 1992				1992 – 2017					
	Jomo's Regime		Jomo's Regime		Moi's Regime		Moi's Regime		Kibaki's Regime		Uhuru's Regime	
	Counts	(%)	Counts	(%)	Counts	(%)	Counts	(%)	Counts	(%)	Counts	(%)
Political recruitment	78	87	48	54	43	48	21	24	64	72	58	65
Integration of diverse groups	63	71	42	47	44	49	40	45	42	49	39	44
Promotion of pluralistic debates	43	48	20	23	34	38	17	19	52	58	43	48
Fair interest articulation	54	60	17	19	20	23	13	15	55	62	74	83
Fair national representation	56	63	42	47	48	54	43	48	58	65	40	45
Equal recruitment of leaders	66	74	41	46	42	47	34	38	76	85	61	68
Political mobilization	78	87	47	53	58	65	35	39	63	70	62	69
Augmentation of principles of democracy	43	48	15	17	17	19	49	55	69	77	73	82
Augmentation of democratic participation	42	47	16	18	19	22	43	48	54	61	59	66
Protection of fundamental freedoms	50	56	20	23	22	25	31	35	51	57	41	46

**Source, Researcher, (2021)**

The overall assessment of the development of democracy in the course of Kenya three eras as shown in table 4.4 can be described as being better in the multiparty system. The first multiparty era of 1963 to 1966 as shown in table 4.4 had a positive footing in matters democracy, in view of the fact that Kenya was new country and was still learning so much. Apart from promotion of pluralistic debates (48%), augmentation of the principles of democracy (48%) and augmentation of democratic participation (47%); all other features were at over 50%. This start was attributed to the unity and commonality Kenyans had in gaining independence. This new hard-won independence had to be safeguarded. Therefore, everybody wanted to start right and show the world that Kenyans can do it by their own. A respondent explains that, “everybody belonged, even the white minority were part of the nation building process”.

However, as years went by, divisions in the leadership emerged. President Jomo Kenyatta and his deputy, Vice President Jaramogi Oginga soon were at loggerheads over ideological, political, economic and social issues (Opondo, 2014). This, respondents argue, “was the beginning of the erosion of the little, yet important democratic principles Kenya had acquired”. The then president’s side thought that if the country was seen or even imagined divided, then the country might be recolonized. The Vice President’s side believed that the country was being ran in a wrong manner, with corrupt and divisive vices starting to mushroom (Opondo, 2014). Their differences did not stop there, but soon were elevated to ideology with the former supporting capitalism and liberal democracies while the latter supporting socialism and socialist democracy.

The decision to ban all parties after the snap elections of 1966 and declare Kenya a one-party State dealt a big blow to democracy as shown in table 4.4. There was a

drastic reduction in the quality of democratic ideals going into 1967 onwards up to the end of President Jomo Kenyatta's regime. All features reduced with at least 20%. The entry of President Moi's regime according to collected data did not change the situation; the only feasible improvement in terms of democracy was fair national representation at 54% up from 47% and improved political mobilization at 65% up from 53%. The factor that made these changes was political transition and the resultant need to re-align the new regime to existing and new realities of power. The new regime had to make better the environment of democracy. But as years passed, all these features and quality slowly diminished. As Brown, (2001) argues, the need to maintain the regime, the legitimacy of its leader, international standing and regional reputation, the KANU regime did all it could, including diminishing the democratic environment so as to survive. This it did up to 1992, when multiparty politics were ushered in.

Internal rebellion was quashed, freedoms curtailed, political persecutions enforced and so on. It did fit the prescription of an authoritarian system (Patel, 2001). At that time, it depended on belonging to which political party that your concerns are heard. During the KANU era, the leadership would use a phrase, "*Siasa mbaya, maisha mbaya*", (Bad politics, bad life). This was directed at those who chose to join the opposition, their punishment being denial of basic services and infrastructure. Those that were in the ruling party got better infrastructure and even appointments to government as rewards. This negated the principles of democracy since one's choice should not mean provision or denial of services and infrastructure from the government.

The advent of multiparty politics in 1992 was an opportunity for democracy to grow. However, the two terms under President Moi were tough for democratic principles to

thrive. Respondents argue that, “there were so many issues at that time that the regime would have crumbled, therefore having no choice but to be authoritarian”. These issues, they points out, “include poor economy, change of foreign relations between Kenya and the West which had supported Kenya during the Cold War without regard to democratic ideals and globalization that made citizens aware of their rights from other countries and not necessarily from KANU as was the norm”. The second term of President Moi nonetheless, saw improvements in such matters as augmentation of democratic principles and participation at 55% and 48% up from 19% and 22% respectively.

The Kibaki and Uhuru regimes have recorded general improvements in the quality of democratic ideals. The Kibaki regime, one respondent argues, “saw a dramatic change in the structure and understanding of democracy”. Since it was a coalition government at first, almost all Kenyans supported this regime. President Kibaki’s landslide win during the 2002 General elections proves this point. “It was a new era, just like independence when the majority of Kenyans stood up against KANU and voted in NARC”, one respondent notes. Its only shortfall, as shown in table 4.4 was integration of diverse groups at 49%, promotion of pluralistic debates at 58% and Protection of fundamental freedoms at 57%. Though better than the previous regime, such features, synonymous during President Kibaki’s second half of the first term led to the post-election violence of 2007/8.

The major reforms done in the country, including the promulgation of the new constitution of 2010, saw drastic changes and better democratic ideals (Sihanya, 2012). This has led to improvements in democratic qualities as shown in table 4.4 generally except for Integration of diverse groups, promotion of pluralistic debates,

fair national representation and protection of fundamental freedoms at 44%, 48%, 45% and 46% respectively.

#### **4.6 Institutional Assessment in Multiparty and Single Party Eras**

The researcher sought to assess institutions with regard to democracy over the years. Such institutions include: parliament, police, executive, judiciary, civil service, media, religious institutions, civil society. The question was how these institutions were performing over the years both in the single and multiparty eras. The performance of the said electoral based institutions provide a hint of the effectiveness of the political party system that nests them. As long as electoral based institutions regard or contribute to a party system in a particular direction, their performance is bound to be affected. This is shown in table 4.8.

**Table 4.5.: Institutional Performance in Multiparty and Single Party Eras**

Institution	1963 – 1966		1967 – 1992				1992 – 2017					
	Jomo's Regime		Jomo's Regime		Moi's Regime		Moi's Regime		Kibaki's Regime		Uhuru's Regime	
	Counts	(%)	Counts	(%)	Counts	(%)	Counts	(%)	Counts	(%)	Counts	(%)
Electoral Bodies	55	62	19	22	21	24	31	35	42	47	63	71
Parliament	70	78	58	65	62	69	43	48	43	48	40	45
Executive	68	76	42	47	36	40	34	38	70	78	61	68
Judiciary	64	72	17	19	20	23	28	32	39	44	54	61
Political Parties Registrar	55	62	15	17	17	19	26	29	49	55	57	64
Civil Society	43	48	19	22	21	24	16	18	26	29	20	23
Police	42	47	40	45	41	46	40	45	44	49	41	46
Independent Commissions	21	24	15	17	18	20	18	21	49	55	43	48
Media	38	43	36	40	34	38	54	60	69	77	72	81
Average	50.67	56.89	29	32.67	30	33.67	32.22	36.22	47.89	53.55	50.11	56.33

**Source: Researcher, (2021)**

The performance of institutions can tell the success of the political party system that it is operating under (Huntington, p.407). In the three eras, nine institutions were interrogated as shown in table 4.5. and the general finding was that institutions perform better under multiparty systems with over 56% average between 1963-6 before dropping to 32% in the single party era and later rising to the current 56% in the current party system. Apart from the police and all other institutions either performed well during post-independence and then dropped before getting better or steadily improved up to date with examples for the latter being the media and independent commissions. The police have performed dismally all through due to various constraints, and as one respondent argues, the police are disadvantaged in so many aspects yet if disappoints proves to be instrumental with the same breath, party system regardless.

#### **4.7 Failures Associated with Political Parties**

As Kitschelt (2000) points out, political systems have had failure in many instances. These failures lead to processes on system reform. Kitschelt argues that political system is crucial, and if neglected serious problems such as conflict and anarchy are inculcated. Political parties are the main medium of such failures. It is the membership, leadership and internal mechanisms of political parties that allow such rot to be deposited in the political party system.

Respondents provide explanations on the patterns of non-competitiveness and volatility in African party systems using three major themes. “First, ruling parties continue to enjoy much better access to resources, to operate more freely, and to get far more media coverage than the beleaguered opposition, affording incumbents greater opportunity to consolidate their positions”. This dominance is further facilitated by the highly presidential systems that predominate in Africa, whereby



enormous powers are centralized in the presidency, legislatures are weak, and presidents can often operate with almost no checks on their power (Kieh, 2018).

“Secondly, pervasive clientelism and corruption add to the mix, combining with presidentialism to produce a powerful set of incentives for individual politicians”. Since the president so completely dominates decision making and access to resources, winning his favor frequently becomes the main ambition of so called “opposition” politicians, who may even seek to join the ruling party once their own value as social mobilizers has been demonstrated. This is exemplified by respondents on politician decamping from NASA to Jubilee in the 2017 electoral cycle. This produces a short-term focus on mobilizing a constituency using the easiest means possible (often ethnicity) and dictates against serious efforts to institutionalize parties or develop real policy platforms, or even to build potentially more competitive coalitions. State control of the economy, as well as other institutional legacies of authoritarian regimes, may further perpetuate ruling party dominance by preventing the development of alternative centers of power, especially amidst fragile and shallowly-rooted civil society structures(Logan, 2008).

“Thirdly, ethno-regional cleavages also play an important role, as they supplant ideological or other potential bases for distinguishing among parties”. Van de Walle (2003) argues that although the actual benefits of clientelism and corruption usually only accrue to elites, individuals nonetheless tend to vote for leaders from their own ethnic group, believing that only they can be trusted to defend the interests of the group as a whole. Politicians do not hesitate to capitalize on this reality. Posner, (2007) notes the “dual strategies” often pursued by political parties, which want to simultaneously make use of their particularistic strengths in ethnic strongholds, while elsewhere seeking to form “national” coalitions capable of actually winning elections

in a context where no ethnic group holds a majority. This is true in Kenyan politics where politicians who wish to make certain political demands have to have an ethnic backing that can tilt the direction of power struggles either way.

This research sought to assess such failures including; dictatorship, authoritarianism, cronyism, corruption, (political) persecution and economic collapse as indicated in table 4.6. All these were then compared with the historical path that political parties took in Kenya, and especially in the single party era and compare it to the multiparty era.

**Table 4.6.: Political Party Associated Failures**

Associated Failure	1963 - 1966		1967 – 1992				1992 - 2017					
	Jomo's Regime		Jomo's Regime		Moi's Regime		Moi's Regime		Kibaki's Regime		Uhuru's Regime	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Authoritarianism	58	65	68	76	62	69	71	79	54	61	52	58
Cronyism	60	67	71	79	57	64	74	83	72	80	68	76
Corruption	48	54	53	59	56	63	66	74	76	85	72	80
Political persecution	59	66	70	78	63	70	77	86	62	69	58	65
Civil society dismantling	58	65	67	75	70	78	79	88	52	58	58	65
Police abuse/control	53	59	62	69	76	85	81	91	61	68	66	74
Poor economic performance	42	47	61	68	49	55	67	75	40	45	44	49
Ethicized politics	46	52	62	69	52	58	70	78	66	74	63	70
Others	45	50	45	50	49	55	63	70	54	60	54	60
Average		58.33		69.22		66.33		80.44		66.67		66.33

Source: Researcher, (2021)

From table 4.6., the general trend of political party failures is that during the first multiparty system of 1963 – 1966, the political party(s) then performed fairly at a low of 58.33 with the exception of poor economy at a low of 47% meaning that the economy was doing okay. But with the advent of the single party system, these failures increased in intensity with the most notable being political persecution from 66% to 78% and cronyism from 67% to 79%. However, failures reduced with the then new president, Daniel Arap Moi. Respondents point out, “wanted to do things the same way (*what he called “kufuata Nyayo” of in the footsteps of Jomo Kenyatta*) but using a better approach”. “At first, things were okay”, one respondent says. “His first ten years were good before things went bad”. Other respondents argue that, “the attempted coup d’état broke his resolve to do good and made him more authoritarian”. In turn, the ruling party, KANU was transformed into a public persecution tool. Political rebellion was trampled and middle level politicians became just like the top leadership brokers of state abuse. The politics of patron-client were entrenched in this era (Brown, 2010).

Nonetheless, with the repeal of Section 2A, Kenya became a de facto multiparty system in 1992. The failure of the political parties reduces on several fronts. This is largely owed to politics of competition where each wanted to portray a good picture, the failure of the opposition to end their differences and what one respondent says, “the political supremacy and mastery of President Daniel Arap Moi”, that was used to outwit the rest of the politicians.

The exit of President Daniel Arap Moi and entry of President Mwai Kibaki saw a further reduction in the failures of the political party. Apart from corruption, standing at 85%, all other failures had reduced. This is attributed to many things that include support from the public and the demand for change. The former ruling party, it is

important to note grew further weak by the day. This is attributed to its rejection by many Kenyans simply because of its massive failures over the decades. No one wanted to be associated with it. These new improvements, while still being witnessed, are being shrunk by the current regime. While other respondents point to the “current political environment that is awkward in both the government and opposition”, some argue that, “the former ruling party has come back through the leadership since they were at the helm of KANU”.

#### **4.8 Conclusion**

This chapter dealt with the theme of development of multipartism providing a perspective on the political system in Kenya and the resultant effect it has had on democracy. By using social cleavages, this chapter has detailed the composition of political parties and their role in the party system. The next chapter focuses on the role of the political party in the political realm of Kenya.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE POLITICAL PARTY'S ROLE IN KENYA'S POLITICAL STRUCTURE

#### 5.0. Introduction

This objective investigated the understanding and scope of the political party, based on multipartism, democracy and electioneering in Kenya. The purpose was to locate the function of political parties in democratic governance, examine the problems encountered by political parties in the process of building and sustaining competitive political systems and look back at the conditions that have led to a resurgence of multiparty democracy.

This research sought to expand existing knowledge on the role of political parties in elections with specific reference to how processes of centralisation, inclusiveness and institutionalisation influence levels of participatory democracy. As such therefore, the role of political parties is critical in unravelling these in the context of the political landscape and structure in Kenya.

#### 5.1 Understanding of Political Parties

It is important to note that the reforms of the 1990's on political parties contributed to the growing study of politics in Kenya under mainstream political science. Of key concern here was the centrality of democracy as a value and a goal in itself (Carborne, 2006). He further postulates that these were held in principle and not to be traded for economic progress or national unity. These two would come as an eventuality of augmented political parties.

When asked to define what a political party, respondents agreed with the following four definitions;

- a) A political party is an organ/structure whose members come together, under a unique ideology with the sole aim of taking over power, so as to implement the said ideology.
- b) A political party is a political structure or vehicle with a written down manifesto that will be implemented once the party assumes power
- c) A political party is an instrument used to pile pressure on the structures/systems/institutions/persons both in and out of power based on its ideology or manifesto with the sole aim of having it skewed to their interests
- d) It is a political interest seeking institution

The definitions provided by respondents is in tandem with that of Makara (2007) who defines political parties as organizations whose prime objective is to mobilize its supporters to assume a leadership role, a political party of any significance is viewed or views itself in terms of providing alternative policy platforms, ideological direction, as well as redefining the agenda of government. He further argues that Political parties are vital political institutions for the functioning of a modern democracy. They are essential for the organization of the modern democratic polity and are crucial for the expression and manifestation for political pluralism. Political parties are presumed to be central to the democratization of any state (Makara, 2007; p44).

In regard to why voters don't join political parties, respondents not in a political party gave various reasons for not being in a party including; "that political parties represent an ethnic group not their own, that political parties represent an elite group, that political parties have been part of historical injustices, that political parties are either in support or deny certain religious groups, that political parties having links to/associate with groups/countries/organizations/persons that are not of their liking,

because they don't like the leadership of the party, that many don't understand/identify with the ideology of the party and that political parties in Kenya are not straight/focused on real issues such as development". From these reasons, it can be generalized that political parties in Kenya are as a direct result of deep-rooted social cleavages. These cleavages are in this context together with others such as economy and socio-cultural augmentation of the country.

Respondents also provided reasons why political parties are necessary. They argued out that ,“political parties augment democracies and secondly that political parties instil the sense of ownership of the government by the people”. As regards the argument provided in the context of augmenting democracy is that, “for a democracy to have feet, political parties must be actively marshalled”. An interviewee argued further that, “in comparing democracies in Africa first amongst African countries and secondly to other countries brings this to reality”. “Countries with strong political parties” he adds ,“create an environment for strong political party systems and a resultant entrenched democracy”.

By quoting Scarrow (1999), he gives the example of India, Germany, United Kingdom (UK), Canada and United States of America (USA). “In Africa, few countries”, he exemplifies, “have a somewhat similarity to these democracies”. “They are Botswana, Ghana and Mauritius” he concludes. As regards the sense of ownership of the government, political parties play a crucial role since its members are set to assume electoral office. Through this, the membership and entire followers of a particular party's ideology feel the sense of entitlement for the activities and procedure in government (Nyaluke& Connolly, 2013).



## **5.2 Manner and Style of Establishing Political Parties**

The respondents of this study explained that, “the structure in put in place by the political parties both are insufficient to meet and carry out their mandates as expected of them by their members and as stated by the different ideologies and manifestoes”. Party members feel that the issues revolving around youths and women are well catered for and that these (youth and women) have equal and fair chances to leadership within and in the party. “However, a concern is in the structure as it does not sufficiently address certain issues of interest such as violence, party nomination, corruption, bribery, favouritism, voter buying among others” notes a respondent. Respondents also argue that, “much more could be done to better improve the party structure” .Otieno (2013) argues that parties are structured to suit the political demands of the moment, in anticipation of forthcoming elections. As such therefore, real issues are overlooked.

While respondents point to parties having good grassroots mobilization for voter registration and education, there is a strong urge for better structures and manifestoes and some of the issues that have been stressed upon across the divide including equity, integrity, sober leadership and real time change especially concerns addressing social issues like education, medication, security, cohesion and economic development.

## **5.3 Structural, Philosophical and Theoretical Components of Political Parties in Kenya**

The political party mechanisms in their universal nature contain unique features regarding structural, philosophical and theoretical features. The performance or relevance of political parties is determined by how these mechanisms are constituted. In the Kenyan context, party financing, ideology, internal democracy, internal

mechanisms and political mobilization were studied and their findings presented as follows.

### 5.3.1 Party Financing

Party funding remains to be a contentious issue in democratization process in Kenya as it is in other developing countries. Political parties are the agents of democratization. To function well, they have to perform and run like an organization, hence requiring finances (Kriegler Report, 2008: 8-9). The questions raised therefore are who provides these resources? This question is important since the bankrollers of parties have to be equally motivated by the need for democracy since it is the key mandate of political parties. On the flipside, what if the bankrollers are not interested in democracy as an end, but the means to attaining it? This is the situation that Kenyan political parties find themselves in. As shown in table 5.1, the sources of finances do vary and certainly the amount been given.

**Table 5.1.: Sources of finances to parties**

SOURCE OF INCOME	FREQUENCY	
	Count	Percentage (%)
Membership Contributions	28	32
Individual contributions	56	63
Primary nomination fees	67	75
Grants from the government	33	37
Grants from international partners	27	31
Party investments	16	18
Grants from local partners	60	67
Other party fees	52	58

**Source: Researcher, (2021)**

A respondent points out that ,“those sources of income that are low, such as party investments and membership contributions are sincere and desired at democratization”. “Whilst they come in little dosages, they don’t have strings attached to”. However, those that contribute the most have hidden agendas, especially

from local partners. An example are the friends of the current president who contributed millions in two hours to facilitate his re-election (*Daily Nation*, 11<sup>th</sup> June, 2017; pp1). The financial and technical support given to the Kenyan opposition from international friends has over the recent years alarmed the government. Mr George Soros who is an international funder of reforms in the developing world has been quoted as having supported the Kenyan NASA Coalition with intent to facilitate regime change; a tag he supposedly carries. He has also been mentioned in the US (*Daily Nation*, Monday, 7<sup>th</sup> August, 2017).

### **5.3.2 Ideology of Political Parties**

As pointed out in the literature review, political parties come as a result of citizens who feel the pull to create an organ that they use to express certain ideas to the public for communal progression and development. At an advanced level, these ideas form concrete political ideologies either fronted by an individual who pulls followers to the said ideology or events necessitate the creation of a particular ideology for example the need for peace after long and exhausting periods of conflict.

This is however lacking in Kenya. An interviewee points out that, “political parties are no longer established because of ideologies”. In fact, respondents add, “that the only parties established using concrete ideologies in Kenya’s party history are KANU, KADU and APP”. “These are pre-independence parties. The rest are established with minimal intonations or semblance of ideological realms”, a respondent noted. Another respondent argues that, “FORD, although ideologically created to take up KADU’s ideology of devolution, lost it to ethnic clientelistic politics”. “Since then, all parties created by leaders that were under FORD tended to prefer socialist democracy and devolution while all those parties that were formed by leaders from KANU tend to be advocates of liberal democracy and centralization”. These are the only semblances or

intonations parties have to ideologies (Nyadera, Agwanda & Maulani, 2020). “In reality, they are established to serve the client – patron structure of politics in the country, representing different social cleavages”, a respondent argues.

### **5.3.3 Internal Democracy of Political Parties**

Respondents argue that, “intra-party democracy entails how parties implement democracy within their party organizations, a process that impacts on political socialization, recruitment, membership, political communication, policy-making, among other party functions”. Respondents further argue, “that two perspectives seek to answer the question as to how parties run their internal affairs; one of the perspectives favours the elite model, which posits that the elite make decisions for the party while the second perspective views intra-party democracy as a bottom-up process, whereby ordinary party members fully participate in the party’s decision-making processes”. This perspective requires real involvement of the rank and file in intra-party decisions, irrespective of party hierarchy (Maiyo, 2008). These in the context of Kenya, reflects the former model. It is what kills parties making them not go past ten years on average, examples being URP, TNA, NARC and other small parties.

Political parties in Kenya have certain characteristics that influence intraparty democracy. “Most parties tend to draw their support mainly from their ethnic base; they tend to be dominated by their founders or key funders; their activities revolve around influential personalities and most of them have no registered membership and have not been keen to recruit members”. Similarly, “they have weak ideologies which are often unknown and are of little influence in policy-making; have difficulties organizing functions, even party elections are often flawed and infiltrated by rival parties; and they do not have structures that strongly link them to the citizenry”,

argues a respondent. Internal democracy should also focus on the role of party members in the formulation of policies (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, (2010).

In Kenya, party members are hardly involved in the policy process (Kanyinga, 2014), although the Political Parties Act (Section 17(a)) stipulates this as a right of the member: *to participate in political activities which are intended to influence the composition of policies of government*. This lack of or weak intraparty democracy according to respondents affects the entire political system and what happens therein is often replicated in the larger system or becomes an input in subsequent democracy-related decisions at the national level.

#### **5.3.4 Internal Mechanisms of Political Parties**

These include checks and balances, appointment of officials amongst other features. Respondent argue that, “Kenya’s political parties exhibit functional weaknesses, compounded by patrimonialism, ethnic loyalties and political insecurity, leading to their ineffectiveness in performance of political parties”. In Kenya and most of Africa, the party is often subordinated to the state and thus energies are not directed toward strengthening the party, to make it the crucible of policy initiation and agenda setting (Kanyinga, 2014). The current party structure Kenya still puts the president or party leader at a position higher than the party. The quality of its personnel and the technical nature of the policy process, especially the drawing of development plans and evaluation of policy impact and holding implementing officers accountable, are some of the major bottlenecks. Under this milieu, political parties’ role is limited to that of ratifying decisions made in the executive or other circles (Nyadera, Agwanda & Maulani, 2020).

### 5.3.5 Political Party Mobilization Structure

The mobilization role of parties in Kenya is often effective depending on issue saliency and on ethno-cultural cleavages, especially ethnicity to concretize their appeal and impact. Issue-based mobilization such as the independence struggle, the agitation for multi-party democracy in early 1990s, and constitutional review referendum (2005 and 2010) or any other issue of national importance, have often attracted phenomenal support from the citizenry (Masime & Oesterdiekhoff, 2010). However, such mobilization is not based on enduring party loyalties. Rather, it is often a temporary phenomenon, which fizzles away ‘shortly’ after realization of the specific purpose. “It has often been the case in Kenya that the party in power or the dominant member of a coalition often uses state resources, including government vehicles and funds, the Provincial Administration and other civil servants, and security agents to campaign and mobilize support for the party/government position in a struggle between the government and opposition parties” notes a respondent.

During mobilization, promises that parties outline to the electorate aim at appealing to different social cleavages, especially ethnic groups, invariably aiding the mobilization process. For example, during the run-up to the 2007 elections, the debate about how to decentralize power was interpreted differently by ODM and PNU (Waki Report, 2008). The ODM Party advocated for regional governments as means of ensuring equitable distribution of national resources. In its campaigns, the PNU interpreted the ODM program on regional governments as a scheme to eject the Kikuyus from the Rift Valley and other places where they have settled. By so doing, PNU hoped to get Kikuyu support (Waki Report, 2008). However, attempts at ethnic mobilization were not new. Campaigns in the 2005 referendum followed this trajectory. Table 5.2.

explains the view of respondents on party components performance in the Kenyan political context.

**Table 5.2: Political Party Components in Kenya**

PARTY COMPONENTS	FREQUENCY	
	N = 90	
	Count	%
Party ideology	28	32
Internal democracy	41	46
Internal mechanisms	44	49
Financial issues	60	67
Party weaknesses	57	64
Support base	54	61
Party efficiency	47	53
Party history	49	55

**Source: Researcher, (2021)**

Respondents were of the view that party ideology, intra-party democracy and internal mechanisms are performing poorly in Kenyan political scene at 32%, 46% and 49% respectively. This in their view has led to equally low rating of party efficiency and good record or history at 53% and 55% respectively. Nonetheless, other components including party support bases, party weaknesses and party finances rank fairly at 61%, 64% and 67% respectively. In these components, this study finds, Kenyan parties have made investments.

#### **5.4 Functionality of Political Parties in the Kenyan Political Environment.**

Any political environment keeps changing and brings with it a set of demands that political parties and other stakeholders must live up to. The research sought to assess how a political party functions in four broad categories which were the capability of political parties, efficiency of political parties, professionalism in political parties and political parties' declining role. These are analysed overleaf,

### 5.4.1 Capability of Political Parties

Voters can give more effective direction to government by supporting a team's program rather than an individual. By holding entire parties rather than individual politicians accountable for what government does, voters create an incentive for responsible governance that might not otherwise exist. In this regard therefore, political parties are by their nature supposed to tap the broad spectrum or variety of support they get from members to gain a particular standing in political realms. Table 5.3 shows the view of respondents on the same.

**Table 5.3.: Strength Parameters of Political Parties**

PARAMETERS	FREQUENCY N = 90	
	Count	Percentage (%)
Strong social base	43	48
Prescription of appealing platform to voters	48	54
Attraction/Retaining of party activists	60	67
Attraction/Retaining of political leaders	53	59
Party organizational strength	52	58
Party organizational complexity	50	56
Institutionalized mass support	49	55
Strong linkage to social organizations/groups	57	64
Accessibility to finances	58	65
Ownership of strong manifesto	43	48
Ownership of internal democracy	47	53
Strong historical background	58	65
Strong linkage to international platforms	56	63

**Source: Researcher, (2021)**

Respondents agree that Kenyan political parties, while capable can and ought to do more. Their assessment is an average of 55% on the various parameters provided. It is only the lack of a strong social base at 48% that was regarded as worst performing. Parties were also praised for their capabilities to attract/retain of party activists at 67%, access finances and have strong historical backgrounds at 65% respectively. This research concludes that in spite of the hegemonic clientelistic approach Kenyan



politics are, political parties have found ways to survive and represent members. However, their capability has been dogged down by the same paternalistic- client oriented politics.

#### **5.4.2 Efficiency of Political Parties**

Makara (2007) argues that political parties are important ingredients in building democracy. Parties are vehicles for strengthening the electoral systems and Processes and that they are the means for strengthening accountability institutions especially the parliament. They strengthen the partnership with civil society organizations; mobilize disadvantaged groups such as women, the people with disabilities, and the youth to actively participate in public decision making.

This research sought to find out how parties are efficient in performing their roles. These roles according to Bosire (2010) are; aggregating diverse interests, recruitment and preparation of candidates for electoral office, crafting/setting policy agenda and policy amendments/alternatives, organizing and participating in electoral competition, forming government and integrating groups/individuals into the democratic process. Others are how political parties provide means through which citizens can participate in the governance process and how political parties structure the political landscape to enable competition between varying interests and policy objectives. However, as shown in table 5.4, political parties have not been as efficient as they are supposed to be.

**Table 5.4.: Efficiency Parameters of Political Parties in Kenya**

PARAMETERS	FREQUENCY N = 90	
	Count	%
Aggregating diverse interests	46	52
Recruitment and preparation of candidates for electoral office	55	62
Crafting/setting policy agenda and policy amendments/alternatives	58	65
Organizing and participating in electoral competition	66	74
Forming government	70	78
Integrating groups/individuals into the democratic process	52	58
How political parties provide means through which citizens can participate in the governance process	50	56
How political parties structure the political landscape to enable competition between varying interests and policy objectives	54	60

**Source: Researcher, (2021)**

Aggregating diverse interests, provision of means through which citizens can participate in the governance process and integrating groups/individuals into the democratic process are ranked by respondents as the weakest performance of parties at 52%, 56% and 58% respectively. In terms of structure the political landscape to enable competition between varying interests and policy objectives, recruitment and preparation of candidates for electoral office and crafting/setting policy agenda and policy amendments/alternatives were ranked as fair at 60%, 62% and 65% respectively. Organizing and participating in electoral competition and forming government were observed to be okay at 74% and 78% respectively.

This study finds political parties to fairly efficient. As such, the role of political parties in expanding Kenya's democracy is entrenched. Parties, Makara (2007) argues, have a continuous engagement with the government in all matters of public concern. Most importantly, they hold the government accountable for its policies and actions.

Elischer (2008) in his study of political parties in Ghana, Kenya and Nigeria concerning Democratic Party behavior, both within parties and among them and systemic consequences of party types concludes that programmatic parties behave most democratically. Moreover, there seems to be a relationship between a party's internal democracy and the way it interacts with other parties. Political parties cannot be running in a healthy manner unless they are well constituted and run well just like any other public organization. Respondents point out the perils that Kenyan political parties face in terms of professionalism including poor administration, presence of briefcase parties, threat of political brokers to parties and the acute access to infrastructure and finances among others. These are compounded by the lack of professional leaders to lead and advice political parties (Nyadera, Agwanda & Maulani, 2020).

### **5.5 Political Party Structures and Social Cleavages**

The link between how parties operate and the forces that continually restructure and re-establish these parties' internal structures and mechanisms is critical towards understanding the role of political parties in multipartism. Parties' internal structures are constructed and influenced by the social cleavages such as religion, ethnicity, class/elite, gender and unions. The question here is how do these cleavages work/how are they constituted, and how do they transmit the same to political parties?

For example, in Muslim dominated countries, political parties and the resultant government run on and use sharia law; consequently, where the elite are few and have a sway in political parties, then issues relating to the business environment such as policies that ensure free market economy dominate political parties. The same can be said when the majority of the membership of political parties are trade unionists, the

end result is always the passage of labour related policies and the government is more inclined towards socialist democracy (Webster, 2007).

In Kenya, the political structure is majorly driven by ethnic cleavages. A new feature of regional ethnic cleavages has emerged especially in forming coalitions for elections. “In the 1990’s”, argues a respondent “religion did play a key factor in the Kenyan Coastal political landscape. The same was also witnessed in pre-independence Kenya where racial politics were the norm”. The table 5.5. provides a summary of how party features are shaped by social cleavages, therefore, shifting parties to being entrenched clientelist mediums.

**Table 5.5.: Social Cleavages' Influence on Political Parties**

Party Features	Social Cleavage [Frequency Count (N = 90)]						
	Race	Gender	Elite	Unionist	Religion	Ethnic	Regional
Aggregating diverse interests	36	75	37	84	55	38	45
Recruitment and preparation of candidates for electoral office	42	71	45	73	60	51	56
Crafting/setting policy agenda and policy amendments/alternatives	45	70	57	72	70	56	60
Organizing and participating in electoral competition	38	42	48	85	75	64	66
Forming and running government	41	52	58	77	68	48	55
Integrating groups/individuals into the democratic process	35	75	38	83	74	56	61
Providing means through which citizens can participate in the governance process	36	85	40	86	73	48	58
Structuring political landscape for competition by varying interests/policy objectives	39	73	47	68	70	48	54
Ownership of strong social base	44	74	52	87	82	77	81
Prescription of appealing platform to voters	40	57	48	86	70	54	58
Attraction/Retaining of party activists	43	78	51	85	81	68	70
Attraction/Retaining of political leaders	40	78	55	85	82	69	74
Party organizational strength	60	60	67	61	66	72	73
Party organizational complexity	62	58	67	68	65	64	65
Institutionalized mass support	40	58	52	87	75	70	85
Having strong linkage to social organizations/groups	36	80	68	88	85	56	62
Accessibility to finances	75	62	88	67	67	72	74
Ownership of strong manifesto and ideology	38	72	68	88	86	45	54
Ownership of internal democracy	54	73	54	75	87	58	64
Strong historical background	53	62	51	85	82	60	60
Strong linkage to international platforms	64	65	69	61	62	62	62
Checking/review of the political party	48	69	56	84	77	65	69
<b>Average (Total)</b>	<b>45.86</b>	<b>67.68</b>	<b>55.27</b>	<b>78.86</b>	<b>73.27</b>	<b>59.13</b>	<b>63.9</b>

**Source: Researcher, (2021)**

The findings conclude that social cleavages and grouping in the country were the major detriment to the country and its democracy by causing and sustaining ethnicization all over the country. These cleavages and groupings were mainly formed due to perceived similarities and interests which were later used to form political parties and subsequently form the government and other important institutions in the country. These cleavages, regardless of their purpose and interests in the long run foster and nurture ethnicity in the country which to date has been seen as a major impediment to democracy and social development in Kenya and across Africa (Choe, 2003).

While ethnicity as a social cleavage is widely acclaimed to be the primary social cleavage in Africa, this research found out that it is slowly fading away at an average of 59.13 count and being replaced with regionalism that stands at an average of 63.9 counts. “This cleavage can be looked at in two broad ways”, a respondent argues. The first is ethno-groups such as the Cushite, Bantu and Nilotic groups. The second is based on the grouping or coalition building of ethnic groups that border each other or share certain administrative geographic characteristics like the province, county or natural resources like rivers, mountains and even a lake.

Examples include the membership of ODM with its stronghold being in the former Nyanza Province (Okoth & Omenya, 2014), the Nilotic groups tendency to support KANU and parties that sprang from it and the ethnic groups of Mt. Kenya forming a formidable voting bloc (Kahura, 2018). These regional groups are taking the place of traditional ethnic groups due to several reasons. Respondents narrow these to the 2010 Constitutional requirements for one to win presidency as one. Since no ethnic group

can marshal the requisite numbers, they resort to forming coalitions with other like-minded groups that share common ethnic set-ups.

Another set of social cleavages that scholars of political culture rarely point out are religion and unions. Of the two, unions are more effective and as shown in table 5.5 at an average of 78.86 counts over religion's 73.27 counts, it is the most influential social cleavage in Kenya on average of all the party features. This is a gap in literature, that is ethnic related cleavages as the most significant cleavages. A respondent argues that, "I am not surprised at all owing to the fact that scholars of political culture tend to generalize political domains in Sub-Saharan Africa based on the divisions". "In reality", she adds, "ethnicity is an effective social cleavage since its influence is radical and leads to dire consequences mainly conflict". This is where its notoriety is assumed and given the cream at the top of influencing cleavages (Posner, 2007; Choe, 2003).

"Other scholars", she adds, "view the common patron – client politics in Africa and are quick to conclude that ethnicity is the root social cleavage". "However," she argues, "Religion and unions are more radical influences". She gives the example of 2007/8 post-election violence in Kenya and points out that if the religious institutions and trade unions had done something to prevent the conflict, as they did in 2013 and 2017, or in the previous elections, conflict would have been low. These cleavages are solely the key players in rejecting and supporting the 2005 and 2010 constitutional referenda respectively. She notes that, "the failure by the churches to support the 2010 constitution, was felt, however, the Muslims supported and most Christians refused to buy the argument fronted by the religious leaders". She also notes that, "the silence of

the Catholic Church then on whether to support or reject the then new constitution also tilted the favour on the yes team”.

The unions are basically all over the country and in different sectors. From the teachers, medical practitioners, civil servants and many more. They have been around since independence and one of the most powerful Cabinet Ministers, the Late Tom Mboya rose through their ranks to ultimately join and influence Kenyan politics to date. A respondent equates the power of unions to that of the Monrovia Accord that wanted economic integration first before political integration in Africa. “While it was seen as not powerful, it influences through its thought the course that Africa took to date”. She gives the examples of the East African Community (EAC) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) as doing just that. “No interest of unions would go without being fulfilled”, another respondent notes. Unlike ethnic groups that resort to violence and patronage avenues to have their interests, the unions use legal avenues and eventually win (Posner, 2007). If this is the case in influencing political parties, then this influence is very powerful.

Race and elite cleavages, as shown in table 5.5. portray a low influence in most of the party features in Kenya. However, when the two are ranked, the Kenyan elites are more influential than race-instituted groups. Respondents claim, “this is due to the shift the Kenyan Indo-Asian community have made over the years, transforming from a powerful group in pre-independence Kenya to strictly business, and therefore members of the elite social cleavage”. Their focus, argues Carey (2002) is on putting pressure on political parties to protect their business interests.

Gender as a social cleavage is seen to be growing more and more. This is argued by respondents to be the case owing to gender mainstreaming programmes instituted by



the government since the regime of President Daniel Arap Moi. “Women have been accorded many privileges and in the realm of politics, the once powerful Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization (The Organization for Women’s Development) and Federation of Women Lawyers(FIDA)”, a respondent says, “was also responsible for the consolidation of gender as a cleavage”.

### **5.6 Impact of Effective Democratic Practice on Political Parties**

“The return to multiparty politics in the early 1990s was a great relief to many political parties and hailed as a promising new beginning after the lost decades of the 1970s and 80s, a period when much of the continent languished politically and economically under authoritarian, military or even dictatorial rule”, notes a respondent. Such parties however, were soon to be pushed to a corner, and denied space. “This regressive democracy”, a respondent argues, “points to the ineffectiveness of democracy from the onset of multiparty politics”. His thoughts are echoed by Makara (2007: p55) that the move towards democratization in some African countries did not prevent the state from abusing power to deny the people of their liberties, human rights and freedoms. “In particular”, he adds, “opposition politics was either circumscribed or brutally suppressed”. This has continued to date.

### **5.7 Political Parties and the Political Environment**

Political parties and the environment they exist within are crucial in understanding party systems. How parties organize themselves depends greatly on their ecologies. If the political environment is positive; either legally, democratically or otherwise, then the parties that come out are generally regarded as progressive. In Kenya, and in Africa generally, political environments are not steady, more often being dictated upon or redefined by the political and circumstantial factors like conflicts. To

understand how parties are constructed by the environment, the study analyses competitive vs non-competitive party systems.

### **5.7.1 Competitive Party Systems vs. Non-Competitive Party Systems**

Political parties generally come into being and exist generally due to the political environment of the country. Kenya's multiparty system is what it is because of political parties, and the electoral institutions that attempt to regulate these parties. In that context therefore, there are factors that either improve or worsen the existent party system, using the political party as mediums. These include term tenures of leaders, quality of leadership, the level of involvement of citizens, constitutional structures and type of ideologies that are there and the resultant competitions between these ideologies.

La Palombara and Weiner (1966) typology of party systems as “non-competitive” and “competitive” party systems and Coleman and Rosberg (1966) distinction of single party systems as “revolutionary-centralizing tendency” and “pragmatic-pluralist attitude” provided an avenue of classifying the Kenyan party systems since independence as shown in the tables 5.6.1 and 5.6.2. These table assess the mode of party system since independence.

**Table 5.6.1: Mode of Party System since Independence**

1960-1962			1963 - 1965			1966 -1970				1971 – 1975					1976 - 1980					1981 - 1985					1986 - 1990				1991 - 1992							
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	1	2				

Source: Researcher, (2021)

Key

	Revolutionary-centralizing tendency
	Pragmatic-pluralist attitude
	Non-competitive party system
	competitive party system

**Table 5.6.2: Mode of Party System since 1992**

1992 -1995				1996 – 2000						2001 -2005					2006 - 2010					2011 - 2015					1916 - 2017												
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7												

Source: Researcher, (2021)

Key

	Revolutionary-centralizing tendency
	Pragmatic-pluralist attitude
	Non-competitive party system
	competitive party system

Source: Researcher, (2021)

Revolutionary-centralizing tendency systems, have a feature of uniting people towards a particular goal that is against the norm. This tendency is to be found in Kenya, as shown in tables 5.6.1 and 5.6.2, in the years between 1963 to 1965, 1982 to 1988, 2002 to 2005 ad in 2010. The first period was due to the newly won

independence and the need to protect it, the second being the marshalling of Kenyans in opposition to the failed coup d'etat of 1982.

The third of 2002 to 2005 was mainly due to the unity of the majority of Kenyans in support of the new government that used to be in opposition up to the first referendum of 2005 and the last being the common unity of Kenyans during the 2010 constitutional referendum. Pragmatic-pluralist attitude on the other hand has been practiced in what one respondent calls "the normal". This is characterized by normalcy where Kenyans are united in limited instances (Schreiber, 2016). The political system drives this normalcy as on depending on circumstances that be, both in positive and negative perspectives. Non-competitive party system, as shown in the tables 5.6.1 and 5.6.2 have existed the most in the Kenyan political party system in the single party era while competitive party system has pretty much existed in the multiparty era.

### **5.7.2 Influence on Political Parties from the International Community**

The structural development of political parties is continually influenced by other political parties or institutions from the international community. This is owing to international relations including trade and treaty relations. Through such arrangements, political party structures and developments are shared and experiences learnt. These are discussed in the pages that follow.

#### **5.7.2.1 Similarities of Kenyan Political Parties to Regional Parties**

The research sought to find out how similar are Kenyan political parties to those of her neighbours, and secondly to those of other African countries. This would tell the influences these parties have on each other based on East African, regional and continental aspects of democratization.

**Table 5.7: Similarities of Kenyan Political Parties to International Parties**

<b>PARTY ATTRIBUTES</b>	<b>East Africa</b>	<b>Other IGAD Members</b>	<b>Africa</b>
Authoritarianism	Green	Green	Green
Democracy	Yellow	Green	Yellow
Mass support base	Red	Red	Yellow
Organizational management	Yellow	Green	Yellow
Orientation to national issues	Red	Green	Green
Financial stability	Yellow	Green	Yellow
Party independence	Green	Green	Green
Historical background	Red	Red	Red
Portrayal of national outlook	Red	Red	Red
If it is and independence party	Red	Red	Red
Ties to ethnicity	Red	Red	Red
Ties to religion	Green	Green	Green
Ties to elites	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow
Ties to race	Green	Green	Green
Oriented to unions	Green	Green	Yellow
Oriented to the military	Green	Green	Green
Revolutionary party	Red	Red	Red
Drives national ideology	Red	Red	Red
Party (ever) forms coalitions	Green	Green	Green

**Source: Researcher, (2021)**

#### KEY

Green	Better
Yellow	same
Red	worse

Kenyan political parties rank better in the attributes of not owning authoritarianism, being orientation to national issues, not having ties to religion and race, not being oriented to unions, not being oriented to the military and Parties' ability to (ever) form coalitions. Respondents argue that "Kenyan political parties do well on these issues unlike those of her neighbours that have because of various issues fallen short". One gives the example of the involvement of the military in Ugandan politics as one of the worst vices that kill democracy. Respondents also claim that, "while political parties

in East Africa are better oriented to national issues with Kenya being worse, these parties do better than those in the rest of the continent”.

However, they perform worse on attributes that include not having a mass support base, no strong historical background, no portrayal of a national outlook, none (except KANU) in power being or contributing to independence struggles. The ownership of a mass support base makes political parties focus on other functions, and not having to worry about mobilization. This dim support base is due to ethnic patron – client-oriented politics in Kenya. Kenyan parties also lack historical connections. This means they are mostly out of touch with the foundations of the country’s principles and that they focus on other aspects such as doing business or representing wrong views.

#### **5.7.2.2 Influences from Trading Partners and the International Community**

The research sought to find out how Kenya’s friends and partners affect the structures and workings of political parties. No country is an island on its own. In effect therefore, political parties get influences, both good and bad from other countries and organizations on how they should be structured and operate. In Kenya for example, the 2010 constitution was borrowed from the South African Constitution and as a semblance to that of the US (Juma& Okpaluba, 2012). Respondents further point out the semblance of political structures that exist being copied from the US. Table 5.8. shows the impact on parties using various influencing features as constants. Respondents provided ratings on influences on political parties from the international community.

**Table 5.8.: Influences to Political Parties from the International Community**

INFLUENCING FEATURE		FREQUENCY	
		N = 90	
		Average %Rating	Real Percentage
Ideology		46	52
Democratic ideals		64	72
Authoritarian ideals		50	56
Regime change/continuation		57	64
Regional politics		63	70
Regional Economic Co-operations' influence		60	67
Foreign policies	Kenyan	63	71
	Regional Countries	59	66
	African	58	65
	Global	64	72
Leaders' personal attributes	Kenyan	76	85
	Regional Countries	63	71
	African	60	67
	Global	62	69
Successful/failed party models	Regional Countries	55	61
	African	54	61
	Global	67	75
Kenyan traditional friends	UK	75	84
	EU	75	84
	China	55	61
	Germany	66	74
	USA	70	78
	France	59	66
	Japan	57	64
	India	55	62
	Uganda	62	69
Tanzania	58	65	
Party historical contexts	Regional Countries	61	68
	African	60	67
	Global	61	68
Global issues	Security	62	69
	Economy	67	75
	Others	63	70

**Source: Researcher, (2021)**

Kenyan political parties are influenced the most in the contexts of democratic ideals regional politics and regional economic co-operations (RECs) at 72%, 70% an 67%

respectively under the general influencing features. Respondents point out that ,“this is due to the desire by Kenyans to have the best and secondly due to the hegemonic title Kenya has and the pressure that comes with it”. Under foreign policy, Kenyan parties are influenced the most by global and its own foreign policy at 72% and 71% respectively. Parties are influenced the most by Kenyan leaders’ personal attributes as compared to those of other countries.

The fear of other global failed party models and the desire of successful ones influences Kenyan parties the most at 75%. Of Kenya’s traditional friends, it is the UK and EU that have a great sway on the political parties in Kenya at 84% each. Party historical contexts, this study concludes, influences on Kenyan parties are similar while on global issues, the economy influences the Kenyan parties the most.

### **5.8 Political Parties’ Historical, Cultural and Economic Features**

This research sought to find out how are political parties structured/institutionalized in relation to the country’s history, social-cultural issues, constitutional changes, governance, natural factors and economic challenges. The more stable in any of the above issues a country is, then the more structured a political party would be. It is also correct to state that the success or failure of all the above issues (or any of them) is directly linked to political parties. Table 5.9. provides the data on these factors.



**Table 5.9.: Political Parties' Historical, Cultural and Economic Features**

INFLUENCING FACTORS		FREQUENCY	
		Average %Rating	Real %
Historical Features	Independence struggle	58	65
	Military coups	27	31
	Ethnic clashes	80	89
	Unions' influence	67	75
	Advent of multipartism	74	83
	Transition of power	68	76
Constitutional changes		76	85
Natural factors		68	76
Socio-cultural factors		70	78
Governance issues	Service delivery	65	73
	Bureaucracy	52	58
	Extreme poverty	61	68
National challenges	Security	60	67
	Ethnicity	78	87
	Corruption	54	61
	Economy	62	69
	Minority elite	76	85

**Source: Researcher, (2021)**

Under historical influences, Ethnic clashes, multiparty politics, power transitions and influence from the country's unions were noted to be massive at 89%, 83%, 76% and 75% respectively. These issues were ranked at the same level with constitutional changes, natural factors and socio-cultural factors at 85%, 76% and 78% respectively. However, respondents argue that governance issues and national challenges do not influence political parties as other factors do. The only exceptions are ethnicity as a national challenge at 87% and minority elite at 85%.

The influences that rank more than 75% are known to be serious challenges to the country at large, a respondent argues. Ethnicity and trade unions do place pressure on the political parties to adopt certain policies that suit them. Unions, respondents argue, "are known to openly support the oppositions in modern multiparty politics in

Kenya”. Respondents make findings that the political parties in Kenya are not influenced by the military at 31% unlike some of her neighbours especially South Sudan and Uganda.

### **5.9 Conclusion**

This chapter focused on the role of the political party in Kenya’s political realm. It discussed the place of the political party in political scenes. It also analyses the political party as an institution that is central to political development. Such aspects as internal party dynamics are detailed so as to inform the nature of democracy and the political party system’s development. The next chapter focuses on the link between multipartism and democratization in Kenya.

## CHAPTER SIX

### MULTIPARTISM AND DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS

#### 6.0 Introduction

The third objective was to establish the link between Multipartism and the Democratization Process. Democracy and multiparty politics are unique bedfellows. While multipartism can have variations, including being replaced with single party politics, democracy can still survive. How the system is structured ultimately defines and builds democracy is what counts. Nonetheless, the understanding of multipartism – democracy relationship is best analyzed by studying the democratization process as multipartism is roped in. The study here sought to understand the shortfalls/deficits/weaknesses/problems of democracy that Kenya faces within its multipartism political realm.

#### 6.1 Democracy in Kenya

Political parties and party system development are central to the effective functioning and eventual consolidation of democracy on the continent (Rakner, Menocal & Fritz, 2007; Elischer, 2008). They also point out a number of common features of African party systems, none of which are considered particularly conducive to the advancement of democracy. Most notable among these is a lack of competitiveness, as dominant party systems replace many of the one-party systems of the past. African party systems are also characterized by high volatility, with numerous new parties forming as each election approaches, often only to melt away shortly afterward. And even among those parties that last, few develop strong institutional foundations. The salience of ideology and policy programs as factors distinguishing among parties also tends to be very low (Mattes&Bratton, 2007).

Rakner, Menocal & Fritz (2007), Logan (2008 and Lindberg& Morrison (2008) focus on key factors to explain these less-than-ideal outcomes. In particular, they cite historical and institutional legacies, including persistent patterns of presidentialism and clientelism and the continuing restrictions on political freedoms that produce an uneven playing field. They also give the salience of ethnicity, as well as the resources available to, and the strategic choices of party elites.

It is these weaknesses in democracy that affect the scope of multipartism, development of democratization and undermine the central role of electoral based institutions such as the IEBC, Judiciary, Observer Groups, among others. All democratic countries face challenges in the context of democracy as it has its own limits. What then are these challenges or weaknesses?

**Table 6.1: Democratic Challenges in Kenya**

DEMOCRATIC CHALLENGES	FREQUENCY (N = 90)	
	Average %Rating	Real %
Cost of elections	58	65
Corruption in elections	81	91
Voter manipulation	79	88
Voter apathy	67	75
Violent electoral events	78	87
Pre-& Post poll disruption	76	85
Weak electoral systems	66	74
Weak legal structures	52	58
Poor electoral environment	43	48
Electoral administration challenges	43	48
Standardization of democracy	41	46
Quality of elections	45	51
Regime interference	60	67

**Source: Researcher, (2021)**

The data shows that of all the challenges the Kenyan democracy faces, corruption in elections, voter manipulation, violent electoral events and pre-and post-poll disruptions rank the highest with 91%, 88%, 87% and 85% respectively. Respondents

provide numerous examples in the past electoral cycle, claiming that, “it always got worse and worse with the climax being the 2007 electoral cycle when all the weaknesses of democracy were evident”. Other general problems that while are not extreme, do raise the alarm are voter apathy, weak electoral system, regime interference, cost of elections and weak legal structures at 75%, 74%, 67%, 65% and 58% respectively. These set of challenges are fairly stable due to the investment the country has put in place to have them eliminated. In trying to tame voter apathy, the IEBC together with the civil society and religious bodies have always done voter education on their need and right to vote (Kanyinga, 2014). However, political leadership has gone against this with the latest being the call to boycott the repeat poll by NASA to its members (Dahir, 2017).

Weak electoral and legal structures have been redeemed by the 2010 Constitution (Cheeseman, 2019; Wambua, 2017). However, their implementation is wanting, either through impetuous political behaviour or weak enforcement capability of the concerned institutions. The cost of elections, the researcher found is still a serious impediment to democratization. Respondents were indifferent but recognized the impact of the high primary cost of election in more than ten billion shillings and the secondary cost in regard to the economic effect they feel. They argue that, “it is due to the many safeguards put in place to avoid vices such as rigging that spiral the cost to what it costs today”. While they do not criticize it, in fact one poses, “try going the cheaper way”, its remedy would be investment in the political party and the party system. If they work well, then the need to use more resources on ensuring transparency is significantly reduced.

## **6.2 Penetration of Democratic Ideals into Kenya's Socio-Political and Economic Fabric**

Under this theme, the researcher asks, is democracy embraced by all? Does it merge/compliment Kenya's ideology? Elections, in terms of their origin in Africa, were a colonial contrivance that evolved as part of the institutional transfer of the superstructure of liberal democracy (Jinadu, 1995: 76). Although the pre-colonial political systems in Africa had some shades of democratic principles and practices embedded in them, the concept of voting and the notion of a political majority and minority were not part of the African political tradition. Consensus, dialogue and the political collective were emphasized, as opposed to individualism, atomization and the majoritarianism of the western capitalist political system (Albert 1992).

While electoral pedagogy took place under colonial rule, colonialism produced three sharp contradictions or paradoxes for post-colonial electoral politics and behavior, particularly of the leadership (Adejumobi, 2000). First, colonialism by its very nature and character is antithetical to the logic and philosophy of elections and democracy, having been constructed on a base of authoritarianism and domination. Thus, superintending the electoral process, particularly when the colonial regime itself was deeply interested and involved in the politics of power transfer, was very complex and problematic, and the extent to which an impartial or a free and fair colonial electoral process was possible was therefore questionable.

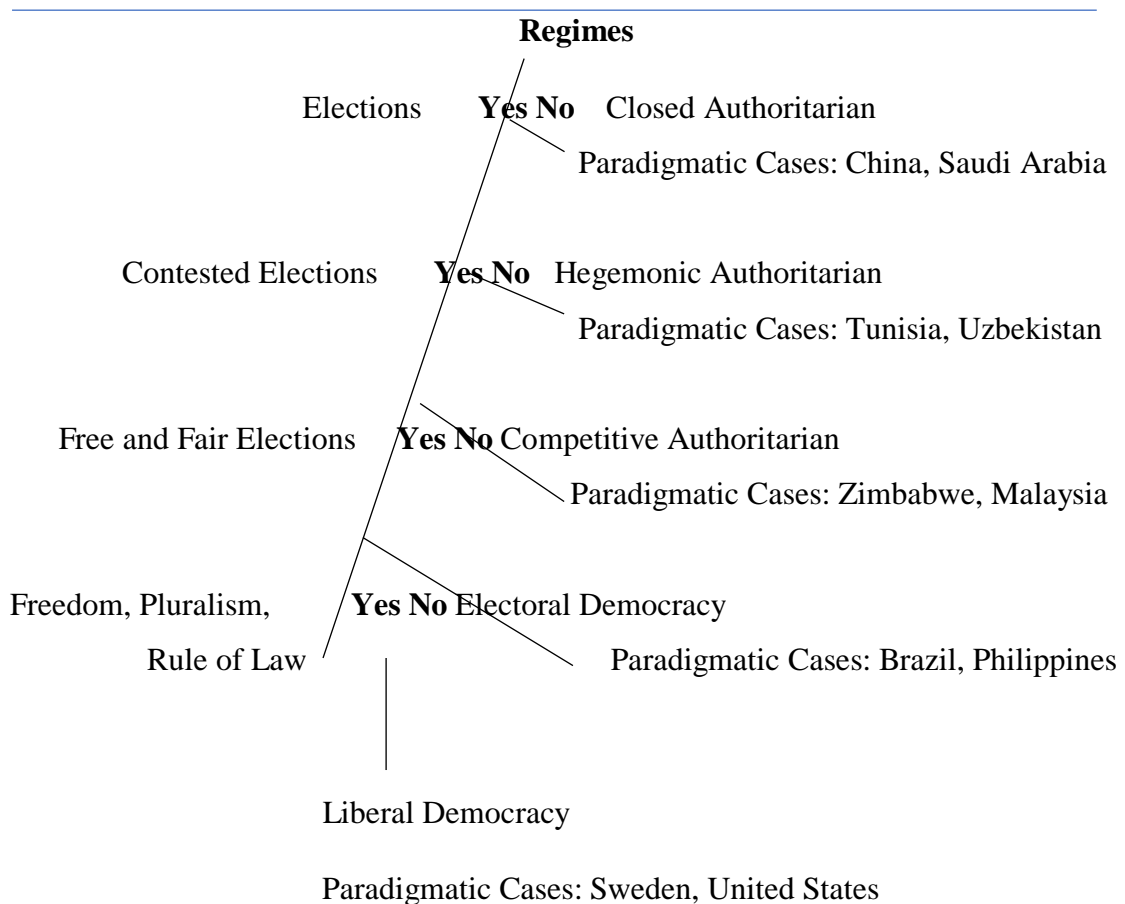
Second, although the decolonization project was woven around democratic principles and the ideals of self-determination and social justice, the emergent political elites were educated and socialized under a highly centralized and authoritarian order

(Chazan, 1993). This was to later affect their post-colonial political behavior. Third, the statist character of colonial rule, which survived the era, was later to determine the object and terrain of electoral competition. What are the implications of the foregoing for electoral politics in post-colonial Africa?

A respondent opines that, “the durability of democracy is assumed to originate from a constitutional order”. However, dominant state parties tend to undermine constitutionalism. He gives several examples in the 2017 General Elections and the many court cases regarding the Constitutional interpretation of electoral processes, including the landmark ruling of the Supreme Court of Kenya nullifying the presidential election. It may be noted that the failure of constitutionalism in Africa is not a result of lack of popular constitutions but of governments seeking to escape from constraints imposed by constitutions. Instead personal rule in Africa has become a norm. A respondent notes that, “where there is, in fact, the potential to resist arbitrary rule, either society is not sufficiently organized politically to challenge it, or the political and legal institutions are too weak in the quality of their personnel and in their political support from society, to resist or counter balance the executive power. In effect therefore, democracy is neither here nor there”. Executive power in Africa is overwhelming partly because the leaders do not believe in constitutional rule or those provisions that limit their powers (Makara, 2007, p57).

At the same time, institutions of representation simply become what is termed as “rubber stamps.” In assessing African political elites, a respondent observes, “a paradox in their commitment to constitutionalism and their emphatic rejection of classical principles of liberal democracy”. “Such a paradox”, she argues, “produces the conditions where the political elite in Africa believe that instead of controlling a

government, the constitution is there to serve government, leaving a room for manipulation”.



**Figure 6.1: Disaggregation of Political Regimes by Various Dimensions of Democracy**

**Source: Howard & Roessler (2006): pp 367**

As figure 6.1 shows, building on the work of Schumpeter, Dahl, Diamond and others; Howard & Roessler (2006) distinguish authoritarianism and democracy by the degree of contestation and participation in the selection of national leaders. Closed authoritarian regimes, they argue, are those in which a country's leaders are not selected through national elections, opposition political parties remain banned, political control is maintained through the use of repression, and there is little space for a free media and civil society. Hegemonic authoritarian regimes do hold regular



elections as part of their system of governance, but in addition to widespread violations of political, civil, and human rights, the elections are not actually competitive.

Because no other party, except the ruling one, is allowed to effectively compete (i.e., the opposition is completely shut out from access to state-owned media coverage, banned from holding political rallies, or forced into exile or in jail), the dominant candidate or party wins overwhelmingly, leading to a de facto one-party state.

In competitive authoritarian systems, on the other hand they further argue, regular, competitive elections are held between the ruling party and a legal and legitimate opposition, which usually chooses to participate, rather than to boycott. But the incumbent regime still uses fraud, repression, and other illiberal means "to create an uneven playing field between government and opposition" to try to ensure that it ultimately prevails in the electoral contest. Since both hegemonic authoritarianism and competitive authoritarianism involve regular elections under conditions that are generally authoritarian, they can be grouped within a larger category that some have called "electoral authoritarianism."

The distinction between electoral democracy and electoral authoritarianism turns crucially on the freedom, fairness, inclusiveness, and meaningfulness of elections. In other words, the regime type of electoral democracy can be distinguished from competitive authoritarianism in that it involves elections that are not only competitive, but also held under genuinely free and fair conditions. Kenya fits to be an electoral democracy but is pulled back by tendencies of competitive authoritarian democracies.

Finally, liberal democracies go a step beyond, as they are strictly bound by the state's constitution and the rule of law, with horizontal accountability among officeholders,

protection of pluralism and freedoms, and the lack of "reserved domains of power for the military or other actors not accountable to the electorate". (Howard & Roessler, 2006; Pp 367-368). It is this liberal democracy that Kenya strives to get to as prescribed by the 2010 Constitution and other multi-sectoral electoral reforms.

### **6.3 Democracy as Practiced During in the Single and Multiparty Eras**

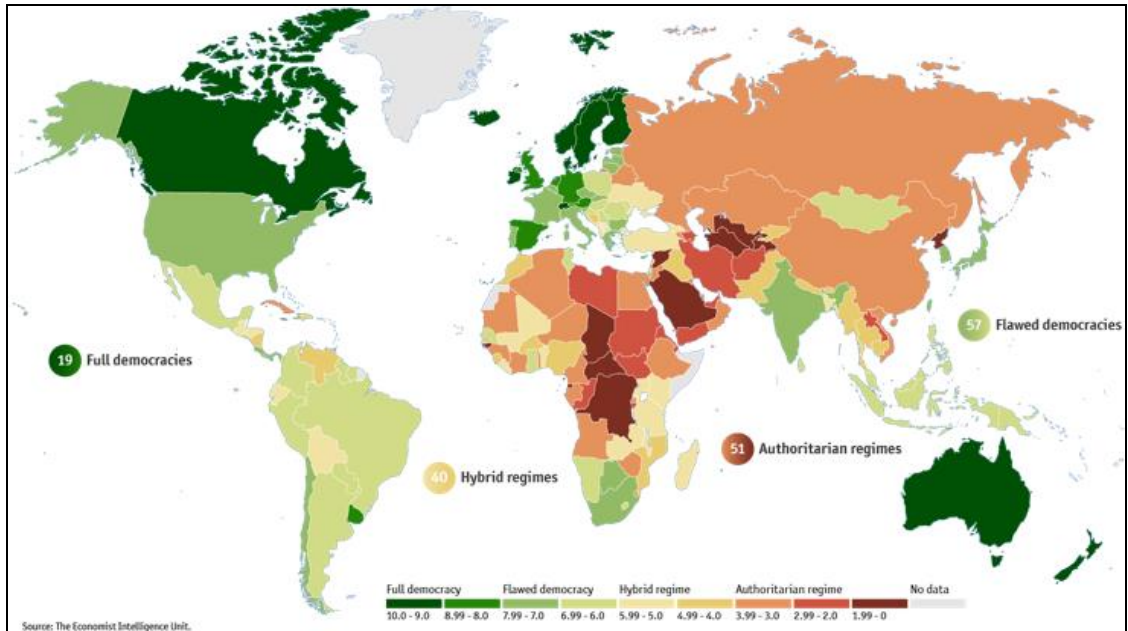
In the extent of literature on the subject of democratization there is widespread agreement on the crucial role of political parties for democratization. Being the link between society and political decision-makers their role is of particular importance in the still emerging post-Third Wave democracies. Nyadera, Agwanda & Maulani (2020) point out the unique circumstances into which democracy has evolved to be what it is today in Africa. In the context of Kenya, the short period in which Kenya was in a single party structure, democracy was tested to its limit.

The negation to this context is that even with multipartism finally coming to reality, the structured/conceptualized view of democracy was imported to the post 1992 years. This was further aggravated by the win and resultant political ecology of KANU and President Daniel Arap Moi. Respondents argue, "that the president wanted to prove his critics, both local and foreign wrong that democracy was not the solution to Kenya's woes". To the president and others in his school of thought, democracy was to fit in in specific ways that only entrench unique authoritarian styled leadership; perhaps the picking of two authoritarian choices.

Though a majority of respondents agree with this statement, there are those who view the current state of affair to be similar to the single party era, they note that, "only the names have changed but the conditions have been upheld to date". They state that, "there is no democracy on the ground as is purported in the constitution and other

institutions”. “Although numerous political parties exist, just as in the single party era,” respondents add, “only one party and a few individuals have the power and dictate it as they will”. A section of respondents though, believe that there has been tremendous change and the gains that have been made are remarkable. They argue that, “there has been better representation and that people have a voice in the administration and management of resources”. They cite the introduction of devolution and delegation of power hence more power to the people. Besides, respondents agree that, “more can and should be done, but note that there has been a change in how democracy is being practiced now being different from the one which was practiced in the single party era”.

A respondent points out that, “democracy is about conducting elections and choosing political leaders”. “In a more revised form”, he continues, “liberal democracy is conceived as a political system characterized by regular and free elections in which politicians organized into parties compete to form the government, by right of virtually all adult citizens to vote and by guarantee of a range of familiar political and civil rights”. The key properties or elements of liberal democracy are: political participation of the citizens; competition among political agents, especially political parties; and the granting of a host of civil and political liberties, which include freedoms of expression, association and the press, sufficient to ensure the integrity of political competition and participation. The findings of this study reveal that while all this is guaranteed in the new constitution, it is the spirit of implementing them that is lacking. Figure 6.2 classifies Kenya as a hybrid regime with 5.99 – 5.0 points. Although it places Kenya as being better in many ways which with continued improvements can easily get to a flawed democracy, it could easily fall back if faced with unique challenges.



**Figure 6.2.: Democracy Index**

**Source: The Economist Intelligence Unit, (2017)**

Geddes (2002) ascertains that in the early years of State establishment in Africa, the political party was regarded as a tool for political development. The key issues then were differentiation of political structures from that of the colonialists, construction of State capacities, institutionalization of organizations and procedures. That democratization was not a priority then. This led to single party systems and entrenchment of military states to be regarded as legitimate. This led to the entrenchment of a different mindset as regards the theoretical foundations of a political party either in a single or multiparty system.

#### **6.4 Expected Potential of Democracy**

Robert Dahl (1971) identified seven criteria that a political system must possess. These include: elected officials must be chosen and peacefully removed in frequent, fair and free elections from which coercion is absent; control over government decisions about policy is constitutionally vested in elected officials; virtually all adults have the right to vote; most adults have the right to run for public office in these elections; citizens possess civil and political rights; there is easy access to information

not monopolized by the state or a single group; and there is an enforce-able right to form and join political organizations including political parties and interest groups (Dahl, 1971: 72-75). Conceptually, elections symbolize popular sovereignty and the expression of the "social pact" between the state and the people, defining the basis of political authority, legitimacy and citizens' obligations. These are accepted by many as the expected potential of democracy.

### **6.5 Structures Developed Under Kenya's Democracy**

Are our political parties either clientelist/patronage based? For what purpose are they serving? Are they serving the party's ideology or serving selfish interests of certain patrons or clients? Respondents point out that, "for democracy to thrive, the political parties should be honest and focused". Democratic accountability is essential because political parties are not always trusted by the citizens (Mkandawire, 2010). The problem pointed out is that politicians tend to be corrupt and to exhibit inappropriate and unethical behavior.

Sometimes, parties have preferences that are not consistent with those of the citizens (a good example is the nomination process where certain individuals are preferred over those the electorate want). Hence, they abrogate their responsibility of being representative and accountable to the citizen. Some parties tend to be dominated by personalities who at times become law unto themselves. In Africa this has translated into what is termed as "*strongman regimes*" (Makara, 2009). For these to survive in power, they tend to practice some forms of authoritarian rule. Part of their scheme is to undercut the viability of alternative power centers and to entrench systems of patronage

Voting and the General Elections history have been pegged on patron-client politics. As shown in the table 6.2., since independence, its levels have varied, and more importantly, dependent on social cleavages. Accordingly, ethnicity is seen as a major analytical yardstick in classifying African parties and other large bodies of the literature analyses the particular nature of the African state, especially its clientelistic or neo-patrimonial nature. In general, political scientists regard clientelism in conjunction with ethnicity as decisive factors in determining elite behavior and simultaneously as severe impediments to democratic consolidation.

**Table 6.2.: Level of Patron-Client Politics as Shown in Elections**

ELECTION CYCLE	CLIENT SEEKING GROUP (counts)						
	Ethnicity	Elite	Gender	Race	Religion	Unions	Minority
1920 -1957 Elections	0	42	16	89	9	27	0
1961	42	53	37	87	51	89	28
1963	43	55	39	48	50	90	23
1966	65	62	45	31	58	85	24
1969	77	63	46	24	60	85	22
1974	77	68	48	20	65	75	21
1979	79	66	50	19	65	74	22
1983	81	64	48	15	66	67	20
1988	89	62	47	12	64	59	21
1992	93	65	51	10	62	75	18
1997	94	60	50	10	64	67	22
2002	64	54	56	5	56	68	36
2005*	28	32	76	5	75	76	60
2007	95	64	53	5	58	65	29
2010*	23	29	82	5	80	78	66
2013	96	65	54	5	62	65	27
2017	90	66	48	5	58	66	19

**Source: Researcher, (2021)**

Clientelist politics are embedded in this country as shown in table 6.2. Client seeking groups coalesce together to influence electoral results. Ethnicity is ranked at the top clientelist seeking avenue by respondent with over 90% score in elections. While it

was low/dormant in the post independent elections, the colonialist construct of divide and rule is believed to be its cause. As years went on, ethnicity was entrenched as a client provision entity. It was only during the constitutional referendums of 2005 and 2010 that ethnicity was not used to influence results at 28% and 23% respectively. Unions and religion follow closely. Respondents point out that, “these two have been synonymous in supporting opposition groups in the quest for better political environment”. The highest level of religious clientelistic engagement was the 2010 referendum when almost all religious institutions ganged up together to oppose the draft constitution at 80%.

The impact of race clientelist engagement which used to be very vital has died out due to the majority black voters and the alienation of especially Indo-Asian community in Kenyan politics. This group has since transformed into an elite clientelitic base. As shown in table 6.2., the elites support electoral groups using their massive resources in exchange for business related favours. A group of President Uhuru’s friends broke a record in raising millions in just an hour (*Daily Nation*, 15<sup>th</sup> June, 2017).

Gender and the minority have also been recognized as clientelistic bases with the former doing better (see table 7.4). Gender mainly consists of women under the banner of the role of women in politics. Its highest contribution as a base for client politics being the 2010 constitutional referendum owing to the sweeping reforms being introduced that guarantee the space of women in leadership at 82%. The same applies for the minority at 66%.

One respondent argues that ,“approaches used to describe democratic deficits in the Kenyan landscape include the developmental theory. It argues that; certain socio-economic pre-conditions are necessary for democracy to thrive and secondly, the low

socio-economic conditions of a country and lack of clear ideological foundations allows for the creation of “clientelist” and “patronage” based political structures”. This argument is supported by another respondent that, “this leads to decreasing influence of party members and lack of appeal and flamboyance of the party”. Instead, to maintain its status, a party resorts to or appeals to existing cleavages so as to get supporters for their vote base (Choe, 2003).

A respondent notes that, “nationalist parties, including KANU, were to face the challenge of the opposition parties after independence”. “Nationalist struggles for independence”, he adds, “were the only cement keeping these desperate groups together”. During the nationalist struggles, disunity was condemned or considered treasonous. With self-government at hand, political rivalry and competition were to be expected and in principle accepted as part of the norms of a democratic system (Oyugi, Wanyande & Odhiambo-Mabai, 2003). However, as self- government approached, dominant parties also became assailable because they were unable to produce all the promises they made or the personalities of their founders were questioned.

Dominant parties became increasingly bureaucratized and less sensitive to the claims of new groups entering the political arena, and tensions among factions and cliques in top leadership ranks became apparent and virulent. As a response to emergent dissenting tendencies, the dominant parties absorbed threats by use of patronage, reorganization of local governments and state structures in order to further central government and party control as well as use of coercion to deal with recalcitrant forces (Widner, 1992). With this in mind, dominant parties were able to stigmatize opposition parties as being not only unnecessary but also dangerous in the pursuit of unrealized goals of modernization.



Similarly, the above argument leads to seclusion of leadership from internal checks and balances, lack of ideology and complete subversion of internal democracy of political parties. The result is the mushrooming of party authoritarianism (as is the case in ODM, Jubilee, Wiper-K and in other African parties including ZANU-PF); complete lack of ideology as witnessed in the lack of zeal and originality in drawing manifestos and lastly, the subversion of internal democracy as witnessed in flawed party primaries carried out in most electoral cycles.

### **6.6 Relationship Between Parties and Democratic Norms**

Multipartism should breed democracy in the society. However, what is the shape/form of intraparty democracy? How do parties conduct internal elections, decision making etc.? Do they follow existing social cleavages? It is important to note that without internal party democracy (e.g. nomination of key persons/candidates to vie at the expense of those who are favourites) then the level of democracy will be wanting. It will be similar to single party systems.

Democracy is used by ethnic groups to get power at all means. In this process, a respondent argues, “democracy becomes the cruel monster, eating up its own gains. At the end, it becomes empty”. An ethnic group can by law form a coalition with another or other ethnic groups (or any social cleavage) and use all allowed legal ways to win the seat of governance. However, in so doing it disregards the basic principles of democracy and secondly their choice of leadership, ideology, manifesto and chance to grow the party on universal principles; due to selfish ethnic interests are jeopardized or put aside all together (Wambua, 2017). The resultant government becomes an ethnic oriented government and others secluded. Both to them and the victors, democracy becomes empty.

Multipartism was intended to entrench the universal suffrage principle where each ballot counts. However, as respondents note, “this has been replaced by social cleavages. Yes, voters cast their ballots, but the results indicate the wishes of the voters’ own cleavages. They vote because of the group they associate with”. This ridicules multipartism and brings back the traits in the single party system where one votes for a certain candidate not just because they want, but because it is required of them (Widner, 1992).

In assessing internal party dynamics, the research sought to know how independent political parties are from external forces are such as elites, other countries, the military, donors, religion among others. This will lead to their service delivery; that is to say, an independent party will have a good record, while a dependent party will serve particular interests, and therefore infringe democracy and ultimately undermine multipartism. Table 6.3. Summarize these thoughts.

Party outlook constitutes understanding internal dynamics of political parties. Muhammed Nasireko, Member of Parliament (MP) in Uganda states that the fact that Former President Robert Mugabe always won with a majority or landslide votes, and then immediately forced to resign aptly shows the awkward manner in which African democracy is in (Chinese Global Television Network (CGTN)Clip, 23/11/2017). His thoughts reflect the notion that political parties are used to manoeuvre democratic principles. In this case, it is the party in Zimbabwe that is authoritarian. Over the years, it has been used to amend laws so that periodic elections become a formality to extend the reign of Mr. Mugabe.

While these parties just like ZANU-PF are authoritarian, others such as ANC and CCM of South Africa and Tanzania respectively, have the same authoritarian

tendencies but have surprisingly stuck to democratic ideals. How then have they done it? This feature of party authoritarianism is also to be found in other parts of the world such parties of Finland, The Communist Party of China, and the ruling party in Venezuela.

**Table 6.3.: Assessment of Parties' Acceptance of Democratic Norms**

	<b>Democratic/pluralistic</b>	<b>Undemocratic/hegemonic</b>
<b>Intra-party level</b>		
Alteration of leadership	democratic alteration	none/ undemocratic
leadership election	elections by delegates	appointments by leader
Peacefulness	internally stable	threatened by splits/ non-accepting of election outcome
<b>Inter-party level</b>		
Accepting of defeat	Yes	no
Electoral conduct	fair/tolerant	use of intimidation and threats
Rhetoric	issue-based/ accepting of other views	Aggressive

**Source: Elischer, 2008; pp181**

Table 6.3. by Elischer (2008) provides a good ground for the assessment of parties in Kenya in view of their approach towards democracy. At the intra-party level, it becomes evident of the undemocratic or hegemonic character of Kenyan political parties since the alteration of leadership is undemocratic, leadership election is done by the party leadership and the degree of peacefulness is always threatened by splits. At the interparty level, acceptance of defeat is very hard, parties' electoral conduct is based on the use of intimidation and threats and the rhetoric undertone is always aggressive in nature. Such dispositions towards undemocratic features spells doom for the development of democracy in Kenya and a huge burden on the institutions put in place to ensure democratic ideals are instituted and respected.

### **6.7 Quality of Elections in the Single and Multiparty Eras**

The questions to answer here is whether multipartism has improved the quality of elections and therefore increased the quality of democracy. In most African countries,

recent developments suggest that elections are only an expedient political exercise for ruling regimes. This is partly because of their economic implications in terms of external aid flows and economic assistance. It is also partly because of their public relations advantage in propping up the political profile of the regime in the international arena.

Even where regimes came into power through popular elections, they have since relapsed into autocratic rule, conducting "fabricated" elections. Thus, the dominant practice is that most rulers organize an electoral "coup d'état" which ensures their "selection" in the name of a popular electoral process. The tactics employed include stifling opposition parties and reducing them to docility, covertly corrupting the electoral process or embarking on outright election rigging. The parameters to measure the quality of elections are used to compare the three eras as shown in table 6.4.

**Table 6.4.: Quality of Elections in the Single and Multiparty Eras**

QUALITY PARAMETERS	Multiparty (count)			Single party era (count)				Multiparty era (count)							
	61	63	66	69	74	79	83	88	92	97	02	07	13	17a	17b
<b>Voter turnout</b>	72	75	48	45	47	67	51	53	66	54	69	57	66	61	45
<b>Good electoral environment</b>	62	64	29	35	38	65	52	46	43	38	61	31	47	49	28
<b>Good electoral administration</b>	78	79	58	52	48	53	47	45	49	45	48	47	53	55	55
<b>Transmission of results</b>	65	67	41	45	47	49	47	38	46	43	69	48	72	75	75
<b>Vote tallying procedure</b>	61	60	35	38	40	55	51	57	50	47	59	48	58	62	62
<b>Observer reporting</b>	48	48	43	48	47	52	49	47	50	53	58	52	61	64	64
<b>Legal infrastructure</b>	45	45	48	49	52	51	54	56	52	53	54	57	61	71	71
<b>Pre and Post voting management</b>	45	45	37	43	49	48	48	45	46	50	50	54	65	65	65

Source: Researcher, (2021)

From the data shown in table 6.4., the electoral process and its outcome was the same in the single party era with low performance in all the parameters. As seen, the quality of elections started well with an average of 62% and would drop to an average of 45% before picking up to where it is today with an average of 66%. In the lowest points of the single party era, deleterious manipulations and control characterized every phase of the process, this study finds. This includes the process of constitutional engineering, establishment and control of the electoral body, subversion of electoral rules and regulations, abuse of the electioneering process, voters' registration and the conduct of elections. Adejumobi (2000) argues that even with regulations in place, regimes participated with a low commitment to the process and a poor adherence to rules and due process.

### **6.8 Type of Political Party and Ideology**

African parties operate in an especially challenging environment given the socio-economic conditions and the multi-ethnic makeup of their respective countries. As a result, they are seen as devoid of ideological coherence, heavily personality-driven and relying on an ethnic support base. The recent trend towards the emergence of the dominant party system further raises doubts about the ability of African political parties to constructively contribute to the process of democratization. If parties are ethnic or clientelistic they do not adhere to democratic procedures. This research sought to find out which types of parties are prevalent in Africa's multi-party democracies and what is their respective relationship with democratic procedures. Respondents argue that ,“depending on the following features, or a combination of some, then the party takes a particular direction, ideology and therefore has a resultant effect on democracy and multipartism”.

These features are; is the party an independence party, a coalition, as a (result of a) movement, as a result of certain cleavages, predominantly minority or majority or does the party have links to the military?

He goes further to point to most African parties that did participate in independence struggles as having major inclination to nationalist's ideologies. These parties tend to be inward looking and democracy developed from an intra-party realm. Inter-party democracy is limited. He gives the examples of CCM in Tanzania, ZANU-PF in Zimbabwe and ANC in South Africa. KANU of Kenya was structured in the same way before the repeal of Section 2A making Kenya a multiparty state.

If the party is in a coalition, then the democratic structure in the country is alive. He argues that ,“coalitions are built on understandings of their unique failures, and that parties need each other”. In effect therefore, parties that are working with each other respect freedoms and spaces of their partners, and generally creating an environment for democracy to thrive (Nwogu, 2015).

Parties that are as a result of a movement or are movements in themselves, the same respondent regards, “as parties that seek to redraw the features of democracy”. These parties apply democratic principles retrospectively, that is if it fits them then democracy is okay and if not then they discard it, threatening any quarter that questions them. Respondent give the example of the NRM of Uganda and ODM of Kenya as good examples.

Parties that are as a result of certain cleavages are argued to be structured to fulfil the interest of the parent cleavage. If democracy is not a bother, then it will survive, but if otherwise, then democracy is dismantled. “Many regimes in Africa”, the same respondent explains,“are structured in this manner”. This therefore explains the

fluctuations in the gains of democracy in Africa(Cheeseman,2015). He further argues that ,“the same argument applies for parties that are predominantly minority or majority in terms of membership and the parent cleavage”. If members are the majority, then democracy tends to thrive but if members are the minority, and in (or influence) power, then democracy is diminished. He provides the examples of Somalia and Sudan as examples respectively.

Parties that have links to the military are generally undemocratic. A respondent uses military oriented regimes like Egypt, Sudan, South Sudan and Rwanda as examples. In the said countries, democracy only thrives if the military has no problem (Themner, 2017). To get a continuous situation where the military is content with democratic features for a long period is unlikely. Therefore, these countries will not in the near future become complete democracies. “In fact,”, he adds, “Egypt tried under President Morsi but failed in record eleven months”.

### **6.9 The Ecology of Political Parties**

The environment within which political parties find themselves in is critical in the analysis of democracy and multiparty politics. From the literature review, the researcher classified the ecology of political parties into four broad categories. These categories include:

- a) Type of country. Of concern to the study is whether the country in question is stable or weak. What is the history of the state, the problems it faces and the socio-cultural features of the citizens.
- b) The type or role of the military in politics
- c) Position/role of civil societies and other stakeholders in politics
- d) Literacy and understanding of politics by the electorate



These four categories are scattered in broad views regarding Kenya except for the role of the military in politics. The Kenyan military is not involved in politics unlike most other African countries. These concerns are also pointed out by Adejumobi, (2000) that the environmental conditions conducive to and supportive of meaningful elections are what could be described as the pre-election variables, covering socio-economic and political issues.

This study finds that these issues involve creating relative economic well-being and social welfare for the people, the absence of which leads to a "clientelist vote," where the electorates are in a captive situation, mainly trading their votes for token material incentives from patrons, thus turning votes and elections into commodities. Similarly, this captures the correct situation in Kenyan elections, this study concludes. Certainly, voting and elections will count for little in an atmosphere of crippling poverty, want and despair

#### **6.10 Challenges to Multipartyism in Africa**

One of the biggest challenges to multipartyism in Africa is the negative attitude that voters have over the years generated owing to aspects including wrong results not expected and impact on the economy by elections. In addition are the influences from militaries and armed groups or militias and the western judgmental influence on liberal democracy expansion (Kanyinga, 2014). In particular, the researcher found that two conventional views about Africans' political attitudes may hold true to at least to some extent, with important implications for party competition.

First, the common impression that there is a tendency towards reference to the "big man" in Africa's mostly patriarchal political systems is clearly evident, and such reference has strong effects on the trust gap. An over-abundance of respect for

Africa's current "father-leaders" may be one key factor inhibiting the development of an effective opposition (Makara, 2007). Secondly, the commonly cited preference for consensus-based rather than competitive or conflict-based decision making in traditional African political systems may also have lingering effects. Many Africans still express doubts about the benefits of competitive party politics relative to the perceived costs, and again, the effects on their attitudes toward opposition political parties are negative, though far less pronounced than the apparent effects of deferential attitudes (Makara, 2007).

Respondents were of the opinion that different countries faced different challenges unique to their dynamics. And in as much as they agree that multipartism is the way forward, they pitched in by saying the current state of being is not progressive but rather some changes and laws should be put in place. Respondents argue that, "factors such as national histories, existing socio-political structures and institutions, or the strategic choices of political elites, do matter in the effect on multipartism". There are also practical and experience-based grounds for public concern about the potential outcomes of party competition, particularly in a context where ethno-regionalism rather than ideology tends to shape party allegiances. The violent aftermath of Kenya's hotly contested – and ethnically divisive – December 2007 elections, in a country that had only recently been hailed as a democratic leader on the continent, offers the most recent example of the potential perils of party competition (Elischer, 2008).

Thus, although it is difficult to conceive of an effective and legitimate alternative, there are nonetheless valid reasons to question both the viability and the impacts of the multiparty model in much of Africa. One respondent adds, "even on a more

pragmatic basis, voters, like politicians, may offer their support to incumbents to gain or retain access to resources, and avoid penalties for backing a ‘*loser*’”. This type of voting instrumentality can produce a bandwagon effect that makes it especially difficult for opposition politicians to draw committed supporters to their side, since they are unlikely to be able to deliver the same kind of benefits that incumbents can produce (Christensen & Ejdemyr, 2020).

### **6.11 Resultant Effects of Multipartism**

The return to multiparty politics ushered a new era in Kenyan politics, and a promise of better political fortunes for the country. These political fortunes are regarded by respondents as benefits or results of multipartism. These effects are amongst other avenues channelled/agitated for through elections. Some/one might say their realization might have never been realized if electoral processes were done with the same manner as during the single party era.

#### **6.11.1 Positive Oriented Effects of Multipartism**

Van de Walle(2003) notes that the evolution of parties is an important indicator of “democratic practice in Africa and the changing nature of the links between citizens and the political class”.As parties evolve, multipartism equally evolves, becoming better by the day. Table 6.5. Provides frequency of reviewed positive effects of multipartism.

**Table 6.5.: Positive Oriented Effects of Multipartism**

POSITIVE EFFECTS	FREQUENCY (N = 90)	
	Average %Rating	Real %
Entrenched democratization	59	66
Constitutionalism	66	74
Gender mainstreaming	50	56
Human rights development	49	55
Augmentation of institutionalism	63	71
Separation of powers	67	75
Decentralization	64	72
Control of presidential/executive powers	52	58
Enhanced public oversight	54	61
Improvement in governance	52	58
Entrenched checks and balances	58	65
Improved public participation	60	67
Free media and press	68	76

**Source: Researcher, (2021)**

Respondents point out that, “Since the return to multipartism in 1992, there has been so much improvement to the manner of conducting politics and more importantly development”. They also argue that, “while President Moi oversaw the decline of the economy and other related aspects such as fundamental freedoms in the single party era, he was generally not to blame but the party structures he ran were. He was a president struggling to remain afloat in a diminishing fashion called single party systems within the contexts of legitimacy”. Further, “he wanted to be seen from the international scene as in control, yet things were falling apart and placed pressure on the party to perform, but it was not just capable”. “With the entry of multipartism, President Moi tried his best”, another respondent argues, “but he just did not have the support owing to massive alienation his regime had on the masses”. This alienation was as a result of deeply entrenched patron – client style of politics that were the norm (Lindberg & Morrison, 2008).

Although the President Kibaki regime did try to fight these clientelist channels at first, it soon mastered it and practised it more than President Moi’s regime. However, there

were several effects that blossomed because of multiparty politics. Of these, as shown in table 6.5. all did well with an average of 68%. The only exception was control of presidential/executive powers, improvement in governance, gender mainstreaming and human rights development that performed poorly at 58%, 58%, 56% and 55% respectively.

### 6.11.2 Negative Oriented Effects of Multipartism

Van de Walle (2003) reflects that the continent has undergone “the reutilization of multiparty elections”. The optimistic assessments of the continent’s democratic future initially endangered by these developments have, however, steadily given way to a resurgent pessimism, as country after country has fallen short of the democratic hopes grasped at by reform-minded citizens and international observers alike. The disappointments have taken numerous forms. Most starkly, many of the regimes conducting purportedly liberalizing elections during the 1990s have, in reality, made very little progress towards giving greater voice to citizens. More than a few of the authoritarian rulers succeeded in manipulating the system, finding ways to conduct elections that offered the appearance of competitiveness, thus preserving their control over the levers of power. These arguments are summarized in table 6.6.

**Table 6.6.: Negative Oriented Effects of Multipartism**

NEGATIVE EFFECTS	Frequency (n = 90)	
	Average %	Rating Real %
Increased cost of elections	69	77
Manipulation of democratic ideals	67	75
Entrenched social cleavage manipulated elections	73	82
Increased electoral violence	64	72
Multi-sectoral paralysis due/during elections	58	65
Redundancy of national outlook political parties	61	68
Electoral inference by international players	54	61

**Source: Researcher, (2021)**

The most evident effects pointed out were the entrenched social cleavage manipulated elections, increased cost of elections, manipulation of democratic ideals and increased electoral violence at 82%, 77%, 75% and 72% respectively. As explained in the previous subtheme, the Kibaki regime over time learnt to use patron – client politics, and over time did it better than the Moi’s regime. “They perfected this”, respondents argued, “because multipartism offered them an enabling environment”.

“Today, elections cost billions of shillings and still get rejected or go unrecognized”, a respondent point out. He goes on to say that, “its ironical that Kenyans invest so much in ensuring that elections are not “stolen”, yet we elect bad leaders”. Manipulation of democratic ideals is evident with the manner, with which politicians go around legal roadblocks with impunity and go ahead and get massive votes (*Daily Nation*, 26<sup>th</sup> July, 2017). The tide of electoral conflict reached it pick in the 2007/8 electoral cycle. The highest the country has experienced. Respondents argue that, “if President Moi was in power then, the violence wouldn’t have gotten to the extreme levels they got to”. The reason they give is that he was in control. “Such control”, respondents add ,“would make a difference as compared to the type President Kibaki had which was necessitated by multiparty politics. That is everyone has room to do and say as they please”.

### **6.11.3 Democratic Effect in Kenyan Politics**

Political parties are crucial players in the effects of democratization such as development. In order to understand the development aspect, the research sought to know how democracy has impacted on development. Respondents argue that ,“for the country to develop, democracy must be stable”. Others disagreed on the thought that it is the vice versa. Most of the opponents of parties accuse them of being divisive, which complicates the task of national unity and modernization. They advocate for

no-party or one-party system such as KANU in the past or CCM and ANC in Tanzania and South Africa respectively.

Most of these dominant parties, they argue, emphasize “developmentalism” that is, a situation where it is claimed that development should come before democracy. This however manifests strong elements of domination by the ruling oligarchy whereby the contribution of other social forces in society is negatively perceived either as subversive or retrogressive (Lekvall, 2013). Criticism is perceived as diversionary. However, historically, economic development has always succeeded where democracy has had a chance to grow. It has been argued that democracy requires development if it is to be relevant to the daily livelihoods of the people. Conversely, development without democracy is unsustainable.

A respondent opines that, “scholars assert that monopoly of politics in the manner it happened in several African countries, such as Tanzania, Kenya and Zimbabwe revolved around four interrelated aspects”. “First, it meant that no organized political or political activity could be permitted outside the state-party. So, all “mass organizations”— trade unions, cooperatives, students, women and youth organizations, and even football clubs and cultural troupes—were brought under the control of the state-party”. (This further entrenched social cleavages). This was followed by destruction of autonomous and organized expression in civil society. “The second method of monopolizing politics”, he adds, “was to discourage criticism; by branding it “a few disgruntled elements,” “unpatriotic elements”, “detractors,” etc.”. This still continues to date, as witnessed in the recent 2017 General Elections.

“The third one was the cumulative effect of the first two”. This was the development of a closed society. Openness, one of the most important ingredients of an open

society suffers. Popular subconscious teaches the people to set their own limits of expression through self-censorship. All this led to the following evils: arbitrariness, intrigues, nepotism, favouritism, and political sycophancy, aspects which dominant parties thrived on.

“The fourth effect of the monopoly of politics was ideological”. This generated a political culture of intolerance which expected and actively solicited unanimity of views. This was the subtlest yet profoundly prejudicial to democracy. This respondent concludes that, “unless democracy is let to thrive, all these will creep back from the single party era to multiparty politics, not just in bits as experienced, but with full force”. The Kenyan democracy will be forced to eat itself up, owing to the cleavages that are foundations to the political system (Lindberg& Morrison, 2008; Posner, 2007).

### **6.12 Conclusion**

This chapter dealt with the link between multipartism and democratization in Kenya. It also compared this theme with other African countries and globally so as to get a more holistic perspective. This chapter points out the weaknesses and strengths of both the party system in place today and democracy in Kenya. The next chapter focuses on the contribution of electoral practices to democratization in Kenya.



**CHAPTER SEVEN**  
**CONTRIBUTION OF ELECTIONEERING PROCESS TO**  
**DEMOCRATIZATION IN KENYA**

**7.0 Introduction**

The fourth objective was to find out the effects of the Electioneering Process to multipartism and democracy in Kenya. Democracy means constant or periodic elections where the choices of the electorate are used to chart the way forward, not only in elected representatives, but in the picking of certain tenets of public policy and execution of service delivery. Votes cast tell more than just numbers and percentages (Makara, 2007: p.54; Almond & Verba, 1963, p.214, Diamond, 1997:23). They extend to the state of affairs as it were and the demand for either extension or renewal of how things are managed.

**7.1 Effects of the Electioneering Process on democracy in Kenya.**

As argued in the case against the election of President Uhuru Kenyatta, the process of voting and intensions of the voter must be kept and respected with all integrity it deserves (Kenya Law, 2013). “This”, he adds, “is a sovereign duty that is being executed by a Kenyan citizen. If it is tampered with, then the person or institution responsible will be committing a serious offense that denies a citizen his or her sovereign privilege and duty”. The question raised by the researcher concerned the integrity of ballots cast.

This is because, and in agreeing with Kenya’s Attorney General, the end result of the ballots is crucial. Respondents pointed out the disillusionment that many voters have. There is a general feeling of anger over what is claimed is the rampant manipulation of results, to an extent that voters no longer see the need to vote if their choices are not respected. One respondent, in referring to the 2017 General Elections says, “why

should I wake up at 4:00 Am, cue for almost six hours only for us to be told the whole process was dogged by illegalities?”

Other respondents while claiming the IEBC is better off than party primaries, argue that it still needs to do better. A respondent opines that, “the IEBC must get rid of brokers and politicians whose only purpose is to maintain the status quo”. “The 2017 General elections”, a respondent argue, “are the best to have ever been organized”. “The only other positive elections”, respondents agree were above board, “were the 2010, 2005 and 2002 elections”.

“The inclusion of Independent Candidates by the 2010 Constitution”, respondents point out, “was a game changer for elections in Kenya”. For the first time, political party primaries’ manipulators and beneficiaries found it rough (Cheeseman, 2019). While they won in what party members claim was unfair, voters waited for the General Elections and voted in Independent candidates in large numbers. “This”, respondents say, “was to teach political party leadership and the manipulators a lesson they will never forget”. One voter described this situation in the following words, “I thank the writers of this new law, for the first time, the law has given ordinary Kenyans a leeway of getting rid of unwanted leaders. They steal votes in the primaries, but we vote them out in the main elections. It is a fair game.”

Elections if conducted in a positive environment bring with it positive effects. It elaborates a working democracy. A working democracy means that the procedures and style of conducting elections are good and universally acceptable as the norms. However, as respondents point out, “there are negative factors that hinder the space the Kenyan democracy needs”. These effects are discussed as shown in the table 7.1.

**Table 7.1: Electioneering Process**

Electioneering Features		1	2	3	4	5	Total
Social cleavages are inhibitive to electioneering process	Freq.	5	26	17	24	18	90
	%	5	29	19	27	20	100
Regulations and legal structures in place for election are not well stipulated and adhered to	Freq.	14	25	13	19	19	90
	%	16	28	14	21	21	100
The disbursement of finances to electoral sectors is not adequate	Freq.	9	20	18	20	23	90
	%	11	22	20	22	25	100
Corruption including vote buying is rampant and continues to grow in Kenya	Freq.	11	19	19	15	26	90
	%	12	21	21	17	29	100
Manipulation and patronage in elections is rife and affects the process of elections	Freq.	16	15	18	14	27	90
	%	18	17	20	15	30	100
Process of conducting campaigns is flawed and negates democratic gains	Freq.	13	23	16	17	21	90
	%	15	25	18	19	23	100
Political structures inherited from colonial administration contribute to poor electoral structures	Freq.	12	23	12	23	20	90
	%	14	25	14	25	22	100
The role of the civil society and media should be expanded in elections	Freq.	13	23	26	11	17	90
	%	14	26	29	12	19	100
Social-economic problems such as insecurity and unemployment do contribute to poor electoral processes	Freq.	11	24	13	17	25	90
	%	12	27	14	19	28	100
The overall state of elections in Kenya needs to be reconstituted	Freq.	8	21	16	27	18	90
	%	9	23	18	30	20	100

**Key**

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree

**Source: Researcher, (2021)**

The following sub headings provide the discussions on table 7.1.

The findings for the statement on the social groupings as being inhibitive to electioneering process as shown in table 7.1. had the following outcomes from the study; 5 (5%) strongly disagree, 26 (29%) disagree, 17 (19%) were neutral, 24 (27%) agree, and 18 (20%) strongly agree. Respondents that disagree with the notion that cleavages inhibit elections do so on the notion that they benefit from the said cleavages. To them it is not wrong for groups to agitate for their political demands.

Those that agree on the other hand do so by pointing out that it is these groups that in their being selfish that compromise electoral processes. Their main aim is to benefit and will do so regardless, even if it means not adhering to electoral procedure. The inhibitive social grouping refers to social cleavages that play a crucial role in the formation of political parties and their influence on the political system. While it is true that these groupings are keen towards their own development, the agitation for such self-oriented development comes at the coast of others.

In regards to regulations and legal structures in place for elections not being well stipulated or adhered to, electoral regulations are crucial for any political system to have a sustainable environment for development. The constitution in Chapters seven prescribes laws on how elections, its management, the IEBC and Political Parties should be. This research sought to find out if electoral regulations in place, together with legal structures if they are adhered to by political parties. The results as shown in table 7.1. for the regulations and legal structures in place for election are not well stipulated and adhered to were as follows: 14 (16%) strongly disagree, 25 (28%) disagree, 13 (14%) were neutral, 19 (21%) agree, and 19 (20%) strongly agree. Respondents were of the view that electoral regulations and legal structures are in place.

However, their effectiveness is still wanting. Respondents give the numerous attempts to check the electoral body and system through several avenues including constitutional amendments to electoral laws and procedure and improvement of party regulations and conduct. However, many electoral offences are broken by politicians and voters at will. This negates the positive gains that has been made.

Table 7.1. Sheds light on the disbursement of finances to electoral sectors not being adequate through the following findings: 9 (11%) strongly disagree, 20 (22%) disagree, 18 (20%) were neutral, 20 (22%) agree, and 23 (25%) strongly agree. Respondents fairly agree that resource allocated to the electoral sector is not enough and that more needs to be provided. Those with a contrary opinion argue that too much investment in the electoral sectors hamper the economy of the country, and with a dwindling economy, elections would go south.

For effective electoral participation, stakeholders in elections have to be well financed. This is agreed to by respondents that the effect of financing such institutions is paramount for the advancement of multipartism. Such sectors include institutions placed with the mandates of manning elections, the judiciary, related government electoral bodies like the Registrar of Parties and political parties. Respondents argue that ,“in the case of political parties, this would be a positive development toward the institutionalization of political parties in Kenya, which would enhance their participation in the democratic process, as well as strengthening accountability as to the sources and utilization of funds and reducing incentives for patronage”.

Although smaller parties might not receive sufficient resources, the principle and spirit of the legislation is to strengthen parties and bolster their autonomy (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2010). On the other hand, a better financed electoral commission, the more equipped and able to perform its tasks without begging the government. If it is left to beg the government, then its neutrality standing is jeopardized as had been claimed by the opposition in both the 2013 and 2017 electoral cycles.

As shown in table 7.1., corruption if not checked impacts negatively on the gains of multipartism. Corruption including vote buying is rampant and continues to grow in

Kenya had the following findings: 11 (12%) strongly disagree, 19 (21%) disagree, 19 (21%) were neutral, 15 (17%) agree, and 26 (29%) strongly agree. Corruption remains one of the most difficult impediments to development in Kenya. In the realm of elections and multipartism, corruption plays a key role in the destruction of positive gains over the years in electoral reforms.

Corruption in elections takes the form of bribery of voters and electoral officials, reduction in the scrutiny levels of candidates by authorities, mismanagement of electoral institutions and procedure, abuse of power by majority by the electorate among others. A respondent argues that, “if there is a way to go around electoral corruption, then the country would be more democratic. However, those who try are crucified, even by the voters who would be the primary beneficiaries”. He goes ahead to point out that, “the moment a voter accepts a bribe in exchange of votes, then they give up their right to demand services”.

The table 7.1. provides data regarding manipulation and patronage in Kenyan elections. The findings on manipulation and patronage in elections is rife and affects the process of elections were as follows: 16 (18%) strongly disagree, 15 (17%) disagree, 18 (20%) were neutral, 14 (15%) agree, and 27 (30%) strongly agree. In as long as patronage politics remains the norm in Kenya, democracy will remain to be threatened. Client-patron politics need manipulative tendencies during elections. Kenya has put in place legal structures to avert manipulation of elections. However, these interested clients seek ways to beat the system. It is such manipulations that the Opposition in the 2017 General Elections made demands for review of electoral procedure, a factor that made them withdraw from the repeat poll (Cheeseman, 2019).

Adejumobi (2000) posits that elections constitute an important element in liberal democracy. They are a viable means of ensuring the orderly process of leadership succession and change and an instrument of political authority and legitimating. The failure of elections or their absence largely defines the predominance of political dictatorships and personalized rule in Africa. The current wave of democratic enthusiasm has evoked a process of competitive and multiparty elections. This statement is supported by a respondent who praises the country for electoral reform. This has provided a platform for the civil society to make political claims on the state.

However, both the structure and process of elections, the former being the organizational infrastructure for managing elections and the latter, the precepts and procedures of elections, remain largely perverted. Election rigging and brigandage, violence and election annulment are common practices (Adejumobi, 2000). The trend is towards a reversal to the old order of despotic political ruler-ship under the guise of civil governance. Elections in their current form in most African states appear to be a fading. This development makes real the issue of manipulation of electoral procedure and the quest to satisfy client-patron politics that are the norm in Kenyan politics.

For effective multipartism, the Code and order of elections must be acceptable and within universally set standards. While Kenya has made effort to make elections truly legitimate and transparent, politicians have refused to come on board (Kahura, 2018). A respondent argues that, “those who conduct campaigns in accordance with the law are scoffed at and eventually lose to those who do it with impunity”. The issues sought by this research regarding elections were; registration of voters, civic education, registers, actual voting, tallying and announcement, remedies and judicial measures and rules and codes of conduct of participants.

The table 7.1. provides a summation of the view of respondents on the quality of these features in Kenyan electoral process. The manner and process of conducting campaigns is flawed and negates democratic gains yielded the following outcomes: 13 (15%) strongly disagree, 23 (25%) disagree, 16 (18%) were neutral, 17 (19%) agree, and 21 (23%) strongly agree. Respondents argue that, “the Independent Elections and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) has invested all to ensure that elections are universally acceptable, and true to that, the Kenyan elections are regarded as reputable”. They however fail on some aspects such as voter education, procurement and corruption, leadership intrigues and fail to enforce the rules and regulation of elections and candidates.

The findings on political structures inherited from colonial administration are to blame or contribute to poor electoral structures as shown in table 7.1. had the following outcomes: 12 (14%) strongly disagree, 23 (25%) disagree, 12 (14%) were neutral, 23 (25%) agree, and 20 (22%) strongly agree. Another important factor that affected the emergence and growth of political parties was the nature and operations of the colonial and post-colonial administration. The centralized administration, inherited from the colonialists, operated and still operates as the arm of the executive, while district-oriented faction-ridden political parties, an emblem of the divide and rule strategy and an impotent legislature, became assets of the Kenyatta and subsequent administrations (Opondo, 2014).

Some of the measures taken that affect the operations of political parties to date include registration of political parties and licensing of public meetings, which were subject to manipulations and often under direct influence of the executive to wade off opposition. The expectation that parties would become autonomous institutions to challenge the state was then a myth. The distribution of power and other resources



between the government and the opposition has, *ipso facto*, been inequitable since the beginning of colonial rule (Masime & Oesterdiekhoff, 2010).

The poor electoral systems in place today in Kenya just like many other African countries is attributed to political structures inherited from colonial administrations and the first African regimes that did nothing to start a fresh. Claude Ake (1993) observes that the absence of democracy in Africa can be attributed to two fundamental factors: the first was the colonial legacy where the discourse excluded not only democracy but even the idea of good government. The second was attitudinal; where the African leaders, after independence decided to take over the colonial system instead of transforming it in accord with the aspirations of the people.

As a result of this disjunction, most of the African political elite found themselves on a collision course with their people. Fearful of the people, Ake argues, the elites did a lot to discourage opposition. The elites argued, for example, that “the problems of development demanded complete unity of purpose.” This was followed by criminalization of political dissent and the inexorable march to monolithic. Most one-party systems in Africa were a result of the continuing monopoly of influence exercised by nationalist parties, that were built around and served as instruments of a single dominant personality and gives the examples, in Kenya, KANU under Kenyatta and in Tanzania, CCM under Nyerere.

A demeaning politics of de-participation and the shrinking of the electoral arena which characterized the post-colonial era in Africa had its roots in earlier colonial history (Widner, 1992). Post-colonial politics was constructed on the logic of neo-patrimonialism, in which state offices and rents were appropriated, with the state serving as the focus of capital accumulation and the fulcrum of social control

(Adejumobi, 2000). Table 7.1. shows the view of respondents who agree with Claude Ake that the past, if it had been corrected, as Botswana did from the beginning, it would have been different in Kenya.

The place of the civil society and media in elections is described by one respondent as painful. She blames both these groups and the government for the way each push and demands for their interests. Along the electoral history of Kenyan elections, the civil society has taken the initiative for political reforms which in return are scuttled or hijacked by the ruling regimes (Wambua, 2017). The consequence was that the existing restrictive electoral laws were either left untouched or were not significantly altered, while the paternalistic control of the regime over the electoral process remained firm, and elections were either not held or produced the similar results. This narrative has been preached by the authorities and many Kenyans, respondents point out have internalized. The civil society and media have also been accused of supporting foreign interests against the regimes, while supporting the opposition (Kanyinga, 2014). While it is their right to support any political side, the purported support received from outside makes their credibility so low.

These findings are shown in table 7.1. for the role of the civil society and media should be expanded in elections were as follows: 13 (14%) strongly disagree, 23 (26) % disagree, 26 (29%) were neutral, 11 (12%) agree, and 17 (19%) strongly agree. It was evident that Kenyans don't trust these institutions in election matters. "The media", a respondent pointed out, "is only there to make profit. So, in as much as they provide information, it is always against the government of the day". This has made the media loose its credibility.

Another respondent argues that, “the purported claim the media and specific civil societies claim to be the conscience and moral apex of the country is wrong”. He quotes the former President Daniel Arap Moi who asked, “Who gave the media and civil society legitimacy to talk and do as they wish? The government gets its legitimacy from the people, what of these institutions?” The point of concern is the way these institutions portray themselves to be better than the government, yet several reports indicate otherwise.

The findings for social-economic problems such as insecurity and unemployment do contribute to poor electoral processes were the following: 11 (12%) strongly disagree, 24 (27%) disagree, 13 (14%) were neutral, 17 (19%) agree, and 25 (27%) strongly agree. There is need of progression of any society being anchored in political, social, economic and environmental aspects of development. Social and economic problems that Kenyans face do impact on political issues like elections. A respondent argues that, “people take part in elections so as to alleviate these social and economic problems, particularly economic which will lead to a ripple effect on the reduction of social ones”. “However,” he adds, “the extensive presence of social-economic problems does impede the quality of the decisions in the electoral aspect of politics”. “A hungry voter would not make a right decision, neither will a sick voter”, another respondent adds. As shown in table 7.1., these social economic problems do affect the multiparty trends of the country through election-based decisions.

Table 7.1. provides the thoughts of respondents as follows on the statement that overall state of elections in Kenya needs to be reconstituted was as follows: 8 (9%) strongly disagree with it, 21 (23.1%) disagree, 16 (18%) were neutral to the statement, 27 (30%) agreed with it, and 18 (20%) completely and strongly agree. According to the respondents of this study, there was a rather larger opinion of the reconstitution of

the electoral state of the country. Many of the respondents agreed that the current state of being is not healthy and does not fully and optimally serve its purpose hence a dire need for amendments. Despite legal structures being put in place, so much electoral malpractices are still being practised. Respondents point to voter bribing, incitements, disregard for the rule of law and impunity by leaders and many more.

Adejumobi (2000) points out that after about a decade in which the process of political renewal began in Africa, the democratic project appears to be in crisis in most African states. He adds that there seems to be a gradual, but dangerous re-institutionalization of autocratic and authoritarian regimes clad in democratic garb and that in some cases, yesterday's despots and military tyrants have resurfaced as today's "born-again" democrats to re-establish or perpetuate their rule, while in others, a new genre of budding autocrats is emerging (Adejumobi, 2000). Apparently, elections and the electoral process are the major victims in this tendency towards democratic retreat as was witnessed in the 2017 General Elections in Kenya.

The precepts, structures and processes of elections and pre-elections were mostly characterized by reckless manipulations, the politics of brinkmanship and subversion. Thus, the role and essence of elections in a democracy are highly circumscribed in terms of expressing the popular will, engendering political changes and the legitimating of political regimes. The present tendency is to regard elections not as a catalyst, but as a devalued element and a fading shadow of the democratic process in Africa. The leadership establishment would argue that elections should not be used to limit Kenyans to a certain political box. This would mean that the leadership pretend to be democratic but would kick it out of the window if the political environment should threaten them.

## 7.2 Peaceful, Credible, Transparent and Fair Elections

The fourth objective tried to understand the role of political parties in the electoral process and the resultant ripple effect they have on multipartism in Kenya. The great concern in election are issues relating and leading to the attainment of Peaceful, credible and transparent elections. The table 7.2. provides the basic assessment levels of any elections so as to test the multiparty level the country is at.

**Table 7.2: Peaceful, credible and transparent and Fair**

ELECTION CYCLE	ASSESSMENT			
	Peaceful	Transparent	Credible	Fair
1961	Green	Green	Green	Green
1963	Green	Green	Green	Green
1966	Red	Red	Red	Red
1969	Yellow	Red	Red	Red
1974	Blue	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow
1979	Green	Green	Green	Green
1983	Blue	Green	Blue	Blue
1988	Purple	Yellow	Blue	Yellow
1992	Red	Yellow	Red	Red
1997	Yellow	Red	Red	Red
2002	Green	Green	Green	Green
2005*	Green	Green	Green	Green
2007	Red	Red	Red	Red
2010*	Green	Green	Green	Green
2013	Purple	Blue	Purple	Purple
2017 (a)	Yellow	Blue	Blue	Blue
2017 (b)	Yellow	Green	Blue	Blue

Source: Researcher, (2021)

Key

Red	0 - 25%
Yellow	25 - 40%
Purple	40 - 55%
Blue	55 - 70%
Green	70 - 85%
Dark Green	85 - 100%

Table 7.2. shows that during the multiparty eras of post independent Kenya and post 1992, the credibility, transparency, fairness and peace of elections were high. In the single party era, almost all these features were low. However, this was not the case in the first ten years of post-1992 politics due to the desire of KANU to maintain power, in so doing resorting to all avenues including scuttling peace, credibility and transparency of subsequent elections. Elections of 2007, were nowhere near the desired features, while the 1979 elections are regarded as peaceful due to the hope of a new regime just like in the 2002 elections.

The thought that the general electoral process in the country lack of transparency and could not be relied upon to deliver was agreed to by 75%. This was in terms of both the institutions that were involved in running the process and other stakeholders who directly or indirectly. Even though so much was invested in the process financially, politically and emotionally, there was so much mistrust and accusation.

Based on the findings, voters had shown that they had very little trust on institutions due previous outcome at 68%. They noted that national elections had not only yielded reliable results but had resulted in violence that were very detrimental to the nation. In addition to this the voters did not receive adequate civic education. “The political parties on their side”, noted a respondent, “accused these institutions of being partisan and lacking the necessary resolve to carry out the necessary”. “These institutions have also shown lack of confidence in themselves and they have also cited lack of support from the government, from political parties and other institution” respondents argue. Kagwanja and Southall (2009) points out that the various electoral institutions have wrangles, conflicts, accusations and counter accusation which further worsens their bad image.

### 7.3. The Link Between Multipartyism and Electoral Process

Multipartyism comes to its fruition only if and when the electoral process is fair and progressive. As shown in the table 7.3., this balance has not been arrived at. While multipartyism offers the best environment for electoral processes to be developed over time, how this is done in reality is different. Table 7.3. Provides data on how and at what level is the link between multipartyism and electoral processes are in Kenya.

**Table 7.3.: Link Between Multipartyism and Electoral Process**

		1	2	3	4	5	Total
The IEBC as an institution is committed towards democracy	Freq.	11	21	21	16	21	90
	%	13	23	23	18	23	100
The Registrar of political parties within the frameworks of the new constitution has elevated Kenyan democracy	Freq.	12	21	17	17	23	90
	%	13	23	19	19	26	100
The involvement of the government in elections is that of patronage rather than that of cooperation	Freq.	9	30	18	16	17	90
	%	10	33	20	18	19	100
The notion of seeking reforms in the electoral system should be backed by legal and financial structures	Freq.	11	21	11	24	23	90
	%	12	24	12	27	25	100
Sound and effective multipartyism produces a good electoral system	Freq.	14	27	12	14	23	90
	%	15	30	14	15	26	100

**Key**

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree

**Source: Researcher, (2021)**

The IEBC since its inception has transformed the manner of electioneering in Kenya. This is attributed by respondents to the 2010 Constitution and the massive support it has gotten from Kenyans. A respondent argues that, “the aftermath of the 2007/8 post-election violence was very ugly to an extent that most voters don’t want it to happen again. They would do anything, including doing what is right, as prescribed by the IEBC to avoid a replica of the same”. However, the IEBC faces real threats to their success story.

These include threats from political parties and their leadership, minimal financial support, legal constraint due to court orders sought by interested parties, intolerant political stakeholders and leaders, threats to lives and murders including that of Commissioner Roselyn Akombe and Msando respectively, internal leadership wrangles and corruption and impunity by leaders leading to disrespect on IEBC mandate. However, the IEBC continues to remain committed to improving the electoral sector.

As regards to IEBC being an institution Committed towards democracy, there were mixed reactions across the board. A majority were inclined to disagree with this view. The results showed a low confidence in towards the commitment of IEBC towards democracy mainly on the virtue of free and fair elections. A majority were of the view that IEBC was unable as was constituted in 2017 to carry free and fair election in the country due to a lot of political interference from major players in the political scene. The commitment of the IEBC to democracy was tested in this study and the response was 13% strongly disagreed, 23% disagreed, 23% were neutral, 18% agreed while 23% strongly agreed as shown in table 7. 3. This data is a mixed result but generally, the findings mean that the IEBC does not have sweeping confidence from the electorate. The constant electoral challenges faced in every electoral cycle are claimed to be source of this lack of faith in them. “They are corrupt and align themselves to political divides, and have constant wrangles”, notes a respondent.

The question on whether the Registrar of political parties within the frameworks of the new constitution has elevated Kenyan democracy was answered in the following manner as shown in table 7.3. 13% strongly disagreed, 23% disagreed, 19% were neutral, 19% agreed while 26% strongly agreed. This outcome shows that the Registrar of political parties within the frameworks of the new constitution having



indeed elevated the Kenyan democracy. The respondents believe and stated that this new introduction to the Kenyan political and electoral system has had a positive impact on democracy as a whole in the nation. Even though there were for some little amendments for better operation and to make the registrar more effective, they largely agreed that this has so far made a significant contribution and would going forward bring better growth in democracy.

The involvement and role of governments in elections is crucial in the understanding of democratic space and penetration. As shown in table 7.3., the outcome for the involvement of the government in elections is that of patronage rather than that of cooperation had the following results: 9 (10%) strongly disagree, 30 (33%) disagree, 18 (20%) were neutral, 16 (18%) agree, and 17 (19%) of the respondents strongly agree with the statement. Contemporary political changes are conditioned by mechanisms of rules embedded in the preceding regimes.

Authoritarian leaders in power for long periods of time establish rules about who may participate in public decisions and the amount of political competition allowed (Nwogu, 2015). Taken together, these rules constitute a political regime. Regime type in turn influences both the likelihood that an opposition challenge will arise and the flexibility with which incumbents can respond. It also determines whether elites and masses can arrive at new rules of political interaction through negotiations, accommodation, and election, that is, whether any transition will be democratic.

The 2010 Constitution did make far reaching reforms on the political and electoral sectors. As such, the The Political Parties Act, (2010) introduces many reforms including party registration mandated by the Registrar of Political Parties and arbitration of disputes between members of a political party. The Act establishes the

Political Parties Disputes Tribunal, which is expected to determine with finality inter-party and intra-party disputes, such as disputes between coalition partners, and appeals from decisions made by the Registrar of political parties. The Act prohibits party formation based on ethnicity, age, tribal, racial, gender, regional, linguistic, corporatist, professional or religious basis or one which seeks to engage in propaganda based on any other matters (Section 14) (The Political Parties Act, 2011).

The Act also restricts membership to a party to one at a time. It anticipates that parties have established and registered membership. Deregistration is also an option if a party contravenes the Act. These reforms, as respondents point out, are yet to be implemented to their full as shown in table 7.3. at 12% strongly disagreeing, 24% disagreeing, 12% neutral, 27% agreeing and 25% strongly agreeing. This notion that seeking reforms in the electoral system should be backed by legal and financial structures was backed by a large number of the respondents who positively welcomed the idea. Most argued that, “the legal system was not only a guide but would also discourage acts contrary to the expected”. They add that, “with thorough legal means people would respect the systems and process and would eventually learn to trust them which would guarantee a development of the democracy of the country”.

Similarly, respondents called for, “legislation to be put in place to ensure that those involved in electoral malpractices are met with the full wrath of the law”. They further advised that, “this would be a foot in the right direction towards ending electoral impunity in the country”. The financial burden as indicated by not only the institutions involved, but even by voters and other stakeholders would go a long way in enabling the processes to be much easier and more meaningful. The respondents, “advocated for increased provision of the required moneys but equally challenged

accountability on the part of the parties involved”. “These finances,” they suggested, “would be utilized in activities such as proper civic training to all parts of the country, better processes in carrying out the election e.g. ballot paper printing, better recruitment for clerks and other personnel, acquisition of better equipment to be used in different processes etc”.

The final statement on multipartism and the electoral process was sound and effective democratic practice in political parties can produce a good electoral system in Kenya and these were its outcome from the study as shown in table 7.3.; 15.1% strongly disagree, 30% disagree, 14% were neutral, 15% agree, and 26% strongly agree. This correctly provides the explanation of the theme on multipartism if built on sound and effective structures will lead to positive electoral processes.

### **7.3.1 Legitimacy of the Winning Political Party**

Jarstad and (2008) point out that today, almost all governments in the world – save a few “worst of the worst” deeply authoritarian regimes are legitimated through electoral processes. When elections approach the ideal of a “free and fair” process, they provide legitimacy through direct popular participation, and, in turn, legitimacy creates capacity for effective governance. The stability of any regime depends not so much on the legitimacy of a particular system of domination as on the presence of a preferred opposition alternative.

It may be true that a powerful autocrat can coerce unwilling popular compliance over very long periods of time if he/she retains control over the executive and military bureaucracies. But regimes built on personal loyalty rather than bureaucratic authority are susceptible to institutional collapse when patronage resources run out (Francisco, 2010). In these cases, a crisis of legitimacy may be sufficient condition to undermine or topple a regime, and there need not yet be an organized opposition offering a

programmatic alternative. How legitimate are the winner of elections is a broad topic in regards to electioneering? How can one really say he/she is legitimate? Table 7.4 provides the votes gotten by parties in elections in the country.

**Table 7.4: The legitimacy question in Kenyan Elections**

ELECTION CYCLE	CANDIDATES	PARTY	VOTES %
1963		KANU	53.6
		KADU	25.83
		APP	7.43
		Independents	11.84
1966 (House of Representatives)	Jaramogi Oginga	KPU	54.3
	Jomo Kenyatta	KANU	45.6
		Others	0.1
1966 (Senate)	Jaramogi Oginga	KPU	55.5
	Jomo Kenyatta	KANU	43.8
		Others	0.7
1969	Jomo Kenyatta	KANU	100
1974	Jomo Kenyatta	KANU	100
1979	Daniel Moi	KANU	100
1983	Daniel Moi	KANU	100
1988	Daniel Moi	KANU	100
1992	Daniel Moi	KANU	36.6
	Kenneth Matiba	FORD ASILI	25.7
	Mwai Kibaki	DP	19.6
	Jaramogi Oginga	FORD-K	17.1
		Others	0.9
1997	Daniel Moi	KANU	40.4
	Mwai Kibaki	DP	30.89
	Raila Odinga	NDP	10.79
		Others	17.92
2002	Mwai Kibaki	NARC	61.3
	Uhuru Kenyatta	KANU	30.2
		Others	6.4
2005*	YES Team		
	NO Team		
2007	Mwai Kibaki	PNU	46.42
	Raila Odinga	ODM-K	44.07
	Kalonzo Musyoka	ODM-K	8.91
		Others	0.6
2010*	YES Team		
	NO Team		
2013	Uhuru Kenyatta	TNA	50.51
	Raila Odinga	CORD	43.7
		Others	5.79
2017 (a)	Uhuru Kenyatta	JUBILEE	54.17
	Raila Odinga	NASA	44.94
		Others	0.89
2017 (b)	Uhuru Kenyatta	JUBILEE	98.26
	Raila Odinga	NASA	0.96
		Others	0.78

Source: Researcher, (2021)

In the world over, the question of legitimacy is perhaps the most unexplored. Countries use different parameters in their democratic scope to gauge the legitimacy of their leaders. The basic concept is the process that leads to the elections of leaders. A respondent points out that ,“western democracies have elaborate procedures in elections starting from screening of candidates, nominations and the actual elections”. He also adds that, “the judicial and legal infrastructure in these countries are strongly entrenched”. But in developing countries, these features lack, and so the option many countries have taken is the use of the 50%+1 threshold for one to be regarded as legitimate.

The use of 50%+1 only began with the new constitution and as pointed out in table 7.4., President Uhuru Kenyatta did narrowly win the 2013 and 2017(a) elections. It is due to this narrow win the opposition in both elections raised concerns over his win. This fits in the description of Schmidt(2015) that western countries have elaborate mechanisms of proving legitimacy. Kenya does not have, and the already existing ones are being used for the first time. To the supporters of the opposition, President Uhuru is not legitimately elected. This was made worse by the decision of Rt. Hon. Raila Odinga to withdraw from the 2017(b)-repeat poll. Although President Uhuru got 98.26%, of the vote, his legitimacy is still questioned; again, stressing the importance of institutional avenues that consolidate the path of ascendancy to power.

The past multiparty system of post independent Kenya in view of legitimacy is believed by respondents to be the start of problems. While KANU won with 53.6% in 1963, it however used its number to reverse the wins of KPU in 1966 of 54.3% and 55.5% as shown in table 7.4. It showed the desire by the ruling party to go to any length to maintain power. With the dawn of multipartism in the 1990s, the same

KANU still won with majority of votes, which in all circumstances and knowing the electoral environment, raised serious questions on its legitimacy.

#### **7.4 Stakeholders in Elections**

The constitutive, regulative mechanisms and precepts of elections are about their structures and processes. The former includes the establishment of a competent, relatively autonomous and non-partisan electoral body to administer the conduct of elections, the existence of an impartial judiciary to interpret electoral laws and adjudicate on electoral matters, a viable press and a non-partisan police force (Juma & Okpaluba, 2012). Regulative mechanisms and precepts of elections involves the rules, procedures and activities relating to the conduct of elections: the electoral laws, the organization of political parties, voters' registration, nomination of candidates for elective public office, balloting, ballot-counting and the declaration of election results.

It is also imperative to include the rules of the game. That is, there should be a general acceptance throughout the political community of certain vague rules of the game, which limits the struggle for power and promotes healthy electoral competition. The stakeholders include; a). The IEBC. The features investigated were its management, independence, resource capability/mobilization and experience/technical knowhow, b). Observers/Partners. The features under investigation were their independence and inclusivity. Others are; media, civil society, government institutions and independent commissions. The findings on the performance of these institutions in ensuring quality elections are presented in table 7.5.

**Table 7.5.: Performance of Stakeholders in Elections**

<b>ELECTORAL BASED INSTITUTIONS</b>		<b>Management</b>	<b>Independence</b>	<b>Resource mobilization</b>	<b>Technical knowhow</b>	<b>Experience</b>	<b>Structure</b>
		<b>Frequency Count</b>					
IEBC		67	70	78	82	79	76
Observers/Partners		74	62	85	84	83	63
Media		62	63	71	56	64	68
Civil society		60	58	48	48	55	45
Government Institutions	Registrar of political parties	66	71	75	80	81	71
	Attorney General	65	68	67	85	81	78
Independent Commissions	National Integration and Cohesion Commission	60	65	63	66	58	54
	Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission	58	62	63	71	64	65
	National Police Service	48	53	61	85	86	82

**Source: Researcher (2021)**

Stakeholders in elections play a crucial role in the augmentation of democratization and a stable political party system. The research sought to determine, as shown in table 7.5., their management, independence, resource mobilization, technical knowhow, experience and structure. As shown in table 7.5., respondents have trust in the IEBC in almost all aspects tested. It only performs lower than the rest in its management at 67% and independence at 70%. This is mostly alluded to the historical apprehension that elections are dearly held by Kenyans, and the effort the electoral body has put in place to ensure elections are above board. Such efforts include the use of information communication technology (ICT), establishment of a secretariat to handle daily operations, and adoption of razor cutting reforms enacted after the disbandment of the defunct Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK). “If compared to previous years, there is much improvement”, a respondent points out.

Observers and partners in electioneering process, the media and the civil society play an important role as independent stakeholders in elections. They contribute their resources to fill gaps or shortcomings, as one respondent points out, that the IEBC has in such activities as public participation and provision of checks and balances to electoral based institutions. Of the three, it is only the observers who have good qualities, that lead to objectivity in elections. Their only weaknesses are independence at 62% and structure standing at 63%. This is argued to be the case because such organs are sent in by the Organizations in the international community such as and primarily the AU and EU together with others such as The Commonwealth Group and IGAD. Locally, they are sent by religious institutions, notably the Kenya Conference of Catholic Bishops (KCCB), Supreme Council of Kenyan Muslims (SUPKEM) and National Council of Churches in Kenya (NCCCK).



All these organizations have interests and this reduces the independence of the observers since they all see the electioneering process from their own script and not from a common approach. They also suffer from structural organization, again owing to their different backgrounds. Observers are crucial because to ensure that elections are demonstrably democratic, an international seal of approval is sought. This is especially on the occasion of a country's first pluralist election. Success in securing such an award serves three important national purposes. The first is it certifies that the process of political transformation is acceptably free and fair; it confers legitimacy on the newly-elected government. Secondly, it bestows a badge of international respectability on the country. Thirdly, it testifies its ability to conduct democratic elections. In this regard, observers, this study concludes, in spite of their limitations will continue to be of regard in African elections.

“The media and civil society”, respondents argue, “are so much entangled in the elections, to an extent that their qualities are compromised”. This has taken out their objectivity and need to be fair. A respondent goes ahead to point out that ,“the civil society has lost its meaning either intentionally are caused by the government, to a point that they are no longer relevant as stakeholders like they were during the advent and agitation of multipartism”. As such therefore, they lack basic necessities like resources (48%), technical expertise (48%) and organizational structure (45%).

As regards government institutions and independent commissions, respondents classify them as similar or as one entity in matters concerning elections. The verdict is that they are average, with the government-based institutions doing slightly better than commissions. The reason for this is that respondents feel the government and commissions are able in almost all aspects and on top of that have the legal

background and framework to make elections better in this country. Their only weaknesses are general negligence and abuse.

### **7.5 Conclusion**

This chapter dealt with the contribution of electoral practices to democracy in Kenya. It also reviewed how this is impacted by multipartism. The involvement of institutions that are electoral based was also analysed at length. The quality and credibility of elections were reviewed over the years so as to give a clear picture as to what electoral practices are in the country. The next chapter focuses on the summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 8.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the study, the conclusion and recommendation by the researcher on various issues of interest as per the objectives of the study. The study that was meant to analyze Multiparty Politics and Democratic Elections in Kenya. The study was guided by the following objectives: 1) Trace the historical development of multipartism in Kenya, 2) Explain the role of the political party in Kenya's political system, 3) Illustrate the link between multipartism and the democratization in Kenya and 4) Explore the role of electoral practices to the democratization process in Kenya.

#### 8.1 Summary of Findings

##### **Historical Development of Multipartism In Kenya:**

This research indicates that the development of multipartism has made positive progress over the years. The return to multiparty politics in the early 1990s was a great relief to many political parties and hailed as a promising new beginning after the lost decades of the 1970s and 80s. The role of historical injustices in the Kenyan political history is an important aspect in political development.

The study did reveal that Kenya is a multiparty state with close to 40 plus registered political parties in Kenya. Despite this the study showed that political parties in Kenya are not built on strong democratic process. Just as it shows that the link between democracy and governance has not gained root in Kenya. It seems clear that the Kenyan political society has been consistently divided along ethnic lines.

The study shows that there are external powers or factors which greatly impact on the advancement of political parties. Among other factor that impact political parties and multipartism in the country include: the internal party mechanism, social cleavage/grouping which enhance ethnicization of political parties and historical injustices in the Kenyan political history which are all important aspects of political party development in the county.

Political parties in Kenya just like other similar organizations throughout the world have continually grappled with institutional and structural challenges which highly threaten to compromise these parties' legitimacy, effective functioning and eventual survival (Maiyo, 2008). From the findings of the study; these political organizations encounter a myriad of obstacle and challenges which hamper their growth, continuity and ability to accomplish their roles and goals in the society. Some of these hindrances include declining membership, poor institutionalization, weak internal organization, serious internal conflicts and inferior electoral performance (NIMD 2004). The findings show lack of properly laid structures that can stand the test of time but rather structures that meet and serve immediate needs of a certain group of individuals at a particular point and time.

#### **The Role of the Political Party in Kenya's Political System:**

This study reveals that the structure put in place by political parties both are insufficient to meet and carry out their mandates as expected of them by their members and as stated in ideologies and manifestoes. Party members feel that the issues revolving around youths and women are well catered for and that these (youth and women) have equal and fair chances to leadership within and in the party.

While parties have good grassroots mobilization for voter registration and education, there is a strong urge for better structures and manifesto. Party funding remains to be a contentious issue in democratization process in Kenya. Similarly, political parties are no longer established because of ideologies as they were in the first two decades after independence.

Political parties in Kenya have certain characteristics that influence intraparty democracy. These are parties tend to draw their support mainly from their ethnic base; are dominated by their founders or key funders; their activities revolve around influential personalities and most have no registered membership. Besides, they have not been keen to recruit members; have weak ideologies which are often unknown and are of little influence in policy-making; have difficulties organizing functions, even party elections are often flawed and infiltrated by rival parties; and they do not have structures that strongly link them to the citizenry.

Findings show that Kenyan political party members are hardly involved in the policy process. The lack of/or weak intraparty democracy affects the entire political system leading to a replication in the larger system or becomes an input in subsequent democracy-related decisions at the national level. Nonetheless, the party is often subordinated to the state and thus energies are not directed toward strengthening the party, to make it crucial for policy initiation and agenda setting.

The mobilization role of parties in Kenya is often effective depending on issue saliency and on ethno-cultural cleavages, especially ethnicity to concretize their appeal and impact. Issue-based mobilization such as the independence struggle, the agitation for multi-party democracy in early 1990s, and constitutional review

referendum (2005 and 2010) or any other issue of national importance, have often attracted phenomenal support from the citizenry

Findings also show that the perils that Kenyan political parties face in terms of professionalism including poor administration, presence of briefcase parties, threat of political brokers to parties and the acute access to infrastructure and finances among others. The political structure is majorly driven by ethnic cleavages. The findings show that social cleavages in the country were the major detriment to the country and its democracy by causing and sustaining ethnicization all over the country. These cleavages and groupings were mainly formed due to perceived similarities and interests which were later used to form political parties and subsequently form the government and other important institutions in the country.

#### **Multipartism and Democratization Process:**

This study makes findings that the return to multiparty politics ushered a new era in Kenyan politics, and a promise of better political fortunes for the country. These political fortunes are benefits or results of multipartism. They include; entrenched democratization, constitutionalism, gender mainstreaming, human rights development, augmentation of institutionalism, separation of powers, decentralization, control of presidential/executive powers and enhanced public oversight. Others are improvement in governance, entrenched checks and balances, improved public participation and free media and press.

Negative aspects of multipartism are also revealed. These have affected the democratization process. They include; Increased cost of elections, Manipulation of democratic ideals, entrenched social cleavage manipulated elections, increased electoral violence and multi-sectoral paralysis due/during elections. Others are

redundancy of national outlook political parties and electoral inference by international players.

This study makes findings that weak electoral and legal structures have been redeemed by the 2010 Constitution. However, their implementation is wanting, either through impetuous political behaviour or weak enforcement capability of the concerned institutions. The durability of democracy is assumed to originate from a constitutional order. However, dominant parties tend to undermine constitutionalism in Kenya. Besides, there has been tremendous change and the gains that have been made are remarkable. Representation is better and the people have a voice in the administration and management of resources.

#### **Role of Electoral Practices to the Democratization Process in Kenya:**

This research finds that the effects of the electioneering process to democracy in Kenya include; Social cleavages that are inhibitive to electioneering process, regulations and legal structures in place for election are not well stipulated and adhered to, the disbursement of finances to electoral sectors is not adequate and corruption including vote buying is rampant and continues to grow in Kenya. Similarly, manipulation and patronage in elections is rife and affects the process of elections, process of conducting campaigns is flawed and negates democratic gains and political structures inherited from colonial administration contribute to poor electoral structures. Other findings are the role of the civil society and media should be expanded in elections, social-economic problems such as insecurity and unemployment do contribute to poor electoral processes and that the overall state of elections in Kenya needs to be reconstituted.

Regarding the contribution of electioneering process to democratization, this study makes findings that voting and the General Elections history have been pegged on patron-client politics. Accordingly, ethnicity is seen as a major analytical yardstick in classifying Political parties.

This research also finds a link between multipartism, democratization and the electoral process. This link is through the following features; that IEBC as an institution is committed towards democracy, the Registrar of political parties within the frameworks of the new constitution has elevated Kenyan democracy and the involvement of the government in elections is that of patronage rather than that of cooperation. Besides, the notion of seeking reforms in the electoral system should be backed by legal and financial structures and that sound and effective multipartism produces a good electoral system.

## **8.2 Conclusions**

The historical path with which the Kenyan political party system has evolved has been pegged on challenges that political parties and the process of democratization have had to go through. In this development, negative tenets based on cleavage divisions in the Kenyan society have found their way to political realms. Patron-client political management is regarded as the worst negative tradition Kenya has inculcated over the years.

The study revealed that political parties give the individuals of the society a sense of belonging and association for varied reasons. Nonetheless, the study revealed that the main reason was social cleavages that members use to join and use political parties for. Political parties in Kenya have failed to articulate socio-economic or any other democratically acceptable ideological cleavages and have tended to articulate interests



on the basis of ethnicity, thereby, intensifying already existing societal divisions, tensions and conflicts. The main issue as shown by the study is lack of civic education and reaches out to party members and generally the entire public on these ideologies.

Another challenge to both multiparty and parties in the country in the formation of coalitions which in most cases is done in the absence of sound and clear institutional structures. In addition to this, elections in Kenya as the study shows are greatly hampered by the inadequacy of finances that are disbursed to the electoral sectors. Finances are pivotal in managing and running the process, and the limited resource becomes an impediment to achieving and attaining a free and fair process.

One of the biggest challenges to multipartism in Kenya is the negative attitude that electoral voters have over the years generated. In particular, historical and institutional legacies, including persistent patterns of presidentialism and Clientelist, are continuing restrictions on political freedoms that produce an uneven playing field, and the salience of ethnicity. It is these weaknesses in democracy that affect the scope of multipartism, development of democratization and undermine the central role of electoral based institutions such as the IEBC, Judiciary, Observer Groups, among others

The approach of political parties in Kenya towards democracy is minimalist. In the context of intraparty dynamics, it is evident that they are undemocratic or hegemonic in character. This is so since the alteration of leadership is undemocratic, leadership election is done by the party leadership and the degree of peacefulness is always threatened by splits. At the interparty level, acceptance of defeat is very hard, parties' electoral conduct is based on the use of intimidation and threats and the rhetoric undertone is always aggressive in nature. Such dispositions towards undemocratic

features spells doom for the development of democracy in Kenya and a huge burden on the institutions put in place to ensure democratic ideals are instituted and respected.

Internal democracy also focuses on the role of party members in the formulation of policies .That this is lacking is a great concern in a country with an ever expanding democratic and multiparty structure.

### **8.3 Recommendations**

In view of the findings from the data analysed in the preceding chapters four and the conclusions, the researcher would like to make the following recommendations:

#### **Objective 1**

Political parties, as critical components of multiparty politics and the process of democratization continually metamorphose. This is depending on the political environment. Multipartism and democracy in Kenya have had positive development and have contributed immensely to the socio-political and economic development. However, political parties have not progressed in a similar path. There is need therefore, to invest and create an environment within which political parties will grow.

Multiparty politics in Kenya has grown progressively based on social cleavage politics. Ethnicity is the most profound of the cleavages. Over time, it has become the norm in Kenyan politics. There is need therefore, to invest in measures that re-order a multiparty political system that is devoid of ethnicity.

**Objective 2**

Social cleavages are integral in political mobilization as the study finds. However, they have unique impacts if they are not directed. Since people collect themselves based on similarities owned, there is need to have caution so that these mobilizations can be controlled. Social cleavages have greatly impacted negatively on parties.

On political party development, political parties in Kenya are not as developed like those of other parts of the world. However, these parties are on the right track. There is a risk of parties assuming roles that are outside legal norms owing to historical factors. Due to challenging of the pasts in political realms; including conflicts and the ever-perennial problem of poverty, voters tend to give so much leverage to political leaders and parties. In effect, political parties may tend to assume dictatorial positions in public management, leaving out the voter who has supreme sovereignty.

The manner of establishing political parties in Kenya remains weak. These parties don't exhibit ideologies, lack internal democracy and the question of party financing isn't clear. There is need therefore to find ways of re-ordering political parties in Kenya

**Objective 3**

Patron-clientelist politics in Kenya has become entrenched as this study reveals. Political leaders have over the years used their executive power to offer services in exchange for political support to themselves and their parties. This is a direct product of single party system countries go through. There is need to rework on ways of eliminating this political tendency.

The democratization roadmap as the study reveals is has offered Kenya positive gains in political management. Such include constitutional changes. However, the

implementation of the constitution is not complete. Features including the two thirds gender rule are integral to democratization. There is need therefore to implement legal structures that aid in democratization.

#### **Objective 4**

Elections and the electoral system have progressively changed over the years. However, this research concludes that the massive electoral gaps and flaws are not commensurate with the positive gains of democratization and the multiparty system. There is need therefore, to ensure that elections in Kenya are of reputable standards.

Electoral related institutions, this study finds, are dogged with structural challenges that have an impact in the democratic space of the country. Such include legal frameworks and resource endowment. There is need to continue strengthening these institutions so that the process of democratization and the quality of multiparty politics are enshrined.

#### **8.4 Areas for Further Research**

Based on the findings of the study, the researcher recommends the following areas for further research;

The fruits of democratization in Kenya's multiparty system being socio-political and economic growth need to be studied further.

The extent of performance of electoral related institutions under Kenya's multiparty system needs to be studied further.

Internal dynamics of political parties need to be studied so as to understand the continued failure of parties to progress under the current multiparty system

Elections are regarded as having progressed over the last few years. This is owing to expanded democracy in Kenya. However, there is need to study the extent to which elections and electoral systems have changed.

Democratic ideals have penetrated Kenya's socio-political and economic fabric. This has been exacerbated by multipartism. However, there is need to study the extent with which such democratic ideals have impacted the Kenyan political scene.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix I: Interview Schedules

#### INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL AND BOUNDARIES COMMISSION (IEBC)

1. What role do you play in the democratization process?
2. How, in general did this commission conduct previous general elections
3. What is the relationship and working modalities between the electoral body and political parties?
4. How would you account for the historical development of multipartism in Kenya?
5. What is the overview of elections in Kenya today
6. How and in what circumstances do political parties contribute to democracy, positively and negatively
7. How can the electoral process be said to be credible, transparent and efficient?
8. What parameters does the electoral body use to evaluate the level of or impact of democracy on development?
9. What is the role of social cleavages on multiparty politics?
10. Is the legal structure in existence today solid enough for fair political competition?
11. What is the impact of party financing on multiparty politics.
12. What impact does external factors such as donors have on multiparty?
13. How do current societal problems like insecurity and unemployment impact on democracy?
14. What is the impact of the influence on the state in multiparty politics?
15. What is the future of multipartism in Kenya?



**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR REGISTRAR OF POLITICAL PARTIES**

1. What role do you play in the democratization process?
2. What are the structures of the registrar of political parties
3. Party finance is both important and risky in multiparty and democratic elections. Where is the balance?
4. What legal structures are in place in today's system to guarantee the growth of democracy in the current multiparty political dispensation?
5. How is the position of the minority in political parties guaranteed?
6. What is the impact of historical injustices to political parties and multipartism in Kenya today
7. How can political parties and multipartism be better managed in the country today?
8. What is the place of political party structures in elections and democracy?
9. How can you differentiate and quantify the contribution of multipartism or single party politics to Kenya?
10. What is the future of democracy and multipartism in Kenya?

**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS**

1. What role do you play in the process of democratization?
2. What is the general overview of elections in the country since the inception of multiparty?
3. What is the contribution of both political parties and multipartism to the growth and development of the country?
4. How would you compare the country under both multiparty and single party politics in the context of democracy and development?

5. What is the impact of historical injustices to the development of multiparty?
6. How would you qualify and quantify the electoral process in Kenya?
7. What impact has state structures and procedures had on the process of democratization?
8. What in your view is the future of multiparty politics in Kenya?

### **INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR INSTITUTIONS**

1. What role do you play in the Kenyan democracy?
2. What is the influence of social cleavages on party politics in Kenya?
3. How do political party structures and internal dynamics affect their performance?
4. What is the role of the elite in political parties?
5. How can you qualify and quantify the contribution of political parties to multipartism?
6. Is the legal structure in place sustainable for progressive multiparty politics?
7. What is your thinking of political party financing and support?
8. How are the key roles of political parties such as mobilization, education and recruitment done in the country?
9. What is the impact of devolution to multipartism and democracy?
10. Are political parties and multipartism well studied in the scope of the academia?
11. What is the future of multipartism in Kenya?

**Thank you for your time and cooperation!**

**Appendix II: Questionnaire For Institutions**

I am a Doctor of Philosophy Student in Political Science at Moi University undertaking a research entitled *“AN ANALYSIS OF MULTIPARTY POLITICS AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN KENYA”*

Dear Participant,

You have been selected to participate in this study. The main reason being your understanding of and profession in “democracy”. The main purpose of the study is to study multipartism and its impact on democratic elections in Kenya.

The researcher will use the results to determine the state of democratization in contemporary African politics. The findings of the study will be used to provide more insight into the impact of multipartism in conflict resolution in development matters.

To accomplish this objective, you are kindly requested to complete the questionnaire provided so as to provide the necessary data. If you are interested in the results and recommendations of this study, please advise the researcher to avail them as soon as the study is completed.

Your contribution is highly appreciated. Be assured of Confidentiality of both individuality and the information you will provide.

**SECTION A: PROFILE**

1. a). What is your Gender? [M]..... [F] .....

b). what is your Age?

Under 25	26 - 30	31 - 40	41 - 50	Over 50

2. What is your level of education?

Diploma [ ]      Degree [ ]      Masters [ ]      PhD [ ]

3. What is your area of specialization? .....

4. What is your Institution's relation to democracy?

5. What is the name of your institution and what is your position

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6. How many years have you been working as an expert in democracy?

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**SECTION B**

**HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF MULTIPARTISM IN KENYA**

**Part I: General Questions**

1. What are your general assessments of the growth of multiparty politics in Kenya?

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2. In your own understanding, what is multipartism?

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3. What is the contribution of political parties to the development of democracy?

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### Part B: Five-point Likert Scale Questionnaire

Please complete the following questionnaire on a scale of 1 to 5.

(1-strongly disagree, 2-disagree, 3- neutral, 4-agree and 5- strongly agree).

		1	2	3	4	5
Q1	I think that multipartism in Africa is built on strong democratic mechanisms					
Q2	I believe that democracy is still yet to grow to its full potential					
Q3	I believe that the government has done a lot to expand democratic ideals					
Q4	I think that external powers or factors have greatly impacted on the advancement of multiparty politics					
Q5	I think the link between democracy and governance has gained root in Kenya					
Q6	Overall, I think that state legal structures have had a positive impact on political parties					
Q7	The decline of the role of political parties is due to internal party mechanisms					
Q8	I think social cleavages are to blame for the ethnicization of political parties					
Q9	I think that the state of affairs contributed greatly to the wave of democratization in the 1990's in Africa					
Q10	I think that the role of historical injustices in the Kenyan political history is an important aspect in political party development					

**THE POLITICAL PARTY UNIT AND DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS****Part A: General Questions**

1. What is your view on the utility of the political party in the process of democratization?

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2. In what circumstances can a political party fail to deliver?

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3. What is your scholarly view towards the role of a political party

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4. What circumstances can create an environment for effective electioneering process?

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5. What circumstances can create a negative environment for multipartism?

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### Part B: Five-point Likert Scale Questionnaire

Please complete the following questionnaire on a scale of 1 to 5.

(1-strongly disagree, 2-disagree, 3- neutral, 4-agree and 5- strongly agree).

		1	2	3	4	5
Q1	I think that the Kenyan political party is built on social cleavages					
Q2	I believe that social cleavages are hinged on social divisions like ethnicity, class, regionalism and religion					
Q3	The political structure of Kenyan parties are not fully developed					
Q4	I think that parties are owned by their leaders and follow their individual ideologies					
Q5	I think that the issue of patronage of political parties is deep rooted in Kenya					
Q6	Overall, I think that using political parties as units of representation is proper					
Q7	The decline of multipartism in Kenya is due to the falling significance of nationalistic issues that build political parties					
Q8	I think the issue of party financing is not well articulated in the structuring of political parties					
Q9	I think that the inclusion of the minority including the youth, women and disabled is yet to be realized					
Q10	I think that the new constitutional dispensation has done much to remedy the discourse on multipartism					

**LINK BETWEEN MULTIPARTISM AND THE ELECTORAL PROCESS****Part A: General Questions**

1. The process of elections is paramount for any democracy to be said to be alive.

Elections have been held in Kenya since independence but however, it results have been mixed; some painful to Kenyans. How unique is the Kenyan electoral system?

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2. Scholars of multiparty politics have made a comparison between Kenya, DR Congo and Zambia in regard to democracy and elections. They conclude that they have over the years taken different paths yet they were the same in the early years of independence. How can you elaborate this?

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3. There is a mixed performance of results of elections in Kenya. How can this best be accounted for?

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4. How can the electoral organs of the state in your opinion best guarantee the occurrence of peaceful, credible and democratic elections?

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5. The various issues that surround elections in Kenya including among many historical injustices like land and ethnicity are accounted for as being key issues that found political organization. How can multipartism be used to undo this threat to democracy?

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6. How best can you compare the electoral processes of both the single party era and multi party era of Kenyan democratic development history?

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### Part B: Five-point Likert Scale Questionnaire

Please complete the following questionnaire on a scale of 1 to 5.

(1-strongly disagree, 2-disagree, 3- neutral, 4-agree and 5- strongly agree).

		1	2	3	4	5
Q1	I think that the IEBC as an institution is committed towards democracy					
Q2	The Registrar of political parties within the frameworks of the new constitution has elevated Kenyan democracy					
Q3	Multipartism is the best approach towards democracy but is faced with practical challenges that are generally the same as those of other African states					
Q4	I think that persons in political party leadership have failed to stand on the principles of professionalism					
Q5	I think that the general electoral process is cumbersome and hard to manage					
Q6	Overall, I think that the involvement of the government in elections is that of patronage rather than that of cooperation					
Q7	The mixed results in elections including conflicts is due to unfounded ideologies of political parties					

Q8	I think the democracy as practised is now is different from that practised in the single part era					
Q9	I think that the notion of seeking reforms in the electoral system should be backed by legal and financial structures					
Q10	I think that sound and effective multipartism produces a good electoral system					

## ELECTIONEERING PROCESS IN KENYA

### Part A: General Questions

1. To what extent do regimes politics do contribute to either success or failure of elections?

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2. Each and every stakeholder in politics is driven by its interest in politics. How does this affect the process of electioneering?

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3. The understanding of multiparty politics is viewed in such agenda as regionalism, party financing, legal electoral policies and political party structures within set structures of the society. This is nonetheless difficult in developing countries such as Kenya. What impact does this have on electioneering process? To what extent?

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4. African countries have developed so much in the post 1990 multiparty era. However, it is noted by scholars that the reintroduction of suppressive politics witnessed under single party politics are emerging, as witnessed by the elongation of presidential terms. What is its impact on the trend of democracy in the region?

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5. How can effective elections be held within constricted budgets that developing countries have?

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6. How and to what extent do the elite impact on elections in the country?

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### Part B: Five-point Likert Scale Questionnaire

Please complete the following questionnaire on a scale of 1 to 5.

(1-strongly disagree, 2-diagree, 3- neutral, 4-agree and 5- strongly agree).

		1	2	3	4	5
Q1	I think that the social cleavages are inhibitive to electioneering process					
Q2	I believe that the regulations and legal structures in place for election are not well stipulated and adhered to					
Q3	The disbursement of finances to electoral sectors is not adequate					
Q4	I think that the subject of corruption including vote buying is rampant and continues to grow in Kenya					
Q5	I think that the issue of					

	manipulation and patronage in elections is rife and affects the process of elections					
Q6	Overall, I think that the manner and process of conducting campaigns is flawed and negates democratic gains					
Q7	The political structures inherited from colonial administration are to blame or contribute to poor electoral structures					
Q8	I think that the role of the civil society and media should be expanded in elections					
Q9	I think that the social-economic problems such as insecurity and unemployment do contribute to poor electoral processes					
Q10	I think that the overall state of elections in Kenya needs to be reconstituted					

**Thank You for your time and cooperation.**



**Appendix III: Questionnaire For Political Voters**

I am a Doctor of Philosophy Student in Political Science at Moi University undertaking a research entitled ***“MULTIPARTY POLITICS AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN KENYA: AN ANALYSIS OF ODM AND URP”***

Dear Participant,

You have been selected to participate in this study. The main reason being your understanding of and profession in “democracy”. The main purpose of the study is to study multipartism and its impact on democratic elections in Kenya.

The researcher will use the results to determine the state of democratization in contemporary African politics. The findings of the study will be used to provide more insight into the impact of multipartism in conflict resolution in development matters.

To accomplish this objective, you are kindly requested to complete the questionnaire provided so as to provide the necessary data. If you are interested in the results and recommendations of this study, please advice the researcher to avail them as soon as the study is completed.

Your contribution is highly appreciated. Be assured of Confidentiality of both individuality and the information you will provide.

**Section A: Background information**

1. What is your age?

18-40 [ ]      Above 40 [ ]

2. What is your gender?

Male [ ]      Female [ ]

3. What is your highest level of education?

No education [ ]    Primary [ ]    Secondary [ ]    College [ ]    University [ ]

4. What is your occupation?

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5. What is the name of your constituency?

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**Section B: Political Parties**

6. What do you understand by the term political party?

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7. Do you belong to any political party?

Yes [ ]

No [ ]

8. If yes in 7 above, which one?

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9. What reason do you have for being or not being in the party?

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10. In your view are political parties necessary?

Yes [ ]

No [ ]

11. Please provide reasons for your answer in 10 above.

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12. Please mark appropriately the years you have ever voted.

1992 [ ] 1997 [ ] 2002 [ ] 2007 [ ] 2013 [ ] Never [ ]

13. What do you understand by “multipartism”?

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14. Do you know how your political party was established?

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15. Do the party you belong to really follow what is stated in its ideology? If yes what examples do you have?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

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16. Do you think political parties are relevant today? Please provide reasons for your thoughts.

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**Section C: Party Structures and Mechanisms**

17. What do you think of structures put in place to run your political party?

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18. Do you think that social cleavages including ethnicity, regionalism, class and religion do contribute to the politics advocated for by your political party? Please explain your response.

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19. Do you think that political parties conduct their roles including mobilization, socialization, education and recruitment in a good way? Give reason for your response.

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20. Do you think that political party contribution to electoral processes like advertising, campaigning are above board? Please elaborate on your response.

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21. What challenges face civil society groups like the media in their relationships with political parties?

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22. What do you think of issues to do with patronage, manipulation and clientelism in political parties with regard to electoral procedure?

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23. What do you think should be included or be emphasized in the party manifesto that can improve the economic, social and political life of the people in your constituency?

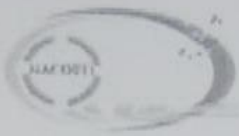
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24. How can you best describe the future of political parties, multipartism and democracy in Kenya?

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**Thank You for your time and cooperation.**

## Appendix IV: Research Authorisation



**NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE,  
TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION**

<p>Telephone: +254 30 3714471 2241349 3310371 2219420 Fax: +254 30 318245 318244 Email: <a href="mailto:info@nacosti.go.ke">info@nacosti.go.ke</a> Website: <a href="http://www.nacosti.go.ke">www.nacosti.go.ke</a> When replying please quote:</p>	<p>9<sup>th</sup> Floor, United House Uhuru Highway P.O. Box 30023-00100 NAIROBI-KENYA</p>
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Ref. No.	Date
NACOSTI/P/16/12872/11170	6 <sup>th</sup> July, 2016

Akuonga Paul Papa  
Moi University  
P.O. Box 3900-00100  
ELDORET.

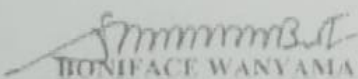
**RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION**

Following your application for authority to carry out research on “*Multiparty politics and democratization in Kenya: An analysis of ODM and URP*,” I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **selected Counties** for the period ending **5<sup>th</sup> July, 2017**.

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioners and the County Directors of Education of the selected Counties** before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit **two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf** of the research report/thesis to our office.

  
**BONIFACE WANYAMA**  
 FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioners  
Selected Counties.

The County Directors of Education  
Selected Counties.




**Appendix V: Research Permit**


THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:  
MR. AKUONGA PAUL PAPA  
of MOI UNIVERSITY, 71-20400  
BOMET, has been permitted to conduct  
research in Bomet , Homabay , Kericho  
, Kisumu , Migori , Nairobi, Nakuru ,  
Uasin-Gishu Counties

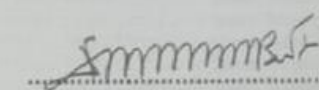
on the topic: *MULTIPARTY POLITICS  
AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN KENYA: AN  
ANALYSIS OF ODM AND URP*

for the period ending:  
5th July, 2017

  
.....  
Applicant's  
Signature

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/16/12872/11170  
Date Of Issue : 6th July, 2016  
Fee Recieved :Ksh 2000



  
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Director General  
National Commission for Science,  
Technology & Innovation