THE INFLUENCE OF ETHNICITY ON PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION COMPETITION IN KENYA: THE CASE OF 2013 AND 2017 GENERAL ELECTIONS.

BY

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DECLARATION

This is my original work and has not been presented for examination in any other university.

Sign:…………………………..   Date:……………………………..

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This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the supervisor.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this research project to my daughter, Shantel Seline Akumu and Kenyans who have been affected by the influence of ethnicity in presidential elections.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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ABSTRACT

The study was on the influence of ethnicity on presidential election competition: The Case of 2013 and 2017 general election. The study had three specific objectives which included: To assess how Kenyan political parties, contribute to the entrenchment of ethnic politics and contestation in presidential electoral contests, to assess how negative ethnicity; affect political reforms and governance in the nation and lastly, to assess how negative ethnicity affect cohesion in Kenya. The study used an integration of primordialism, constructivism and instrumentalism theories to describe, explain and predict the influence of ethnicity on presidential electoral competition. The study used qualitative research methods to collect data. Focus group discussions and narrative interviews were the main methods that were utilized in the collection of primary data. The study made certain findings which included: Colonial policies played a role in the genesis of ethnic politics, ethnicity evolved gradually until it was first expressed in 1963 general elections. Since then, it has evolved and manifested in the formation of political parties and coalitions on subsequent presidential elections. Attempts have been made to reduce the influence of ethnicity in presidential elections. Despite those noble measures, ethnicity was found to have negatively influenced presidential electoral contest in 2013 as well as in 2017 presidential election competitions.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ECK	:	Electoral Commission of Kenya
KNHRC	:	Kenya National Human Rights Commission
IEBC	:	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
ILC	:	Institute of Land Commission
KADU	:	Kenya African Democratic Union
KAMATUSA	:	Kalenjin, Maasai, Samburu, Turkana
KANU	:	Kenya African National Union
KPP	:	Kenya People`s Party
MoU	:	Memorandum of Understanding
NICC	:	National Integration and Cohesion Commission
ODM	:	Orange Democratic Movement
PNU	:	Party of National Unity
HRW	:	Human Rights Watch Africa
NCCK	:	National Council of Churches of Kenya
NDP	:	National Development Party
NROPPP	:	National Registrar of Political Parties
KNDR	:	Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Ethnicity shape and continue to influence politics at the domestic and at the international level (Nguyen, 2010). For instance, in Peru which is a multi-ethnic society, majority of the population identify themselves as indigenous living in the highlands. According to the 2006 census, 22.5 percent of the population regard themselves as indigenous of Quechua ethnic origin. Others consider themselves as Mestizo. Majority of the Mestizo identify themselves as non-indigenous (Roberts, 2001). Mobilization of voters along ethnic lines became increasingly conspicuous in 1980s and 1990s in Peru. For instance, in 1990 election run – off, there was considerable variations in voting patterns between those voters who considered themselves as indigenous and non-indigenous. As such, main presidential candidates such as Alberto Fujimori and Verga Llosa appealed to the indigenous voters by invoking ethnic solidarity and employing symbolic features as a way of affirming their common descent and heritage with a view of wining their support.

In the 1990 elections, Alberto Fujimori was able to mobilize the indigenous voters by using a combination of populist and ethnic appeals. As such, he garnered 16 per cent more votes in most of the indigenous provinces than his competitors. Similarly, in 2001 and 2006 elections, Alejandro Toledo and Ollanta successfully rallied their co-ethnics in the indigenous provinces from which they came from and as such, they garnered 17 and 23 per cent respectively more votes than their competitors who were perceived to have represented the whites of European descent also known as lima elites (Latin America Public Opinion Project, 2006).

In Nigeria, the Clifford constitution of 1922 influenced multi-party politics in a trajectory that increased formation of ethnic political parties (Oladiran, 2013). Political parties were largely organized on the basis of ethnic dimensions. For example, the National Council of Nigeria that was led by Nnamdi Azikiwe, Northern People`s Congress (NNC) which stemmed from Hausa social-cultural organization and Action Group which was derived

from the Yoruba social cultural group. The above political parties advanced ethnic interests of their own communities.

In southern Ethiopia, the Siltie and the Gurage ethnic groups were initially considered as one ethnic community. However, during the referendum of 2001, the Siltie were overtly asked if they perceived themselves as the Gurage ethnic group or not. In response, they said in unison that they were not. In fact, they demonstrated their ethnic solidarity by voting for one of their own co-ethnic members in that referendum (Laitin and Reich 2003).

In Kenya, the country is categorized as a multi-ethnic society (Bratton and Kimenyi, 2008). The contemporary ethnic groups in Kenya are broadly classified into three main linguistic groups. Namely: The Bantu, Nilotic and Cushite. However, there are other minor ethnic groups which include but not limited to: The Arabs, Asians and Europeans. The Bantu linguistic groups comprise the largest ethnic population; they have been widely associated with the south-central or more specifically, the Niger-Congo parlance and languages in general (Yieke, 2010). The Bantu originally migrated from West- Central Africa to South-East regions of Africa approximately 2000 years down the line (Jakobsson, 2010). The main economic activity for the Bantu was and still is, farming (Liu, 2019). The Bantu linguistic group in Kenya are further sub-divided into Eastern and Western Bantus. The Eastern Bantus comprises the GEMA communities, Kamba, and Mijikenda. Whereas the Abagusii, Abakuria, Abasuba and Abaluhyia constitute the Western Bantus (Ndeda, 2019).

Nilotic linguistic groups form the second largest population in Kenya. They are mostly associated with the Nilo- Saharan languages and they migration into South-East Africa through South-Sudan (Ltipalei, 2019). Nilotic Group are further divided into: Plain, Highlands and the River-Lake Nilotic. They include: Maasai, Kalenjin and the Luo communities. They mostly practiced pastoralism and fishing. The Cushite on the other hand, comprises the Southern and Eastern Cushite. They migrated into Kenya from Ethiopia and Somali areas of North-Eastern Kenya. They were mostly pastoralists. They include: The Somali, Oromo, Gala and Dorobo (Jakobsson, 2010)

The above ethnic communities in Kenya shared more or less similar decentralized systems of governance whereby council elders took charge and presided over a range social and political events (Karlsen, 2019). That notwithstanding, slight variations existed among the Wanga community of Western Kenya; the Wanga had relatively hereditary system of governance that was commonly known as ''The Wanga Kingdom" (Domingo, 2019). Mostly importantly, differences that arouse along ethnic lines were neutralized by social ceremonies and activities such as inter-marriages and batter -trade that mostly involved different ethnic communities. As such, ethnic identity had little significance beyond defining primordial features of a specific ethnic group.

However, the advent of colonialism and their policies of divide and rule, changed the way various ethnic communities in Kenya construed ethnic identities (Karlsen, 2019). Colonialism made different ethnic communities in Kenya to think, reason and behave ethnically. The colonial government exploited the similarities and differences of the ethnic groups in Kenya. For instance, advancing ethnic stereotypes by assigning and allocating job positions with regard to ethnic identities. That was done so as to avert potential resistance against the colonial administration (Domingo, 2019).

The policy of divide and rule resulted into the establishment of administrative units of governance that corresponded with the ethnic group`s areas of residence. That is, the districts and provinces that were formed happened to be inhabited by specific dominant ethnic groups in Kenya. For instance, The Kalenjin in the Rift valley province, Luhyia in Western Province and Kikuyu in Central province. In addition, classification of ethnic groups under certain labels took center stage. For example, the North Kavirondo region was assigned the Bantu –speaking ethnic groups or the Luyha community, Kalenjin constituted the Nandi-speaking group. Ethnic groups that had significant similarity with each other were lumped together to form one ethnic community (Chiamogu, 2019)

Worse off, colonial administration displaced most local ethnic communities and confined them to specific reserves (Oyugi, 1997). The consequences of such actions limited their social and political interactions with other communities. Put differently, colonial

government limited political gatherings, associations or movements beyond the realms of a given ethnic community. That act, left local communities with no choice but to engage in political discourse among themselves in their respective ethnic communities. As such, development of various political fora and organizations within those different ethnic groups took effect (Gherghina, 2019). For example, Kalenjin Union among the Kalenjin community, Kikuyu Central Association that involved mainly the Kikuyu community and Baluhyia political union among the Luhyia community.

Furthermore, the struggle for independence and the rise of Mau Mau rebellion made the colonial government to outlaw the formation of nationwide political parties in 1955. Political parties were only allowed to operate at the district level. This further, led to the formations of political parties at the district level. For example, Nandi District Independence Party and Nakuru African Progressive Party. Those political formations asserted their net influence within the districts which were at that time; occupied by a specific ethnic community. Thus, the seeds of ethnic political parties were sowed; which would last to span and shape the formation of subsequent political parties in the post-colonial era (Ajulu, 2002).

Eventually, when the ban was finally lifted in 1960 allowing for the formation of nationwide political parties, the trend of forming political parties along ethnic lines continued significantly in the post- independent Kenya (Ajulu, 2002). For instance, the Kenya African National Union (KANU) which was formed in 1960 following the merger of Kenya African Union (KAU) with Kenya Independence Movement and National Peoples Convention Party. KANU overwhelmingly received support from the Kikuyu and Luo community. Sooner than later, the influence of ethnicity surfaced in the national political discourse. Groups of political leaders which included but not limited to: Ronald Ngala, Masinde Muliro and Daniel Arap Moi; came out strongly to advance the interest of other ethnic communities in Kenya (Oyugi, 1997). They formed KADU. Both KANU and KADU advocated for unitary and federal system of governance respectively.

In the run up to the very first multi-party general election in 1963, the various ethnic communities in Kenya had already been ''conditioned or accustomed'' to embrace and entrench ethnic politics (Kanyinga, 2014). Ethnic elites and presidential candidates mobilized voters in their respective constituencies mostly on the basis of ethnicity. Presidential electoral contestations were fueled and influenced by ethnic dimensions. The leaders of KANU and KADU and their supporters; placed high premiums on the interest of their own ethnic communities compared other variables that were equally important in the run up to the first general election. Ethnicity would continue to negatively influence future presidential electoral contest in the post-independence period.

1.2 Problem Statement

The problem of negative ethnicity has certain implications to the national cohesion among the Kenyan citizens (Nyaura, 2018). Politicization of negative ethnicity and its net application on deliberate policy implementation have been blamed on the current socio-economic inequalities among different communities and regions in Kenya (Wanyande, 2012). Scores of Kenyans associate deep rooted socio- economic inequalities to be a direct consequence of deliberate policy implementation by those in positions of authority to either develop or marginalize certain regions and specific ethnic-communities in Kenya. Uneven distribution and allocation of public resources among different ethnic communities often provides recipe for ethnic tensions, suspicions and animosity as some communities are perceived to be benefiting a lot in relation to other marginalized communities.   This negative phenomenon undermines the spirit of national unity and by extension, a feeling of common belonging among Kenyans and instead, it spurs ethnic exclusion (Wanyande, 2012). Politicians and ethnic- elites often exploit such ethnic exclusions during presidential electoral contest and that further creates disunity among Kenyans.

Negative ethnicity also impacts on economic wellbeing of Kenyans. Branch and Cheeseman, (2006) argued that every society is equipped with defined wealth creating assets such as Land and mineral deposits. In Kenya, negative ethnicity has been applied in the re-distribution of such national assets especially land. For example, Kanyinga, (2004) argued that in the run up to 1997 presidential elections, KANU regime practiced the habit

of rewarding ethnic communities that were loyal to the ruling party with parcels of lands. Those ethnic communities that were deemed as anti-KANU were on other hand; evicted from the regions that they occupied and such actions made them feel left out by KANU regime under president Moi. Moreover, appointment to the public sector in Kenya often take an ethnic-dimensions whereby those communities which supports the ruling party benefits the most whereas those that oppose the ruling party or government for that matter, feels left out. Such arrangements breed ethnic-tensions which gets intensified during presidential electoral contests as each community strive to be in government.

Negative ethnicity also undermines political reforms and governance of the nation. For instance, in the run up to 1992 general elections, a number of political reforms were put forth among them repeal of section 2A of the independent constitution and electoral reforms that were to ensure leveled political playing field before elections. At the earlier stages those of reforms, massive ethno-regional challenges a rose which almost stifled their implementations. For example, the KAMATUSA ethnic communities opposed the re-introduction of the multi-party system over fears that KANU under former president Moi would risk being dislodged from power and that by extension, threatened the benefits and privileges that accrued to KAMATUSA communities (Bosire, 2019)

Negative ethnicity also influences the formation of ethno-regional political parties. Majority of the political parties and political coalitions often gets shaped by ethnic dimensions. For example, the political parties that were formed in the run up to 1992 general elections. Some of them such as FORD-K, FORD-Asili, DP, PICK and KSC were highly designed to galvanize and mobilize their own co-ethnic members in a bid to occupy the highest office in the land (Kisaka and Nyadera, 2019). Those political parties lacked political ideologies or sound political manifesto part from FORD-K which had elements of socialism ideals (Kisaka, 2019).

Kenya has made concerted efforts to contain the influence of ethnic politics and its implications on presidential election outcome. For instance, the promulgation of 2010 constitution which spells out that for ``a person to be declared president elect, he/she should

receive more than half of the total votes cast in the election. In addition, he/she should also receive at least 25% of the total votes cast in each of more than half of the counties in Kenya. `` The same constitution also provides that in the event that no candidate meets such requirement, two candidates with the highest votes go for a ran –off. In essence, the constitution demands that for one to become the president, he/she should appeal to most Kenyans regardless of their ethnic affiliations.

The 2010 constitution also discourages the formation of political parties along ethnic lines. For instance, it stipulates that political parties should have a nationwide influence and appeal. Political parties Act of 2011 also highlights that for a political party to be registered, ``it should have at least a thousand registered voters from each in more than half of the 47 counties in Kenya``. In addition, its membership at the executive level, should reflect the regional and ethnic diversity of Kenyan communities. These measures are tailored towards ensuring that ethnic based political parties are discouraged in Kenya.

In the public office appointments, the same constitution of 2010 spell out that national state organs and state parastatals are expected to avail their services to all Kenyans regardless of their ethnic backgrounds. It stipulates that the national executive body of such national organs should reflect the regional and ethnic diversity of Kenya. All Kenyans should be accorded equal opportunities for appointments into the public services.

The National Cohesion and Integration Act further requires that all public institutions should not have more one third of the members of its staff from one ethnic community. In practice, these measures were meant to tame political patronage in the Kenyan public service. Despites the above measures, ethnicity has remained relatively pervasive and intractable in the Kenyan electoral cycle. It is upon this background that this study seeks to examine the influence of ethnicity in the presidential elections in Kenya.

1.3 Research Questions

1. How do Kenyan political parties contribute to entrenchment of ethnic politics and contestation in presidential electoral contests?
2. How does negative ethnicity undermine political reforms and governance in the nation?
3. How does negative ethnicity affect cohesion in Kenya?

1.4 Objectives

1.4.1 General Objective

To assess the influence of ethnicity in 2013 and 2017 presidential electoral contest in Kenya.

1.4.2 Specific Objective

i. To assess how Kenyan political parties, contribute to the entrenchment of ethnic politics and contestation in presidential electoral contests
ii. To assess how negative ethnicity; affect political reforms and governance in the nation
iii. To assess how negative ethnicity affect cohesion in Kenya.

1.5 Justification of the Study

1.5.1 Academic Justification

The study offered more scholarly knowledge to the existing body of literature. It introduced relatively fresh understanding on how ethnicity evolved over time with regard to the Kenya`s electoral cycle. The study widened the scope of literature with regard to influence of ethnicity on presidential elections. It deepened and enriched the available measures for regulating the implications of ethnicity on presidential elections. The reviewed literature presented certain important gaps which the study filled by proposing a set of recommendations and findings.

The study did find that the current electoral system was fraught with a number of shortcomings. As such, it proposed mixed member proportional systems to replace the current first-past- the post electoral system.

The study reinvigorated the scholarly pool of knowledge by proposing enhancement of the capacity of existing institutions and agencies mandated to regulate ethnicity. By empowering state agencies through additional resources, training and civic education, the use of ethnicity could be reduced in presidential elections.

1.5.2 Policy Justification

The study identified and helped bridge certain policy gaps. It proposed strengthening of state agencies that are mandated to regulate ethnic hate speech that are often driven by politicians. For example, it proposed that additional resources to be made available to National Cohesion and Integration Commission to enable it execute her mandate. Similarly, the study recommended the office of the public prosecution to be fully supported to enable it perform its duties as outlined in the constitution. Thus, those individuals or politicians that are fond of resorting to politicization of ethnicity during presidential campaigns do not go scot-free.

The study proposed policy recommendations that would help scale down ethnic violence and bad relations among Kenyans. That way, a conducive business environment would be created that would attract investors. Thus, the unemployed citizens would be able to get employment opportunities and that would help reduce chances of politician misusing the unemployed Kenyans through buying their votes during presidential electoral contest. The study also recommended full implementation of the constitution which would impart national ethos for unity and national inclusivity regardless of ethnic background.

1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study

Ethnic politics and its dynamics on democratic electoral processes appear to be a major challenge in many developing States. However, the study was limited to examining the influence of ethnicity on presidential election in Kenya only. Moreover, it was limited to

examining the influence of ethnicity in the periods of presidential elections in Kenya which covers 2013 and 2017 elections respectively. That was because those elections took place under the 2010 constitutional reforms and dispensation. As such, the evolution of ethnicity before and after the promulgation of the 2010 constitution would be best examined.

1.7 Literature Review

This section entailed a comprehensive review of the previous scholarly studies regarding the influence of ethnicity on presidential elections. It focused on identifying possible gaps in the previous studies which the study did not only attempt to fill but also improve on. This section was organized in two parts: It reviewed the global perspectives of the intersection of ethnicity and politics and then it proceeded by reviewing the African perspectives. The study focused primarily on the electioneering periods.

1.7.1 Global Perspectives of Ethnic Politics

Fisher, (2011) did a study on the influence of negative ethnicity on national cohesion and unity at the 2010 general elections in Britain. The study used conditional logit models to estimate the influence of ethnicity on party vote preference. The study found out that white British voters were less likely to throw their support behind Muslim candidates. However, the white British voters were less likely to discriminate against the minority ethnic candidates regardless of whether they shared same identity. The study also indicated that the Muslim voters were less likely to support their fellow Muslim candidate.

There was also no evidence that indicated that ethnic minority preferred to vote for co-ethnic candidates. The study explained the lack of support by the British White voters for Muslims candidates. It stated that the Muslims candidates were not convincing in terms of policy and their programs. Moreover, the study revealed that the real influence of ethnicity on 2010 elections in Britain was difficult to measure on the ethnic minority. It stated that the binary effects of classification posed a challenge on measuring ethnicity. That is to say, there were ethnic minority of black Africans and Blacks of Caribbean origin. Also, the Asians of Pakistani, India and Bangladeshi. The study found no direct influence of ethnicity on voting behaviour and by extension, on electoral contest particularly at constituency

level. The point of divergent between that study and the current one; was that this one focused on the influence of ethnicity at the presidential level.

Madrid, (2011) conducted a study on causal association between political parties and entrenchment of ethnic politics during presidential election contest in Peru. The study sample comprised the indigenous ethnic groups in Peru which included the Mestizos of dark skin and the light skin Mestizos, Quechua, and Aymara. The Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) Survey data of 2001 was used in the study. Correlation matrix and multiple regression were employed to analyze the data. The correlation and regression results indicated that the indigenous voters voted against the non-indigenous Mestizos and all the political parties of white`s elites. The indigenous exhibited some levels of ethnic dislike and resentments towards the non-indigenous white candidates. However, the study did not explain the implications of those findings to election outcome in Peru. For instance, its impacts on national democratic representation and development of the entire nation which the current study attempted to explore.

1.7.1.1 Negative Ethnicity and National Cohesion

Tezur and Gurses, (2017) did a study on ethnic exclusion and its influence on national cohesion among the Kurdish ethnic group in Turkey. That study used instrumentalism theory. Time series data collected annually and covering period of between 1980-2014 was used in the study. The study used regression and correlation techniques to analyze data. The study found out that the Kurdish that had greater opportunities and access to state resources were less likely to engage in ethnic conflicts or to be mobilized. The study indicated that state programs and practices that promoted inclusivity of all citizens regardless of their ethnic background reduced ethnic conflicts significantly. However, the study did not explain the timing of those ethnic conflicts and why they are prevalent during electoral contest, it did not clearly explain the role of ethnicity in the electoral contest. The current study attempted to fill those gaps by exploring the remedies that enhanced inclusivity.

Querol, (2002) carried out a study to examine the impacts of negative ethnicity on the national unity in Spain. The study used a time series data of a cross-section for 138 countries between 1960-1995. The study used a regression analysis to analyze data. The study found out that democracy could not deter countries from engaging in ethnic conflicts and Civils Wars. It also found out that religious polarization was significant in castigating civil wars. The finding also pointed out that ethnic conflicts were less prone in consociation democracies. However, this study did not capture the implications of ethnic identities to electoral contest at presidential level. The study explored ethnic influence and how they evolved into conflict that threatened national unity.

1.7.1.2 African Perspective and Negative Ethnicity

Lindberg and Morrison, (2008) conducted a study to examine how political parties contributes to the entrenchment of ethnic politics during presidential electoral competition in Ghana. A survey data was carried out over a period of 6 weeks between June and July 2003. A sample size of 700 respondents from 6 constituencies mainly in four regions that is Volta, Ashanti, Central and Accra. The study found out that as much as negative ethnicity and patronage influenced voting behavior among the electorates in Ghana, it was not the only factor that influenced voters. The study found out that voters were able to assess presidential candidates based on their previous performance in government. The electorates were keen on evaluating the policy programs of presidential candidates and use that to inform their decision as to which presidential candidate to vote for. The study however did not explicitly explain the role of ethnicity on presidential election. It further left a lacuna in its attempt to explain bloc voting behavior to parties by overwhelming co-ethnic members in presidential election contest.

Isiaq and Adebiyi, (2018) conducted a study on the influence of negative ethnicity on national integration and cohesion in Nigeria. Time series data collected by Independent National Election Management Commission (INEC) from 1970-2015 was used in the study. The study employed descriptive statistical analysis and Analysis of historical presidential election. The findings revealed that presidential candidates received massive bloc votes from their co-ethnic groups particularly in the states that they came from. It

found out that ethnic politics destroyed the unity of the Nigerian Nation and developmental agenda of the government. The current study explored the national ethos, redistributive policies that could help reduce ethnicity which were not considered in the previous study.

Krutz, (2013) did a study to examine the influence political parties on entrenchment of ethnic politics in Uganda. The study used survey experiment to test the variables. The study also used correlation coefficient to study the correlation between variables. The study revealed that when co-ethnic candidates were portrayed negatively compared to non-co-ethnics, electorates preferred not to support the political parties that they were affiliated to. Thus, information influenced voting behavior. However, that study differs from this current one in that it focused on election contest at constituency level and not presidential level. Also, it did not explain a situation whereby members of co-ethnic groups would ignore political parties with sound manifesto and still vote for a political party that has no reliable information about what it would do in the event that it wins the elections. The study attempted to fill that gap by describing why political parties are sometimes formed along ethnic lines.

Posnor, (2013) did a study on negative ethnicity and its influence on national unity at presidential electoral contest in Africa. The study used a cross-national survey in 20 countries in Africa. The study found out that there were ethnic dynamics which changed over time. It further indicated that the likelihood of a respondent appealing to their ethnic group significantly increased when election periods are approaching. As such, respondents identified themselves with regard to their co-ethnic members. However, the study did not reveal the role and implications of those intense ethnic consciousness among different ethnic group. It also did not explain what caused the politicization of ethnic identity in the periods preceding presidential elections.

The review of relevant scholarly literature disclosed important gaps. For example, why ethnicity become more pronounced during presidential elections. The study attempted to fill this gap by describing the historical injustices that were perpetuated by the colonial administration. Co-ethnics take election period as a window to advance their group interest

and address historical injustices. The study also attempted to provide a solution to intermittent ethnic conflict and violence. It did recommend the strengthening of state agencies like National Cohesion and Integration Commission, Kenya National Human Rights Commissions. By increasing the capacity of these commissions, violence could be greatly reduced.

The literature also revealed that lack of clear policy direction from the presidential candidates often leaves voters with no option but to resort to ethnic voting. The study attempted to fill this gap by proposing that presidential candidate to campaign on the basis on sound manifesto and clear policy programs. Voters would prefer to vote on the basis on policy to mere ethnic affiliations.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

Given the multi-dimensional nature of ethnicity, no single theory can sufficiently explain its influence on electoral contest. In that regard, the study used an integration of primordialism, constructivism and instrumentalism approaches. Those approaches offered significant insights and contributions to the understanding of Ethnicity and its dynamics on electoral contests. By incorporating those theories into the study, the strengths and core assumptions of each theory helped in understanding how different variables each theory presents; influences electoral contest. Integrating these approaches into the study helped in minimizing the net implications of their weaknesses in the study. Thus, balanced arguments were generated which helped in shaping possible policy direction for the study. However, all of them are limited in their descriptive, explanatory, predictive and prescriptive capacity.

1.8.1 Arguments and Assumptions of the Approaches

According to Primordialism Approach, Ethnic Identity is inherent and ascriptive in nature. That is, belonging and membership to a particular ethnic group is given at birth and as such, is fixed and unchangeable (Isajiw, 1993). It posts that ethnic linkages are naturally inherent in a particular ethnic group and this makes such groups to possess inextricable connection with certain social groups. Such connections to a particular group which is often

based on shared features often generate division ``Us versus Them`` in comparison to other ethnic formations.

The shared features that confers distinctions in this context includes; language, location or belief system (Geertz, 1973). The biological and genetical characteristics that defines membership in a given ethnic group according to this approach are static and are often passed and carried from one generation to the other (Chandra, 2012).

This approach makes certain assumptions. For instance, Ethnic identity according to Primordialism is unique and fixed with discernible boundaries which may be social in nature (Poata, 2013). Ethnic dissimilarities are seen as historical and ancestral without possibilities of reconciliation among different ethnic groups (Estaban, 2012). In light of this, ethnic conflicts and rivalry occurs spontaneously and naturally without control within and between dissimilar ethnic groups (Weir, 2012). It assumes that there exists some sort of fear of extinction of groups identity or even domination of the group by other ethnic groups. Thus, this invokes deep emotions which fuels ethnic rivalry and conflicts as each ethnic group fight to preserve their identity (Glazer, 1986).

Conner, (1994) observed that this approach attempted to elucidate the aspirations that made Assamese to carry out and commit massacre on Bengalis, also the genocide in Rwanda by Tutsi and Hutu in 1994. A lot of inhuman violence committed in Democratic republic of Congo could be explained as result of fear of extinction of their ethnic identity.

This Theory has certain short comings. It over emphasizes the irrationality and inevitability of ethnic conflicts in heterogeneous ethnic societies (Turton, 1997). It asserts that there is an inherent propensity of ethnic groups to naturally resort to conflicts and violence (Campbell, 2007). Thus, it assumes that ethnic conflicts and violence are inextricably linked to heterogeneous ethnic groups in society. Put differently, it suggests that ethnic groups will automatically engage in violence and as such, it creates a picture of hopelessness in society (Laitin and Sunny, 1997).

It tends to pay little attention to the economic, political, structural conditions and processes within which such ethnic conflicts occur (McKay, 2011). The assertions of this theory might not be necessarily true in all heterogeneous societies. For instances, in Botswana which is essentially an ethically heterogeneous state, there exists relatively peaceful coexistence and relations among different ethnic groups and they hardly engage in violence (Holm and Molutsi, 1992).

Constructivism theory has attempted to address the shortcomings above. As such, it complements primordialism approach. This approach views ethnic identity as highly malleable and fluid in nature. Most importantly, it is constructed socially through events such as colonization, conquest and immigration (Wimmer, 2008). According to this Approach, ethnic groups are discerned to be mere social constructions based on interactions among members of a particular social group. This might be with regard to specific origins and aspects of historical phenomenon such as group differentiation and expansion.

It asserts that the social constructions in this context are highly fluid and, in most cases, emanate from a set of political, social and economic processes (Chandra, 2001). It posits that every human society possess historical cleavages and stories, narratives or myths that ethnic elites and political elites can easily exploit and manipulate (Brass, 2003). It views Ethnic identity as social entity discerned by virtue of membership and identifiable features that is anticipated under certain conditions (Ferejohn and Laitin, 2000). Ferejohn, (1991) argued that those social entities are not fixed and static per see. Instead, they are influenced by the inner logic of individuals. Moreover, they are shaped by their social interactions within group members which makes them to identify with a given ethnic group (Ferejohn, 1991).

Jackson, (2000) observed that ethnic group tends to make reference to the historical events and existing social constructions. This approach argues that language, culture, traditional symbols and common ancestry plays a salient role in fuelling and maintaining ethnic conflicts and rivalry (Kufman, 2001). Thus, ethnicity according to Constructivists approach is fluid, personal and often changes with regard to the social interactions within

and between ethnic groups. As such, its role is to maintain and enhance social dissimilarities for certain objectives which might be social, economic and political in nature (Jemma, 2006).

It asserts further that ethnic conflicts are as a result of solid historical events and processes which influences relationships by invoking animosities and hostile conditions. Thus, it renders politicization of ethnicity by political entrepreneurs convenient and beneficial (Weir, 2012). For instance, the Ethnic conflicts and rivalry over Nagorno – Karabakh between Azerbaijan and Armenia that commenced around 1980s is often explained through constructivist perspectives (Kuburus, 2011).

Constructivism has certain weaknesses too. For instance, its assumptions do not account for societies who share similar historical processes, common decent, and structural features which are often linked to conflicts and violence in society. In other words, why does those historical processes and structural features which arouses emotions and ethnic consciousness fails to produce similar results in other heterogeneous societies. For instance, In Botswana where there exist ethnic heterogeneity and there seem to peaceful relations among ethnic groups whereas in neighboring Zimbabwe with ethnic heterogeneity groups too, there seem to be conflicts and violence recurrently.

The weaknesses of both primordialism and constructivism theories are further addressed by instrumentalism theory. Instrumentalists assumes that there is an existing ethnic group defined by primordial features. It makes use of the social constructions defined by constructivists above. Instrumentalist argues that Ethnic identity is a strategy that is used by ethnic groups to form coalitions with a purpose of seeking for a larger proportion of limited economic resources and political influence. Collier, (2002) observed that ethnicity is a tool for confining resources to a handful individuals. It argues that it is normal for political parties to organize around ethnic lines so long as it brings substantive benefits. Chandra (2004) argues that ethnic conflicts emerge between rational persons over limited resources inspired by the objectives of political elites which in most cases is to gain political power or other economic benefits. Thus, ethnic conflicts and rivalry is as a result

of rational decisions made by particular actors and harbor personal interests such as acquiring property, security and power.

This approach is useful in explaining why relatively fragmented societies with small ethnic groups resort to conflict. It further argues that ethnic groups will either decide to engage in conflicts or not depending on the cost and benefits involved. If the cost is high, they will refrain and if the benefits are more and outweighs the cost, they will engage in ethnic conflicts (Walter, 1997) for instance, the ethnic conflicts in Democratic Republic of Congo is often perceived as a result of elite manipulation over illegal exploitation of minerals (Autesserre, 2012).

Kaufmann, (2005) argued that political elites castigate ethnic animosity and tensions with a view of capturing political power, preserving their authority or guarding it against another ethnic group. Glazer and Moyniham, (1975) on the other hand, contributed to instrumentalists 'approach by viewing ethnicity in relation to the state. They argued that ethnicity played a central role in the modern state. They gave an illustration of state officials accepting bloc voting and this is seen as a form of collective commitment and rights.

This approach has certain shortcomings too: It tends to ignore the biological features given at birth and which are the basis of differences that exists in ethnically heterogeneous societies. Put differently, it ignores the contributions of primordial features that manifest in the form of ``Us versus Them Syndrome`` (Conor, 1994). Moreover, the arousal of ethnic emotions and consciousness is not often made by the political elites per see; they only discern it and utilize it as tool of mobilizations. This theory also asserts that the behaviors and general actions of individuals in ethnic conflicts is often influenced by the end material benefits and gains. However, it fails to account for the atrocities such as rape, genocide and destruction of property of individual members who engage in ethnic conflict (Weitman, 2008).

1.8.2 Implication of these Approaches to this Study

Instrumentalist theory emphasizes the utility of ethnicity as tool of achieving economic and political resources (Cohen, 1974). Basing on this theory, the existence of different ethnic groups and their distinct inherent features in Kenya is not a challenge. Instead, the politicizations of group`s features as tool for achieving economic and political gains is the challenge. As such, electoral contest provides platforms for politicization of ethnicity ((Stewart, 2010).

Moreover, instrumentalists underscore the role played by ethnic and political elites who use ethnic identities to manipulate their co-ethnic members and as such, they are able to achieve their self-interest which might be either economic or political (Ajulu, 2002). This theory also holds the view that the utilization and politicization of ethnic identities becomes more convenient when the group`s interests are at stake or in danger. This has certain implication on the study since according to (Kanyinga, 2014), there exists a perception in Kenya that by virtue of belonging to the ethnic group where the president come from, one is likely to get enormous opportunities and privileges from the government. For example, appointment to public service, award of government contracts and tenders. Thus, Presidential election competitions might be viewed in this context as a window for different ethnic groups in Kenya to compete and struggle for the benefits that accrues by virtue of your co-ethnic member occupying political power (Romero, 2007).

The Ethnic conflicts that took place in the Rift Valley during the 1992 general elections can be best explained using the Primordialism Perspective. For instance, in those clashes, the indigenous Kalenjin claimed that they were cleansing their community and getting rid of other ethnic groups like the Kikuyus, Luo and Kisii who shared no biological features, common descent or language with them.

1.9 Hypothesis

H₁: Ethnicity negatively influences presidential electoral contest in Kenya

1.10 Definition and Operationalization of Key Concepts

Ethnicity has been defined by a number of scholars. For instance, Brown (2000) defined an ethnic group as a group of people who possess similar ancestral origin and share unique characteristics regarding language, belief system and place of origin. Young (2000) defined it on the basis of shared cultural traits, boundaries and awareness.

In this study, Ethnicity has been used to mean politicization of ethnic identity by politicians and electorates with a view of achieving their desired objectives in form of political, economic and social interest (Ajulu, 2002). It denotes the mobilizations of voters along ethnic lines by political elites and which manifests through support of electoral candidates by co-ethnic members.

Election: is a formal and systematic process in which eligible citizens vote in order to choose an individual or groups of individuals to hold defined private or public office (Ruanak, 2006). **In this study**, presidential elections have been used to mean a formal process in which citizens exercise their rights by way of voting for a presidential candidate to represent them as a holder of the office of the president.

1.11 Research Methodology

Kothari, (2004) defined research methodology as systematic theoretical analysis of the methods applied to a field of study. The research methodology section included research design, research methods, data collection techniques, target population, sampling techniques, validity and reliability issues and lastly, data analysis. The study used qualitative research methods. That basically entailed collection of information that yielded qualitative data. The method suited the study since the sample size was relatively small. That was to say, the research method made it easier to reach reasonable and accurate generalizable conclusions (Chor, 2010).

Qualitative data was gleaned from the focus group discussions. 5- 10 respondents were brought together that provided diverse information regarding the topic of the study as well as research questions. Participants that constituted the focus group were made to respond

to the set of questions that was attached in appendix A. The sessions lasted for 45 minutes. The views of each respondent in the focus group were recorded in hand-written form and as well as in electronic mobile device.

1.11.1 Research Design

A research design is a systematic guide and a plan that is used by a researcher to enable the processes such as data collection and analysis to be achieved (Owens, 2002). There are basically four research Design. Namely: Case studies, experimental, cross-sectional and longitudinal research design. The study used focus group discussions strategies to collect data. Focus group discussion was used to gather data from the key commissions which included: National Cohesion and Integration Commission and National Registrar of political parties. The focus group discussions constituted 5 respondents. Each participant was given 5 minutes to respond to the questions enclosed in appendix A. The questions were pertinent to the research questions. Views of each participant were recorded for further analysis in hand written and mobile electronic devices.

The study also used narrative interview strategies in which participants were asked questions enclosed in appendix A. The participants provided qualitative data through narratives and stories regarding the influence of ethnicity in presidential election in Kenya. The participants narrated their experiences regarding the evolution of ethnicity in Kenya`s electoral cycle. Every participant was given ample time to narrate their personal experiences.

1.11.2 Research Site

The study was restricted to Nairobi County, Kenya. The preferred units of analysis were the ordinary citizens/local residents of the County and key experts at NCIC and NRPP. The choice of Nairobi County was informed by a number of factors. First, Nairobi County is comprised of ethnically diverse population. Thus, obtaining objective data was enhanced as compared to other regions where one ethnic group dominate. Thus, would have made the study fraught with biasness and prejudices. Secondly, the county has witnessed and experienced some of the effects of ethnicity such as violence during presidential election

period in Kenya and especially the election of 2007 and its aftermaths such as violence. Therefore, it was possible to gain insights into the nature of the influence of ethnicity.

1.11.3 Target Population

The target population in the study included: The ordinary citizens of Kenya from the 17 constituencies that constitute Nairobi county, The experts in the National Cohesion and Integration Commission, National Registrar of Political Parties and officials in the Election Observer Group. The ordinary citizens of Kenya were necessary in the study since some of them have experienced the influence of ethnicity on presidential elections. Secondly, they have witnessed the implications of presidential election that is largely based on ethnic mobilizations. Thirdly, the population is more diverse across the various ethnic communities in Kenya. The experts in institutions mentioned above were groups of persons with vast expertise and experience on how ethnicity influences presidential elections in Kenya and how it could be contained in presidential electoral contest.

1.11.4 Sample Size

The sample size that was used in the study was 77 participants. That figure of 77, was arrived at as follows: Since the research site was in Nairobi county, the study used the 2019 census report; which placed the total number of populations in Nairobi County at 4,397,073 people. Thus, 4,397,073 constituted the universe of cases. To be able to derive the sample size therefore, the study applied a formular that was proposed by Krejcie and Morgan in 1970. The formular is used only when the universe of cases exceeds 100,000 units and that was true in the study context since the study had a universe of cases of; 4,397,073 in Nairobi County.

Below is the formula;

$$s = X2NP(1-P) \div d2(N-1) + X2P(1-p)$$

In that formula,

S-Required sample

P-was the population of metropolitan city of Nairobi. But since the study could not pick the exact population proportion to be used, the study applied 50% of the whole population.

d- was the margin of error or degree of accuracy expressed as a proportion at 0.05. The margin of error was at 0.05% =1.96

N- population size.

X2- the table value of chi-square for 1 degree of freedom at the desired confidence level (0.05 = 3.841).

When everything was substituted in the equation,

$N=(1.96)^2/(0.5)(0.5)\times (1-0.5)/(0.5)2 (0.5-1)+1.96(2)\times0.5(1-05)=384.16$

True sample= population/n+population-1

Where N=384 and population 4,397,073. In the equation,

$384.16\times4397073/384.16+4,397,073-1$

Sample size =384 people.

It was that number (384) that was subjected to systematic sampling techniques and procedures whereby, 5 was used as sampling interval. As such, counting was done starting from the first person to the last person and every 5th person among the 384 persons was picked to constitute the sample size. Put differently, 384/5=76.8 that exercise generated approximately 77 respondents.

77 respondents represented various categories of persons across the population which included but not limited to: Civil servants working within Nairobi County =15, students =30, Business persons and employees in the private sectors=15. Those participants participated in the narrative interviews. Their age categories ranged from 18 years and above. Similarly, the total number of Key respondents that formed the focus group discussions were 17 in total. Those were mainly from NCIC, NROPP, ELOG.

1.11.5 Sampling Technique

The study used systematic sampling techniques as well as judgmental purposive sampling methods. Sampling of the participants that constituted the focus group discussion was done in line with purposive sampling techniques. In that regard, selection was done on the basis of experience and expertise of the participants. Those respondents that were approached

and engaged in focus group discussions had vast knowledge and experience on the evolution of negative ethnicity in presidential election, what negative ethnicity meant on national cohesion and economic wellbeing of the people of Kenya.

They were basically 5-10 expert participants from NCIC, NROPP and ELOG. At the end of that exercise, 17 participants successful shared their views with regard to the influence of ethnicity in presidential electoral contest. Similarly, Sampling of the participants that constituted the views of ordinary Kenyans was done through Systematic sampling method. That was done by counting from the first participant and selecting every 5th person to from the sampling frame which was 384 persons. The sampling interval was 5.

1.11.6 Data Collection Methods

The study collected both secondary and primary data. Primary data entailed the data that was collected for the first time (Hox and Boeije, 2005). Secondary data on the other hand, included the data that was in existence (Minton, 2013). Put differently, Primary data was original and more or less factual. Secondary data was rapid and readily accessible. Primary data was collected with the view of addressing the research questions.

The study used a combination of primary and secondary data. Primary data was collected through the research instrument enclosed in appendix A, secondary data on the other hand, entailed the use of government publications, website, books, journal, tittles and internal records.

The study used both open and closed ended questions enclosed in appendix A. As such, only questions that were necessary and relevant to the objective of the study were asked from the respondents. The study designed the questions as follows; beginning with informing the respondents the purpose of the study and their views and experiences regarding influence of ethnicity in presidential election. A follow up questions were conducted to ensure the objectives of the research were achieved. Prior to this exercise, a consent letter, authorization letter from the university was availed to respondents a week before the actual data collection.

1.11.7 Data Reliability and Validity

Validity refers to the trustworthiness and accuracy of research work (Bond, 2003). It is the appropriateness of the conclusions made on a certain results or outcome of a study. The study ensured that the instruments enclosed in Appendix 1; that were used to collect data adhered to the objectives of the study. As such, the researcher cross-checked the interview guide enclosed in appendix A to ensure they covered the key areas of the objectives and research questions.

1.11.8 Reliability

Bush, (2007) defined reliability as the consistency and replicability of the research over time. That is, the capacity of the research instruments to generate similar findings when used under similar conditions. The study was satisfied with research instruments enclosed in Appendix 1. The research instruments were administered at least twice to measure consistency of the data that the respondents delivered. Put differently, the questions were reframed differently though they were asking the same questions. The responses that were obtained in the second round matched those ones that were given in the first around.

1.11.9 Ethical Considerations

The study adhered to the set ethical concerns of Research. For instance, the participants and respondents were informed about the purpose of the research study in consent letter. In addition, their consent was sought before the issuance of the research instruments. Their responses remained highly confidential and were used only for academic purposes.

1.11.10 Data Analysis

The primary data that was collected from the focus group discussions were organized and summaries made. That process comprised inscription, description and transcription. The study used content analysis procedures and guidelines to describe and present the data that was provided by the participants.

1.12 Proposed Chapter Outline

Chapter one essentially entailed introduction to the study by discussing the background of the study, problem statement, research questions, objective of the study, gaps in the literature, theoretical framework and methodology. Issues of ethical concerns were also discussed in chapter one. Chapter two included discussion of the historical perspective of the problem under the study. Chapter three included data analysis, presentation and discussion. Chapter four discussed the summary of findings, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO
HISTORICAL AND CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discussed the historical perspective regarding the influence of ethnicity in presidential elections in Kenya. It was organized into four major thematic areas which included: A brief description of the ethnic identities and how they get politicized in presidential elections, ethnic political parties, Ethnic voting and the measures that have been put in place to contain the influence of ethnicity. These thematic areas enabled the study to understand the research questions and objectives. Moreover, the themes unraveled the deep underlying historical ethnic dynamics which described and explained the evolution of ethnicity in presidential electoral contest in Kenya.

2.2 Ethnic Identity and Politicization

Kenya is among the African states that are essentially regarded as multi-ethnic and fragmented societies (Robinson, 2009). In fact, for Kenyan case, even the exact number of ethnic groups in Kenya still remains a bone of contention. The 1969 census population report claimed that the total number of ethnic groups in Kenya was approximately 42. However, recent research and development indicate that there are actually over and above 42 ethnic groups in Kenya (Lynch, 2017). For instance, the data sheet on ethnic composition during the 2009 census, indicated approximately 111 ethnic groups in Kenya.

That rapid exponential rise from 42 ethnic groups in 1969 to 111 ethnic groups in 2009 was attributed to the efforts of the sub-groups that were highly marginalized by the colonial administration. They were forcefully put together with the larger ethnic communities with which they shared certain similarities. Such sub-ethnic groups straggled to be recognized as a distinct and separate ethnic group by the state. They included; Sengwer, Endorois, and Ogiek. Furthermore, the 2009 census recognized Marachi, Maragoli, and Marama that were previously subsumed in the larger Luyhia ethnic group. Equally, the Mijikenda sub-groups were treated distinctively. They included; Choli, Dahalo and Boni. Also, the Mbeere and Tharaka sought to be recognized as separate from the Embu and Meru larger ethnic group (Bratton and Kimenyi, 2008).

The use of those unique ethnic identities by politicians so as to achieve their personal interest is what is meant by politicization of ethnicity (Mozaffaar, 2007). When ethnic identities in a society become fully politicized, even political parties tend to draw significant members including party leaders from their own ethnic communities with a view of advancing group interest. Such parties at times lack concrete ideological underpinnings that anchors party principles (Oloo, 2013). In Kenya, ethnicity tend to determine the behavior of politicians as well as the electorates. It shapes how political elites often seek, maintain and relinquish power (Musumba, 2016). The use of ethnic identity as an instrument of mobilization by politician has often plunged the country into situations of heightened tensions, conflicts and violence especially around the periods preceding general elections since independence (Musumba, 2017).

2.3 Ethnic Political Parties

Formation of political parties along ethnic lines began long before Kenya attained her independence (Ajulu, 2002). However, the ban on the formation of political parties beyond the district level by the colonial administration in 1952; exacerbated the habit of forming political parties along ethnic lines (Munene, 2013). It confined political discourse within the districts that corresponded with the residence of the various ethnic groups in Kenya. As such, political organizations were more vibrant at regional or community level. Political organizations such as Kenya African Union (KAU) was for that matter, more pronounced in the former central province as was Kenya Independence Movement in former Nyanza province.

When the ban was lifted in 1960s, political organizations that operated at the district level merged and formed national political parties such as KANU (Wanyama, 2010). The composition of KANU revolved around Luo and Gikuyu axis and that made other ethnic communities to feel left out of the government that was about to be formed. Through their leaders who included: Masinde Muliro, Daniel Arap Moi and Ronald Ngala, they formed KADU to enable them advance the interest of their own communities. KANU and KADU advocated for both unitary and federal system of government in the run up to the very first

multi-party general election in Kenya. KANU won the election and formed the government.

Following the victory of KANU, KADU dissolved itself and merged with KANU in 1964. The merger of the two parties resulted into a de facto one -party political system in Kenya. KANU made bold statements that it was a national party representing the face of Kenya and regional ethnic diversity. However, (Wanyama, 2010) observed that KANU nearly became a party of one ethnic group (Kikuyu) following the defection of Odinga and other members to form KPU in 1966 (Steeves, 2017).

Multi-party-political system was re-introduced in 1991 following the repeal of section 2A of the independent constitution. Such changes had far reaching effects on the formation of subsequent political parties. For example, Wekesa, (2015) observed that most political parties that were formed in the run up to the 1992 presidential election lacked concrete ideologies. The only party that appeared to have some sort of ideology was Forum for Restoration of Democracy (FORD). Its influence was felt nationwide. However, it did not last long before it got split into FORD-Kenya and FORD –Asili. The former was led by Odinga while the latter was headed by Matiba. They received massive support from Lou and Kikuyu respectively. Similarly, KANU and Democratic Party (DP) were not free from ethnic dynamics. Kanyinga, (2014) argued that in 1992 general elections, each of the larger ethnic groups in Kenya had its own political party or decided to align itself along another ethnic group which had a higher influence than their own ethnic group.

Most of those opposition parties felt left out by the government under former President Moi and the then ruling party KANU. Moreover, In the run up to 1992 presidential election, a substantive number of members of parliament left KANU, the ruling party by then and joined the opposition party under Democratic Party which was largely made up of Kikuyu ethnic community (Oyugi, 1997). As such, they constituted the ethno-regional cleavages whose objective was to solidify the opposition and acquire political power (Apollos, 2001). KANU on the other hand, also build ethno-regional power. It embraced the Kalenjin,

Maasai, Samburu and Turkana ethnic communities commonly known as (KAMATUSA) in 1991.

The habit of forming political parties along ethnic lines was not just synonymous with 1992 elections. Similar arrangements occurred in 1997 general elections. In 1997, more ethnic political parties were formed. For instance, The National Development Party (NDP) that was largely comprised by the Luo and Social Democratic Party (SDP) that was comprised by the Kamba Communities. The central goals of those parties were to employ ethnic division to gain and control political power (Apollos, 2001).

In both 1992 and 1997 general elections, KANU won the electoral contest against the opposition parties. Wanyama, (2008) argued that the failure of opposition parties to win the presidential electoral contest was largely caused by their massive division and fragmentation prior to elections. On realizing that kind of mistake, the opposition parties opted for strong unity against the incumbent KANU. As result of this, the use of ethno-regional coalitions started to develop in early 2000. For instance, the National Development Party merged with KANU.

In the run up to 2002 elections, KANU claimed to be a national party embracing the diverse ethnic groups of Kenya. However, there was a disparity regarding its representation with its top executive leaders coming from Kalenjin community. The Democratic Party was the main opposition party led by Mwai Kibaki and received massive support from Kikuyu community. Social Democratic party led by Charity Ngilu received support from the Kamba community. The composition of KANU after its merger with NDP took ethnic dimension into consideration. For instance, Kalonzo Musyoka from Kamba community, Uhuru Kenyatta from Kikuyu community and Katana Ngala from Mijikenda community took the post of Vice chairmen while secretary general post was given to Raila Odinga from the Luo community.

The political build up in KANU influenced the opposition to form National Alliance Party of Kenya (NAK) with its leaders Kibaki (Kikuyu), Wamalwa (luhyia) and Ngilu(Kamba).

While in KANU, the choice of Uhuru Kenyatta as the preferred presidential candidate by Moi led to the development of a faction within KANU. The group that opposed Moi`s choice of presidential candidate formed Rainbow Alliance. Eventually, Rainbow Alliance led by Raila, left KANU and joined the opposition to form a coalition under the umbrella the National Alliance Rainbow Coalition (NARC) which was headed by Mwai Kibaki and Raila Odinga in 2002.

Critical review of the historical events regarding formation of political parties since independence revealed the saliency of the influence of ethnicity in political party formation. It showed that political parties and coalitions are just vehicles in which presidential candidates in Kenya uses in order to win elections. Most of the parties or coalitions tend to lack concreate and sound political ideologies. Instead, they are influenced mostly by ethnic dynamics.

2.4 Ethnic Voting

Ethnic voting has been witnessed in Kenya since the very first multi-party general elections in 1961. Ndegwa, (2012) observed that the votes that KANU and KADU garnered in 1961 election polls were approximately a representation of the number of the ethnic communities that supported those parties. However, Ethnic voting became more evident after the re-introduction of multi-party politics in 1992. An observation of voting patterns in the 1990s indicated how ethnic voting has been entrenched in Kenya. Each ethnic community voted for their own presidential candidate.

A tabulation of the Election results in the post multi-party democracy in 1992 and 1997 depicts how each of the ethnic communities in Kenya and especially the five dominant ones, casted their votes. They presented bloc voting patterns majorly for the party leaders who also happened to be the perceived leaders of those communities.

Table 2.1: The Voting Patterns of the 1992 and 1997 Elections

Region	Moi (Kalenjin)		Kibaki (Kikuyu)		Odinga/Oginga (Luo)		Matiba (Kikuyu)		Ngilu (Kamba)		Others		
	`92	`97	`92	`97	`92	97	`92	`97	`92	`97	`92	`97	
Nairobi	17	21	19	44	20	17	44	-	-	11	0.5	0.7	
Central	2	6	35	90	1	0.7	62	-	-	3	0.7	0.7	
Eastern	38	35	50	27	1.6	0.8	11	-	-	37	0.8	0.6	
Rift valley	68	72	8	20	6	1.6	19	-	-	0.7	0.2	0.3	
Coast	64	63	11	14	17	8	8	-	-	11	0.8	0.5	
Western	40	45	3	1.3	18	2	39	-	-	0.5	0.3	1.2	
Nyanza	14	24	6	16	75	55	3.3	-	-	1.7	0.7	1.5	
North Eastern	78	73	4	19	7	0.3	10	-	-	0.6	1.0	0.2	

Source: Kanyinga (2006:358)

Table 2.2: 2007 Election Results in Percentages

Region	% Kibaki (PNU)	% Raila (ODM)	% Kalonzo (ODM-K)
Nairobi	47.7	44.0	8.1
Central	97.0	1.9	0.7
Eastern	50.4	5.0	43.8
North Eastern	50.3	47.2	2.3
Coast	33.1	59.4	6.5
Rift Valley	33.5	64.6	1.4
Western	33.2	65.9	0.7
Nyanza	16.9	82.4	0.3
TOTAL	46.4	44.1	8.9

Source: Oloo (2010:52)

Oloo, (2010) observed the voting patterns of 2007 general elections and made various predictions regarding the future elections in Kenya. He asserted that ethnicity would still continue to play a big role in influencing voter behaviour in subsequent elections in Kenya.

That political elites would still mobilize voters along ethnic lines and membership to party leadership would take into account ethnic dimensions. Coincidentally, 2013 general elections had a striking resemblance with an ethnic census.

IEBC results indicated that Jubilee Alliance garnered 93.92% votes in former central province. Former central province which is inhabited mostly by Kikuyu community voted overwhelmingly for Jubilee party. In Rift Valley province where majority are the Kalenjin community, they voted for Jubilee Alliance almost 72.22%. On the other hand, CORD Coalition equally received more votes in Nyanza Province a region inhabited mostly by the Luo community of which the flag bearer of CORD was also a Luo. CORD received 86.83% from Nyanza. They also received close to 48.8% from Eastern Province mostly from the Kamba ethnic community. The other occupants of Eastern Province such as the Meru, Aembu, Ambeere and Tharaka voted overwhelmingly for Jubilee alliance party.

Table 2.3 below shows the 2013 elections results.

Table 2.3: 2013 Election Results in Percentages

Region	Jubilee%	CORD%	Amani
Central	93.92	4.16	0.21
Coast	19.34	74.9	0.29
Eastern	46.96	48.8	0.71
Nairobi	46.75	49.0	1.56
North Eastern	59.58	33.63	0.28
Nyanza	10.47	86.83	0.88
Rift Valley	72.22	23.35	2.12
Western	5.45	62.22	29.14
Diaspora	40.85	52.58	0.86
Total	50.07	43.31	3.93

Source: Oloo (2015:56)

2.5 Kenya`s Attempts to Contain the Influence of Ethnicity in Presidential Elections

The 2007/2008 disputed presidential electoral results sparked disagreements and conflicts that almost brought the country to a near civil war (Borzyskowski, 2019). The conflicts degenerated into violence that took ethnic dimensions (Linke, 2018). In order to abate the 2007 post-election conflicts and violence, African Union (AU) mediation team of experts that included: Kofi Annan as chairperson, Benjamin Mkapa and Graca Machel, forged Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation (KNDR) platform for mediation (KHC, 2019). KNDR made fruitful attempts which brought together the leaders of National Party of Unity (PNU) and Orange Democratic Movement (ODM). The primary purpose of KNDR was to create sustainable stability, justice and peace by applying the rule of law while promoting human rights (Wamai, 2018).

PNU and ODM under the auspices of KNDR, signed National Accord and reconciliation Act 2008 which led to the end of the conflicts and violence. The parties willingly entered into agreements that was commonly referred to as four-point agenda. They included: Immediate move to stop violence and promote restoration of fundamental rights and freedom, a move to resolve humanitarian crisis and to upheld national healing and reconciliation, that parties were to develop ways of overcoming political stalemates and crisis. Lastly, KNDR recommended to the parties to address long-term issues.

The long- term issues according KNDR included: undertaking constitutional, institutional, land and legal reforms. The parties were to address unemployment, poverty, combat inequalities and most importantly, they were to consolidate national cohesion and unity among Kenyans regardless of their ethnic, race or religious background.

A coalition government was formed with Kibaki as President and Raila as the prime Minister that was in accordance with KNDR agenda. The two leaders established three independent commissions to identify specific factors that fueled the conflicts and most importantly, provide recommendation to resolve them. The following commissions were formed: Independent Review Commission for the 2007 elections. It was also known also

Krieger commission (IREC), National commission on police reforms and the commission of inquiry into post -election violence (CIPEV)

The Independent Review Commission was mandated to look into the election processes whereas CIPEV was mandated to investigate the factors that led to the electoral violence (Schaack, 2019). IREC and CIPEV came up with ways of addressing the influence of ethnicity in presential electoral contest. They included but not limited to: Reforming the media regulatory platforms, electoral Commissions, police force and judiciary.

The commissions concurred that main stream media were instrumental in spreading the speeches and messages that were deemed ethnically divisive. The commissions recommended reformation of authorities that were meant to regulate the content of the main stream media. That way, the influence of ethnicity was anticipated to be reduced in electoral contest.

Moreover, National Dialogue and Reconciliatory Agreement was set up in 2008 which paved the way for the enactment of the National Cohesion and Integration Act by parliament. That Act developed and implemented laws and policies which were designed to down-regulate the influence of ethnicity. Similarly, it banned all the hate speeches or incitements that are often used to invoke divisive ethnic emotions among different ethnic communities in Kenya (Nderitu, 2018). The Act also spelt out clearly the penalties for individuals who resort to using ethnically sensitive words or speeches in Kenya.

In order to monitor and promote compliance in line the above Act, (National Cohesion and Integration Act); the coalition government established National Cohesion and Integration Commission. The mandate of the commission was to: Promote and foster equal opportunities, cordial relations and enhancement of peaceful coexistence of all individuals of diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds within the Kenyan jurisdiction.

In the run up to 2013 presidential elections, National Cohesion and Integration Commission developed guidelines to journalists and most media outlets with a view of restraining them

from encouraging coverage and dissemination of ethnic messages and general hate speeches during the campaign periods (Asogwa and Ezeibe, 2019). In a nutshell, NCIC prohibited all kinds of public intolerance between different ethnic elites and politicians.

The 2010 constitution reverberated the vision of the NCIC when it elaborated on the freedom of speech. The 2010 constitution outlawed hate speech and further prohibited incitement on the basis on ethnicity. In 2013 general elections, the risk of using incendiary political rhetoric was minimized. For instance, political parties Act of 2011 provided code of conduct which prohibited ethnic incitements.

The government of Kenya also banned the consumption of text messaged among Kenyans. That was done through a partnership with communication authorities and communication corporations. Government instructed all mobile phone owners to register their sim cards and that was done in attempt to monitor sensitive information that could easily result into incitements. NCIC further developed guidelines on how to regulate the information on the social media. Kenyans were advised to restrain from using speeches, languages with intension on invoking ethnic differences among Kenyans. For example, politicians were often required to avail texts messages for vetting before sending them to their supporters.

2.6 Electoral Reforms at IEBC

In the run of to 2013 general elections, concerted efforts from the international development partners as well as domestic; were directed towards reinvigorating the electoral agency in Kenya. In this regard, international communities were focused in enhancing the independent Electoral and Boundaries commissions (IEBC). The Kriegler commission revealed that 2007 elections violence was fueled by perceived rigging and gerrymandering of electoral results (Lindeman, 2017). For example, lists of voters in the 2007 general elections had over one million names that were not in existence in actual sense (Weighton and McCurdy, 2017). As such, it was deemed necessary to effect the reforms at the Electoral Commissions before the 2013 general elections.

In order to effect the reforms at IEBC, the 2010 constitution shifted the mandate of appointing senior electoral officials at IEBC from the office of the president. It further provided oversight platforms to reduce issues of bribery of voters and corruptions.

The reforms at the Electoral commission also aimed at redeeming the faith of Kenyans regarding their expectations and general perceptions on the electoral process. This was later re-affirmed at the party primaries in Kisumu when the electorates smelt a rat regarding the possibility of rigging nomination results in favor of Ruth Odinga who was connected to former prime minister. The incident resulted in the death of an IEBC official. The process was cancelled and it had to be done again in a transparent way (Mutahi and Ruteere, 2019).

IEBC also required an increase in its human resources capacity since in 2013 elections, it was supposed to undertake elections for the presidential, gubernatorial, senatorial, lower house up to the county assembly. These required large scale funding. IEBC received funding from the international donors, United Nations, European Union, United States, United Kingdom et cetera. The 2013 general election budget was over and above $230 million. (United Nation report, 2018) These resources enhanced civic education among voters and level of preparedness of the IEBC to carry out the elections.

CHAPTER THREE

FINDINGS, INTERPRETATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

3.1 Introduction

The chapter discussed findings and interpretations. The study used focus group discussions as well as narrative interviews to collect relevant data. The questions that were discussed by the focus group were aligned to the research objectives which were to examine: The evolution of negative ethnicity on presidential electoral contest, to assess how negative ethnicity undermines political reforms and governance, to examine what negative ethnicity mean for a cohesive nation and lastly, to examine how Kenyan political parties contribute to entrenchment of ethnic politics and contestation in presidential contest.

The study used the research instrument enclosed in appendix A. The participants that were in attendance for every discussion group with officials from NCIC, NROPP and ELOG were 7 in number per session. That is, 5 participants and 2 moderators for every discussion that was conducted. One moderator was responsible for recording the discussions from the participants. Recording was mainly done in handwritten form and on phone. Narrative interviews were also carried out and that involved ordinary Kenyans. Equally, their views were recorded in written form and on electronic devices.

In response to the question regarding how political parties contributes to the entrenchment of ethnic politics and contestation at presidential electoral contest, the first participant began as follows:

> "I am an employee at NCIC. To begin with, I think we need to ask ourselves some pertinent questions. "…how did ethnicity begin to influence election contest in the first place? "If we answer that question, then we shall be in apposition to understand the genesis of ethnicity that has become cancerous in our elections since independence."

The next participant attempted to answer the question that was posed by noting:

> "To the best of my knowledge, colonialism and their policies of divide and rule laid the foundation of ethnicity. Divisive colonial policies redefined the concept

of ethnicity among Africans and Kenyan communities for that matter. For instance, let us take a look at the policies that pushed different communities within the confines of their former districts. That act alone left Kenyans with limited access to other communities. There was no interaction between different ethnic communities. Each and every community for that matter found it more convenient to engage in political discussions within the realms of their boundaries. The situation was made more worse when the colonial administration responded to the Mau Mau uprising that necessitated the ban of all political organizations and parties beyond the Districts level."

The next participant noted:

"I think that explained why communities intensified their level of political interactions when the ban was lifted in 1960s. We are able to understand the engagements between the leaders of Kenya African Union; which was associated mostly by the Agikuyu community and Parties such as Kenya Independence Movement, which was linked to the Luo ethnic community. Those interactions would later lead to the merger of those regional parties. In other words, just to make myself clearer, Kenya African Union and Kenya Independence Movement, merged and that led to the formation of KANU. I must say that, those political realignments at KANU were not taken lightly by the communities that felt left out of KANU. In fact, they formed KADU to enable them advance their interest."

The participants above brought the issues of colonial legacy into the discussion. They attributed the genesis of negative ethnicity on presidential electoral contest to colonial legacy and their divisive policies. The colonial administrators divided the pre-colonial Kenyan communities on the basis of their primordial features. In other words, communities that shared similar fixed biological traits that were assigned at birth and passed genealogically from one generation to the next; were lumped together and seen a distinct ethnic group. The colonial boundaries that were set up thereafter, corresponded with the regions that each ethnic community occupied. Those actions of the British colonial powers

made Africans to realize that in deed different from the rest of other communities. Differences in language, shared ancestry and biological physic formed the fulcrum upon which negative ethnicity began to revolve around in following the entrenchment of colonial regime.

Political discourse developed within those distinct ethnic communities and those were manifested by the formation of political organizations and associations such as Kikuyu Associations among the Kikuyu community, Ukamba Members Association, Taita Hills Associations, Kavirondo Tax Payers and Welfare Association. Those associations continued to developed to full- fledged political movements that were used to push for independence in 1963. For example, Kenya African Union KAU, that was so robust in the former central province.

In a nutshell, the seeds of negative ethnicity had already been sowed by the British colonial powers and that had overarching and far reaching implications on the manner in which different communities in Kenya; began to contextualize their ethnic identities with regard to politics and issues of political power.

The arguments of those participants corroborated the manifestation of ethnicity in the mini-elections that were held in March 1961. The two main parties KANU and KUDU received support from specific ethnic communities. KANU got massive support from the Luo, Kamba, Kisii, Kikuyu, Ameru and Aembu. Whereas KADU received support from the Maasai, Kalenjin, Giriama Luhyia et cetera (Bennett, 1963). In the run up to 1963 general elections, the patterns of ethnic mobilization that were witnessed in the mini-elections of 1961, were repeated in the first multi-party general elections in 1963 (Gathogo, 2019)

3.2 Ethnicity and 1992 General Elections

In response to how Kenyan political parties contribute to entrenchment of ethnic politics and contestation in presidential contest, The next participant joined the discussion and noted the following:

"I am an employ at Kenya National Cohesion and Integration Commission. I work as a field researcher. My subjective views with regard to the topic and objectives under the study before us; goes as far back as 1992. At that particular point in time, multi-party-political system had just been re-introduced. Politicians across all the political divide were mobilizing their communities in anticipation of winning the elections. As matter of fact, if we look at the composition of the political parties that were contesting in the run up to 1992 general elections, it would seem as if it was a contest between different ethnic communities."

The arguments above shed more light on how Kenyan political parties contribute to entrenchment of ethnic politics and contestation in presidential elections. The return of multi-party democracy in the 1990s created a conducive environment for different ethnic community to position themselves with a view of winning the elections. Oyugi, (1997) argued that no sooner had the country returned to multi-party democracy than ethnicity began to shape the decisions of political parties. For example, when section 2A of the constitution was revoked, Forum for Restoration of Democracy was the only vibrant political organization. It was comprised by clerics, civil rights lawyers, civic groups and prominent influential political leaders. FORD advanced a more inclusive nationalist ideals with relatively liberal concepts that defined citizenship. It presented relevant and more democratic institutions that were to shape public governance in post-single party-political system (Ndegwa and Levy, 2004)

However, the patterns that characterized the manner in which political parties began to aggregate and consolidate following the repeal of section 2A of independent constitution; mirrored the trends of negative ethnicity that emerged and influenced the forging of political coalitions and movements. For instance, In the run up to 1992 elections, FORD; which was quite active and politically vibrant across various regions in Kenya, began to experience development of factions and internal political fragmentations (Ndegwa, 2004). Two major and distinct factions emerged. Namely: FORD-Kenya and FORD -Asili. The former was supported mostly by the Luhyia and the Luo communities whereas the latter

was mostly supported by the Kikuyu community under the leadership of Kenneth Matiba. FORD Kenya manged to tenaciously retain some of its members although later on some members defected from it alleging ethnicization of the party by the then party leader Jaramogi Odinga (Oyugi, 1997). FORD-Asili on the other hand, also made attempts to incorporate substantive number of communities so as to strengthen it but those efforts become futile since Matiba was more inclined towards capturing power (Ajulu, 2014).

Similarly, political ethnic fragmentation did not only affect FORD but also KANU. For instance, a number of members in KANU such as Mwai Kibaki defected from KANU and formed Democratic Party (DP). The entrance of DP into the political landscape diluted the strength of FORD-Asili as most of her members were equally predominantly Kikuyu community.

The mass registration of new political parties at the eve of 1992 general elections reverberated the notion that was common in the 1960s-70s that; multi-party-political system was not healthy for the nation since it was associated with ethnic politics. Indeed, those parties were being driven by an array of ethnic objective and interests which were corroborated by the lenses of primordialism and instrumentalism approach. Asingo, (2018) argued that even though the members of the DP had fought for multi-party, to them, political pluralism was just an opportunity for the kikuyu community regain their economic hegemony they had lost when president Moi took the reigns of Power from Jomo Kenyatta. Put differently, the desire to reclaim the economic benefits that the Kikuyu community used to enjoy under the administration of Jomo Kenyatta; were the main drivers that advanced the interest of the DP members as well as FORD-Asili party.

Oyugi, (1997) echoed those sentiments when he argued that negative ethnicity became the fulcrum upon which party politics revolves around in the run up to 1992 general elections. Politicians as well as ethnic elites embarked on the exercise of forming political parties along ethnic dimension (Ajulu, 2002). Presidential candidates mobilized their co-ethnic members to come in numbers and vote for one of their own; with a view of benefiting from the socio-economic and political advantages that were perceived to be the results of having

one of ethnic members in power (Chandra, 2004) Thus, instrumentalism approach best describe and explain the behaviour and the interests of the political parties that contested the 1992 elections. Most of those political parties and their supporters had already witnessed the benefits that the Kikuyu and Kalenjin communities had accumulated during their tenure in power. As such, each community and their respective political parties that they were affiliated to; hoped to win and control state power and public resources.

Those sentiments were further echoed by another participant who noted:

> "…In deed, if we observe the political parties that sponsored the presidential electoral candidates in the run up to 1992 elections, we might as well conclude that they were grounded on ethnic dimensions. However, I think we need to ask ourselves the reasons why those parties were influenced by ethnicity."

Another participant noted:

> "Sure! There must be a reason and I think it is because the leaders of those political parties believed that the success of their respective political parties would reduce their deprivation and general marginalization."

The above sentiments enabled the study to appreciate what negative ethnicity mean to the economic wellbeing of the citizens of Kenya. The application negative ethnicity in presidential election contest can plunge a nation into a situation whereby some communities feel left out of national development agenda while others enjoy the economic benefits and general development. (Wanyande, 2012). That divisive negatively polarised state of deprived communities often gets exploited by politicians and presidential candidates. For instance, the kinsmen in the ruling party KANU and the Kalenjin ethnic community construed 1992 electoral contest to mean a chance to jealously defend the structure that accrued various economic privileges to them (Guantai and Kijima, 2019). Whereas for the Kikuyu, it was time for them to `redeem` the political and economic resources they used to have access to during the regime of Kenyatta. others whose ethnic communities have never been represented in the `top` office in Kenya, viewed 1992

election competition as an opportunity for them to occupy the positions of power and authority. Thus, ethnic interest took center stage and that reduced the chances of the opposition to join forces and win the election contest.

The sentiments of the participants reverberated the assumptions of the instrumentalism theory which synergistically underpins the study. It makes the study appreciates the reasons behind a mobilizing ethnic community or perhaps the habit of entering into coalitions. The aspirations of gaining the social, economic and political benefits explained the ethnic positioning in the running up to 1992 electoral contest.

In deed by April 1992, Oyudi, (1997) argued that the GEMA (Gikuyu, Embu and Meru) communities had defected from the ruling party KANU. Other communities such as the Luo, Kisii, Luhyia, Mijikenda and the Somali had equally defected or were considering to stalling their support. The leaders that deliberately chose to remain in KANU did so since they feared defeat at nomination in the opposition parties that existed. KANU was basically supported by the Kalenjin, Maasai, Turkan and Samburu (KAMATUSA).

By June 1992, the influence of ethnicity had reached a notch higher. The KAMATUSA began to develop bad relations with other ethnic communities who were deemed to be against the political interest of KANU. As a matter of fact, by late August 1992, the KAMATUSA resorted to ethnic purging. They claimed that all ethnic communities whose support found meaning in opposition parties and whose votes meant the failure KANU; were to be driven out of Rift Valley. Worse off, they were not granted access to national Identification Cards. That way, majority of voters from the opposition parties could not participate in the elections. The arguments of primordialism theory made the study understand the actions by Kalenjin leaders who were championing the removal of non - KAMATUSA from the Rift Valley Region. Individuals who to them, shared no ancestry, history and genealogical links with KAMATUSA.

Most communities felt intimidated by the actions of the KAMATUSA groups while others like the Luhyia and Kisii reversed their allegiance in favor of KANU. In return, they

expected to be represented in government by being given prime cabinet positions. The Kisii in particular through their leader Simeon Nyachae, expected to be rewarded with fair representation in Government. Instrumentalism theory enabled the study to unravel the underlying drivers of ethnicity in presidential electoral contest.

3.3 The 1992 Presidential Electoral Results

The results of 1992 electoral contest were finally released and it affirmed the importance of ethnicity in presidential electoral contest. There was a strong positive correlation between the results that each candidate garnered and the ethnic affiliation of the candidate. For instance, Moi garnered a total of 794,806 votes out of the 829,367 votes that were cast in Nandi, Kericho, Bomet, Baringo, Elgoye-Marakwet disticts. That was approximately 96%. Those votes constituted approximately 41.2 percent of the votes that Moi received in 1992 elections. Matiba and Kibaki equally received approximately 96% of the votes in the former central province of the districts of Kiambu, Murang`a, Nyandarua, Nyeri and Kirinyaga. Those votes represented 40.2% of the votes that were shared between Matiba and Kibaki in 1992 elections. Odinga on the hand, received 549,464 (95%) of the total votes out of 577,946 votes that were cast in the districts of Migori, Siaya, Homa-Bay, and Kisumu. (ECK, 1992). Those figures indicated that each ethnic community voted for their own preferred co-ethnic presidential candidates. Put differently, they voted along ethnic lines.

In contrary, those candidates and their respective parties received less votes in the regions from which they were perceived as non-co-ethnic members. For instance, Moi and KANU for that matter garnered 0.4 % of the votes that were cast in the former Nyanza province and 0.2% of the votes that were cast in the former central province. Odinga garnered 1% in the Rift Valley and 1% in the central province. Matiba and Kibaki received 1.35 % in the former districts in the rift valley. In former districts of Nyanza, they received 0.8% of the votes that were cast.

Table 3.1: Percentage of Votes Cast per Presidential Candidate in the Various Former Provinces in 1992 Electoral Contest

	Nairobi	Coat	NE	Eastern	Central	R.Valley	Western	Nyanza
Moi	16	62	72	37	02	71	39	15
Matiba	44	11	11	10	60	16	38	01
Kibaki	18	10	05	50	35	07	02	06
Odinga	20	14	08	02	01	06	17	75

Source: ECK 1992

3.4 Ethnicity and 1997 Electoral Contest

Negative ethnicity in presidential election and what it mean to a cohesive nation was further discussed under 1997 general elections. One participant made the following contributions:

> "… yes, it is true that ethnicity has in one way or another, influenced the manner in which presidential electoral contest is carried out in Kenya. My colleague focused on the 1992 general election. But ideally speaking, 1997 general election was no different. It was heavily influenced by ethnicity. The communities that are perceived to be dominant in Kenya expressed their will at the ballot with ethnic interest at the back of their minds. However, I think the conversation should shift from the effects of ethnicity in election contest to how it can be contained, which NCIC has done and is still doing."

The next participants noted:

> "…talking of 1997 elections, in my view, the whole campaign was fraught with scores of electoral malpractices. The 1997 general election results surprised most Kenyans. Moi emerged the winner. I must say it was marred with massive electoral malpractices, ethnic undertones and general chaos. The pre-election conditions and lack of good will to implement IPPG reforms left little chances for the other presidential candidates to win the election."

The participants did discuss what negative ethnicity mean to a cohesive nation with regard to the 1997 general elections. Prior to 1997 general elections, the civil society groups, religious institutions and opposition parties called for reforms that were meant to set a levelled playing field for all political actors. To push their agenda, a National Constitutive Assembly was established. its executive branch National Convention Executive Committee (NCEC) orchestrated a mass protest against the ruling party and their supporters in August 1997. The incident degenerated into clashes between the ethnic communities which supported the ruling party and those who were pro-opposition parties. The NCEC efforts yielded positive results when the ruling party KANU agreed to initiate Inter-Parties Parliamentary Group which partially implemented the reforms that were needed prior to the main general election. The reforms included: freedom of demonstrations and associations, political gathering et cetera.

The elections were held in December 1997 under the conditions that were set forth by the reforms. However, the disunity among the opposition's parties led to the victory of KANU once again. The voting patterns were reminiscent of the ethnic voting behavior that was witnessed in 1992. The victory of KANU remained a bond of contention as most opposition parties disagreed with the results which resulted into more ethnic violence.

The interparliamentary Union, (1997) reported that in 1997 general contest, 9 030 092 persons were registered as voters. Moi emerged the winner with approximately 2 445 801 or 40.2%. 96 percent of the voters who voted in favor of KANU were from the Rift Valley Province. Democratic Party received 1 895 527 which was about 31.09%. Over 95% of these voters were from former central province. National Development Party received 665 725 which was about 10.92. Similarly, 97% of those votes were from the Luo Nyanza. Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-Kenya (FORD-K) received 505 542 (8.29%) while Social Democratic Party received 7.71% majority of which were the Kamba ethnic community.

3.5 Ethnicity and 2002 General Elections

One participant made the following remarks:

"… ethnicity began to not only influence distinct political parties but also major political coalitions. The opposition parties realized that the only way they could dislodge KANU from power was by forming strong united opposition front. …that explained why politics of alliance building and coalitions began to develop in early 2000."

The views of that participant reflected the political development that took place in the run up to 2002 general elections. Most of the opposition political parties that contested 1997 elections decided join other parties and that precipitated into politics of alliance building and formation of coalitions. For example, National Alliance Rainbow Coalition (NARC) was a multi-ethnic coalition whose top leadership comprised leaders who were perceived to be political leaders of their respective ethnic communities. For instance, its flag bearer Mwai Kibaki represented the kikuyu ethnic community; Kijana Wamalwa who represented the interest of the Luhyia community, Raila Odinga, represented the interest of the Luo community; Charity Ngilu, represented the interest of the Kamba community et cetera. KANU on the other hand, reached out to the GEMA ethnic community. Ethnicity remained pervasive even within the coalitions that emerged in the run up to 2002 presidential elections.

3.6 Ethnicity and 2007 Elections

In response to what negative ethnicity mean to a cohesive nation, participants gave their views with reference to 2007 general elections, participant noted as follows:

"… 2007 general election and its aftermath was the climax of ethnicity."

These views were further echoed by another participant who noted:

"…2007 general election was no exception from 1992 and 1997 general election. It was just that it projected the deep underlying ethnic tensions between and among ethnic communities. In the 2007 elections, ethnicity

expressed itself not only through voting patterns but also in wide spread ethnic conflicts and violence."

Ethnicity was accentuated and manifested following the announcement of the disputed 2007 presidential election results. Party of National Unity (PNU) and Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) were the two major political parties that were involved in the contest. The defunct Electoral Commission of Kenya declared PNU candidate (Mwai Kibaki) the winner followed by ODM candidate (Raila Odinga). The results were disputed between the GEMA ethnic communities (Gikuyu, Embu and Meru) who accepted the results and the Luo, Luhyia, Mijikenda, Kisii, Kalenjin, Maasai Turkana, among others who maintained that the results were a big scam and did not reflect the true results. That dispute escalated into wide spread ethnic conflicts and violence. The aftermaths of the conflicts left scores of Kenyans dead while others displaced. Properties were also lost in the process.

3.7 The influence of negative Ethnicity and how it undermines political reforms and governance in the nation

In response to this question, the participants gave their views with reference to the aftermath of 2007/8 disputed elections. Participants noted the following:

> "…2007 general election was peaceful until the time when the presidential election results when announced. I remember conflicts began between the supporters of PNU who accepted the results as valid and those supporters of ODM who disputed the results. The conflicts boiled down to ethnic violence which lasted for several days."

Another participant noted:

> "The violence came to an end after the intervention of the African Union mediation team. I remember Kofi Annan team brought PNU and ODM together and the two parties agreed to end the conflict. Moreover, a coalition government was created."

The participants indicated that; there was much positive expectations among Kenyans in the run up to 2013 general elections. That was because it was to be done under a range of

political reforms and governance. Moreover, the recommendations of Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation (KNDR) especially agenda 4 item; affirmed the expectations of Kenyans with regard to reduction of the influence of negative ethnicity in presidential election.

KNDR agenda 4 did recommend to the coalition government to resolve the long- term issues which were deemed to have fueled the occurrence of the conflicts and ethnic violence; following the announcement of 2007 election results. The issues that were to be resolved were tailored towards undertaking various reforms such as: institutional, legal, constitutional and land reforms. The coalition government (PNU and ODM) were to also tackle social inequalities, poverty, regional imbalances, national unity, accountability, unemployment among the youths and impunity. By solving the above issues, the influence of ethnicity was to be a thing of the past.

In line with KNDR, the coalition government under PNU and ODM enacted National Cohesion and Integration Act. It was mandated to foster national cohesion and integration among Kenyans. The Act prohibited hate speech, ethnic divisions and all forms of incendiary conversations that could spark conflicts and violence.

In addition to the KNDR resolutions, the promulgation of the 2010 constitution was to further reduce the influence of ethnicity in presidential electoral contest. The constitutional provisions created a levelled playing field for all political actors and presidential candidates. For instance, it envisaged an- all -inclusive government, national unity grounded on national values and ethos. It embraced the spirit of national cohesion and unity among all Kenyans regardless of their race, ethnicity or religious background. For example, Article 10 of the constitution provides ``national values and accepted principle of governance. `` The national values include: Equity, social justice, non -discrimination, unity and protection of the marginalized community that is also captured in Article 258 which stipulates that all public policy formulation and implementation processes should adhere to article 10. These provisions in essence was to cure the problem of bad relation among different ethnic communities in Kenya. The communities who for a long period,

felt marginalized and discriminated against were therefore recognized in the in the constitution.

Article 127 of the constitution also proscribed all forms of discrimination on the basis on ethnicity or social background by the public and the private sector. This was to help cure the problem of discrimination at all times including during presidential campaigns. No politician or presidential candidate was expected to discriminate in their campaigns. Part 3 of chapter seven of the constitution also outlines the requirement of establishing a political party. It provides that no political party shall be ``founded on the basis of linguistic, ethnicity, gender and regional basis. `` In essence, the constitution discouraged the formation of ethnic political parties or ethnic coalitions. All political parties and coalitions were required to have national appeal.

On electoral systems, Article 82 of the constitution provided the establishment of an Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission. The commission was supposed to oversee delimitation of Kenya`s electoral units. It was supposed minimize the manipulation of electoral boundaries which was common in the previous political regimes (Cheeseman et al., 2014). Similarly, Article 89 of the same constitution provided the guidelines and general procedures of carrying out delimitation of electoral units in Kenya. The number of inhabitants in a given constituency was to be consistent even though it permitted significant variations of about 40% in the cities and urban areas. The same constitution demands that process of electoral boundary delimitation should be participatory. All the relevant parties ought to be consulted and before executing the process.

The 2010 constitution also brought certain reforms on the electoral systems. The initial first- past -the -post electoral system in which 1992 and 1997 election was held; had certain challenges. For example, it presented a situation whereby the candidate who win with plurality of votes automatically becomes the winner. However, in the event that the majority of electorates votes for a candidate that loses, the winner is likely to have minority in the government. The new constitution sort to resolve that problem by providing the

election of 12 seats in the Lower House in parliament, 20 seats in the upper House or senate, it permitted for certain seats in the county assembly to foster gender parity and representation of marginalized groups. The application of those reforms was to be executed with reference to proportional representation electoral system.

3.8 The Influence of Negative Ethnicity to a Cohesive Nation and 2013 General Election

Participants noted as follows:

> "…2013 general election was very important to Kenyans. It was done after the resolutions of KNDR. We expected it to reflect true democratic electoral process. However, we were disappointed as the influence negative ethnicity continued as usual. To make it worse, presidential results were highly disputed."

Another participant remarked:

> "Indeed, it was very important since I expected to see great changes in the manner in which Kenyans would participate in the subsequent elections. I am saying so because we had the KNDR recommendations that my fellow mentioned and also the new constitution. The new constitutions spelt out many reforms which ideally speaking were to eliminate ethnic politics in Kenya`s electoral contest."

According to the participants, 2013 general election was important since it was done when the country had witnessed the adverse effects of ethnicity. Political actors and their respective political parties were expected to exercise significant levels of caution. That notwithstanding, politics of alliance building which was reminiscent of 2002 general election began to take shape in the run up to 2013 presidential election contest. Political parties engaged in the formation of pre-election ethnic coalitions. Those were: Jubilee Alliance and Coalition for Reform and Democracy (CORD). The top leaders of Jubilee alliance were Uhuru Kenyatta who represented the GEMA ethnic communities under his party The National Alliance (TNA) and William Ruto who mobilized the Kalenjin

community under his party United Republican Party (URP.) TNA and URP jointly formed Jubilee alliance.

On the other hand, Raila Odinga mobilized the Luo community under his party ODM; Kalonzo Musyoka brought the Kamba community under the Wiper Democratic Movement (WDM); Moses Wetangula managed to bring a section of Luhyia community under the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD)-Kenya. Those parties formed CORD coalitions. Jubilee alliance and CORD coalition were the main political outfit that competed in the 2013 general election. The results reflected the usual ethnic voting patterns. As seen below

Table 3.2: 2013 Election Results in Percentages

Region	Jubilee%	CORD%	Amani
Central	93.92	4.16	0.21
Coast	19.34	74.9	0.29
Eastern	46.96	48.8	0.71
Nairobi	46.75	49.0	1.56
North Eastern	59.58	33.63	0.28
Nyanza	10.47	86.83	0.88
Rift Valley	72.22	23.35	2.12
Western	5.45	62.22	29.14
Diaspora	40.85	52.58	0.86
Total	50.07	43.31	3.93

Source: Oloo (2015:56)

The 2013 election results were released as shown in the table above. Uhuru Kenyatta who was the flag bearer of Jubilee alliance received 93.92% of the votes that were cast in the central region. Central region is mostly inhabited by the GEMA community. Similarly, since William Ruto was in Jubilee alliance, the Kalenjin community in the rift valley gave jubilee approximately 72.22% of the total votes that were cast in the rift valley region.

On the other side, CORD coalition received 86.83% of the total votes that were cast in the Nyanza region. Nyanza region is mostly populated by the Luo community which is the ethnic community from which the flag bearer of CORD came from. In the Western region, CORD received 62.22% of the votes that were cast. While in the Eastern Province, it received 48.8% of the votes that were cast.

On the contrary, Jubilee alliance received 10.47% in the Nyanza region and 5.45% in the western region. CORD coalition received 4.16% in the central region and 23.35% in the rift Valley. Despite the constitutional reforms and the KNDR recommendations, patterns of ethnic voting remained intact. Each and every ethnic community supported the coalitions in which they felt deeply associated with by virtue of having one of their own in those coalitions. Those results therefore resonated well with instrumentalism theory. The ethnic communities voted for one of their own co-ethnic members in the respective coalitions with the hope of gaining the benefits which accrues by virtue of having your ethnic community represented in the government.

The Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission announced Jubilee alliance as the winner with CORD coalition coming in second. Majority of the electorates in the CORD coalition did not accept the results. However, the voters who supported the Jubilee accepted the results as legitimate. That generated disagreements which were petitioned in the supreme court.

3.9 Influence of Ethnicity in 2017 General Election

Participants noted as follows:

> "…the country was at the brink of witnessing the events that occurred in 2007 elections. The country was in high tensions since Jubilee and NASA locked horns over disputed presidential election results. Supporters of both NASA and Jubilee clashed country wide. Ridiculously, some of them were fighting over power even after the supreme court had nullified the results."

"Politicians from both Jubilee and NASA were heard invoking sensitive words. As a matter of fact, some of them were arrested over hate speeches. The most fascinating part was that the whole political circus ended with the handshake."

The participants discussion revolved around the politics between the NASA supporters and Jubilee supporters. Prior to the elections, CORD coalition had evolved to National Super Alliance (NASA). It was further reinvigorated by the entry of Chama cha Mashinani (CCM) and Amani National Congress. NASA drew its support base from the Luhyia community, Luo, Kamba and Kalenjin in the South Rift majorly areas of Bomet and parts of the coastal community. It also received minor support from other regions.

Jubilee alliance on the other side, had political ethnic hard-liners among the GEMA communities, North Rift Kalenjin communities, and ethnic communities who chose to align along Jubilee and NASA axis.

Those ethnic communities voted in a manner that produced a pattern that reflected the usual ethnic bloc voting; in favor of the party or coalition where their co-ethnic presidential candidate belonged.

The discussions described the political events that took place in the run up to 2017 presidential elections. It emphasized the ethnic tensions, divisive speeches that were spread by the disappointed NASA members and their supporters. NASA claimed that the presidential electoral results were highly manipulated and rigged in favor of Jubilee alliance. Uhuru Kenyatta under Jubilee ticket won the electoral contest with 54% of the total votes that were cast in the election. Raila Odinga came in second with approximately 44.9% (IEBC, 2017). The results were not accepted by most NASA supporters. They petitioned it in the Supreme Court.

Meanwhile, NASA mobilized their supporters across the country majorly from the communities which were associated with it. Towns such as Kisumu, Mombasa and

Nairobi were thronged by the NASA political hard-liners. They organized rallies expressing their disappointment in the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC). The push to disband IEBC was mainly advocated for by NASA supporters while Jubilee defended IEBC. The disagreements between NASA and Jubilee sparked ethnic tensions once again in Kenya`s electoral cycle and that posed a threat to the national cohesion and integration among the people of Kenya

The findings indicated that ethnicity negatively, influenced 2013 and 2017 general elections. Therefore, the hypothesis in the study was upheld. That is, ethnicity negatively influences presidential electoral contest in Kenya by essentially: Undermining political reforms, negatively affecting national cohesion. It also underscores the penchant propensity of Kenyan political parties to entrench ethnic politics and contestations in presidential contest.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Introduction

The chapter was organized as follows: It introduced the discussion regarding the summary of findings, conclusion and lastly, recommendations for further studies. To begin with, the main objectives of the study were to: Assess how Kenyan political parties, contribute to the entrenchment of ethnic politics and contestation in presidential electoral contests, to assess how negative ethnicity, undermine political reforms and governance in the nation and lastly, to examine what negative ethnicity mean for a cohesive nation. In line with those objectives, focus group discussions was undertaken in which a set of questions enclosed in appendix A were discussed. Similarly, narrative interviews were conducted in which various Kenyans were asked questions enclosed in Appendix A. The focus group discussion was comprised of a total of 17 participants. However, each focus group discussion comprised 7-10 participants. The participants were from National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) and National Registrar of Political Parties (NRPP).

4.2 Summary of Findings

The focus group discussions provided data which was necessary in understanding how Kenyan political parties contributes to entrenchment of ethnic politics and contestations in presidential electoral contest . The discussions enabled the study to understand how colonial legacy played a role in laying the foundation for ethnic politics and by extension, ethnic based political parties. The colonial divide and rule policies pushed Africans to the reserves where political discourse and discussions began to emerge. Those discussions would later evolve into political associations and organizations which were used to fight for independence. As such, organizations such as Kenya African Union and Kenya Independence Movement emerged. However, the operations of those parties were limited in 1952 by the colonial administration. When the ban was lifted in 1960s, the political organizations were allowed to operate nationwide. Those political organizations were ethnic based in structure and in compositions.

The first multi-party general elections in 1963 would later be influenced by the same ethnic based political parties that began prior to independence. The political organizations that existed prior to the ban in 1952 merged in 1960s leading to the formation of National political outfits. It was under such arrangement that KANU emerged. Shortly thereafter, KADU would be formed by a group of leaders who represented the interest of their ethnic community. KANU and KADU would contest the first general election in which each ethnic community voted for a party that re-represented their interest and in which an influential co-ethnic member belonged. Thus, the seeds of ethnicity were sowed which would later influence the subsequent presidential elections in Kenya.

The political landscape continued to be shaped by negative ethnicity and by 1992 general elections, political parties entrenched it in their campaigns in a bid to woe their respective supporters from various communities. Ethnicity continued to express itself in bloc voting patterns and sometime through conflicts and violence thereby threatening the coexistence of a cohesive nation. The conflicts in that context was between the ethnic communities that were in power and those who intended to occupy positions of power.

Ethnicity also became an important variable in forming political parties. Most political parties since independence and even the run up to 1997 were highly influenced by ethnic dimensions. However, in the run up to 2002 general elections, it did not influence political parties but also political alliance building and coalitions. It got itself itched into the minds of voters and politicians to an extent that ethnic communities often degenerated into violence just to protect their interest. 2007 general election was a typical example in which different ethnic communities locked horns in violence which caused loss of lives, property and displacement of Kenyans. Thus, posing threats to the economic wellbeing of Kenyans

In response to those persistence ethnic politics and violence, Kenya as well as international community made concerted efforts in order address them. For instance, Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation mediation team; came up with recommendations on how to address short-term and long-term issues of ethnicity and conflict. Agenda 4 of the recommendations particularly provided a number of issues that were to be resolved so as

to achieve national unity in Kenya. In addition, the promulgation of 2010 constitution provided a number of provisions which were to enhance national cohesion among Kenya regardless of ethnic background. Those constitutional provisions were further fleshed out in Acts of parliament which outlawed ethnic politics, speeches and incendiary words. Despite those noble political reforms, negative ethnicity continued to penetrate the mode of campaigns by presidential candidates in 2013 and 2017 general elections

2013 and 2017 general elections were held under a myriad of political reforms and constitutional provisions. However, there were little improvement since political parties resorted to forming political alliances and coalitions which were reminiscent of 2002 general elections. Those coalitions were still organized around ethic dimensions. Ethnic tensions remained relatively high especially in 2017 general elections. Political coalitions from a cross political divide engaged in some form of ethnic disagreements, conflicts and violence in the run up to 2017 general elections and after the elections. Thus, negative ethnicity somehow remained pervasive as it undermined the political reforms and unity of the people of Kenya.

4.3 Conclusion

The influence of ethnicity in presidential electoral contest in Kenya span right from the very first multi-party general election in 1963. Since then, it has gradually evolved to an extent that conflicts and violence during and after presidential electoral contest has been blamed on negative ethnicity. Political parties, alliances and coalitions contributes to the entrenchment of ethnic politics and contestations in presidential election contest. Bloc ethnic voting is a pattern that seemed persistence across the general elections that has been held since independence. Each and every ethnic community vote to parties, coalitions and alliances which represent their interest and in which an influential co-ethnic member belong and occupy executive positions.

The measures that has been set forth such as; constitutional reforms, Acts of parliament and general political reforms; has had little positive impacts with regard to reducing the influence of negative ethnicity in presidential electoral contest. Negative ethnicity

undermined progressive political reforms and governance. That was evident in 2013 and 2017 general elections whereby scores of Kenyans were affected by heightened ethnic tensions, incendiary words and instances of ethnic violence that threatened the unity of Kenyans and their economic wellbeing. More measures need to be considered with a view of mitigating the influence of negative ethnicity in presidential election contest in Kenya.

4.4 Recommendations

1. Based on objective one which was to examine; how Kenyan political parties contribute to entrenchment of ethnic politics and contestation in presidential election contest, the study recommended that constitutional provisions especially political parties Act of 2011; be fully implemented and enforced so as to down regulate the penchant tendencies of political parties to resort to negative ethnicity as a tool of voter mobilization in presidential election contest. In addition, the functions of the office of registrar of political parties should be reinvigorated so as to enable it discharge it mandate in accordance to the law.

2. With regard to the second objective which was to assess; what negative ethnicity mean to a cohesive nation, the study recommended that the state institutions and commissions mandated to regulate issues of negative ethnicity such as; National Cohesion and Integration Commission, to be strengthened in capacity through additional resources and authority; so as to enable them meet their objectives of down regulating negative ethnicity in Kenya.

3. The study recommended that in order to fully realize the second objective regarding a cohesive Kenyan nation, the government should consider replacing the current first-past-the post electoral system with mixed member proportional electoral system which would include the best features of plurality and proportional electoral system. That would enhance national inclusivity since allocation of seats at national assembly and county assembly would take care of the interest of the winners and loser in the presidential electoral contest.

4. Based on objective three which was to assess how negative ethnicity undermines political reforms and governance, the study recommended that the government should implement and strongly enforce political reforms such as those of KNDR and various constitutional provisions. Once they are fully implemented and enforced politicians would restrain from invoking negative ethnicity in the presidential electoral contest.

4.5 Recommendation for Further Studies

The study recommended the following areas for further research

1. The influence of ethnicity of on the devolve system of governance: The case of Kenya
2. The influence of ethnicity on the mechanism of appointment to the public service
3. The effects of ethnicity on the sharing of public resources

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE PARTICIPANTS

THE INFLUENCE OF ETHNCITY IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS: THE CASE OF 2013 AND 2017

Good afternoon and welcome to this interactive session. Thank you for taking time to join us in the discussion about the influence of ethnicity in presidential electoral contest. My name is Bonface Akumu and my research assistance is Beryl. I am a Masters student from the University of Nairobi; department of political science and public administration. This discussion will enable us to answer the research questions. The objectives of the study are as follows: To examine how Kenyan political parties contributes to the entrenchment of ethnic politics and contestations in the presidential election contest, to assess how negative ethnicity undermines political reforms and governance and lasty, to examine what negative ethnicity mean to a cohesive nation.

There are no right or wrong opinions but just different points of views with regard to the subject under the study. Your views will be recorded in handwritten form as well as in electronic devices. However, you can be rest assured that your name will not appear in the analysis of the study. The information that you will share with us will remain confidential.

Having said that, let us begin. We have placed name tags in front of each participant in the discussion to help us remember their names.

The questions are as follows:

1.   What are your views regarding the influence of negative ethnicity in presidential electoral contest in Kenya?

2   .Kindly account for; how political parties in Kenya contribute to the entrenchment of ethnic politics and contestations in presidential electoral contest?

3   Do you think negative ethnicity affects cohesion in Kenya? If yes, kindly explain……………………………………………………………………………………

4. In your own views, do you think negative ethnicity affects political reforms and governance in Kenya?

   If yes, kindly explain………………………….

5. What are the measures that has been put in place in order to contain the influence of ethnicity in presidential elections?

6. How can you account for the influence of negative ethnicity in presidential elections in post 2010 constitution?

7. How can you describe the influence of negative ethnicity with reference to 2013 and 2017 presidential election competition?

8. What are the additional policy measures you can suggest to reduce the influence of ethnicity in presidential elections?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME