

**THE DETERMINANTS OF THE IMPACT OF POLITICAL PARTIES ON
DEMOCRACY IN KENYA (1991-2013)**

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**A Project submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the Degree of Master of
Arts (MA) in Political Science and Public Administration of the University of Nairobi.**

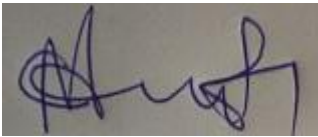
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DECLARATION

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I declare that this research project is my original work and has not been submitted for examination in any other university for an award of a master's degree.

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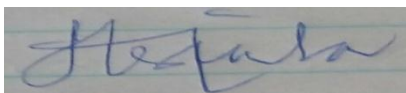
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Declaration by supervisor

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

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DEDICATION

In loving memory of our baby, we never set our eyes on you because your mother Abigail, lost you through an untimely miscarriage, our feeling of what you would have been and the joy you would bring to our family still lingers on. May God keep your soul in eternal peace. The dissertation is dedicated to my dear dad Andrew Malika, dear mum Salome Akinyi, dear wife Abigail, daughter Lydia, and son Ruben. Their contribution to this has been remarkable. As for my father, he has financially and emotionally been supportive. Lastly, it is most sincerely dedicated to our newly born Thatcher.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ECK	Electoral Commission of Kenya
EOA	Election Offences Act
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
KADU	Kenya African Democratic Union
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KNCHR	Kenya National Commission on Human Rights
LGA	Local Government Act
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
PEA	Presidential Elections Act
PNU	Party of National Unity
PPA	Political Parties Act
FPTP	First-Past-The-Post
FORD	Forum for Restoration of Democracy
FORD.A	Forum for Restoration of Democracy Asili
FORD. K	Forum for Restoration of Democracy Kenya
FORD. P	Forum for Restoration of Democracy People
UNDP	United Nation Democratic Development Program

ABSTRACT

Political parties are the most widely covered phenomena in political science. This is because they have the ability of representing the public and forming governments both in democratic and undemocratic societies. In an effort to determine the impact of political parties to the democratization process, through analyzed data, the study confirmed two major hypotheses. First, the contribution of political parties to the democratization process has been undermined by weak levels of party organization. Second, party factionalism has undermined the contribution of parties to the democratization process in Kenya. However, the limited contribution of political parties to the democratization process has also been due to the failure by the state to adequately address weak party organization and factionalism, as well as the historical underpinnings to parties such as ethnicity, regionalism, clientilism, and financial constraints. These negative attributes among parties are informed by the colonial legacy on the political administration in general and political parties in particular. The above negative implications among political parties call for a re-look on the broad policy procedures by the government such as party governing institutions. Specifically, they should advance policies which enhance the establishment of revised member chartered documents to include member input in parties as well as a continuous revision of party ideologies. Party regulatory laws should be restructured to address public finance as well as membership contribution to address party financial strains. The study recommends that a MMPR kind of electoral constitution be institutionalized by the government to avoid the formation of simple minority governments which are formed by predominant parties.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the study

As a global phenomenon, representative democracy is closely linked to political parties. Therefore, democracy is inconceivable without political parties. This is because the initial inception of political parties into most political systems is linked to political development in general and democratization in particular. Satori (1965) asserts that, “citizens in the western democracies are represented through and by political parties”. While Gunther and Diamond, (2003) conceive that modern democracy is unthinkable without political parties. To this extend therefore, it should be concluded that political parties are the principal democratic institutions of any modern democratic society.

Among most democracies, political parties emerge and develop as parliaments emerge and the extension of the suffrage (La Palombara & Weiner, 1990), and the organization of the electoral committees as well as the connection between the electorate and the electoral committees (Duverger, 1990). Contrasted to this development, among developing societies, parties mostly emerge from regional groupings along ethnic lines aiming to represent regional grievances (Brankati, 2007). The above distinction in party emergence and role is however largely determined by the level of organization assumed by these parties. Therefore, the evolution, development, persistence, and the influence of parties on democracy is largely determined by the level of state intervention in party politics through the creation of inclusive electoral institutions. This is because institutions guarantee these parties their independence. States can therefore achieve this intervention by creating regulatory laws which encourage openness in the electoral process. To higher levels such democratic steps further provide channels for the entry into the political market by new competitors (Gauja, 2005).

Significant aspects of intra-party democracy include written rules, organizational structures as well as the adherence to these rules by the parties' ranks and files. This is because maintaining internal democracy within a party's actual processes is as important as the written rules and structures. In Britain, the Labour party was founded in 1899. However, it was in its initial years a natural party of opposition. It governed for a limited period before the Conservative Party resumed power. Contrary, the current Labour Government, once led

by Tony Blair was the first to achieve two full terms in power yet it had initially been unsuccessful in power. This was so because it was frequently split on grounds that its membership, trade unions, and local party units often worked in opposition to the governing Labour party feeling betrayed by the policies that were being implemented. Secondly, it failed to adhere to the public opinion and was considered as an out of touch party. On the other global scene, to abate controversies within parties that help address splits in the U.S, the Republican and the Democratic parties have developed and relied upon well institutionalized party rules and regulations on how to operate. With regard to this, these parties have improvised formidable organizations built upon firm social followings, ideological predictability, and social connection with interest groups. This is in an effort to strengthen their societal linkages. Extensively, these parties possess cooperate identities independent of personality influence in their helm of leadership. To this extent, these parties rather than independent individuals contest for elections. These democratic steps explain why these parties have been able to resist political dynamisms and persisted from one election to the next.

Party organization therefore remains a crucial determining factor in the establishment, persistence, and operation of political parties among political systems. Comparatively, party organizations established upon unwavering communication covering matters across different levels of party hierarchy last for long. This is because, communication within them occurs between and across units of the same organization effectively. In addition, such parties possess organizational complexity. As such, when they link well with their functional associations such as trade unions, they endure the most because they are able to survive their charismatic founders' influence (Chhibber, 2001). On the contrary, a predominant party system marked by a single major party competing for electoral office against minor and ineffectual parties, once in power for a long period of time, often likely lose much of its electoral strength. This is because its successive and overwhelming electoral victory tend to elicit discontent among its electorates. In a nut shell, these pre-dominant parties are subject to factionalism. Factionalism has been regarded as the conflict arising between informal groupings within party organization. However, it is worth to note that in more competitive systems parties are more or less vulnerable to factionalism. This is majorly so because the level of political patronage institutionalized discourages personal factionalism.

Regionally, South Africa's African National Congress (ANC), Botswana's Democratic People's Party (DPP) and Lesotho's Congress for Democracy (CD) have been predominant in the electorate of the three countries. The chance to dominate the electoral process by these parties has posed a challenge to party officials and the opposition parties agitating for change. Respective governments formed by these parties established powerful executives. This prompted those discontented with the parties' ideologies to seek refuge among other parties through the formation and breakups of alliances. The region developed an initiative project geared towards fostering greater party representation, intra-party democracy, outreach programs, conflict management and party leadership. However, Botswana's political field is in particular still marked by rampant factionalism. For instance, prior to 1965 elections, BPP broke into two factions. In 1966, dissatisfied with the BPP leadership, defectors left the party to form the Botswana National Front (BNF). BNF later broke into seven other party constituents. This has hindered intraparty democratization in Botswana. Likewise, democratic consolidation in Kenya has registered significant disparities since the advent of multi-party democracy in 1991. Democratization process seems to be both on transition and reverse gear given the dynamics in Kenya's political process. This is because, since its attainment of independence in 1963, Kenya has registered mixed reactions as far as the development of democracy and public participation through parties are concerned. Kenya adopted a Westminster model of democracy with a multiparty constitution as well as a quasi-federal system of government famously referred to as *majimbo* (Oyugi, 1990). This quasi federal system was later abandoned by the KANU regime.

The dominance in the political processes by one party triggers the formation of warring groups within parties resulting to factionalism (Lawson, 2000). For instance, the hold on power by KANU regime in Kenya triggered the opposition in 2002 to form (NARC) coalition which ended the leadership of the redundant KANU regime in the December 2002 general elections. As the ruling party, NARC undertook a number of democratic initiatives to protect and promote fundamental rights and freedoms of the people by establishing the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, introduced legislations to assist in the fight against corruption, and developed the Governance, Justice, Law and Order Sector. This comparative analysis of KANU and NARC manifests that the level of institutionalization largely determine the impact of political parties on the democratization process. Whereas KANU regime dissolved the federal system of government which could foster democratic transition and burned the opposition while merging with other opposition parties in an effort to remain

unchallenged in power, NARC promoted fundamental human rights and freedoms apart from establishing a broad based reform program. This distinction in the Kenya's political process read in line with Grigsby (2012) political party comparative analysis which hinted that non-democratic regimes governed by parties become major hindrances to the electoral competition and may put their leaders in power by proclamation. While among democratic regimes parties generally nominate candidates fairly to foster development. Thus, even though parties may articulate for democracy by competing for office, they may also hinder democratization.

In summary, many parties have participated in the struggle for multi-party democracy by actively contesting for power in Kenya's political process. They include among many; KANU, KADU, FORD, FORD-K, FORD-People, FORD-Asili, PNU, ODM, URP, DP, ODM-K, and NARC-K. However, these parties have been marked by weak organizations characterized by internal conflicts, ethnicity, inadequate resources, and poor programs, power rivalry, and factional tendencies. These uncertainties have impacted negatively on their effective contribution to democracy. However, as democracy supporting institutions, political parties have to bind the society to the state through political contracts. In other words, join the individual will to the general will through mutually agreed upon political contracts.

1.1 Statement of the problem

All political systems which manifest democratic political ideals have established political parties as their chief custodians of democracy. Although Kenya has many political parties, their influence on the democratization process remains a largely unexplored area. This is because majority of Kenya's political parties are centered along strong personalities backed by their ethnic conglomerations. These parties revolve around wealthy individuals and ethnic coalitions as their bases and support (Oyugi, 1999). This undermines their internal organization thereby compromising their contribution to democracy.

The harsh colonial administration in Kenya necessitated the formation of early political parties aimed at agitating for independence as well as Africans' grievances. Notably, the formation of these parties was inspired and perpetuated by strong personalities backed by their ethnic groups (Kanyinga, 214). Similarly, parties which emerged thereafter in the struggle for multi-party democracy followed the same path. Evidently, these parties have followed the same

fault lines of ideology exhibited by both KANU and KADU. In common, these parties have manifestations of dominance by strong personalities supported by their ethnic back yards. Besides, internally democratic political parties have to fulfill four major organizational aspects of democracy. They have to develop a constitution, establish an accountable and effective party structure, hold free and fair nominations and elections, and finally establish effective internal mechanisms to resolve conflicts (Huntington, 1968). At the basic level, political parties in Kenya have not fully achieved these major internal democratic steps because they still manifest weak administrative tendencies, inadequate human resources coupled with financial constraints. Moreover, these parties still incline on wealthy political elites for financial support. Extensively, this has limited their ability to live up to their democratic ideals. For example, parties are characterized by consistent chaotic nominations that are always marked by violence, riots, and rigging. Additionally, weak societal linkages, incoherent ideologies, as well as unstable grounds upon which to establish their ideologies and mobilize supporters have frustrated these parties in their quest for internal and national political democracy. These negative attributes limit their independence in their decision making process, policy formulation and implementation, as well as the creation of an effective internal mechanisms of achieving goals, managing workloads and processing work timely. This forms part of our concern in this study.

During multi-party era, various party governing institutions took a center stage in an attempt to facilitate the operation of political parties. Initially, parties were managed by the Societies Act facilitated by the Local Government Act, the Election Offences Act, the National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act until 2008. This was when the Political Party Act (No. 10. 2007) came into force. From then, the Electoral Commission of Kenya, the Societies Act, the Registrar of political parties and the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission have regulated the operations of parties. However, in spite of the presence and active involvement of parties in the political process as well as the establishment by the government of party governing bodies and institutions, Kenya has registered minimal democratic transitional steps through parties. This is because parties are still characterized by ineffective leadership and programs, inadequate human and financial resources, weak societal linkages, overreliance on personalities and ethnic grouping for human and financial support, as well as factionalism. In the light of the foregoing, this study seeks to establish the determinants of the impact of political parties on democracy in Kenya during the multi-party era.

1.2 Research Questions

1. Does party organization determine the contribution of parties to the democratization process in Kenya?
2. Does factionalism determine the contribution of political parties to the democratization process in Kenya?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The overall objective

To establish the determinants of the impact of political parties on the democratization process in Kenya.

Specific objectives

1. To establish how party organization determines the contribution of political parties to the democratization process in Kenya.
2. To establish how factionalism determines the contribution of political parties to the democratization process in Kenya.

1.4 Justification of the study

The study was justified both academically and in terms of policy. Whereas policy justification focused on establishing policy gaps to be filled by the study, academic justification outlined what the study strived to contribute to the already available literature which relates to political parties as well as their impact on democracy.

1.4.1 Policy Justification

Policy justification for this study derives from the fact that over time, party organization and intraparty democracy have been considered by policy makers as a reserve for parties and therefore of no consequence to the state. This has been the case despite the fact that in recent times the interference of party organization as well as factionalism has been rarely given a keen interest among the third world societies.

The study proffered appropriate policies which will help to address weak party organization and factionalism among parties. This is because provisions established by the state to manage parties have not adequately addressed weak party organization and factionalism. For instance

in 1991, the Kenyan government reviewed the constitution by deleting section (2) A of the then constitution. This did not in any way address weak party organization and factionalism among parties.

Second, these provisions were backed by political parties' bill of 1995 which stipulated the first attempt by the government to institute special laws regarding the formation, and registration of parties (Wanjohi, 1990). Similarly, disparities among parties arising from weak party organization as well as factionalism were not fully addressed in the bill.

Third, provisions within the Societies Act have yielded less towards party institutionalization as tendencies such as flow crossing and individual party financing are still prevalent among parties. These are anti-theses to party democracy. In summary, these provisions fail to address a portion of the issue at hand. This is because they focus on regulating political parties and refurbishing electoral bodies as far as their role in managing elections and political parties are concerned. Hence, they have disregarded the question of the operational milieu of parties which affect a party's organization. Specifically, these policies have disregarded the historical underpinnings on parties in Kenya. The assertions and the existing evidence of ineffective party leadership and programs, inadequate human and financial resources, overreliance of parties on personalities and ethnic groups for human and financial support, and factions among other negative attributes to parties point out to serious policy gaps.

1.4.2 Academic Justification

The study was vital to the academic sector since most literature done on political parties mostly dwell on emergence La Palombara & Weiner (in Mair's, 1990), types and systems (Heywood, 2004), organization (Michel, 1956), functions (Lawson, 1980), and decline (Gunther & Diamond, 2003) of political parties. Others have dwelt on theories of the state and the organizations of the party (Michel, 1959; Evans, 2006).

Modern analyses of politics in Africa between 1950s and 1960s emphasized on the vast topic of "political development" which strived to acknowledge the rapid impact of political parties (Van de Walle, 2003). However, these studies downplayed the significant role of the failure

by the state to intervene party politics by establishing inclusive institutions and laws to address weak party organization and factionalism.

Diferent streams of literature have indicated the manner through which parties perform both societal and state roles. For instance intra-party groups not only influence the decision making process of parties, they inherently affect a party and its system by influencing how parties perform their functions thus impacting on the legititmacy and efficiency of democratic political systems. Thus, studies on the dynamism and the underlying factors of intra-party factions have not been fully analysed with regard to party politics. Inspite of several new waves on inquiries on the structural arrangement of political parties, the topic of intra-party groups have received a mere attension in comparative works. Majorly, discussions here focus on party constitutions, power dynamisms, and internal party politics. Factions are only noted in passing.

Moreover, these works have least provided a heuristic academic value which attempts to provide a holistic theoretical base which can successfully account for the impact of political parties as institutions on democracy especially among individual third world countries. The study was therefore supported by the theory of ‘new institutionalism’ as it guide. The theory holds that weak party organization and factionalism is as a result of historical underpinnings and the pursuit of self-gratifying interests by political elites. Specifically, there exists a dearth in empirical literature which accounts for the ineffective weak party leadership as parties in Kenya are marked by poor programs, inadequate resources and an overreliance on strong personalities and ethnic groupings as sources of their financial support.

1.5 Scope and limitations of the study.

The study appreciates that there are other organized institutions which can be analyzed to greater levels and their impact on democracy established such as trade unions, social movements, electoral institutions, faith based organization among others. However, the study was limited to political parties since parties are the only legitimate institutions in the world vested with the authority to form governments.

The study focused on democratization process seeking to investigate the link between political parties and democratization process. Besides, it was limited to the determining

factors of parties on democracy during the multi-party era. Specifically, the study investigated level of organization and factionalism illustrating how the two determine the influence of parties on democracy in Kenya. The study was limited to the period between 1991 and 2013. During this period, Kenya witnessed a proliferation of parties, a formation of numerous party governing and regulating institutions. It is also a period when Kenya transited in democracy from a one party state, and to coalition governments in an effort to democratize.

Largely, this is the period when ethnicity has been highly manifested among party politics with their internal democracy being compromised. It is this period that Kenya has witnessed unprecedented formation and breakup of party coalitions seeking to advance the interest of political elites in the helm of political leadership of this country. From KANU, KADU, FORD down to CORD, PNU, and to NARC, just to name a few, these parties have manifested weak administration while manifesting ethnicity and favoritism. Most of these parties do not show the face of Kenya in the appointment of officials and the allocation of roles. That apart, at most all of them have been controlled by strong personalities who sit at the helm of their decision making process. This is a justification that this period needs an urgent attention in the analysis of the operation of political parties.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.

2.0 Introduction

The study reviewed the relevant literature on the nature of political party administration to establish the determinants of the impact of political parties on democracy in Kenya. It focused on the Post-Independence period, through independence and between 1992 and 2013. It identified what other renowned scholars have written on political parties seeking to identify the major gaps in literature put under three sub-themes namely; historical background of political parties, organization of political parties in Kenya, and party factionalism.

2.1 Historical background of political parties.

Apparently, historical events in Kenya's political process continue to impact, shape and determine the political administration of Kenya in general and the operation of political parties in particular. Land marking phenomenon such as colonial legacy, politics of identity and ethnicity, merger and splinter of parties have, significantly shaped the impact of parties in democracy.

According to Kanyinga (2014), whatever evil parties experience in Kenya has their geneses in the colonial era. The establishment of the British administration in 1900 divided the country into two major forces of domination which took charge of the Kenya's political process. Whereas one force struggled to establish a permanent state of political domination the other endeavored to free itself from the alien and homogenous political overloads. This resulted into immense political diversity in Kenya's political process. These events in the history have segued to each other with extremely devastating effects on the organization of political parties. The situation has further deteriorated as the state has failed to intervene in party politics.

Accordingly, efforts by Africans to engage in organized politics were frustrated by the extreme laws enforced on Africans after the establishment of the LEGCO (Wanjohi, 2007). The laws included among many; the *Kipande* system and the poll tax. These laws aimed at facilitating the provision of forced labor on settler farms. These devastating working

environment prompted Africans to form labor unions. The formation of these labor unions was to facilitate presentation of African protests in a more organized manner. These attempts were preceded by organization of African communities into social and welfare organizations aimed at presenting and agitating for Africans' social, cultural and political interests in a more organized way. However, these efforts did not yield democratic fruits. This is because of the failure by the weak state by then to establish inclusive laws which could accommodate these organizations.

Another landmark which prevented the formidable organization of Africans was the failure by the colonial administration to include Africans in the then colonial administration. Zakaria has observed that politics of inclusion guarantee any political system a sense of democratization, while exclusive political orientations are clear antitheses to democratization (Zakaria, 2015). Africans wanted to be part of the colonial administration so that they could actively articulate for their grievances. Notably, Africans wanted to put it clear that the question of African representation in political decision making process was not to be overlooked by the colonial government. Second, Africans called for a comprehensive review of the general colonial policy towards the country.

According to Chege (2007) these serious concerns forced Britain to hand in the first constitution. This was the Littleton Plan. This was preceded by the Lennox Boyd constitution in 1958. However, these constitutions majorly sought to address direct representation of elected Africans in the LEGCO, while overlooking the colonial policy towards the country. Read from the above case is the fact that the colonial government failed to institute enabling policies in the political process which could promote political organizations. Accordingly, the banning of the formation of political organizations proved stubborn to Africans' struggle in representation. However, it was until when the ban was uplifted in 1955 when Africans got opportunities to form parties. However, much could not be expected because the formation of these parties was restricted to district levels. Unfortunately, districts within which these parties were formed received much influence from their respective tribes. Further, district based parties did not strive to agitate for and represent collective and national issues, but instead they fought for individual, regional, tribal and ethnic concerns. The trend of regional party politics therefore took a center stage in Kenya in the manner of formation and presentation of African interests. For instance, between 1958 and 1959, most parties formed objected to represent their grievances on district basis, not national. Thus, districts originally

gifted with opportunities to form first political parties never maintained the culture of inward representation whenever the nation was faced with a political limbo. Thus, through district and ethnic organized political parties, Kenya ushered into its political process an unfortunate era of political compartmentalization. This is because African political parties were formed and organized on emotional and ethnic nationalism. As a result, the seeds of hostile ethnic and tribal politics planted in Kenya in the 1950s had its outcomes impacting negatively on formation, organization, and management of parties throughout the multi-party period. This trend point out to path dependence proscribed by new institutionalism. Hence, district representation often had a mild influence on countrywide political struggle of parties. This is because it tended to exclude a number of constituents in the political field (Oloo, 2007). As evident in 1950s, party organization at district level was the only measure of a party's contribution to the democratization process. With regard to this, during the ensuing of the elections for the LEGCO in 1957 and 1958, Nairobi experienced a seem-to-be multi-party political competition between the Nairobi District African Congress and the Nairobi Peoples Convention Party.

Accordingly, politics of exclusion and their impact on Africans shrunk grounds upon which parties operated. Thus, between 1960 and 1964, efforts to whip earlier district and ethnic parties were made while the country embarked on institutionalizing a multi-party political system. However, democracy seemed far-fetched because anxiety grew on how Europeans, Asians, Arabs, and Africans would be accommodated in the colonial administration given the then dynamisms in the political sphere (Oyugi, 1992). Against this background, several parties emerged during the first Lancaster House Conference on Kenya in 1960.

On the other hand, politics of exclusion within parties accelerate the thriving of politics of identity (Randall and Vicky (2002), as some groups are sidelined during the decision making process causing an imbalance in the party's political administration by crating intra-party groups which pursue individual (ethnic) political interest. This relates to the multi-racial party ambition which ensued in Kenya resulting to the formation of Unity Party led by L.R. Briggs, New Kenya Group led by Michael Blondell, and the Kenya National Party led by S.V. Cook. However, these parties were formed tactfully to snatch the political limelight from the African leaders.

Personalization of parties has been advanced by most political elites in Kenya who seek to advance self-undemocratic trends by possessing parties. The parties above were used as the only ladder by leaders to get into negotiations for political advantages before power was transferred to other entities. For instance, KANU delegates unveiled a committee on 27, 1960 to draft a constitution of the KANU. They included J. Kenyatta, James Gichuru, Oginga Odinga, Tom Mboya, Arthur Ochwada, Ronald Ngala, and Daniel Moi. All the respective party representatives took their positions except Ngala and Moi due to mistrust of a given group of leaders elected to head the KANU party. This formed the genesis of factionalism among Kenya's African based parties. Kikuyu and Luo were considered to dominate the party while defectors from KANU decided to form ethnic based parties to counter KANU (Oloo, 2007). Parties formed were the Kalenjin Political Alliance in 1960 led by Daniel Arap Moi and Taita Arap Towett, Kenya National Party in 1959 led by Masinde Muliro, Kenya African Peoples Party, Maasai United Front in 1960 led by John Keen and John Konchella, and the Coast African Peoples Union in 1960. Evidence from this list of parties indicates that parties formed were meant to cater and fight for individual and ethnic interests. This is a direct anti-thesis to democratization process as such parties emerge regionally to represent regional interests but not collect national interests which are inherently democratic (Brankati, 2007).

The government of Kenya adopted the First-Past-the-Post electoral constitution. The FPTP is voter maximizing mechanism which makes it easy for political elites to form ethnic coalitions using their ethnic numeric strengths. Under this system, parties with minority numbers mostly find themselves on the receiving end from the incumbent ruling parties. Close to this system was the KANU regime which through government organized machinery burned the opposition, political gatherings and groupings in an effort to hold on power and eliminate cases of internal indecency. In line with these observations, multi-party era in Kenya has witnessed the involvement of a powerful executive in the electoral process (Masinde and Oesterdikhoff, 2010). Therefore, chances have been slim that political parties, especially those in the opposition can yield much in the democratization process as it regards the national political orientations. Accordingly, between 1991 and 2007, the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) handled electoral roles, while the Societies Act managed political parties. However, the executive mostly overwhelmed these electoral institutions as it pertains the decision making process. For instance, the executive appointed officials who

managed these institutions without the approval of the parliament. Reference is also made to the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission and the Registrar of Political Parties. Though the two institutions managed elections and political parties respectively, they have been held ransom by a strong executive. The centrality of the executive in the electoral process has hindered democratization through parties by compromising their independence.

2.2 Party Organization.

Until recently, some of the most influential works on political parties which sought to address party organization were La Palombara (1974), La Palombara & Weiner (In, Mair's 1990), Duverger (In, Mair's 1990), Mair (1990), Norris (2005), Lawson (1980), Michel (1959), Schumpeter (1947), Lipset (1960), Sartori (1956), Neumann (1956), Heywood (2002), Michel (1959), Weber (1959), Huntington (1968), Evans (2006), Gauja (2005), Gauja (2008), Pastor (1999), and Diamond (1956) among others.

However, most of these works failed to view a party as an institution largely influenced both by the internal and external forces thus making its outcomes not deterministic. Thus, this study accounted for this gap in literature.

In particular, Michel (1959) proposed in his 'theory of the state' that effective party organization determines the welfare of party as it entails instilling discipline within its constituents. Therefore, organization is vital for the effective functioning of parties. Further, Michel observes that weak organization is inevitable as long as the rank and file is not in effective communication. However, he did not effectively address how weak organization among parties could be resolved. Further, he could not account for the organization of parties among third world countries which is our point of reference in this study. Moreover, the relevant literature regarding the organization of parties within a multi-party setting such as Kenya, which has revealed weak organization, is not captured within his work.

Oloo observed that since independence political parties formed in Kenya did and do manifest weak administrative structures. He notes for instance that, weak administrative structures have made it a routine for most of the parties to revolve around wealthy individuals. Majorly, these parties are identified by personalities and their ethnic backyards as their major support (Oloo, 2007). In affirming Oloo's observation, Kanyinga (2014) points out that KANU was identified as Moi and Kalenjin party, PNU belonged to Kibaki and the Kikuyu fraternity,

while ODM belonged to Raila and the Luo. These politics of identity and belonging influence negatively how parties struggle for democracy. This is because, parties find it difficult to command strong leadership and invent effective programs given that they are owned as personal institutions. Adversely, such parties tend to lose their societal linkages. Both Oloo and Kanyinga got it write. However, it was worth of an academic value for the two to support their arguments with a theory. This was omitted in their analyses. In terms of organization, therefore, political parties in Kenya revolve around strong personalities backed by ethnic conglomerations. They rely on wealthy personalities and ethnic coalitions as their bases and support (Oyugi, 1999). The personalization of these parties by the elites finally limits democratic articulation of interests within them as it compromises the policy formulation process, party manifestoes, and party decision making process. Decisions are arrived at with party leaders having final words over them. This gap is accounted for by new institutionalism proponents who observe that within institutions, individuals granted leadership responsibilities end up revising the institution's policies to work in their favor.

Quite apart, several works have been done on the subject of "political development". Writing on party dynamism in third world countries, Huntington (1986) emphasized on the significant need by parties to intergrate diverse societal sectors. In this case, political parties should integrate diferent societal entities thereby helping then to bind the state together. However, he left much to be investigated on how the historical events such as colonialism had influenced the organization of political parties especially among these countries. From the foregoing, political delopments in these countries had witnessed the succession of negative historical events. For instance, colonial administration improvised a political culture based on identity politics as well as ethnicity. This has been inherited down the line in political administration. At worst, the state has least upheld a political culture built upon the rule of law. This political culture has been assumed by successive political epochs making the inatitutionalization of parties difficult.

Further, Huntington noted that in an advancing society, state bulding meant in part creating an effective bureaucracy as well as establishing an effective party system with capabilities in the facilitation of the participation of new groups in the political process. In this analysis much emphasis is however put on how stable party system are capable of introducing new political actors into the politcal market while overlooking litereture on weak party organization and factionalism which are the core themes in this study.

Overall, the electoral system determines much of the operation and the contribution of parties to democracy. The respective literature on this has been by-passed. Pastor(1999), for example, while investigating on the influence of electoral systems on the organization of parties held that effective organization of parties in any political process should be backed by sound electoral laws. He justifies that sound electoral laws give room for the entry and participation of new groups in the political field. Further, Zakaria (1997), reading within the same lenses with Pastor above, while emphasizing on the electoral systems, held that illiberal democracies were capable through simple minority prospects of suppressing democratization process. The resulting simple minority governments formed by these predominant parties, he noted turn out to be illiberal in the sense that they motivate the formation of governments from the standpoint of ethnicity and simple minority prospects. The mobilization of ethnic supporters therefore prioritizes such leaders in their party election campaigns to carry alongside them ethnic backyards as their support. However, both Pastor and Zakaria did not attempt a theory to support their analyses. This study is anchored on the theory of new institutionalism.

Oyugi (1999), while referring to Kenya, emphasized that apart from a poor electoral system that manages party operations, political parties in Kenya are characterized by pre-election coalitions, they lack fixed party membership structure, are ethnic-based in terms of both financial and societal support, they exhibit incoherent ideological orientations, and operate on the basis of founder leaders. He further carefully notes that during party nominations in Kenya favored candidates are awarded direct nominations by party bureaucrats. This limits democratization through parties. The observation by Oyugi hold but lack a theoretical academic backing. The study accounted for this.

La Palombara and Weiner (1966) endeavored to devise a typology of party systems, by distinguishing between non-competitive and competitive party systems. Further, the latter were classified based on whether change in leadership alternation took place. On the contrary, evidence of party hegemony emerged. The trend towards the establishment of one-party hegemony dominated developing states. Dominant parties encourage factionalism by failing to bring to its constituents the political limelight. A clarification on how party hegemony impacted on the organization of both parties in the opposition and government is what the two omitted. Further, it was worth of value for them to support their arguments with

theoretical base which they did not. The study in reaction to this gap proposed new institutionalism theory.

Evans (2002) in his analysis of parties, pointed out that the ability of party leaders to mobilize ethnic numbers was a priority for leaders as they competed against one another. Such ambitions by leaders weaken the organization of parties by limiting rooms for open and informed party negotiations. As such, parties in Kenya have their officials mostly engaged in the pursuit of individual interests while sidelining collective interests thereby becoming institutionally weak. In summary, these negative implications to parties have had a long lasting and devastating impact on the organization of parties. Evans' sentiments are upheld by Brankati (2007) who emphasized that as tools of electoral roles, political parties therefore should be viewed as an ethno-regional phenomena revolving around ethnic leaders. True to this observation and with reference to Kenya, whenever a party leader crosses the floor to form a new party, his ethnic loyalties follow suit. Brankati got it right as it regards the case of parties among third world countries. However, he never strived to support his work with the relevant theoretical framework. This study endeavored to propose new institutionalism.

The implication that parties have been poorly administered leading to their little contribution has been advanced by Kibwana (1996) and Oyugi (1999). As for Kibwana, parties manifest weak organization structures because they are internally marred by factions and cliques. To Oyugi, they are organized as means by elites to consolidate electoral power. The sentiments of these scholars hold. However, like most of other scholars, they are not backed by a theoretical explanation, neither are they backed by conceptual framework. The study, therefore took this gap in the academic literature into account.

Thus, scholars writing on party organization have contributed to the subject matter of party organization by advancing knowledge about party systems, the influence of the electoral system on parties, functions of parties among other attributes to party organization. However, they failed to analyze the same from the stand point of political parties among third world countries where Kenya falls. Moreover, they did little in attempting a theoretical explanation in their analyses

2.3 Party factionalism.

Elite scholars such as Pareto, Mosca, and Michel (Cited in Evans, 2006) came closer to addressing factionalism as they endeavored to contribute widely to the theory of the state. However, they strived to frame the party within the state as a setting of activities. One of the challenges faced by parties is factionalism, which refers to the arguments or disputes which arise within the administration section of parties, majorly between two or more small groups from within the larger party. The omission of literature on factionalism was worth to be analyzed by these elite scholars.

Gunter and Diamond (2003) warned about party factionalism noting that factionalism took a center stage in the collapse of most parties in both developed and developing societies. However, their work made little attempt in trying a theory as a base of their analysis, let alone explaining how factionalism led to the collapse of parties among third world countries with the specific reference to Kenya. Factionalism leads to the collapse of parties by introducing into the administration of a party warring groups formed along contradictory policies. This compromises the decision making process thus leading to the disintegration of a party.

Nnoli (1986) came close to addressing the effects of factionalism at an advanced stage. He noted that at this level of factionalism within a party, democratization is less achievable because factions shrink grounds upon which parties can structure their bases in an effort to articulate for and represent the interest of the people. Just like others scholars in the same field of study, Nnoli's work was never backed by a theory.

According to Were (1996), while writing on the administration of parties, he observes that political parties ought to be managed and operated as independent institutions void of state and personality influence. This is because such an environment gives a party's constituents a free wheel to adjust to the political dynamisms through adhered to democratic consents. These sentiments hold but do not contribute much to the subject of party factionalism from the stand point of developing societies. Parties may act as independent institutions, however if intra-party conflicts are not addressed adequately, such parties are subject to collapse. For instance, NARC, having been a formidable coalition prior to the 2002 general election could not address its internal indecency arising from intra-party conflict. This led to its unexpected disintegration.

Heywood (2002) and Neumann (1956) widely covered on political parties. They endeavored to write on party types and party systems. Hence they offered little contribution as far as party factionalism and its devastating effects undermine the contribution by parties to the democratization process. Factionalism infringes intra-party decision making process by underestimating meritocracy. For instance, faction tendencies in Kenya have limited most parties' ability to recruit members, conduct informed campaigns, and form coalitions.

Lawson (1980) contribution to political parties is worth to consider. To him, political parties perform five major organizational functions. These are: recruiting of elites, formulating of goals, articulation and aggregating goals, socializing and mobilizing supporters, and organizing governments. Whereas he accounted for the various functions of political parties, he gave a lesser account on how parties can perform the above functions in third world countries characterized by party factionalism. Among third world countries, faction based conflicts lead to blurry and contradictory positions among parties. This renders voters' contribution and voice within the party ineffective.

Most studies conducted between 1960s and 1980s seem to have one thing in common. Their concern was not entirely about the democratic progress among third world countries, it was rather about the "political development" concept. However, this concept seems controversial from its initial meaning among western democracies. This is because it does not focus on internal party democracy in particular. In general, these works fall short of such key democratic concepts as, differentiation of political structures and more importantly the institutionalization of organizations and procedures (Mkandawire, 2015). One major cause of party factionalism is the lack by these parties of formidable inclusive structures.

The recent studies of the 1990s emphasize on the centrality of democracy as a value and a goal in itself. In this case multi-party reforms denote a discontinuity of democratization both in the political life of African states and within the mainstreams of political science. The first attempts in these studies began with an analysis of democratic institutions, supplemented by analyses of electoral systems and their outcomes in the electoral process. However, these analyses are never backed by a theory, more especially as it regards to political parties.

By and large, majority of the scholars structure the party and party system as variables influenced by sets of social, political, cultural, economic, and legal attributes. However, the first four attributes to political parties have been analysed to greater extends by the political

science fraternity. Little attention has been paid on the various legal arrangements which regulate the operations of political parties. This is a serious omission in literature because the potential of the law and its influence on the operation of political parties is much considerable. The study endeavored to give credible attention to laws governing parties.

Generally there is a significant dearth in literature which accounts for the organization of political parties. Additionally, there is a vast limit in literature relating to efforts at accounting for the weak party organization and factionalism within the individual third world countries, especially Kenya. This is with the notable exceptions of Van de Walle (2003), Mkandawire (2015), Oyugi (1992), Kanyinga (2014), and Wanjohi (1997), Owuoché & Jonyo (2002) among others. Mkandawire (2015) attributed the limited contribution of political parties to the politics of neopatrimony and clientilism which is inherent among African executive leaders. For Oyugi (1992), the same is attributed to the dominance of the executive in the political process. Kanyinga (2014) and Wanjohi (1997) relate it to the politics of identity and ethnicity. While Van de Walle (2003) and Owuoché and Jonyo (2002) single out the politics of belonging as the cause of the limited contribution of parties to democracy. However, these scholars did not support their analyses with a theory let alone attempting a conceptual framework to support their arguments.

2.4 Conclusion

In summary, literature on political parties has underscored in addressing weak party organization and factionalism. Further, scholars writing on parties did little in attempting to provide a theoretical framework to support their arguments. Weak party organization and factionalism can be addressed by state intervention in party politics by establishing inclusive laws within party and party governing institutions. This is because, inclusive institutions address weak party ideologies and programs, ethnicity, favoritism, and factionalism which impact negatively on the intra-party democracy. Theoretically, new institutionalists explain that the weak party organization and factionalism is as a result of political engineering orientations upheld by political actors within the party seeking to advance self-gratifying agendas. Therefore, as a collective entity, a party can seldom achieve its collective goals. This is because the pursuit of goals within it is self-informed. This makes it difficult for a party to pursue democratic goals which are in most cases collective. The foregoing gaps in literature demonstrate that there is plenty of scope for further academic research into the nature of party organization and factionalism.

2.5 Theoretical framework

2.5.1 New institutionalism

The study adopted the theory of “new institutionalism” as its guide. It is built on a major assumption that institutions matter in the political process while it focuses on path dependence. By definition new institutionalism is an organizational theory which emphasizes on the centrality of autonomy of political institutions, possibilities for inefficiency in history, and the importance of symbolic action to the understanding of politics (March & Olsen, 2014).

The theory recognizes the significance of other theories in attempting to address collective action in the democratization process. In particular, Olson’s (2002) group theory gives much primacy to social movement organizations, not political parties which are our point of reference in this study. Further, new institutionalists read different from rational choice theorist who came closer to accounting for the analysis of political parties in the democratization process. However, these theorists majorly considered equating non-market decision making processes to political decisions.

Old institutionalism proponents on the other hand could not adequately account for the analysis of the impact of political parties on democracy as they sought to understand political life and its outcomes almost entirely in a formal perspective, an overstated top-down rationalistic approach in government, and a negligence of the informal aspects of institutions like the actual behavior of people within organizations which determine the organization’s coherence and governing capacity (Lowndes & Roberts, 2011). Therefore, at best group, rational choice, and old institutionalism theories attempt to offer supplementary accounts to the study of parties and democracy.

New institutionalism developed as part of the behavioral revolution in America between 1980s and 1990s to oppose old traditionalism theory. The theory postulates that institutions matter in politics. New institutionalism proscribes that institutions shape, constrain, or enable the actions of the actors who operate within them.

The theory is suited for this research because it takes into account the concept of 'path dependence', a central preoccupation among political parties and their respective operation milieus which determine their day to day activities. Second, the theory takes into account both formal and informal aspects of political life like; norms, ideas, networks and coalitions. It also gives primacy to the practical aspect of institutions mostly overstated by old traditionalism. Finally, new institutionalism looks at institutions as organizations which constrain behavior and vice versa as opposed to old traditionalism theory which viewed institutions as deterministic in policy formulation.

New institutionalism proponents were majorly concerned with large scale and long term processes of institutional evolution and development at national levels. Mahoney and Pierson (2004) contend that institutions emerge, grow, and are best understood through current attention to the timing and sequencing of major institutional change and feedback effect on democratization process. This is a major trend in the lifetime and operation of political parties.

They further emphasized on path dependence and argued that history matters and therefore early events mostly influence later events. They held that where self-reinforcing processes exist, contingency choices earlier on in the process have large and long lasting consequences, and the timing and sequencing of institutional developments is a crucial determinant to the outcomes. Therefore, earlier events in a political process mostly determine the preceding events.

New institutionalists further held that where self-reinforcing positive feedback exists, evolutionary change processes would occur. However, this could not necessarily lead to efficient outcomes. This is because the early dominants of a particular approach could mean that it became hard to displace (Hacker & Pierson, 2010).

Hacker & Pierson remarks are affirmed by Moe (2006) who holds that, actors within institutions compete to deploy and revise institutions in their own interest. Institutions at best therefore become distributing instruments which allocate resources unevenly and therefore constitute asymmetric collective actors. In this case, institutions privilege some actors over others even when they are neutral. The uneven distributional consequences make those at the helm to benefit from institutions by openly fighting and defending themselves while they ensure that the existence of these institutions favor them.

They further postulate that as organizations parties are not homogenous organizations which are sure of their goals and which follow a unitary will. Instead, parties consists of coalitions of political actors who are in continous pursuit of personal interests and goals (Panebianco, 1998). Therefore, coalition of these actors are based on the aquisition of political resources. Finnally, new instituionalists conclude that just as general politics is based on conflictive and concesus-oriented relations among interdependent individuals, intra-party politics in particular is marked by conflict and consensus between interdependent groups.

2.5.2 New institutionalism and the political process in Kenya

Like other institutions which emerge to contribute to the democratization process, political parties structure the interest of the people through aggregation of interests. However, political parties in Kenya are a mere elongation of the initial political parties which were the pioneers of the political process in Kenya. These parties adopted individual self-interest orientations which have been inherited from one political party generation epoch to the next. For instance KANU invented the F-P-T-P electoral system whose ideologies are still manifested even in today's TR system

Further, party governing and electoral institutions have had a manifestation of weak administrative mechanism since the interference by the government and strong personalities in their day to day operation is much evident. It is a tendency which was manufactured by the first government and has surged into the successive political epochs as well as political parties. This still manifests itself in today's Kenya political process. This has rendered ineffective the independence of these institutions to manage political parties and oversee elections effectively.

2.6 Research Hypotheses.

This study was guided by two hypotheses namely that;

1. The contribution of political parties to the democratization process in Kenya has been undermined by weak levels of party organization.
2. Party factionalism has undermined the contribution of parties to the democratization process in Kenya.

2.6.1 Operationalization of variables

2.6.1.1 Independent variables

Party organization: Party organization refers to the formal internal structural arrangement of a party which include the machinery, procedures, norms and interrelations between its leaders and the electorate in a party's day to day programs. In this study, party organization referred to the extends of structural arrangement of parties in management of party programs among many; party funding, merger of parties, formation of tribunal for conflict management, cord of contact, party constitution, and coalition procedures as well as the extends of management of factionalism.

Thus, the weaker the level of party organization, the more undermined is the contribution of parties to democracy, while the stronger the level of party organization, the less undermined is the contribution of parties to democracy. Unaccounted for levels of party organization are represented by (5), extreme weak levels by (4), weak levels by (3), moderate levels by (2), strong levels by (1). While, the higher the level of factionalism among political parties, the more undermined are political parties on the democratization process. Thus, the lower the level of party factionalism, the less undermined are political parties on the democratization process. While, the higher the levels of factionalism, the more undermined are political parties to the democratization process. Thus, unaccounted for levels of factionalism are represented by (5), extremely high levels by (4), high levels by (3), and moderate levels by (2), while low levels are represented by (1).

2.6.1.2 Dependent variable

Democracy: Democracy is defined as a form of government in which the public domain have the authority to choose their governing legislatures as enshrined within the respective independent constitutions. This definition is wanting in that it does not accommodate political parties as institutions which play a role in democracy. The study therefore adopted Huntington (1968) definition of democracy as a form of government which endows political institutions a sense of autonomy in their decision making process which range from policy formulation and implementation, creation of internal structures to achieve goals, manage their work load, and invent mechanisms to process work timely.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the research methodology for the study. It offers overall research approaches and techniques adopted by the study. It describes the research's design, area where the research was conducted and the target population. Subsequently, it provides the sampling techniques, data collection strategies, various instruments as well as methods used to analyze both quantitative and qualitative data.

3.1 Research design

A research design refers to the overall mechanism that a researcher employs in his integration of the various components of the study while he adheres to a coherent and logical way, thereby ensuring that he addresses the research problem (De Vaus (2006). It constitutes a blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data. The study therefore adopted a mixed-method research approach to attain its objectives. According to Creswell and Clark (2014), a mixed research approach is a technique used by a researcher to collect two aspects of data that are quantitative and qualitative in nature and upholds distinct techniques which encompass logical presumptions and hypothetical backgrounds. This design was appropriate for this research given that it entailed a combination of techniques used to collect both quantitative and qualitative data. The combination of the two aspects of data greatly enhanced the research paper because it attracted advantages associated with a combination of aspects of data. Under this section quantitative data was collected through the use of questionnaires while qualitative data was collected through interviews and focus discussion groups.

The use of questionnaires is a technique encompassing collecting of evidence with a purpose of gathering information in a structured and coherent logic on the preferred attributes from the given elements under investigation through employing defined impressions and procedures. This is in an effort to present such information in a summarized form. The use of questionnaires facilitated the study by involving the selected sample of the population in a convenient manner which helped in saving on time. Moreover, the use of questionnaires gave most of the respondents the much required confidence hence enabling them to take part in the study comfortably. Additionally, the use of questionnaires aided in the success of the study by collecting information on opinions and attitudes of the respondents on party organization

and factionalism. This may not have been achieved if the researcher had opted to adopt other methods such as observation when collecting data.

On the other hand, the use of interviews was necessary in collecting qualitative data. This is because interviews offer opportunities which motivate individuals under study to disclose their experience and opinion on the occurrences of phenomena in a given societal setting (Bauer and Joychelovitch, 2000). Thus, interviews in this research offered the respondents under study an opportunity to share their concerns on party organization and factionalism, and how the two attributes to parties influence democracy in Kenya. For systematic collection of data through interviews, the study relied on interview schedules. The reliance of the study on interviews proved vital since it gave the researcher an opportunity to get first-hand information on the determinants of impact of political parties on democracy. Through interviews the study acquired viewpoints specific to party organization and factionalism as the researcher took maximum control of the interview sessions.

Moreover, focus discussions groups were used in the collection of qualitative data. Dumont (1993) has referred FDGs to rigorous conversational entities which involve more than one respondent who give relevant information in line with the lead questions posed to them by the researcher. The adoption and use of FDGs elicited an atmosphere that encouraged and facilitated the participants to share vital insights on political parties and democracy thus enriching the findings of the study. Further, FDGs were important in giving information on a comparative basis of the various individuals within the FDGs. This was because it offered an opportunity for the respondents through a debate to discuss their views, experiences, and ideas on the determinants of the impact of political parties on democracy in Kenya moderated by the researcher. In the conduct of the FDGs, the study administered open-ended questionnaires.

3.2 Study area and target population.

The study was majorly carried out in Nairobi, the capital of Kenya. This is because political parties and other government institutions related to political parties are located in Nairobi. The target population for the study included political party officials, officials from the centre for multi-party democracy, the registrar of political parties, officials from the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission, officials from the United Nations development Program, officials from the Kenya National Human Rights Commission, renowned

academicians, journalists specializing in political affairs, members of parliament, and members of the public.

3.3 Sampling techniques and sample size

The research employed purposive sampling technique as its guide in gathering information obtained from interviews by renowned informants on the topic under study. Purposive sampling is a judgmental, selective or subjective sampling technique in which a researcher relies on his own judgment when choosing members of a population to participate in the study (Bernard, 2000). In this technique the researcher is meant to obtain a representative sample by using a sound judgment to determine the respondents who are relevant to the study and the FDGs. By adopting purposive sampling strategy, the researcher therefore exercised rational procedures in interviewing respondents strictly relevant to the topic of the study. The estimated total population from the target population was 1000 respondents. However the sample for this study consisted of 100 respondents. The sample was distributed as follows: four officials from the Registrar of Political Parties, four officials from Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission, four officials from the Center for Multi-party Democracy, the chairperson of the Amani National Coalition, three human rights activists, two women representatives, four retired members of the national assembly, three sitting members of the national assembly, the chairperson and three officers of the United Nations Development Program, the chairperson and two officers from KNHCR, four political analysts, four journalist, four legal experts, ten retired teachers, five gender based program officers, four retired public savants, various aspirants for political positions including two aspirants for Members of County Assembly seats and three members of the national assembly aspirants as well as thirty-nine members of the public.

3.4 Methods of data collection

The researcher relied on close-ended questionnaire in gathering quantitative data. Here, respective participants working in given specific areas were given questionnaires to respond to. However, before the commencement of this process, the researcher took the respondents through the letter of informed consent to capture their confidence. As for the respondents who were not able to read and interpret the researcher took on the task of reading and translating the various questions before recording their responses. To ensure that all questions

are addressed, the researcher schemed through the questionnaires as he collected them before embarking on data analysis.

Interview schedules were used to gather information during the conduct of interviews. After taking the respondents through the letter of informed consent, and giving them details about the study, the responses were noted down by the researcher in writing. For the researcher to gain much insight of the research questions at hand from the respondents, he gave the respondents enough time to address one section of the study questions and assumptions before they could get to the next.

Last, open ended questionnaires were administered to the respondents during the conduct of FDGs. The respondents were met at common places as agreed upon between them and the researcher. First, the respondents were required through one representative agreed upon by the group members to sign a letter of informed consent. Thereafter, the respondents proceeded to the discussion session. The researcher recorded the responses in writing since most respondents turned down his option that they be audio taped.

3.5 Issues of reliability and validity

Reliability: Reliability refers the measure of degree to which a research instrument yields consistent results or data after repeated trials in a given research investigation (Gay, 1976). The study utilized already published documents and compared both recent and old data to validate the outcome of the research. The questionnaires and interview schedules used to collect data were pre-tested during the study reconnaissance process. This aimed at addressing inconsistencies that the researcher pointed out before the actual data collection process commenced such as subjectivity. In order for the researcher to maintain reliability in the study, the same types of questionnaires were administered to all the participants in the study. However, where interpretation of the questions was a problem, the researcher took on the task of interpreting the questions to the respondents. By administering the same type of questions with the same type of wording carrying the same meaning to all, the researcher assumed that all the respondents had the same interpretation of the questions.

Validity

As put by Taole (2008) and Gray (2004), validity defines the extent to which an instrument measures what it is intended to measure while covering all research issues both in content and detail. It is therefore the accuracy and meaningfulness of interpretations of the results in a given study. This was done through careful examination of the content and removing from it all those elements that would prejudice both primary and secondary data.

Thus, the research instruments were designed to obtain both validity and reliability using the following steps: First, the researcher made an extensive analysis of the literature and research that had been published in order to get more details of the much emphasis required to address weak party organization and factionalism. Second, The use of both interviews and questionnaires along with the already existing political party dissertations, periodicals, reports, text books, annual reports and research by and about political parties in both developed and developing countries provided greater confidence in the findings by combining the strength of different data collection methods and sources. Third, the research instruments were pre-tested using a sample of respondents to ensure that they cover the research questions in terms of content and details. Finally, the questionnaires and interview guides were concisely and clearly formulated. This aimed at increasing the response rate to avoid ambiguity as well as waste of the respondents' time.

3.6 Data analysis

Quantitative data was descriptively analyzed and presented in form of tables and percentages. While qualitative data was analyzed through content analysis and script narration (explanation or interpretation). Results from both quantitative and qualitative analyses were merged, compared, related, and presented as a set of findings.

3.7 Ethical Consideration

The major ethical consideration of the study was privacy, confidentiality, and anonymity of the respondents. This is because acquiring valid information entailed gaining access to specific information which was in itself an interference on the privacy and confidentiality of the respondents. However respondents in this research had the freedom to overlook information they did not want to respond to.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION, AND DISCUSSION.

4.0 Introduction

The chapter discusses the findings of the study based on research hypotheses: First, the contribution of political parties to the democratization process has been undermined by party organization. Second, party factionalism has undermined the contribution of parties to the democratization in Kenya, thereby examining the determinants of the impact of political parties on the democratization process in Kenya.

4.1 Data analysis and presentation

Quantitative data collected during the research using questionnaires was descriptively analyzed. The results obtained were presented in tables in form of percentages followed by a discussion on the various dynamics envisaged by the analyzed data. The discussions were backed by qualitative data on the findings on interviews and focus discussion groups which were analyzed through narrations and interpretation.

4.1.1 Demographics of the sample population.

The target population for the study comprised of political party officials, officers from the centre for multi-party democracy, officials from the registrar of political parties, officials from the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission officials from the United Nations Development Program, officials from the Kenya National Human Rights Commission, renowned academicians, journalists specializing in political affairs, and members of the public. The total population of the study was 1000 while, the sample size involved 100 respondents obtained using purposive sampling strategies.

All the 100 participants were presented with questionnaires. However 90 of the 100 respondents took part in the study. Thus, 10 questionnaires were not filled and returned for eventual data analysis. This indicates that 90% of the selected sample of the target population participated in the study, while 10% failed to participate.

4.1.2 Descriptive analysis of variables under study

The study entirely aimed at establishing the determinants of the influence of political parties on democracy in Kenya. The study, in an effort to establish this assessed the determinants of the impact of political parties on democracy in Kenya. These were: party organization and party factionalism. These determinants informed the sub-constructs of the independent variable which were further broken down into various indicators in an effort to provide a valuable position of realizing the specific objectives of the study.

4.1.2.1 Party organization.

Party organization is vital for the operation of political parties. In light with this, the study sort to investigate how party organization had influenced the contribution of political parties to the democratization process in Kenya during the multiparty period. The respondents were asked to give their opinions on how the various organization indicators influenced the role of parties on democracy. Majority of the respondents indicated that the organization of political parties on the basis of factions and cliques undermine the role that parties play. In regard to this, 27.7% and 38.9% agreed and strongly agreed respectively that political parties in Kenya are organized on the premise of factions and cliques and that this had limited the role of parties. On the contrary, 8.9% and 10% of the respondents observed that factionalism and clique formation among parties had not undermined democratization among parties. Cumulatively, 66.7% of the participants confirmed that factionalism and cliques undermine democratization process among parties while, 18.9% disconfirmed this view. The different in the cumulative percentage margin at 47.8% therefore indicates that majority of the participants were in the know that factionalism and clique tendencies among parties hinder democratization.

On the other hand, the study aimed at inquiring whether various political parties disclose and train leaders and members on party rules, regulations and values as aspects of organization. This is especially important because most political parties must operate within binding missions built upon fundamental principles and values. Normally, these values define the purpose of these parties, their structures and how to make decisions. In line with this, 33.3% disagreed, while 18.9% agreed on the efficacy of political parties to disclose and train leaders

and members on rules, regulations and values. Cumulatively, however, 65.5% disagreed while, 30% disagreed that political parties had taken the tall task of defining and instilling the party values, regulations, and rules among its constituents. This indicates that majority of the participants had little confidence and the faith in parties' ability to perform the above task.

Additionally, since political parties are organizations comprising of individuals who play distinct roles within them, the inquiry wanted to establish whether parties in Kenya have adopted and adhered to fixed membership structures. This was so because fixed membership structures ensure that members stay put within the party. This initiative assists in addressing uncontrolled floor crossing habits, thus easing party programs. In response to this, majority of the respondents disagreed at 34.3%, while minority at 20% agreed that political parties in Kenya have adopted and adhered to fixed party membership structures. In a cumulative analysis, 67.6% of the participants were of the view that political parties had not adequately adopted and adhered to fixed membership structures and therefore breaks-ups in party organization and floor crossing were much evident. On the contrary, 26.7% of the participants confirmed. The difference in the percentage margin at 40.9% indicates that most of the participants believed that political parties in Kenya have not fully adopted and instituted fixed party membership structures. Besides, this indicates that political parties in Kenya lack the capacity to carry out their administrative duties such as outreach programs as this is linked to the adoption of fixed structures.

Moreover, internal party democracy requires that members and leaders of a party collaborate towards the development and the refinement of party policies. This aims at facilitating party programs as party organizers and leaders get to understand the concerns and priorities of ordinary people and finally discover the best way to address them. Once a party fulfills this, it is bound to realize widespread participation from party constituents, mostly through public forums which help inform a party's policy. In this regard, the participants were asked to explain whether political parties in Kenya have their respective members working together to develop and refine party policies. The analyzed data indicated that 32.3% disagreed while, 16.7% agreed respectively that parties employ collaborative measures between members and leaders when developing and restructuring party policies. Cumulatively, 65.5% disagreed, while 26.7% confirmed that party constituents do consult one another during party policy

development processes. This data outcome demonstrates that political parties are least positioned to carry out their work collaboratively because most of the participants disagreed. It further indicates that widespread participation by members is ignored by party officials and therefore chances that ordinary people can take part in party policy development process were slim. To this end, this gives room for party elites to decide for the party and determine its welfare. It confirms new institutionalism conception that even though political parties may pursue collective interests, individual interests matter the most.

Significantly, internal democracy stipulates that the selection of leaders and members of a party be carried out according to the rule of law. To this level, party members have to be given regular and fair opportunities to contribute in the selection of leaders at all levels. This helps in ensuring that an individual or special interests do not find opportunities to dominate a party in the decision making process. The investigation aimed at determining whether leaders and candidates among political parties in Kenya are selected freely, fairly, and according to the party rules. The resulting data analysis indicated that most participants disagreed that parties held free and fair elections, neither did they adhere to party rules while conducting party primaries. This was marked by 33.3% of the participants who disagreed while, 10% agreed. A cumulative percentage of agree and disagree rose even much higher in favor of those who disagreed at 74.4%, while those who agreed was marked at 18.9%. This outcome indicates that there exists maladministration among Kenya's political parties to the extent that party primaries are not conducted freely and fairly. Moreover, it indicates that party constituents had little faith in the manner in which elections within parties are conducted and therefore intraparty democracy was far-fetched.

Additionally, the study aimed at establishing whether in their organization political parties have adopted and used open vertical and horizontal communication procedures effectively. This is important because for a party to adequately build party membership and lure voters, the management team must understand its position over key issues and its programs for its future. To that extent, parties have to develop mechanisms which allow its organizers to ask questions, voice respective opinions and receive honest responses from the party leadership. For a party to achieve this it has to improvise mechanisms which facilitate information flow between party leaders and its leaders as well as between its local branches and the ordinary people. The collected and analyzed data indicated that 33.3% disagreed that political parties adopted and used open vertical and horizontal communication procedures. On the other hand,

15.6% agreed and confirmed upon this. However, cumulatively 71.1% disagreed while, 20% agreed respectively that top-down and cross communication was evident among political parties in Kenya. The variation in the cumulative percentage at 51.1% indicates that participants in the study had little faith in the way political party administer their programs as far as inventing communication structures is concerned. This proceeds in affecting outreach programs among parties. Therefore, since communication is compromised and outreach programs are curtailed, chances that information flow could be achieved down and across parties are slim among Kenya's political parties. This undermines their democratization strives.

Finally, the study took the task of inquiring whether political parties in Kenya have developed outreach communication programs. This is because a party may know about its constituents and issues that confront it. However, there is also much to be done to help convince new members into it. Such parties have the task of adopting and contacting research about voter perception, so as to create information which brings out a party's knowledge and convinces potential supporters. With regard to this, 30% of the participants in the study disagreed that political parties in Kenya have had effective outreach communication programs, while 21.1% of the participants agreed upon the same view. Cumulatively, 58.9% of the participants confirmed that political parties in Kenya have not developed formidable outreach communication procedures while, 34% disconfirmed this. This indicates that majority of the participants had little confidence in the manner in which political parties in Kenya contact outreach programs. It further indicates that there is agent need for parties to invent measures that could assist in outreach programs because when outreach programs are not strictly adopted and practiced by parties, the respective parties' growth rate is compromised as its ideologies are normally not effectively sold to its potential supporters. This compromises the ability of such parties to compete effectively in the national politics.

Table 1.0 Survey questions on party organization

Question	SD(1)	D(2)	A(3)	SA(4)	NS (5)
Parties are organized on the basis of factions and cliques	9 10%	8 8.9%	25 27.8%	35 38.9%	13 14.4%
Parties disclose and train leaders and members on party rules, regulations and values	29 32.2%	30 33.3%	17 18.9%	10 11.1%	4 4.4%
Parties have adopted and adhered to fixed party membership structures.	30 33.3%	31 34.4%	18 20%	6 6.7%	5 5.6%
Members and leaders work together to develop and refine party policies	30 33.3%	29 32.2%	15 16.7%	9 10%	7 7.8%
Leaders and candidates are selected freely, fairly and according to party rules	37 41.1%	30 33.3%	9 10%	8 8.9%	4 4.4%
Parties effectively use open vertical and horizontal communication effectively.	34 37.8%	30 33.3%	14 15.6%	4 4.4%	8 8.9%
Parties have developed and carried out outreach communication programs.	26 28.9%	27 30%	19 21.1%	12 13.3%	6 6.7%

Source: Author (2020)

4.1.3.2 Party factionalism.

Factionalism can influence the stability and the institutionalization of parties and can impact on the efficacy and legitimacy of parties. Regarded as groups of people acting together within a party and usually against the larger body of the party, factions may either promote or derail internal party democratization based on the level of a country's institutionalization. Besides, factionalism can result to the intra-party decisions on the personnel that do not rely on merit and therefore can affect its ability to recruit new members, to fight effective campaigns and to enter coalitions. The respondents' opinions and views on how the merger and defection from parties by members and leaders influence the role of parties on the democratization process in Kenya were tested. The findings indicated that most participants in the study at 33.3% agree

that the merger and defection from parties undermine the democratization process through parties. This analysis is further evident from the cumulative percentage figures which indicated that 70% of the participants confirm that the merger and defection from parties undermine democratization against 18.9% of the participants who felt that it did not. These responses indicate that the respondents were aware that political parties in Kenya are much affected by the merger and defection of leaders and members to and from their parties. It also gives the impression that political parties in Kenya lack adequate disciplinary measures to combat floor crossing habits which are evident from the merger and defection by leaders and members. This hinders the effective administration and consequently intra-party democratization.

Further, factionalism is much manifested among parties through ownership of parties by individual elites. With regard to this, respondents were questioned to determine whether personalization of political parties by elites had undermined the contribution of political parties to the democratization process in Kenya during the multi-party era. In line with this inquiry, 22.2% of the respondents agreed while 34.6% strongly agreed that political parties are operated as personalized institutions. On the contrary, 15.6% disagreed, while 14.2% strongly disagreed on the same. Cumulatively, 56.6% of the respondents were in agreement that parties in Kenya operate on personalized grounds, while 30% disagreed. Deduced from the cumulative percentage difference at 26.6% is that most participants confirmed that personalization of parties has limited parties' role in the democratization process. The responses further indicate that majority of the respondents believe that political parties are operated and managed by individuals.

Formal party structures are regarded as bases upon which political parties structure their ideologies, policies and invent programs which help them achieve effective outreach communication programs. Further, formal party structures assist in instilling discipline within the party thus eliminating floor crossing, merger and defection from parties. Parties affected by factional tendencies by-pass formal structures. In line with this, the study aimed at establishing whether political parties in Kenya had adopted formal party structures to facilitate their daily activities. To this level, majority of the respondents confirmed that even though most parties have formulated formal party structures adopting to the structures has not been fully achieved. This indicates that factionalism was eminent among them. From the analyzed data, 16.7% of the respondents disagreed that political parties in Kenya lack formal

party structures, while, 27% of them confirmed that political parties lack formal structures. Cumulatively, 60% of the respondents were in agreement that political parties in Kenya lack formal structures while, 30% of the respondents held that political parties in Kenya did possess and adhered to formal structures. This indicates that majority of the respondents who took part in the research process do not approve that political parties in Kenya have and do adhere to their respective formal structures.

Consequently, factionalism has been marked by clientilism. Mostly party elites hold on the leadership helms of parties. This compromises the decision making process especially in the policy formulation and implementation processes. The desire to hold on power by party elites elicits rivalry and subsequent emergence of warring groups within the parties. In the event that this is not addressed parties may break up thus compromising their pursuit for democracy. The study took the task of establishing whether clientilism influences the role of parties in the democratization process in Kenya. Respondents were asked to determine what they felt over clientilism as a character among party leaders which influences parties in democratization. In line with this, 31.1% of those who participated in the study agreed that clientilism had undermined democratization among parties, while 11.1% disagreed that clientilism tendencies had undermined the position of parties in the democratization process. Cumulatively, responses which confirmed that clientilism undermined democratization stood at 61.1% while, those that disconfirmed stood at 20%. This gave an implication that clientilism in Kenya's political parties was much prevalent. It further indicates that majority of the participants were aware that clientilism is a major setback among parties in democratization process. Therefore, chances that party elites clinch on power thereby controlling the decision making process such as policy formulation were likely evident among Kenya's political parties.

Further, factionalism has mostly been addressed by the establishment of political cultures which embraces consistency during and within elections. However, hibernation tendencies among parties render them vulnerable and unable to compete effectively and represent the interests of the people. This is because parties affected by hibernation are active during elections while they remain dormant between elections. However, a vibrant party should be active during and between elections. Respondents were evaluated on whether the existence of parties at certain periods undermines their role in democratization process. 24.4% of the participants were of the views that it undermined democratization. Contrary to this opinion,

21.1% of the participants disagreed that party hibernation undermines the contribution of political parties to the democratization process in Kenya. Cumulatively, 51% of the respondents in the research agreed that the existence of parties at certain periods had undermined the role of parties in the democratization process while, 34% disagreed on the same. The slight difference between the percentage on those who agreed and disagreed indicate that party hibernation does not much undermine the contribution of political parties to the process of democratization compared to other determining factors such as division on policy as well as the merger and defection from parties by both leaders and members. However, these responses still indicate that party hibernation has undermined party democratization though to a low level. It further implies that respondents were not much aware that party hibernation was a determining factor in party democratization.

Struggle for power which emanates from division on party policy has been regarded as one of the major causes of splits among most political parties both in developed and developing societies. The study strived to establish from the respondents whether division on policy during power struggle among parties had undermined their part in the democratization process. The study established that 32.2% of the respondents agreed while, 11.1% of the respondents disagreed that division on policy over rivalry in power has undermined democratization. The agree and disagree percentage figures were affirmed by cumulative percentage figures which stood at 65.5% and 23.3% respectively. The implication from the above is that most parties in Kenya are engaged in power struggle rising from division on policy. This indicates that majority of the respondents in the study were aware that division on policy among parties undermines their contribution to the democratization process Kenya.

In most cases, political parties are affected by warring interest groups within its larger administrative umbrella. Normally, they denote single-issue-based groupings which aim at agitating for administrative powers or are discontented with the manner of a given party's administration. The study sort to investigate how single-issue-oriented groups within parties therefore influence the role political parties perform in the democratization process. The respondents were thus asked to establish whether single-issue-based groups among parties undermine their democratization process. Of all the respondents who took part in the study, 37.8% agreed that single-issue-based groups among parties undermine the democratization process. On the contrary opinion, 10% of the respondents who took part in the study disagreed that these groups undermine the democratization process among parties.

Cumulatively, 68.9% of the responds agreed on the same observation, while 20% disagreed. Yet again, the results from this analysis indicate that respondents were on the know that there exists warring groups among parties and that these groups largely undermine the democratization process.

Table 1.2 Survey questions on party factionalism

Question	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Not Sure
Merger and defection of parties undermine parties in democracy.	7 7.8%	10 11.1%	30 33.3%	33 36.7%	10 11.1%
Personalization of parties by political elites undermines the role of parties in democracy.	13 14.4%	14 15.6%	20 22.2%	31 34.4%	12 13.3%
The lack formal party structures undermine the role of parties in democratization.	12 13.3%	15 16.7%	25 27.8%	29 32.2%	9 10%
Clientilism undermines the role of parties on democratization.	8 8.9%	10 11.1%	28 31.1%	27 30%	11 12.2%
The existence of parties at certain periods undermines the role of parties in democratization.	12 13.3%	19 21.1%	22 24.4%	24 26.7%	13 14.4%
Divisions on policy over power struggle undermine parties in democratization	11 12.2%	10 11.1%	29 32.2%	30 33.3%	10 11.1%
Single-issue-based groups among parties undermine parties in democratization.	9 10%	9 10%	34 37.8%	28 31.1%	10 11.1%

Source: Author (2020)

4.2 Discussion.

This section gives an in-depth analysis of the findings by corroborating mass data gathered during the study into perspectives in line with the theory of new institutionalism as well as the researchers experience on the determinants of impact of political parties on democracy in Kenya. Thus, this section explained the conditions under which levels of party organization and factionalism undermine the contribution of political parties to the democratization process.

Party organization

The findings indicate that most participants in the study believe that political parties in Kenya manifest weak organizational structures and therefore this has undermined their contribution to the democratization process. Majority of the respondents indicated that the organization of political parties on the basis of factions and cliques undermine the role that parties play in the democratization process. In regard to this, 27.7% and 38.9% agreed and strongly agreed respectively. These results read in line with the admissions of interviewee 7 who noted that factions and cliques within political parties were formed along ethnic lines solely to fight for ethno-regional rights. He added that the struggle for positions within the party automatically results into party breakups as those opposed to it seek alternative grounds where they can be accommodated. This makes intra-party democracy difficult to achieve.

As to whether political parties in Kenya disclose and train leaders and members on party rules, regulations and values, majority of the respondents at 65.5% strongly disagreed or disagreed. These findings correspond with those of interviewee 1 and 4 who contended that political parties in Kenya have done little to ensure that party constituents are given civic education on party policy formation, growth and development. He noted that education concerning party affairs was a reserve for party officials while other ordinary members were sidelined during policy enforcement periods. He advised that political parties should stick and operate within a mission that is based on fundamental principles and values. This is because values help in defining the purpose of the party, the structure of the party and how decisions are made and arrived at. Reading from the same line respondent 12 from FDG affirmed that: *“These values ought to be elaborated in the constitution of the political party and define its ideology, principles and purpose and membership eligibility including policies for recruitment of underrepresented groups”*. Since leaders and members are not adequately trained on the core values of the party as claimed by respondent 18, these parties are vulnerable to unprecedented disintegration as they lack the discipline and missions to hold the constituents together. This makes parties in Kenya to lose the grip to compete effectively in national politics.

Moreover, fixed party membership structures are the building blocks of any party if it aims at competing effectively and fight for the interest of the people. Cumulatively, 67.6% indicated that political parties in Kenya have not fully adopted and adhered to formal structures. These findings were supported by the observations of interviewee 3 who noted that the lack of

formal party structure undermines the role of political parties in democracy in Kenya. To this extend, he confirmed that the enhancement of party programs especially in making parties function well between elections has not been achieved by most parties. He noted that this is the reason why every election year registered new parties competing. According to respond 1, reading from the same lenses, he noted that the observation that parties in Kenya had not fully implemented their structures effectively had compromised the establishment and maintenance of most parties' societal linkage. He concluded by stating that political parties and the government have been reluctant in addressing the weak societal linkages which allows for the sustainability of parties between and during elections. Additionally, participants of FDGs at 83% confirmed that political parties in Kenya lack clearly defined government structures, with clear horizontal vertical linkages. One participant from FDG 3, while confirming his argument confirmed that the inability of parties to address the above disparities hinder democratic steps such as the facilitation of how women and youths should be represented within parties. To address this anomaly the respondents in the FGD altogether proposed that there was need for political parties to adopt membership databases within parties to allow party members get access to information about party membership and the administration part as this would foster its outreach programs.

Organizationally, teamwork ensures that members and leaders within parties work together in developing and refining party policies. Majority of the respondents at 65.5% disagreed and strongly disagreed that members and leaders among parties in Kenya work together when inventing and refurbishing party policies. This disagreement conclusions were linked to the admissions of respondent 6 who strictly noted that there was no proper collaboration, neither were there informed consultation initiatives among political parties in Kenya during policy development. He added that most parties in Kenya are inclined to elites supported by their ethnic backyards. He noted; "*in fact parties in Kenya are individually owned*". In addition to this, interviewee 2 proposed that widespread participation of party members especially through public forums could help inform policy positions yet most parties in Kenya had not realized this. He proposed that party organizers and leaders of the respective political parties in Kenya should first get to the grip of the concerns and priorities of ordinary people and thereafter discover the best away to address those issues and win their support for the party.

Additionally, party democratization is built on free, fair and open elections practiced according to party rules. Like citizens of a nation are entitled to cast ballots in elections, party

members are entitled to select or reject their leaders, office holders, and candidates for public office. However, cumulatively 74.4% of the respondents disagreed that leaders and candidates are selected freely, fairly and according to party rules. The over racking disconfirmation of these findings were closely linked to those of interviewee 8. She noted that internal democratization process of most parties in Kenya is much compromised because the practice of selecting candidates and leaders is never done on merit, neither are periodic conventions for the purpose of electing party leaders and developing party policies done. In addition, she noted carefully that a regular chance in party organization instituted by members was the best out because it lacks the influence by the party's elite. On the extreme, she added that nominations among parties are done on the basis of how much known the candidates are to the party founder member or on how a particular candidate is well connected to the party leader. She gave an example of 2007 general elections where prior to the elections, PNU and ODM registered 46 and 50 direct nominations respectively. In this case certificates were given to losers forcing the valid winners to defect to other parties. The assertions of respondent 8 were confirmed by the Law and Research International which indicated that these candidates got certificates based on their loyalty to party leaders, party headquarters, and the election board.

Besides, internal party democratization calls for informed vertical and horizontal communication. This is because, even though a party may invent workable policies and vision, the lack of a clear and open communication mechanism may interfere with the communication flow. Such a party may not succeed in representing the concerns of the people. Further, such a party may not realize successful and clear communication modalities which are well known and understood by its members, neither is it reinforced by the internal communications and training mechanisms. Thus, majority of the responds at 71% strongly disagreed and disagreed that political parties in Kenya effectively invent and carry out informed vertical and horizontal communication. While, cumulatively, 58.9% of the respondents indicated that political parties in Kenya lack the ability to develop and carry out the above. These finding are in line with those of interviewee 10 who noted that even though parties in Kenya have passed communication to the grass root levels, outreach programs are poorly administered by these parties. He elaborated that leaders and members among parties are not in constant, free, open and regular communication because the leadership of these parties rarely send information to party members. Significantly, this compromises party

outreach programs such as the development of party policies, recruitment of new members and the inclusion of the youth and women in the administration of the party.

Party factionalism

Equally, the findings indicated that participants in the study had confirmed that the merger and defection from parties by members and leaders largely undermine the contribution of political parties at 70%. These indications correspond to the views of interviewee 5 who noted that merger of political parties brought together parties with different ideologies, while splinter of parties weakened party organizational strength. He identified that parties which have been in power are adept to registering and merging with feuding factions of rival parties perceived as threats to their political power. Elaborating on the same, he pointed out that Moi and KANU registered FORD-K and FORD-A in 1991. This was when FORD looked well put to oust KANU. The Kibaki regime merged with Soita Shitanda's New FORD-K which splintered from Kombo's FORD-K thus weakening its political grip. Further, these assertions are in line with majority of members from FDGs at 79% who confirmed that party break ups had hindered democratization in that parties have little timeframe to structure their ideologies on grounds that they fear that part of their members may disregard their policies and decamp to other parties.

Moreover, the view that political parties are undermined by the merger and defection gives room for personalization of parties by political elites thus undermining the role of parties in democratization. This is because while breakups give room for the domination of parties by founder members, those seeking refuge cannot assume leadership power in their new parties but instead hide in the leadership armchairs of the new parties. Cumulatively, 56.6% of the participants confirm that political parties in Kenya have been held ransom of elite domination. In line with this observation, interviewee 9 argued that personalization of parties by elites undermines the most the contribution of political parties because most of them lack financial capabilities. By virtue of their financial might, wealthy individuals assume control of the administration of these parties, while their withdrawal results into their immediate collapse. He confirmed that NDP and FORD-P came to life when Raila and Nyachae took over them. Contrary to this, FORD-A collapsed because Matiba withdrew his support from the party. He concluded that *"These patron-client manifestations give room for party leaders to control the decision making process thus making the party members to lack stakes in the decisions made by parties in policy formulation and implementation"*.

Formidable parties invent and adhere to formal structures which ensure that the parties are able to maintain their constituents together in an effort to compete effectively in governance process. Contrary to this, majority of the respondents at 60% had little confidence that political parties in Kenya have adopted and adhered to formal party structures. According to respondent 11 political parties in Kenya lack clearly defined organizational structures with clear horizontal and vertical linkages. She advised that clearly defined structures be upheld by parties to facilitate the role of parties including the facilitation of how women and youths should be represented within a party. In the same line of thought, respondent 3 proposed that there was need for political parties to adopt membership databases within parties to allow party members to get information about party membership and the administration as this would foster party outreach programs.

Majorly, political parties in Kenya have been held ransom by the politics of patrimony and patronage networks. Majority of the respondents at 61.1% agreed and strongly agreed that clientilism had undermined the contribution of political parties to the democratization process in Kenya. Respondent 11, reacting in line with this observation noted that political parties in Kenya manifest high trends of neopatrimony to the extent that parties are meant to facilitate and breed fertile grounds which promote patrimonial ideologies. Political parties in Kenya are best used to advance and facilitate self-serving agendas of political elites. Respondent 13 on the other hand stressed that the executive sat at the helm of the electoral system, and therefore parties cannot independently decide upon their welfare. He noted that the IEBC and the Registrar of Political Parties still depend upon the government for financial and resource support. By that fact, these institutions are subject to manipulation by the executive.

Tendencies by political parties to hibernate greatly influence democratization process. This is because it compromises the lifespan of a party. Therefore, a party's programs are normally not conducted effectively. This derails its ability to compete effectively in active politics. Cumulatively, the respondents at 51% confirmed that the existence of parties at certain periods and their emergence at certain periods undermines their role in democratization. These responses are in line with those of the respondents from discussion group 4 at 53% who together confirmed that political parties in Kenya are fluid in that each election year registers the formation of new parties contesting for elections. According to respondent 14, hibernation among parties hinders the effective administration of parties between elections

including the updating of their register. She noted that the unprecedented proliferation of parties on the other hand compromises their contribution to democracy because political elites emerge to agitate for their interests through these parties. Giving an example, she noted that in 1992 there were 9 political parties contesting for elections. In 1997, the number had risen to 27 political parties. By 2002, there were 51 political parties, while 160 parties were registered prior to 2007 general elections.

Divisions on policy over power struggle undermine parties in democratization because it may result into wrangles among and between leaders and members leading to eventual party breakups. Majority of the respondents at 65.5% agreed and strongly agreed that political parties in Kenya are affected by internal wrangles leading to their inefficiency in the democratization process. This response was affirmed from interviewee 6 who illustrated that FORD, a formidable party well set to defeat KANU, experienced internal wrangles leading to its split to FORD-K and FORD-A. He added that, in 1996, FORD-K split over leadership wrangles between Kijana Wamalwa and Raila Odinga, with Raila decamping to NDP. In 2007, he added, ODM-K split due to wrangles over policies on the choice of the presidential nominee, with Odinga faction decamping to the original ODM. In the same order, though political parties may agitate for collective interests, they are prone to the emergence of single-issue-based groups. Most respondents at a cumulative percentage of 68.9, confirmed that existence of such groups among parties undermine their contribution to democratization. Interviewee 7 was on board to confirm this by noting that most parties are characterized by oligarchic tendencies with elites pursuing single oriented ideologies which further influence the manner in which elections within parties are held. He elaborated that party primaries are held to help party leaders and their loyalists to hold on power. He noted further that parties are marked by maladministration, violence and widespread rigging and that this elicits internal party wrangles when members and the elites seek to expand their democratic space. These wrangles lead to party defections and splits thus undermining their capacity to agitate for the interest of the people.

4.3 Conclusion

In ascertaining the determinants of the impact of political parties to the democratization process, the study through analyzed data confirmed the two major hypotheses in the research namely that; first, the contribution of political parties to the democratization process has been

undermined by weak levels of party organization. Second, party factionalism has undermined the contribution of parties to the democratization process in Kenya.

The total cumulative frequencies of the indicators on party organization as revealed by the study at 67.1% confirmed against 25.0% who disconfirmed that levels of party organization have undermined the contribution of political parties to the democratization process. This positive relationship between levels of party organizations and democratization i.e. the more weak the organization is among political parties the more undermined are political parties in the democratization process, confirm the first hypothesis of the research which assumed that the contribution of political parties to the democratization process in Kenya has been undermined by weak levels of party organization. Further, the total cumulative frequencies of the indicators on party factionalism was confirmed by the respondents at 61.9% against 22.3% who disconfirmed that party factionalism has undermined the contribution of political parties to the democratization process in Kenya. This positive relationship between party factionalism and democratization i.e. the higher the level of factionalism among parties the more undermined are political parties in the democratization process confirm the second hypothesis of the study which assumed that factionalism has undermined the contribution of political parties to the democratization process in Kenya. The responses above read in line with those from the focus discussion group whose majority at 69% agreed that weak organizational levels and factionalism have undermined the contribution of political parties to the democratization process in Kenya. This confirms the overall objective of the study which aimed at establishing the determinants of the impact of political parties to the democratization process in Kenya.

The negative attributes that informed the various indicators of party organization and factionalism stem from the fact that African political parties in general and Kenya in particular are the result of distinct socio-economic and political culture that derive from the colonial legacy where independence political parties in Kenya were formed under personalized ideologies, highly heterogeneous along ethnic and clan compartmentalization and highly fractious and fragile lines. Therefore political competition and organization among them follow the same pre-existing fault lines marked by favoritism, clientilism, ethnicity, personalized ideologies, and oligarchic tendencies among others. These negative attributes hinder democratic strives among parties. This implies that within most parties in Kenya, the top officials have demonstrated personal ideologies and rivalry to get to the helm of parties.

This is in an effort to advance their personal interests. Parties are therefore perverted by the politics of patrimony and regionalism, representing and agitating for individual, tribal and at large ethnic interests. This is what Mkandawire has termed as ‘the germ of patrimony’ which has since dominated the political sphere in Kenya.

Political parties in the colonial era were formed to cater for certain regional interests if not a given race’s interests. Those who received the leadership roles from the colonial government demonstrated the politics of belonging, ethnicity, and regionalism. This was much manifested in KANU. Unfortunately these undemocratic ideals have been planted and passed over to successive political generations with their results impacting negatively on the organization of political parties. Current parties in Kenya are not in any way different from KANU undemocratic tendencies. Like KANU, they still manifest ethnic based support, direct party nominations, voter buying as well as overreliance of parties on strong personalities as bases of both social and financial support.

Further, these historical underpinnings point to path dependence theoretically constituted by the new institutionalism theorists. These historical oligarchic manifestations among parties can therefore not allow political parties to independently structure and implement universal ideologies. The arguments confirm Robert Michel’s iron law of oligarchy which indicates that inherently political parties are undemocratic as the elite within parties assume their administration at the expense of the rank and file. This suggests that intraparty democracy is inconsistency with the leadership of the party.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMENTATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter gives a summary of the results, the conclusion, policy recommendations proposed by the study in line with the trends revealed by the analyzed data, the conclusion of the study as well as issues for further research. In the conclusions part, the study states in its final findings whether its hypotheses have been confirmed or not. The policy recommendations shall target political parties, party governing institutions and the government of Kenya.

5.1 Summary

In Chapter one, the study stated that it intended to investigate whether political parties have impacted on democracy in Kenya. Specifically, the extents to which the determinants (levels of party organization and factionalism) have influenced the contribution of political parties to the democratization process in Kenya between 1991 and 2013.

Drawing from new institutionalism theory, which the study chose as the theoretical tool of analysis, the study confirmed the two major hypotheses that; first, the contribution of political parties to the democratization process has been undermined by weak levels of party organization. Second, party factionalism has undermined the contribution of parties to the democratization in Kenya. The choice of the theory in the analysis of weak party organization and factionalism on democracy was suitable is because it delves on the key component, “the path dependence” concept. This was done in line the objectives of the study which overall established that weak party organization and factionalism had impacted negatively on political parties in their quest to contribute to democracy in Kenya during the multiparty era.

Dominant factors under level of organization were; the organization of political parties on the basis of factions and cliques, the failure by parties to disclose and train leaders and members on party rules and regulations, fixed part membership structures, collaboration among party members and leaders in policy development, adoption and use by parties of vertical and horizontal communication, and practice by parties of outreach communication programs. Major factors which enhance party factionalism include; the merger and defection from political parties by leaders and members, elite personalization of parties by party elites, the

inability among parties to adhere to formal party structures, clientilism among political parties, hibernation among parties, division on policy over power struggle, and the emergence of single issue based groups among political parties.

In Chapter Two, the study reviewed the relevant literature on the determinants of the impact of political parties on democracy seeking to identify what other scholars have written over the same, identify what they omitted, thereby identifying major gaps in literature. In identifying the major literature gaps, the study under three thematic areas established that, much has not been covered by the respective scholars on factors undermining party roles with specific reference to weak party organization and factionalism. More importantly, these scholars had not addressed these phenomena with the support of a theoretical framework.

Thus, Kenya's political parties are products of historical underpinnings. Independence political parties, formulated under the single ideology of majority African rule provided a unifying force among societies that were historically antagonistic along ethnic lines. Historical underpinnings to political parties which have therefore bred parties that today take part in the political process is a function of the colonial administration. In light with the contribution of parties to the democratization process, parties have contributed least due to the inherited upheavals in the political sphere such as splits and defections, merger and splinter, party personalization and struggle for power, ethnic-based support to parties, flawed ideological orientation among parties, operation of parties on the basis of founder leaders among other negative attributes to parties. These negative orientations read in line with new institutionalisms' path dependence tenet which proclaims that happenings earlier in a political epoch are generationally conceived and determine present political administration and therefore doing away with them is a tall order. However, the study established in the conclusion sub-section part that political parties in Kenya have offered minimum contribution to the democratization process not only because of weak party organization and factionalism. There are as will be demonstrated in the conclusion other intervening variables which have undermined the effective roles of parties in the democratization process in Kenya.

In Chapter Three, the study gave a justification of the site where the study was conducted, the proposed research design, sampling techniques and sample size. While in Chapter Four, the study gave an analysis of data, presentation and discussion of the findings in relation to the hypotheses of the study and the theoretical framework. Data analysis was done on a mixed

approach basis, thereby making use of both quantitative and qualitative data. Out of the 100 respondents who participated in the research, 90 of them took part in the study, hence representing a 90% level of participation. Based on the findings, majority of the respondents at 67.1% either strongly agreed or agreed that weak party organization undermines the contribution of political parties to the democratization process in Kenya. This research response indicated that the respondents were cognizant of the assumption that weak party organization undermines the role of parties in democracy and therefore adequate measures were to be put in place to address weak organization among parties. This confirmed the first hypothesis of the study. Additionally, majority of the respondents at 61.9% confirmed that party factionalism has undermined the contribution of parties to the democratization process. This indicates that the respondents were aware that factionalism undermines the contribution of political parties to the democratization process. This confirmed the second hypothesis of the study.

5.2 Conclusion

In ascertaining factors determining the contribution of political parties to democracy in Kenya, even after the advent of multi-party democracy in 1992, the study in response to the above task established from secondary literature, responses to questionnaires, interviews and FDGs the determinants of the impact of political parties to the democratization process in Kenya. Specifically, the determinants (party organization and factionalism) have undermined the contribution of political parties to the democratization process in Kenya as parties manifest weak organizational structures as well as high levels of factionalism. These negative attributes to parties makes them play an insignificant role towards the democratization process in Kenya. Based on the available data, the study confirmed the two hypotheses of the study.

Literature on political parties has underscored in addressing weak party organization and factionalism. Specifically, literature on coalition formation, dispute settlement, funding and accounting of parties has not been fully addressed. Majorly, most scholars did little when writing on parties because they never attempted a theoretical framework to support their arguments.

The limited contribution of parties to the democratization process in Kenya is as a result of weak state in general and weak party governing institutions in particular. The government of Kenya has made little effort to inculcate and institutionalize a culture of political accommodation and inclusive administration since independence. For instance, the Political Parties Act 2011 clearly outlines the procedures of coalition government formation, contents on the constitutional formation, the cord of contact of political parties, the political parties dispute tribunal, funding and accounts of political parties, and the registration and regulation of political parties. However, most parties are yet to adhere to these proscriptions. Therefore, Successive political administrations and political parties in Kenya have continually advanced and held on the same fault lines while advancing predatory mechanism that adopt and perpetuate the exclusion of certain groups in the political arena. Despite achieving independence, small parties, especially those in the opposition have not received a fair share in the aggregation, formulation, and the implementation of national policies as prescribed in the constitution. Parties are operated as tools which benefit individuals who control both the administration and the policy making process. The ordinary people in these parties cannot therefore mobilize large-scale orientations. This leaves the power elites within these parties to assume more influence over the operation of parties than the rank and file. To this end, the formation and organization of political parties designed to empower the rank and file have had the opposite impact by concentrating power in the elite leadership. This makes democratization through parties a tall order.

Further, financial underpinnings to Kenya's political parties in their contribution to democratization is an area worth to be considered given that political parties in Kenya have to increase their scopes of operations to fit into today's democratic margins. For instance, mass recruitment as well as keeping in place party data bases that enhance party outreach programs is achieved depending on parties' financial capabilities. However, political parties in Kenya are held ransom of financial incapacities and therefore are not able to carry out these operations. In Kenya therefore, the inability of the state to uphold the rule of law which is majorly enshrined within institutions has bred tendencies by politicians to dominate and operate parties for personal gains.

5.3 Policy recommendations

Weak party organization and party factionalism among Kenya's political parties presents an omission by the state and parties in the broad strategy in policy which can enable parties to

largely contribute to the democratization process. It is therefore in the interest of the studies that as policy makers become increasingly aware of the factors undermining parties they will formulate policies both at the party and the national level to address weak party organization and factionalism. All these aspects should jointly be undertaken by the government, political parties and the electoral bodies to help address the limited role played by political parties in the democratization process.

Even though political parties have adopted member chartered party documents, they should be formulated to enhance a culture of continuous revision of party ideologies, philosophy, and objectives. Revision of party policies will help in addressing disparities which may have developed among parties to help them compete effectively in the current political activities. For instance as a party becomes popular, its growth at the grass root level follow suit. Therefore, there should be a revision of its policy to help in creating a formidable connection between the masses and party organs thus strengthening party societal linkages while encouraging party outreach programs.

As far as funding and financial accounts of political parties are concerned, the study in line with this proposes the restructuring of the party regulatory laws which encourage public finance for political parties. Public finance in this case should aim at addressing the common denominator among parties which see parties active prior to elections by making funds available. This is because parties mostly lack financial backups between elections. Public funding is vital as it can enhance party development by parties implementing their programs like recruiting of new members between elections. It will also help address the significance of wealthy individuals' control over predominant parties. This is because parties will no longer rely upon wealthy personnel who control policy process among parties. Further, this will help address the financial disparities between the ruling and the opposition parties as the opposition parties will no longer rely upon the government lead by the ruling on financial requirement.

Accordingly, parties should work towards formulating and institutionalizing laws which include membership fee contribution to help address the overwhelming financial strains among parties given that Kenya is a developing democracy and is faced by financial constraints. Most people join and defect parties with expectations of gaining materially from

party organs and leaders. Therefore, party organs are advised to provide specific laws within party policy framework to govern the sources of donations to parties and candidates.

Overall, the respective political parties should as per the stipulation in the Political Parties Act 2011 invent and institutionalize political party dispute tribunals to help address internal party indecency arising from power struggle based on division on policy. As far as the party coalition is concerned, the registrar of political parties should advance laws which see coalitions formed while adhering to the rules and the procedures of the respective party constitutions sanctioned by the parties in the coalition in writing. This should be supplemented by execution from the relevant authorized national party officials commissioned by the commissioner of oaths. This will help build on confidentiality and trust among party constituents. Political parties in this line are advised to institutionalize criteria of sharing party positions in the coalition structure, roles and responsibility. This will help address coalition break-ups, as well as flow crossing which help stabilize political parties.

Lastly, the study recommends that the government adopts MMPR electoral systems. Of particular, MMPR system lays formidable foundations for stronger political parties as it encourages people to vote for political parties based on the party agenda but not ethnic party elites. Moreover, MMPR weakens ethnicity in a way because it aims at structuring parties with a national membership and a national diversification in terms of representation.

Further, the system advocates for the allocation in parliament political parties based on their share in the national vote but not from their ethnic origins. Conflicts ensuing from delimitation of ethnic boundaries of single member district as are the cases in FPTP system would therefore be taken care of as it will provide reasons for parties to organize at national rather than regional levels, thus reducing disparities in the presentation of different groups and interest in Kenya.

5.4 Further research recommendations.

This study has contributed significantly in establishing that weak party organization and factionalism among parties in Kenya have impacted negatively on the democratization process. Though the study has assessed the determinants of impact of parties on democracy and provided policy recommendations that will enhance the better part of the functioning of parties, there are significant areas that arose in the literature review and the study findings. The study therefore, recommends that future scholarly work and empirical research be done in the following areas.

In the wake of the contribution of political parties to the democratization process, majority of states have institutionalized laws to address historical underpinnings on political parties. Specifically, these states have addressed weak party organization and factionalism to the extent that factionalism enhances democratization process. However, there are little empirical studies that delve much on the role of women representation in party political structures and their role in the democratization process. The role of women in party politics and administration remains largely unmet as most of party functions have been a reserve for men. The research therefore recommends that a look at women representation in top party organs be given a keener interest. In many cases, parties are keen in courting the female vote for their respective presidential and parliamentary positions. Even though the constitution provides for two thirds female representation in the structure of organization among institution, majority of them are dominated by men.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: Letter of informed consent

University of Nairobi
Department of Political Science and Public Administration

Topic: The determinants of the impact of political parties on democracy in Kenya (1990-2013)

By Charles Okwemba Malika: C50/75156/2014

Dear Respondent,

My name is Charles Okwemba Malika. I am a Master of Arts (MA) student in the University of Nairobi, department of Political Science and Public Administration. As part of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in Political Science and Public Administration, I am conducting a study on the topic: **The determinants of the impact of political parties on democracy in Kenya (1991-2013).**

I request for an opportunity to interview you through a discussion so as to have a better insight on the determinants of the impact of political parties on democracy in Kenya. The information obtained will help to proffer policies which will address the challenges and solutions to parties in democracy in Kenya.

Kindly answer the following questions in writing.

Yours sincerely,

Charles Malika

As a participant in this research, I request you to sign this letter as a demonstration that you understood and agreed upon the terms of this research, assurance of privacy and your willingness to participate.

Sign..... Date.....

I look forward to cordially work with you. Thanks.

APPENDIX II: Closed Ended Questionnaire

Section A: Demographic Questions (Tick where appropriate)

1. How old are you?
 - a) 18-29
 - b) 30-39
 - c) 40-49
 - d) 50 and above
2. Gender
 - a) Male
 - b) Female
3. Ethnic Group
 - (a) Kikuyu,
 - (b) Kalenjin,
 - (c) Luhyia,
 - (d) Luo,
 - (e) Mijikenda,
 - (f) Kamba,
 - (g) Maasai,
 - (h) Kisii
 - (i) Other
4. Your Occupation:
 - (a) Government official
 - (b) Political analyst
 - (c) Political journalist
 - (d) Historian
 - (e) Academician
 - (f) Public member
 - (e) Other

Section B: Party Organization.

On the Scale of 1-5, where 1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=agree, 4=strongly agree, 5=not sure, state the extent to which you agree to the following statements on organization of political parties:

1. Parties are organized on the based on factions and cliques.
 - a) Strongly disagree
 - b) Disagree
 - c) Agree
 - d) Strongly agree
 - e) Not sure
2. Parties disclose and train leaders and members on party rules, regulations and values
 - a) Strongly disagree
 - b) Disagree
 - c) Agree
 - d) Strongly agree
 - e) Not sure
3. Parties have adopted and adhered to fixed party membership structures.
 - a) Strongly disagree
 - b) Disagree
 - c) Agree
 - d) Strongly agree
 - e) Not sure
4. Party members and leaders work together to develop and refine party policies
 - a) Strongly disagree
 - b) Disagree
 - c) Agree
 - d) Strongly agree
 - e) Not sure
5. Party leaders and candidates are selected freely, fairly and according to party rules
 - a) Strongly disagree
 - b) Disagree
 - c) Agree
 - d) Strongly agree
 - e) Not sure

6. Parties effectively use open vertical and horizontal (top-down and across) communication effectively

a) Strongly disagree

b) Disagree

c) Agree

d) Strongly agree

e) Not sure

7. Political parties have developed and carried out outreach communication programs.

a) Strongly disagree

b) Disagree

c) Agree

d) Strongly agree

e) Not sure

Section C: Party factionalism.

On the Scale of 1-5, where 1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=agree, 4=strongly agree, 5=not sure, state the extent to which you agree to the following statements on political factionalism.

1. The combining of parties and defection from parties by leaders and members undermine the role of political parties in democratization.

a) Strongly disagree

b) Agree

c) Disagree

d) Strongly disagree

e) Not sure

2. Political parties in Kenya are owned by party leaders.

a) Strongly disagree

b) Agree

c) Disagree

d) Strongly disagree

e) Not sure

3. Political parties in Kenya follow party rules and procedures.

a) Strongly disagree

- b) Agree
 - c) Disagree
 - d) Strongly disagree
 - e) Not sure
4. Party leaders hold on power and this undermines the contribution of parties to the democratization process.
- a) Strongly disagree
 - b) Agree
 - c) Disagree
 - d) Strongly disagree
 - e) Not sure
5. Existence of parties at certain periods undermines the role of parties on democratization.
- a) Strongly disagree
 - b) Agree
 - c) Disagree
 - d) Strongly disagree
 - e) Not sure
6. Divisions on policy based on struggle for power among political parties undermine their contribution to democratization.
- a) Strongly disagree
 - b) Agree
 - c) Disagree
 - d) Strongly disagree
 - e) Not sure
7. Existence of opposition groups among parties in Kenya undermine their contribution to the democratization process
- a) Strongly disagree
 - b) Agree
 - c) Disagree
 - d) Strongly disagree
 - e) Not sure

Appendix III: Open ended questionnaire.

Please answer the following questions and explain where possible on party organization and factionalism.

1. Do you think political parties in Kenya are organized on the basis of factions and cliques?
2. Do political parties in Kenya effectively disclose and train leaders and members on party rules, regulations and values?
3. Have political parties in Kenya adopted and adhered to fixed party membership structures?
4. Do you think members and leaders within Kenya's political parties work together to develop and refine party policies?
5. Are party leaders and candidates in Kenya selected freely, fairly and according to party rules?
6. Do political parties in Kenya effectively use open vertical and horizontal communication?
7. What is your take on the extent to which political parties in Kenya have developed and carried out outreach communication programs?
8. What is your view on the merger and defection of parties? Does it undermine the role of political parties in the democratization?
9. Do you think personalization of parties by political elites undermines the role of parties in democratization?
10. Is the lack of the adherence to formal party structure by parties a setback in the role they play in democratization?
11. Does clientilism undermine the contribution of political parties to the democratization process?
12. Does the existence of parties at certain periods undermine the role of parties on democratization?
13. Are the divisions on policy based on struggle for power among political parties undermining their contribution to the democratization process?
14. Do you think the existence of opposition groups within parties undermine their contribution to the democratization process?

APPENDIX IV: Interview schedule.

1. Do you think political parties in Kenya are organized based of factions and cliques?
2. Do you think political parties in Kenya effectively disclose and train leaders and members on party rules, regulations and values?
3. Do you think political parties in Kenya have adopted and adhered to fixed party membership structures?
4. Do you think members and leaders within Kenya's political parties work together to develop and refine party policies?
5. Are party leaders and candidates in Kenya selected freely, fairly and according to party rules?
6. Do political parties in Kenya effectively use open vertical and horizontal communication procedures?
7. What is your take on the extent to which political parties have developed and carried out outreach communication programs?
8. Is the merger and defection of parties problematic to the role of political parties in the democratization process?
9. Do you think political parties in Kenya are personalized? If yes, explain.
10. Do you think political parties in Kenya have adapted to formal party structures? If yes, explain how.
11. Does clientilism undermine the contribution of political parties to the democratization process?
12. Is the existence of parties at certain periods undermining the role of parties on democratization?
13. Are the divisions on policy based on struggle for power among political parties undermining their contribution to the democratization process?
14. Do you think the existence of single-issue-based groups within parties undermine their role in democratization?