

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN ENHANCING DEMOCRATIC
GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA: A CASE OF KENYA**

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the Degree of Master of Arts in International Studies, University of Nairobi**

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DECLARATION

Declaration by the Student

This project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University

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Declaration by the Supervisor

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DEDICATION

I dedicate to my family, all my children and their cousins, who in one way or the other encouraged me to document my practical lifelong experience in international affairs, by urging me to enroll for a second Master's Degree, this time, in International Studies, at The University of Nairobi.

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Going back to class to learn the theory behind the concepts one has interacted with in the school of life, at times, creates a conflict that may generate a clash between the formal thought processes and the traditional way of doing things. I tried very hard to eschew the feeling but it kept coming back were it not for the engaging discussions I had with both the lecturers and my classmates. The former removed me from a comfort zone and gave me the impetus to look at every situation with a broader view and in a way deepening my understanding of the world. More than ever, I appreciate the fact that additional knowledge bestows upon one the urge to learn more and the wisdom to take every nugget of wit with humility. My classmates, given their diversity in terms of age, background and social realm, gave me a unique opportunity to critically interrogate the complexity of our new society.

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ABSTRACT

World over, political parties have been seen as vehicles for democratic governance and the mirror of positive impact within themselves. In Africa, they have failed to meet the threshold due to a number of limitations including the fact that they are founded on the narrow agenda of ethnicity, factions and regional coalitions. Even though there are states that have promoted some semblance of democratic governance within the parties themselves as well as presence of competitiveness among the political players, there is still a yawning gap between what it ought to be and the reality of the day. The study therefore sought to determine the role of political parties in enhancing democratic governance in Africa highlighting the Kenyan Context by examining the contributions and challenges encountered by political parties in enhancing democratic governance in Africa, the performance and challenge of the structures and frameworks of political parties and the factors which promote the role of political parties in enhancing democratic governance in Kenya. Descriptive survey was used and the target population comprised Members of Parliament from the 47 Counties, Party Officials, Internal Political Party Dispute Tribunals from 6 main political parties and key informants from the IEBC, the Office of the Registrar of Political Parties and Political Party Dispute Tribunal. Simple and Stratified Random sampling techniques were used with data being collected using structured and non-structured questionnaires as well as interview schedules. Quantitative Data was analyzed using SPSS Version 12 and presented in descriptive and inferential statistics. Qualitative Data was analyzed using thematic analysis and presented through narratives and themes. From the results, the role of political parties in enhancing democratic governance in Africa though crucial is a complex matter that needs the intervention of all the states and non-state institutions to work together towards a common purpose. Evidently, information from the research affirms that citizen participation in political party activities is not only important but critical in facilitating democratic governance. An imperative to democratic governance is inclusion of the party members and supporters in party nominations and selection of party candidates in order to engender fairness and collective ownership of the party institutions. In conclusion, the existing structures and frameworks of political parties and factors that promote the role of political parties in enhancing democratic governance augment each other at best if they are allowed to operate in an environment of freedom, respect of human rights and effective resourcing both in terms of human and financial resources. The study therefore recommends that there should be clear delineation between the party leadership and the management of state affairs in order to maintain some level of checks and balance between those leading the parties and individuals in government as a way of maintaining separation of powers and avoiding confusion. This will also assist curb compromise or collusion at the expense of transparency, fair play, justice and equity. Parties should be better resourced from state resources without discrimination and in this case, it is suggested that a threshold figure of 2% of all the votes cast should be a factor of political party access to such public funds. While the existence of the legal framework of various institutions of democratic governance such as Office of the Registrar of political parties, IEBC, PPDT and the Judiciary is a step in the right direction, it is incumbent upon the powers that be, elected leaders and the public to engage in productive dialogue on how to resource, strengthen engagement among the institutions and allow them to operate without uncalled for interference. The destiny of Africa lies therein.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AD:	Anno Domini
ANC:	Amani National Congress
ANC*:	Africa National Congress (South Africa)
CCM:	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
DP:	Democratic Party
DRC:	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECK:	Electoral Commission of Kenya
EPLF:	Eritrean People's Liberation Front
EPRDF:	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
ESCAP:	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
FORD:	Forum for Restoration of Democracy
FRELIMO:	Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
ICC:	International Criminal Court
ICT:	Information Communication and Technology
IDEA:	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IEBC:	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
IPPDT:	Internal Political Parties Dispute Tribunal
KADU:	Kenya African Democratic Union
KANU:	Kenya African National Union
KBC:	Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
KPU:	Kenya People's Union
MP:	Member of Parliament
MPLA:	People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola

NASA:	National Super Alliance
NARC:	National Rainbow Coalition
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organizations
NDC:	National Democratic Congress
NDP:	National Democratic Party
NRM:	National Resistance Movement
ODM:	Orange Democratic Movement
PFDJ:	People’s Front for Democracy and Justice
PNU:	Party of National Unity
POLPAN:	Polish Panel survey
PPDT:	Political Parties Dispute Tribunal
SPSS:	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
SSU:	Sudanese Socialist Union
SWAPO:	South West African People's Organization
TANU:	Tanganyika African National Union
UK:	United Kingdom
USA:	United States of America
USAID:	United States Agency for International Development
WPE:	Ethiopian Workers Party
ZANU:	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU:	Zimbabwe African People's Union

OPERATIONAL DEFINATION OF KEY TERMS

- Apartheid:** A system of discriminating people based on their race as was the case in South Africa.
- Civic Education:** This is a process of giving adequate information and learning experiences to the citizenry in order to empower and equip them as they get involved in democracy processes.
- Civil Revolt:** This is an open, organized and often armed resistance towards a legitimate government system.
- Clientelism:** This is a system where by a person gives political (such as votes) or financial support to a political party in order to receive some special favor or benefit from it.
- Democracy:** This is where civic responsibility and power are exercised by all citizens either by themselves or through their representatives.
- Democratic Governance:** a network where institutions function with full exercise of freedom to operate internally while effectively interacting with institutions external to them in an open, healthy and thriving manner.
- De facto:** Holding actual power though not necessarily through lawful, constitutional or legitimate means (holding power by usurpation).
- De jure:** Holding power through lawful, constitutional and legitimate means.
- Dictatorship:** This is a system of government where one person or a cabal makes all decision without public involvement.
- Governance:** The exercise of power in managing the state of the economy of a country as well as other developmental social cultural issues.
- Formal Institutions:** These are institutions within a political system with defined rules and procedures that guide the social, economic and political relations of a country.
- Informal Institutions:** These are institutions rich in practice, norms, customs and traditional authority but lacking the force of the legal codification and procedure.

Multipartism: This is a system where there is competition for power among many parties and any has an equal chance to gain power and a chance of forming coalitions.

Neo-patrimonialism: This is the use of state/public resources by the powers that be to gain unthinking loyalty of other leaders and individuals in a given society. It engenders impunity and creates a fertile ground for corruption.

Party Structure: Refers to how political parties are organized.

Pluralism: A system where two or more political parties coexist and compete for power.

Political Party: An organized group of people with generally similar aims and purpose and who seek to appropriate and expend political power.

Racism: A belief that one's race is superior to another, resulting to discrimination against the people from the other race.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Different scholars, institutions and jurisdictions have given democratic governance diverse interpretation but a common thread runs through each of those definitions. Some scholars have defined it as a network where institutions function with full exercise of freedom to operate internally while effectively interacting with institutions external to them. This means various state entities such as the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary as well as other bodies like independent commissions, political parties and civil society organizations enjoy and exercise internal freedom to operate and at the same time their interface with one another in the wider spectrum is open, healthy and thriving. Democratic governance further entails people effectively participating in public affairs while supported by clear education programs for the said participants to make informed choices and possess latitude of freedom as they do so. The choices are taken with adequate restraint and utmost respect for the rights of others.¹

In the USA, democratic governance is expounded as upholding rule of law and observing human rights issues with a sole purpose of securing peace, deterring aggression, expanding open markets and promoting economic development.² China on the other hand has been criticized as a country that lacks democracy and democratic governance³ in that it does not hold open national elections and those who advocate for pluralism are deterred with punishment. The media is also heavily censored with most social media platforms blocked. Human rights, freedom of expression and broad participation in public affairs remain low or altogether absent. The Chinese

¹ Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (2018)

² US Department of State (2018), Democracy

³ Bell (2015), Chinese Democracy Isn't Inevitable

government in the late 1980s introduced grassroots elections in a monolithic *de jure* one party system where candidates would be nominated and voted for in-house to serve for a specific period. This would also act as filtering mode of evaluating government officials where a minority manages to the apex of power upon decades of experience.⁴

Africa since mid-1990s has had, on its part, conflicts, divisions and wars among several countries that may be ascribed to tribalism and ethnic divide. However, majority of the civil wars in the recent past have resulted from a lack of democratic governance in the conduct of elections and a wide range of public affairs that has led to disputes and political party clashes leaving a large number of people dead or wounded. Such examples include; Ethiopia, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Burundi, Guinea, Ivory Coast, South Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo and Uganda among others.⁵

The Continent, however, is increasingly acquiring multi-dimensional movement towards democratic governance and effective political party system. Category one comprises states that have created open competition in democracy and governance. Examples of such states include; Botswana, Benin, Ghana, Mauritius, Senegal, South Africa and Tanzania. It is instructive to state that the latter has enjoyed change of guard, albeit the same party has held the reins of power since its independence in 1961.

In the second category are leaders with authoritarian tendencies who attempt to ward off increasingly popular opposition parties and outfits. Examples include Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, Uganda and Zimbabwe. This category brings about a swing between opposition gains and authoritarian repression. Here mutual trust needs to be cultivated among

⁴ Bell (2015), Chinese Democracy Isn't Inevitable

⁵ Saka (2012), Multi-Party Democracy in Africa

rival political parties to allow for smooth power handover as a way of moving towards the first category. Matters get compounded by possible distrust stemming from ethnic suspicion, the fear of the unknown on the part of the person at the helm and trappings of power, which encourage leaders to overstay in office despite attendant problems. Such problems, include, but not limited to, backpedaling the wheel of democratic governance. Examples are; Cameroon's president Paul Biya, Equatorial Guinea's Teodoro Obiang Nguema, former president of Angola Jose Eduardo Dos Santos and immediate former president of Zimbabwe Robert Mugabe, all of whom stayed in power for more than 35 years. President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda runs the risk of joining this league unless natural attrition process sooner than later takes its toll.⁶

In the third category, are states led by autocrats who have created tight grips over political systems and elections do not present a serious threat on their hold to power. Examples include Cameroon, Chad and Rwanda where the tight grip exercised by their presidents makes it tempting to ascribe it to stable authoritarian category. The facade of stability should not be interpreted for durability given the case of Blaise Compaore's 27 years of dictatorship in Burkina Faso which was one day abruptly ended by a combination of civil revolt, military intervention and parliamentary rejection of his continued presence in power.

South Africa on the other hand ushered in its first interim constitution that led to the initial non-discriminative elections of 1994 heralding the end of apartheid. Over the years, the key features that have marked democratic governance in South Africa have been socio-economic and health polices; establishment of new political parties; and mushrooming of functioning institutions.⁷

⁶ Saka (2012), Multi-Party Democracy in Africa

⁷ Malik (2015), What Happened to South African Democracy, The New York Times

The rest of the continent is dotted with a mixed grill and a huge power overlap where on one extreme emerge confused and fragile democracies where former combatants and warlords pretend to don regalia of competitive politics such is the experience in South Sudan, Uganda, Rwanda and Angola. The other extreme are functionally failed states represented by the Federal Democratic Republic of Somalia. In a nutshell, Africa is likely to witness a growing divergence in the next decade or so whereby the progressive forces blossom while the laggards still rear their ugly heads.

The underlying challenge is a delicate balance between the principle of democratic governance and the need to usher in competitive democratic elections represented by many parties and progressive ideas. It is imperative therefore to inculcate a sense of discipline with a culture to navigate politics that has otherwise been ethnicized to the extent that militancy and violence have become a last resort to acquire power, protect or consolidate it. The fears of exclusion or community isolation, in this case, become real and frightening to the extent that pertinent issues are sacrificed at the altar of paranoia.⁸

While democracy is one of the elements that contribute towards democratic governance, it has to be fortified by presence of other elements that include strong and independent institutions and a culture that is embedded in valued human expression and freedom. Democracy has been broadly defined as “the process whereby citizens exercise power and civic responsibility either directly or indirectly, through their elected representatives”.⁹ Decisions are made by the majority with viewpoints of the minority being respected and protected. Decentralization of government affairs to the regional and local levels, with a core purpose of protecting freedom to speak, worship,

⁸ Müller (2000), *Political Parties in Parliamentary Democracies*

⁹ Cincotta (2007), *Democracy in brief*, Washington, U.S. Department of State

enjoy unfettered opportunity to organize, fully participate in economic, political or social cultural affairs of a society is an integral part of democracy.¹⁰

Democracies, in addition, carry out free, favorable and fair elections where people are given the right and responsibility to participate in politics, thus protecting their freedoms. Democracies consist of a system of institutionalized opposition whereby people choose among alternative contenders for public office. Therefore, presence of many strong opposition political parties in a country implies presence of democracy which creates an environment for ventilation of varying opinions by fostering debate within legally prescribed limits.¹¹

Different scholars interpret democracy based on the nature of representative government and variety of application used by some states. In direct democracy, each citizen has the power to make decisions and cast a vote to validate that position. There are no representatives, thus, all persons are treated equally such as in Switzerland. Indirect democracy on the other hand takes place when a people elect one of their own and confer him/her a task of deciding on their behalf.¹²

Parliamentary and presidential systems arise out of sub division of the two modes; direct and indirect. Parliamentary democracy takes place where the party or coalition of parties with the highest number of seats form a government that is headed by a Premier, Prime Minister or a Chancellor who then sets the legislative agenda that informs policy making process. The President or the Head of State becomes ceremonial representative of the country as is the case in the UK or Germany.¹³ In a Presidential system, on the other hand, members of the executive and

¹⁰ Klein (2011), Concepts and principles of democratic governance and accountability

¹¹ Oloo (2007) The Contemporary Opposition in Kenya: Between Internal Traits and State Manipulation

¹² The Saylor Foundation (2012), Types of Democracy, Saylor.org

¹³ Klein (2011), Concepts and principles of democratic governance and accountability

legislature are elected by the citizens but more power is held by the executive as is the case in the USA.¹⁴

However, there are unique cases like that of Amadou Toumani Toure, the president of Mali between 2002-2012, who declined the nomination by any political party and chose to run as an independent presidential candidate as a way of trying to bring about national integration in a nation that had been fractured by numerous internal conflicts. While it is nice to celebrate vibrant political competition, the presence of weak institutions may abruptly give rise to authoritarian interlude as was the case of Mali three years after the exit of President Amadou Toure.¹⁵

A political party according to Neumann¹⁶ and Wordu¹⁷ is an organized social network whose agents compete for public support with others holding a divergent view. It has further been accepted as a people organizing themselves to win over power through democratic elections. It describes institutions whose main aim is to exert permanent influence on the formation of public opinion, hence, they require permanent organizational structures and programmes.¹⁸ Parties mainly participate in elections to obtain power and influence through occupation of positions of power by different individuals, within the party. Political parties perform a variety of functions, among them recruiting new members; nomination and election of public officials; drawing of government policy programs; providing criticisms or alternative policies should they be in opposition; creation of structures and rules for society's political debate; augment electorate representation; and mobilize the citizenry to participate in development and other processes.¹⁹

¹⁴ The Saylor Foundation (2012), Types of Democracy, Saylor.org

¹⁵ Cheeseman (2015), Democracy in Africa: Successes, Failures, and the Struggle for Political Reform

¹⁶ Neumann (2010), Chapter Two: Recruitment Grounds

¹⁷ Wordu (2011), Democracy, Leadership Recruitment and National Development

¹⁸ Oloo (2007) The Contemporary Opposition in Kenya: Between Internal Traits and State Manipulation

¹⁹ Klein (2011), Concepts and principles of democratic governance and accountability

The World Bank defines governance as the process of managing the economy and social resources of a state as a way of exercising its power. It further elucidates it as the use of processes and structures by competent power in a state in order to achieve a way of monitoring, selecting and replacement of governing bodies. At the same time, it enables governments to structure and put in place credible strategies as well as empowering the people and the states to have mutual respect as they interact.²⁰

1.1.1 Political Parties and Democratic Governance in Africa

While the first political party in the continent dates back to the True Whig Party in Liberia in 1860, the real advent of multipartism is seen between the periods of 1945-1968. This is the period (Phase 1) that preceded the independence of many African States with emergence of 143 new political parties in the Sub-Saharan part of the Continent. They were initially formed to influence change in the colonial outfits, share power with the colonialists but finally acquired a momentum of their own that allowed them occasion subsequent elections where universal suffrage gave rise to the first set of African led Governments.²¹

Many a party are busy mostly during electioneering period but in between is a lull, where parties retreat to a moribund state, leaving elected representatives in parliament or at the presidency to determine the fate of public affairs. This invites shrewd and cunning politicians to usurp the role of political parties thereby alienating the people from participating in critical phases of democratic governance. That is why immediately after independence there was a decline in democratic space giving way to either authoritarian rule, represented by a dominant one-party reign, or a military regime as a product of coup d'état and counter coups. Poverty, disease, low

²⁰ World Bank Institute (2008), Worldwide Governance Indicators, The World Bank

²¹ Mozaffar (2005), Introduction, Political Parties

literacy and state weaknesses engendered by authoritarian rule and corruption, made nonsense any gains anticipated by the clamor for democratic change.

The late 80's and early 90's (Phase 2) virtually saw all Sub-Saharan States shift to some form of democratic governance. This can be attributed largely to the end of cold war. The impetus however was borne by two forces; internal challenges due to economic decline that undermined governments' ability to meet their commitments to the electorate and international pressure in tandem with conditionalities meted out by the donors.²² Many years of suppressed opinion and subduing of alternative view or government critics, created a coalition of forces from the civil society, religious groups, politicians, the academia and the labour movement that gave birth to the second liberation in Africa. Benin and Zambia saw sitting heads of state literally swept out of power. Consequently, cases of transition from below often resulted in relatively free and fair elections that were dominated by the opposition. The unfortunate situation is that these movements did not potent progress, since some of the new leaders merely represented a change of guard.

Some countries with strong political party systems such as Tanzania and Senegal were able to bring about change from the top without upsetting the applecart. President Julius Nyerere's archetypal African one-Party state under the CCM became less tenable but enabled him undergo smooth transition where the ruling party still maintained some measure of hegemony despite the changes. Notwithstanding such momentum, vestiges of one-party relics or one man show still dot the continent as best illustrated by Isaias Afworki of Eritrea, Paul Biya of Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea's Teodoro Obiang Nguema and Uganda's Yoweri Museveni.²³

²² Cheeseman (2015), *Democracy in Africa: Successes, Failures, and the Struggle for Political Reform*

²³ Carbone (2007), *Political Parties and Party Systems in Africa: Themes and Research Perspectives*

1.2 Statement of the Problem

World over, political parties have been seen as vehicles for democratic governance and the mirror of positive impact within themselves. In Africa, they have failed to meet the threshold due to a number of challenges including the fact that they are founded on the narrow agenda of ethnicity, factions and regional coalitions. They have also been found to be structurally faulty, incompetent and with democratic deficit.

In spite of this gloomy picture pervading the continent, there are a number of pockets of hope led by Mauritius, Gambia, Botswana and Tanzania who have promoted some semblance of democratic governance where there has been a measure of internal democracy and good governance within the parties themselves as well as presence of competitiveness among the political players.

In Kenya, after the promulgation of the Constitution in 2010, Parliament passed other laws to ensure democratic governance was upheld. Key among them was the Political Parties Act 2012, with its latest amendment in 2016, which spells out clear guidelines on how political parties should be governed. However, despite the roles being clearly spelt out, there are still clear indicators that a lot needs to be done, by identifying the basic drivers that would enhance better structure for the parties while at the same time building the necessary professional environment within them for these objectives to be met.

A lot of research has been carried out on political parties and multiparty governance, political parties and democracy, and political parties and their role in developed democracies. However, little has been done on political parties and democratic governance in Africa, Kenya included, leaving a gap that the research sought to fill. The study hence sought to identify, analyze and

evaluate the contribution and the structure and framework of political parties in enhancing democratic governance in Africa using Kenya as a Case Study.

1.3 Research Questions

- i. What are the contributions and challenges encountered by political parties in enhancing democratic governance in Africa?
- ii. What has been the performance and challenge of the structures and frameworks of political parties in enhancing democratic governance in Kenya?
- iii. What are the factors that promote the role of political parties in enhancing democratic governance in Kenya?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 Main Objective

To determine the role of political parties in enhancing democratic governance in Africa highlighting the Kenyan Context

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

- i. To examine the contributions and challenges encountered by political parties in enhancing democratic governance in Africa.
- ii. To analyze the performance and challenge of the structures and frameworks of political parties in enhancing democratic governance in Kenya.
- iii. To determine the factors that promotes the role of political parties in enhancing democratic governance in Kenya.

1.5 Literature Review

1.5.1 Empirical Literature Review

Democratic governance as we know today is not what it was at its inception 2500 years ago in the city of Athens where the Greek experimented with the form of government that all the citizens made laws of their state instead of leaving the power with the king or a group of wealthy men. At the time it was only men whose both parents were Athenians who were allowed to vote. Women, foreigners, slaves or freed slaves were excluded from the exercise.

During the middle ages, a period between 476 AD and late 1600 AD, democratic governance suffered a setback despite attempts to introduce certain democratic values such as The Magna Carta (the great paper) in England that was sponsored by the barons who were unhappy with the King unilaterally effecting tax increases. The Christian Religion on the other hand promoted the principle of equality though not anchored on democratic ideals. The turning point was an event in history that took place in 1776, during the Declaration of the American Independence. The proponents of the declaration, led by Thomas Jefferson, ushered in the form of democratic governance akin to what is being practiced in a number of countries professing the rule of law and power to the people.²⁴

Political parties, in UK, came into being in the late 1660's as a result of a feud that engulfed the people of England operating under the suspicion that the throne was being undermined by the Roman Catholics. The polarization that followed threw the country into two sides represented by the petitioners (Whigs) – urging the King to recall a new parliament and those opposed to it (Tories) – opposed to any measure of control to the King. The Whigs are now known as the Labour party and the Tories the Conservative Party in the current UK politics. Across the oceans,

²⁴ Flanders (2007), Political Parties, The New Book of Knowledge

in the USA, by 1787 were two emerging opinions; those supporting strong Federal Government (Republicans), and those in support of ceding some power to the hands of State and Local Governments (Democrats).²⁵

Political parties have evolved and now play a major role in ensuring that citizens are involved in various aspects of democratic governance both within the political parties and in a wide range of other public affairs. One of the major roles is citizen participation whereby voters are involved in voter education, signing of petitions as well as taking part in a range of party activities.²⁶ A country like Belgium ranks last among all European nations in terms of political participation. This is attributed to its low political party membership, with the proportion of people ready to attend lawful demonstrations being minimal.²⁷

In Australia, citizen participation is of paramount importance and involves; voter enrolment reforms that ensure voters have equal voting rights; freedom of the media so that they give full and appropriate communication of themes in the conduct of elections; use of the social media platforms and involvement of the youth in the campaign process.²⁸

A study was carried out to determine how parties mobilized and involved their members in developed and developing democracies. Data was drawn from Electoral Systems across a range of democracies where citizens' contact with parties during their national campaigns was examined. From the findings, states with highest level of participation included Ireland, Brazil and the USA at above 40% with all other states below 30%; Iceland, Belgium, Australia, Denmark, Sweden, Spain, German and Israel among others. The study conclusion was that

²⁵ Flanders (2007), Political Parties, The New Book of Knowledge

²⁶ Deth (2016), What is Political Participation, Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics

²⁷ Vandenbroele (2017), Belgium Has Got a Problem with Citizen Participation

²⁸ Farrell (2002), Citizen engagement between elections

parties in developing states were likely to target their citizens compared to developed democracies, thus, they are successful in stimulating political participation.²⁹

Another study was carried out in Pakistan to determine what role political parties had been playing over the previous two decades. Data was collected from secondary sources and the findings revealed that from each election cycle, 50% of the voters participate with the rest failing to take part as they feel unrepresented in the national politics. This is because there has been lack of developed national institutions with the civil society being grouped in terms of ethnicism, religious affiliations, languages but generally lacking national philosophy.³⁰ In another survey, data was gathered following elections from over 30 countries in Europe and Americas to examine diversity of party mobilization and resultant difference. Findings revealed that there was a positive correlation between mobilization of voters and party effectiveness.³¹

Civic education on the other hand is another mode used by political parties in an attempt to involve members in the democratic governance. It encompasses learning experience that equips and empowers citizens to take part in democratic processes and entails classroom-based learning, mass media campaigns, informal training and experiments.³² According to Buhl,³³ educating and enabling the youth to become effective citizens is an important step to socialization. This is because they are given a chance to shape the overall political environment. The ultimate goal therefore is participation through civic education which plays a crucial role in ensuring citizens are making informed and appropriate decisions.³⁴

²⁹ Karp and Banducci (2007), Party Mobilization and Political Participation in New and Old Democracies

³⁰ Akhtar (2011), Role of Political Parties in the Democratic System of Pakistan

³¹ Karp (2012), Electoral Systems, Party Mobilisation and Political Engagement

³² Rietbergen-McCracken (2010), Civic Education, Civicus

³³ Buhl (2003), Family conditions and political orientations in adolescence

³⁴ Yoldaş (2015), Civic education and learning democracy

A research was carried out in Thailand Republic to determine the role of Political Parties in providing political education to their members and people. Two political parties were examined through extensive field research. The results showed that the differences in the purpose of party establishment; duration of political activity operation; internal structures; political ideology of the party; and objectives of the political operation of the two parties led to the differences in the programs offered in political education and activity operations for party members, party supporters, and the public. Therefore, the direction of political education provision was different in various aspects that include the characteristics of political education, patterns of communication with the public to provide political knowledge and the party's information, and the sources of revenues used for organizing political education activities.³⁵

A different study was carried out in two states; the Dominican Republic and South Africa to establish how civic education affected political participation. Survey data was collected among participants from various civic education programs and control groups. From the results, a relationship existed between group mobilization and civic education. In addition, the effects civic education had on participation was influenced by citizens' exposure to the training process, the methods of training and their prior participation in the process.³⁶

A political party is said to apply democratic procedures and principles when it involves citizens in decision-making, lobbying, advocacy and engagement in the provision of checks and balances by putting in place channels of communication and outreach systems. In addition, members should be allowed to vote for their representatives.³⁷ In a study on recruitment of party leaders and involvement of citizens in that process in Mainland China, citizen participation constitutes

³⁵ Sirivunnabood (2016), Political Education: The Role of Political Parties in Educating Civil Society on Politics

³⁶ Finkel (2000), Civic Education and the Mobilization of Political Participation in Developing Democracies

³⁷ Cordenillo and Staak (2014), Political Parties and Citizen Movements in Asia and Europe

decision-making and comprises an interactive process. Political mobilization is achieved when there is careful recruitment of party members.³⁸

A study was carried out in Nigeria to establish its political history since attaining independence where recruitment of political leadership was reviewed. The study further looked at failures and weaknesses of the entire process in order to give appropriate reforms recommendations. Findings indicate that there remains internal wrangling among the major political parties on the recruitment process. There is lack of proper consolidation and stabilization of democratic governance thus, citizens cannot enjoy effective representation, the electorate cannot be properly organized or mobilized, and political participation cannot be well-structured and enhanced. The researcher argues that political parties must begin with public awareness followed by adequate involvement of the people to ensure that proper democratic governance is exercised.³⁹

A survey was done in Poland to analyze the perception of citizens on corruption practices and its effect on their voting behavior. Data from the Polish Panel survey, for the period 1988–2008 was analyzed. The study further sought to establish whether the intention by members to cast their votes favoring a particular party was influenced by their views on corruption in both their parties and those of the rivals. Findings revealed that perceptions by voters over corruption in either their party or that of the rivals affected their decision to participate.⁴⁰

In another study, a researcher sought to examine the consequences of corruption on voter choices and behavior. Special focus was on ideological positions, government performance, leader and party evaluations and how political corruption affected their role in voting decision. Findings revealed that in some cases, voters may fail to vote the incumbent if accused of corruption

³⁸ Guo (2002), Party Recruitment and Political Participation in Mainland China

³⁹ Ekundayo (2016), Political Parties, Party System and Leadership Recruitment in Nigeria

⁴⁰ Slomczynski and Shabad (2012), Perceptions of political party corruption and voting behavior in Poland

whereas they may show support for the said person if they are partisan to the party. In highly corrupted democracies, the person matters more than the institution and thus people tend to make their choices based on the person while overlooking the corruption accusations.⁴¹ Therefore the role of the political parties in enhancing democratic governance is undermined in this case.

1.6 Literature Gaps

All studies have variously revealed that in democratic nations, citizens focus on political parties as vehicles for enhancing democratic governance through civic education, public participation and involvement in political activities. However, the negative aspects still glare with major issues being corruption, weak structures and distorted internal organization, lack of genuine democratic practices and absence of effective interface among the parties themselves and other formal institutions. The researcher therefore sought to evaluate the role, structure and challenges of political parties in enhancing democratic governance in Africa.

1.7 Justification

The study findings would be of enormous importance to academicians and broad spectrum of stakeholders as there is a critical need to stimulate an in-depth analysis of the structures, internal organizations and legal frameworks of parties with a view to invigorating and harnessing their latent potential. The documented report of the study would be available in the library and journals and will equip learners with more knowledge on democratic governance in the African context.

Whereas Africa is still grappling with the idea of finding stable and durable political institutions, political parties in ideal democracies create a platform for peoples' participation in activities that

⁴¹ Burlacu (2011), The Consequences of corruption on Electoral behavior, Department of Political Science

produce a stream of knowledge that feeds into policy documentation through various party manifestos. The research findings would therefore enrich the process of policy formulation and translation by each political party and thereafter incorporation of ideas into government policy programs and processes.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

The study employed liberalism to explain contributions that various institutions make towards democratic governance insofar as separation of powers, periodic elections, human rights and economic foundations in Africa while working with other drivers. Liberalism originally arose from both deep scholarly and philosophical roots with its prime principle being international cooperation and peace. In the 17th and 18th centuries, philosophers such as John Locke, John Stuart Mill and John Rawls, viewed liberalism as a political doctrine where the center was protection and enhancement of the freedom of the citizens.⁴²

Armed with the four propositions of separation of powers, periodic elections, rights of individuals and economic principles, that are an integral part of liberalism, one would have a powerful analytical lens to examine the role of political parties in enhancing democratic governance in Africa. The theory considers the rights of both the majority and minority, thus appreciating both dignity and worth of all citizens. The nature of involvement is either direct or through a voted representative. In direct involvement, citizens participate in public policy decisions directly whereas with representation, a team is elected in to stand on behalf of the citizens. Citizens therefore should be given clear information to enable them make informed choices.⁴³

⁴² Dagger, et al. (2005), Liberalism, Encyclopedia Britannica, 27th may 2005

⁴³ Schlenker (2014), Theories of Democratic Government

Democratic governance in any African state therefore involves giving citizens equal rights to participate in state activities either directly or through a representative. As vessels of the above ideals political parties must, both in content and structure, embody the requisite capacity to carry out their mandate. The mandate demands of member's full participation in party activities, especially in party nominations, civic education and other democratic processes. In conclusion, democratic governance is a liberal idea and political parties are its vehicles of movement.

1.9 Research Hypotheses

HP₁: The contributions and challenges encountered by political parties do not enhance democratic governance in Africa.

HP₂: The performance and challenge of the structures and frameworks of political parties do not enhance democratic governance in Kenya.

HP₃: Factors that promote the role of political parties do not enhance democratic governance in Kenya.

1.10 Research Methodology

1.10.1 Data Techniques

This is the bringing together and analyzing of data in a way that brings out the importance of the study.⁴⁴ In the study, descriptive survey was used to describe different characteristics among the variables under study⁴⁵ with respondents describing their feelings and experiences on the social issues.⁴⁶ They then made practical recommendations that aimed at bringing expected outcomes.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Kothari (2006) Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques

⁴⁵ Ibid

⁴⁶ McBurney and White (2004), Research Methods

⁴⁷ Majumdar (2005), Research Methods in Social Science

1.10.2 Target Group

This comprised individuals from whom the researcher gathered and generally applied the findings to.⁴⁸ The target group included Members of Parliament from the 47 Counties of Kenya as shown in Appendix 1 and Party Officials and Internal Tribunals from 6 main political parties obtained from the parties with majority parliamentary seats in the 2017 elections as shown in Appendix 2. Key informants from respective institutions; the IEBC, the Office of the Registrar of Political Parties and Political Party Dispute Tribunal also participated in the study as shown in Appendix 3.

1.10.3 Sampling Method

Sampling is a procedure, process or technique of choosing a sub-group from a population to participate in the study.⁴⁹ The study applied random sampling technique where each member of the target population was given an equal chance of being included in the study. In using stratified random sampling, Party Officials and Internal Tribunals were put into strata as shown in Appendix 4. Simple random sampling was then used to determine the sample size as shown in Appendix 5. A total of 132 Party Officials and Internal Tribunals were selected as shown in Appendix 6.

In the case of the Members of National Assembly, Counties were organized using the former provinces and an excel program used to generate random numbers whereby each number represented a County as shown in Appendix 7. In each County selected, all the Members of National Assembly participated as shown in Appendix 8. In total, the sample size was 187 respondents as shown in Appendix 9.

⁴⁸ Mugenda(2008), Social science research: Theory and principles

⁴⁹ Kothari (2006), Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques

1.10.4 Data Collection Methods and Instruments

The methodology of the study focused on both qualitative and quantitative methods. Self-administered questionnaires with structured and non-structured questions were given to respondents in order to obtain primary data. Key informant interviews were used for the key informants from IEBC, the Office of the Registrar of Political Parties and PPDT.

1.10.5 Analysis Techniques

Quantitative data was analyzed using The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS version 12) and presented using descriptive statistics; mean; and percentages. Qualitative data was analyzed using thematic analysis and presented in narratives and themes.

1.11 Scope of Study

The scope of the study was limited to the role of political parties in enhancing democratic governance in Africa: a case of Kenya. The target group included the Office of the Registrar of Political Parties, Political Parties Dispute Tribunal (PPDT), Members of Parliament from the 47 Counties of Kenya, Party Officials, IEBC and Internal Political Parties Dispute Tribunals (IPPDT) from the six major political parties in Kenya. It focused on the contributions of political parties in Africa, performance and challenge of structures and frameworks in Kenya and the factors that promote the role of political parties in enhancing governance in Kenya. The study period was from April 2018 – November 2018.

1.12 Chapter Outline

Chapter 1: Introduction. The chapter covers the background to the study, the statement of the problem, research question, research objectives and the justification. An in-depth analysis of both the empirical and theoretical literature was reviewed after which the study methodology was discussed.

Chapter 2: Contributions and challenges of political parties in Africa. This chapter examines what political parties have done to enhance democratic governance and the challenges they have faced.

Chapter 3: Performance and challenge of the Kenyan structures and frameworks. This chapter analyzes the internal structures, legal frameworks and challenges of political parties in enhancing democratic governance in Kenya.

Chapter 4: Factors that promote the role of political parties in Kenya. This chapter looks at the factors that promote the role of political parties in enhancing democratic governance in Kenya.

Chapter 5: This chapter covers presentation of research findings and analysis.

Chapter 6: This chapter gives the Summary, conclusion and recommendations including areas of further research

CHAPTER 2

DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA: CONTRIBUTIONS AND CHALLENGES OF POLITICAL PARTIES

2.1 Development of Political Parties in Africa

Political parties in pre-independence Africa started as nationalist movements whose final aim was to re-establish ultimate authority as the true owners of the land. These were units endeavoring to create opportunities for the people to participate in public affairs and reject any traces of colonial exploitation and racism. By 1945, about ten or so political parties had been formed by pioneer African elites in an attempt to fully express their frustrations with the colonial system and demand part of the leadership. The African desire was to gain greater opportunity to shape policy direction during the colonial period.⁵⁰

When the colonial powers refused to bulge to the African reform demands, the groups became more radical and people driven, infusing the spirit of change pervasively across the population turning it into huge movements that ultimately became fully-fledged political entities. Majority of such parties were grafted on influential personalities who became the vanguard of the struggle for freedom and hence embodied the banner of the struggle. The list is long but among them are Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, Ahmed Ben Bella, Kwame Nkurumah and Nelson Mandela.⁵¹ In the period 1945-1968, about 150 political parties were formed in the continent to add onto the numbers that allowed the message to resonate heralding the formation of first African led

⁵⁰ Mozaffar (2005), "Introduction" Party Politics

⁵¹ Keverenge (2017), Political Party Formation and Alliances: A Case of Kenya

governments. In a number of countries upon gaining independence, political parties changed in their nature and management.⁵²

Some form of Party pluralism was practiced in a number of countries but later abandoned and replaced with one-party reign or military regimes where autocrats took center stage practically in the whole of Africa. Even the countries that retained a modicum of multipartism like Botswana, Gambia and Mauritius, did so with little challenge as one party dominated the politics of the day. Despite democratization in Africa, between the late 80s and early 90s, that formally brought democratic relief, the parties that were formed then suffered structural limitations due to extreme poverty, low literacy, state weakness, corruption and the freshness of political reforms. This state of affairs brings genuine doubts about the extent of democratic change.⁵³

2.1.1 African Political Party Systems

2.1.1.1 One-party System

This is a form of arrangement where a single dominant party supplants all electoral affairs thereby restricting the capacity of other political parties to engage. From the historical perspective, African one-party systems were more prominent between the late 60s and early 70s with an approximate four-fifths of the continent under authoritarian/ military regimes or dictatorships.⁵⁴ Within Africa, two categories of single-party systems emerged namely *de jure* and *de facto* one-party states. States became *de jure* single-party states by the virtue of changing their constitutions thus outlawing other parties. In these types of regimes, the reigning communist parties were at the forefront in directing and controlling basically all aspects of the society. Some of the *de jure* one-party states included Ethiopian Workers Party (WPE), the

⁵² Maseko (2009), Political Parties In Africa's Democratization Process, 40th CPA Africa Region Conference

⁵³ Carbone (2007), Political Parties and Party Systems in Africa: Themes and Research Perspectives

⁵⁴ Heywood (2007), Politics 3rd Edition, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke

Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) and the Sudanese Socialist Union (SSU), before transitioning to their current forms of multiparty democracy.⁵⁵

In the case of *de facto* single-party states, the constitutions were not altered to allow a single party; rather, the parties in power attained and held a monopoly of power, governing every other part of government. Countries such as Kenya, Zimbabwe, Ghana, and Tanzania witnessed domination of ruling parties that had emerged during independence struggle. Zimbabwe saw emergence of one-party rule between 1987-1989 following ZANU's demand to merge with ZAPU by use of violence and intimidation.⁵⁶ In 1991 following 30 years of struggle for independence, there was an overwhelming vote by the people of Eritrean under the leadership of the Eritrea People's Liberation Front (EPLF), which further established The People's Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ) and mandated it to be the only legal party. Earlier, in 1962, President Nyerere won the Tanzanian presidential election and in 1965 declared it a one-party state. It was during the period of political pluralism in 1992 that democracy began to creep in.

In Ethiopia, which was an absolute monarchy till the overthrow of the government of The Emperor Haile Selassie II by the Dergue in 1974, party politics was neither known nor practiced. However, the coming of the Dergue saw the commencement of a single-party rule in 1984 following its initial ten years of power by pushing for a revolutionary socialist policy. Notably, the Ethiopian Workers' Party was founded at a time when no political parties existed in that country, thus being modeled on the monolithic Soviet bloc ruling parties⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Nordlund (1996), *Organizing the Political Agora: Domination and Democratization in Zambia and Zimbabwe*

⁵⁶ Nordlund (1996), *Organizing the Political Agora*

⁵⁷ Salih and Nordlund (2007), *Political Parties in Africa*

2.1.1.2 Multiparty systems

These are systems where there is competition for power between more than two parties, thereby limiting the likelihood of single-party governments while at the same time presenting a chance of forming coalitions. Chabal and Daloz spent an effort in focusing their scholarship on the role played by clientelism and ethnicity. Notwithstanding such works, fresh optimism towards prospects of democratic possibilities resurfaced with the reintroduction of multiparty politics in the 1990s in the greater part of Africa.⁵⁸ The early 90s saw a surge of political change following what was believed to be the "third wave" of democratization. This saw significant liberalization leading to the emergence of free media coverage, rise of opposition political parties, independent unions and a large number of civic organizations that were independent of state influence.

In the period between 1990 and 1994, the first multi-party elections were conducted in 29 out of the 47 African states most of whom the process was free and fair resulting to the defeat and exit of some authoritarian heads of State.⁵⁹ However, these parties lacked an enabling environment for institutionalization. As a result, they remained small and underfunded with their chief financiers being their founders leading to autocratic leadership in the parties. They further lacked a democratic culture and champions of democratic persuasion.⁶⁰

However, even with multipartism, many countries still grappled with systems dominated by powerful political parties that were in constant battle with the much weaker opposition. Some of the small parties were founded along ethnic lines. Tanzania's ruling party, CCM, which has remained in power from 1961 to date, has won all five elections in a row.⁶¹ In Uganda, there remained doubts as to whether the 1996 and 2001 elections were free and fair with observers

⁵⁸ Chabal and Daloz (1999), *Africa Works: The Political Instrumentalization of Disorder*

⁵⁹ Bratton and Walle (1997), *Democratic Experiments in Africa*

⁶⁰ Oloo(2007), *The Contemporary Opposition in Kenya: Between Internal Traits and State Manipulation*

⁶¹ Nyaluke and Connolly (2013), *The Role of Political Ideas in Multi-Party Elections in Tanzania:*

pointing out NRM's hold and control of the media and interference in opposition's activities being the main culprits. It was after the 2005 referendum that pretence of authentic competitiveness returned to Uganda.⁶²

It is important to note that there are an increasing number of states carrying out multiparty elections with a majority of them having peaceful transfer of power from one party or leader to another. Dominant authoritarian regimes in countries like Burkina Faso and Nigeria have been removed, opening up new democratic possibilities. However, even with more elections being conducted, democracy is far from being achieved. Within the past five-year period in Africa generally, societal inequality in terms of economy and political repression has risen begging the question on the extent of democratic governance in the continent.⁶³

There have been high levels of control within many African states illustrated by the arrest of opposition leader Kizza Besigye of Uganda in 2016, to the systematic violation of human rights recorded around the heavily controlled polls that returned President Paul Kagame to power in Rwanda in 2018. According to Freedom House, an American think tank that rates the level of democracy in every country in the world, the level and quality of democracy among African states has been deteriorating year after year in the last decade. Moreover, the seven African states that have showed the highest level of deterioration in terms of democracy in their political environment over the last two years include: Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Ethiopia, Lesotho, Niger, Mozambique, South Sudan, and Zambia. In Tanzania, President John Magufuli has come under heavy criticism for the way in which he has repressed journalists and opposition parties.

⁶² Chege (2007), *Political Parties in East Africa: Diversity in Political Party Systems*

⁶³ Owuoché and Jonjo (2002), *Political Parties and Civil Society in Governance and Development*

There have been other forms of political progress that have taken place in the continent. For example, Rwanda leads the world when it comes to female parliamentary representation, while South Africa, Uganda, Senegal and Tanzania have also been seen to do well in this regard. However, in larger states such as Nigeria, Angola and DRC, fewer women are ever elected. In Kenya, the August 8 poll saw some positive developments, with the election of three female governors and three senators. Minority groups have also faced similar challenges with states such Botswana, often seen as the country leading in democratic rights, largely excluding the indigenous people, the San community from political activities. In many states, people with different sexual orientations such as homosexuals and bisexuals often face the same undermining of their human rights whereby they are given no avenues through which they can secure political representation except in progressive constitutions such as that of South Africa.

In a more interesting paradox, countries believed to be more democratic are also said to be the most unequal. For example, South Africa, Namibia and Botswana are three of the continent's most secure democracies but on the other hand featuring the highest levels of inequality in the world in terms of wealth distribution.⁶⁴ In a well-defined democratic multiparty system, political entities engender critical components that create networks to delegate political accountability. They connect both the citizens and the state by representing their concerns and aspirations and translating them into relevant policy agenda on behalf of society in its entirety.⁶⁵

2.2 Internal Organization of Political Parties in Africa

In a 2007 report by International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), most African political party structures consist of a ward/ polling place; the electoral district/

⁶⁴ Cheeseman (2017), Re-evaluating multiparty politics in Africa

⁶⁵ Burnell (2004), Building Better Democracies: Why political parties matter

constituency; the district/ provincial office; and the national office/ party headquarters.⁶⁶ IDEA further established that out of the 200 African political parties investigated, they had all adopted a centralized party structure where the all-party decisions, both major and minor, were done at the national office with a majority having no offices at the ward level and the rest lacking offices at the constituency level. Notably, these structures were seen to emerge a few months or weeks in order to conduct the elections.

A lack of party structures both at the local and district level speak volumes on the shattered nature of politics in the party setup, the extensive gaps between the party leaders and supporters and the elite-dominated nature of African democracy. Further, organs at the central office prevail over the lower ones by either controlling the budgetary allocations or dominating over the choice of candidates to be nominated in the national polls. Thus, the central office makes unilateral decisions on rewarding skilled political individuals by giving them an opportunity to give service at the national level.

Most African political parties are founded under their respective Constitutions and political party acts;⁶⁷ in Uganda, the Constitution deals with the preservation and boosting of basic human rights and the right for political association and organization. The internal organization of parties is held on democratic principles with the party itself expected to demonstrate a national character. Therefore, membership should not be in the basis of ethnicity, religion or gender.⁶⁸ South African Constitution of 2013 on the other hand has made a provision for a multi-party

⁶⁶ IDEA (2007), *Political Parties in Africa: Challenges for Sustained Multiparty Democracy*

⁶⁷ Wulf (2017), *Legal Framework for Political Parties in selected Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa*

⁶⁸ Republic of Uganda (2006), *Report on the 2005/2006 General Elections by the Electoral Commission*

system with the basic freedom of political association being guaranteed. This includes the right to create or join a political party, engage in its affairs and to be involved in election campaigns.⁶⁹

The Namibian Constitution of 2014 contains the basic right to form political parties or join them, nominate candidates expected to participate in elections and to use its funds extensively for the expenses of the candidate in election campaigns. Propagation of messages is by non-violent means and no restrictions are put for membership on the basis of race, ethnicity, gender, religion or social status.⁷⁰ The Zimbabwean Constitution of 2013 expressly affirms a multi-party system with the right to form or join a party as well as the right to participate in election campaigns in a peaceful manner. There are no regulations regarding the necessity or process of registration.⁷¹

The Congolese Constitution of 2005 contains the declaration in the belief of pluralism of political parties as well as the right to form or join political party. Moreover, it guarantees the freedom of political parties to operate within the limits of the legal order and to respect public order and morals.⁷²

The Senegalese Constitution of 2001 addresses the issue of political parties. Parties contribute to the legal right to vote as provided for in the Constitution. They support the education of citizens and promote the participation in national life and governance. Therefore, parties as well as coalitions should hold the Constitution, National Sovereignty and State's democracy in high esteem. Moreover, it is forbidden to identify with a certain race, ethnic group, gender, religion, sect, language or territory.⁷³

⁶⁹ The South African Constitution (1997), Last amended in 2014

⁷⁰ Government Gazette of the Republic of Namibia (2015), Regulations relating to registration of voters, political parties or organizations

⁷¹ Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No. 20) Act, 2013; last amended, 2017.

⁷² Constitution de la République Démocratique du Congo (2005); last amended in 2011

⁷³ Hartmann (2010), 'Senegal's party system: the limits of formal regulation', Democratization

Despite the commonly held view that the literature on political parties in Africa are at best placed at infancy, scholars have been able to mine information on the nature and durability of these institutions in the Continent and whether such institutions can withstand the excesses of the executive under an autocrat. This is because executive manipulations, informed by salience of corrupt personal networks and ethnic politics, often lead to formal institutions clashing with informal institutions at the detriment of the former.⁷⁴ Ethnicity, patronage and traditional authority give rise to informal institutions which in turn define political character and behavior.

This is in spite of a bad reputation common among political entities where the ruling elite exercises power against the opposition by misuse of security forces and creating a conterminous border between their political party and the instruments of state. Uses and abuses of institutions of state to perform a role other than what the law, the norm and tradition provide can create a feature that soon gets a life of its own.

Despite the picture painted in early literature, the reality check has placed the continent on focus as political institutions such as parties, parliaments and election bodies were soon rendered irrelevant after independence. The coalitions that had hitherto espoused nationalism to defeat the colonial rule fell apart due to disagreements over national policy direction, personality clashes or power arrangements and associated resources.⁷⁵ Subsequently, leaders were able to consolidate power in the intervening period by downgrading all the instruments of state for purposes of centralizing authority. The security forces were now made a tool for oppression and coercion to maintain ostensibly a stable civilian rule in Kenya, Zambia, Tanzania and Senegal.

⁷⁴ Chabal and Daloz (1999), *Africa Works: The Political Instrumentalization of Disorder*

⁷⁵ Cheeseman (2018), *Institutions and Democracy in Africa*

2.3 Role of Political Parties in Africa

Political parties help promote democratic governance by bringing people together to achieve control of the government. This is attained through nomination followed by election of candidates for public office. The aim is to use legislative and program initiatives to achieve their goals while at the same time establishing policies that favor both the party interests and those of their supporters.⁷⁶ Therefore, the main feature that comes out in understanding political parties is the emphasis on participation in elections so as to gain public offices.⁷⁷

Political parties are seen as vehicles that unify and stabilize the political process hence strengthening national integration. This is by bringing together concerns and interests from different people through enlarging the range of interests they represent, thus, providing a safety valve to the various interest groups. In addition, they are looked upon to inculcate national values in place of communal or parochial values, giving them a national character rather than a selfish one. An example is the TANU party, a precursor of CCM in Tanzania, that gained success while institutionalizing upcoming cultural values within the rural communities despite existence of few cases where family and community ties offered a beginning of organized activity among the peasants. The nature of integration however is questionable as new parties in most African states arise from ethnic affiliations.⁷⁸

Participation and inclusion is a form of democracy that highlights the importance of citizens' involvement in decision making with regard to party operations and its direction in processes that include formulation of party policies, recruitment and selection of party leaders and development

⁷⁶ CliffsNotes (2016), The Functions of Political Parties

⁷⁷ Hofmeister & Grabow (2011), Political Parties: Functions and Organization in Democratic Societies

⁷⁸ Jonjo (2013), Assessing the Role of Political Parties in Democratization in Kenya

of their roles within the party itself.⁷⁹ Considering the high stakes in selecting leaders, parties are faced with questions such as the eligibility of candidates in regard to their qualifications and limitations, a free and fair selection process, socialization of political activists and office holders, dealing with party disputes and integration of citizens into the existing political system.⁸⁰

In majority of African states, the election system involves either a presidential or parliamentary system where a party leader's selection places him/ her as the presidential candidate representing that party, should it choose to field a candidate during presidential elections. In some instances, heavy influence and enormous power is held by a party leader or his cronies, collaborators or associates, who influence the direction of party policies, programmes and selection of other leaders and candidates, creating a framework of oligarchy rather than democracy.

However, in other cases, parties appoint leaders through a delegate's conference which is a forum that brings together representatives from the grassroot levels. From a majority of party rules, these delegates are elected at all levels of party representation and should comprise, among others, women, the youth and the marginalized groups. This conference is therefore the highest decision-making organ of the party and all-party members are bound by its decisions.⁸¹

Some parties in Africa have therefore arguably managed to transcend the grip of the big man to earn a new lease of life, grow and develop. Party leaders on the other hand may promote institutional reforms to avoid collective tragedy. In addition, leaders interested in reform must incorporate motivation and opportunity. Finally, it is useful to note that formal institutions derive their strength and vigor from informal ones when shaped by intra-elite norms.⁸²

⁷⁹ Wanjohi, (2005), *State of Political Parties in Kenya and the Transition to Democracy*

⁸⁰ Masime and Oesterdiekhoff (2010), *Institutionalizing political parties in Kenya*

⁸¹ Oloo, A. G. (2007). *The Contemporary Opposition in Kenya: Between Internal Traits and State Manipulation*

⁸² Cheeseman (2015) *Democracy in Africa: Successes, Failures, and the Struggle for Political Reform*

The case in point is Namibia where one of its succession, candidate selection and disciplinary processes, SWAPO, indeed showed that party machines can push back against the clientelistic modalities so characteristic in many parts of the continent. In overcoming a personality cult which has been repeated elsewhere in the continent, SWAPO was able to mirror what has been done in Tanzania through CCM dominance of politics in the absence of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, the founding leader. In Ethiopia, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) was able to live beyond the demise of Meles Zenawi to go ahead and deliver a decisive victory three years after his death. Ghana had similar experience where the founder of National Democratic Congress (NDC), President Jerry Rawlings, failed to secure the nomination of his wife as a party presidential candidate.

2.4 Challenges of Democratic Governance in Africa

Statistical data set provides results out of 59 polls in 18 countries which held 3 consecutive pluralistic elections by the end of 2002. The results displayed a range of party dominance from single party presence to one major entity in the midst of small but highly volatile outfits.⁸³ Others aver that large parties in Africa can be traced to ethnic coalition arrived at by operatives who design an outfit to outwit their rivals and clinch power.⁸⁴ Those who believe in institutions' capacity to succeed, posit that use of state resources creates a network crafted on better outreach and maximum exploitation of the incumbency, building organizational web throughout the land.⁸⁵ Where leaders ran into deficit of support base, lacked tact or resources diminished, instability set in followed by widespread conflicts as was experienced in Nigeria in 1967-1970 and the Congo crises that erupted a few days upon gaining her independence in 1960. It explains

⁸³ Bogaards (2008), *Dominant Party Systems and Electoral Volatility in Africa: A Comment on Mozaffar and Scarrit*

⁸⁴ Erdmann and Basedau (2007), *Problems of categorizing and Explaining Party Systems in Africa*

⁸⁵ Randall and Svasand (2002), *Political Parties and Democratic Consolidation in Africa*

why two out of three Sub-Saharan states, by the 80s, had in one way or another experienced some form of military rule.

Presidential term limits, regular elections, existence of political structures and smooth power transfers have given credence to emerging democratic institutions, traditions and practice that make political parties matter in the African context. It is instructive to note that where presidents set a pace to respect term limits, their successors have followed suit. The converse is also true where the executives have failed to respect this norm, 16 out of 20 of those who succeed them have stuck to the old style of refusing to relinquish power. Nigeria, for example, experienced an interesting different set of events where the highly respected President Olesgun Obasanjo, attempted to remain at the helm by pushing for a third term only to meet his waterloo in the hands of a united opposition, civil society groups and even a section of his party members of Parliament.⁸⁶

The highly centralized political parties such as The Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) in Tanzania experienced less inclusivity in the leadership selection processes where the Central Committee controlled the process of nominating and recommending members of the party for various positions such as the chairperson and his deputy; the president; Members of Parliament and House of Representatives. In The National Resistance Movement (NRM) in Uganda, before the referendum in 2005 the National Executive Council undertook nomination exercise for various top positions in the party to include the president, chairperson, vice chair, secretary general together with their deputies and the party treasurer. The national conference would then endorse the appointees with no further alterations. The absence of inclusivity and democracy in the

⁸⁶ Posner and Young (2007), *The Institutionalization of Political Power in Africa*

selection processes as well as lack of defined structures required for an independent dispute resolution process often resulted in party disunity and lack of cohesion among the members.

In the Uganda case, President Milton Obote held his status as the party leader throughout his lifetime till his demise while in exile in 2005. Thereafter, party leadership was taken over by his wife Miria Obote, whose election sparked up allegations of nepotism, gerontocracy and dynastic tendencies within the party. Party members feared that the son of Obote, an MP and member of the central committee, Jimmy Akena, who was believed to be inexperienced, was being groomed to undertake the ropes of leadership. The ploy was to keep his mother in power while giving the son ample time to learn the tricks of power before ascending to leadership and fulfilling what everyone believed to be true; handing down of power from father, to wife to son.⁸⁷

None of the political players seem keen on acquiring new talent, to imbibe values such as integrity and high moral probity into the party, but instead engage on short term defensive politics to retain power, if in government, or discredit rivals, fan tribal animosity or accuse judiciary of being a tool at the disposal of the executive. That is even when a definite will of the people has been expressed in favor of the latter. African parties are the weakest link that broke the chain of democratic journey.⁸⁸

Parties due to the fact that they rely for operations on the fortunes of the leader or a cabal of opportunists closer to the power that be, lack the character and capacity to spearhead an independent succession plan where the will of the president, though respected, is not allowed to override the future of the party. That was not the case in Kenya, Senegal, Zambia and Lesotho

⁸⁷ Maiyo (2008), Political Parties and Intra-Party Democracy in East Africa

⁸⁸ Maiyo (2008), Political Parties and Intra-Party Democracy in East Africa

where those in leadership failed to read the signs of the time thus occasioning a miscarriage of '*a party beyond personality*'.⁸⁹

While a number of scholars have emphasized the declining capacity of formal institutions and presence of dominant theoretical paradigm of the 1980s often referred to as neo-patrimonialism; understood to mean traditional forms of authority taking over the position of modern state as we know it, other factors need closer attention to discern the dynamics of politics every now and then. Neo-patrimonial conceptualization of African states that pervaded the political landscape during this period as posited by a number of scholars suffers some setback today since many countries have witnessed an interaction between traditional forms of authority with modern political structures not resulting in formal rules being washed away. Instead, pockets of restraint in behavior akin to the intent of the rules persist.⁹⁰

Formal institutions have not only shaped but also strengthened informal institutions as they co-exist. In fact, they produce a product more organic and appropriate to organizational set up. There is also evidence that decision making by the leaders is shaped by formal institutions before and after despite the varying strengths of these institutions.⁹¹ The challenge here is that there are many schools of thought which offer varying explanation on the nexus between political party health and relative development of democratic governance in Africa.

2.5 Democratic Governance Benchmark: Mauritius and South Africa

The benchmark was conducted based on Economist Intelligence Unit's index of democratic governance, on a 0 to 10 scale, which is based on the ratings for 60 indicators, grouped into five

⁸⁹ Cooper (2015), Dominant Party Cohesion in Comparative perspective: Evidence From South Africa and Namibia

⁹⁰ Erdmann and Engel (2007), Neopatrimonialism Reconsidered: Critical Review and elaboration of an elusive concept

⁹¹ Cheeseman (2018), Institutions and Democracy in Africa

categories: electoral process and pluralism; civil liberties; the functioning of government; political participation; and political culture. Each category has a rating on a 0 to 10 scale, and the overall Index is the simple average of the five category indexes. Two countries were established as the most progressive on democratic governance in Africa: Mauritius with a score of 8.22 and South Africa with a score of 7.24.⁹²

Mauritius has maintained a track record in democratic governance for the last 26 years between 1992 and 2018. However, South Africa since the end of apartheid in 1994, has experienced problems in democratic governance that include *inter alia*, lack of respect for basic civil liberties, underdeveloped political culture, low levels of political participation and undermining of state institutions by the party to protect corrupt individuals among its ranks.⁹³

⁹² Doorenspleet and Nijzink (2017), Do Party Systems Matter for Democracy in Africa

⁹³ Aron, Kahn and Kingdon (2009), South African Economic Policy under Democracy

CHAPTER 3

PERFORMANCE AND CHALLENGES OF STRUCTURES AND FRAMEWORKS IN KENYA

3.1 Structure of Political Parties in Kenya

The structure of Political Parties looks at the way parties are internally organized, managed and governed. The focus therefore is the degree of democracy at all the levels of governance. Legal framework on the other hand refers to legislation that is created to manage activities within political parties and interaction with other entities, usually pegged on the constitutions of states and party laws such as Political Parties Act.⁹⁴ The legal framework thus gives parties a legal personality. Internal structures and frameworks therefore provide a basis for internal democracy by ensuring that there exist systems that guarantee accountability of party leadership, procedures for consultation with party members and supporters, equal representation of gender, minority groups and persons with disabilities, local and regional presence and transparent candidate recruitment and selection. Thus, internal functioning of political parties determines parliamentary representation of citizens' needs, demands and interests.⁹⁵

Lack of institutionalization therefore results from; absence of disciplined party membership that leads to party hopping and lack of party funds whereby major finances are provided by a few wealthy individuals who thereafter single handedly control the affairs of the party as was the case of Raila Odinga's takeover of NDP and Simon Nyachae's takeover of FORD People. Other causes include; personalization of political parties by an individual leaving out ordinary citizens

⁹⁴ Masime and Oesterdiekhoff (2010), Institutionalizing political parties in Kenya

⁹⁵ *Regional Meeting on Political Parties and Internal Party Democracy in ECOWAS Member States*, (Final Communiqué, Abidjan, Republic of Cote D'Ivoire, July 2010)

in decision making, lack of a positive party culture and ethnic divisions.⁹⁶ Most parties do not have party structures and offices outside the major urban centers. Others are regional parties with no national outlook required for state governance, for example NDP was said to be Luo, FORD-K Bukusu while DP was Kikuyu. These parties in 1992 and 1997 elections got significant votes only from their regional and ethnic strongholds with a little exception of FORD-Kenya which in 1992 managed at least one Member of Parliament from each of the eight provinces.

Lack of democracy within parties can therefore be attributed to; oligarchy allowing concentration of power in the hands of a few individuals resulting in unchallenged decision making of party affairs; absence of openness and transparency in the conduct of party operations leading to internal wrangles; party nominations and elections characterized by confusion, intimidation, rigging and violence; interference of party nominations by leaders where either losers are declared winners, or popular candidates ignored and direct nominations are doled out by party leadership; and party structures and lines of command that are unclear or inefficient. A democracy lacking functioning political parties is akin to an engine where moving parts have been gouged out.⁹⁷

Despite the existence of the institutional setup to define the organization, management and operation of political parties in order to enhance democratic governance in Kenya, internal party democracy in terms of the selection of candidates, leadership contests, regular membership conventions and internal rules to discipline the party leadership and hold it accountable to party members is in short supply in all the major political parties. Invariably, groups of core committee members decide party affairs and policy.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Oloo(2007), *The Contemporary Opposition in Kenya: Between Internal Traits and State Manipulation*

⁹⁷ Oloo (2007), *The Contemporary Opposition in Kenya*

⁹⁸ IDEA (2007), *Political Parties in Africa*

3.2 Legal Framework

According to The Kenyan Constitution (2010), political parties must be democratically organized and should promote and respect the goals and fundamental principles of the constitution and rule of law. Furthermore, their objectives should not be rooted in racism, religion, ethnicity, sexual discrimination or prejudice. Accordingly, amongst other things, the ethnic and regional diversity must be mirrored and certain representations of interests as well as gender balance must be taken into account. Thus, recruitment involves at least 1000 members distributed in any twenty-four of the forty-seven counties of Kenya. Moreover, the party constitution and the party rules must ensure that not more than two-thirds of the membership of the various organs or committees belongs to the same gender. Parties have both the right and privilege to participate in free and public assembly in order to present political programmes and to recruit members. The provision of state security during such activities is a matter of right. Furthermore, all political parties should have equal access to media coverage.⁹⁹

In Kenya, there are a number of institutions that work in tandem to complete the critical role of party discipline and dispute resolution mechanism as a way of enhancing democratic governance; a basic ingredient that is an imperative for orderly conduct of party affairs. Section 34 of the Political Party Act stipulates the functions of the registrar of political parties as; to register, regulate, monitor, investigate and supervise political parties, ensuring publication of audited annual accounts, verifying and making publicly available the list of members, maintaining a register of political parties and their symbols and ensuring that no person is a member of more than one party.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ The Constitution of Kenya (2010), Political Parties Last amended through the Amendment Act of 16/01/2017

¹⁰⁰ Masime and Oesterdiekhoff (2010), Institutionalizing political parties in Kenya

The Internal Political Party Dispute Tribunal deals with all matters of dispute resolution and discipline within the party structure and this is in accordance with the party's constitution and relevant rules of procedure. It reports to the relevant party organ that appointed it or according to specific terms of reference. This assists ventilate a number of issues within the party machinery rather than opening up to third parties where such matters may be taken out of context by entities who know little about the party. When matters are not resolved to the satisfaction of any member, the issues are escalated to the office of Political Party Dispute Tribunal (PPDT) as a neutral arbiter. The Political Party Dispute Tribunal was initially set up under the provisions of section 5 of the Political Parties Act No.10 of 2007. The tribunal has been hearing and determining political parties' disputes since its inception. The Political Parties Act 2011 placed the tribunal in the judiciary, which has provided staff to support its operations and is currently implementing 2013-2018 Strategic plan that focuses on creating independent electoral courts that will deal with arbitration of disputes arising from political processes.¹⁰¹

According to section 40 of the Act, 2011 the mandate of PPDT is to determine disputes between members of a political party, members of different parties, an independent candidate and a political party, coalition partners and appeals of the Registrar under this Act. Under section 40 (2) of the Act, a party cannot invoke the jurisdiction of the tribunal unless they can demonstrate that they have exhausted all internal dispute resolution mechanisms of the party. This was meant to strengthen and encourage political parties to resolve disputes using internal mechanisms as enshrined in their constitutions. The law provides for an appeal of PPDT decisions to the High Court or Court of Appeal.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Republic of Kenya (2016), The Political Parties (Amendment) Act

¹⁰² Republic of Kenya (2016), The Political Parties (Amendment) Act

The Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) in Kenya is charged with the responsibility of taking over the management of elections of candidates presented by various political parties or independent candidates, and announcement of the final results in each category. It also determines electoral boundaries, registration of voters and management of voter registers. The judiciary thereafter plays a key role in resolving political disputes that may arise from the election process. The 2010 constitution gave the judiciary legal independence, enabling it shield itself from politicization of the institution. This was very evident in the court ruling which annulled the presidential election results on the 1st of September 2017 following that year's general election.¹⁰³

3.3 Challenges facing Democratic Governance in Kenya

One of the major challenges arises when people engage in party hopping leading to a lack of committed membership and leaving parties with supporters rather than members. It is therefore the onus of parties to put an effort in recruitment, inspiration and retention so as to create adequate human capital. According to the amended Political Parties Act of 2015, parties can address this by moving beyond their immediate strongholds to attract members from the rest of the country. Another encumbrance facing parties is the financial challenge that hinders most parties from creating impact at the grassroots following lack of offices, personnel, equipment and stationery necessary for operations. Despite an attempt to standardize internal structures, political parties in Kenya still restrict their activities to the national office, especially in the period between elections. In order for parties to involve their supporters, while focusing on achievement

¹⁰³ The Constitution of Kenya (2010), Political Parties Last amended through the Amendment Act of 16/01/2017

of their goals, they should work on building local offices as this ensures direct citizen mobilization, conduct of rallies, socialization, education and recruitment processes.¹⁰⁴

In theory, party membership structures in Kenya are drawn parallel to the electoral structure. Political party structures consist of a number of layers starting at the polling station, ward, constituency, County and ending up at the national level. The irony is that even the strongest of them all, with widespread national appeal and membership, does not have many offices populated creating pervasive conflict-prone system. Coupled with lack of party culture, political patronage, clientelism, ethnicity and low political tolerance, the party system becomes a self-help haven where the most opportunistic individuals thrive. Genuine members are left at the mercy of the elite that seeks attention from party top brass to gain favors otherwise meant for loyal and diligent members of the party.¹⁰⁵

Beyond the political parties lies the main obstacle of democratic governance; the inability of institutions that take up the product of party nominations and its inherent mess to manage the process of elections in a way that justice will not only be done but be seen to be done. The 2013 elections were preceded by high voltage campaign exercise that divided the country into two major blocks; the Jubilee and a coalition of parties led by the ODM. These campaigns had two main factors; the digital generation versus the old that was quickly turned into a referendum against Hague since the two Jubilee leading contenders had been indicted by International Criminal Court (ICC) on crimes against humanity. The 2013 election results were pronounced in favor of Jubilee under controversial circumstances as to whether the winner had garnered the constitutional threshold of 50% plus one vote or not! The Supreme Court however upheld the IEBC verdict. The suspicion and confrontation that ensued questioned the independence of IEBC

¹⁰⁴ Masime and Oesterdiekhoff (2010), Institutionalizing political parties in Kenya

¹⁰⁵ IDEA (2007), Political Parties in Africa

and, to a certain extent, the Supreme Court's role as an arbiter precipitated a number of violent demonstrations. The demonstrations were forestalled by consultations which hammered a deal between the government side and the opposition resulting in the removal of the IEBC chairman and his commissioners. That did not fully clear the atmosphere of suspicion among the protagonists. A situation that was later ignited and further exacerbated by the shocking torture and assassination of the IEBC's acting ICT director, Chris Msando, on the eve of the 2017 general elections. This was followed by widespread human rights violations as security forces cracked down on opposition protesters before and after the elections.¹⁰⁶

The annulment of the presidential results on the 1st of September 2017 did not assuage the public pain that had now engulfed the entire nation. The opposition boycott of repeat presidential election that took place on the 26th October that year deepened the hostilities. The country was further thrown into immense confusion and uncertainty when, Raila Odinga, the leader of NASA took an oath as the 'People's President' in a situation that was tottering on a breach of the constitution. A glimmer of hope, however, presented itself when the president of the republic struck an understanding with the 'people's president' in what has been commonly referred to as "the handshake".¹⁰⁷ This is a clear demonstration that formal and informal institutions work in tandem and are at times complementary to each other if not symbiotic.¹⁰⁸

3.4 Intervention

Following the messy 2007 elections, reforms were carried out on various electoral management institutions. This began with the establishment of the Political Parties Act 2011, whose mandate was to manage and ensure proper organization of political parties through fair, transparent and

¹⁰⁶ Mohamed (2017), Uhuru Kenyatta wins controversial Kenyan poll rerun

¹⁰⁷ Wanga (2018), The golden handshake that calmed political storm in Kenya

¹⁰⁸ Cheeseman (2018), Institutions and Democracy in Africa

democratic recruitment procedures as well as ensuring the existence of dispute handling mechanisms meant to replace nomination disputes. This was followed by the formation of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) as a replacement of the discredited Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK).¹⁰⁹ However, even with the above reforms, the 2013 and 2017 party nomination exercises were marred by chaos and violence in many parts of the country. This resulted from failure to properly prepare and conduct the nomination exercise, ethnicity and preferential treatment by top party leadership of some candidates.¹¹⁰

However, with regard to power sharing, Kenya fares much better than most. Although the 2010 constitution did not institutionalize power sharing within the executive, it did introduce a system of devolution that represents a federal framework. At the same time, the country now boasts of having one of the continent's most progressive constitutions with a bill of rights and a Supreme Court that is capable of acting independently of the executive. These are positive developments that highlight the potential for democratic consolidation. However, they will count for little if they are undermined by corruption, political attacks, and electoral manipulation.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Chege (2007), Political Parties in East Africa: Diversity in Political Party Systems

¹¹⁰ Adhiambo (2017), People who defined 2017 elections in Kenya

¹¹¹ Cheeseman (2017), Re-evaluating multiparty politics in Africa

CHAPTER 4

FACTORS THAT PROMOTE THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN ENHANCING DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

4.1 Multipartism in Kenya

The period of 1960-1963 was characterized by the Lancaster house conferences that created a path for Kenya's independence. KANU and KADU emerged with a purpose of representing the independence agenda as well as a vehicle for membership into the Legislative Council. However, the two-party state dissolved in 1964 when KADU joined KANU.¹¹² The government of Jomo Kenyatta failed to seriously recognize the opposition movement and at the same time, the opposition failed to provide checks and balance on the government. Alternatively, politics was dominated by rivalries, cronyism, ethnicity and regional loyalties

Through the years, there arose rivalry between the then Kenya's Vice President Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and Jomo Kenyatta leading to the formation of the Kenya Peoples Union (KPU) in 1966 by Oginga. This was to be met with amendments to the constitution requiring KPU members to seek re-election and a further frustration of facing intimidation by Kenyatta's government which relied heavily on propaganda and use of state machinery. This led to a resultant loss of KPU in the mini elections, apart from its Nyanza stronghold, and the subsequent detention of its leaders in 1969 making Kenya remain a *de facto* one-party state.¹¹³

The pre-independence introduction of the provincial administration in Kenya was to enable the colonial governor to reach out and shape development in all parts of the country and entrench colonial regime. However, the first president of independent Kenya, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta

¹¹² Owuoché and Jonyo (2002), Political Parties and Civil Society in Governance and Development,

¹¹³ Oloo(2007), The Contemporary Opposition in Kenya: Between Internal Traits and State Manipulation

ironically used it where the ruling party lacked presence. This became a useful tool to limit activities and curtail the penetration of the opposition when Oginga Odinga formed the Kenya People's Union. During the second election after independence that was between KANU and KPU, dubbed the little general election, there was systematic state sponsored intimidation and massive electoral manipulation that led to the latter gunning only 7 out of 29 parliamentary seats. This was followed by a semblance of multipartism with KPU playing the opposition card. However, this was short lived as the leaders faced continuous harassment by KANU¹¹⁴

The second President, Daniel Arap Moi, though started as a populist, soon came to rely on the use of Provincial Administration when his popularity started waning. Combined with the brutal force of the security forces; the police and investigative agencies, he laid the foundation of a one-party system till introduction of pluralism in 1990s. In fact, President Moi brought no much change to the status quo save for 1982 constitution amendment that saw the country turn itself to a *de jure* one party state.¹¹⁵

The rise of the second phase of multipartism in Kenya faced a myriad of challenges that include: dominance by the ruling party, KANU, which reluctantly conceded but proceeded to obstruct, weaken, harass and divide the opposition parties; a weak financial base that limited the capacity of opposition parties whereas the ruling party enjoyed unlimited access to state resources; and internal structural weakness that led to lack of internal democracy within the new parties.

In 1990 there was generally a demand for multipartism in Africa following a new wave of democratization. In Kenya, this had arisen from pressure by the western donors who had taken advantage of the collapse of the Soviet Union to set strict conditions on democratic reforms and a

¹¹⁴ Cheeseman (2018), Institutions and Democracy in Africa

¹¹⁵ Institute for Education and Democracy (1998), Political Parties Management and Organization in Kenya

push by the civil society, lawyers and intellectuals. This culminated into the saba saba riots forcing the Moi government to allow constitution amendment and the formation of more parties. The regime used an ingenious scheme to retain power by combining use of state machinery to woo or coerce the opponents, disruption of public rallies of the critics or outright use of violence to divide the opposition. President Moi, though, was also faced with another set of problems that included political atrophy as the independence party, KANU, was losing influential persons each day. The result forced Moi retain power with a paltry 36% of all the votes cast in 1992 general elections.

Notably, the political parties earlier formed between 1957 and 1962, KANU and KADU, had nationalism as the driving force. However, those formed after 1990 multi-party reforms were driven by social and political forces all united to remove KANU from power.¹¹⁶ Thus, they lacked cogent ideology, which unfortunately is the case till now. The quality of opposition parties therefore cannot be judged on ideological or policy differences, rather, from their social, ethnic, organizational and institutional structures.

KANU administration, despite the changes, still blatantly denied opposition parties access to state owned media and placed restriction to open rallies. During the 1992 and 1997 elections, KANU instigated ethnic clashes in opposition strongholds to intimidate them. Such was the case in some parts of Coast and Rift Valley regions. It also fostered a well-planned policy of obstructive containment to restrict movement of opposition leaders and prevent them from accessing the very remote areas. Instead, these voters were bombarded with KANU propaganda. Following the 1992 elections, the ruling party, KANU began to tie development assistance to

¹¹⁶ Oloo(2007), *The Contemporary Opposition in Kenya: Between Internal Traits and State Manipulation*

communities that had voted for it. Opposition areas were deprived of any government support on any projects with the condition that their leaders switched allegiance to support KANU.¹¹⁷

In the year 2002, the opposition parties came together to form a pre-election coalition pact under one party banner; the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) with Mwai Kibaki being the flag bearer and consequently, the president.¹¹⁸ However, due to what was believed to be lack of consultation of coalition partners by President Kibaki when making various government appointments, cracks began to emerge resulting in the formation of several other parties. By 2007 elections, there were two major rival parties; ODM and PNU.

The ODM party was founded under general resentment towards President Kibaki for ostensibly failure to honor or respect the 2002 memorandum of understanding that had put him into power. He was further seen as a representation of the Kikuyu rather than a national figure. As a result, the 2007 elections led to the splitting of the nation along ethnic lines with the citizens either being affiliated to Kikuyu or Luo. Kibaki was then declared the winner under disputable circumstances as described by most independent observers, sparking the country into violence and killings. It was only after a peace accord, brokered by Kofi Annan that the two major parties in conflict entered a power sharing arrangement establishing what was known as Kenya's grand coalition government.¹¹⁹

4.2 Public participation

Political parties in Kenya have attempted to contribute to achievement of democratic governance in that they encourage party membership from different tribal backgrounds, thus catering for diverse cultures and beliefs. In addition, candidates that have been denied freedom from

¹¹⁷ Oloo(2007), The Contemporary Opposition in Kenya: Between Internal Traits and State Manipulation

¹¹⁸ Owuoché and Jonyo (2002), Political Parties and Civil Society in Governance and Development

¹¹⁹ Owuoché and Jonyo (2002), Political Parties and Civil Society

participating in party primaries, or those that have lost their seats are free to run as independent candidates and exercise their democratic rights as was the case in various party primaries during the general elections of 2017. Candidates who had lost in or avoided the primaries stood as independent candidates and secured 13 seats in a house of 290 members.¹²⁰ Presence of many political parties in Kenya provides a wide range for candidates to choose from during elections, thus allowing citizens to participate in the political process and overall upholding democratic governance. The caveat here is that parliament in the run up to 2017 elections kept changing nomination rules and procedures to the extent that one would easily be locked out of the process due to last minute confusion.

4.3 Mobilization

In Kenya, many a times the party in power, during the campaigns period, uses the resources of state such as government vehicles, civil servants and security agents to reach out to citizens and seek support for various positions with a view of challenging the opposition parties. While in this process, parties make promises to the electorate through party manifestos by appealing to different interests, cultures and tribal affiliations, such promises may be misunderstood causing a clash of values leading to severe consequences. An example is the 2007 campaigns where during the run-up to the elections, the idea on how decentralization of power would be carried out was viewed differently by the then major players; ODM and PNU. The former espoused for regional governments, Majimbo or Ugatuzi, as a vehicle that guaranteed equal distribution of national resources. The latter and a section of the locals on the other hand, saw ODM's plan as a plot to get rid of Kikuyu people that had settled and were living in Rift Valley or its surrounding.¹²¹ It is also important to note that access to the media plays a key role to political mobilization with

¹²⁰ Okwesh (2014), Role Of Political Parties In Kenya

¹²¹ Masime and Oesterdiekhoff (2010), Institutionalizing political parties in Kenya

different opinions on which media house supports which party. For example, Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) which is state owned, has often been accused of displaying biased coverage of campaigns in favor of the ruling party, with none or negative publicity to the opposition parties. A case in point is during the 2005 referendum where the government of the day extensively used KBC television and radio to popularize their support for the Wako Draft. Even independent media outfits have also been accused of biased coverage of sort.

4.4 Representation and Monitoring

In democratic states, one of the roles of political parties is to act on behalf of their supporters in different capacities and spheres such as in parliament, media, during campaigns and in any other forums. Representatives and leaders of various parties thus attempt to keep their campaign promises as a way of improving their chances of re-election. Thus, in looking at the processes of accountability and legitimacy, Kenyan parties fall short of democratic norms whereby the process of election is faulty, corrupt, full of rigging of votes and other forms of manipulations that render representation ineffective.¹²² Political parties are also seen as an alternative government where they put the government in power in check to ensure that the needs of the people are met. Thus, they monitor the activities of the government on behalf of the citizens and blow the whistle when need arises. Their representatives in parliament help make good laws when the existing ones run short.

4.5 Civic Education

Political parties, in addition, play a major role in civic education on issues facing the state such as corruption, democratic rights and public service delivery. This is followed by sensitizing

¹²² Masime and Oesterdiekhoff (2010), Institutionalizing political parties in Kenya

citizens on possible solutions through conducting and speaking in rallies as well as in other media platforms such as social media, print media and television shows.¹²³ In the Kenyan case, political parties lack seriousness in conducting civic education due to absence of programs covering principles of democratic governance. An appearance of seriousness normally emerges during the election season with parties holding rallies to talk about important issues when all they are doing is enticing electorates to vote for them. However, this void is lessened by the presence of civic education groups, NGOs, the media, and educational institutions who engage the public on political education among other issues. It is for the covering of this education gap that the Political Parties Act requires, among others, parties to offer political education as part of their programmes.

4.6 Recruitment

Party constitutions have laid out procedures for the recruitment process to ensure decentralization, openness and democracy. However, in practice, Kenyan parties have been reportedly centralized and generally undemocratic with the major ones such as ODM and Jubilee having considerable power to put in place their own candidates into favorable constituencies or in high-ranked positions where they can serve the leader's interests.

Kenya has promptly found herself at the center of wrangles resulting from lack or failure of proper democratic structures and processes necessary for a transparent leadership selection process. An example is the 2002 election where President Moi, the leader of KANU, appointed an inexperienced presidential candidate Uhuru Kenyatta, sparking uproar among the other probable leaders in the party, leading to their breaking away and aiding formation of the Rainbow coalition. However, President Daniel Arap Moi did not renege on his promise to hand

¹²³ Kubutha (2016), Five Key Roles of Political Parties in a Democracy, Go Lead Kenya

over power in 2002 when the opposition won against KANU's Uhuru Kenyatta. Similarly, the 2007 disagreement led to splitting and formation of at least four parties that would then participate in that year's elections.¹²⁴

In the current state of affairs, selection of candidates is one of the major processes where parties engage with their members and electorate. World over where democracy is practiced, use of secret ballots to select candidates is the most open and inclusive form of democracy. However, in a majority of African states, Kenya included, party primaries have been seen to be undemocratic and full of corruption, violence and outright rigging. The process is further tainted with administrative and logistical challenges that include shortage of election materials and stationary, untrained and inexperienced election officials and misleading reporting of results. The situation gets worse when major errors are made at the party headquarters such as issuing of double nomination certificates, selective direct nominations to preferred candidates and allegations of corruption, nepotism and cronyism leading to protests and defections by affected aspirants to rival political parties. That is why Party leaders in the run up to 2017 general elections were almost unanimous on blocking party hopping by aggrieved individuals who felt that the nomination exercise was anything but fair.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ Oloo (2007) *The Contemporary Opposition in Kenya: Between Internal Traits and State Manipulation*

¹²⁵ Masime and Oesterdiekhoff (2010), *Institutionalizing political parties in Kenya*

CHAPTER FIVE

PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Response Rate

In the study, 187 questionnaires were administered out of which 120 were properly filled and returned. This represents an overall response rate of 64.17% as shown in table 5.1. According to Mugenda and Mugenda¹²⁶ and Kothari¹²⁷ a response rate of above 50% is adequate for a descriptive study.

Table 5. 1: Response Rate

Respondents	Target sample	Actual respondents	Percentage
Party officials	114	70	61.4
Internal tribunals	18	12	66.7
Members of parliament	52	35	67.3
Key Informants	3	3	100
Total	187	120	64.17

From the results in Table 5.1, key informants had the highest return rate of 100%, followed by members of parliament at 67.3%, internal tribunals at 66.7% and party officials at 61.4%. This shows that the questionnaires and the responses were equally distributed.

5.2 Demographic Information

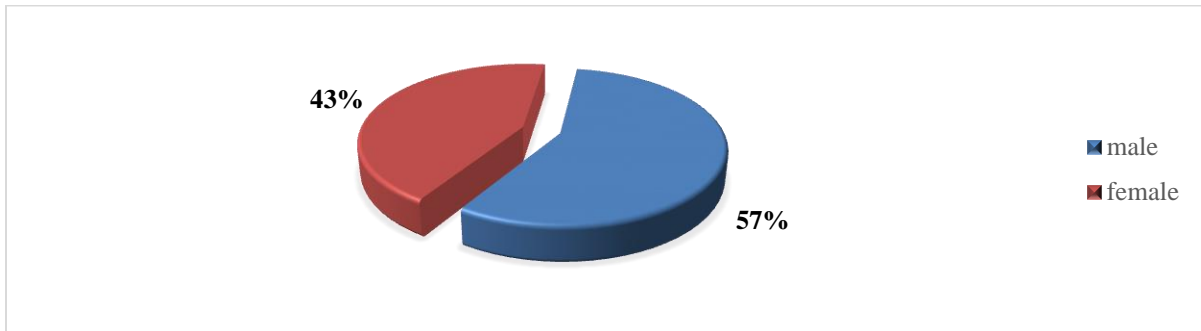
5.2.1 Gender of the Respondents

Majority of the respondents were male at 57% while 43% were female as shown in Figure 5.1, implying that there is gender balance, thus giving a balanced view on political party's role in democratic governance.

¹²⁶ Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), Research methods: Quantitative and qualitative Approaches

¹²⁷ Kothari (2006), Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques

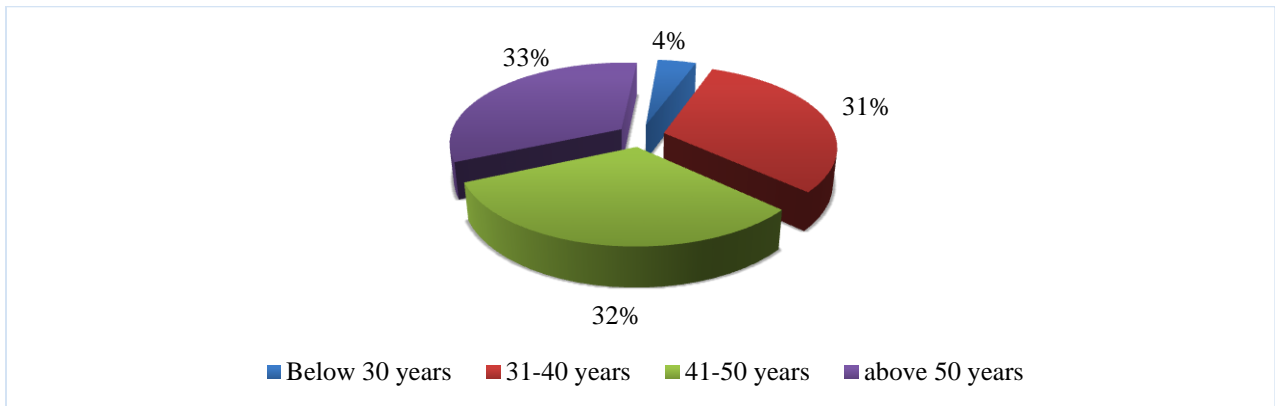
Figure 5. 1: Gender of the Respondents



5.2.2 Age of the Respondents

Majority of the respondents (33%) were above 50 years, 32% were aged between 41-50 years, 31% were between 31-40 years while 4% were below 30 years as shown in figure 5.2. This implies that the respondents come from different generations with diverse experiences thus, the responses represent widespread views.

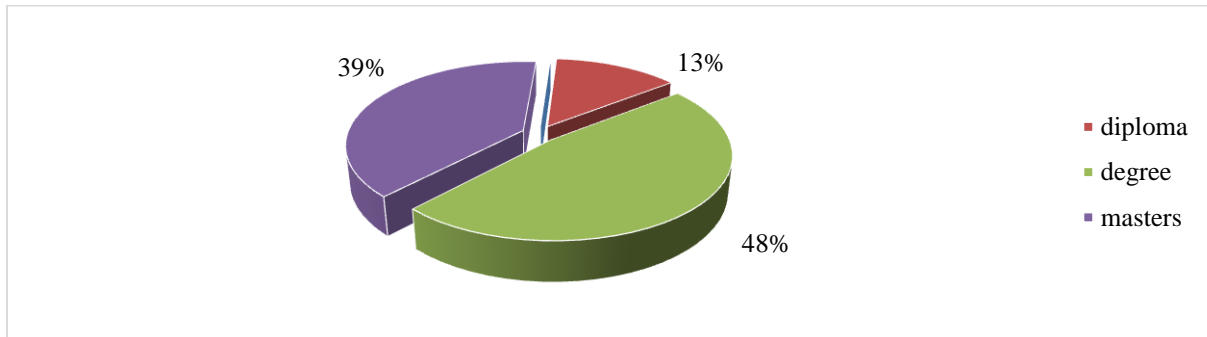
Figure 5. 2: Age of the Respondents



5.2.3 Education Level

Majority of the respondents (48%) had a bachelor's degree, 39% Master's degree with 13% having a diploma certificate. This implies that all respondents have basic analytic skills, therefore could analyze democracy and governance issues and relate them to the role of political parties.

Figure 5. 3: Education Level



5.3 Descriptive Statistics

This study used mean, percentages and standard deviation to summarize the findings. This was informed by 5-point likert scale used in the questionnaire as well as the study objectives.

5.3.1 Contribution of the Political Parties in Enhancing Democratic Governance

The first objective was to examine the contributions and challenges of political parties in enhancing democratic governance. This was achieved by asking the respondents questions relating to citizen involvement, nomination of party officials and government control.

5.3.1.1 Participation of Citizens

Table 5. 2 Citizen Involvement Results

	strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	strongly disagree	Mean
1. Recruitment and selection of party leaders	3.00	32.93	29.27	32.93	2.00	2.49
2. Nomination of candidates for elective positions	22.56	43.29	16.46	15.85	1.83	2.31
3. Formulation of party policies	8.54	18.29	25.00	22.56	25.61	3.38
4. Education on their democratic rights and	35.37	32.93	25.61	3.66	2.44	1.89
Aggregate						2.46

From the results, majority (35.9%) of the respondents agreed that parties involved citizens in the recruitment and selection of party leaders. However, at almost the same rate (34.93%), the respondents disagreed with the same statement. This was supported by the mean of 2.49 which

implied that the question response inclined to the neutral position (29.27). This study finding aligned well with previous literatures which asserted that political parties play a major role in ensuring that citizens are involved in various aspects of democracy within the political parties and in a wide range of public affairs. One of the major roles of political parties is citizen participation whereby voters are involved in voter education, signing of petitions as well as taking part in other party activities. However, one of the major hurdles facing citizen participation is the existence of powerful and influential party leaders who often unilaterally decide the direction of the party.

Further, the results revealed that majority (65.85%) of the respondents agreed that citizens are involved in the nomination of candidates for elective position. However, majority (51.17%) disagreed that citizens are involved in formulation of party policies. It was further revealed that majority (68.3%) agreed that citizens are educated on their democratic rights and public service, involvement. This is inconsistent with previous literature which purported that in some cases, citizen participation is usually rare and the public is represented through delegates who ensure total inclusivity. From a majority of party rules, these delegates are elected at all levels of party representation and should comprise women, the youth and the marginalized groups. They are therefore the highest decision making organ of the party and all party members are bound by its decisions.¹²⁸ However, in other cases, the party leader holds the power to influence who is to be nominated, hence excludes citizen from participating. For instance, the findings are consistent with Tanzanian multiparty state. The highly centralized political parties such as The Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) in Tanzania experienced less inclusivity in the leadership selection processes where the Central Committee controlled the process of nominating and recommending members

¹²⁸ Oloo, A. G. (2007). *The Contemporary Opposition in Kenya: Between Internal Traits and State Manipulation*

of the party for various positions. Further, the findings echoes the woes of National Resistance Movement (NRM) in Uganda, before the referendum in 2005 where the National Executive Council undertook nomination exercise for various top positions in the party including the president, chairperson, vice chair, secretary general together with their deputies and the party treasurer. The national conference would then endorse the appointees with no further alterations.

Findings indicate that the overall citizen inclusion is a mean of 2.46 which is just below an average of 2.5. This implied that most of the respondents agreed with the statements about citizen inclusion. The findings connect clearly with the liberalism theory which considers the rights of both the majority and minority, thus recognizing both dignity and worth of all citizens. The nature of involvement is either direct or through a voted representative. In direct involvement, citizens participate in public policy decisions directly whereas with representation, a team is elected in to stand on behalf of the citizens. Citizens therefore should be given clear information to enable them make informed choices.¹²⁹

5.3.1.2 Party Candidate Nomination

Table 5. 3: Party Candidate Nomination

	strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	strongly disagree	Mean
1. There is equality in regard to gender and ethnicity	26.83	39.02	3.66	29.27	1.22	2.39
2. Delegates from across the nation participate equally	20.73	30.49	24.39	18.9	5.49	1.63
3. Information is disseminated without bias	22.56	34.15	22.56	13.41	7.32	2.49
Aggregate						2.17

¹²⁹ Schlenker (2014), Theories of Democratic Government

From the above results, majority (65.85%) of the respondents indicated that there is equality in regard to gender and ethnicity. This is in line with a study by Maiyo who found that political parties in Kenya have attempted to contribute to achievement of democracy in that they encourage party membership from different tribal backgrounds, thus catering for diverse cultures and beliefs¹³⁰. Further the findings revealed that 51.22% of the respondents agreed to the statement that delegates from across the nation participate equally which reflects the notion that parties appoint leaders through a delegate's conference.

The results further revealed that majority (56.71%) of the respondents agreed to the statement that information is disseminated without bias. However, this differed slightly to the sentiments that Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) which is state owned, has often been accused of displaying biased coverage of campaigns to support the ruling party, with none or negative publicity of the opposition parties although this can be neutralized since the concern is on nominations within the party.

Findings indicate that the overall nomination of the party candidates is 2.17 which is just below an average of 2.5. This implied that most of the respondents agreed with the statements about nomination of party candidates. The results are consistent with other literatures on public or citizen participation. Political parties play a major role in ensuring that citizens are involved in democratic governance which entails various aspects of democracy within the political parties and in a wide range of public affairs. One of the major roles is citizen participation whereby voters are involved in voter education, signing of petitions as well as taking part in other party activities.¹³¹

¹³⁰ Maiyo (2008), Political Parties and Intra-Party Democracy in East Africa

¹³¹ Deth (2016), What is Political Participation, Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics

5.3.1.3 Government Check

Table 5. 4: Government Results

	strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	strongly disagree	Mean
1. My party keeps the government of the day in check	44.51	35.98	10.37	6.71	2.44	1.87
2. There is a system in place to raise alarm when democracy is not practiced both in government and within the party	26.22	26.83	20.73	26.22	0.00	2.47
3. Whistle blowers are protected from exposure	39.63	32.32	28.05	0.00	0.00	1.88
Aggregate						2.07

The results indicated that majority (80.49%) of the respondents agreed to the statement that their party kept the government of the day in check. The findings are supported by the statement that political parties are seen as an alternative government where they put the government of the day in check to ensure that the needs of the country are prioritized. Thus, they monitor the activities of the government on behalf of the citizens and blow the whistle when need arises. Their representatives in parliament help make good laws when the existing ones are producing negative effects.¹³² The results further indicated that majority (53.05%) of the respondent agreed that there is a system in place to raise alarm when democracy is not practiced both in government and within the party. This compares well with the South African democracy where the freedom of expression and the press are protected in the constitution and generally respected in practice. South Africa features a vibrant and often adversarial media landscape, including independent civic groups that help counter government attempts to encroach on freedom of expression. Nonetheless, in Kenya concerns about press freedom have grown in recent years amid increasing government pressure on both state-run and independent outlets. Further results revealed that majority (71.95%) of the respondents agreed that whistle blowers are protected from exposure.

¹³² Masime and Oesterdiekhoff (2010), Institutionalizing political parties in Kenya

This aligns well with the South African system where factional conflicts within the ANC* are increasingly aired in public by whistleblowers who are protected by other bodies. For example, several senior current and former ANC* members have called on Zuma to resign, including the ANC* chief whip in Parliament. Findings indicate that keeping government in check seems to be the biggest responsibility of the parties with a mean of 2.07 which is just below an average of 2.5. This implied that most of the respondents agree with the statements about keeping government in check.

5.3.1.4 What parties can do to contribute to democratic governance within the politics of the country

Respondents were further asked what they thought parties could do to contribute to democratic governance within the politics of the country. Responses were picked and presented in themes as shown below.

“Political parties should respect the law and not engage in corrupt practices or criminal and civil malpractices or offences. Their members should not destroy property as it has been frequently witnessed in the past.”

“Political parties should respect the rights of other parties by allowing them to hold meetings and public rallies in areas where they are not dominant. Bullying and fighting should be avoided during campaigns.”

“Political parties should tolerate the right of the members to dissent and respect other parties that disagree with them. Some of the arguments are merely on political fronts that aim to win the control of the state and not encourage development or support democratic governance in any way. Therefore, some of the motions can be disagreed with and

expunged from being promulgated. As thus, political parties should be tolerant of other party disagreements to promote democracy, peace and national development for the good of the country.”

“Political parties should strive to limit the power of the state. Democratic governance needs authoritative and well-functioning state but with some measure of control. Therefore, the obligation of the parties is to keep in check the moves of the state and restrain the power of state officials and political leaders which can lead to dictatorship.”

“Promote political participation. The parties can achieve this by educating citizens of their rights and obligations to the country. Since political leaders are influential, they should promote public peace, encourage voting, and allow other parties to campaign in their regions. In a bid to strengthen democratic governance, party leaders can aim at providing new forms of interest and solidarity that cut across old forms of tribal, linguistic, religious and other identity ties. This is so, since strong democracy cannot exist when the public is disintegrated on the lines of ethnicity, religion or any form of identity.”

These responses echo various notions in the previous literature and benchmarking. One of the most crucial issues in facilitating democratic governance is public participation. According to responses, respect, freedom of expression and promotion of party, individual and group rights remain to be the core areas of concern in enhancing democratic governance. In Mauritius, political parties have always been allowed to flourish and compete. This inclusivity of multipartism and public participation is believed by the respondents to be the main driver of full blown democratic governance. However, as stated in South African case, undermining the institutional and legal structures would lead to failure of democracy and crumble of multipartism

caused by formation of factions within the parties. Therefore, to avoid formation of factions, it is appropriate that nomination and recruitment of party leaders be inclusive of the citizens.

These responses are further supported by a study carried out in Nigeria to establish its political history since attaining independence where recruitment of political leadership was reviewed. The study further looked at failures and weaknesses of the entire process in order to give appropriate reforms and recommendations. Findings indicated that there remained internal wrangling among the major political parties on the recruitment process. There was lack of proper consolidation and stabilization of democracy thus, citizens could not enjoy effective representation, the electorate could not be properly organized or mobilized, and political participation would not be well-structured and enhanced. The researcher argued that political parties must begin with public awareness followed by adequate involvement to ensure that proper democracy was exercised.¹³³

5.3.2 Structure and Framework of Political Parties

The second objective was to analyze the performance and challenge of the structures and frameworks of political parties in enhancing democratic governance in Kenya. The responses were presented in a likert scale as shown in table 5.5.

¹³³ Ekundayo (2016), Political Parties, Party System and Leadership Recruitment in Nigeria Since Independence in 1960

Table 5. 5: Structure and Framework of Political Parties Results

	strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	strongly disagree	Mean
1. Existence of party constituency office with adequate personnel.	27.44	31.1	18.9	18.29	4.27	2.41
2. Involvement of personnel at the constituency office in decisions	31.71	39.63	18.29	9.15	1.22	2.09
3. Equality in regard to gender and ethnicity during nominations	37.8	29.27	24.39	4.88	3.66	2.07
4. Identifying and rewarding skilled political individuals	24.39	25	25	25.61	0.00	1.49
5. Absence of state interference in party activities	8.54	33.54	15.85	39.63	2.44	2.94
6. Presence state security during public assemblies	12.22	40.85	15.24	28.05	3.66	2.04
7. Adequate media coverage when required	25.61	17.68	18.9	12.8	25	2.94
Aggregate						2.28

According to the study findings, majority (58.54%) of the respondents agreed that there is a party office in their Constituency with adequate personnel to run party activities at that level. This is in line with the report by IDEA which concluded that most African political party structures consist of a ward/ polling place; the electoral district/ constituency; the district/ provincial office; and the national office/ party headquarters.¹³⁴ Further findings revealed that majority of the respondents (71.34%) agreed that personnel at the constituency office are involved in decisions regarding the running of the party such as budgets. However, this is at variance with the literature that supports that organs at the central office prevail over the lower ones by either controlling the budgetary allocations or dominating over the choice of candidates to be nominated in the national polls. A further 67.07% agreed that there is equality in regard to gender and ethnicity in selecting of the party officials while 49.39% agreed that there is a process of identifying and rewarding skilled political individuals. This is true since it is the onus of the party to identify the right talents to push their objectives and agendas and meeting the requirements of the law which stipulates that at least a third is populated by either gender and that national diversity is adhered to.

¹³⁴ IDEA (2007), Political Parties in Africa: Challenges for Sustained Multiparty Democracy

Further, 42.08% of the respondent agreed that parties can hold public assemblies freely without state interference. This echoes the fundamental basis of multipartism which asserts that political parties are founded under their respective Constitutions and political party acts;¹³⁵ hence should hold public assemblies freely without interference. The results also revealed that majority (42.08%) of the respondents agreed that parties received state security during public assemblies. In order for parties to involve their supporters, while focusing on achievement of their goals, the government should provide security as stipulated in the law.¹³⁶ A further 43.29% agreed that parties received adequate media coverage when required with 25% disagreeing with that statement as can be seen with KBC, a state owned corporation, which has often been accused of displaying biased coverage of campaigns to support the ruling party, with none or negative publicity of the opposition parties. A case in point is during the 2005 referendum where the government of the day extensively used KBC television and radio to popularize their support for the Wako Draft.

This is supported by the assertion in literature review that parties have both the right and privilege to participate in free and public assembly in order to present political programmes and to recruit members, as well as the provision of state security during such activities. Furthermore, all political parties have equal access to media coverage.¹³⁷ The aggregate mean of the statements was 2.28 just below 2.5 implying that most of the respondents agreed to the statements. These statistics therefore show that the current structure and framework supports democracy in the country.

¹³⁵ Wulf (2017), Legal Framework for Political Parties in selected Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa

¹³⁶ Masime and Oesterdiekhoff (2010), Institutionalizing political parties in Kenya

¹³⁷ The Constitution of Kenya (2010), Political Parties Last amended through the Amendment Act of 16/01/2017

5.3.2.1 What can the party management do to ensure all stakeholders are more involved in decision making regarding the running of the party

Respondents were then asked to give their opinions as to what they thought the party management could do to ensure all stakeholders were more involved in decision making regarding the running of the party. The responses were picked and presented in themes as shown below.

“The top party management should identify political talents who will help push for the party objectives, motions and democracy in the country.”

“Develop projects and plans where all stakeholders are expected to contribute to see them achieved. This will ensure that the party leaders work closely with the stakeholders to solve the problems that can arise along the way and create strong rapport within the party based on cooperation and support.”

“Ensure efficient and effective communication style; Different stakeholders require different vehicles of communication, thus, identifying the communication channel for each is crucial if the party is going to make significant steps in ensuring all stakeholders contribute to party decisions and objectives. For instance, in Jubilee party, stakeholders used text messages and emails, while top executives used phone calls.”

“Manage and solve conflicts justly; Managing disputes and interests in a fair manner will ensure that all the stakeholders contribute to the decision making and party development. National Super Alliance (NASA) coalition has been the epitome of self-interest in the recent past, however, to some extent the way the coalition partners have managed their

interest can be said to be fair although persistent disputes and differing utterances are making coalition hard to gel.”

“Party leaders should ensure that they do not burn bridges with their stakeholders such as party financiers. This is because such stakeholders may want the party to approach issues differently from the party interests. This may create unproductive feud between stakeholders and the party leadership.”

The responses echoes the institutional and legal frameworks as discussed in chapter three. The emphasis is on the institutional framework where majority of the respondents advocate for stakeholder and citizen involvement. A lack of party structures both at the local and district level speak volumes on the shattered nature of the politics in the party setup, the extensive gaps between the party leaders and supporters and the elite-dominated nature of African democracy which basically leads to formation of factions within the party or even party disintegration therefore undermining governance.

5.3.3 Multiparty System and Democratic Governance

Table 5. 6: Multiparty Results

	strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	strongly disagree	Mean
1. Presence of multipartism in country’s political system	29.88	40.24	12.8	3.05	14.02	2.31
2. All parties are given equal treatment in electoral processes	1.66	34.15	17.07	20.12	22.56	2.53
3. Peaceful transfer of power from the ruling party to the winning party	29.27	28.66	1.83	19.51	20.73	2.74
4. Interference by the ruling party over the other parties	10	30.49	9.76	34.51	15.24	2.25
5. Viewing of political parties as ethnic coalitions leading to ethnic violence	16.71	36.59	6.1	20.54	17.07	2.18
6. Equal opportunities given to all representatives during Parliamentary policy formulation	27.44	43.9	17.68	10.98	0	2.12
Aggregate						2.3

From the results, 70.12% of the respondents agreed that the country has embraced multipartism in its political system. This is true given the number of parties currently formed in Kenya. However, in previous election years, there seems to be two dominant parties which decide the presidency.¹³⁸ According to 42.68% of the respondents, not all parties are given equal treatment in electoral processes. This is true following the disputed elections in the years 2007, 2013 and 2017. There was a divided opinion on whether there has been peaceful transfer of power from the ruling party to the winning party with 59.73% agreeing and 20.73% disagreeing to the statement. Further, results indicated that the respondent remained neutral (44.51%) on the question: whether or not there has been some level of interference by the ruling party over the other parties. Additionally, majority (53.3%) of the respondents indicated that multipartism has been embraced but political parties have been generally viewed as ethnic coalitions that have led to ethnic violence. Further, 71.34% of the respondents agreed that during Parliamentary policy formulation, representatives from all parties are given equal opportunities to air views on behalf of their constituents. This reveals the extent to which the country and the constitution recognize the multiparty system and democratic governance. The aggregate mean of the statements was 2.3 just below 2.5; implying that most of the respondents agreed with the statements. These statistics therefore shows that the country embraces and practices multipartism.

¹³⁸Institute for Education and Democracy (1998), Political Parties Management and Organization in Kenya

Table 5. 7: Democratic governance Results

	strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	strongly disagree	Mean
1. Party nominations and electoral processes are free and fair	3.66	32.93	17.07	23.17	23.17	3.29
2. The legal system is able to deal with electoral malpractices, disputes and injustices	15.86	49.39	0.00	34.76	0.00	1.68
3. Rule of law is upheld e.g. checks and balances in the use of state machinery	35.00	27.44	7.68	23.17	6.71	1.59
4. Voter turnout during party primaries is satisfactory	23.17	29.27	22.56	15	0.00	1.49
5. There is freedom of press to carry out media coverage	38.41	32.93	17.68	10.98	0.00	2.01
Aggregate						2.01

From the results above, majority (46.34%) of the respondents disagreed on the statement that party nominations and electoral processes are free and fair. This is because many of the Kenyan elections are ruined by theft and rigging which always results in suspicion, hostility and violence.

¹³⁹ Further, 65.25% of the respondents agreed that the legal system is able to deal with electoral malpractices, disputes and injustices. This can be attributed to the nullifying of the 2017 elections by the Supreme Court which boosted the public confidence. Additionally, 62.44% agreed that rule of law is upheld by all party machinery during electoral period, for example checks and balances in the use of state machinery. Further, results indicated that majority (52.34%) of the respondents agreed that voter turnout during party primaries is satisfactory while 71.34% agreed that there is freedom of press to carry out media coverage.

The aggregate mean of the statements was 2.01 just below 2.5 implying that most of the respondents agreed to the statements. Notably, with regard to democratic governance in Africa, Kenya fares much better than most. The country has one of the continent's most progressive bill of rights and a Supreme Court that is capable of acting independently of the executive. These are positive developments that highlight the potential for democratic consolidation. However, they

¹³⁹ Adhiambo (2017), People who defined 2017 elections in Kenya, The Standard, 29th October 2017

will count for little if they are undermined by corruption, political attacks, and electoral manipulation, and so get distrusted by minorities and opposition groups.¹⁴⁰

5.3.3.1 What measures can be put in place to address electoral malpractices, disputes and injustices?

Respondents were asked to give opinions on the measures they thought could be put in place to address electoral malpractices, disputes and injustices. The responses were picked and presented in themes as shown below;

“Effective and efficient planning from the electoral bodies; One role of the government through the Electoral bodies is to ensure the planning process of election is not interfered with and it is fully funded and all the requirements are set in place. Political parties can therefore ensure that there are no gaps in the process that allows for rigging and electoral malpractice as it has been the case with previous elections.”

“Have good electoral system and well trained electoral body officials; this will reduce or minimize errors in the electoral process. Results should be transmitted to national tallying center immediately after the regional tally is over to avoid any altering. Additionally, during tallying, the parties should be presented by more than three party representatives and if possible there should be a parallel and independent tallying center.”

“The government should provide security and avoid chaos during the election period. Since most electoral crimes go unpunished, the constitution should contain strict laws on electoral malpractice such as long jail terms or massive bail outs.”

¹⁴⁰ Cheeseman (2017), Re-evaluating multiparty politics in Africa on International Democracy Day

“In case of system failure, there should be back up so as not to lose the data or what is going on at the polling station. To avoid monopoly related disputes as was the case of IEBC and Safaricom during the previous electoral periods, the IEBC should contract other service providers to enhance transparency. It is important to secure the integrity of the database to avoid doubt and suspicion from aggrieved parties.”

The sentiments echo the recent democratic development in Africa. Voter turn-out especially in Kenya has been encouraging due to civic education and formation of independent bodies to oversee the elections. There have been other forms of political progress that have taken place in the continent. For example, Rwanda leads the world when it comes to female parliamentary representation and South Africa, Uganda, Senegal and Tanzania follow more or less closely. However, in larger states such as Nigeria, Angola and DRC, fewer women are ever elected. In Kenya, the August 8 poll saw some positive developments, with the election of three female governors, two senators and an increased number of female MPs in the National Assembly. Minority groups have faced exclusion challenges with states like Botswana, and otherwise, a bastion of human rights and civil liberties, excluding the indigenous people, the San community, from political activities. In some states, people with different sexual orientations such as homosexuals and bisexuals often face the same undermining of their human rights whereby they are given no avenues through which they can secure political representation except in progressive constitutions such as that of South Africa.

5.4 Informants Response.

The study required the informants to give their views on democratic governance in Kenya. The respondents were asked to respond to various questions on the role of political parties in Kenya. The following responses were recorded:

“Political parties in Kenya have been important in advancing freedom of association. The constitution allows the formation of parties. This aspect of having different parties has evidently offered citizens choices and preference on which party to support and air their concerns depending on their needs.”

“Political parties have made it easy for the country to transition from one government to another; for instance, from KANU to NARC/PNU and from PNU to Jubilee government. Obviously, as it is evident, political parties have broad range of candidates from whom citizens can choose from during elections. Therefore, parties have offered a platform through which citizens can shape the future of democratic governance of the country.”

“Political parties should educate the citizens on governance issues by sensitizing them on possible solutions to national issues through political rallies and other channels. Opposition parties on the other hand should play their role of putting the government of the day in check by echoing its good performance and critiquing poor performance.”

These sentiments are a reflection of literature review that gives the role of political parties as; to ensure that citizens are involved in various aspects of democracy within the political parties and in a wide range of public affairs. One of the major roles is citizen participation whereby voters are involved in voter education, signing of petitions as well as taking part in other party activities.¹⁴¹ The informants’ main perception on the role of political parties is citizen participation and governance which has been the bane of Kenyan politics since independence. To some extent, it can be agreed that since inception of political parties, the Kenyan governance system has gradually improved from an authoritative nature to a veneer of hybrid democracy with the hope of maturing to true state democratic governance.

¹⁴¹ Deth (2016), What is Political Participation, Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics

Additionally, the informants were asked to respond to the question of institutional challenges facing political parties in their bid to support democratic governance. The following were the responses.

“Improper structure and frameworks within political parties has undermined democratic governance. Basically, the parties’ citizen involvement has been less due to poor structures and governance within the parties.”

“There have been poor leadership structures that have led to formation of factions within the parties, political party splits and party hopping.”

“There is under representation of parties at the counties. The structure of Kenyan political parties are designed in a manner that party stronghold is based on ethnic blocks.”

These responses are consistent with struggles found in African political parties. Their sentiments reflects lack of party structures both at the local and district level which speaks volumes on the shattered nature of politics in the party setup, the extensive gaps between the party leaders and supporters and the elite-dominated nature of African democracy. According to the amended Political Parties Act of 2016, parties can address this by moving beyond their immediate strongholds to attract members from the rest of the country.

Additionally, the informants were asked to respond to questions relating to legal challenges facing the political parties. The responses were recorded as below.

“The major challenge is that the incumbent government has power over the Judiciary system and the independent electoral bodies and alters their independent functionalities. For example, the 2017 judiciary move to nullify the elections was a blackmail plotted to

mask the influence of government over the two bodies. So the main legal challenge is political injustice in Kenya.”

“There are unclear constitutional duties of political parties that result to some party leaders committing non-democratic activities that are illegal or not clearly promulgated by the constitution. The Constitution does not proceed to provide for the general rights and duties of a political party. It may appear that [by implication] political parties are duty bound to protect the Constitution and to further democracy.”

“Long paper works and duration of party registrations as well as the dragging of court hearings and rulings over the electoral malpractices has often led to altering of cases or evidence. Other issues include poor investigations of crime as it was the case of Chris Musando who was assassinated in 2017.”

The verdicts from the informants were clear and consistent with the incessant struggles of Kenyan democratic governance structures. One of the major challenges facing Parties in Kenya is membership where most people engage in party hopping leading to a lack of committed membership and leaving them with supporters rather than members. Another encumbrance facing parties is the financial challenge that hinders most parties from causing impact at the grassroots. Despite an attempt to standardize internal structures, political parties in Kenya still restrict their activities to the national office, especially in the period between elections. In order for parties to involve their members and supporters, while focusing on achievement of their goals, they should work on building local offices as these would act as direct vehicles for citizen mobilization, conduct of rallies, socialization, education and recruitment process.

Further the informants were asked to give recommendations on how political parties could enhance democratic governance. Their recommendations were recorded as below.

“The parties should seek help from experts, or through benchmarking to improve their internal and institutional framework. This will promote civic education, public participation and fair nominations of leaders hence prevent formation of party factions, splitting or party hopping.”

“Government should provide the parties with financial resources without discrimination (by lowering the threshold from the current requirements to a flat rate of 2% of all the votes cast in the previous election) in order to perform their constitutional duty. This may be through promoting media coverage, security during party rallies and finances to promote civic education”.

“The constitution should be reformed to clear up the duties and legal obligations of the political parties. Additionally, the Kenyan judicial and electoral bodies have been at fault for many electoral discrepancies. The constitution should be amended to prevent any interference of these bodies by the government”.

These recommendations echo the recent reforms and developments of the Kenyan constitution. Although, as a country Kenya is classified as a hybrid democracy, improvements are noticeable. While the 2010 constitution did not institutionalize power sharing within the executive, it did introduce a system of devolution that represents a federal framework. These are positive developments that highlight the potential for democratic consolidation. However, they will count for little if they are undermined by corruption, political attacks, and electoral manipulation, and so become distrusted by minorities and opposition groups.¹⁴²

¹⁴² Cheeseman (2017), Re-evaluating multiparty politics in Africa on International Democracy Day

5.5 Test of Hypotheses.

The study utilized the findings to test the research hypothesis. The first hypothesis states that the contribution and challenges encountered by political parties do not enhance democratic governance in Africa. However, from the study findings, this hypothesis was rejected since most of the political parties in Africa facilitated democratic governance through public participation, involvement and stabilization of the political process hence strengthening national integration and civil rights. The second hypothesis states that the performance and challenge of structures and frameworks of political parties do not enhance democratic governance in Kenya. This was rejected because the aggregate mean of the statements was below 2.5 meaning that most of the respondents agreed with statements relating to existing structures and frameworks and their influence on democratic governance in Kenya. The third hypothesis states that factors that promote the role of political parties do not enhance democratic governance in Kenya. This was also rejected as most respondents identified a correlation between the role of political parties and enhancement of democratic governance as it was evident that productive engagement by political parties has brought about positive changes in building of state and non-state institutions both in terms of structure, framework and operation.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter contains the summary of findings, the conclusion, recommendations and areas of further research. This has been done in line with the objectives of the study.

6.2. Summary of Findings

The first objective examines the contributions and challenges encountered by political parties in enhancing democratic governance in Africa. From the findings, parties contribute to democratic governance by bringing people together to achieve influence, management and control of the government while at the same time institute management, organization and operation of other state and non-state institutions. In so doing, parties mobilize their members and supporters around critical issues such as the need to involve citizens in decision making with regard to party operations, recruitment and selection of party leaders as well as offering civic education on governance issues. It was further realized that political parties are vehicles that create and harness the necessary goodwill and foster unification and stabilization of all political processes towards national integration. National integration takes cognizance of a broad spectrum of interests, aspirations and unmitigated fears in order to derive a collective approach to solutions to problems facing our society.

However, with regard to challenges within political parties, a significant number of respondents argued that though there was some semblance of democratic governance within African politics, there were numerous cases of irregular elections both within the party frameworks and the states characterized by favoritism and ethnicity. Despite the existence of the institutional setup to

define the organization, management and operation of political parties in order to enhance democratic governance in Africa, internal party democracy in terms of the selection of candidates, leadership contests, regular membership conventions, internal rules to discipline the party leadership and hold it accountable to party members is in short supply in all the major political parties. Invariably, groups of core committee members take the liberty to decide party affairs and policy. From the results, political parties contribute to enhancement of democratic governance despite inherent deficiencies brought about by weak institutional frameworks, ethnicization of politics thereby denying the party the necessary gravitas to cause influence across community lines. Political patronage and clientelism undermine space for other leaders to make decisions and hence, inadvertently, ceding their role to a small elite at the party headquarters.

The second objective determines the influence and challenge of existing structures and frameworks of political parties and their effect in enhancing democratic governance in Kenya. From the findings majority of the respondents agreed that there exists an office at the constituency level with adequate personnel who are involved in party decision making. There is equality in gender as well as a system of identifying skilled political individuals. However, such decisions may be limited to merely operational activities or may be curtailed by lack of scope and ability to cause any major influence to the decisions entered at the party headquarters. The mere existence of such offices at the constituency level does not lend credence to the notion that parties involve grassroots when making critical decisions on behalf of the entire party leadership.

The third objective examines the factors that promote the role of political parties in enhancing democratic governance in Kenya. From the findings, majority of the respondents agreed that the country has embraced multipartism, though, viewed as tribal or regional coalitions that have led

to ethnic tension, suspicion and hate. Parties further are not given equal treatment in election process where the party in power tends to enjoy some leverage over the opposition when it comes to state agencies including the national broadcaster. There was divided opinion on peaceful transfer of power from the ruling party to the winning party following elections. The respondents however remained neutral as to whether or not the ruling party interfered in other party's activities. The dilemma is explained by the fact that the last three general elections in Kenya, since 2007, have been shrouded in mystery as to the role of state machinery in influencing the final results in so far as presidential elections are concerned. The upheaval and controversy that ensued after each election process created doubts in the minds of many people as to whether the declared victor deserved it.

6.3 Conclusion

Based on the findings it can safely be concluded that political parties give significant contribution in enhancing democratic governance. Evidently, information from the research affirms that citizen participation in political party activities is not only important but critical in facilitating democratic governance. An imperative to democratic governance is inclusion of the party members and supporters in party nominations and selection of party candidates in order to engender fairness and collective ownership of the party institutions. In conclusion, the existing structures and frameworks of political parties and factors that promote the role of political parties in enhancing democratic governance augment each other at best if they are allowed to operate in an environment of freedom, respect of human rights and effective resourcing both in terms of human and financial resources. Finally, extensive education to and adequate participation by the citizenry in party affairs plus mutual respect among state and non-state entities generate growth of democratic governance in a nation.

6.4 Recommendations.

The study recommends that there should be clear delineation between the party leadership and the management of state affairs in order to maintain some level of checks and balance between those leading the parties and individuals in government as a way of maintaining separation of powers. This will also assist curb compromise or collusion at the expense of transparency, fair play, justice and equity. Parties should be better resourced from state resources without discrimination and in this case it is suggested that a threshold figure of 2% of all the votes cast should be a factor of political party access to such public funds. While the existence of the legal framework of various institutions of democratic governance such as Office of the Registrar of political factors, IEBC, PPDT and the Judiciary is a step in the right direction, it is incumbent upon the powers that be, elected leaders and the public to engage in productive dialogue on how to resource, strengthen engagement among the institutions and allow the said institutions to operate without uncalled for interference with one another.

6.5 Areas of Further Research

What will be the cure for ethnicity? This may require a further research and in-depth study of the challenges of ethnicity in making a contribution to enhancement of democratic governance in Africa. Another area of study is the management of transition from one set of leaders to another and the need to address collective fear of change. There is further need to explore the effect of neo-patrimonialism, clientelism and the personality cult on the politics of Africa with the view to creating institutions independent of such important but extraneous elements to the virtues of leadership. Given the fact that Africa is replete with influences of informal institutions that are at times contradictory to the formal institutions, while still crucial to the contribution of democratic governance, one should explore more about their impact and role as they fuse.

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6) Elgeyo-Marakwet	4
7) Nandi	6
8) Baringo	6
9) Laikipia	3
10) Nakuru	11
11) Narok	6
12) Kajiando	5
13) Kericho	6
14) Bomet	5

6. Western Province

1) Kakamega	12
2) Vihiga	5
3) Bungoma	9
4) Busia	7

7. Nyanza Province

1) Siaya	6
2) Kisumu	7
3) Homa Bay	8
4) Migori	8
5) Kisii	9
6) Nyamira	4

8. Nairobi Province

1) Nairobi	17
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Source: 2010 Constitution of Kenya

Appendix 2: Table showing Party Parliamentary Strength in 2017 Elections in Kenya

Political Party	Number of National Assembly Seats
Amani National Congress (ANC)	12
Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-Kenya (FORD-K)	11
Jubilee Party	140
Kenya African National Union (KANU)	8
Orange Democratic Party (ODM)	62
Wiper Democratic Movement (WDM)	19
Chama Cha Mashinani (CCM)	2
Party of Development and Reforms	3
Kenya People's Party (KPP)	2
Kenya National Congress (KNC)	2
Muongano Party	1
Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	2
National Agenda Party of Kenya (NAPK)	1
Maendeleo Chap Chap Party (MCCCP)	3
Economic Freedom Party (EFP)	4
Chama cha Uzalendo (CCU)	1
Party of National Unity (PNU)	1
New Democrats Party	1
Democratic Party (DP)	1
Frontier Alliance Party (FAP)	1
Independent Candidates	13
Total	290

Source: Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) 2017

Appendix 3: Table Showing the Key Informants

Informant	Number
IEBC representative/official	1
Registrar of Political Parties representative/ office	1
Political Party Dispute Tribunal	1
Total	3

Appendix 4: Table Showing Party Officials and Internal Tribunals from 2017 major Political Parties

Political Party	Party Officials	Internal Tribunals
Amani National Congress (ANC)	30	5
Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-Kenya (FORD-K)	30	5
Jubilee Party	30	5
Kenya African National Union (KANU)	30	5
Orange Democratic Party (ODM)	30	5
Wiper Democratic Movement (WDM)	30	5
Total	180	30

Source: IEBC 2017

Appendix 5: Sample Size of Internal Tribunals and Party Officials

According to Mugenda and Mugenda¹⁴³ minimum sample size may be calculated as shown:

For populations below 10,000, the minimum sample size is calculated as below:

$$n_s = \frac{n}{1 + \frac{n}{N}}$$

Where:

n_s = minimum sample where target sample size is below 10,000

n = minimum sample size where target population is above 10,000

N = estimate of the population size.

The relationship between sample size and total population is that as the population increases the sample size increases at a diminishing rate and remains relatively constant at slightly more than 380 cases.

Thus;

$$N_s = \frac{380}{1 + \frac{380}{210}} = 132$$

For example, the sample of 30 ANC Party Officials would be:

$$\frac{30}{210} \times 132 = 19$$

¹⁴³ Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), Research methods: Quantitative and qualitative Approaches

Appendix 6: Table Showing Sample Size of Party Officials and Internal Tribunals

Political Party	Party Officials	Internal Tribunals	Total
Amani National Congress (ANC)	19	3	22
Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-Kenya (FORD-K)	19	3	22
Jubilee Party	19	3	22
Kenya African National Union (KANU)	19	3	22
Orange Democratic Party (ODM)	19	3	22
Wiper Democratic Movement (WDM)	19	3	22
Total	114	18	132

Appendix 7: Table Showing Excel Generated Random Numbers per Province

PROVINCE	NUMBER OF COUNTIES	RANDOM NUMBER
Coast	6	6
North Eastern	3	3
Eastern	8	4
Central	5	2
Rift Valley	14	9
Western	4	4
Nyanza	6	1
Nairobi	1	1

Appendix 8: Table Showing Sample of Members of Parliament

Province	Random Number	County to Sample	Number of Members of National Assembly
Coast	6	Taita Taveta	4
North Eastern	3	Mandera	6
Eastern	4	Tharaka-Nithi	3
Central	2	Nyeri	6
Rift Valley	9	Laikipia	3
Western	4	Busia	7
Nyanza	1	Siaya	6
Nairobi	1	Nairobi	17
Total			52

Appendix 9: Tables Showing Sample Distribution

Segment	Total Targeted
Member of Parliaments	52
Party Officials	114
Internal Tribunals	18
Key Informants	3
Total	187

Appendix 10: Research Study Questionnaire

I am Kipruto Arap Kirwa, a student at The University of Nairobi studying Master of Arts in International Studies. I am doing a Research Project on the role of political parties in enhancing democratic governance in Africa: a case of Kenya and would like to request your assistance in answering the attached questionnaire.

Kindly note that all the information you provide will be handled with utmost confidentiality and will only be used for data analysis.

Instructions

- i. Please place a tick on the space provided on your right or below to answer the questions asked.
- ii. Do not put your name on the questionnaire.

SOCIAL DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

1. a) Gender
Male
Female

- b) What is your age?
Below 30 yrs.
31-40 yrs.
41-50 yrs.
Above 50 yrs.

- c) What is your highest Level of education
Certificate
Diploma
Degree
Masters
Any other

- e) Are you a
Member of Parliament
Party Official
Member of party internal tribunal

CONTRIBUTIONS OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN ENHANCING DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

Select by ticking the extent to which you agree with the following statements (Your response may fall in either of the following categories; 1 stands for strongly agree, 2 for agree, 3 for neutral, 4 for disagree and 5 for strongly disagree).

My party involves citizens in	1	2	3	4	5
a) Recruitment and selection of party leaders					
b) Nomination of candidates for elective positions					
c) Formulation of party policies					
d) Education on their democratic rights and public service delivery					

In nominating party candidates, my party ensures	1	2	3	4	5
a) There is equality in regard to gender and ethnicity					
b) Delegates from across the nation participate equally					
c) Information is disseminated without bias					

To what extent do you agree with the following statements	1	2	3	4	5
a) My party keeps the government of the day in check					
b) There is a system in place to raise alarm when democracy is not practiced both in government and within the party					
c) Whistle blowers are protected from exposure					

What more do you think political parties can do to contribute to democracy within the politics of the country?

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EXISTING STRUCTURE AND LEGAL FRAMEWORK OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Select by ticking the extent to which you agree with the following statements (Your response may fall in either of the following categories; 1 stands for strongly agree, 2 for agree, 3 for neutral, 4 for disagree and 5 for strongly disagree).

To what extent do you agree with the following statements	1	2	3	4	5
a) There is a party office in my Constituent with adequate personnel to run party activities at that level.					
b) Personnel at the constituency office are involved in decisions regarding the running of the party e.g. budgets					
c) In selecting party officials and nominated candidates, there is equality in regard to gender and ethnicity					
d) There is a process of identifying and rewarding skilled political individuals					
e) The party may hold public assemblies freely without state interference					
f) The party receives state security during public assemblies					
g) The party receives adequate media coverage when required					

In your opinion, what can the party management do to ensure all stakeholders are more involved in decision making regarding the running of the party?

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MULTIPARTY SYSTEM AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

Select by ticking the extent to which you agree with the following statements (Your response may fall in either of the following categories; 1 stands for strongly agree, 2 for agree, 3 for neutral, 4 for disagree and 5 for strongly disagree).

To what extent do you agree with the following statements	1	2	3	4	5
a) The country has embraced multipartism in its political system					
b) All parties are given equal treatment in electoral processes					
c) There has been peaceful transfer of power from the ruling party to the winning party					
d) There has been some level of interference by the ruling party over the other parties					
e) Multipartism has been embraced but political parties have been generally viewed as ethnic coalitions that have led to ethnic violence					
f) During Parliamentary policy formulation, representatives from all parties are given equal opportunities to air views on behalf of their constituents					

DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

Select by ticking the extent to which you agree with the following statements (Your response may fall in either of the following categories; 1 stands for strongly agree, 2 for agree, 3 for neutral, 4 for disagree and 5 for strongly disagree).

To what extent do you agree with the following statements	1	2	3	4	5
a) Party nominations and electoral processes are free and fair					
b) The legal system is able to deal with electoral malpractices, disputes and injustices					
c) Rule of law is upheld by all party machinery during electoral period e.g. checks and balances in the use of state machinery					
d) Voter turnout during party primaries is satisfactory					
e) There is freedom of press to carry out media coverage					

In your opinion, what measures can be put in place to address electoral malpractices, disputes and injustices?

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Appendix 11: Questionnaire Key Informants Interview Guide

I am Kipruto Arap Kirwa, a student at The University of Nairobi studying Master of Arts in International Studies. I am doing a Research Project on the role of political parties in enhancing democratic governance in Africa: a case of Kenya and would like to request your assistance in answering the attached questionnaire.

Kindly note that all the information you provide will be handled with utmost confidentiality and will only be used for data analysis.

- 1. From your experience, what are the roles of political parties in enhancing democracy in Kenya

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- 2. What are the institutional challenges facing political parties in their bid to support democracy?

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- 3. What are the legal challenges facing political parties in their bid to support democracy?

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4. What are your recommendations towards the enhancement of democracy through political parties?

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