UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

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THE ROLE OF INTELLECTUALS IN

BUILDING DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL CULTURE IN AFRICA:

A CASE STUDY OF KENYA

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Declaration

I, Maryann Njambi, hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

Signed…………………………………… Date…………………………..

This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor;

Signed………………………………….. Date…………………………….

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University Supervisor

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DEDICATION

To the beautiful minds in Africa who have dedicated their lives to public service and to all those who have remained committed to the principle of Pan Africanism.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

ABBREVIATIONS

ANC:	African National Congress
DI:	Democratic Index
EACC:	Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission
HDI:	Human Development Index
IEBC:	Independent Electoral Boundaries Commission
NHIS:	National Health Insurance Scheme
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organisation
SSA:	Sub-Sahara Africa
UNDP:	United Nations Development Program
USA:	United States of America

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ABSTRACT

Intellectuals in the past and present have been very instrumental in shaping the minds of the people. They have the capacity to root out some of the deep rooted cultures and norms in the society through critical thinking and re-shaping the way of a people by creating new norms. They have successful done this indifferent ways; policy making, public dialogue, active participation in political ventures among many others. In the fight for democratization of Africa, intellectuals have also taken up several roles; activism, reformists, advocacy and actual engagement in political matters. They do all this with the aim of improving people's welfare and promote human development. The general objective of this research project therefore was to determine the role of intellectuals in building democratic political culture in Africa using Kenya as case study. The specific objectives of the study were; to determine whether a democratic political culture will promote human development in Africa, to establish the role of intellectuals in building a democratic political culture in Africa and lastly to determine the challenges and prospects of building a democratic political culture in Kenya. The study was guide by the following objectives; democratic political culture in Africa will promote human development, intellectuals have a role to play in building Africa's democratic political culture and lastly there are no prospects to building democratic political culture in Kenya. The research project was based on liberalism theory which is embedded on the principles of majority rule, civil liberty and democracy. The study found out that the context in which the intellectual engage with the state and the society has changed with the passing of time and their roles in democratization have also evolved. New challenges and new prospects also present themselves as they try to build democratic political culture. On the citizen side, there is also no ownership of the process of democratization. The study recommends that modern day intellectuals create a theoretical framework that will help in Africanizing democracy to create ownership of the process and the democratic culture.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Background to the Study

The political culture of a nation is the customary alignment of its people towards political issues;

this in essence affects how these people perceive their political arenas. Political cultures emanate

from the belief that "In any operating political system, there is a subjective realm that is ordered,

and which gives meaning to its polity, institutional discipline, and social relevance to the acts of

the individuals".[1] Political culture can be accentuated to portend that it is the set of shared

beliefs, values and norms that shape the public policy and other political relations.[2] Considering

that politics largely determines the manner in which a group of people within a certain political

domain interact with each other, a political culture decides on major decisions affecting a society

and the manner that various core duties of that society behaves in matters power sharing and the

individuals involved in the making of political decisions. Debatably, in the same manner that the

general societal culture dictates the norms and behaviors of a particular society, a political

culture determines norms and behaviors that are viable in a certain political domain. Importantly,

and in line with the purpose of such individuals, it holds that intellectuals form part of these

individuals together with the histories they carry along in both the traditional and the

contemporary world.

Democracy could generally be translated as "a government of the people, by the people and for

the people".[3] This means the participation of the citizens of a nation in decision making

regardless of the decisions being made. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that in any democracy,

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[1] Lucian Pye and Sidney Verba. *Political culture and political development*. (Princeton University Press, 2015) 7.
[2] Paletz, David L., Diana Marie Owen, and Timothy E. Cook. (*American Government and Politics in the Information Age*. Saylor Foundation, 2011.)
[3] Lincoln, Abraham (1863) The Gettysburg Address. A Speech on the Occasion of the Dedication of the National Cemetery in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, 19 November 1863

there will be the majority whose ideas and views will dominate the minority views. Respect and tolerance for the minority views is therefore encouraged in any democracy. This occurrence of the majority versus minority is considered as an imperfection of democracy; one of the reasons why democracy practiced in one place will be different from the democracy practiced in another. Democratization on the other hand, is commonly invoked along such institutions as the parliament and political parties. The term is also popularly used in the conduction of free and fair elections.[4] Democratization of nations involves the establishment of such institutions in a bid to ensure that democracy is upheld. At the same time, democratization involves the acceptance of some predetermined rules, norms, behaviors and other components of culture that take precedence across the power divide; from the politicians to the citizens.[5] It is important to note that, "as a way of comprehending political changes and aligning the same towards democracy; people, alongside their ideals and insolences contribute to building or felling of institutions".[6]

A democratic political culture therefore, offers the requisite ethical values and norms on the manner individuals, institutions and governments behave. Such cultures serve to hold both the politicians and citizenry from behaving in a certain way when their cultures determine otherwise. It is worth noting that Culture denotes what a particular society prefers as the norm[7] and it varies across various sets of people amongst whom; the specific set of norms is shared.

In essence, democratic political culture seeks to bring out, clearly, such aspects as political ideologies; national spirit, ethos and values entrenched within a certain people or nation. With democratic political culture shaping such important issues, there are several echelons of

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[4] Burmeister Annemieke. Political culture and democracy. Retrieved from https://vanmierlostichting.d66.nl/content/uploads/sites/296/2016/01/Political-culture-democracy.pdf (2012): 16.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid, 17
[7] Brendon Swedlow. "A Cultural Theory of Politics: Editor's Introduction: Cultural Theory's Contributions to Political Science." (*PS: Political Science & Politics* 44, no. 4 (2011): 703-710): 705.

individual awareness that are involved; intellectuals and their roles in influencing the political

culture of a people can be delved into at such levels. Anyang Nyong'o who is an intellectual

posited that "we often assume that democracy should provide the environment in which justice,

peace and development can prosper. But that is only possible if democracy is accompanied by a

democratic political culture…"[8] This underscores the need for intellectuals to develop the

theoretical framework to guide the process of building democratic political cultures in Africa.

Intellectuals help shape the destinies of various realms through critical thinking, researching and

reflecting[9]. In this regard, they look at, think and understand issues and aid in solving complex

problems. Politically, intellectuals imagine their audiences, invent, and construct national and

trans-national identities. The human life and the evolution of societies are largely dependent on

the solicitation and application of knowledge that is mainly as a result of research through

education[10]. Jean-Paul Satre described intellectuals as "someone who meddles in what does not

concern them." Edward Said posited that "intellectuals is an individual with a vocation for the art

of representing, whether that is talking, writing, teaching, appearing on television; and that

vocation is important to the extent that it is publicly recognizable and involves both commitment

and risk, boldness and vulnerability".[11]

The definitions support the earlier assertions that intellectuals, through crucial critical thinking,

and research, assists in espousing the inner problems that may hinder progression towards

[8] Nyong'o, Anyang'. "Democratic Political Culture Key in Socio-economic Development." The Standard. May 05, 2012. Accessed November 07, 2018. https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000057670/democratic-political-culture-key-in-socio-economic-development.

[9] Tauil, Rafael Marchesan, and Terrell Foster Carver. "Marxism and democracy: a new approach to comprehending the relationships between intellectuals and politics by examining the life and works of the Brazilian" activist" and theoretician Francisco Weffort." Revista de Stiinte Politice 51 (2016).

[10] Swedlow, Brendon. "A Cultural Theory of Politics: Editor's Introduction: Cultural Theory's Contributions to Political Science." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 44, no. 4 (2011): 703-710.

[11] Said. E (1993), Representation of an Intellectual: Reith Lectures, Transmission:23 June 1993-BBC Radio 4

democratic political culture. As such, with empirical facts at hand, the intellectuals could play an important role in sustaining dialogue on and problematizing issues around development, democracy and political subjects that will promote democratic political culture. Intellectuals have been previously noted as pertinent players in the consolidation of democratic political culture, or at least, where they failed, pulled crucial steps towards the same as will be seen in the following sections.

It is often suggested that beliefs that affect an economy are part of the political culture because politics have a huge impact on economics and development. Case in point, the American political culture "is the belief that each American has the freedom to pursue a better life-a nice car, house and a more comfortable experience"[12] This assertion creates a link between political culture and the quality of life of a people, ushering us into the topic of human development which is evidently the end game to building democratic political culture.

Past political actions especially those associated with the independence movements in various African countries and the world at large influenced the building of democratic cultures[13]. Many African nations were born out of their gallant opposition to authoritarian colonialism[14]. Unfortunately, many nations failed to steer their ideologies in democratic political ways. In current times, African countries still fail to showcase mature democratic political culture. A case in point is the ever-mushrooming political parties in Kenya especially during the electioneering period which denies multi-party democracy a chance to take shape, resulting into tribal led

[12] Ushistory.org. "American Political Culture." Ushistory.org. Accessed October 24, 2018.
http://www.ushistory.org/gov/4a.asp.
[13] Gumede, William. "Building a democratic political culture." *The Poverty of Ideas: South African Democracy and the Retreat of Intellectuals. Auckland Park: Jacana* (2009): 12.
[14] Ibid, 11

political parties that lack internal democracy and do not embody the spirit of multiparty democracy.[15]

The process and need to build democratic culture is evidenced in both ancient and modern day world over. In ancient Greek, the Socratic Method was a powerful tool that had a huge impact on the ethical and political realm. Because of his great success in influencing the behavior and thinking of the people, Socrates was accused of corrupting the minds of the youth in Athens and he paid the ultimate price in death[16] Nonetheless, Socratic Method had a great influence even in the modern legal and entertainment realm. In the United States, Socratic Method played a major role in defining American legal education.[17] Likewise, in the heyday of McCarthyism, invoking Socrates could relate to a range of principles that inspired debate on definition of democracy which included; "steadfast resistance to tyranny, commitment to free inquiry, civic loyalty, tolerance of diversity, recognition of the capacity of majority rule, and individual judgment to err (and belief in the ability of a democratic polity to recover from such errors), empowerment of reason, accountability and an open society."[18]

Abraham Lincoln famously known as the father of modern day democracy held the opinion that there could not be real freedom without the rule of law.[19] In the Lyceum speech, Lincoln underscored adherence to the rule of law: "Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well-wisher to his posterity, swear by the blood of the Revolution, never to violate in the least particular, the laws of the country; and never to tolerate their violation by others… let every man

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[15] Ibid, 11

[16] Terence H. Irwin"Socrates and Athenian democracy." (1989): 184-205.

[17] Kerr S O (1999), "The Decline of the Socratic Method at Harvard 78 Nebraska Law Review 1999". *heinonline.org*. Retrieved 2016-11-26http://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/nebklr78&div=12&id=&page=

[18] Monoson S S (2011), The making of a Democratic symbol: the case of Socrates in North-America popular media Vol 3,No.1,2011, pp.46-76

[19] Oakes J, *The Radical and The 1Republican: Frederick Douglass, Abraham Lincoln, and the Triumph of Antislavery Politics*, p. 106.

remember that to violate the law, is to trample on the blood of his father, and to tear the charter

of his own, and his children's liberty… let it become the political religion of the nation." [20]

Mahatma Gandhi who led India into independence from the British rule is credited for inspiring

nonviolent civil disobedience around the world.[21] Gandhism was particularly seen to influence

Martin Luther King Junior, in his civil rights movement in the United States.[22] King agitated

against injustices that affected the lives of the black communities in the United States. He fought

against economic inequality, imperialism, repatriations and agitated for voting rights, labor

rights, welfare rights, social justice among others. [23] The absence of all these rights undermined

democratic culture and human development.

African intellectuals-pioneers of the Pan African movements largely drawn from the Caribbean,

North America and Europe were quite instrumental also in shaping the political discourse of

Africans; both native and those in diaspora. The first Pan African Conference was organized by

Henry Sylvester William in 1900, who managed to assemble thirty delegates from Africa, West

Indies and America. Several other conferences followed organized by W.E.B Dubois in different

cities of the world. This inspired many more congresses in most parts of Africa by the natives.

Africans began to have a voice in the colonial governments.[24] This made possible discussions

between Africans and the European imperialists on the welfare of the black people. Marcus

Garvey another Pan Africanist advocated for the rights of Africans through his Association's

newspaper-'Negro World'. The Newspaper's slogan; "Africa for the Africans" was a call for

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[20] Lincoln A (1838), Speech to Young Men's Lyceum, Springfield, Illinois, January 27, 1838, CWAL Volume 1,p112
[21] McAllister, Pam (1982). *Reweaving the Web of Life*: Feminism and Nonviolence. New Society Publishers. P 194
[22] Nojeim, Michael J. (2004). *Gandhi and King: The Power of Nonviolent Resistance*. Greenwood Publishing Group. p. 179.
[23] McKnight, G D. (1998). "'The Poor People Are Coming!' 'The Poor People Are Coming!'". *The last crusade: Martin Luther King Jr., the FBI, and the poor people's campaign*. Westview Press.
[24] Lewis, David, (2009), *W. E. B. Du Bois: A Biography 1868-1963*, Henry Holt and Company, LLC. pp. 414-15.

Africans to unite and fight against European imperialism. Garvey's commitment promoted "collective consciousness" of Africans world over.[25]

Nelson Mandela is considered by many as an African democrat and a global icon for freedom, rule of law, peace, justice and respect for fundamental rights. He worked hard to deepen democracy in South Africa during apartheid as a young lawyer and as a Leader in the African National Congress (ANC).[26] He consolidated democratic gains by setting up the Truth and Reconciliation Commission as opposed to revenge, which was largely criticized by Anti-apartheid Crusaders. [27]Unlike many African leaders, Nelson Mandela served for only a single term giving way to Thambo Mbeki's youthful Leadership.

In light of the above, this Research project seeks to critically examine the role of intellectuals in building democratic political culture in Africa using Kenya as a case study. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that the ultimate goal for building this norm-democratic political culture is to promote human development in Africa and in our area of research-Kenya.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

There lacks a democratic political culture in Africa despite the numerous attempts that have been taken to build it. Measures such as constitution reforms in many African states[28] , a reduction in coups and military rule, increased numbers of elected women representatives,[29] among others. This has in turn seen most African nations remain within the low human development group

[25] Martin, Tony (1976), *Race First: The Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.
[26] Mandela, N (1994). *Long Walk to Freedom Volume I: 1918–1962*. Little, Brown and Company.
[27] Meredith, Martin (2010). *Mandela: A Biography*. New York: PublicAffairs.
[28] "African Constitutions." African Studies Centre Leiden. December 13, 2017. Accessed July 27, 2018. http://www.ascleiden.nl/content/webdossiers/african-constitutions.
[29] Nzomo M, (April 2018), International Relations in African States: UON MA in IS Students. April 2018

characterized by inequality, low per capita income, poor health and sanitation, lack of opportunity for a decent education and undemocratic political culture. There is no trust between the state and its citizens. It is adequate to state that many people in Africa will have something negative to say about their governments; authoritarian rule and despotic treatment of the people by the leaders, being among the issues of concern.[30] Corruption in the electoral system is also a constant in the continent, making the very important ingredient of democracy, credible, free and fair elections, an illusion.

It has been opined that studies on democratization have largely focused on building institutions with little focus on the construct. It is important therefore to understand that in any progress towards democracy, the people, their attitudes and values will make or break institutional arrangements. This is because; the durability of democracy depends on values that in turn build a culture.

In light of all this gloom, there is need for mediation between the state and the citizens, a critical thinker who will ensure dialogue on matters of public interest, an intellectual who will create a theoretical framework that will guide the people in building democratic political culture in Africa. This Research Project therefore, seeks to look into ways in which intellectuals will help in building democratic political culture in Africa in order to promote human development. Kenya will be used as the case study.

 1.3 Research Questions

- Will a democratic political culture promote human development in Africa?

- What are the roles of intellectuals in building a democratic political culture in Africa?

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[30] "Africa and the challenges of democracyand good governance in the 21st century." Adejumobi Said.2000.Accessed July 27,2018, http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/cafrad/unpan008483.pdf

- What are the challenges and prospects of building a democratic political culture in Kenya?

1.4 Research Objectives

The main objective of this study is to determine the role of intellectuals in building democratic political culture in Africa using Kenya as a case study. Consequently the specific objectives of the study are;

- To determine whether a democratic political culture will promote human development in Africa

- To establish the role of intellectuals in building a democratic political culture in Africa

- To determine the challenges and prospects of building a democratic political culture in Kenya

1.5 Literature Review

1.5.1 Theoretical Literature Review

1.5.1.1 Feminist Theory

According to Maria Nzomo, the feminist theory "is an ideological consciousness and an intellectual perspective grounded in the belief that all women regardless of their race, creed, class, age, geographical location and even sexual orientation have a shared experience of injustice, exclusion, oppression; discrimination and subordination to a masculine structure of power and authority at all levels of human endeavor."[31]

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[31] Nzomo M, (2013), Theoritical Approaches in International Relations: UON MA in IS Students. September 2013

According to the UNDP Human Development statistical updates of 2018, inequality reduces the planet's Human Development index by a fifth with gender inequality on the lead. Women human development Index is 6% below that of the men. In the same light, exclusion of women in the political realm is one major reason for weak democratic political culture in Africa. African politics is patriarchal in nature and does not favor women. It is just until recently that we have seen a numeric increase in women representation in parliament across African states. Currently, Rwanda leads at 4th position globally, followed by Namibia at 13th, South Africa at 19th and Burundi at the 22nd position. It should be noted that these statistics do not capture, social-economic and other political influences. Rarely do you have adequate numbers of women at the decision making table and in governance matters. The inclusion of women would transform our democratic political cultures both in Africa and beyond through the intellectual perspective of a woman.

Proponents of the Feminist theory like Ann Tickner argue that women are kinder and more gentle compared to men[32]. The underlying assumption is that when more women take active roles in the political process there could be less cases of violence during and after the political process. This would in turn go a long way to improve human development in Africa.

The theory appreciates that political issues are also gendered. Africa must therefore be sensitive to the fact that women play a critical role in instilling beliefs, political values in the society through their nurturing nature. They are more honest and more outward thinking. Societal gains are more important to them more than individual gains.

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[32] Kaufman,J.P (2013), Introduction to International Relations: Theory and Practice, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.inc. USA, P68

Nonetheless, others would argue that the theory is one sided as it considers only women intellectual contribution to building democratic political cultures whereas this role is for both the male and female genders. Despite the immense contribution the theory has to this study, it is best to consider a theory that takes into consideration both the male and female genders.

1.5.2 Empirical Literature Review

Edward Said argues that authors have given importance to defining intellectuals and little importance to "their image, signature, their actual intervention and performance". He emphasizes that such aspects are what makes us remember intellectuals like Sartre; "we recall the personal mannerisms, the sense of an important personal stake, the sheer effort, risk, will to say things about colonialism, or about commitment or about social conflict that infuriated his opponents and galvanized his friends." He states that "there has been no major revolution in modern history without intellectuals. Conversely, there's been no major counterrevolutionary movement without intellectuals. Intellectuals have been the fathers and mothers of movements, and of course sons and daughters, even nephews and nieces."[33]Said's argument depicts the role of intellectuals in the power of their speech. Their engagement with issues that triggers reaction "infuriated his opponents and galvanized his friends" The fact that this is what Satre represented and is remembered for is what is important in building democratic political culture.

Annemeike Burmeister trying to make sense of the Arab Spring argued that when measuring democratization, many people look at installation of institutions like the Judiciary, political parties and electoral bodies. This could be true for countries like Afghanistan and Iraq where democracy has not taken shape. It is however important to understand that in any progress

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[33] Said. E (1993), Representation of an Intellectual: Reith Lectures, Transmission:23 June 1993-BBC Radio 4

towards democracy the people, their attitudes, values and cultures will make or break the institutional arrangement. It is easy to assume that the Judiciary which is a body of intellectuals upholds the rule of law and upholds the rights of minority. It is however important to understand that "structural behavior pattern are needed amongst citizens and elites to allow for minority opinions to be part of the political debate". Burmeister however divides her proponents into two; political elite and citizens. She does not breakdown the different groupings within the citizenry. She however posits that only the citizenry have the power to change the ground rules, come up with new norms for political engagement and define the values upon which their own democracy can operate.[34]

Hyden citing Manheim opined that "as the philosopher-kings, the intellectuals in power have often been considered as the "national conscience". The view of their role has come close to the idea of the "freischwebende Intelligenz"; the belief that intellectuals are not attached to particular social classes and are therefore in an optimal position to judge the interest of the society, present or future." [35][36] This ideally gives the intellectuals the voice of reason (national conscience) allowing them to impact values that they see fit. As judges of the interest of the society, the intellectuals are able to adjudicate based on set principles in the community allowing the continuity of the same.

William Gumede and Leslie Dikeni argued that many independence revolutionary movements that opposed the European Imperialism or authoritarian rule in Africa did not ground their newly found independence and governance on democratic political cultures and values after attaining

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[34] Burmeister A (2012), Political Culture and Democracy, Civic Activism in the Arab World
[35] Aiyede E.R and Udalla E.R (2013), Values Intellectuals and Policy Process in Nigeria: A theoretical cum ideological explanation, Public Policy and Administration Research, Vol 3, No. 10, 2013, pp 23-25.
[36] Hyden, G. (1967), The Failure of Africa's First Intellectuals. Transition, No. 28 (Jan., 1967), pp. 14-18. Indiana University Press. Avalaible at http://www.jstor.org/stable/2934471 Accessed on 29/05/2011 22:15

Power.[37] In addition, they criticized the active and engaged public intellectuals for taking a back seat in the continuation of democratic societies, especially in new democracies like South Africa, instead of actively engaging various parties and holding public dialogue and debate. They argued that "In such debates the nation examines its shortcomings and strengths, surveys the infinite variety of views and opinions and treats everyone with respect, exercising tolerance and promoting meaningful communication" [38] This argument underscores the political inadequacies that emerge when intellectuals take a back step, an opinion that was shared by Desmond Tutu who stated openly in 2004 that the South Africans- calling out to the citizenry, had lost their idealism. He added that the politicians did not respect the public anymore and that they cared only about enriching themselves. Very few of them appeared to have a social conscience [39]

Emmanuel Remi, Ernest Udala following Singh, underscores the role of intellectuals as researchers towards policy generation process. Singh argues that there is not a singular unambiguous definition of intellectuals as there is not also a singular unambiguous role that they play. Intellectuals play various roles; in matters authority, politics and power; they are critics as well as advisers to those in authority. In some cases they are the people in authority.[40] Like Gumede and Dikeni, they are also critical of the intellectuals who fought for independence and received power from the European imperialist. Whereas their goal was to transform and develop their respective countries, it is generally accepted that they failed to do so. Africa is still reeling

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[37]Mckaiser E (2009)*'The Poverty of Ideas: South African Democracy and the Retreat of Intellectuals', edited by William Gumede and Leslie Dikeni,Published by Jacana Media, pp 272*

[38] Baerney P (2004), Liberation, Civil Rights and Democracy: Perspectives on a Decade of Democracy, The Martin Luther King Jr Lecture, Rice University.

[39] Tutu D (2004), Second Annual Nelson Mandela Lecture, Johannesburg, 23 November

[40] Singh, M. (1992), Intellectuals and the politics of policy research. Available at http://www.transformation.ukzn.ac.za/index.php/transformation/article/view/586 Accessed on 12/07/2011

from poverty, disease, conflict, unemployment, poor economies and even weak democratic political cultures. [41]

In addition, Hyden posited that "the first generation of intellectuals in power in post-independence Africa had failed to realize their model societies in full. Nkrumah failed in making Ghana socialist centralized while Awolowo and others in Nigeria failed to create a constitutional-democratic and federal Nigeria.[42] William blames the tripartite regional structure which was set up after independence with a weak Centre for Nigeria's failures. He argues that it limited the impact of the intellectuals in that they were assimilated regionally as opposed to nationally where they would have greater influence. Intellectuals were reduced to "mafia-like intellectuals groups that coalesced around the regional leaders"[43].

Hyde, sums it up by saying that it is argued that intellectuals do not make good politicians. Africa has seen the failure in politics of a number of intellectuals. "Nkrumah, Azikiwe, Ben Bella, Lumumba and others have disappeared as persons from the intellectual arena. Their ideas, however, might still survive."[44] These arguments are a clear indication that the role of intellectuals was still a consideration to the successes of the new democracies despite the failures. It also underscores the role of intellectuals as pace setters; the foundations they set could have positive or negative impact for many generations to come; "their ideas however, might still survive"

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[41] Aiyede, Emmanuel & Arinze, Ernest & Udalla, Ernest. (2013). Values: Intellectuals and Policy Process in Nigeria: A Theoretical Cum Ideological Explanation. Public Policy and Administration Research. 3. 22-31.
[42] Hyden, G. (1967), The Failure of Africa's First Intellectuals. Transition, No. 28 (Jan., 1967), pp. 14-18. Indiana
[43] Williams, A. (1998), Intellectuals and the Crisis of Democratization in Nigeria: Towards a Theory of Postcolonial Anomie. Theory and Society, Vol. 27, No. 2 , pp. 287-307; Springer.
Available online at http://www.jstor.org/stable/657869 Accessed on 29/05/2001
[44] Op Cit, Hyden G, p 14-18

Amuwo posits that "the intellectual body is like a mirror, it gives the society its own image. They articulate people's hopes and fears, help them give meaning to what may look like the obvious, the innocuous and the mundane. [45] This suggests that intellectuals play a significant role in bringing political consciousness closer to the people and thereby giving them an opportunity to reflect upon and re-examine their political way of life, values, beliefs and cultures.

1.5.3 Research Gaps

A lot of research has been done on the role of intellectuals in society but little on their role in building democratic political culture in Africa towards human development. Annemeike Burmeister argues that, studies on democratization have largely focused on building institutions with little focus on the construct- the people. It is important to understand that in any progress towards democracy, the people, their attitudes and values will make or break institutional arrangements. This is because the durability of democracy depends on values.[46] It is in view of this that this study chooses to focus on political culture in Africa and in particular a democratic political culture. The study will investigate what has been alluded to in the literature review by other scholars and come up with concrete answers on the role of intellectuals in building democratic political culture in Africa, challenges and prospects of building a democratic culture in Africa and what impact this would have to human development in Africa.

1.6 Justification of the Study

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[45] Amuwo, K. A. (2002), Between Intellectual Responsibility and Political Commodification of Knowledge: Nigeria's Academic Political Scientists under the Babangida Military Junta, 1985-1993. African Studies Review, Vol. 45, No. 2, Special Issue: African Universities in Crisis and the Promotion of a Democratic Culture (Sep., 2002), pp. 93-121: African Studies Association. Available at http://www.jstor.org/stable/1514789 accessed 29/05/2011
[46] Burmeister A (2012), Political Culture and Democracy, Civic Activism in the Arab World

For every academic research, the justification for it cannot be over emphasized. Consequently, the justification for this study will be viewed from two levels; policy and academic justification.

1.6.1 Policy Justification

It has become apparent that a lack of democratic political culture in Africa has curtailed development; economic, political and social, in most African nations. It is in view of this, that the outcome and recommendations of the study will be useful to the Kenyan Government in policy formulation for the improvement of her democratic political space in a bid to bring about human development. It is argued that policy-makers are at pains trying to find reliable information to support their work, this research project will provide the evidence they need as they formulate and implement their policies. If these policies are already in existence, this study will help to refine and strengthen them. Furthermore, the outcome of the study will also assist the Kenyan institutions that are tasked with promoting democratic culture; Independence Elections and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), political parties, the Ethics and Anti-corruption Commission (EACC), parliament, judiciary, media among others to improve in their responsibility to building democratic political culture for the country.

1.6.2 Academic Justification

It is often argued that in order for one to make informed decisions, there must be evidence to help justify the decision made. In the same light, in order for the African continent to continue growing its human development index in most nations from the current low, new knowledge is necessary in the field of democratic political culture, a norm that is rather illusive. The topic of this research project may seem new due to its relative obscurity. This could be compounded by the fact that this research project seeks to interrogate the role of intellectuals in building a norm-

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democratic political culture in Africa. The research project will nonetheless seek to look at how this norm will impact human development in the continent. The researcher therefore finds academic justification in the fact that, the outcome of the study will be useful to the academia in general, researchers and students who may find it valuable for further studies. After all, intellectuals are better placed to develop the necessary and relevant theoretical framework that would guide the process of building this norm.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

This study will be anchored on the liberalism theory, which has its roots in the idealism theory. The theory argues that humanity can be perfected and democracy is crucial in order to ensure that perfectibility is achieved. It could therefore be deduced that the absence of democracy would thus result into imperfectability which thus in our case would explain the challenges in building a democratic political culture. On the contrary, a political culture in Africa, centered on democratic ideals could be considered in this case, as one of those intended perfections. Further, the theory encourages ideas in the quest for perfectibility. Ideas could be derived from many sources. In our case however, it was alluded to earlier that intellectuals in different occasions played and continue to play a vital role in promoting public debate to unearth new ideas on key issues concerning the political agenda. Liberalism theory is centered on three core ideologies; individual liberty, participation of the majority and democracy which are core in building democratic political culture in Africa.[47] Neo liberalists have also emphasized that morality is key in all acts of the state. John locke, a pioneer proponent of the theory argued that governments existed as a result of people agreeing to transfer some of their rights, conditionally, to the

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[47] Nzomo M, (2013), Theoritical Approaches in International Relations: UON MA in IS Students. September 2013

government of the day, where they would in turn enjoy better life, stability and freedoms.[48] This points to the impact that a government that adheres to and puts into practice the core ideologies of this theory would have on its people. Locke also supported the principle of separation of power which is a core component of any democratic government. The principle is also in line with the theory's emphasis on need for interactions in different levels of the governing arrangements towards the promotion of order in the political arena, even unto world politics.

Scientists and Physicists successfully developed rockets to go to Mars thus the phrase "it is not Rocket Science" to mean, it can be done however difficult. Following the tenets of this theory, we can conclude therefore that there is hope; we can also find a solution to this impasse.

1.8 Hypotheses

H1:   Democratic political culture in Africa will promote human development

H1:   Intellectuals have a role to play in building Africa's democratic political culture

H1:   There are no prospects to building democratic political culture in Kenya

1.9 Research Methodology

This section of the study will describe in detail what will be done and how it will be done to answer the research questions. It will consist of the research design, the research site, the target population and the sampling and sampling procedure. The section will also contain the research instruments, data processing and analysis technique and ethical considerations.

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[48] Tuckness, Alex. "Locke's Political Philosophy." Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. January 11, 2016. Accessed October 03, 2018. https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/locke-political/#LawNat.

1.9.1 Research Design

For the purpose of this study, the researcher intends to combine both the quantitative and qualitative design strategies. This mixed method research design was chosen because among other reasons, it will ensure corroboration and confirmation of the inferences gained from one method by the other method; it will also ensure that there is total representation of experiences or associations from both methods. Data collected from both methods will complement each other in this research design. Finally, the mixed method will ensure that the weakness of one method is countered by the strength of the other method. All these will ultimately lead to a more accurate and reliable set of data, which will by extension enhance the validity of the entire research process.

1.9.2 Research Site

The area or location within which a research is carried out is known as the research site. Consequently, the research site for this study will be the city of Nairobi in Kenya

1.9.3 Target Population

A target population is an entire group of individuals, events or objects having common observable characteristics. It is usually of interest to the researcher as it is from the target population that the researcher draws his or her sample. For a study of this nature, the target populations will comprise of different actors from within the ranks of politicians, academicians, government officials, media, judiciary and civil society. The study will also target students, particularly those with political science and international studies bias.

1.9.4 Sampling and Sampling Technique

A sample is part of the target population that has been deliberately selected to represent the target population. For this study, the sample will consist of forty respondents and interviewees selected from the target population. The respondents and interviewees will be drawn from seven segments of target population: Legislative Assembly, civil society, members of the academia, University students, media (both mainstream and bloggers) Judiciary and Senior government officials (Executive). Each segment will be made up of a specific sample size, with consideration for gender equality. It is the general rule in statistics that for each segment under survey the minimum threshold should be thirty; however, for the qualitative design we shall use the in-depth interview and focus group discussion approach that allows a reduction in this number. In our case, the number is representative enough considering the target population. According to Oso and Onen, "sampling technique is the description of the strategies which the researcher will use to select representative respondents from the target population".[49] For the purpose of this study, the researcher will use stratified random sampling technique to select the sample. This technique refers to the selection of samples within specified sub groups also known as stratas. Once the stratas have been formed, the researcher is free to pick the interviewee randomly. Every interviewee within a subgroup has equal opportunity of being selected.

1.9.5 Research Instruments

Primary data to be used for this study will be sourced through the use of the questionnaire (Appendix 1) and interview guide (Appendix 2). These will be constructed with a series of questions or short statements to which respondents will be expected to provide answers to, either

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[49]Oso W Y and Onen G, A (2016) General guide to writing Research Proposal and report: a handbook for beginning researchers, revised edition, Jomo Kenyatta foundation.

by writing out their answers or selecting from among given options. On the other hand, secondary data will be sourced from journals, books, newspapers, unpublished works and the internet.

1.9.6 Data Processing and Analysis Technique

The mixed techniques approach which is a combination of the qualitative and quantitative techniques will be used to process and analyze the data for this study. The quantitative technique will involve analyzing primary data using descriptive statistics to determine frequencies and percentages. The results of the quantitative analysis will be presented in the form of pie and bar charts. While qualitatively, secondary data will be analyzed using document content analysis and its outcome will be presented in the form of explanatory notes.

1.9.7 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations will normally place certain burdens on the researcher. These burdens include ensuring that the respondent is given adequate information to enable him give an informed consent and that the privacy of the respondent is protected while the information he gives is treated with utmost confidentiality. The other burdens include the right of the respondent to remain anonymous without disclosing his identity and the researcher being sensitive to human dignity and well-meaning in his intentions. Bearing these ethical considerations in mind, the researcher will strive to be guided by the highest form of restraint and utmost discipline towards the respondent in the course of the research.

1.10 Chapter Outline of the Study

Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter will give the background to the study, state the research problem and research objectives and finally examine the justification for the study, the literature review and the research methodology.

Chapter Two: Democratic Political culture and Human Development in Africa

In this chapter, the researcher will discuss in detail how democratic political culture would promote human development in Africa.

Chapter Three: The role of intellectuals in building a democratic political culture in Africa

This chapter will discuss in detail the role of intellectuals in building a democratic political culture in Africa.

Chapter Four: Challenges and prospects of building democratic political culture in Kenya.

This chapter will discuss in detail the major challenges and prospects of building a democratic political culture in Kenya.

Chapter Five: Data Presentation and Data Analysis

In this Chapter, the researcher will analyze the findings from the research project and make a presentation on the same.

Chapter Six: Conclusions and Recommendations

In this chapter, the Researcher will articulate the conclusions to the study and draw the recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

Democratic Political culture and Human Development in Africa

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher will discuss in detail how building democratic political culture would promote human development in Africa. The following topics will be discussed: democracy in Africa, patterns of development in Africa and human development defined, Arguments to support the relationship between democracy and human development- use of case studies to illustrate.

In Africa, the relationship between Democracy and development has resulted into debate with some arguing that the two are intertwined where the success of one depends on or leads to the success of the other. On the other hand some have held opposing views arguing that the two are independent where the achievement of one does not necessarily lead to or depend on the achievement of the other. This research project will critically examine how building democratic political culture could human development in Africa. The Research will draw insights from various African countries. In the end, the research project proposes that the African continent should invent ways in which to promote human development and inculcate a democratic political culture in a bid to improve the quality of life for its people.

2.1 Democracy in Africa

The 2017 Democracy Index ranks Mauritius as the most democratic country in Africa and number sixteen in the world. It is the only country in Africa that is considered as a full democracy. Cape Verde, Botswana and South Africa follow in that order. The Democratic

republic of Congo, Central African Republic and Chad are the lowest ranking African nations in terms of democracy, also in that order. The democracy index is arrived at by rating various parameters; political culture, functioning government, political participation, the electoral process of a nation and its pluralism and finally civil liberties. Out of a score of 10, the leading countries in the world in terms of democracy; Norway, Iceland and Sweden are at ten on political culture while Mauritius, Botswana and Cape Verde are at 8.7, 7.5 and 6.88 respectively. D R Congo, CAR and Chad are trailing at;3.75, 1.88 and 3.75 respectively.

Countries	Rank by Democracy Index World/Africa	Democracy index(world level)	Political Culture	Rank by HDI World/Africa
Norway	1	9.87	10	1
Iceland	2	9.58	10	
Sweden	3	9.39	10	
Mauritius	16/1	8.22	8.75	65/2
Cape Verde	23/2	7.88	6.88	125/11
Botswana	28/3	7.81	7.50	101/5
South Africa	41/4	7.24	5.00	113/8
Ghana	52/5	6.69	6.25	140/14
Malawi	89/11	5.49	6.25	171/36
Kenya	95/14	5.11	5.63	142/16
Central Africa Republic	164/52	1.52	1.88	188/52
Chad	165/53	1.50	3.75	186/50

Table 1

Building of a democratic political culture in Africa today is being taken as a compulsory feat since, as noted by Kabange, democratic principles, good governance and the invocation of a democratic culture has becoming a daily requirement for the citizens.[50] In essence when there is good governance going hand in hand with a democratic culture, human rights is safeguarded.

2.2 Patterns of Development in Africa

Post-colonial Africa saw an entrenchment of the authoritarian regimes where democracy was often undermined. This resulted into a lot of pessimism among the African communities in the period between 1960s and 1980s.[51] It is argued that the post-colonial Africa was not properly equipped to tackle poverty and did not have the necessary structures to bring about transformation to the underdeveloped African nations. [52]

Development can simply be defined as can be considered deliberate move from a position that is relatively better than what was in existence.[53] Therefore, development could mean a positive transformation. The meaning of development could be considered relative as it differs from one person to another. It is a process as it is considered progressively from what was previously to what is currently. The goal of development s to bring about positive transformation of the people's lives for example increased freedoms, better health, housing and education, more

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[50] Christian Kabange. "The challenges for the advancement of human rights and democracy in Africa in the 21st century" University of South Africa, College of Law, Department of Public, Constitutional and International Law. 15

[51] Bujra, Abdalla. *Political Culture, Governance, and the State in Africa*. Nairobi: Development Policy Management Forum, 2011. Pg 129

[52] Levin Richard. "Developing The Public Service and administrative Capacity of African states In Africa" paper prepared for 30th AAPAM Annual Roundtable Conference, 6th-10th October 2008, Accra-Ghana

[53] Chambers, Robert (1997) *Responsible Well-being: A Personal Agenda for Development.* World Development.

opportunities for the people to find work among others. This brings us to the concept of human development.

2.3 Human Development defined

"Human development is defined as the process of enlarging people's freedoms and opportunities and improving their well-being. Human development is about the real freedom ordinary people have to decide who to be, what to do, and how to live." [54] Its measurement could be modified from one region to another where different indicators can be used to measure the basic dimensions; per capita income, life expectancy and education. This measurement gives us the Human development index. For example America measures a decent standard of living, a long and healthy life and access to knowledge in place of per capita income, life expectancy and education respectively. This is mostly determined by the availability of data and the need to better reflect a country's situation

According to the 2018 Human Development Index (HDI)[55] Seychelles is ranked as the most developed county in Africa and number sixty three in the world. Unfortunately the least developed counties are in Africa as seen on table 1.Citation These Research project seeks to look at how building democratic political culture would promote human development using country case studies in Africa.

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[54] "About Human Development." Measure of America - A Project of the Social Science Research Council. Accessed November 10, 2018. http://www.measureofamerica.org/human-development/.
[55] "Human Development Indices and Indicators"" HDRO (Human Development Report Office) United Nations Development Programme. Accessed November 10, 2018 pp. 22–25.
http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2018_human_development_statistical_update.pdf

2.4 Arguments to Support the relationship between Democracy and development

Many assumptions have been made in order to explain the link between democracy and development. It is assumed that when people or a nation begin to achieve higher levels of economic and social development they tend to be more concerned about governance issues. This interests leads to a need for better democratic space. For instance a growing middle class and a well-informed and educated citizenry will demand more participation in decision making and even the running of their governments. Governments will therefore have no option but provide more democratic space for its people.[56]

This analogy is evidenced in South Africa, where after the country attained independence following the fall of apartheid an educated black population and an increasing population of the middle class demanded more responsibility from the government.

It is worth noting that most developed worldwide are democratic. This then supports the assumption that democracy and development are related. This realization thus points us to the strong belief held by the donor community that; democracy is a precondition for development. [57]

The connection is further strengthened by the fact that democratic regimes never fall after they attain a certain level of income. [58] This is true for most Western nations. It is in this light that African nations purpose to achieve development by championing democratization of political systems, institutions and culture.

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[56] Menocal, Alina (2007) *Analysing the Relationship between Democracy and Development: Defining Basic Concepts and Assessing Key Linkages*. Background note (1) prepared for the Wilton Park Conference on Democracy and Development, 23–25 October 2007

[57] Przeworski, Adam (2000) *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-being in the World 1950-1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nonetheless, some scholars argue that development and democracy are not interdependent. China is normally used as an example of a country that has been largely considered to be among the least democratic nations in the world. However, china in the last decades achieved economic development at a higher rate that most democratic nations world over.[59]

The emergence and increase of authoritarian states that are actually showing impressive economic growth without having to endure the pressures of democratizations suggests that there is no relationship between development and democracy. This trend is evident in the Arab world like the United Arab Emirates and East Asian countries; India, Singapore and China.[60] In Africa, Rwanda seems to be heading in that direction.

In addition it is argued that democratization has not been instrumental in bringing economic development in most African nations. It is suggested that the African continent has deliberately and purposefully embarked on extensive measure in past decades to democratize their political systems. This has not however born much fruits for their economic development. For instance, Malawi which has a political culture score of 6.25 higher than South Africa's 5.00 ranks 36th in HDI, while South Africa ranks 4th in Africa. This means that the political culture in Malawi is quite democratic compared to South Africa but that has not however led to development.[61]

The argument against are valid to the extent that they are based on economic development especially in the case of China and United Arab Emirates. Questions however have been raised towards human development and human dignity which is the essence of the existence of human

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[59] "Is There a Link between Democracy and Development in Africa?" ACCORD. Accessed November 10, 2018. https://accord.org.za/conflict-trends/link-democracy-development-africa/.

[60] Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce and Downs, George W. (2005) 'Development and Democracy: Richer but Not Freer', *Foreign Affairs*, Sept/Oct 2005, Available at: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2005-09-01/development-and-democracy> [Accessed 30 June 2017]

[61] "Human Development Indices and Indicators"" HDRO (Human Development Report Office) United Nations Development Programme. Accessed November 10, 2018 pp. 22–25. http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2018_human_development_statistical_update.pdf

being existence. In this case therefore, it may be true that economic development may not necessarily be dependent on democratic values and culture, however would the same be said for human development. This Research project would use country case studies to show how political democratic culture would promote human development.

2.5 South Africa

South Africa is ranked fourth according to the democracy index and eighth in Africa according to the HDI and one eleventh in the world. This means that it has made progress in its democracy and it is relatively developed compared to other African nations.

According to Gumede, it is the political culture of a nation that "determines the type of government institutions, how authority is vested in government, who is given authority and power in society and government, who is allowed to participate in policy- and decision-making and how citizens hold their leaders accountable".[62] This then means that how the citizens' experience the political system will be defined by the political culture- is it democratic or not.

Using the AIDs pandemic in South Africa to underscore his point, Gumede points out the lack of democratic political culture where many of the ANC's supporters watched silently as the then president Mbeki's government embarked on a "fatal policy of denial". The supporters feared that they would be labeled as supporters of Western influences and multinational pharmaceutical companies accused of being catalysts to the underdevelopment of African nations. When William Makgoba, the then head of the Medical Research Council of South Africa was bold enough to raise questions on Mbeki's policy but was severely insulted, asked to recant his views

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[62] Mckaiser E (2009)*'The Poverty of Ideas: South African Democracy and the Retreat of Intellectuals', edited by William Gumede and Leslie Dikeni,Published by Jacana Media, pp 272*

and branded a betrayer of the black race by the ANC leadership. Whereas Makgoba stood firm, many critics and intellectuals remained quiet. The actions of Mbeki's government were fatal. It was reported that about three hundred thousand deaths that could have been avoided.[63]

It is quite unfortunate that during Mbeki's regime the reputation of intellectuals who publicly criticized the government was destroyed by Mbeki's inner circle. Gumede posits that "no reasonable debate on policies can take place in a situation where those who propose alternatives are seen as the enemy who need to be annihilated and destroyed." [64] This censorship by Mbeki's regime came at a cost to South Africa which is a country on a development path, which is in dire need of innovative and creative ideas. Policy questions are not exposed to public debate for scrutiny and improvement. This has a huge impact of human development since the society pays the ultimate price, even death in the case of the AIDs pandemic.

2.5 Botswana

Rothberg uses Botswana as a case study to show what good leadership can do in Africa. Botswana was among the three poorest countries in the world when they got their independence from the European imperialists. It had been neglected by its colonial Masters. Even after attaining its independence and holding its first election in 1965, Botswana lost one third of its livestock which was at the time the backbone of its economy due to drought.[65] Nonetheless, the country's appreciation for good governance through participatory democracy is what made Botswana grow to one of the richest and most politically stable countries in Africa. The country

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[63] Boseley, Sarah. "Mbeki Aids Denial 'caused 300,000 Deaths'." The Guardian. November 26, 2008. Accessed November 10, 2018. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/nov/26/aids-south-africa.
[64] Mckaiser E (2009)*'The Poverty of Ideas: South African Democracy and the Retreat of Intellectuals', edited by William Gumede and Leslie Dikeni,*Published by Jacana Media, p 272

[65] Maundeni, Zibani. "40 Years of democracy in Botswana;1965-2005", Published by Mmeg iPublishing House, p 6

defends human rights and promotes economic and human development. It has inculcated in its people a democratic spirit and culture. Its boasts of electoral democracy as one of the tenets of political culture something that cannot be said for many African countries. The media in Botswana is considered a pillar of democracy through its critical assessment of issues concerning the populace. It has instituted watchdog institution to curb corruption, protect democracy and promote transparency. It has practices a three party system structure. All the parties are different but issue based. Botswana ranks 3rd in Africa in terms of a democratic index, with a 7.5 political culture rating. It is placed on the high human development category with a 0.71 rating and ranks 101 in the world on HDI. In 2000, their life expectancy was heat hard by the HIV Aids pandemic but the country picked itself up. Its HDI has been on growth trajectory of 0.565 in 2000 to 0.717 in 2017.[66]

2.6 Ghana

It is argued that most nation states in Africa are currently formal democracies yet there is an obviously growing cynicism among the people on whether democracy can deliver both social and economic development. In reference to what we alluded to earlier, the success stories in terms of development by authoritarian regimes in China the 'Asian Tigers' leaves many wondering if there is need for democracy.

This is the reason why Ghana is a compelling story in Africa on this topic. Ghana has successfully transitioned to multi-party democracy over the last two decades in a continent where even some of the most developed nations struggle. Ghana has a democracy index of 52 in the

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[66] Op Cit Human development Indices and Indicators, pg 23

world and 5th in Africa after South Africa, with a political culture rating of 6.25 ahead of South Africa's 5.00. For a multi-ethnic country, this is no mean feat.

Ghana has held six elections since the year 1992. Power was smoothly transferred from the government to the opposition in two of the six occasions. In Ghana, the political class has a voice and the civil society which is made up of critical thinkers, professionals, the media, NGOs is fully engaged and growing.

Ghana is ranked 140 on HDI in the world HDI ahead of Kenya which ranked 142. It is argued that the health and education services have really improved. As from 2003, Ghana provided its citizens with free and universal health care under its national Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS). In a record 10 years after instituting Multi-party democracy (1998-2008), Ghana was able to grow the immunization rate for its children by 51% to 70%. In 2007, Ghana was the first country in Sub Sahara Africa (SSA to make pre-primary education compulsory. Ghana's mean years of school is at 7.1 higher than Namibia's 6.8, ranked 129th on HDI in the world and Kenya at 5.5 and ranked 142 in the world.[67]

It is quite interesting that in Ghana at least two thirds of the people are happy with the Country's democracy and what their democracy can deliver. This goes without saying with such a happiness index, only means that the Ghanaians are on the right path of human development. This supports the argument that building democratic political culture could indeed promote

It argued that Ghana enjoys a culture of tolerance that has existed for generation something that lacks in most African nations. The Ghanaian identity and promotion of social cohesion are the bases for the creation of state-society relations. As referred to earlier on the education and health

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[67] Op Cit Human development Indices and Indicators, pg 23

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sectors, the social contract model forms the basis for nation building. The culture of Inclusion of stakeholders in the formal and informal sectors has been established beyond ethnicity. The culture of public participation is also entrenched where the middle class and urban dwellers have shown a commitment to these democratic values.

A culture of issue based politics has also been instituted in Ghana with Education and Health being key thematic areas during the electioneering period. Unlike in many African nations, the media in Ghana pushes for government accountability and service delivery.

Nonetheless it is still not a perfect world in Ghana. The democracy also has some teething problems; there is need for decentralization of the political system, for example devolution in Kenya though its success or lack of it is still a contentious issue. The parliament also needs to be more accountable while patronage politics and corruption must also be dealt with.[68]

2.5 Chapter Summary

The chapter investigated how building democratic political culture would promote human development in Africa. It started out by discussing democracy in Africa. It then created a picture on development and final human development- using case studies of several nations.

The chapter investigated how democratic political culture in would promote human development in Africa. This objective was made to test the hypothesis; democratic political culture in Africa will promote human development.

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[68] Menocal, Alina Rocha. "Ghana's Democracy Is Driving Great Progress in Health and Education | Alina Rocha Menocal." The Guardian. March 18, 2015. Accessed November 13, 2018. https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/mar/18/ghana-democracy-progress-health-education.

This chapter shows the importance of using liberalism theory. The theory argues for the perfectibility of humanity which would be made possible by democratic values and culture. This description is in line with our hypothesis of human development and democratic values and ideal. One of the core ideologies of liberalism theory is participation of the majority. Human development is about allowing people opportunities to make decisions concerning what they want to do and to be. Civil liberties are advocated by this theory and are at the heart of human development.

CHAPTER THREE

WHAT ARE THE ROLES OF INTELLECTUALS IN BUILDING DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL CULTURE IN AFRICA

3.0 Introduction

This chapter will delve into what are the roles of intellectuals in building a democratic political culture in Africa. The chapter will essentially cover the following sub topics: History of African Intellectuals, role of intellectuals in building of Africa's democratic political culture, criticism of African intellectuals.

3.1 The History of African Intellectuals

Mkandawire is quite categorical when he states that in Africa, intellectuals have been very instrumental in "reconstructing the past, interpreting the present and mapping out visions of the future"[69] he argues that the African intellectual is concerned about serious issues facing the continent like; foreign influences, under development and rebuilding and repositioning Africa in the world map. He posits that African intellectuals must lead the cause as responsible citizenship where they take up an active yet neutral role. This desire has however been met by authoritarian regimes and selfish leaders who desire not the support of the intellectuals but sycophancy. Most African nations he claims did not care about local debates unless such debates were a threat to the state authority. Unfortunately many intellectuals allowed themselves to be "yoked to power" and to the command "silence: we are developing".[70]

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[69] Mkandawire, P. Thandika. *"African Intellectuals: Rethinking Politics, Language, Gender and Development"*. London: Zed Books, 2006. Pg2
[70] Ibid 1

African intellectuals emerged in the 1970s, after most African countries had gained independence. Most nations were optimistic thus the relationship between the state and intellectuals was good. There was willful cooperation between the two and intellectuals contributed significantly to national policies. Development was considered an elitist project and democracy played second fiddle.[71]

Things however changed. There were doubts among some radical intellectuals on whether the political elite were committed and had the political goodwill to develop their countries. Intellectuals started to raise the question of neo-colonialism. Unfortunately, the founding fathers of Africa started demolishing the democratic structures that had been established after independence. Institutions of higher learning were seen as alien to the state stated in Nkrumah's speech "we want the university college to cease being an alien institution..." [72] This age was characterized by blame game between the intellectuals and the state concerning the "national struggle". Universities were denied relevance. It is in this era that most African intellectuals left the continent. The 1990s saw most African nations go through democratic reforms; the women were categorical on the need for their inclusion in nation building and in the reform agenda. Feminist scholars were on the rise and not afraid to attack the African intellectual endeavors as having ignored gender issues. Everyone including intellectuals was talking about change. This brief history of African intellectuals ushers into a critical assessment of the role of intellectuals in building a democratic political culture.

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[72] Ibid 2

3.2 Roles of Intellectuals in building a democratic political culture

3.2.1 Criticism, Research and analysis

Gumede, in his contribution on the manner in which to build a democratic society noted that intellectuals hold a very pragmatic and pertinent place in the processes of building democratic cultures. As such, in Africa, intellectuals, amongst other forces play a similar role in the building of democratic political cultures[73]. Importantly, according to this author, intellectuals have the capacity to root out some of the deep seated cultures that tend to downgrade the application of standard democracies, or else, the application of democratic cultures in politics. Gumede suggests a number of ways and means that can be applied by the intellectuals in ascertaining that the cultures, ideologies as well as the mentalities rooted deep within African political cultures are lifted as they play a fundamental role in depressing development of the democratic political cultures.

In essence, and in line with the foregoing assertion, the author underpins the importance of intellectual criticism. As such, it can be postulated that intellectuals, through their analytical frameworks are supposed to ensure that democratic cultures are uplifted by criticizing the traditional norms, and consequently followed suit by constructive criticism.

3.2.2 Political Parties think Tanks

Juma posits that the most viable option for African democracies as they tend to skew towards democratic cultures is bestowed on the intensive requirement to build political parties that are development bound as opposed to those that are tribal bound.[74] When such parties desire to

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[73] Gumede, William. "Building a democratic political culture." *The Poverty of Ideas: South African Democracy and the Retreat of Intellectuals. Auckland Park: Jacana* (2009): 11-34: 12.

[74] Calestous **Juma**, "Viewpoint: How tribalism stunts African democracy" *BBC*, 27.12.2012. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-20465752

concentrate their efforts on developmental agendas instead of the tribal agendas, they will need

the input of intellectuals who act as think-tanks. Interestingly, Juma notes that most of the local

political parties lack the input of the intellectual think-tanks when putting up their manifestos,

leading to the making up of jumbled-up pieces of manifestos that end up not being helpful.

In such an instance, as elucidated by Juma, it is evident that one of the biggest problems that lead

to the lack of a developed democratic political culture in the African continent is self-made. Out

of, probably, selfishness, party heads fail to employ the use of the right techniques such as

consulting the intellectual think-tanks, a factor that leads them to eventually falter in laying the

right foundation for their respective country's democracy. Exemplifying with Kenya, for

instance, dozens of political parties mushroom at the electioneering period, and eventually, tribal

groupings in the name of party systems are evident. Having such groupings as the lead election

tools, led by tribes and not ideologies, leads to a weakened democratic political culture.

According to Juma, such an issue can be abated by making use of intellectuals, think-tanks and

additional institutions of research.[75]

3.2.3 Transforming through organizing the political realm

Eyoh states that a whirlpool of problems in Africa ranging from economic, political, and the

social realms have not just led to desperation in the land, but has also led to the need for

solutions.[76] The author notes the need to transform the continent, a discourse that is centrally

placed in the hands of African postcolonial intellectuals. Further, the author notes the need for

promulgated assessment of the manner states are empowered, nations are formed and economies

development. Essentially, the noted premises showcase the essence of how African intellectuals

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[75] Ibid 1.
[76] Dickson, Eyoh "African perspectives on democracy and the dilemmas of postcolonial intellectuals." *Africa Today* 45, no. 3/4 (1998): 281-306: 282.

relate to the organization and development of the political atmosphere of the continent. According to this author, postcolonial Africa has vastly been affected by the tentacles of the past making the establishment of democratic political cultures a vocation that is best suited in the hands of the intellectuals. In essence, and in accordance to Eyoh, the intellectuals are responsible for realigning the major advances of the continent in terms of the organization and the development of its political realm.

In South Africa, Neocosmos states that the liberation as well as the democratization was a point that was marked by extensive transformations in both the social as well as the political angles. Against this light, the author postulated that the history of South Africa was marred by transitions from social to political, all the way to the history of the nation's father[77]. From such postulations, Neocosmos aimed at aligning the reader to the manner in which South African intellectuals played a big part in its emancipation or liberation but also towards democratization[78].

The intellectuals in a society should be responsible for stabilizing the social system of the society and also improving the societal political processes through a critical analysis of the same[79]. In this assertion, the authors posit that there are number of social forces that are very necessary for governance. Apparently, it is important for governments to consider strategizing on issues further especially when challenges occur. At the present times, according to Karpova, Meshcheryakova and Chudinova, current governance structures have become branched into various groups, an issue that makes them more complicated[80].

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[77] Neocosmos, Michael, Raymond Suttner, and Ian Taylor. (*Political cultures in democratic South Africa*. Vol. 19. Nordic Africa Institute, 2002): 6

[78] Ibid, 7

[79] Karpova, Anna Yu, Natalyia N. Meshcheryakova, and Aliona I. Chudinova. "The political role of intellectuals." (In *SHS Web of Conferences*, vol. 28, p. 01147. EDP Sciences, 2016):1.

[80] Ibid, 2

3.2.4 Mediation and crisis management

The rising need for mediation between the society and the public sphere requires more complex interpretation from the intellectuals who, additionally, are also required to serve critical political functions.

Against this light, it can be adduced that intellectuals have a direct relationship with the government, and can come in handy in times of such crisis as the 2008 financial crisis. In an African context, the nations are facing the crisis of lacking a democratic political culture, especially after acquiring power from their colonial masters. According to Karpova et al., after being granted the power to make decisions regarding the country, the epitome of democracy, there is an increase in risks that could possibly relegate the essential qualities of a democratic political system[81].

3.2.5 Activism and theorizing matters of public interest

Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere is a good example of an African intellectual who went to resounding heights in trying to democratize Tanganyika; present day Tanzania. First, it suffices to note that Nyerere was the first Tanzanian to earn a Master's degree, albeit in adulthood.[82] With his intellect showcasing itself as early as in elementary school, a phase he completed in a far shorter than the requisite term, Nyerere rose fast to become a fighter against colonialism, racism as well as oppression.[83] Following Nyerere's deep religious roots, he saw the imperialists as evil and Godless, a factor that prompted a resistance notion, a notion that skewed towards a theoretical and later a political angle. In this sense, this paper insinuates that from his remarkable

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[81] Karpova, Anna Yu, Natalyia N. Meshcheryakova, and Aliona I. Chudinova. "The political role of intellectuals." In *SHS Web of Conferences*, vol. 28, p. 01147. EDP Sciences, 2016. P1

[82] Che-Mponda, Aleck Humphrey. "Aspect of Nyerere's Political Philosophy: A Study in the Dynamics of African Political Thought." (1984): 63

[83] Ibid, 65

intellect, Nyerere was able to analyze situations and go ahead to suggest ideas that could be used to salvage his people from the chains.

The authenticity of Mwalimu Nyerere's political philosophy made the Tanzania people respect him and look up to him in almost everything they did. He supported the growth of social attitudes that promoted harmonious living among people popularly known as Ujamaa. He considered himself a "bourgeois liberal"; opposing Capitalism as he considered it exploitative and Doctrinaire Socialism which he perceived to promote conflict between people. He lived for the honor of Africa and went ahead to commit his country's meager resources to the liberation movement of other African countries.[84]

As noted in the previous sections, the major role that such intellectuals as Nyerere play in their backyards is to aid in thinking for the masses, analyzing situations, and leading by example through acting. On return from Edinburg after attaining a Master of Arts degree, coupled with his deep Catholicism, Julius Nyerere was determined to pursue what he believed was the best liberation for his people. As an admired figure, in addition to his now decision to politicize his ambitions, Nyerere was able to command a political overtone that goes to the later heights of him being the new nation-state's President.

3.2.6 Engage in political Matters

In Nzongola-Ntalaja's terms, intellectuals and academics have a role to play in the struggle for democracy, and in this context, in the buildup to democratic political institutions and cultures.[85]

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[84] Kosukhin and Nikolai (2005). "Julius Nyerere: Statesman, Thinker, Humanist". Julius Nyerere: Humanist, Politician, Thinker. Translated by B. G. Petruk. Dar Es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota.

[85] Nzongola-Ntalaja, Georges. "The Role of Intellectuals in the Struggle for Democracy, Peace and Reconstruction in Africa: Presidential Address delivered at the 11th Biennial Congress of the African Association of Political Science (AAPS) in Durban, South Africa, June 23-26, 1997." *African Journal of Political Science/Revue Africaine de Science Politique* 2, no. 2 (1997): 1-14: 10

The author exemplifies these roles as symbolic to working on social tasks. As such, the author posits that intellectuals should go beyond the theoretical perspectives perceived in the education bit of their intellect, but they must also be very willing to engage in political matters. In the same light, and in consideration that the intellectuals have the learned scientific ability to observe and infer from various viewpoints, it is also their responsibility to spread the inferred knowledge in a usable way. Nzongola-Ntalaja posits that such a circumstance is potentially usable if the mode of learning in the universities was reconstructed. Notably, the author seems to opine that the major and the most important role that an intellectual can play in democratizing their politics is by opening the eyes of the others. In this regard, the author has pointed out that the intellectual, also referring to them as the academics have an ability to look at issues at a different angle and therefore separate the wheat from the chaff. Scientifically, Nzongola-Ntalaja insinuates that the intellectuals should not just sit on such information but are required to further process it in a manner that will benefit the wider society.[86] During this process, it is essential that the education system is localized in order to welcome local ideologies.

3.2.7 Spearhead the reconstruction of the education system

On revolutionizing the local African universities, Nzongola-Ntalaja notes that the status of such universities is due to the fact that the main reason for constructing such institutions was solely for preservation of European's interest. In essence, Makerere University (Uganda), Ibadan (Nigeria) and the University of Kinshasa (formerly Lovanium, Congo) were created with a selfish aim of separating through education, a few African elites who would then be singled out for expansion of their own interests.[87]

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[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid

Noteworthy to mention, considering the manner in which elitist traditions were practiced by the colonists, it is evident that intellectualism was a revered aspect of the society, and that contributed to higher societal echelons, and that could therefore be positively applied in important societal decision making. In the post-colonial era, for instance, Nzongola-Ntalaja notes that universities were the main center points that could attract economic precedence in most nations. As such, governments went a notch higher to ensure that such institutions never lacked in their needs.[88] Evidently, therefore, it is crystal clear that African nations took advantage of education, and in this case, intellectuals, to advance their postcolonial needs such as economic and political development. With advancement of the university education as alleged in the latter section, it is possible to have an emerging cream of loyalists, who in the same way as adduced before, can be able to accentuate their countries from some of the yokes such as lack of democratic political cultures. By exemplifying with Julius Nyerere who had to go to Edinburg to attain his feat of being the first among equals to gain a Masters' of Arts, it would now be possible to have our own and local cream produced for the support of its own systems.

3.2.8 Lead and engage in Public debates

In democratic decision making, dialogue is an essential process that allows all people to be represented fully. When discussions are freely made, Gumede posits that the people are able to rule. In democratic societies, pluralism is a tenet that dominates the culture; in a society that intellectuals assist in decision-making, other than pluralism, there is a tolerating attitude that

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[88] Ibid

incorporates a wide-ranging contribution from the public on the public debate, an issue that assists in the shaping of a democratic culture in the society[89].

With the input of the intellectual think-tanks, Gumede states that; inasmuch as dialogue may be hard to initiate in a society, especially a large and a diverse one, there is always a greater need for such dialogue in deliberating important matters. In the same realm, when a society has been tuned by such circumstances to accept dialogue as part of its culture in deliberating over its matters, the same society will experience the need for the same in discussing or handling its political issues, therefore tending towards the formation of a democratic political culture[90].

In moving into a democratic political culture, it is its process in the 90s, it suffices to note that the culture, then, was miles away from democratic; in essence, apartheid was not democratic at all.[91] In such a context, the intellectuals were poised to make decisions that would fight the tentacles of apartheid to the best of their ability. Such liberating decisions that needed to be made in South Africa needed to be made in such a manner that the enemy[92] was defeated, needed the input of a few individuals who would be able to hide any dissents amongst their views, in case they arose.

3.2.9 Policy Making

Intellectuals, on the other hand, act by hiding their dissent of some policies from the government in order to protect the government from possible exploitation by critiques. Against this backdrop, it is clear that intellectuals act as very important set of personnel when critical decisions regarding creation of the government are made since they are able to reserve the information that

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[89] Gumede, William. "Building a democratic political culture." *The Poverty of Ideas: South African Democracy and the Retreat of Intellectuals. Auckland Park: Jacana* (2009): 11-34.
[90] Ibid
[91] Ibid

needs reservation, such as crisis managemen. In essence, in consideration of Gumede's suppositions, intellectuals, in their roles as observers, analysts and think tanks, help African governments in their pursuit of democracy by steering the essential debates constructively, as was the case of South Africa.

Caeser states that the most essential determinant of a society's character is the political culture of that society.[93] Accordingly, such a condition is not just shaped by laws and the social essential to note that most African countries move from an authoritarian culture. As such, the same entails that the political institutions being built are more or less new considering the case of South Africa which was started by the intellectual ideologies. As such, the author posited that the various ways in which intellectuals could stifle the minds of the populace were etched in traditions and some philosophies, an ideology that enabled him to promulgate a new school of thought[94] that relied on ideologies as a way of shaping the political cultures.[95]

Notably, the most important aspect of Caesar's contribution can be alleged to be founded on countering the influence if intellectuals. In essence, therefore, such an attempt showcases the manner that the influences of intellectuals in shaping African democracies were and still are very extensive.

Gumede posits that in a democracy, it is okay to differ with the leaders since they do not know everything. He argues that it is not obvious that the ruling party ANC will govern with the people in mind. Intellectuals therefore may not necessarily give an unquestioned 'truth', however, they

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[93] James Ceaser. "Alexis de Tocqueville on political science, political culture, and the role of the intellectual." (American Political Science Review 79, no. 3 (1985): 656-672): 657.

[94] Ibid 2
[95] Ibid 2

are instrumental in suggesting alternative ways, compare, and interrogate the said truths and motives- setting the pace for public debates on issues affecting the people.

This is supported by Nyong'o argument that in mature or new democracies, the intellectuals are instrumental in giving views on critical matters. They should also be in a position to create frameworks that will allow a new and different way of thinking. They should lead in building and recreating new political jargons that are applicable in a dynamic environment. He notes that a number of intellectuals what to stick to the old interpretation of politics and African history which they assume is correct, hoping that this will make all problems go away. This he says is not true.

3.3 Criticism of the role played by Intellectuals

Looking at the history of African intellectuals, Mazrui and Amina Mama noted that authoritarian regimes were not the only ones that stifled the democratic space of the intellectuals, intellectuals themselves were also part of the problem. Some took advantages of their opportunities to marginalize other intellectuals through intolerance and ethnic discrimination [96]

The 21st century ushered in an era that Mkadawire calls 'resignation or renaissance'. He argues that there were intellectuals who were opposed to regimes of the day, there were those who were resigned. Mkadawire also questioned the originality of the intellectuals' goals as they carry out their roles in society.

In the wake of the Arab Spring, it was argued that not a single individual could be credited with it, in fact it is said that the victims in the Arab states were simply tired and wanted to get rid of the undemocratic oppressive regimes. Unfortunately, it is argued that tragically, the use of social media though effective in propelling the uprising did not help to generate ideas. In short there

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[96] Mkandawire, P. Thandika. *"African Intellectuals: Rethinking Politics, Language, Gender and Development"*. London: Zed Books, 2006. Pg2

was nothing to replace the deposed regimes with. The Arab Thinkers did not help to contextualize the people's feelings and thoughts thus the conclusion; the absence of intellectual input would result in the absence of the right theoretical framework which then means that uprisings will have little or no progressive impact.[97] These same sentiments had earlier been echoed by Prof Ali Mazrui who argued that; though peasants and proletariat may succeed in bringing down regimes, they would require intellectuals to help comprehend and re-construct a new social order.[98]

3.4 Chapter Summary

The chapter assessed the role of intellectuals in building democratic political culture in Africa It started out by discussing the history of African Intellectuals, then elaborated on Intellectuals contribution to building of Africa's democratic political culture and final critiqued African intellectuals in their role of building democratic political culture.

The chapter aimed at assessing the role of intellectuals in building a democratic political culture. This objective was made to test the hypothesis; intellectuals have a role to play in building Africa's democratic political culture

This chapter shows the importance of using liberalism theory. The theory argues for the perfectibility of humanity which would be made possible by democratic values. It encourages idea generation which as elucidated earlier is one core roles of intellectuals. On the other hand a ideology of liberalism is participation of the majority. As alluded to earlier, the intellectual acts as a national conscience and in leading debates and problematizing issues that concern the populace he or she could guide them into achieving democratic political cultu

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[97] Jose Vericat. "In Light of the Intellectuals: The Role of Novelists in ..." 2014. Accessed September 18, 2018. https://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/publications/1409_arab_intellectuals.pdf
[98] Ibid 56

CHAPTER FOUR

CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS OF BUILDING A DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL CULTURE IN KENYA

4.0 Introduction

This chapter analyzes challenges and prospects of building democratic political culture in Kenya; it has the following subtopics: patterns of democracy in Africa, challenges facing the building of democratic culture in Kenya, and prospects of building democratic political culture in Kenya.

4.1 Patterns of democracy in Africa.

Democracy in Africa was fashioned by the European Imperialists in the days before 1960s when African states gained their independence. The newly independent African states thus continued with the same democratic model of governance. Since independence, democracy in Africa has shown progress but nonetheless it is faced with major challenges; illegitimacy of governments even after an election, corruption, autocracy among others.

Huntington posited that three step would precede the emergence of democracy. The first step would be the liberalization of the state, which would be followed by the formation of democratic institutions and establishment of a constitution which would be a transitional period. Free, fair and credible elections that are held regularly accompanied by a political or civic culture would crown it all in the consolidation stage.[99] This is true since most African nations have experienced the first two steps to a large extent. Nonetheless, the civic or political culture has not been very democratic, resulting into an adulteration of the democratic institutions.

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[99] Huntington, Samuel P. (1999) The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Thomson notes that there is a scarcity of documentation that can be verified to tell Africa's political history. Ethnicity and divisive politics that often results into conflict has also characterized the African political history.[100] In addition, African Leaders like Patrice Lumumba never got to tell their story since their lives were cut shot while Kwame Nkrumah, was exiled. The lack of such information denied African states and particularly successive regimes literature for continued political development. Unfortunately, some regimes have taken advantage of this to distort the political history to their advantage.

Most African nations after independence had a lot in common; from experiences, dictatorship, conflict and violence, neo-patrimonial cultures, underdeveloped economies and foreign influence especially from their colonial masters.

Middle East countries on the other hand are comparatively more developed, suffer very little foreign influence, less dependent on donor funding, and a leadership that is keen to invest in economic development demonstrated by the "economic miracles" of Gulf countries. This is not however to mean that they do not suffer from vices like corruption and poor governance, they do. France for instant has a huge grip on its former colonies. It is even accused of maintaining a double standard where former colonies that cooperate with them would be excused from the requirements with democratization.

Ake asserts that liberal democracy will not work in Africa; African must find a form of democracy that works for them, one that is sustainable. He suggests that there is need for Africans to put more emphasis on economic rights as opposed to political rights. He argues that the progress in democracy got its motivation from the economic conditions that prevail in most African nations.[101] Joseph in his contribution intimated that Africa did not have the capacity to

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[100] Thomson, Alex (2004) An Introduction to African Politics 2nd Edition, London: Routledge.
[101] Ake, Claude (1993) "The Unique Case of African Democracy" International Affairs Vol. 69, No. 2: 239-244

democratize. It lacked what was needed for politics that was both democratic and founded on the constitution. Poverty, cultural fragmentation, inadequacy in the practice of capitalism and a lack of political culture characterized the continent. A weak middle class that was easily co-opted to the authoritarian culture made it difficult to build democratic political culture. [102]

He asserts that African politics and economies are underdeveloped and suffer instability; the economic environment is still weak and the political environment is still fragile and based on ethnicity leading to unequal distribution of resources. He suggested that Africa lacked the necessary conditions to institute liberal democratic that can have mutual consideration to all citizens within states hence such behaviors has led to the emergence of illiberal democracies.[103]

The ruling class will put aside funds for conducting regular elections but having regular elections does not mean having democracy if justice and fairness is not maintained. Due to the shared experiences of most African nations, it would be very difficult to discuss challenges and prospects of building democratic political culture in Kenya without referencing the same on the African story.

4.2 Challenges of building democratic political culture in Kenya

The task of building democratic culture in Africa faces an array of challenges. Many African nations still struggle in their quest to establish a democratic political space. This is no different from Kenya.

It should be noted that democratic cultures are instruments and not strategies. For them to thrive, they would need strong political support.

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[102] Joseph, Richard (1997) "Democratization in Africa after 1989: Comparative and Theoretical Perspectives" Comparative Politics, Vol. 29, No. 3: 363-382

[103] Osiki, Omon Merry (2010) ""Gold, Guns & Goons": the complexity of electoral irregularities in Nigeria, 1999-2007" Information, Society & Justice Vol. 3 No 2: 151-163

4.2.1 Donor Made Liberal Democratization

Kenya like many African nations has been affected by foreign influences. One such influence is the tendency of Western powers to apply "double standards". As alluded to early, most African nations have been forced to adopt donor driven liberal democracy more than their Middle Eastern neighbors. This is largely stems from the fact that Kenya, like most African nations have failed to a large extent to established democratic political and economic systems and cultures capable of defying the foreign influences. Foreign influences have also been accused of fueling internal conflicts in some African nations by funding rebel groups in the event that the government of the day fails to "co-operate" which ideally means fail to submit to the will of the foreign powers. At times it is for simple material gain like minerals in Sierra leon, Angola, Liberia among other nations.[104] Michael Ranneberger tenure as the US Ambassador to Kenya, was described as roguish as he publicly engaged in activism and was a frequent visitor at political events. He was accused of using donor funding to influence youth's political activities.[105] One of the biggest challenges of this form of democracy which has a lot of foreign influences is that it lacks ownership of the local community and when the donor funding is withdrawn, the democracy fails. It fails to inculcate the democratic culture in the local community.

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[104] The origins of the Kimberley Process were dramatized in Ed Zwick's motion picture *Blood Diamond* (2006), starring Leonardo DiCaprio and Djimon Hounsou. The film helped to publicize the controversy surrounding conflict diamonds and led to worldwide awareness of the Western African involvement in the diamond trade

[105] https://www.nation.co.ke/lifestyle/dn2/Rogue-ambassadors-It-did-not-start-with-Ranneberger-/957860-1079332-r037s9z/index.html

4.2.2 Conflict between the Western model of democracy versus African cultural traditions

Karin argues that the European imperialists forced on the African continent, a political system that was foreign to the Africans and which was modeled in the western style.[106] There lacked a relationship between the western democratic model and African cultural traditions. This is arguably the reason why the process of democratization of the African continent has been painfully slow. Traditional culture of ethnicity and patronage were not factored in. The partitioning of Africa was therefore not done properly and the unfounded suspicions that were birthed by forced relations between differing and diverse tribes led to tribal clashes.

Kenya is one of the countries that have suffered from this problem immensely. This coupled with other challenges have resulted into massive inequalities. Kenya like many African nations lacks a democratic culture where systems work. The process of democratization of its political culture is overshadowed by other local practices, even where some of the democratic norms are clearly articulated in constitution.

The African system of political patronage is based on inequity. The patron has control and choses how political resources would be distributed. This goes against the democratic ideals of political competition.

Thomson notes that political norms and values may not be accepted as democratic since democracy is considered a western ideology or tool to promote their interests."[107] The call to hold elections in a democratic manner was seen by a number of Africna Leaders as means to gaining independence and a tool to propagate the culture of the Western powers. Kenya, the country like most African nations moved away from multi-party rule to single party rule.

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[106] Karin (2000) Democracy by Force; US Military Intervention in the Post-Cold War World Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[107] Thomson, Alex (2004); An Introduction to African Politics 2nd Edition, London: Published by Routledge, 17

Nyong'o in his contribution argued that State model that was advocated for by the Western powers lacked legitimacy and the ability to bring about democratization.[108]

Nonetheless despite this huge challenge, without African democrats, or a democratic political culture, democratic governments cannot be granted legitimacy.

4.2.3 Laxity by States to honor social contract for service delivery

Kenya like most African nations, struggle with legitimacy issues due to their lack of capacity and capability to resolve the societal problems and also protect them. Any democratic relationship between the society and the state is normally based on a social contract where the society obeys and honors the authority of the land while the government offers protection to its people. Loyalty and patriotism has however become a precious commodity in African, even in Kenya due to inefficiencies in the part of the government offering its people limited security, poor living standards and increased cost of living.[109] This lack of trust makes it very difficult for the people of Kenya to impress upon themselves the values and beliefs that could propagate a democratic political culture. It becomes a 'man eat man' society.

4.2.4 Lack of Constitutionalism

Constitutionalism and democratization has not been given much emphasis by the African nations. In Kenya, like in many African nations, the executive arm of the government of the day adopts 'a reward and punishment' approach to the legislative and the judicial arms of the government. During the 2017 General elections, Judiciary was publicly threatened by the Jubilee administration after the Supreme court nullified the presidential election where the Jubilee candidate had won. The lack of the spirit of constitutionalism has contributed largely to a slow

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[108] Anyang' Nyong'o (1987). Popular Struggle for independence in Africa. Nairobi: Published by Uzima, p 30
[109] Gichuhi, Grace. "Kenyans Take Their Frustrations to Social Media as Uhuru Signs Finance 2018 Bill into Law." Evewoman - Woman's World. September 21, 2018. Accessed November 13, 2018. https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001296385/kenyans-take-their-frustrations-to-social-media-as-uhuru-signs-finance-2018-bill-into-law.

growth towards democratic political culture in Africa. Lately, the international community largely focused on elections rather than the electioneering process. This was highly criticized by the current opposition leader Raila Amolo Odinga.[110] From further research, it is clear that even the international community agrees that the process of conducting elections is obviously more important.

 The interpretation of the constitution has become an emerging challenge with different legal practitioners giving their interpretation based on their own interests or the interests of the ones they serve. In Kenya, it is regionally with political affiliations as the main motivation. This is particularly a worrying trend since it totally disregard democratic to the rule of law which is key to building democratic political culture.

The Kenya constitution also provides in chapter 6 and article 10; values and principle intended to guide the behavior of Kenyans towards a democratic culture. Seldom are these values considered both by the citizenry as they elect their leaders and by the leaders as they carry out their duties in the public offices. [111]

4.2.5 Values, Ethics and Social Justice

 It is indeed true that Africans are in dire need of a new ideas and policies but also a dire need to rebuild their value system. Community bonds that were once solid have disintegrating. Care and compassion among the people is a thing of the past. People have individualistic tendencies as opposed to looking for each other. The system financial benefits go to the rich but when the poor demand for their basic right for example a decent income, they are accused that they have a sense of entitlement. This is outright unfair and reflects or the failure of the people's values

Intellectuals indeed have role to play by in problematizing this so that the society can find

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[110] https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001257482/raila-iebc-hijacked-by-jubilee-and-foreigners
[111] The Constitution of Kenya

solutions. Those who lack financial capabilities and those who are vulnerable need someone to look after them..[112] This presents a huge challenge to building democratic political culture.

4.2.6 Undemocratic Political Parties

Political parties in Kenya as in most Africa states are characterized by a lack of internal democracy which is a hindrance to democratic political culture. First, they are founded along ethnic line. The political party leadership is made up of a small team of powerful political elites who control the government resources which are shared based on their interests and ethnicity or class and at times religion. Normally the outgoing leader often picks his successor, one who can take care of his interests and is loyal. At times that the leader is ousted by a competition faction. Competition to take control of the political party leadership is seldom about the people's wellbeing but about gaining control of power and resources in order to share it with subjects to build loyalty[113]

Many of the Kenyan's political parties have well written manifestos and strategic plans that articulate solid and progress party values. Unfortunately, the lack of internal democracy in the political parties is what manifests. The political party leadership has become obsessed with political power and resources for selfish gains as opposed to the good of all. They demand loyalty and sycophancy from their followers. Any form of criticism is not allowed.

In addition, parties that form government use established institutions to deny the opposition a chance to win. This is against the spirit of multi-party democracy and an increasingly worrying trend today. These kinds of regimes are referred to as "pseudo democracies" They regimes use

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[112] Op Cit Nyongo A, p35
[113] Ibid

the state machineries to help them maintain power denying the oppositions the leveled playing ground that is necessary for democratization.

Political parties are therefore in dire need for internal democracy. This will help in inculcating a political culture that is democratic in Africa. Another crucial factor of promoting a culture that is democratic is culture is the notion of self-enforced restrictions on the limits of state authority. Unfortunately, liberation movements that successfully made government do not want to limit their power. On matters service delivery, the parliament to take their oversight roles more seriously, while the executive should stay true to their commitment to govern and uphold the.[114]

4.2.7 Legislature abdicating their responsibility

Legislative assemblies are instrumental in promoting democratic political culture in that, they are the organ in the state that is tasked to represent the people's voice. In most sub Saharan countries today the members of the legislative assemblies are however more interested in personal gratification and pleasing the party bosses and the Executive. For example in Kenya, the ruling party -Jubilee Members of the legislative assembly does not criticize the government even when it is outright wrong. Any attempt to do that will be met with serious disciplinary measures. They are threatened with exclusion from the national cake- this is often an effective deterrent. The numerical advantage obtained by the ruling party after a general election, commonly referred to as "tyranny of numbers" in Kenya, has been used by the Executive to undermine the role of the legislative arm of the government, rendering it ineffective to achieve its core duties- to represent, legislate and to oversight. Members of the Opposition are equally no better. They exude sycophancy tendencies towards their leadership often born from their desperation and desire for

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[114] Op Cit Nyong'o A, p 41

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relevance in the parliament due to their lack of numerical strength to shoot down what they consider unpopular government initiatives and motions. It is also in the interest of the Executive to ensure that only the members of the Legislative Assembly who are likely to be less troublesome and are aligned to them come out as victors during an election. Often, the whole electoral process therefore is compromised from the get go.

4.2.8 Electoral Irregularities

Osiki carefully anayles the challenge posed by malpractices in the electoral process in Africa and how they hinder democratization. He looks at the historical practices that have characterized the electioneering process in Nigeria in the years 1999 to 2007 which include bribery and violence. Despite this phenomenon not being unique to Nigeria, Osiki argues that its magnitude is worrying and warrants further research. He decries that it gives Nigeria an ugly. This is clearly reflected in Kenyan case which is the area of focus. The aftermath of Kenya's electoral process especially between the years 1992 to 2007 has been marred by chaos, death and destruction of property. Many have been left homeless and many dead. Voter bribery, ethnic divisions and violence have been very common during the electioneering period propagated by the political class. Governments too have been partisan taking sides depending on their interests. The electoral body is often compromised with little ability to deliver a free and credible election which reflects the will of the people.[115]

4.2.9 Corruption

Mustapha exploring the issue of corruption in Nigeria discovers new implications to the Nigerian political culture.[116] Nyong'o in his work on the popular struggle for democracy in Africa argues

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[115] Op Cit Nyong'o A, p 41
[116] Mustapha, Mala (2010) "Corruption in Nigeria: conceptual & empirical notes" Information, Society & Justice Vol. 3 No 2: 165-175.

that patronage system of government is the root cause of the misappropriation of public resources for selfish interests. He attributes of poverty occurrence to poor governance which is bound by a corrupt political system which does not include the citizenry. He argues that the future of a successful and sustainable political system and culture depends on the ability of the government to bring economic prosperity which will rebuild trust in its people. He sites corruption and poor economy as the reason behind mistrust between the people and the government which leads to insecurities on democracy matters. Massive corruption in Kenya has enhanced severe economic and human development problems that play a central role in bringing about political instability. They also slow down the consolidation of democratic political culture.

4.2.10 Lack of regime change by the incumbency

Africa faces a new threat to democracy building. Many African countries underwent reforms in the 1990s that saw amendments to their constitutions as an improvement to the political systems and operations. They also moved away from one party authoritarian state to multi-party system to embrace democratic representation. Most countries also enacted a presidential term limit which unfortunately is often abused by dictators who want to rule forever. This is evidence of constitutional coup which implies some dictators prolog their stay in office by conveniently amending the constitution effectively becoming presidents for life. This has always been met by civic resistances as in the case of Burundi, Rwanda, Congo and Bukina Faso. Such political environments have led to the lack of credible oppositions that can no stand boldly and advocate for the rights of the citizens. In Uganda President Yoweri Museveni regime has created harsh environment making it hard for those opposing him to survive. The leaders I power fail to uphold democratic values for example- respect for the rule of law. In Kenya, the impeding referendum is arguable driven by the need for some members of the political elite to retain power or better still

have their cronies in power to protect their interest. A number of reasons may be given for the review but the presidential election of 2022 is one of the major reasons.

4.3 Prospects of building democratic political culture in Kenya

In the 1990s, many African nations experienced a renewed wave of democratization that was as a result of mounting pressure that was building for a greater political accountability. Most African governments yielded by ushering back multiparty democracy. In Kenya, president Moi allowed for the repeal of section 2A that ushered in multi-party democracy. To understand the prospects of building democratic political culture in Kenya, there is need to find a way to measure the extent of the democratic process and its relationship to the prospect of its consolidation. In trying to consolidate these democratic processes it is argued that liberal democracies are more likely to be successful as they espouse the tenets of democratization for example civil rights, inclusivity accountability. It is also easier to legitimize.[117]

This should however not be misconstrued to mean that a rapid transition to this form of democracy is everywhere realistic, and guarantees progress in democratic ideal. Democracy is viewed in developmental terms, as evolving in parts by no set timetable or structure. The success of one part of democracy would hence provide the environment, experience, initiative, or motivation for the emergence of another part. Considering this viewpoint, every incremental progress in democracy is important and should be fortified. This supports Nyongo's earlier assertion that internal democracy of political parties and opposition movement that would take part in an election process coupled with the civil society education of the masses would slowly but surely eat away the domination of the ruling party and subsequently bring about electoral democracy.[118] The rise of active lobby groups, constitutional changes like Kenyan 2010

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[117] Op Cit Nyong'o, p 57

constitution that provides equity in the distribution of public resources, respect for human rights is a sign that democracy can actually be realized.[119] However it should be remembered that some scholars argued against liberal democracy in Africa. In their argument, it required radical transformation to bring democracy.[120]

4.3.1 Determinants of the Democratic Prospect

As discussed earlier, there exists a relationship between democracy, economic and human development. Recent African experience would seem to confirm the finding of Adam Nonetheless the relationship is not perfect supported by Przeworski et al who argued that the likelihood for a nation to transform into a democracy does not necessarily depend on economic development. However its sustainability once it has been initiated may depend on the level of development.[121]

4.3.1.1 Economic development

It is opined that economic development has a huge impact on the political culture, a country social classes and the ability of the civil society to fully engage. It further influences how a state relates to its people and to the international community. It is suggested that this is how it influences the prospects of a democracy's survival and sustainability. Przeworski et al. asserts that developing countries can ensure the sustainability of their democracies if they ensure that the country experiences steady growth and the rate of inflation remains low and stable.[122] It is also suggested that these nations should makes sure that their democratic institutions work. Kenya like many African nations must find a way to deal with its poverty levels especially among the

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[119] Op Cit Nyong'o A, P 48

[120] Ake, Claude (1993) "The Unique Case of African Democracy" International Affairs Vol. 69, No. 2: 239-244

[121] https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/2675/792b4b3806af246ba811c9bfdfc13c3525a1.pdf

[122] Przeworski, Adam (2000) *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-being in the World 1950-1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. P 19

young people who form over 70% of the population and its marginalized groups in areas like Turkana and Pokot land. This will increase the chances of promoting democratic political culture.

It is the role of policy makers to ensure that they understand this this relationship and foster it towards a democratic nation. Intellectuals could be particularly instrumental in creating the theoretical framework that can be used to actualize this.

4.2.1.2 Good governance

Maria Nzomo describes governance as the political, economic and social administrative management of public affairs. She elucidates that through governance the citizenry "can articulate their interests mediate their differences and even exercise their rights and obligations" through the different arms of government; executive, judiciary and legislature.[123]

Rothberg asserts that poor leadership has curtailed development in Africa may it democratic development, human development or economic development. He further paints a picture of governance in Africa by authoritarian leaders and by good and effective leaders. Rothberg commends the qualities of leadership shown by effective leaders. He attributes effective leadership to three qualities; a leader's strong moral character, the leaders appreciation and devotion to the tenets and values of democratization and in particular, participatory demoracy and the resilience to fight and overcome damning challenges that are experienced in Kenya and most African countries. In Kenya, President Mwai Kibaki was particularly instrumental in the recovery of the nation's glory. He spearheaded the economic recovery strategy that saw the growth of the economy from 2% in 2002 to 6% in 2006. He developed the Vision 2030 that is still use in Kenya today. He focused on job creation for the young people . During his tenure, the

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[123] Nzomo M, (April 2018), International Relations in African States: UON MA in IS Students. April 2018

young people who left higher education of learning were absorbed in the job market by the strengthened financial sectors like banks. He allowed the use of motor bikes as a means of transport improving the economic status and the wellbeing of many young people. He altered barriers to growth that had established during the authoritarian rule of Daniel Arap Moi. With this kind of leadership then it is possible to inculcate values and develop a culture that is democratic.

4.2.1.3 Combating corruption.

Huntington noted that Combating corruption was a key prospect in building democracy in Africa. He posits that what makes a strong nation is not because it is endowed with resources for example DR Congo A but democratic principles like the rule of law and moral values like discipline, transparency and accountability.in how the country makes use or even exploits its resources. In Kenya, the government has taken a key lead in the fight against corruption and those that are involved are being questioned. The fight against corruption ensures that resources usurped by anarchic individual are withdrawn and taken back to the public kitty. Nonetheless, the spoil system as posited by Anyang Nyongo which is very prevalent in Kenya poses a huge challenge to the combating corruption

Political corruption can only be reduced if the government of the day would strengthen the democratic institutions mandated by the constitution to fight corruption for example the Ethics and Anticorruption Commission institutionalized.

4.2.1.5 Progressive intellectuals and Public Participation

It was elucidated in the previous chapter that intellectuals play a critical role in building a political culture that is democratic. Public participation on the other hand is one of the tents of

democracy which allows the pople to engage and participate in decision making. The intellectual therefore becomes very instrumental in guiding and leading the public debate on issues that affect the populace. Cornel West sums it up neatly, "No democracy can survive without that culture of criticism and dialogue and discussion and debate and contestation ... it is about Socratic questioning, accountability, answerability and responsibility.'' This discussions are particularly important for the masses as they assist the people interrogate the policies by the government and oversight thee implementation of these policies. The Leaders who take advantage of this are able to address the needs of their people amicable since offers them a platform to continually hear and better understand the people's concerns. In Kenya, public participation is enshrined in the Constitution.

Jürgen affirms this by arguing that debates are the heart of making democratic decision. Open dialogue is critical for the people to feel part of the governing process. With this transformation of society is actually possible because the people identify and understand the policies that the government is implementing and how they impact their lives. In case of an agricultural policy that affects farmers, then the farmers will know how t exploit any opportunities that are presented by the policy and also understand the limitation of such a policy.

As Amartya Sen argues, for the people to be tolerant to other people's opinions, practices and even lifestyles and for pluralism to be fully entrenched in people and respected, then there should be public. He however notes that holding successful dialogues is not very easy especially in large societies that ideally need this dialogue more. It therefore affirms the need for intellectuals to lead the public debates in modern day Kenya as Socrates did in Ancient Greece, because they have the capacity and knowhow to do so effectively. In the past, Kenya like any African nation

had tangible problem of forcing out the Colonial masters that held people to pull together, today we need critical thinkers to help push the agenda of building democratic culture forward.

4.3 Chapter Summary

The chapter investigated challenges and prospects of building democratic political culture in Kenya. It started out by discussing patterns of democracy in Africa, challenges of building democratic political cultures in Kenya and final prospects of building democratic political culture in Kenya.

The chapter investigated challenges and prospects of building democratic political culture in Kenya. This objective was made to test the hypothesis; there are no prospects of building democratic political culture in Kenya.

This chapter shows the importance of using liberalism theory. The theory argues for the perfectibility of humanity which would be made possible by democratic values and culture. The lack of democratic principles would thus result in a non-democratic society which is imperfect. Prospects to building democratic political culture therefore gives is in line with liberalism that democracy is the key to the perfectibility of man.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION AND DATA ANALYSIS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter gives the findings on the topic The Role of intellectuals in building a democratic political culture; a case study of Kenya. The chapter is classified in the following sub topics; Changing priority of intellectuals in Kenya, Democracy and human development, challenges and critical juncture of building democratic political cultures and chapter summary.

5.1 Changing roles of intellectuals in Kenya

From the findings it was noted that intellectuals by assuming different roles have had a huge impact on building democratic political culture.

5.1.1   Tracing the historical reality-

Through the findings and as alluded to earlier, intellectuals played a role that included and was not limited to advocacy, activism and human right defenders. This begs the question then; where would we be without intellectuals. From the times of ancient Greece where there were great philosophers; Socrates, Plato and Aristotle- their very home Athens was known for its democracy and openness attracting many thinkers, [124] to the Hellenic age, from the Roman empire where we had Cicero the great orator and a man whose work inspired a crop of the 18th century enlighten thinkers and political theorists like Edmund Burke and like John Locke to Nazi German. From independent USA to modern day, intellectuals played a critical role towards in the growth of societies in their time and beyond.

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[124] https://www.pbs.org/empires/thegreeks/background/40a.html

In Kenya, the constitution review process was spearheaded by intellectuals, which includes drafting the various drafts and the actual writing; political reform in the 1990s was also spearheaded by intellectuals. From the findings we shall see various roles of intellectuals.

5.1.2 Intellectuals as educationists

Intellectuals have both in the past and the present been able to advance their cause as educationist by extending their classroom roles beyond the classrooms to the public arena. This has been true especially for those in the disciplines that advance democracy for example political science, law and literature. Some saw it as civil responsibility to do so while some simply applied what they taught in class. If one taught about the rule of law they championed for it even outside the class. At times this got them into trouble with the state authorities.

Intellectuals in the literature field also contributed immensely to building democratic political culture. Ngugi wa Thiong'o; Wizard of the crow where he speaks against dictatorship [125]

5.1.3 Intellectuals undertaking sectorial studies

Intellectuals undertaking sectorial studies have been instrumental in the production of new knowledge and providing research. They are also instrumental in creating theoretical framework that policy makers and other academicians can apply in their respective areas of operations. They are also vital in problematizing issues on democracy since they have a wealth of understanding on the topic. A case in point is Mahmood Mamdani who is an intellectual renown for problematizing issues concerning democracy. He considers the critically explores the problem of colonization and the challenges it continues to pose on African politics.[126]

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[125] Thing'o ngugi, 2006. Wizard of the crow. Published by Anchor Books
[126] Mamdani Mahmood. (1996). *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism.* Princeton University Press. p. 38

The findings showed that these two classes of intellectuals were defenders, advocates and activists in the matters relating to democracy. Their contribution to the topic on democratization in Africa and in Kenya was immense.

5.1.4 The modern day intellectuals

This is a crop of intellectuals that from the findings are very good at romanticizing the intellectuals before them. This could be because the former intellectuals made immense contribution to the field of democracy and democratic culture. Also it could be simply because the current generation is faced with more far reaching challenges. It is worth noting that our fore fathers were faced by the enormous task of fighting the European imperialists, gain independence and subsequent self-rule. These were by far more unifying issues that were straight forward and somewhat brutal. The people as a whole were feeling the pressures of the colonial yoke. This made it easier for the Mau Mau and other liberators integrate and unite toward the course. Then there was the question of nation building.[127]Today, however, the current intellectuals are faced with a myriad of soft challenges that are not necessarily straight forward or easy to conceptualize. For example development (both human and economic), ethnicity, a growing population of an unemployed youth, democracy and governance.

5.1.4.1Changing trends

It should be noted that at a point in time, the intellectuals in the 1990s decided to drop the topic on development arguing that it was overshadowing other emerging topics like human rights. They noted that it was also very much politicized.[128] The concept of democracy and democratic culture has also been deliberated over and over again with little success in the Africa continent.

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[127] Interview with a personnel of National Democratic Institute, Kilimani
[128] Mkandawire, P. Thandika. *"African Intellectuals: Rethinking Politics, Language, Gender and Development"*. London: Zed Books, 2006. Pg21

Only four African countries are ranked in the top fifty of the democracy index list after fifty years of independence.[129]

Ethnicity poses a unique challenge because much as it is a challenge on its own, it limits full integration by the intellectuals since they are drawn to support different ethnic based ideologies. Populations have soared in the African continent, with a majority of the population made up of the youths. However development has grown at a much lower rate giving rise to a huge population of unemployed youth with a good number of them having a college education. [130] Other challenges include; globalization; it is no longer how a country will survive or thrive as a unit but in a bigger global environment.

The question of the future is also a challenge; in the case of the economy, what would the continued accumulation of debt mean to the future of Kenya and particularly touching on human development? It was not just a question for the modern day intellectual but even those in the past should have asked pertinent questions about the future. In the case of multi-party democracy, they would have asked what it would mean in the future and maybe today, we would be in a better political position. Drawing form the Scandinavian countries for instance, they are more concerned with sovereign fund for the future generations which is about wealth creation and not debts. They are more concerned with political stewardship. Borrowing for the common phrase; 'that we are living not just from the inheritance of our forefathers but also we are borrowing from our children-the future generations.'

5.1.4.2 Changing Priorities- intellectuals as policy makers

From the findings, there was consensus that Africa lacked a democratic political culture and the intellectuals had a role to play in it. There was also consensus that building a democratic political

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[129] https://pages.eiu.com/rs/753-RIQ-438/images/Democracy_Index_2017.pdf

[130] Interview with a member of the legislative assembly, Thika Road.

culture would promote human development. Nonetheless the roles of the intellectuals were no longer activism, advocacy and human rights defenders but findings showed that the role of intellectuals was that of a policy maker. The priorities of the modern intellectuals we reported to have changed to policy making and making money. [131] These finds were also supported by a member of the executive who argued that the open door policy in the government allowed intellectuals the space to present their views and opinion to public offices for review and consideration. However he noted that whereas that was a good gesture, follow up was needed to ensure implementation and feedback[132]. Nonetheless finding from members of the academia argued that a lot of policy research was gathering dust on the shelves in public institutions of higher learning with little or no attention from the government institutions. Lack of research funding was also cited by members of the academia as a huge predicament that face modern day intellectuals. This limits public debate on important matter for example the upcoming referendum in Kenya which ideally should be led by intellectuals. It is however being led by the political class, some with very little understanding of its impact on the economy, human development and democratic culture. [133]

5.2 Democracy and human development-Extractive to inclusive states

From the finding it was agreed that democratic political culture would promote human development because it allows for inclusivity and proper representation of the people. This is seen as a catalyst to equitable distribution of resources. A democratic political culture was seen to give the elected representatives a chance to focus on the real issues affecting the citizenry thus promoting human development. For the people to fully participate in economic development, their social needs had to be met. A democratic culture was seen to be people centered. However

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[131] A quantitative study based on thirty respondents
[132] Interview with member of the Executive arm of government, Nairobi
[133] Interview with a member of the academia, Nairobi

some argued that human development were a governance issue and not necessarily a democracy problem. This is because, with good governance, there is reduced corruption and ultimately proper utilization of public resource.[134] There will also not be wastage of the public resources.

Reference was also drawn from Japan and the role that democratic political ideals and cultures played in transforming it. [135]

5.2.1 The Meiji Restoration

In 1868, before the Meiji restoration, Japan was characterized by a weak military, economic weakness that was mainly based on Agriculture and underdeveloped technology. Meiji was under the control of numerous partly independent feudal lords. Foreign influences from the Western nations in USA and Europe had dominated its trade activities forcing Japan to sign treaties that limited them from controlling their own international. The legal system was also dominated as crimes by foreigners could not be tried in Japan. The country was simply underdeveloped and dominated by foreign influence. However by 1912, Japan was fully transformed; socially, economically and politically. They had fought and had won two wars, they had total control of their foreign trade and their legal system, it had built its International Relations, it had a constitution and a parliament with elected representatives of the people, technological advancements. Japan had simply adopted the system of the West in just a short period of time.

A democratic political culture could be attributed to this transformation. When the emperor took over power, he did not rule on his own, he had a team of trusted and patriotic advisers. At a later date, the emperor through a deliberate effort became a ceremonial figure that represented national unit and Japanese history and culture. This reform agenda had a direct impact on

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[134] Findings from a focus group discussion, Nairobi
[135] Interview with a Member of Parliament/economist, Nairobi

economic and human development. The Japanese people could choose the jobs they wanted to do and there was freedom of movement. The government provided financial security and investment opportunities and instated a nation education program for all to be educated. Like any other democracy, it was not a perfect democracy because only the wealthy men were allowed to vote but not women. The Taisho period also ushered in new democratic spaces where people asked for more rights in voicing their issues. Openness was a culture that prevailed. There was economic prosperity and luxurious living for the Japanese people who moved to urban cities and interacted with people from all walks of life. It however ushered an era of materialism and individualism which eroded tradition value. The Meiji Restoration and Taisho democracy as is often referred to, clearly re-affirms that building democratic political culture would promote human development.[136] The democratic culture needs not be perfect.

5.3 Unique Challenges

5.3.1 Inequality

From the finding, the question of inequality and party primaries in Kenyan political parties was explored further. Inequalities were said to be largely drawn from differences in gender, age and financial capabilities. Little wonder this mainly affects the women, youth and the poor. Arguably, it is easier for an inexperienced young man to get elected into power compared to an experienced woman. Unfortunately, this challenge results into sexual corruption where women are exploited in exchange for favors. This topic is sadly not given enough coverage. It is assumed that most women in the political circles are of lose morals and cannot keep a man in marriage. It goes without saying that the men approach them with this attitude. The men are said to express utter a shock if women do not give in to their sexual demand. This could easily result to a woman

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[136]Literature of the Heian Period: 794-1185 | Asia for Educators | Columbia University. Accessed November 12, 2018. http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/special/japan_1750_meiji.htm

being denied their rights and opportunities. Unfortunately, this problem gives birth to a health problem where some of the ladies get infected with HIV Aids. With democratic political culture within the whole political system and within the political parties, such menace could be avoided.[137]

5.3.2 Hopelessness among the youth

From the finding, it was suggested that there is growing hopelessness and desperation among the youth of Kenya due to a number of problems including and not limited to unemployment and drug abuse. Unfortunately there is little debate that is ongoing on this despite the fact that a number of these cases end up committing suicide. It was reported that with a huge population of about 70% of whom close to 30% youth are unemployed, according to the Kenya Bureau of stands in Kenya, the topic of democratic political culture would not be a priority. Values they say are for the well fed. For these young people, survival at all cost is all they seek. Little wonder a survey done in 2016 revealed that at least 40% of Kenyan youth were okay to get rich through corruption as long as one does not get caught.[138] The challenge provides a very unique challenge as it is a challenge within a challenge. It is also unique because it a problem among 70% of the country's populace. Even if the 30% Kenyans embrace democratic political culture, the majority who also represent the future will not propagate this culture.[139]

5.4 Critical juncture-prospects

5.4.1 Chapter six and article ten of the Kenya constitution

Chapter six of the Kenya constitution articulates values and principles that should guide any public officer as carry out their duties while article ten of the constitution articulates the values

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[137] An interview with a member of County Legislative Assembly, Nairobi
[138] https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/business/article/2000188557/survey-kenyan-youth-okay-with-getting-rich-through-corruption
[139] Findings from a focus group, Nairobi

that should guide Kenyans toward nationhood. From the findings, it was worrying to see that
47% of respondents were of the opining that Chapter six and article ten of the Kenya were of the
opinion that these value aspirations cannot be achieved in Kenya in the next ten year. Equally
33% for the respondents were of the opinion that the value aspiration can be met. The value
aspirations that include nationalism, patriotism, and integrity, rule of law, equity, and equality
among others are the same values that are espoused by democratic tenets. Whereas this could be
seen as a prospect if Kenyans impress these values upon themselves, it will not be easy to
achieve [140]

5.4.2 Democratic institutions- Constitutionalism

As alluded to earlier, from the findings, the respondents noted that they did not have faith in two
democratic institution; the IEBC, the political parties. It was argued that the only way to redeem
their credibility is if the two institutions entrenched constitutionalism. They are argued that this
was the only weapon to protect them from corruption and self-destruction. Particularly the IEBC
was on the spot because all respondents were of the opinion that it was already compromised by
the same political parties it sought to oversight. The only hope was for the IEBC personnel to
embrace democratic political culture as provided for in the Kenya constitution and carry out their
mandate as provided for in the Kenyan constitution.[141]

5.4.3 Africanisation/ localization of Democracy to suit the Kenyan context

From the findings, much as the respondents agreed that building democratic political culture was
necessary and that it would very well promote human development an improve the quality of life
for Kenya, it was not clear what democracy was good for Kenya. It was argued that African
cultures and tradition concerning governance were unique and there was need to incorporate

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[140] The Constitution of Kenya
[141] Findings from a quantitative analysis and FDG, Nairobi

them in the in building a democratic political culture. This would build ownership of both the process of democratization and the democratic culture. The debate of the upcoming referendum to amend the constitution was raised and the respondents were of the opinion that, that was continued democracy-the fact that people were talking about what is working and what is not in the constitution. It was opined that the presidential election was a waste of tax payers' money since it would always be contested. It was argued that democratic elections would be possible when electing Governors and members of the legislative assembly but Kenya needed to look for a way to elect the president or an executive where every Kenyan felt represented. From his contribution, the respondent argued Kenya was not ready for issue based politics and that is why political leaders who are intellectuals run for office, they leave their intellect behind and speak the language of the commoner, and the less intellect one showed the better. [142]It was suggested that ethnicity should actually be used as a criteria to help structure the new form of national office. It was opined that equality was not a value that Kenyans, wanted to pursue but fairness, since equality means everyone is equal which they argued was not true. Equity and fairness, they argued, were better values to pursue.[143]

5.5 Chapter Summary

The chapter presented the summary and findings of the research project of building democratic political culture in Kenya. The chapter is classified in the following sub topics; changing priority of intellectuals in Kenya, democracy and human development, challenges and critical juncture of building democratic political cultures and chapter summary.

The chapter was guided by the following hypothesis; Democratic political culture in Africa will promote human development, intellectuals have a role to play in building Africa's democratic

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[142] Interview with a member of the Legislative assembly, Nairobi
[143] Findings from FDG and Quantitative research, Nairobi

political culture, and finally there are no challenges to building democratic political culture in Kenya

This chapter shows the importance of using liberalism theory. The theory argues for the perfectibility of humanity which would be made possible by democratic values and culture. The chapter reported on the findings of how intellectuals through idea generation and theorizing of issues of public interest would help to build democratic political culture. It also enumerated a number of prospects to building democratic political culture that would bring about the perfectibility of man.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

The Chapter will give a summary of the findings and conclusions and recommendations on the role of intellectuals in building democratic political culture in Africa; a case study of Kenya. The chapter will also give recommendations for further studies

6.1 Conclusion

This Research project aimed to assess the role of intellectuals in building democratic political culture in Africa; A case study of Kenya. It established that indeed the intellectuals have a role to play in building the society. Democratic political culture is simply one of those roles. They have constantly been the conscious of the society as alluded to earlier. This history stems from ancient days in Greece, the days of the Roman empires, to the Pan African movement that allowed Africans to have a voice to post independence Africa and modern day intellectuals.

6.1.1 The role of intellectuals in building democratic political culture

The study discovered that the role of intellectuals has however evolved; the context of democracy has also changed with the passing of time. It was established that Africa was extremely optimistic in the beginning and most intellectuals' works hand in hand with the state to ensure nation building. The state was open to accept the help especially in policy making. Universities were seen as partners to the state and in turn they received funding. Nonetheless, with the dimming optimism of the people and the demolition of the democratic structures that had been set up by our founding fathers, intellectuals took on new roles of advocacy, activism and reform.

It was established that intellectuals performed different roles in their democratic pursuits. The educationists were instrumental in using satire to speak against totalitarian regimes and this often landed them into trouble and even jail or in the worst scenario death. The likes of Ngugi Wa Thiongo and Micere Mugo in Kenya went into exile. The intellectuals saw this either as an extension to their academic work or civil responsibility. Nonetheless they were instrumental in building the democratic culture that we have today. It was discovered that some of the intellectuals who covered various topic of democracy in research and sectorial studies contributed immensely in the theorizing and problematizing of issues of democracy.

It was established that the modern day intellectual were different. Whereas the intellectuals in the past were more concerned with community issues like democracy and nation building, the current day intellectuals are more concerned with individual goals and achievement. It was discovered that whereas the intellectuals of the past had more tangible issues to that united them for example fighting the European imperialist and subsequent nation building, the modern day intellectuals live in a form of democracy even though not perfect and are faced with numerous soft issues that transcend boarders from unemployment, to human development, to ethnicity, corruption, democracy and even globalization. Some of these challenges may not unite the intellectuals but in a way divide them for example the question of ethnicity where the intellectuals have conflicting ideologies and loyalties. Even though most intellectuals may not necessarily be considered poor, the scarcity of resources and entrenchment of the capitalistic culture makes them more focused on making money. It was established that most of them would prefer to consult for the corporate or NGOs as opposed to the government. Kenyans are also more aspirational than before and with globalization, they are more exposed which increases their appetite for fine things. These soft issues may look mundane but it was discovered that

activism therefore is not as lucrative and fashionable as it once was but it is slowly being considered nuisance. It was established that the little democratic space available s enough to push activism from the streets.

6.1.2 Democratic political culture and Human development.

It was established that indeed a democratic political culture is instrumental in promoting human development. The findings elucidated that indeed democratic values allow for inclusivity and representation of people from all walks of life. This means that articulation of their challenges as a democratic tenet will allow the government to employ its resources where it matters most. May it be on education, health and sanitation or lack of opportunities for financial empowerment? Inequality is also addressed under democratic political culture. Affirmative action employed to bring about equality by the necessary authority or even simple justice on pertinent issues on gender based violence would go a long way to alleviate the suffering of the marginalized. Corruption was seen as a way of enriching a few as opposed to the majority who are in dire need of the resources to alleviate human suffering and offer opportunities like schools fro their education or an ambulance to rush mothers and their children to hospital. Democratic political culture is thus seen as an answer to this.

It was also established that for the proponent of economic development, human development was important in order for people to build capacity to develop economically. A sick person cannot go to work and a person without the capacity to run a machine cannot be employed to run a machine in the plant. It was opined that democratic political culture can guarantee human development.

6.1.3 Challenges and prospects

6.1.3.1 Challenges

It was established that there were a number of challenges of building democratic culture. Among the many challenges, there were two particular challenges that were singled out and are rarely discussed; desperation among the youth and sexual corruption.

It was discovered that the desperation among the youth posed a huge threat to building democratic political culture. Their numerical strength, 70% of the total population in Kenya, 30% of them not employed was a serious challenge that needed attention. With the evolving role of the intellectual who is more individualistic and squeezed for time, trying to make money and problematize issues of democratic political culture , this could be a serious time bomb they needed more attention with no one to give them. It was discovered that close to half of this generation does not have a problem with getting rich through corrupt means fighting the very ideals of a democratic political culture.

Equally, the less publicized sexual corruption topic among female politician was another problem. With gender inequality still very high, this could be one of the reasons why some women who previously run for office drop off completely. This is unfortunate because repeat candidates stand a better chance of winning an election than first timers due to their experience. The numbers of women elected representatives is still very low in Kenya; 23 out of 290 despite all the support and investment made by international bodies like UN women. The likelihood of HIV Aids infection is also a big blow to human development and the fight against HIV Aids.

6.1.3.2 Prospects

It was established that embracing constitutionalism by democratic institutions; IEBC and political parties were vital in promoting democratic political culture and ideals. It was also

established that there was need to incorporate African cultures when coming up with a form of democracy that works for Africa to promote ownership of both the process and democratic culture. It was suggested that ethnicity should actually be used as a criteria to help set up national office structures in the upcoming referendum.

6.2 Recommendations

The study suggested that the role of intellectuals had evolved to softer issues like policy making as opposed to activism on building democratic political culture. The study therefore recommends the need for further research on how many policies today are influenced by modern day intellectuals in Kenya towards building democratic political culture. This would help in the evaluation and review of the impact of the intellectuals in the field.

On the challenges, it was suggested that hopelessness among the youth and sexual corruption were key concerns. On the later, there is need to evaluate the policy on sexual harassment and how far it goes to protect women who are running for office. Political parties should evaluate their internal democracies and put in place sexual harassment acts that are actionable. More research is also needed in this field to establish the actual statistics of these cases so that the intellectual can problematize the issue and possible initiate public debate.

On the former, the state should evaluate their youth empowerment and strategies. Policies that are relevant and actionable should be put in place that with promote or help rebuild the value system approach for the youth and also for the nation. Equally more research should be done so that the intellectuals can theorize and problematize the issue leading to public debate on the same.

Finally the study suggested that democracy should be localized in order to make it work in the African and Kenyan context. This will ensure ownership of the whole democratization process

and subsequent ownership of the democratic political culture by the local people. Therefore the study recommends that intellectuals need to create a theoretical framework that could be used to Africanize democracy so that the citizens can own the process and the democratic culture.

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APPENDICES

THE ROLE OF INTELLECTUALS IN BUILDING DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL CULTURE IN AFRICA

Q1
Does Africa lack democratic political culture?
   1. Yes
   2. No
If yes, why?

Q2
Is democratization a priority in Africa today?
   1. Yes
   2. No
If yes, why?

Q3
Winning an elective seat is more important than the process of winning the seat. Why do you think this is so?

Q4
Do you agree that building democratic political culture will result in the promotion of human development in Africa? If yes, how?

Q5
Do Intellectuals have a role to play in building democratic political culture in Africa? If yes, what is their role?

Q6

Is activism necessary for building democratic political culture in Africa today? If not, what is?

Q7

What is your opinion of the modern day intellectuals and what do you consider is their role/priorities?

Q8
What do you consider are the major challenges facing democratic political culture in Kenya today?

Q9
Are there prospects of building democratic political culture in Kenya?

Q10
What are the measures we need to put in place in building democratic political culture in Kenya?

Q11
Do you think that Africa should prioritize economic development before thinking of democratization and human development?

Q12
Is human dignity important if you lack economic empowerment?

Q13
Do you think we can actualize Chapter 6 and Article 10 of the Kenya constitution in the next ten years?

Q14
Should Democracy in Africa be localized (incorporate African cultural traditions)? If yes, how?

Q15

It is argued that our democratic institutions lack constitutionalism, what do you think?

Q16

Is the IEBC and Political Parties in Kenya in a position to build their credibility to assure free and fair elections based on the universal suffrage to promote democratic governance

Q17

What do you consider are the major challenges faced by intellectuals in building a democratic political culture in Kenya?

MASTERS RESEARCH
OCTOBER 2018
-Questionnaire-

THE ROLE OF INTELLECTUALS IN BUILDING DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL CULTURE IN AFRICA

Q1
Africa lacks democratic political culture

3. Yes
4. No

Q2
Democratic political culture will result in the promotion of human development in Africa

1. Strongly Agree

2. Agree
3. Neither Agree/Disagree
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

Q3

Intellectuals have a role to play in building democratic political culture in Africa

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Neither Agree/Disagree
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

Q4

What do you consider is the priority for modern day intellectuals in Africa

1. Activism
2. Leading public debate
3. Policy making
4. Employment/making money
5. None of the above

Q5

What do you consider is the role of a modern day intellectual in Africa

1. Activism
2. Leading public debate
3. Policy making
4. Employment/making money
5. None of the above

Q6

In order of priority, what do you consider are the challenges facing democratic political culture in Kenya today

Ethnicity ☐

Lack of constitutionalism ☐

Corruption ☐

Poverty ☐

Undemocratic political parties ☐

Q7
There are no prospects of building democratic political culture in Kenya

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Neither Agree/Disagree
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

Q8
In order of priority who bears the greatest responsibility in building democratic political culture

State ☐

Citizens ☐

☐
Political Parties/leaders

☐
Intellectuals

☐
IEBC

Q9
Africa should prioritize economic development before thinking of democratization and human development

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Neither Agree/Disagree
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

Q10
Human dignity is not important if you lack economic empowerment?

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Neither Agree/Disagree

4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

Q11
Chapter 6 and Article 10 of the Kenya constitution are idealistic aspirations that cannot be met in Kenya in the next ten years

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Neither Agree/Disagree
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

Q12
Democracy in Africa should be localized (incorporate African cultural traditions)

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Neither Agree/Disagree
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

THE ROLE OF INTELLECTUALS IN BUILDING A DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL CULTURE: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA

IN-DETH INTERVIEWS DISCUSSION GUIDE

INFORMATION AREAS

Chapter 2:

To determine how building democratic political culture would promote human development in Africa

Chapter 3:

To establish the role of intellectuals in building a democratic political culture in Africa

Chapter 4:

To determine the challenges and prospects in building a democratic political culture in Kenya

	CHAPTER 3: TO ESTABLISH THE ROLE OF INTELLECTUALS IN BUILDING A DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL CULTURE IN AFRICA	
	DISCUSSION AREAS	
5MINS	**Introduction and warm up**	COMMENTS

	Interview purpose and protocol (Max 1 hour,) Moderator to explain that our intention for recording the discussion is only for note taking purposes and for other people not present to see and hear the conversation (later) as well. Moderator to emphasize strongly on the confidentiality of data that shall be maintained, to establish comfort levels in order to facilitate a frank input. Moderator to highlight there are no right or wrong responses. Participants should be creative, not judgmental.	
1HR	**INTERACTION WITH THE RESPONDENT** 1. For starters let's start by understanding; who are intellectuals and what is a democratic political culture. Do you think intellectuals have a role to play in building a democratic political culture in Africa 2. If yes, what do you consider their role? If no, why? 3. Name some intellectuals that you consider have been instrumental in building a democratic political culture 4. What is your opinion on the modern day intellectuals in regards to building democratic political culture? 5. Modern day intellectuals have been accused of romanticizing the intellectuals in the past o matters democratization. Do you think their priorities have changed? 6. Why do you think that activism has significantly reduced among modern day intellectuals? INTERVIEWER/ MODERATOR: NOTE DOWN THE KEY POINTS TO BE DISCUSSED FURTHER IN DETAIL	

	Chapter 4: To determine the challenges and prospects of building a democratic political culture in Kenya DISCUSSION AREAS	
5MINS	**Introduction and warm up** Interview purpose and protocol (Max 1 hour,) Moderator to explain that our intention for recording the discussion is only for note taking purposes and for other people not present to see and hear the conversation (later) as well. Moderator to emphasize strongly on the confidentiality of data that shall be maintained, to establish comfort levels in order to facilitate a frank input. Moderator to highlight there are no right or wrong responses. Participants should be creative, not judgmental.	COMMENTS
1HR	**INTERACTION WITH THE RESPONDENT** 1. For starters let's start by understanding; who are intellectuals and what is a democratic political culture. Do you think there is need to build a democratic political culture in Kenya? 2. Is democratization a priority in Kenya? 3. If yes, who do you consider the greatest contributors in building the democratic political culture in Kenya? 4. What do you consider are the major challenges faced by intellectuals in building a democratic political culture in Kenya? 5. Do we have the necessary infrastructure to build a democratic political culture in Kenya? 6. What are the prospects of building a democratic political culture in Kenya? 7. What measures do we need to put in place in order to successfully build a democratic political culture in Kenya? INTERVIEWER/ MODERATOR: NOTE DOWN THE KEY POINTS TO BE DISCUSSED FURTHER IN DETAIL	
	Chapter 2: To determine how a democratic political culture will promote human development in Africa	

	DISCUSSION AREAS	
5MINS	**Introduction and warm up** Interview purpose and protocol (Max 1 hour,) Moderator to explain that our intention for recording the discussion is only for note taking purposes and for other people not present to see and hear the conversation (later) as well. Moderator to emphasize strongly on the confidentiality of data that shall be maintained, to establish comfort levels in order to facilitate a frank input. Moderator to highlight there are no right or wrong responses. Participants should be creative, not judgmental.	COMMENTS
1HR	**INTERACTION WITH AN RESPODENT** 1. For starters let's start by understanding; who are intellectuals and what is a democratic political culture. Do you think building democratic political culture in Africa will promote human development? 2. Do you agree that building democratic political culture will result in the promotion of human development in Africa? If yes, how? 3. Do you think that Africa should prioritize economic development before thinking of democratization and human development? 4. Do you think we can actualize Chapter 6 and Article 10 of the Kenya constitution in the next ten years? 5. Is human dignity important if you lack economic empowerment? 6. What do you consider is the impact of Chapter 6 and Article 10 of the Kenya constitution on the democratic political culture in Kenya? 7. Should Democracy in Africa be localized (incorporate African cultural traditions)? If yes, how? INTERVIEWER/ MODERATOR: NOTE DOWN THE KEY POINTS TO BE DISCUSSED FURTHER IN DETAIL	

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TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: MARYANN NJAMBI MUGO – R50/67542/2013

This is to confirm that the above-mentioned person is a bona fide student at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS), University of Nairobi pursuing a **Master of Arts degree in International Studies.** She is working on a research project titled, **"THE ROLE OF INTELLECTUALS IN BUILDING A DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL CULTURE IN AFRICA".**

The research project is a requirement for students undertaking Masters' programmes at the University of Nairobi, whose results will inform policy and learning.

Any assistance given to her to facilitate data collection for her research project will be highly appreciated.

Thank you.
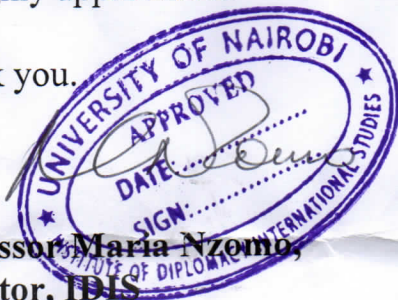
Professor Maria Nzomo,
Director, IDIS
&
Professor of International Relations and Governance