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CIVIL SOCIETY ADVOCACY IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN KENYA

BETWEEN 2007 AND 2013:

A CASE STUDY OF FRIEDRICH-EBERT-STIFTUNG

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Declaration

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

Signed…………………………………… Date…………………………..

Wanjiku A. Kinyua

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

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

Mr. Martin Nguru

Dedication

This project is dedicated to Lucy Karugi Wanyoike, my mum, my mentor, my friend;

for her love, support and encouragement.

Acknowledgment

Abstract

Political participation is the embodiment of democracy; it not only legitimizes the state and the policies emanating from it, but also reinforces accountability, participatory government, links individuals to the governing process and acts as a conduit for articulation of interests, voicing citizen concerns and giving feedback on various subjects.

Facilitation of political participation is considered the preserve of the state mainly through the provision of an enabling environment, however the state has realized very little. This has necessitated civil society, a non-state actor to address this government deficiency through advocacy to create awareness, raise political interest and facilitation of dialogue among the citizens, all which are vital elements of political participation. This is cognizant to the need for greater inclusion of various stakeholders including institutions and individuals to participate in governance.

The purpose of this study is to establish the role of civil society in political participation through linking Kenyans to the governance structure and civil society contribution to political discourse, focusing on the years between 2007 and 2013. It further examines the dynamics that influence political participation, the trends of political participation in that period and tries to establish the point of disconnect that translates to dismal political participation among Kenyans despite government efforts and how civil society is addressing this gap.

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), a German, non-profit foundation will be the case study civil society in this research, where its various programmes, activities and partnerships will be used to highlight civil society advocacy in political participation. The study will also analyse other civil society organizations to have a holistic understanding of political participation.

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Abbreviations

AfriCOG	Africa Center for Open Governance
CAVi	Citizens Against Violence
CEEC	Community Education and Empowerment Centre
CGD	Center for Governance and Democracy
CIC	Commission for the Implementation of the Constitution
CMD	Center for Multiparty Democracy
CORD	Coalition of Reforms and Democracy
COVAW	Coalition On Violence Against Women
CSO	Civil Society Organization
FES	Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung
HBS	Hebert Boll Stiftung
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICT	Information Communication Technology
KAU	Kenya African Union
KEWOPA	Kenya Women Parliamentarians Association
KYPA	Kenya Young Parliamentarians Association
MCA	Member of County Assembly
NARC-Kenya	National Rainbow Coalition – Kenya
NCEC	National Convention Executive Council
NCIC	National Cohesion and Integration Commission
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
P4C	Pioneers for Change
PEV	Post Elections Violence

PLDP	Political Leadership Development Programme
PLGP	Political Leadership and Governance Programme
PNU	Party of National Unity
SDP	Social Democratic Party
TJR	Truth Justice and Reconciliation
TNA	The National Alliance
URP	United Republican Party
USA	United States of America

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.0   Background of the Study

Political participation as posited by Verba et al, are legal acts by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of government personnel and/or the actions that they take.[1] Verba further explains the importance of political participation as a critical link between a nation's citizenry and the governing process where it provides a mechanism by which citizens communicate their interests, preferences and other demands and generate pressure to the system.[2] This is far from the aggrandized classical description of the citizen which envisages them as being subservient to the state, relegating them to take a back seat to the political goings on.

Alienation of the people from the system results in them not bearing ownership, relating to or placing value in the system, both in terms of input and output; in return, the system displays no responsibility and accountability to them either. However, political participation characterized by activities such as voting, running for public office, debates, petitions, demonstrations, attending political rallies or political meetings, places the individual at the fore. Citizens are integrated as part of the whole machinery as process owners of the system and consumers of policies emanating from it and are therefore better able to give feedback on the performance of the political system.

Ideally, facilitation of political participation is the government's task where it creates an enabling environment through democracy and creation of awareness. Government has however made meager gains as democracy alone while important is not sufficient and does not translate to positive gains in terms of citizen political

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[1] Verba Sydney et al, *Political Participation and Political Equality: A Seven Nation Comparison*, The University of Chicago Press, 1987, p. 1

[2] Verba Sydney et al, *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics,* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995, p.1

participation, the level of political awareness is also low, there is instead a disconnect between the system and the people. Civil society comes in to bridge this gap, to create awareness and link the citizens to the political and governing processes.

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), the case study of this research, is a German non-profit foundation, committed to the ideas and basic values of social democracy. FES aims at strengthening democracy and improving political, social and economic conditions for development through capacity building, policy development and promotion of dialogue on contemporary issues among diverse groups, it also aims to enhance international cooperation and understanding.[3] This study will establish how FES's and other civil society organizations' activities translate into creation of awareness and political participation.

1.1   Statement of the Research Problem

It is the state's mandate to facilitate participatory governance and democracy by creating an enabling environment and awareness. Awareness is mainly through programmes such as civic education, incorporation of governance studies in school curricula, road shows, awareness drives, organizing voter registration drives, press releases and press conferences, gazettement of policies and finally giving annual status reports.

However despite government's efforts, very little has been realized; the output in terms of participation does not match up the effort put in as the citizen's awareness levels, interest in politics and subsequent political participation is wanting.

This study seeks to understand how civil society advocacy addresses the afore mentioned deficits of government to facilitate political participation, mostly done

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[3] http://www.fes-kenya.org/pages/about-us/fes-in-kenya.php, 3/6/2014, 2:34pm

through opening the political space and empowering stakeholders using civic education.[4] It will also explore other dynamics that influence political participation in addition to establishing the forms and levels of political participation in Kenya.

1.2   Objectives of the Research

1.2.1   Main / Overall Objective

To investigate the role of civil society advocacy on political participation in Kenya, between 2007 and 2013.

1.2.2   Other Objectives

a) To investigate the significance of the activities of FES as a civil society organization on political participation in Kenya between 2007 and 2013.

b) To investigate the political participation trends in Kenya, between 2007 and 2013.

c) To establish the levels of awareness on political participation in Kenya between 2007 and 2013.

1.3   Justifications of the Study

1.3.1   Academic Justifications

The academic discourse on political participation covers a wide range of themes mostly focusing on the individual, social dynamics and the state; all which contribute to the understanding of the subject. However while civil society and its role as a non-state actor in politics has been widely researched on, its role and relevance to the political participation debate in Kenya is not sufficiently researched on.

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[4] Scholte Jan Aart, 'Civil Society and Democracy in Global Governance', *Global Governance*, Vol 8, July-Sept 2002, Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp. 281-304:293

Facilitation of political participation has often been thought to be the preserve of the state, but their inability to successfully do so has necessitated for civil society to complement government efforts. The state has also increasingly become liberal by opening up the political space for other stakeholders to contribute; civil society is one such stakeholder. This research will advance the study of political participation in Kenya by examining the dynamics and trends of political participation and how civil society as a non-state actor has added to it.

1.3.2 Policy Justifications

While every political structure is different with unique tendencies, it is appreciated universally that individuals are the drivers of society, through their input i.e. ideas, actions and resources. Policies do not exist in a vacuum but need the understanding, support and concerted effort of the citizens for them to be successful. As Hayward posits of political participation, it is action directed at influencing i.e. controlling, changing, supporting or sharing in policy making or implementation.[5]

This research will elucidate the role of civil society advocacy on political participation and its impact on the system and policies generated by it. This will inform policymakers and civil society on how best to involve citizens in governance, because as indicated earlier, they are the process owners and consumers.

1.4 Literature Review

The dominating discourse on political participation delves into democracy, social dynamics, political participation as rational choice, individual idiosyncrasies, political culture and expectations of individuals. The seven superimpose the core of

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[5] Hayward Fred M., 'Political Participation and its Role in Development: Some Observations Drawn from the African Context', *The Journal of Developing Areas*, July 1978, pp. 591-612: 594

political participation and introduce different and intriguing angles to look at and understand the subject.

1.4.1   Political Participation and Democracy

Hayward has been keen to note that political participation has often been construed with democracy yet the two are distinct.[6] However, democracy has enabled political participation through development of regular and legal channels through which citizens can express their preferences and apply pressure to the government to comply with those preferences.[7] The levels (high or low) and forms (e.g. voting, demonstration, revolutions) of political participation can be used to explain the presence or lack thereof of democracy.

What the two have in common though is that they are vested in the people as illustrated by the depiction of democracy as being for the people, of the people and by the people. The two offer recourse to guard against any excesses of power that may occur. It is pertinent that individuals, as Mills explains, exercise their liberty by imposing the limits of the power which can be legitimately exercised by the society over an individual[8].

They are also similar whereby they both legitimize power by giving consent to decisions therefore validating those decisions and the regime that makes them[9]. Legitimacy offers support and helps build consensus for policy formulation and implementation.

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[6] Hayward Fred M., 'Political Participation and its Role in Development: Some Observations Drawn from the African Context', *The Journal of Developing Areas*, July 1978, pp. 591-612: 592
[7]Verba Sydney et al, *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics,* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995, p. 2
[8] Mill John Stuart, *On Liberty*, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., Indianapolis, New York, 1956
[9] Salisbury Robert, 'Research on Political Participation', *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol 19, No. 2, 1975, pp. 323-341:326

1.4.2   Social Dynamics

Scholars such as Quintelier et al[10] and Wendy et al[11] have studied the social dynamics of participation where they have established certain truths. Firstly social dynamics has to do with social links i.e. how and with whom people interact with, the links serve as an important background for mobilizing people into politics. An element of group-think comes into play where individuals have been found to be more likely to participate if those around them also participate.

Secondly, political participation is greatly affected by how individuals are socialized whereby they pick social cues from their environment and personalize them. Further, values, opinions and ideas are formed through socialization; interaction breeds acquired behaviour and norms, this exposure can either reinforce or discredit an individual's perception of their political environment as they are sometimes called upon to defend or explain their position on various issues.

Finally is social class. Depending on what spectrum individuals fall, they have different needs, experiences and aspirations all which determine their motivation to participate. What will warrant and issue to be important varies across the board, the choice of addressing the issue also differs. Importance is based on the needs ranked by priority as affects daily living, for example, First World problems seem so far removed to Third World problems which mainly factor food security, political stability and disease.

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[10] Quintelier, Stolle and Harrel, 'Politics in Peer Groups: Exploring the Causal Relationship between Network Diversity and Political Participation', *Political Research Quarterly,* Vol 65, No 4, 2012, pp. 868-881:869

[11] Wendy K, Tam Cho and Thomas Rudolf, 'Emanating Political Participation: Untangling the Spatial Structure behind Participation', *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol 38, No. 2, April 2008, pp. 275-289: 272

1.4.3 Political Participation as a Rational Action

The rational actor model advanced by scholars such as Keohane[12] and Morgenthau[13] has been used to explain the argument on state behaviour in decision making. The same has been applied to political participation, where being a purposive action, individuals participate motivated by various things, and then choose the most convenient and effective way to participate. They can opt to use both conventional and diplomatic methods to participate or to seek redress for their concerns e.g. through voting, seeking public office and signing of petitions or adopt more aggressive means such as demonstrations.

Whitely however explains that the dynamics behind application of rational choice is not just about individual calculus of cost and benefit but is rather about "collective rationality" which takes into account the group factor as rational action implies methodological individualism.[14] Political participation in Whitley's view is therefore not just an individual action, but rather a group action.

1.4.4 Individual Idiosyncrasies

On individual idiosyncrasies, factors such as education, exposure, age, experiences and perception of the individual towards the system affect participation. It has been argued that education impacts on the individual's worldview. Individuals learn things beyond their local environment which they can draw comparisons from and find new ways to address their own issues and improve their system of doing things.

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[12] Keohane O. Robert, *After Hegemony; Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 2005
[13] Morgenthau Hans *Politics Among Nations; The Struggle for Power and Peace,* 6th Edition, Kalyani Publishers, 2001
[14] Whitely Paul, 'Rational Choice and Political Participation: Evaluating the Debate', *Political Research Quarterly,* Vol. 48, No. 1 (Mar., 1995), pp. 211-233:216

The other aspect is an individual's exposure to issues as a determinant of political participation. Ignorance results in apathy in issues and impacts on individuals' motivation to participate. One cannot form an opinion or involve themselves in something they are unaware of; this category of individuals participate very little with voting being the preferred choice of action. However this is done as a formality.

Individuals are also informed by their experiences from which they form either positive or negative attitudes. For example, the 2007 post-election violence has been etched in the minds of many. In the wake of these events, a section of Kenyans lost confidence in elections as a means of choosing representative government while others were motivated to make things right in the next elections to avoid a repeat of the same.

Age affects political participation in the sense that for example the voting age in Kenya is 18years, this limits the form of participation that individuals below the requisite 18 years can take part in. Also, decision making is stratified along age where the elderly are the key decision makers and they occupy majority of the governance structures and the younger individuals get counsel from them.[15]

Lastly is perception i.e. the image, understanding and attitude that an individual has towards a person, a thing, a concept or an event. It is informed by the information available about the subject, the cognitive ability of an individual to understand it and put it into perspective and the resulting emotions, attitudes and actions. Mill argues that, "He who knows only one side of the case knows little of that, our understanding of issues unless informed by diverse and factual sources can

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[15] Interview with Osido K., Programme Manager, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Kenya, Nairobi, June 2014.

result in misperception.[16] This explains why political parties employ propaganda during campaigns; it is with an aim to manage perceptions. This greatly impacts on how people participate; for example individuals can choose Candidate A over Candidate B, or they can choose to be for or against a particular issue when debating, based on the information available and their understanding of the information.

1.4.5   Political Culture

Political culture is the sum of attitudes, practices and the norms of the citizens. Just as culture, it creates values that provide the foundation of social order and help construct a social reality and this will act as the point of reference for most individuals. [17]

Political culture can be gauged by among others, the conduct of political parties as they are the premise of representation and articulation of citizens' interests. FES has been keen to note the following about political parties in Kenya and in effect give a greater understanding of the political culture;

> Kenyan politics are characterized by political parties' ineffectiveness due to factors such as ethnicity, personalization of institutions and excess focus on power rather than policy engagement and service to the people, often being manipulated to serve short-term goals rather than inculcating enduring democratic culture.[18]

To add to the above, Kenyan political culture has three distinct characteristics. The first characteristic of Kenya politics is that their ideologies, relevance and lifespan is grounded on the general mood of the prevailing election season and after serving their purpose they can morph again to serve the trending issues hence the term 'briefcase politics' to describe them. They are very fluid, unpredictable and

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[16] Mill John Stuart, *On Liberty*, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., Indianapolis, New York, 1956, p. 45
[17] Korzenny Fillipe, *Communicating for Peace*, Sage publications Inc., California, 1990, p. 99
[18] Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, *Institutionalizing Political Parties in Kenya*, FES, 2010, p.1

alliances shift easily and dramatically; some individuals and political parties disappear after elections only to 'resurrect' again in time for another election period.

Secondly is that they are based on personality politics where the individual and not the policies will draw voters to a party. A party is only as good as the popularity of its leaders. Party manifestos are only a formality in tandem with the constitution; they otherwise bear no relevance and meaning to the electorate most of who are often unaware of them.

Finally is that they are ethnically driven; whereas Kenya has made great strides as a nation where ones identity is not solely based on their ethnicity, it still has a long way to go in terms of choosing elected officials, since the major criteria to pick a candidate is based on the community they belong to. It is commonplace for people vying for seats to form a partnership with a candidate from another community in order to maximize on getting support from both communities.

The afore mentioned trends are hard to break away from, as the electorate has been socialized to inculcate them as part of their political fabric. As Korzenny argues, culture offers a focal point of adherence and maintains preferred patterns of reasoning; hence it would be an uphill to change the behaviour patterns of a population. [19] However, a complete mental shift is necessary to adopt a healthy political culture.

1.4.6 Individuals Expectations

Expectations are another crucial factor in political participation. The lure of participation is the idea that one can bring change through their actions. The nexus

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[19] Korzenny Fillipe, *Communicating for Peace*, Sage publications Inc., California, 1990, p. 100

between expectation and participation has been debated with the argument that participation raises ones expectations.

One of the factors to consider when choosing a candidate is based on what they have promised to address, it is thus expected that once in office they get to deliver. New governments have often set out the first hundred (100) days to achieve a list of urgent issues upon which their effectiveness is appraised; this can also be done annually.

As witnessed in Kenya, the Jubilee Government prepared a status report to take stock of the last one year which they have been in power. They were called out on issues such as the rising levels of insecurity against a backdrop of increased Al-Shabaab presence in the country and the ensuing sporadic attacks, which the people felt weren't addressed appropriately.

The capability-expectation gap as coined by Hill can be applied in this context. It brings to the fore the capacity of governments to meet the expectations (ambitions or demands) of the people in the formulation and implementation of policies. This, as Hill explains is determined by the resources i.e. finances and experience, instruments i.e. Executive, and Parliament and cohesiveness or ability to gain consensus, but can result in disillusion and resentment when government lacks ability to deliver and expectations aren't met, hence the 'gap'.[20]

Ikle uses the term 'prophylactic pessimism' to explain that to avoid disappointment nations set deliberately lowered expectations during negotiations[21]. The same can be said of individuals' attitude towards government where they dismiss

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[20] Hill Christopher, 'Closing the Capability-Expectations Gap', *Paper for the Fifth Biennial International Conference of the European Community Studies Associates of the United States*, Seattle Washington, 1997

[21] Ikle Fred C., *How Nations Negotiate*, Harper and Row Publishers, Millwood New York, 1987, p. 150

politicians' pronouncements and instead lower their expectations opting instead to adopt a wait-and-see approach.

In the general African context, issues often go unresolved to be used as a basis for giving promises during elections to garner votes, after serving their purpose, they are simply forgotten and picked up again when need arises. State-society relation account for political outlooks and worldviews, the African people in this case often adopt a pessimistic attitude.[22] They are aware that they serve as pawns to meet the elites quest for power, who soon afterwards serve them empty rhetoric and try to manage down their expectations and play down their concerns until such a point when they are in need of their support again.

1.5   Significance of the Study

As noted in the literature review, there exists a gap in the study of political participation with regard to the advocacy role played by civil society. Political participation while seeming like an obvious undertaking for the citizens of any society, is not a given as various factors coming into play to determine participation. Civil society being an arena which provides a public space where diverse societal values and interest interact with a focus on citizens as their basic building block, this facilitates political participation through its various activities.[23]

The presence of civil society is especially important in Africa because the states are unfortunately marred by a political culture rife with conflict, corruption, authoritarianism, low civic awareness, abuse of rule of law, weak institutions, poor

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[22] Diamond Larry et al, *Political Culture and Democracy in Developing Countries,* Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc, Colorado, 1994, p. 60
[23] Malena Carmen and Heinrich Volkhart F. 'Can we Measure Civil Society? A Proposed Methodology for International Comparative Research', *Development in Practice*, Vol 17, No. 3, June 2007, pp. 338-352:340

policies, and an ineffective leadership, the result of which has been the realization of meager development.

Lack of political participation aggravates the already dire situation as the system does not experience pressure to do things differently and do good by the citizens. Governing elites are reluctant to foster participation and there are also limited opportunities and avenues for participation, this maintains the status quo in African states at the detriment of the people, their seeming lack of interest and ignorance resulting in further degradation.[24]

Civil society has stepped in to lift society out of this abyss of disinterest and ignorance by empowering them. Their efforts continue to be vilified by African governments whose survival is threatened by informed citizens; they try to fault civil society by questioning their intentions basing their concerns on the argument that civil society is founded on Western ideals that are inapplicable to the African context, also, their activities are understood as meddling.

1.6   Theoretical Framework

1.6.1   Structural Functionalism

Structural functionalism as put forward by scholars such as Parsons Talcott posits that there is a harmony of interests of people and groups.[25] It also has as its main argument order and the positive effects of institutions, where individual members work for the benefit of the collective good. That sections are interrelated,

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[24] Hayward Fred M., 'Political Participation and its Role in Development: Some Observations Drawn from the African Context', *The Journal of Developing Areas*, July 1978, pp. 591-612: 599
[25] Parsons Talcott, *The Structure of Social Action*, the Free Press, Glencoe Illinois, 1949, p. 179

each section has a role to play and their actions have an impact on the whole and they all work together to maintain an equilibrium.[26]

Political participation is therefore part of what makes the political fabric of society by ensuring citizen involvement in the governing process. All sections complement each other by playing their role. There is as a result, a domino effect; individuals do their bit by politically participating. The governing structure represents the interests of the citizens, institutions such as civil society playing an oversight role by ensuring accountability and linking the people to government.

1.6.2   Liberalism

Liberalism theory put forward by Locke has as its main precedent the freedom and will of man to reason and govern himself.[27] This is to mean that individuals are not merely subservient to the law but take part in governance too. As a political freed, Locke's liberalism combined constitutionalism, freedom, consent as well as tolerance which play a crucial role in development of democracies.

The theory also opens up the state as opposed to treating it as a unitary actor in politics as is the case with realism, and instead looks at other non-state actors such as civil society. This diversity of actors each has their own way of influencing both the state and politics. It also focuses on the interests of actors and how these interests are articulated by the concerned actors and aggregated by domestic institutions and constitutional structures.[28] These interests should ideally be representative of individual interests are should vary; contrary to the realist view of state interest being just about power and national security.

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[26] Groth Alexander, 'Structural Functionalism and Political Development: Three problems', *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol 23, No. 3, pp.485-499:489
[27] Locke John, *Second Treatise of Government*, Whitmore and Fenn, Oxford, 1821, p. 239
[28] Basak Cali, *International Law for International Relations*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2010, p. 32

Liberalism also encapsulates the role and importance of norms in politics, where there are mechanisms and institutions like civil society that help facilitate order, rule-governed behaviour, interdependency and collective security. Unlike liberalists, authors such as Morgenthau have indicated that there is a disregard for international law, that its use and relevance is only as good as it can serve the interests of the state, they otherwise 'strive to shake off the restraining influence' that international law might have.[29]

Political participation epitomizes the Western liberal approach which stresses individual rights and ruler obligations, equates political power with limited government, and assumes that institutions built on values of pluralism and tolerance would foster behaviour and yield policies that are both reasonable and responsive.[30]

1.6.3 Communications Theory

This theory as put forward by Karl Deutsch postulates that people make decisions according to their consciousness or the level of information they have.[31] Highly aware individuals participate more and choose diverse forms of participation while less aware individuals participate less and choose narrow forms of participation like voting. Information raises interest in issues which in turn prompts action and in this case political participation.

Communication links individuals to the system creating an enabling environment for political participation. The International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioural Sciences indicates that political communication is in three ways;

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[29] Hans Morgenthau *Politics Among Nations; The Struggle for Power and Peace,* 6th Edition, Kalyani Publishers, 2001, p.299
[30] Diamond Larry et al, *Political Culture and Democracy in Developing Countries*, Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc. Colorado and London, 1994, p. 70
[31] Deutsch Karl, *The Nerves of Government*, The Free Press, New York, Collier-Macmillan Limited, London, 1966, p. 202

bottom-down from the governing institutions to the citizens, horizontal, in linkages between political actors, and bottom-up from public opinion to authorities.[32] The bottom-down communication is especially important where if done wrongly can alienate the people the result of which is dismal political participation or aggressive forms of political participation like rioting.

1.6.4   Behaviouralism

The theory as advanced by Laswell and Kaplan argues that individuals are the main decision unit; that they are not merely biological beings but rather are fundamental components in the political process who possess individual ego and a social self. [33] This necessitates looking at political participation on the micro-level through individual analysis and with it the dynamics affecting individuals.

Individual idiosyncrasies comprise of attitudes or sentiments as Laswell and Kaplan define it, interests, expectations, level of education, religion, gender and age affect how individuals politically participate.[34] These variables predispose them to the choice of form of activity to participate in and what issues are appealing.

James Rosenau speaks of facilitating resources i.e. youth, education and wealth and interfering resources to include old age, illiteracy and poverty, which determine political participation.[35] Individual idiosyncrasies can either facilitate or hinder/limit political participation and also determine the preference form of political participation.

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[32] International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioural Sciences, http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/B0080430767043643, 3/6/2014, 2:17pm
[33] Lasswell Harold , Kaplan Abraham, *Power and Society; A Framework for Political Inquiry*, Transaction Publishers, USA, 1950, p.3
[34]Lasswell Harold , Kaplan Abraham, *Power and Society; A Framework for Political Inquiry*, Transaction Publishers, USA, 1950, pp.19-23
[35] Rosenau James N., *Citizenship Between Elections: An Inquiry Into The Mobilizable American,* The Free Press, New York, 1974, p. 247

1.6.5   Preference of Communications Theory

Communications theory best addresses this study as it deals with dissemination of information, formation of public opinion and giving of feedback. It speaks of the purpose, importance and functionality of political participation as articulated and facilitated by civil society through civic education, citizen mobilization and facilitation of debate and political discourse, due to the inadequacies and the existing gap evident between the citizens and the governance structure.

Political participation is determined by a citizen's level of awareness i.e. lack of awareness among citizens translates to dismal political participation. Citizens with low levels of awareness participate at a lower degree as compared to citizens with high levels of awareness.

> Citizens who are attentive to the course of events are better informed about them than those members of the mass public who are normally indifferent... To be attentive to issues is to acquire information about them and to acquire information about issues is to be attentive to them.[36]

The levels of awareness also determine the choice of form of political participation where voting is the most preferred by citizens who have low levels of awareness whereas citizens who are knowledgeable go a step further and take part in other forms of participation like debates, demonstrations, signing of petitions, writing letters to public officials or government and non-government institutions, running for public office etc.

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[36] Rosenau James N., *Citizenship Between Elections: An Inquiry Into The Mobilizable American,* The Free Press, New York, 1974, p. 343

1.7   Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1

Civil Society advocacy played an important role in political participation in Kenya between 2007 and 2013.

Hypothesis 2

Civil society advocacy did not play an important role in political participation in Kenya between 2007 and 2013.

Hypothesis 3

There was low level of political awareness in Kenya between 2007 and 2013.

1.8   Methodology of the Study

1.8.1   Primary data

The study will use two structured questionnaires. The first will use random sampling targeting individual respondents who have attained the voting age of 18 years and who are of diverse political inclinations and socioeconomic backgrounds, and who have consented to take part in the study. This is with an aim of having input based on diverse opinions and experiences.

The second questionnaire will be used to acquire data from civil society organizations such as Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), Center for Governance and Democracy (CGD), Center for Multiparty Democracy (CMD), Hebert Boll Stiftung (HBS) and government caucuses like Kenya Young Parliamentarians Association (KYPA) and Kenya Women Parliamentarians Association (KEWOPA).

The aim of this questionnaire is to have a greater understanding of these CSOs areas of advocacy, their target groups and their major programmes. It also seeks to understand the CSOs opinion of Kenya's political participation trends, the electorates'

level of awareness and their understanding of some of the determinants of political participation such as age, gender and interactions with social circle. Finally, the questionnaire seeks to establish the relationship between the CSOs and government and what these CSOs are doing towards complementing government efforts to encourage political participation and raising awareness.

1.8.2   Secondary data

The secondary data will be derived from peer reviewed publications, government and non-governmental reports, books and journals. Some of these sources make reference to other countries in both developed and developing categories. Comparisons will be made to these countries and where applicable the explanations will be adapted to the Kenyan situation.

1.8.3   Activities in the study

a) Questionnaire formulation

b) Selection of participants

c) Questionnaires rollout to selected participants

d) Result analysis

e) Report preparation

1.9   Scope and Limitations

This study will research on the role of civil society advocacy on political participation in Kenya. It will establish FES as the case study and how other civil society activities impact on political participation. The limitations I may encounter

during my research are time and financial constraints and low level of response to the questionnaires.

1.10 Chapter Outline

Chapter One: Introduction to the Study

This chapter will introduce the concept of political participation and also enumerate the purpose, objectives, hypothesis, methodology of study as well as review of literature on civil society advocacy on political participation.

Chapter Two: Kenya's Political Participation Trends

Chapter two examines the political participation trends in Kenya and their outcomes, firstly from a historical perspective to understand its evolution and then to the current times with a focus on the years between 2007 and 2013.

Chapter Three: The Effects of Civil Society Organizations Activities on Political Participation

In chapter three, the study will highlight the effect on political participation as a result of the activities of civil society organizations such as FES, Center for Governance and Democracy (CGD), Center for Multiparty Democracy (CMD) and Hebert Boll Stiftung (HBS).

Chapter Four: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and Political Participation

The section will expound further the link between civil society advocacy and political participation in Kenya by researching the case study organization, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

Chapter Five: Data Analysis and Interpretation

This section will analyse and interpret the data collected with an aim of addressing the objectives of the study.

Chapter Six: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

This final chapter will contain the summary, conclusions and recommendations on civil society advocacy on political participation in Kenya between 2007 and 2013.

CHAPTER TWO: KENYA'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION TRENDS

2.0 Introduction

The reason to participate is often varied from it being a formality, to being a political obligation and believing participation will yield change. Regardless of the reason, scholars are keen to note that participation is often done in concert with others; this is necessary for the ordinary man to exert influence on governmental decisions, as acting alone yields no results.[37]

There is also an element of expectation and motivation when participating. Individuals may distrust the state and its agents, avoid it or respect it, but they do not necessarily question it; however, they expect the state to perform a minimum of functions centered on the provision of physical security and basic social and economic services.[38]

Ideally the choice of action should commensurate the expected results or reaction from government; this is especially true for overt forms of participation like demonstrations. Citizens like to think the future can be shaped or at least affected by conscious choice and deliberate action, yet that depends on their ability to discern in advance the probable dimensions of choice and the probable effects of action.[39]

In view of the above, this section seeks to establish the major political participation trends in Kenya i.e. political parties, voting, demonstrations, debates, running for public office, political blogging and political rallies. All these rest on the premise of communication and creation of awareness without which participation will

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[37] Verba S., "Taking Part", Barber, J.D (ed), *Readings in Citizen Politics*: *Essays in Political Behaviour* Markham Publishers, 1969, p.14

[38] Stiefel Matthias and Wolfe Marshal, *A Voice for the Excluded: Popular Participation in Development: Utopia Or Necessity?*, Sed Books Ltd, London And New Jersey, 1994, p.198

[39] *Hadden J.K et al, "Citizen Power And Community Culture", Barber, J.D (ed), Readings In Citizen Politics*: *Essays In Political Behaviour* Markham Publishers, 1969, p.215

be dismal. Communication and awareness inform individuals' motivation to participate and their expectations of the outcomes of their activities.

2.1   Political Parties

An open political space is necessary to create an enabling environment for political participation, a conduit for political expression. The state facilitates this through institutionalizing participation where it sets rules of participation and a constitutional framework for a pluralist democracy.[40] Political parties are one such establishment institutionalized in the Political Parties Act of 2011.

Political participation has been greatly boosted by political parties through encouragement of individuals to register as party members and to vote; they drive debate on various issues and rally people around various causes. Political parties cannot then be detached from political participation as they are the single most significant entity or institution to encourage political participation. In the words of Wendy et al, political participation is the engine that drives representation, and vice versa.[41]

A number of observations can be made about Kenya's political parties. Firstly, political parties have been in existence long before independence and were later on empowered by the constitution; however, the current state of affairs has seen them suffer the same fate as other institutions.[42] On the face of it, political parties present the state as a true democracy; they are however similar to many African institutions

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[40] Stiefel Matthias & Wolfe Marshal, *A Voice for the Excluded: Popular Participation in Development: Utopia or Necessity?,* Sed Books Ltd, London and New Jersey, 1994, p 101
[41] Wendy K, Tam Cho and Thomas Rudolf, 'Emanating Political Participation: Untangling the Spatial Structure behind Participation', *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol 38, No. 2, April 2008, pp. 275-289: 286
[42] The Kenya African Union (KAU) as a party was formed in 1942

which are deficient in their maturity and efficacy to address issues and represent the people.

> The structures of democratic government were implanted in Africa with very little prior preparation by external elements. By independence, Africans had barely had a chance to familiarize themselves with competitive institutions and the franchise, let alone acquire any experience with their operation. Moreover, these institutions were activated in a political atmosphere which magnified notions of self-determination and called for the rejection of imported models. These circumstances could hardly have been less propitious for the entrenchment of liberal political cultures.[43]

Secondly, even after 51 years of independence, the traditional ethos and systems of leadership have not fully merged with the modern systems of governance to form a functioning fusion. The rural level of politics is traditional, recognizing and placing importance in family, clans, ethnicity and culture, their needs, goals and interests are detached from the national politics and government. Ockey notes that in Thailand, there is a gap between local interests; and national politics, so rural voters have little choice but to choose according to their local interests, the same applies to Kenya.[44]

Rural level leadership comprises of local ethnic and religious leaders whose opinions form the main reference point for most people. The afore mentioned has resulted in a back and forth morphing by politicians try to appeal to the rural folks whose endorsement and support is crucial, while at the same time trying to remain relevant on the national level; they therefore have to fit in, to reap from both worlds. There is respect for influential authority figures particularly those involved in issues

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[43] Diamond Larry et al, *Political Culture and Democracy in Developing Countries,* Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc., Colorado, 1994, p.71
[44] Ockey James, *Making Democracy: Leadership, Class, Gender And Political Participation In Thailand*, University Of Hawaii Press, 2004, P.15

of local interest e.g. teachers whose recommendations and endorsement translate into a large number of votes from villagers.[45]

The devolution of government is aimed at addressing the leering gap between the two worlds i.e. the rural and urban. It aims to bring the national government structures and services closer to the people. Rural folk will be more in touch with national policies, and at the same time, government will be more cognizant of their needs too, thus facilitating participation, as opposed to alienation from the people which translates to low levels of participation.

The other feature of Kenyan political parties is the propagation of the culture of political patronage. Clientelism/patronage involves asymmetric but mutually beneficial relationships of power and exchange, *quid pro quo* between individuals or groups of unequal standing, placing them in strategic positions of public power and control.[46]

The reciprocal relations are between patrons who have resources and influence and clients who need their support and endorsement after which they pledge their allegiance to the patrons. While patronage does have benefits among them being political mentorship, it can also be used negatively in a cartel-like manner to lock out well-meaning individuals from accessing public office and even when they do access public office, they are often sidelined and the sections of society they represent are neglected as a result.

Ideally, political party leadership is supposed to be competitive and democratic, with people vying for the various posts within the party. The same principles of competition and democracy apply when nominating those who will be

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[45] Ockey James, *Making Democracy: Leadership, Class, Gender And Political Participation In Thailand*, University Of Hawaii Press, 2004, P.28
[46] Roniger Luis, "Political Clientelism, Democracy, and Market Economy", *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (Apr., 2004), pp. 353-375:535-354

the party flag bearers during elections in the various administrative units like constituencies and counties. Patronage plays a major role in these two instances; without the support and endorsement of the party leadership, nomination by other party members becomes an uphill task.

Finally, Kenya's political parties are not driven by sound ideology, as mentioned earlier; membership is fluid and is based more on personality politics and ethnicity rather than ideology. Ideology can be described as a system or an amalgamation of ideas, strategies, tactics and symbols for promoting, perpetuating or changing a social and cultural order; it is political ideas in action, expressing the will and interest for control or change.[47] While party manifestos are a requisite under the Political Parties Act 2011 as a means for parties to outline their goals, they are instead only a formality.

Like most things, manifestos are just a box to tick off from the list of requirements to form a political party. They bear no significance or importance as evidenced by the lack of appreciation of them by party supporters whose main reference point on policies are utterances by the political personalities they support. For the politicians, political parties are a means to ascend to power, party ideology plays no part in making the decision which party to be in, rather, it's being part of the 'winning team', likening it to the path of least resistance. The only time Kenyan political parties adhered to clear ideologies was during the cold war. While the country like its African counterparts was non-aligned, the reality on the ground was the opposite as parties were inclined to either socialism or capitalism.

The element of ethnicity comes in where the party leadership is considered to lead and represent the various ethnic groups. This explains why political parties have

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[47] Friedrich Paul, "Language, Ideology and Political Economy", *American Anthropologist, New Series*, Vol. 91, No. 2 (Jun., 1989), pp. 295-312:301

resulted to ensuring their top leadership is representative of the major ethnic communities to portray a form of alliance which assures them a win during elections. Leaders are leaders because followers follow them; the following is often based on ethnicity where they are expected to ensure that their communities get their share of the 'national cake'.[48] In the event of a crisis of issue, the leaders try to appeal to this element of ethnicity to get support where they make charged utterances such as, "They want to finish us" to marshal support.

2.2 Voting

Universal suffrage is a universal human right. Holding regular elections have been used as an index of democracy, an exercise that Kenya has adhered to since its independence in 1963. The essence of elections is to put in place representatives to articulate and pursue citizens' interests, needs, expectations and goals. Ideally, voting should be used as an accountability mechanism where politicians are sanctioned by voters i.e. they are retain in office those incumbents who perform well and oust those who do not.[49] It is also important that these representatives adhere to Chapter six (6) of the constitution which is on Leadership and Integrity.

Rodney agrees that it is important to understand the past in order to appreciate the present and predict the future trends.[50] The same principle can be applied to the current political disposition which has been greatly influenced by the past and will impact the future too. There have been important events and elections in Kenya's history which have defined the country.

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[48] Hadden J. K. et al, "Citizen Power And Community Culture", Barber, J.D (ed), *Readings in Citizen Politics*, *Essays in Political Behaviour* Markham Publishers, 1969, p.163
[49] Przeworski A., Stokes S. & Manin B., "Introduction" Przeworski Adam, Stokes Susan & Manin Bernard (ed), *Democracy, Accountability And Representation*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK, 1999, p.10
[50] Rodney Walter, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, EAEP, Nairobi, Kampala, Dar-Es-Salaam 1973, p. vii

The most major event in Kenya is colonialism; being the precursor to the country's modern socio-political and economic institutions, laws and culture. A lot can be credited to colonialism; from the nation state, its boundaries, to the flag, national anthem, the disciplined forces i.e. police, army; the constitution, judiciary, government, the national language, formal education, religion and modern infrastructure.

It is from colonialism that the state slowly moved away from traditional systems to Western ideals, which was necessary to fit in the highly globalized international system. The task since independence has been to adapt these Western institutions and values to fit the local environment.

The other event is the 2002 general elections which political pundits have defined as the epitome of political unity. Never before had Kenyans risen above the ethnic and political barriers and come together for a cause as they did then. The National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) was the party of choice. The general feeling was that of inundation with the previous regime which they feared would be continued if they agreed to the endorsement of Uhuru Kenyatta by President Daniel Moi.

The 2007 general elections was another event; this marked the darkest hour of Kenya's political history. This period saw unprecedented chaos, violence and death. Scholars argue that the periods before violent conflict breaks out are characterized by periods of structural, non-violent conflict, the simmering anger, resentment and ethnic tensions finally erupted to what could only be described as an epic meltdown; the country simply imploded[51]. While previous elections did give rise to skirmishes in various areas in the country, the gravity and scale of the nation-wide conflict after the 2007 general elections was unparalleled.

[51] Mwagiru M. and Mutie P. M., "Governance and Conflict Management", Wanyande P., Omosa M. and Ludeki C. (ed), *Governance and Transition Politics in Kenya*, University of Nairobi Press, Nairobi, 2007, p.133

As a result of the mediation and peace brokered by Kofi Annan, a coalition government was formed. This move is confirmed to Morgenthau's argument that power is subject to limitations, in the interest of the entire society and of its individual members; this results not from the struggle for power, but that struggle is controlled using norms or rules of conduct by the will of the members of society themselves.[52] It was no longer business as usual; both sides of the conflicting political divide i.e. Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) and Party of National Unity (PNU) had to make concessions for the sake of peace.

With the coalition government came various changes in governance. Firstly, there was a hybrid system with a President and a Prime Minister drawn from PNU and ODM respectively. Secondly, there was a bloated Executive of 44 ministries with positions split between ODM and PNU. This resulted in a lot of duplication e.g. between Ministry of Medical Services and Ministry of Public Health and Sanitation, between the Ministry of Research, Science and Technology and the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology. There also was a high recurrent expenditure in payment of salaries of staff working under these ministries.

Most of the hostilities leading up to the 2007 Post Elections Violence (PEV) were based on historical injustices majorly on land and negative ethnicity, where different ethnic groups were pitted against each other by politicians, all these culminated in the post-election violence. As a result, the Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission was constituted, through the Truth Justice and Reconciliation (TJR) Act of 2008. Its objective was to promote peace, justice, national unity, healing and reconciliation, among Kenyans by; investigating and establishing a record of human rights violations by the State since Kenya's

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[52] Morgenthau, Hans, J., *Politics Among Nations,* New Delhi, Kalyani Publishers, 2001 p.52

independence in 1963 to 2008; explaining the causes of the violations, recommending prosecution of perpetrators and reparations for victims.[53]

The Commission's findings on the cause of conflict included; negative ethnic stereotypes and tensions caused by government policies perceived to have benefited some ethnic groups, at the expense or to the exclusion of others, resource-based conflicts e.g. land, cattle rustling etc. and political related issues e.g. assassinations.[54] These reverberated with Kasongo et al premise that the electoral process which should ideally open up the democratic space to people to enable them control and influence their own political destinies is instead deliberately configured to marginalize these same people.[55]

Under the initiation of Louis Moreno-Ocampo, cases were opened at the International Criminal Court (ICC) to bring to book the perpetrators of the conflict. The cases are still being heard, some of the accused like Francis Muthaura, Henry Kosgey and Mohammed Ali were acquitted. The sitting government tried to rally other African states to support them in the argument that a sitting president cannot be tried thus the hearings be postponed. This however flopped and the hearings are still going on albeit Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto are not required to continually be at the hearing.

The 2013 general elections marked the point the nation would rise from the ashes like the proverbial Greek mythical phoenix. A lot of caution was applied to alleviate the trauma, skepticism and reservations the populace was experiencing and

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[53] Kenya Transitional Justice Network, Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission report summary, August 2013, http://www.acordinternational.org/silo/files/kenya-tjrc-summary-report-aug-2013.pdf, p.1, 27/8/2014, 3:45pm

[54] Kenya Transitional Justice Network, Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission report summary, August 2013, http://www.acordinternational.org/silo/files/kenya-tjrc-summary-report-aug-2013.pdf , p. 25-27, 27/8/2014, 3:50pm

[55] Kasongo Tumukumbi Lumumba et al, *Liberal Democracy and its Critics in Africa: Political Dysfunction and the Struggle for Social Progress,* Zed Books, London, New York, 2005, p. 149

to also avoid a repeat of the post-election violence. Politicians and other public personalities were conscientious not to raise ethnic or political tensions keeping in mind that they could be charged; peace was the top most agenda.

As a buildup to the elections, the message of reconciliation was preached adversely and efforts were put in to nurture the faith of the citizens in the political system. Gakuru et al explain that reconciliation is a way of rethinking and reconstructing a narrative of the past conflict, wrongdoing or difficult relationships in order to avoid similar problems in both the present and in the future.[56] There was need to change the political narrative, to put state peace and welfare before individual goals and interest. While the quest for power is often self-serving, politicians had to be conscious of the consequences of their utterances and actions, so too were the populace.

In addition to the importance of peace, what came out in the 2013 elections was the influence and power developed nations have, they act as the custodians of the international system and big-brother to the less developed nations. It was clear from the reaction of these states that they did not look kindly into persons accused at ICC running for the highest office.

Sovereignty implies the ability for a state to make choices and determine its own future without outside interference. This however is an idealist thought, the reality is that states do not pursue their interest and make unilateral decisions without putting into consideration the consequences of how their decisions will be received in the international system and most especially, by the powerful states they depend on. There was the risk of being ostracized by the international community for voting in

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[56] Gakuru et al, "Hope, Disillusion and Reconciliation", Wanyande P., Omosa M. and Ludeki C. (ed), *Governance and Transition Politics in Kenya*, University of Nairobi Press, Nairobi, 2007, p.284

leaders with cases at ICC. This illustrates the degree to which the international system's opinion is considered when making national decisions.

The 2013 elections were also a test of whether the judicial system was capable of handling election disputes. The Coalition of Reforms and Democracy Party (CORD) and Africa Center for Open Governance (AfriCOG) filed a petition with the Supreme Court disputing the manner in which the election was conducted, sighting that there were irregularities and hence also contested the results. The Court ruled to uphold the results after which the Uhuru Kenyatta was sworn in as president.

The crux of the matter now is getting people who support the various political parties to take part in voting and other forms of political activities as opposed to being spectators. This can be done through voter education, voter registration drives, civic education and increasing political awareness as voter turn-out can be used as a premise to deduce the levels of political participation. Failure to do the above will otherwise have politics remain as cultural politics i.e. it will continue to be defined by the manipulation of symbols, the creation of emotional identification and the rhetorical production of 'us' against 'them' which have always been important.[57] This takes away from the purpose and importance of politics.

2.3 Holding Demonstrations

Like most African states, Kenya sought a change in leadership by going the military coup way in 1982. The result was a more hardened, brutish and authoritarian regime under President Daniel Moi who was keen to crush opposition and maintain power. There was therefore need for citizens to approach issues differently.

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[57] Nash Kate, *Contemporary Political Sociology: Globalization, Politics And Power*, Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford, UK, 2010, p.199

Holding demonstrations has been found to be the most effective and quickest way to draw the attention of both government and international system to issues that citizens are displeased with. It is considered to be one of the most overt forms of participations that the individuals can express their dissatisfaction or disdain.

One of the most historical demonstrations was the Saba-Saba demonstrations of 7th July 1990 organized by the National Convention Executive Council (NCEC).[58] Its concerns included; stifling of the opposition, detention of opposition leaders without trial, lack of freedom of association and press, the continued deterioration of the economy and a call to amend the constitution. The establishment did not take the dissenting voices very kindly; what resulted was the brutal beating of protesters and more detentions; many went on exile for fear of their lives.

These events put the Kenyan situation in the international limelight and international institutions embracing the principle of collective justice where they went as far as threatening to deny financial aid if the grievances were not addressed. This led to the establishment of multi-partism and a presidential term limit of two terms included in the constitution. The Saba Saba demonstrations were a defining moment in Kenya's political landscape.

The most famous demonstrations in recent times include one labeled 'Mpigs' organized by Bonface Mwangi under the "*Kenya ni Kwetu"* (Kenya is Ours) initiative as a protest to poor governance. There is also 'Justice for Liz' demonstration organized by Coalition On Violence Against Women (COVAW) in 2013, to highlight Sexual Gender Based Violence (SGBV) as suffered by a young girl whose perpetrators were never apprehended until the issue was highlighted.[59] .

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[58] *Saba Saba* translates to Seven Seven in Swahili, the demonstrations were named so because they took place on the 7th of July of 1990.
[59] http://covaw.or.ke/justice-for-liz/justice-for-liz-press-release-7th-of-may/ 27/6/2014, 4:30pm

2.4   Holding Debates

Political debate is another crucial form of political participation. Its underlying principles are; tolerance and respect for different opinions, dialogue and understanding. Debates can be on an individual level or in a forum; it can be formal or informal.

Kenya's first presidential debate took place in 2013. It was without doubt a new form of participation for presidential aspirants borrowed from the West. Countries like USA and Britain hold debates for individuals seeking elective public office. The participants' performance and arguments have often been a deciding factor for the citizens when choosing who to elect and has sometimes enabled those who are undecided to know who to vote for.

The Kenyan presidential debate sought to engage the presidential hopefuls in an intellectual manner away from the usual elections theatrics. The debate was also a venue where they could be asked all the tough questions while at the same time demonstrating their comprehension of both national and international policies, the contestants could also articulate their vision for the country. This offered an opportunity for the citizens to understand and gauge the candidates better, know their opinion on various issues and hopefully they would vote from a more informed position.

Contributing to debating is the rise of political analysts drawn from professionals and academics who benefit from an open political space. The likes of Mutahi Ngunyi, Maria Nzomo, Adams Oloo, Mwenda Mbijiwe, Jennifer Shamala and Barack Muluka often weigh in on policies and political actions, and give their opinion, recommendations and criticism in effect boosting political debate. Mutahi

Ngunyi's 'tyranny of numbers' similar to Mills'[60] 'tyranny of the majority' albeit with a different meaning, was one of the trending catch phrases in the 2013 elections. This goes to illustrate the influence that these individuals have.

Political debate has also benefited from the media which run political issues in print media and air political shows on radio and television, for example, Jeff Koinange Live (Kenya Television Network), Cheche (Citizen TV), Bunge la Wananchi (People's Government)[61] on K24. Wide audiences are reached using this platform; they are informed on policies and are encouraged to participate in the debates by calling in, texting or commenting on social media.

Media is also utilized by government aptly referred to as soft-power for agenda-setting, to communicate, spread influence and maintain prestige and also as a way to appropriate propaganda. Parliamentary proceedings are aired on television to keep the citizens in the know of the process of policy formation, enhancing accountability and transparency. This raises awareness on policies, drives debate and builds confidence for participation.

The agents of socialization comprising of family, peers, colleagues, education and media also play a crucial part in debates. They facilitate in diffusion of information, exchange of thoughts and framing of ideas i.e. giving meaning to issues.[62]

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[60] Mill John Stuart, *On Liberty*, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., Indianapolis, New York, 1956, p.7
[61] *Bunge la Wananchi* is Swahili for People's Government, is a programme on K24 that seeks to get citizens' views on various topical issues
[62] Rogers E.M., "Theoretical Diversity in Political Communication", Kaid Lynda Lee (ed), *Handbook of Political Communication Research*, Routledge, New York And London, 2010, p.11

2.5   Political Blogging

Freedom of expression is a cornerstone of political participation, where individuals air their opinions, grievances, concerns and aspiration. Proliferation of Information Communication Technology (ICT) has provided an alternative conduit for expression and has in effect changed political communication.

Social media, a creation of ICT has become an important form of communication and has revolutionized politics through platforms such as Twitter, Facebook and My-space. So important is social media that politicians subscribe to them to ensure a following, who they communicate directly with. This has been especially handy in reaching and engaging the youth who have previously been locked out of politics.

Social media is used by individuals to voice their opinions and hold debates with other participants in anonymity. Blogs such as *Siasa 254* (Politics 254), *Jukwaa* (Platform), *Jamii Forums* (Community Forums) and Kenya Today, have become popular due to their political debates. While it can be argued that the opinions in these blogs can be subjective and partisan, the point remains that they drive online debate, pass information and with it encourage participation.

Social media is the preferred alternative source of information. Its allure is in its accessibility, interactive nature, anonymity and the relatively informal tone. This is in direct contrast to the traditional sources of information like radio, television, newspapers and magazine which are often viewed to be one-sided and boring.

Political blogs have become instrumental in creating political awareness among the youth. The bloggers often comprise of the youth who present an interesting and fresh analysis of the day's politics. They inform and help the youth understand

the political conditions, thus participation is from an informed point; this counters cognitive bluntness, a result of insufficient information.[63]

Political blogging and social media is however a double edged sword. While it can be used to create awareness, it can also be used to propagate hate, divisiveness and negative ethnicity as was the case with the 2007 elections. The fact that users can choose to remain anonymous worsens the situation.

The same trend has unfortunately been witnessed in 2014, in the wake of the opposition demanding for dialogue. Individuals have chosen to go back to their ethnic cocoons and use social media to malign, insult and proliferate hate speech all under the haven of anonymity. Those who have been brazen enough to disclose their true identity, politicians and ordinary citizens alike have been brought to book for hate-speech and inflammatory messages.

2.6   Running for Elected Public Office

Running for public office reflects the desire for an individual to act as an agent. An agency relationship exists where one actor i.e. the agent acts on behalf of another i.e. the principal (electorate), the agent is supposed to implement the preferences and interests of the principal. The voters as principal will select an agent out of several competitors in an election, invest in him/her power and expect him/her to respond to their political promises on whose grounds the selection of the agent was made.[64]

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[63] Lane *R.E.,* "Political Thinking", Barber, J.D (ed), *Readings In Citizen Politics: Essays in Political Behaviour*, Markham Publishers, 1969, P.66

[64] Maraval J.M., "Accountability and Manipulation", Przeworski Adam, Stokes Susan & Manin Bernard (ed), *Democracy, Accountability And Representation*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK, 1999, p.155

The motivations for individuals to run for public office are diverse; it is argued however, that the biggest motivation is power. Just as there are office-seeking parties which seek to maximize their control over political office and the accruing office benefits over electoral and policy value, there too are office-seeking individuals.[65] Others use it to strategically place themselves in this position which is charged with mobilization and protection of state resources as an avenue to maintain or accumulate personal wealth.

The only time perhaps that the motivation to run for elective public office was altruistic and had a nationalistic feel was after independence; there was need to exercise self-determination and give back to the people the dignity that was taken by colonialism. Majority of those who sought these positions were those who were directly involved in leading the fight against colonialism, those who had been given administrative responsibility by the colonial government such as paramount chiefs and those who had received formal education. In the end, the colonial state structure remained near intact, except that the actors had changed. The spirit of marginalizing opponents was inherited afresh as the state sought to root out the radical voice from its midst using constitutional and extra-legal methods. However, unlike in the colonial state whose exclusion was racially defined, this one was ethnically defined.[66]

It is important to look at the gender dimension when looking at this form of political participation. African leadership is highly patriarchal and it is only recently that Kenya sought to have gender balance through affirmative action to encourage women to run for elective positions. In the 1998 general elections, Charity Ngilu ran for presidency under the Social Democratic Party (SDP) in 1997 and in 2013, Martha

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[65] Strom Kaare, "The Behavioural Theory of Competitive Political Parties", *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol 34, Issue 2 (May 1990), 565-598:567

[66] Katumanga Musambayi, "Civil Society and the Politics of Constitutional Reforms in Kenya: A Case Study of the National Convention Executive Council (NCEC)", *Series on Alternative Research in East Africa (SAREAT)*, P. 12

Karua run for presidency under National Rainbow Coalition – Kenya (NARC-Kenya). Their performance was dismal as compared to their male counterparts begging the question whether Kenyans were ready for a female president.

Affirmative action as enshrined in the new constitution has it that women have been given a one third slot in government appointments and recruitment in the civil service; for elective office, there is the position of County Women's Representative and this boosts their numbers in Senate and ensures that gender issues are addressed.

The youth are another segment of society that has over the years been sidelined in politics. Very few youth access elected positions due to limited resources and the culture of clientelism which in effect means that they lack the necessary support and endorsement from influential patrons.

Over the years, the youth have been relegated to finding alternative ways for political expression especially through blogging and activism as they have very little involvement and influence in policy formulation and implementation. But even then, the youth want to be more involved in policy formulation and the surest way to do so is to run for elective office.

The 2014 elections have seen the greatest number of youth assume elective positions. This is mainly due to devolution which has created more elective slots. The political parties have also realized the need to endorse young people, this boosts their image to look more forward thinking and inclusive, as the youth who were previously alienated and sidelined in favour of the 'old-guards'. There has been found need to restructure the anti-participatory structure and ideologies to encourage youth political participation.[67]

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[67] Stiefel Matthias and Wolfe Marshal, *A Voice For The Excluded: Popular Participation In Development: Utopia or Necessity?,* 1994, Sed Books Ltd, London And New Jersey, p.19

On assumption of duty, the elected officials have to be responsible and accountable to the electorate, delivering on their promises and pursuing the principals' interests. Responsibility suggests an empowerment of agents by principals through assignment of authority, an acceptance of the responsibility of that authority by agents and discretion to act on that authority.[68]

For individuals seeking a reelection, they are aware that failure to meeting the electorate's expectations during their term may lead to them not being reelected. As Przeworski et al rightly put it, under democracy as empowered by voting, people invest governments with the power to rule because they can remove them, hence voters do not need to issue any instructions to the incoming government because the incumbents know that voters will have the last say and can simply rely on the politicians' desire to be reelected.[69]

2.7   Attending Political Rallies

Political rallies are an important political activity embracing the freedom of assembly as enshrined in the constitution. They provide an avenue for politicians and their political parties to communicate their goals and marshal support.

The major role of political rallies is political marketing which is especially crucial during elections as a campaign tool. Marketing is described as an exchange process between a buyer and a seller, however when applying marketing to a political campaign, the exchange process centers on a candidate who offers political leadership

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[68] Dunn D.D., "Mixing Elected and Non-Elected Officials in Democratic Policy Making a Fundamental of Accountability and Responsibility", Przeworski Adam, Stokes Susan & Manin Bernard (ed), *Democracy, Accountability And Representation*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK, 1999, p.300
[69] Przeworski A., Stokes S. & Manin B., "Introduction", Przeworski Adam, Stokes Susan & Manin Bernard (ed), *Democracy, Accountability And Representation*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK, 1999, p.13

through the policies he advocates and a vision for the country in exchange for support from the citizens.[70]

Parties are keen to brand themselves applying strategies such as having party colours and tag lines to appeal to the voters. They attempt to manage the image, perceptions and attitudes that voters have towards them. For example, during the 2013 general elections, The Jubilee Alliance (a coalition of the United Republican Party (URP) and The National Alliance (TNA)) portrayed itself as the digital party offering Kenyans a fresh, dynamic and progressive leadership.

Political rallies are especially popular during election time where politicians traverse the country trying to reach and appeal to as many people as possible. Voters are consumers of a service offered by a politician an in that role choose candidates based on the perceived value they offer them, they therefore seek to appeal to voter issues, needs and expectations during these rallies.[71] During rallies, politicians position themselves to voters as the solution to issues. This explains the Saba Saba rally organized by CORD on 7th July of 2014 where it sought to address problems ailing the country such as unemployment, insecurity and ethnicity; in turn, CORD supporters turned up expecting leadership and solutions to these issues but were disappointed when solutions were not clearly articulated by CORD's leadership.

Political rallies are essentially avenues for political mobilization where political parties maintain members and also seek to recruit new ones. For rallies to be considered successful political parties need to have the ability to appeal or attach importance to issues during the rallies, however, some citizens will be responsive to issues irrespective of the mobilizers who appeal to them while others will be

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[70] Kaid Lynda Lee (ed), *Handbook of Political Communication Research*, Routledge, New York And London, 2010, p.19

[71] Newman B.I. and Perloff R.M., "Political Marketing: Theory Research and Applications", Kaid Lynda Lee Ed., *Handbook Of Political Communication Research*, Routledge, New York And London, 2010, p.19

responsive to certain mobilizers irrespective of the issues around which their appeals are cast.[72] That is why it is necessary to gauge the electoral' mood and have the rallies be consistent with the mood or fail in its undertaking.

Against the backdrop of the 2007 PEV where hate speech reigned supreme in the political rallies, politicians were very careful during the 2013 elections to adhere to the National Cohesion and Integration Commission Act. They watched their utterances during political rallies as they knew that they would be held accountable for polarizing the public.

However, like other political participation activities, attendance of political rallies is not every individual's preference; some consider other forms of participation. Some fear the risk of violence while others prefer more subtle and organized forms of participation.

2.8   Conclusion

As established in this chapter, there are various forms of political participation from which individuals can choose from. The choice is dependent on the individual's preference, resources, time, perceptions and convenience, it is also dependent on government in the sense that policies formulated by it can either impede or facilitate certain kinds of political participation e.g. multipartism will affect voting patterns.

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[72] Rosenau. James N., *Citizenship Between Elections: An Inquiry Into the Mobilizable American*, The Free Press, New York, 1974, p.460

CHAPTER THREE: EFFECTS OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS' ACTIVITIES ON POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

3.0   Introduction

Participatory democracy has grown rapidly with the increasing recognition of the deficits of representative democracy, especially in the developing world.[73] Citizens have realized the risk of abuse of power and neglect that would result if they decided to sit back and let elected officials carry out their mandate unaided. Participatory democracy affords citizens the incentive to ensure that they are well governed.

CSOs are involved in activities such as; providing oversight, civic education, driving debate, political agenda setting, linking government to citizens and globalization, all which have an impact on political participation. These activities target formal directives such as legislation, informal constructs such as gender roles, and social order.[74] The activities rest on the provision of information and try to address the evident disconnect between the political establishment and the society. CSOs are cognizant to the fact that the environment plays a crucial role in the flow of political information and can either facilitate or impede this process; they therefore complement government's effort to create an enabling environment that supports political communication flow.[75]

The place of CSOs in politics has however been met with skepticism as much as it has been lauded as the epitome of democracy, both its supporters and detractors posing valid points.

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[73] Baiocchi Gianpaolo, Heller Patrick and Silva Marcelo Kunrath, "Making Space for Civil Society: Institutional Reforms and Local Democracy in Brazil", *Social Forces*, Vol. 86, No. 3 (Mar., 2008), Oxford University Press, pp. 911-936:913

[74] Scholte Jan Aart, "Civil Society and Democracy in Global Governance", *Global Governance*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (July–Sept. 2002), Lynne Rienner Publishers pp. 281-304:283

[75] Huckfeldt Robert and Sprague John, *Citizens, Politics And Social Communication: Information And Influence In An Election Campaign,* Cambridge University Press, New York, 2003, p.124

How does global civil society further democracy? Critics argue that as global civil society is NGO-led, it is intrinsically undemocratic. Since no one has elected NGOs, they cannot claim to represent anyone but their members. Their direct input into international political institutions and any influence they may have over the direction of global governance is not democratic because they have not tested their policy commitments by putting them to a popular vote. In fact, NGOs tend to claim moral authority for their causes rather than democratic legitimacy...it is argued that even the moral authority that the majority of the NGOs might legitimately claim on the basis of the validity of their aims is tainted because of the close involvement of many with projects of globalization led by undemocratic political institutions.[76]

Both local and international CSOs like *Uraia Trust* (Citizen Trust)[77], Center for Governance and Democracy (CGD), Center for Multiparty Democracy (CMD) and Hebert Boll Stiftung (HBS) are involved in activities that facilitate the provision and flow of political information which is essential for political participation.

3.1   Providing Oversight for Governance

Government as described by Apter[78] is an institution made up of a group of individuals exercising legitimate authority; these individuals protect and adapt the community by making and carrying out decisions. Government like most institutions is however susceptible to abuse, the allure of power and access to resources makes abuse of it all the more possible as individuals go to great lengths to acquire, expand or maintain it. In the beginning, individuals may desire to join government for a moral cause, for purely altruistic reasons, but they are eventually drawn to power play, previously incorruptible individuals become easily compromised.

In trying to keep government in line, Civil Society helps in the formulation of norms as the guiding principles to work by. Norms are standards of behaviour defined

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[76] Nash Kate, *Contemporary Political Sociology: Globalization, Politics And Power*, Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford, Uk, 2010, p.213

[77] Uraia Trust is Swahili for Citizen Trust, it is a local CSO whose core programme is civic education.

[78] Apter David E., *Political Change*, Cass Paperbacks, 1973 p.73

in terms of rights and obligations which are culturally defined and widely accepted.[79] They form the yardstick which governments abide by and are called on from time to time to account for their actions.

The implication of acting as an oversight is that issues are brought to the fore. Citizens by virtue of giving government mandate to act on their behalf demand accountability and openness, civil society represents the voice of the citizens to demand for this. To support this, political participation provides a way for citizens to express either contentment or displeasure with government. On one end if citizens find issue with government, through political participation they can demand for accountability e.g. through demonstrations or they can use participation as a means to put politicians in check with the possibility of removal e.g. through elections. On the other hand, if government is running well, individuals participate to maintain the status quo and retain the same leaders.

Kenyan CSOs have been the mainstay of activism from independence to date; they have successfully rallied Kenyans behind various issues through picketing, lobbying, demonstrating and signing petitions. These activities are often encouraged by the need to express dissatisfaction with government policies and conduct. CSOs mobilization ensures mass political action and participation, and is an effective way to jolt government to listening to citizens' issues and concerns and to demand redress.

Kenyans through observing and listening to CSOs have learnt that it is their right as citizens to have expectations of government and in the same breath hold their leaders accountable. This realization has reinforced CSOs' oversight activities. The citizens' political consciousness has been to the peril of the government especially past regimes such as the one under President Daniel Moi whose survival was

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[79] Keohane Robert O., *After Hegemony: Cooperation And Discord In The World Political Economy*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1984, p.57

guaranteed by the ignorance and timidity of the people and to a large extent the civil society to demand accountability. With time, CSOs have sought recourse by playing the oversight role regardless of regime and have tried to remain unbowed to pressure.

3.2 Carrying out Public Civic education

Civic education has a significant impact on individual's level of engagement with the political system.[80] At the heart of it is raising awareness through dissemination of information and delivering that information in a comprehensible manner, this is especially important for individuals in emerging democracies who learn democratic values, skills, and participatory orientations through civic education.[81] Awareness does not necessarily equal understanding, individuals may be generally aware of certain policies but they do not understand them. Civic education elucidates information, which in effect impacts greatly on political participation, as most individuals are motivated to act from a point of understanding issues as opposed to acting out of ignorance. One can however not rule out the place of contagion in political participation where individuals are driven to participate because those around them are taking part too; in this case individuals can act not from a point of knowledge but due to group-think.[82]

The period leading to the 2010 constitutional referendum was marked by nation-wide civic education from both the state and non-state actors. While copies of the proposed constitution were distributed, it was imperative to ensure that Kenyans

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[80] Finkel Steven E., Civic Education and the Mobilization of Political Participation in Developing Democracies, *The Journal of Politics,* Vol. 64, No. 4 (Nov., 2002), Cambridge University Press, pp. 994-1020:996

[81] Finkel Steven E., Civic Education and the Mobilization of Political Participation in Developing Democracies, *The Journal of Politics,* Vol. 64, No. 4 (Nov., 2002), Cambridge University Press, pp. 994-1020:994

[82] Interview with Masiime K., Executive Director, Center for Governance and Development, Nairobi, June 2014

understood what it entailed, hence civic education. However there was the fear of personality and ethnic politics taking center stage as was the case with most elections, in that individuals would either accept or reject the constitution not based on their opinion of it, but based on the opinions of their preferred political and ethnic leaders, undermining the efforts of civic education.

In addition to providing information and understanding, civic education helps in clearing misperceptions. Politics is riddled with half-truths and entire lies spawned by politicians to achieve a certain end often for their own personal gain, the result of which is a populace who have wrong information. This is especially true during campaigns and during formulation of sensitive policies such as security. Civic education seeks to resocialize individuals providing them with information and facts as they are and allowing them to form their own judgments and hence participate appropriately from an enlightened position. These are indirect effects of civic education on political participation where democracy training influences attitudes, values, and perceptions that feed into subsequent political participation.[83]

A lot of civic education majoring on peace, tolerance, togetherness and unity went into the election period the result of which was calm during the 2013 elections, a stark contrast to the 2007 elections. The elections results were contended and there was a semblance of tension, however it did not result to violence as was witnessed in 2007. This speaks to the changed mentality and value system of the Kenyan electorate as a result of civic education and numerous peace campaigns.

Government has been known to scale up civic education around election time; otherwise there's not much activity in between elections citizens. Government is

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[83] Finkel Steven E., Civic Education and the Mobilization of Political Participation in Developing Democracies, *The Journal of Politics,* Vol. 64, No. 4 (Nov., 2002), Cambridge University Press, pp. 994-1020:997-998

however not entirely to blame, civic education is understandably an expensive affair and government can only do so much with its limited resources, hence the supplementary role CSOs plays comes in handy. CSOs unlike government are numerous and are spread out such that they reach individuals at the grass root level.

3.3   Driving Political Debate

CSOs are an important driver of political debate, they engage individuals in topics that affect them and utilize the media to bring issues to a public arena where they can be freely discussed. The result of this is that individuals are able to voice their opinions and affirm their values, goals, challenges and hopes while at the same time listen to others' opinion.

Debates also stir up interest and curiosity; individuals who would have otherwise paid no attention to certain issues become interested in what is going on around them depending on the nature and scope of the debate. It invokes individuals into being inquisitive about various issues and with it raising awareness. Ideas and values are products of popular consent and hence any party or government needs success in constructing, selling, defending and legitimating a set of ideas, consent can be gauged by checking the direction a debate is taking and with it government can act appropriately.[84]

Individuals however feel comfortable to hold or participate in debates within specific settings e.g. only in the family set up, in the work place, online forums etc. The preference is often based on the perception of the individual on how they expect others to react to their opinions, for example most people do not feel comfortable

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[84] Gibbins J.R, "Contemporary Political Culture: An Introduction", Gibbins John R. (ed), *Contemporary Political Culture: Politics in a Postmodern Age,* 1990, Sage Publications, London, New Delhi, p.5

discussing politics at work as they feel that may polarize the environment. Most discuss politics with their peers including friends and acquaintances.

CSOs through their grass roots activities spur debates which inadvertently act as a source of political information for individuals. While peer and family debates may be subjective and partisan, they offer an alternative to media for dissemination of information. In this case, individuals can relate and understand the language and overall debate as it often conducted with individuals with whom they share a similar social or cultural background.

The platform which individuals choose to hold debates also matters and CSOs have been keen to utilize what is available. Currently online forums have been the favourite among the Kenyan youth due to its accessibility, relaxed and understandable mode of delivery. The concept of anonymity is also alluring for those who shun publicity or open debates. Majority of CSOs have embraced online forums by incorporating blogs in their websites to spur debates. They encourage individuals to give feedback on articles featuring in their websites and also accept independent articles from people on various political issues.

The media has also been a key platform for debates, which CSOs have utilized to reach a wider audience. The discussions are moderated by the media house where the debate is taking place and are intellectual. The panel often includes CSOs and have the debaters either support or rebuttal the subject under discussion. The audience is better able to understand issues as they are presented with diverse opinions which also inform their political participation.

3.4   Setting Political Agenda

Policies are often formulated and implemented without a fuss and majority of what government does goes unnoticed to majority of the public. CSOs draw the public's attention, publicize subjects they consider important, raise individuals' interest and emphasize on issues. Ideally, citizens' levels of participation are linked to the policy direction pursued by government.[85] CSOs are aware of this which is why those subjects which are considered as non-issues by the public but are important, are brought to the limelight, their importance is stressed and CSOs play the devil's advocate by raising questions which otherwise citizens would not ordinarily ask, thus agenda setting.

Through agenda setting, CSOs also shape public opinion, an important driver of political participation. Politicians, and rightly so, are weary of public opinion as this can make or break them, their task then is to manage it and are careful that they and their policies do not fall out of favour with the electorate. It is imagined that CSOs echo individuals' interest and concerns therefore a run-in with the CSOs reflects on the negative perception and attitude of individuals to the politician or government institution. The importance of public opinion is evidenced by the rise of opinion polls which carry out surveys on various issues. Their accuracy, impartiality and objectivity is debatable, however this does not warrant their dismissal as they help gauge individuals' perception, for their participation is based on what the individuals perceive as true.

Politicians have realized the power of agenda setting which they utilize through propaganda, the idea is to hype a story to either discredit opponents or support cohorts. The ingenuity of using this strategy is that, depending on the success

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[85] Flavin Patrick and Griffin John D., "Policy, Preferences, and Participation: Government's Impact on Democratic Citizenship", *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 71, No. 2 (Apr., 2009), pp. 544-559:544

of the propaganda citizens will be found discussing the issue at hand hence agenda setting. Silence to politicians is considered dangerous; they therefore use agenda setting as a means for remaining relevant in the public sphere because as issues are being discussed, so are the politicians responsible for the issue at hand or those driving the debate.

3.5   Linking Individuals to Government

As earlier defined, the government is there to represent individuals, there are however times when government is alienated from the people. This can make the difference between participation and non-participation. Individuals who care but feel estranged or disaffected from the system or somehow left out of the political process feel that participation has no meaning for them, they often view political leaders as unresponsive to their needs, pursing instead the narrow interests of the elites, they become indifferent as a coping mechanism.[86]

There is relationship between what citizens expect government to do, what government actually does and how citizens perceive the results of government decisions which in turn affects the citizens subsequent involvement in politics.[87] If the system is alienated from the people, there is a high chance that little will be done to meet their expectations, but in the contrary, greater involvement translates to more expectations being met.

While both government and CSOs seek to link citizens to the political system, their approach sets them apart from each other. CSOs use a bottom-up approach with great success; they reach a wide audience at their domicile and liaise in developing

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[86] Glasberg Davita Silfen & Shannon Deric, *Political Sociology: Oppression, Resistance and The State*, Sage Publications Ltd, London, 2011, P.102

[87] Flavin Patrick and griffin John D., Policy, "Preferences, and Participation: Government's Impact on Democratic Citizenship", *The Journal of Politics,* Vol. 71, No. 2 (Apr., 2009), pp. 544-559:545

relevant and applicable projects in concert with them to suit their unique situations as opposed to applying blanket strategies for everyone. Individuals have a sense of ownership to the projects and also have a greater understanding too. This is in direct contrast to government which applies a top-down approach i.e. decisions are made by leaders who rarely seek their constituents' opinions but instead make unilateral decisions on their behalf. The only time policies are brought to the public domain is when the leaders are looking out for their interests, they politicize issues to either gain support or for publicity purposes, the constituents' opinions and needs are secondary to their own.

It is only recently through devolution that government has nurtured greater citizen involvement, CSOs are cognizant of this and have devolved their services too. The use of referendums is also another way that governments have sought public opinion on pertinent issues, although they are rarely utilized.

Various initiatives have been started to help link citizens to the government. Heinrich Böll Stiftung an international CSO supports the Community Education and Empowerment Centre (CEEC) in its "*Sauti Mtaani*" (Voice in the Neighbourhood[88]) e-platform initiative which promotes youth civic engagement in informal settlements of Korogocho, Mathare, Dandora and Mukuru in Nairobi, where they can reach their MCAs by sending text messages or posting their concerns on Facebook and the MCAs can respond from any web enabled device.[89] This initiative addresses the political disconnect by embraces devolution's agenda to bring government services closer to the people through County Government and linking citizens to leadership which translates to greater inclusion.

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[88] Sauti Mtaani is Swahili for Voice in the Neighbourhood
[89] http://ke.boell.org/2014/03/26/sauti-mtaani-voice-hood, 14/8/2014, 11:50am

Uraia Trust a Kenyan CSO through its Civic Engagement programme has also helped link individuals to government. This programme facilitates individuals to engage on issues of concern to them and their communities by enabling them understand the mechanisms available through the various levels of government, legislation or other programmes, and enable them utilize those mechanisms. In addition to that, individuals can engage with politicians and other office bearers at various levels, who can address their concerns.[90]

3.6   Globalization as a Catalyst for Democracy

Globalization has been defined as the growth of worldwide networks of interdependence.[91] With the end of the Cold War, states realized that cooperation rather than making unilateral decisions would further their interests and help them achieve their goals.

CSOs have propagated globalization which is responsible for fast tracking the formation and organization of the international system, linking up states and with it the spread and harmonization of political norms and values. Bull describes the international system as being formed when two or more states are in constant contact and impact on one another's decisions and international order described as a pattern of activity that sustains the elementary or primary goals of the society of states or the international society.[92]

Globalization helps in the propagation of global political values which then form the fabric of a state's political culture. Democracy is one such value and has

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[90] http://www.uraia.or.ke/en/civic.php, 14/8/2014, 12:17pm
[91] Nye Joseph S., *The Paradox of American Power: Why the World' Only Superpower Can't Go It Alone,* Oxford University Press, Inc., New York, New York, 2002, p.78
[92] Bull Hedley *The anarchical society; A study of order in world politics*, 1977, Columbia University Press & The Macmillan Press Ltd p.9

been described as a system where people exercise collective self-determination.[93] Just as other norms, democracy is learnt through setting up relevant institutional frameworks that empower people by educating and imparting in them the relevant values, its establishment requires concerted and deliberate effort.[94]

> Domesticating democracy in the African context amounts to a dynamic and continuous process of institutionalization in which democratic ideas, beliefs, values, practices, actions and relationships, and new forms of political behaviour gain acceptance and popular support in society and become successfully integrated with other features of the culture and society, endowing them with popular legitimacy.[95]

Other values advanced through globalization and with the aid of CSOs include collective security, human rights, interdependence and globalization of political economy. This is eased by the global connection, communication and partnership of CSOs which gives them added strength and influence in propagating global political values. This international linkage has not always been taken kindly by governments in developing world who view CSOs as agents of foreign powers. Their concerns are often downplayed or dismissed, and their agenda is questioned. Unfortunately some citizens have adopted the same attitude and view CSOs with skepticism as opposed to seeing them as allies and agents of positive change.

By partnering with international CSOs, local CSOs have been agents of globalization especially in the spread of democratic values through various means. CGD for example through its partnership with the Ford Foundation and American CSO and have held a series of Public Debates on "Democracy; Constitutionalism,

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[93] Scholte Jan Aart, "Civil Society and Democracy in Global Governance", *Global Governance*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (July–Sept. 2002), Lynne Rienner Publishers pp. 281-304:285

[94] Zittel Thomas and Fuchs Dieter ed., *Participatory Democracy and Political Participation: Can participatory engineering bring citizens back in?* Routledge, London and New York, 2007, p.11

[95] Owusu Maxwell, "Domesticating Democracy: Culture, Civil Society, and Constitutionalism in Africa", *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* Vol. 39, No. 1 (Jan., 1997), Cambridge University Press, pp.120-152:121

Elections, and Governance". [96] This kind of partnership helps in the transmission of democratic values from institutions which borrow from their highly democratic home countries to countries still learning some of these principles.

3.7   Encouraging Individuals to Seek Elective Public Office

Seeking elective positions is a preserve of a few in the sense that not many individuals choose this as their preferred method of political participation, but rather prefer supporting individuals who choose to go this way. However seeking elective position comes with its own challenges key among them being youth and gender marginalization and lack of civic leadership skills.

On the aspect of youth and gender marginalization, there exist bureaucratic, social and political bottlenecks that make it difficult for willing and able youth to contest against the older and more established generation, and in the case of gender, women face challenges when contesting against men. Majority of those in elected positions benefit from political networking and patronage which is very selective in a cartel-like manner. New aspirants have to seek endorsement from the patrons to secure success during elections or risk being locked out, and with it adapt to their culture. Elites co-opt new members i.e. they socialize prospective and new members so that they come to share the worldview of the power elite, those aspiring for elite positions must be willing to adopt the prevailing worldview. [97]

The youth and women are empowered not to accept the status quo, but to instead seek positions. For example, the Center for Multiparty Democracy (CMD) has a Gender and Inclusivity Programme which addresses factors that counter against the

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[96] http://www.cmd-kenya.org/index.php/programmes-monitoring-and-evaluation/special-projects, 14/8/2014, 11:12am

[97] Glasberg Davita Silfen & Shannon Deric, *Political Sociology: Oppression, Resistance and The State*, Sage Publications Ltd, London, 2011, p.26

participation of women, youth, persons with disabilities and minority communities in national leadership and political party leadership through the creation of an inclusive, tolerant and democratic society in which all persons contribute and participate freely and equitably in decision making processes for the greater good of society. [98]

CSOs address the second challenge of lack of civic leadership skills by providing civic education and leadership training. This way, on assumption of office, individuals are better able to dispense their duties in a professional, ethical and transparent manner. They instill a sense of duty in individuals seeking public elected offices. They also educate them to know and understand the laws, policies and norms governing the country. This is especially important for new contestants who unlike the more experienced politicians have a lot to learn.

3.8   Conclusion

CSOs have been instrumental in the political landscape of Kenya and have driven most of the changes in the political scene like the advent of multipartism. They have also been known to encourage certain forms of participation among a various criteria of individuals e.g. encouraging the youth, women and disabled to seek elected public office. They also voice their concerns when injustices occur and advocate for best practices and healthy political culture e.g. free and fair elections.

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[98] http://www.cmd-kenya.org/index.php/scaling-of-womens-participation/deepening-democracy, 14/8/2014, 11:03am

CHAPTER FOUR: FRIEDRICH-EBERT-STIFTUNG AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

4.0   Introduction

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) is the case study CSO for this project. Through its various programmes, FES raises political awareness, influences policy, empowers the youth and women leaders, and encourages good governance, all which have an impact on political participation. By studying FES, this section will expound further the link between civil society advocacy and political participation in Kenya.

FES was founded in 1925 after Germany´s first democratically elected president, Friedrich Ebert who led Germany from 1919 to 1925. The foundation aimed to advance political and social education of individuals in the spirit of democracy and pluralism, to facilitate access to university education and research and to contribute to international understanding and cooperation. It was banned by the Nazis in 1933 and re-established in 1947, and continued to pursue its aims through various programmes and activities.[99]

FES established an office in Kenya in 1964, and signed an official agreement with the Government of Kenya in May 1972. It endeavors to strengthen democracy and improve political, social and economic conditions for development through civic and political education, capacity building, policy development, promotion of dialogue and debate on contemporary issues among diverse groups. It is involved in strengthening institutions and mechanisms that are important to a vibrant democracy, such as an independent parliament, a strong civil society, a free media, trade unions and constitutionalism.[100] FES's activities while aimed at strengthening democracy and

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[99] Interview with Osido K., Programme Manager, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Kenya, Nairobi, September 2014
[100] http://www.fes-kenya.org/, 1/9/2014, 3:27pm

the institutions and values that go with it, has invariably influenced political participation.

4.1 Supporting Local Civil Society Organizations

CSOs have played an important role in enhancing democracy in Africa. While democracy has been embraced in most African states, the truth remains that it is a foreign concept. Coming from a background of traditional systems to colonial systems, the idea of nationalism and democratic structures such as government, the constitution and elections had to be learnt. To do so, individuals in Africa have had to consciously resocialize themselves.

The breakaway from the previous systems of governance and political culture has not been easy as they had been ingrained in the social culture, but with time and education, democratic systems have been established. Owusu acknowledges that there is a challenge on how democratic institutions and practices fit into the changing African indigenous social and political practices and beliefs, there is a challenge on how the indigenous systems will be modified or transformed, and how the beliefs and practices are in turn modified or changed by pre-existing forms.[101]

African states have often used developed states like America and Britain as a reference point on how democracy operates. While these states are not without blame or error in their governing systems, they have had years to learn, grow and evolve to what they are today. The same can be said about the establishment of CSOs in Africa. Their inception was as a result of Western influences which sought to replicate their political culture and institutions to empower non-state actors and create democratic

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[101] Owusu Maxwell, "Domesticating Democracy: Culture, Civil Society, and Constitutionalism in Africa", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (Jan., 1997), Cambridge University Press, pp. 120-152:121

values and institutions in Africa. They have been especially instrumental in politics in their role in civic education and citizen empowerment.

While some CSOs are homegrown, there is a large presence of international CSOs in Kenya such as Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. Majority of these international CSOs work closely with local CSOs in various projects and programmes. They also support local CSOs financially and in capacity building and partner with them in carrying our research. For example, FES has partnered with Citizens Against Violence (CAVi) to launch the Nairobi Slum Residents' Assembly to support sixty young leaders in their lobby and advocacy work for better social and security conditions in the informal settlements.[102]

The relationship between local and international CSOs has not always been taken kindly by African governments who perceive local CSOs as pawns of foreign powers. This is often observed as an excuse on the part of the governments who generally fear the CSOs would usurp their power, influence their citizens and encroach on the states' sovereignty. CSOs are however viewed more favourably by people who see them as their mouth-piece; they articulate citizens' concerns and represent their interests too.

4.2   Providing Leadership Training

As noted in the previous chapter, leadership training is an important component to support individuals who prefer seeking elected public office as their choice of political participation. However, there is more to being a leader than charisma and vision, it is important that these individuals are equipped with the

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[102]http://www.fes-kenya.org/pages/activities/economic-and-social-policy-dialogue.php, 20/8/2014, 11:56am

necessary skills, ethics and knowledge especially on governance and constitutionalism.

Through its Political Leadership and Governance Programme (PLGP), FES aims at creating a new political leadership culture in Kenya with skills relevant for leadership at all levels within political party structures and to give an opportunity for young people to create and strengthen a youth leadership and mentorship network by nurturing and promoting value-driven servant leadership for good governance in a democratic society.[103]

This initiative results in the establishment of an empowered leadership who on assumption of duty are responsible, accountable and responsive. It also establishes and encourages best practices in governance. Every leader has constituents i.e. individuals to whom they are responsible to and whose interests and welfare they represent. Leadership training also targets to empower individuals in positions such as students-body leaders or local community leaders who are taught to be more efficient and responsive to the needs of their constituents. Their proximity to the people and their understanding of issues places them in a better position than national leaders who may be alienated from the same constituents.

With the establishment of devolution under Kenya's new constitution, many political leaders have failed to understand their new roles; leadership training by CSOs complement government initiatives to educate political leaders on the same to carry out their duties better. Through the study of other governance systems, CSOs can train leaders on matters devolution which helps clear out the confusion that is akin to the transition from one type of governance system to another.

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[103]http://www.fes-kenya.org/pages/activities/young-leadership.php, 10/8/2014, 11:57am

4.3   Carrying out Research

While politics may seem like an abstract idea, research has made it more concrete and understandable. Research places ideas and events into context and explains phenomenon. It also helps in drawing comparisons e.g. in governance systems or on the metamorphosis of systems through time. Research has proven that politics is no longer the preserve of politicians; it has enabled more stakeholders including academia and CSOs to contribute to policy making and implementation.

Research has also facilitated transitioning from traditional systems to modern democratic systems by studying the subject of governance and suggesting ways that the move can be made possible. This is by enabling traditional African institutions or political cultures to change into new national political structures and practices to the extent which they are compatible with the goals of democratization, liberalization, modernization, and peaceful adjustment of interests among individuals and among groups such as ethnic groups and gender.[104] Research further provides suggestions on how borrowed systems can be domesticated to suit local conditions.

FES has encouraged scholars and other individuals to carry out research on various governance issues such as devolution, constitutionalism, political parties, the youth in leadership and governance, and their findings are presented in conferences, workshops and featured in publications.[105] These publications can be instrumental in solving modern day political issues and can also inform policy formulation and implementation.

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[104] Owusu Maxwell, "Domesticating Democracy: Culture, Civil Society, and Constitutionalism in Africa", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (Jan., 1997), Cambridge University Press, pp. 120-152:132
[105] Interview with Osido K., Programme Manager, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Kenya, Nairobi, September 2014.

4.4   Providing Public Civic and Political Education

Civic education is important for empowerment as individuals are made aware that their opinions and choices count and that they are made to know that they can take control over what goes on politically.[106] Individuals therefore participate from an informed point of view and are more rational and confident in their actions.

FES conducts civic education through workshops, writing of publications and other initiatives such as PLGP. Through civic education, individuals have been engaged in various governance and policy issues, which translate to heightened political self-awareness and the need to be politically active. FES has also been able to enhance constitutionalism, emphasizing on the importance of adhering to the rule of law, and has clarified some confusing provisions such as devolution.[107]

Scholars such as Malena and Heinrich view CSOs as an arena that provides a public space where diverse societal values and interests interact with a focus on citizens as the building block of CSOs.[108] This arena encourages individual political expression and the pursuit of interests.

4.5   Supporting Youth Leadership

The youth are a section of the population that has been ignored in governance. Their relevance is only found when politicians are soliciting their support during elections or when they want support to drive and agenda of their interest. It is unfortunate as witnessed in the 2007 PEV, that the youth are also used in causing

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[106]Malena Carmen and Heinrich Volkhart Finn, "Can We Measure Civil Society? A Proposed Methodology for International Comparative Research", *Development in Practice*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Jun., 2007), Taylor & Francis Ltd, pp. 338-352:345,

[107] Interview with Osido K., Programme Manager, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Kenya, Nairobi, September 2014.

[108] Malena Carmen and Heinrich Volkhart Finn, "Can We Measure Civil Society? A Proposed Methodology for International Comparative Research", *Development in Practice*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Jun., 2007), Taylor & Francis Ltd, pp. 338-352:340

hooliganism and conflict. They end up being pawns to serve the interests of the politicians, this is only possible due to their nature of be impressionable makes them vulnerable.

As a way to remedy the trend of youth alienation in politics and ensure greater inclusion and involvement, FES organizes "The Political Forum", a platform that targets and engages politically active Kenyan youth in political discussions where they discuss policy in an informal setting, greater participation is achieved through this kind of inclusivity and engagement.[109]

PLGP offers a platform where young leaders from different political parties and diverse political inclinations a chance to network, share their experiences and encourage one another. This is with the realization that the youth are often unable to access power within important political institutions and instead continue to encounter hostility, elitism, limited political space, stereotypes and negative perception within political hierarchies. Most are relegated to party youth and women leagues with no budget and no meaningful place in decision making organs while those who make it into the party lists owe their success to closeness to the power brokers and what they have been able to deliver to the political party elites. [110]

4.6   Supporting Democratic Practices and Institutions

While democracy is in essence a practice, it is supported by institutions and people cultured in ways democratic. The main pillars of democracy include government, elections, multi-partism, free press and constitutionalism. These

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[109] Interview with Osido K., Programme Manager, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Kenya, Nairobi, September 2014.
[110] Interview with Osido K., Programme Manager, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Kenya, Nairobi, May 2014

institutions act as a conduit for individuals to express themselves, articulate and pursue their interests.

FES promotes political parties as a cornerstone of representative democracy and seeks to address the political culture which is rife with corruption, patronage and ethnicity. It also organizes trainings to promote intra-party democracy and fosters young party activists and addresses issues such as policy formulation, recruitment of political leaders, vetting of candidates, preparation of party lists, and gender balance.[111]

While Civil Society has supported the afore mentioned, there are however times that they have been unsuccessful. A good example is the 2007 PEV which was marked by death and chaos arising from individuals' intolerance of diverse views and unsolved historical injustices such as land and ethnicity. The same institutions that were meant to bring cohesion and foster nationalism were used to spread hatred, intolerance, division and strife.

Many have questioned where CSOs were at this dark time and see it as a let-down on their part. However, following these events, CSOs have come out very strongly to foster unity, understanding and tolerance. To stress the importance of respect and tolerance of diverse opinions, Mill posits that if all mankind minus one were of one opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind.[112] Contrary to George Orwell's[113] final declaration in The Animal Farm where 'all animals are equal but some animals are more equal than others', in politics, no opinion is 'more equal' than the other.

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[111] Interview with Osido K., Programme Manager, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Kenya, Nairobi, May 2014
[112] Mill, John Stuart, *On Liberty*, 1956, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., Indianapolis, New York, p.21
[113] Orwell George, *The Animal Farm*, 2000, Penguin Books, p.23-25

Constitutionalism is a major tenet of democracy, aside from offering laws that govern and maintain order, if followed properly; it fosters nationalism, cooperation and good will. African states have gained notoriety for having leaders who feel that they are above the law. Laws are often amended to ensure their survival and are changed in a whim. Lawmakers in this case government, have their roles undermined

The Commission for the Implementation of the Constitution (CIC) established under The Commission for the Implementation of the Constitution Act of 2010 has as its mandate to monitor, facilitate and oversee the development of legislation and administrative procedures required to effectively implement the Constitution.[114]

4.7   Conclusion

In keeping with its international outlook and relevance to its host states, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has over the years come up with programmes that suit the countries it operates in. In Kenya for example, the *"Sauti Mtaani"* (Voice in the neighbourhood) programme partnership with Community Education and Empowerment Centre (CEEC) is responsive to the new constitution by recognizing the new administrative positions and linking citizens to them.

The forerunner of Political Leadership and Governance Programme was Political Leadership Development Programme (PLDP), both seek to create a new political leadership culture in Kenya and are aimed at strengthening and professionalizing political parties through training of young members who are already engaged in political party work and who aspire to run for elected public office. The PLGP curriculum is designed to equip individuals with skills which enhance their participation in leadership at all levels within political party structures and further

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[114] http://www.cickenya.org/index.php/about-us/cic-mandate#.U_8jB3ZqNbo, 27/8/2014, 3:40pm

seeks to elucidate the new structures of devolved governance as embodied in the constitution. Graduands of this programme then join Pioneers for Change (P4C) which enhances mentorship and networking among the PLGP and PLDP alumni.[115]

FES has been instrumental in raising political consciousness, a key determinant of political participation as individuals often act from a point of knowledge. However as indicated earlier, this may not always be the case with political participation as individuals sometimes act in contagion with others or adopt a group think mentality. Even with that said, consciousness or awareness increases the accuracy and relevance of decision making as individuals take into account a wealth of information and by treating several potentially interdependent items at nearly the same time.[116]

Further, FES embodies interdependence, cooperation and globalization in its collaboration with local CSOs. It not only funds but also empowers these local institutions and builds capacity, the result of which is greater outreach.

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[115] Interview with Osido K., Programme Manager, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Kenya, Nairobi, May 2014.

[116] Deutsch Karl W., *The Nerves Of Government*, 1966, The Free Press, New York, Collier-Macmillan Limited, London, p.202

CHAPTER FIVE: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

5.0 Introduction

This study used questionnaires as the data collection tool, Questionnaire One targeted individuals where 100 respondents participated in the exercise with gender and age representation being as indicated below;

Table 1: Gender representation

Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Male	53	53%
Female	36	36%
No response	11	11%

Source: The researcher

Table 2: Age representation

Age	Respondents	Percentage
18-35	73	73%
36-50	14	14%
51-65	12	12%
66+ and above	1	1%

Source: The researcher

Questionnaire Two targeted CSOs where 6 of them participated and they include; Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), Center for Governance and Democracy (CGD), Center for Multiparty Democracy (CMD), Hebert Boll Stiftung (HBS) and government caucuses like Kenya Young Parliamentarians Association (KYPA) and Kenya Women Parliamentarians Association (KEWOPA).

The results from the questionnaires affirm Barber's view that it is important to understand that citizens do not just have opinions; they use them, and in this case it

affects their political preferences and frequency of political participation as evidenced by the data presented below.[117]

The questionnaires sought to meet the study's objectives which include;

1) Main / Overall Objective

To investigate the role of civil society advocacy on political participation in Kenya between 2007 and 2013.

2) Other Objectives

   a) To investigate the significance of the activities of FES as a civil society organization on political participation in Kenya between 2007 and 2013.

   b) To investigate the political participation trends in Kenya, between 2007 and 2013.

   c) To establish the levels of awareness on political participation in Kenya between 2007 and 2013.

5.1   Objective One

❖   To investigate the significance of the activities of FES as a civil society organization on political participation in Kenya between 2007 and 2013.

Table 3: Individuals participation in activities organized by civil society *(Individuals response)*

Response	Respondents	Percentage
Individuals that have participated in CSO activities	31	31%
Individuals that have not participated in CSO activities	62	62%
No response	7	7%

Source: The researcher

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[117] Coles R., "How Opinions Help People", Barber, J.D (ed), *Readings in Citizen Politics*: *Essays in Political Behaviour,* Markham Publishers, 1969, p.125

As depicted in Table 3, most of the respondents making 62% have not taken part in any activity organized by civil society; however, 31% have taken part and 7% of the respondents did not respond to the question.

Table 4: Promotion of political participation by civil society *(Individuals response)*

Response	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	49	49%
No	47	38%
No response	4	4%

Source: The researcher

As depicted in table 4, Most of the respondents making 49% are of the opinion that civil society is adequately promoting political participation, while 47% think that civil society is not adequately promoting political participation. However, 4% of the respondents did not indicate their opinion.

Table 5: Promotion of political participation by government *(Individuals response)*

Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Yes	47	47%
No	42	42%
No response	11	11%

Source: The researcher

Table 6: Promotion of political participation by government *(CSOs response).*

Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Yes	2	33.3%
No	4	66.7%

Source: The researcher

47% of individuals think that government is adequately promoting political participation while 33.3% of CSOs are of the same opinion. 42% of individuals are of a contrary opinion that government does not adequately promote political

participation, 66.6% of the CSOs interviewed are of the same opionon. 11% of individuals did not respond to the question.

5.2   Objective Two

❖   To investigate the political participation trends in Kenya, between 2007 and 2013.

Table 7: Levels of political participation *(Individuals response)*

Response	Respondent	Percentage
Individuals that participate in political activities	82	82%
Individuals that do not participate in political activities	18	18%

Source: The researcher

As depicted in table 7 above, most of the respondents making 82% participate in political activities, followed by 18% who do not participate in political activities. Majority have taken part in voting as a form of political activity, followed by debating/discussing politics and the least popular being running for public office. The main motivation to participate as indicated by 52 of the respondents is their desire to see change in their country.

Table 8: Levels of voting in the last general elections (*Individuals response*)

Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Voted	82	82%
Did not vote	18	18%

Source: The researcher

82% voted in the last general elections while 18% (n=18) did not vote, as depicted in table 8 above.

Table 9: Kenyans political participation trend (*CSOs response)*

Response	Respondent	Percentage
Not good	0	0%
Fairly good	5	83.3%
Very good	1	16.7%

Source: The researcher

As depicted in table 9 above, 16% of CSOs characterized Kenyans political participation as fairly good, the majority at 83.3% gave the response as fairly good and none thought that Kenyan's political participation as not good.

Table 10: Impact of 2007 post elections violence on the political attitudes, expectations and conduct of Kenyans (*CSOs response)*

Response	Respondent	Percentage
2007 PEV had an impact on Kenyans	6	100%
2007 PEV had no impact on Kenyans	0	0%

Source: The researcher

All the CSOs who participated in the study are of the opinion that the 2007 post-election violence had an impact on the political attitudes, expectations and conduct of Kenyans as depicted in table 10 above. The CSOs enumerated some of the effects as being; political apathy and greater ethnic awareness, however in the same breathe it has had a positive impact where there is heightened political interest, awareness and participation.[118]

5.3   Objective Three

❖   To establish the levels of awareness on political participation in Kenya between 2007 and 2013.

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[118] Interview with Bulumwa A., Head of Secretariat, Kenya Young Parliamentarians Association, Nairobi, June 2014

Table 11: Accessibility of political information to individuals *(Individuals response)*

Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Not accessible	1	1%
Fairly accessible	43	43%
Very accessible	48	48%
No response	8	8%

Source: The researcher

As depicted in table 11, most of the respondents making 48% find information on politics to be very accessible, with 43% finding access to information being fairly accessible and 1% not being able to access information on politics. 8% of the respondents did not indicate the accessibility of political information to them.

Majority of the information is accessed via electronic media followed by print media, with CSOs being the least platform from which the respondents gained information on politics.

Table 12: Frequency of following politics through various media platforms *(Individuals response)*

Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Not often	12	12.0
Fairly often	48	48.0
Very often	36	36.0
Not indicated	4	4.0

Source: The researcher

It has been proven by research that citizens who are attentive to the course of events are better informed about them than those who are indifferent, being attentive to issues prompts one to acquire information about them and to acquire information about issues is to be attentive to them.[119]

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[119] Rosenau. James N., *Citizenship Between Elections: An Inquiry Into The Mobilizable American,* 1974, The Free Press, New York, p.343

As depicted in Table 12, majority of the respondents making 48% get information through multiple forms of media fairly often, 36% use these platforms very often and 12% do not use these platforms often. 4% of the respondents did not indicate their frequency of accessing political information through the outlined media platforms.

Table 13: Reliability of media platforms in giving information on politics

(Individuals response)

Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Not reliable	8	8%
Fairly reliable	61	61%
Very reliable	27	27%
No response	4	4%

Source: The researcher

As depicted in Table 13 above, most of the respondents 61% feel that then platforms of media through which the get political information from are fairly reliable, 27% think the platforms are very reliable, 8% think the platforms are not reliable and 4% did not indicate their opinion.

Majority of the respondents are aware of national policies with most citing Education policy, Health policy and the Youth policy but few are aware of county policies with only 31 mentioning the county policies they are aware of. This may imply that individuals are more concerned with national policies; it may also imply that they are yet to understand the place and functions of Counties in the governance structures.

CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY, OBSERVATIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0   Summary

The purpose of this study was to establish the role of civil society on political participation in Kenya between 2007 and 2013 with Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung being the case study. It further sought to establish individuals' political awareness, political interest and ultimately political participation.

The idea of political participation speaks to the core of democracy in the sense that individuals take ownership of their governance, first by electing individuals to represent them and secondly by taking part in political activities which act as both a check and balance system in addition to being a way to keep them engaged in the political establishment as stakeholders.

The role of CSOs in governance as explored in the previous chapters include; creation of awareness, providing governance oversight, carrying out public civic education, driving political debate, political agenda setting, linking individuals to government and encouraging individuals to seek elective public offices. These activities raise political interest, increase political awareness and facilitate political participation.

Democracy encourages individuals to express themselves and take part in activities such as voting, which are aimed at improving their lives. Democracy rides on the goodwill of government to provide an enabling environment for expression and provision of political information as opposed to stifling the political environment either out of its own insecurity or misguided grandiose perceptions of the leaders.

Democracy through its institutions such as free media heightens individuals' political awareness and provides avenues for political expression and participation. It

also facilitates the availability and exchange of information and opinions. Research has established that if citizens do not have sufficient information to evaluate the incumbent governments, the threat of not being reelected is insufficient to induce governments to act in the best interest of the public.[120]

6.1 Observations

This study has noted that there has been greater CSO activity after the 2007 PEV concentrating on civic education and advocacy of peace and tolerance, however, few people have interacted with CSOs.

It is evident from this research that there are high levels of awareness among Kenyans with information being drawn mainly from print and electronic media; with the youth also interacting with social media for information. These sources are perceived to be fairly reliable because while they do generally give factual news they can sometimes be biased.

The study has also found that individuals are aware of national policies but few are aware of county policies. This may imply that individuals are more concerned with national policies; it may also imply that individuals are yet to understand the place of Counties in the governance structures; and that the 2007 post-election violence heightened political awareness and political interest among individuals who wanted to be more in control of their destinies, this awareness was also a means to keep government in check and hence foster greater accountability.

The need for change is the biggest motivator for political participation with violence especially after the 2007 elections being the most discouraging thing.

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[120] Przeworski A., Stokes S. & Manin B., "Elections and Representation", Prseworski Adam, Stokes Susan & Manin Bernard ed., *Democracy, Accountability and Representation*, 1999, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK, p.30

Government is seen as lacking in the encouragement of political participation as activities such as civic education are only carried out during elections instead of being a continuous process. There is also the feeling that political participation is only encouraged during election season for politicians to garner votes, but takes a backseat in between elections.

The role of CSOs in politics is appreciated where they are seen to hold government accountable, create awareness and inform policy; however some respondents perceive CSOs as sometimes being compromised by politicians i.e. being partisan and are also thought to be driven by profits. While the study has established that not many individuals have interacted with CSOs, it has also found that this does not have a negative impact on their levels of political awareness, interest and participation, they are just as engaged as those who interact with CSOs. Government and CSOs complement each other and both ideally represent the interests of the people. Their relationship is however sometimes antagonistic in the sense that it is the governments' duty to create an enabling environment for civil society but it can however be seen to stifle CSOs when they are deemed a threat, a recent example is given of the Public Benefits Authority Act 2013 which seeks to reduce funding.

6.2   Conclusions

Political participation is often construed as only involving voting, which is but a fraction of what political participation is about. This notion could perhaps be explained due to the popularity of voting as the most common, most preferred and most basic form of political participation. However it is evident that there are multiple forms of participation like signing petitions, holding demonstrations, engaging in debates and discussions, running for public office, among others.

The role of advocacy and creation of awareness is important in political participation; nevertheless, some citizens will be responsive to issues irrespective of the mobilizers who appeal to them while others will be responsive to certain mobilizers irrespective of the issues around which their appeals are cast.[121] This is to mean that while advocacy does have an impact on political participation, as established earlier, citizens will participate irrespective of their interaction with either CSOs or government or regardless of the issues for which civic education is addressing.

The relationship between government and CSOs can sometimes be volatile where CSOs are thought of as agents of the West and whose activities are therefore viewed with much skepticism and suspicion. At the same time there is an undeniable convergence of interest for both CSOs and government where it all boils down to looking out for the citizens best interests by ensuring that their needs are met, their concerns are heard and their existence is fulfilling. Activities such as provision of information and creation of awareness cannot therefore be left to government alone; CSOs come in to supplement government efforts in provision of information and awareness creation and in other activities such as to do research.

6.3   Recommendations

In view of the above, the under mentioned recommendations have been made to address some of the issues and to support some of the trends in order that there is more citizen participation in political processes;

There is need for greater advocacy by both government and CSOs among other non-state actors in raising awareness to equip individuals with good political

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[121] Rosenau. James N., *Citizenship Between Elections: An Inquiry Into The Mobilizable American,* 1974, The Free Press, New York, p.460

decision making tools. Civic education should also be a continuous process as opposed to only being offered during election season and therefore government should especially put in more effort towards this. Government political will is important to create an enabling environment which CSOs and other non-state actors can operate and citizens can exercise democracy.

Civic education should be introduced in the primary and secondary school curriculum as this will have a greater impact on citizens by exposing them in their formative years when they are most impressionable as opposed to trying to resocialize grown individuals whose perceptions and values are already formed, which can therefore be hard to change.

International CSOs should continue partnering with local CSOs in their programmes and support them through funding and building capacity. This partnership is also important to reach a wider population of citizens in the grassroots. Government and CSOs should partner in ensuring citizen welfare, even when they take different approaches they require each other's support, goodwill and expertise.

More research needs to be done by both government and CSOs to help solve issues such as terrorism, to inform policy formulation and implementation, and to come up with best practices in governance.

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http://www.fes-kenya.org/pages/about-us/fes-in-kenya.php, *3/6/2014, 2:34pm*

http://www.fes-kenya.org/pages/activities/economic-and-social-policy-dialogue.php, 20/8/2014, 11:56am

http://www.fes-kenya.org/pages/activities/implementation-of-the-new-constitution.php, 27/8/2014, 12:43pm

http://www.fes-kenya.org/pages/activities/young-leadership.php, 10/8/2014, 11:57am

http://www.uraia.or.ke/en/civic.php, 14/8/2014, 12:17pm

Interviews

Interview with Osido K., Programme Manager, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Kenya, Nairobi, May 2014 and September 2014

Interview with Bulumwa A., Head of Secretariat, Kenya Young Parliamentarians Association, Nairobi, June 2014

Interview with Masiime K., Executive Director, Center for Governance and Development, Nairobi, June 2014

INTRODUCTION
My name is Wanjiku Kinyua, pursuing a Master of Arts Degree in Diplomacy at the University of Nairobi (UoN). I am carrying out a research on, '*Civil Society Advocacy on Political Participation in Kenya between 2007 and 2013: A Case Study of Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung'*. By answering this questionnaire, you will help us undertake the study and assist me in realizing this course. Please note that there is no right or wrong answers.
Purpose
The purpose of this study is to understand the role of civil society advocacy on political participation in Kenya between 2007 and 2013.
Confidentiality
The information that you will give us will be treated confidentially. Your name will not be indicated in the questionnaire and as such, you will not be reported anywhere concerning the views that you give me nor will you feature when presenting the findings of this study.
SECTION A: GENERAL INFORMATION (Important – this is for analysis only) *Tick as appropriate*

S1. Gender	**S2:** Age (years)			
☐ Male ☐ Female	☐ 18-35	☐ 36-50	☐ 51-65	☐ 66+ (and above)

S3. County of Residence _____

S4: Level of education *(Tick as appropriate)*

☐ Secondary ☐ Undergraduate ☐ Postgraduate ☐ Other (*Specify*)_____

S5: Profession _____

SECTION B: RESPONDENTS' POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

1) Have you ever taken part in any political activities?

☐ **YES** ☐ **NO**

If Yes, proceed to (2), if No go to (5)

2) Which of the following forms of political participation have you taken part in? *(You can tick multiple options)*

☐ Voting	☐ Holding demonstrations	☐ Running for public office	☐ Attending political rallies/meetings
☐ Signing petitions	☐ Debating/discussing politics	☐ Funding political activities	☐ Volunteering in political parties

☐ Other (*Specify*)
_____

3) When was the last time you participated in the identified political activities?

☐ Last six months   ☐ Last one year   ☐ Last five years

4) What motivated you to participate?

☐ It is my right   ☐ I want to see change in my country   ☐ It was just a formality

☐ It is my duty   ☐ Other *specify*_____

5) What would discourage you from participating in political activities?

_____

_____

_____

6) Did you vote in the last general elections?

☐ **YES**   ☐ **NO**

7) If NO, why didn't you vote?

_____

_____

8) If Yes, in which county did you vote?

_____

9) How interested are you in politics?

☐ Not interested ☐ Fairly interested ☐ Very interested

10) How interested are the people around you (family, peers, colleagues or other people you interact with) in politics?

☐ Not interested ☐ Fairly interested ☐ Very interested

11) How often do you discuss politics with others (family, peers, colleagues or other people you interact with)?

☐ Not often ☐ Fairly often ☐ Very often

12) What were your 3 main expectations when participating in the political activities? *(List them in order of priority)*

a) _____

b) _____

c) _____

13) Were your expectations met?

☐ Not met ☐ Fairly met ☐ Fully met

14) Kindly explain your answer to question (14)

_____

_____

_____

SECTION C: RESPONDENTS' POLITICAL AWARENESS

1) How accessible is information on politics to you?

☐ Not accessible ☐ Fairly accessible ☐ Very accessible

2) How do you get information on politics? (*You can tick multiple choices*)

☐ Electronic media (TV, Radio) ☐ Social media (Facebook, Twitter, blogs) ☐ Print media (Newspapers, magazines, books)

☐ Debates and discussions with family, ☐ Civil society (NGO's,

| | peers and colleagues | | Human rights organizations) |

| | Other *Specify*_____ |

3) How often do you follow politics through the above mentioned platforms?

| | Not often | | Fairly often | | Very often |

4) How reliable do you think the above mentioned platforms are in giving information on politics?

| | Not reliable | | Fairly reliable | | Very reliable |

5) Kindly explain your answer to question (4).

_____

_____

6) Which three national policies are you aware of?

a) _____

b) _____

c) _____

7) Which of these national policies do you feel is the most important?

_____

_____

8) Which of these policies do you feel has been adequately handled by Government?

_____

_____

9) Which of these policies do you feel has not been adequately handled by Government?

_____

_____

10) How would you rate implementation of policies in the country?

☐	Not implemented	☐	Fairly implemented	☐	Fully implemented

11) Which three of your county policies are you aware of?

a) _____

b) _____

c) _____

SECTION D: ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

1) Do you think civil society has a role in politics?

☐ **YES**   ☐ **NO**

2) Kindly explain your answer to question (1).

_____

_____

_____

3) Have you taken part in any activity organized by civil society?

☐ **YES**   ☐ **NO**

If Yes, proceed to (4), if No go to (5)

4) If Yes;

a) Kindly mention three Civil Society Organizations you have interacted with.

_____

_____

_____

    b) Kindly mention three activities you took part in carried out by those Civil Society Organizations.

_____

_____

_____

5) Do you think the Civil Society is adequately promoting political participation?

     ☐ **YES**   ☐ **NO**

6) Kindly explain your answer to question (5).

_____

_____

_____

7) Do you think the Government is adequately promoting political participation?

     ☐ **YES**   ☐ **NO**

8) Kindly explain your answer to question (7).

_____

_____

_____

9) Have you ever taken part in any Government programmes aimed at raising awareness and encouraging political participation?

     ☐ **YES**   ☐ **NO**

   If Yes, proceed to (10), if No go to (11)

10) If Yes, kindly mention three.

    a) _____

b) _____

c) _____

11) Do you think there is a relationship/link between government and civil society?

   ▢ **YES**   ▢ **NO**

12) Kindly explain your answer to question (11).

_____

_____

_____

Thank you for your participation.

Regards,

Wanjiku Kinyua.

INTRODUCTION
My name is Wanjiku Kinyua, pursuing a Master of Arts in Diplomacy Degree at the University of Nairobi (UoN). I am carrying out a research on, '*Civil Society Advocacy on Political Participation in Kenya between 2007 and 2013: A Case Study of Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung*'. By answering this questionnaire, you will help us undertake the study and assist me in realizing this course. Please note that there is no right or wrong answers.
Purpose
The purpose of this study is to understand the role of civil society advocacy on political participation in Kenya between 2007 and 2013.
SECTION A: GENERAL INFORMATION
1) Organization's name _____

2) Areas of interest/advocacy
 	
   a) _____
 	
   b) _____
 	
   c) _____

3) Target group _____ _____ _____

4) Kindly enumerate three of your major programmes
 	
   a) _____
 	
   b) _____
 	
   c) _____

SECTION B: THIS SECTION SEEKS TO ESTABLISH POLITICAL AWARENESS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
1) How would you characterize Kenyans political participation?   ☐ Not good   ☐ Fairly good   ☐ Very good
2) Kindly explain your answer to question (1). _____

_____

_____

3) Do you think government is adequately encouraging political participation?

[   ] **YES**   [   ] **NO**

4) Kindly explain your answer to question (3).

_____

_____

_____

5) What three ways do you think government should encourage political participation?

a) _____

b) _____

c) _____

6) In your opinion what are the three major trends of political participation in Kenya?

a) _____

b) _____

c) _____

7) Do you think civil society is important in political participation in Kenya?

[   ] **YES**   [   ] **NO**

8) Kindly explain your answer to question (7).

_____

_____

_____

9) What efforts are you as an organization making towards encouraging political participation?

_____

_____

_____

---

10) Do you think there is a relationship/link between government and civil society?

☐ **YES**   ☐ **NO**

---

11) Kindly explain your answer to question (10).

_____

_____

_____

---

12) In your opinion what encourages Kenyans to participate in politics?

_____

_____

_____

---

13) In your opinion what discourages Kenyans from political participation?

_____

_____

_____

---

14) Do you think the 2007 post-election violence had an impact on the political attitudes, expectations and conduct of Kenyans?

☐ **YES**   ☐ **NO**

---

15) Kindly explain your answer to question (14).

_____

_____

_____

---

16) What difference have you noticed between the 2007 and 2013 general elections in terms of political participation?

_____

_____

_____

17) In your opinion, what is the level of political awareness among the Kenyans?

☐ Not aware ☐ Fairly aware ☐ Very aware

18) Kindly explain your answer to question (17).

_____

_____

_____

19) What efforts are you making to raise political awareness among the Kenyans?

_____

_____

_____

20) Do you think that age is a determinant of political participation in Kenya?

☐ **YES** ☐ **NO**

21) Kindly explain your answer to question (20).

_____

_____

_____

22) Do you think gender is a determinant of political participation in Kenya?

☐ **YES** ☐ **NO**

23) Kindly explain your answer to question (22).

_____

_____

_____

24) Do you thing that an individual's social circle i.e. family, friends, colleagues and other people they interact with, has a bearing on whether an individual participates politically?

YES ☐   NO ☐

25) Kindly explain your answer to question (24).

_____

_____

_____

Thank you for your participation.

Regards,

Wanjiku Kinyua.