

**THE ROLE OF UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT (USAID) IN THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS IN
KENYA**

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DECLARATION

Declaration by Student

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

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Declaration by Supervisor

This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University of Nairobi Supervisor.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine the role played by USAID in the democratization process in Kenya. The study was guided by the following objectives: to examine the motives behind USAID intervention in the democratization process in Kenya; to analyze the instruments used by USAID in its effort to promote democracy in Kenya, to establish the results achieved by USAID in the democratization process, to establish the challenges faced by USAID in its effort to promote the democratic transition. The study employed descriptive research design. Data collection was through questionnaires and document analysis. The study revealed USAID has been playing a major role in the democratization process of Kenya. Through strengthening of electoral processes, support the writing and implementation of new constitutions, reforming institutions and funding of various development projects. The study revealed the instruments used by USAID include economic sanctions, cut of in export aid, adverse changes in trade status among others. The Study also revealed that challenges facing USAID in promoting democracy included democratic backsliding, accountability and transparency of the National and devolved government in Kenya. The study also revealed the solutions for some of the challenges facing USAID in its journey to promote democracy in Kenya include reforming and structures in the anticorruption agency in Kenya, civic education had also been introduced to enlighten the electorate to prevent the country from backsliding. The study recommends that there is need for the government of Kenya to implement reforms that have been introduced to prevent democratic backsliding. There is no need for USAID using instruments such as economic sanctions when the government has been playing its role in democratization, there is need for USAID to allow countries time to experience

democratic environment that has been growing in the country to ensure they do not experience democratic backsliding. There is need for the government to embrace civic education to the electorate to make informed decision during elections. There is need for USAID agency to be independent to be able to make decisions without involving the congress.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

Democratization is a process of regime change directed towards social and economic development to increase and promote popular participation to establish and enhance form of democratic governance which is stable, substantive and comprehensive in nature (Aksoy, 2012). He further notes that democratization is thus more than the establishment of sets of institutions, it is the extension of comprehensive and significant rights to all citizens without exclusion. Therefore, it can be assumed that democratization is an ongoing process.

There are three phases of democratization which include initiation, transition and consolidation phase. According to Aksoy (2012) the initiation phase encompasses a transformation of a political regime initiated by the elites in power who eradicates old rules and introduces new ones. The primary tool for change at this point is the introduction of civic rights at individual and group levels. Transition is the second phase which marks the period from the collapse of the old regime to the official establishment of the new government where the new rules of the political game are defined. The third phase is consolidation phase that establishes, institutionalization and legitimization of the new political regime which takes place, it is intended to make democracy more crises resistant and durable. Consolidation is considered to be a branching out period where democracy extends beyond its formal aspects of merely introducing free elections (Diamond, 2008).

Burkardze, Wheatley & Caramani, (2015) indicated that external actors are capable of creating incentive structures that might be either discouraging or encouraging for the regime change. There are different degrees of influence over the domestic actors based on their penetration to the internal field. Discouraging incentives aims at instigating conflict and decreasing the chances of cooperation among the pillar sub-systems. Mohrenberg (2011) argued that external actors' influence is constrained by its relative power vis-à-vis the target state. Tolstrup (2010) proposes that the degree to which Western external actors succeed in promoting democracy in other countries is conditioned by two factors; vulnerability of the targeted states to the external pressure and density of ties between the external actors and the targeted state. The external actors can exert strong influence only if an asymmetrical power relationship and a high degree of interdependence are in place.

Democratic governance drawn from the ideals of liberalism, is a desirable form of political organization presumably because it promotes peaceful co-existence and stability within a state; consequently contributing to world peace. The concept of democracy denotes a form of political organization that is representative of the people, thrives on the rule of law, is subject to checks and balances, offers basic political and civil liberties and by extension, liberal market economies. The government of a democratic state derives its legitimacy and authority from the citizens (Way, 2010).

On the other hand democratization is a process primarily a political struggle that seek rebuilding of the state and its government structures towards liberalist ideals (Fritz & Menocal, 2007). The road to democracy may conflict ridden, studies carried out

confirm that mature democracies, whose leadership is voted into office by the citizen are apprehensive to violence due to human, financial and political implications and also consistently avoid military confrontation with other democracies (Huth&Alle, 2002).

Many nations around the world used different tools to promote and influence political organization within a state. These include soft diplomatic approaches such as policy dialogue with leaders intending to influence agenda and outcomes of decision making and issuing of policy statements and publications such as commentaries and editorials in dairies (Brown, 2007). Democratic transition therefore motivates the opening up of previously closed systems in order to increase opportunities for popular participation in decision making.

Promotion of democracy has been touted as an aspect of globalization of liberal political and economic values key to integrating African states into the international economic systems. Embedded democracies are characterized by fully developed civil liberties, political rights, democratic elections, horizontal accountability and an effective power to govern without intervention from political actors that are not democratically legitimized (Anheier, 2015).

Democratic transitions have become a widely studied phenomenon in comparative politics. The “third wave” of democratization spurred a considerable body of research examining the origins and consequences of these transitions. One topic that has received little attention within this literature, however, is international factors that influence domestic regime transition. External actors tend to play an indirect and usually marginal role in democratic transition, though some scholars see democracy as the outcome of a

domestic political process that is not influenced by actors outside the nation-state. Recent literature in comparative politics, however, questions this sweeping conclusion. The promotion of democracy became a core issue in foreign policy for government and Non-government actors and official expenditure on pro-democracy programs peaked during the 1990s both in Europe and America (Carothers, 1999, Young, 2008).

External Actors have influenced political changes in developing countries. USAID as an external actor has made an effort to promote sustainable, social and economic development but face particularly difficult roadblocks in non-democracies. For instance during the Cold War, Western governments extensively promoted their political and economic interests in areas as various as Latin America, Africa and Asia. USAID has been mandated to promote and protect human rights which is linked to development (USAID, 2013).

The study focuses on the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) which is the United States federal government agency primarily responsible for administering civilian foreign aid as the external actor in promoting democracy in Kenya. USAID is one of the first major bilateral donors to include democracy as part of its portfolio when it launched its Democracy initiative in 1990. Its objectives is to promote participatory, representative and inclusive political processes and government institutions. USAID has adopted a democracy initiative that made promotion and strengthening of democracy world-wide one of the central aims of the organization. It vowed to weigh progress towards economic liberalization and democratization in deciding assistance levels for individual countries, and promised to incorporate participation and democracy into the full range of its economic, social and

environmental programs, by emphasizing local decision-making and control (USAID, 2013).

USAID carries out its mandate of delivering foreign aid in two fundamentally different ways: technical assistance and financial assistance. Technical assistance includes technical advice, training, scholarships, construction and commodities which are contracted or procured by USAID and provided in kind to recipients. The various forms of technical assistance are frequently coordinated as “capacity-building” packages to support institutional development programs of developing countries leaders. Financial assistance supplies cash to developing country organizations to supplement their budgets, USAID also provides financial assistance to local and international NGO’s who in turn give technical assistance in developing country (Tarnoff, 2015). It is against this background that this study seeks to establish the role of external actors in the democratization process in Kenya: case study of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

1.2 Statement of the problem

The question of whether democratic assistance does promote the growth of democracy produces an ambivalent answer. Jeroen de Zeeuw (2005) argues that while international assistance has been instrumental in setting up new organizations, it is relatively unsuccessful in consolidating effective democratic institutions mainly due to its nature for short-term project oriented support. However, a study by Bratton and de Walle (1997) which narrows its focus geographically; finds that largely in authoritarian states in sub-Sahara Africa; there was a substantial impact of aid conditionality in influencing

democratic transitions. They nonetheless note that aid was most effective in promoting democratic transitions when authoritarian regimes were faced with increasing domestic pressure and threats to declining popular support.

Globally promotion of democracy has not been easy. To this end the marginal aid flows to Africa provide substantial clout to implement foreign policy objectives that advances political, economic, commercial and even humanitarian and ideological interest of bilateral and multilateral donors (Brown, 2004). The path towards democracy in Kenya has been long and characterized by many struggles from within.

Consequently, this study sought to identify whether and if so, how diplomatic interactions have influenced the process of democratization in Kenya. It explored the individual behaviour of bilateral and multilateral partners in the democratic process in Kenya since 1991 when the domestic clamour for constitutional amendments to create a political space for multi-partyism gained momentum leading to a political opening for a democratic transition. Of note though is that subsequent democratic processes in Kenya have mainly been challenged by inter-ethnic violence especially after the introduction of multi-party elections.

Additional source of pressure has also come from Western nations, donor agencies and international financial institution who demanded democratic reforms as a pre-condition for extending assistance. Though this has been trumpeted as a goal for decades, democratic government has not been fully realized according to the Freedom House Report of 2015, which ranks Kenya as partly free. External actors have made contributions and played different roles in an effort to see Kenya go through the

democratization process. The study examined the extent to which external actors like the U.S government through USAID have played a role in Kenya's democratization process.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The main objective of this study is to examine the role played by USAID in the democratization process in Kenya.

Other objectives of the study include:

- (i) To examine the motives behind USAID intervention in the democratization process in Kenya
- (ii) To analyze the instruments used by USAID in its effort to promote democracy in Kenya
- (iii) To establish the results achieved by USAID in the democratization process
- (iv) To establish the challenges faced by USAID in its effort to promote the democratic transition.

1.4 Research questions

The following research questions have been addressed;

- i. What is the general contribution of USAID in the democratic transition in Kenya since 1990 to date?
- ii. What were the motives behind USAID intervention in the democratic transition in Kenya
- iii. What instruments did USAID employ in its effort to Kenya's democratic transition and how effective were they?
- iv. What challenges has USAID faced in its effort to promote democracy in Kenya and to what extent has USAID achieved its objectives

1.5 Justification of the Study

External actors have played a significant role in the democratic transition process of many states. Some of the most important actors in this field are Government agencies like USAID, DFID, SIDA, EU, UN and IDEA, NGO's and financial institutions like IMF and the World Bank. This study has focused on the USAID in Kenya's democratic transition as one of the first bilateral donor to include democracy as part of its portfolio when it launched its democracy initiative in 1990.

The democratic trend spread to Africa in 1990s, beginning of February that year with the Sovereign National Conference in Benin and the African National Congress in South Africa. Most African states attained independence on constitutions modeled after those of their colonial masters and in line with the principles of liberal democracy. But these principles were widely disregarded as individual liberties, which curtailed democracy and opposition parties were either outlawed or coaxed into the ruling party. By the end of the first decade of independence, majority of the countries in Africa had lapsed into one-party dictatorship or military despotism. Politics in much of Africa became characterized by violence, inter-ethnic conflict, massive corruption, intermittent military coups and denial of individual liberties. However, beginning from the late 1980s and particularly since 1990, there have been numerous agitations against dictatorial regimes in Africa and popular insistence on the restoration of democracy.

Impetus for this development came from the frustration and impoverishment being experienced by most Africans as a result of downturn in their economies and acute

hardship occasioned by the structured adjustment programmes which African nations were compelled to adopt. Additional source of pressure came from Western nations, donor agencies and international financial institutions who demanded democratic reform as a precondition for extending assistance (Arifowose and Enemu, 1999).

Another force that encouraged the emergence of democratic governance is globalization. The risk of global competitiveness shaped the end of the Cold War and the imperatives it places on countries. The issue as to whether and how external actors should engage in the promotion of democracy need to be addressed. Questions have always arisen from both locally and internationally as to the impact of the external actors objectives and policies on local politics and in what direction these policies influence the transition. It is against this background that the justification and significance of this study should be viewed.

1.5.1 Academic Justification

This study will expand the berth of academic knowledge on the role and effect of USAID in Kenya's democratic process, assessing the form of assistance and influence it takes. As Joseph Siegle (2012) noted, there are few country-specific studies assessing the impact of donor activity on democracy and the available cross-national studies do not differentiate the forms of assistance and time periods. Stephen Brown (2005) also observed that there were few scholarly works on the role and effect of external actors in the promotion of democracy in African states. In this respect, the study will provide insight into the magnitude of impact of USAID activities in democracy-related agendas

in Kenya within a specific time period; the post-cold war era, a research area that has not been delved into in a lot of details.

1.5.2 Policy Justification

On a policy level, this study will assess the benefits and challenges of the strategies adopted by the international actor while promoting democratization in Kenya. Thus, this will help policy makers identify the best strategies to promote democracy in the country; those which promote political liberalisation while also enhancing stable and cohesive domestic and international relations

1.6 Definition of Term

Bilateral Relations- cultural, political and economic relations between two sovereign states. For the purpose of this study it's the relationship between Kenya and the United States of America through USAID.

Democratization; this is a process that involves three stages, the autocratic regime falls, a democratic regime assumes power and finally the democratic system consolidates (Huntington 1991). On the other hand democratization is seen as a process of injecting ideas to the world which are acceptable to the modern world.

Democracy refers literally to rule by the people. A system of government which embodies in a variety of institutions and mechanisms, the ideal of political power based on the will of the people. Abraham Lincoln noted that democracy is a government of the people, by the people and for the people'. It can be divided into basic categories: direct democracy by all citizens without elected persons or

Democratic Consolidation: this refers to the process that a new democracy matures, in a way that means it is unlikely to revert to authoritarianism without an external shock. Decision making in this process is democratic and even the opposition do echo democratic processes.

Transition- this is a regime shift from one structure of government to another. In this study it means a slip from authoritarian regime and over time more and more actors be involved hence forcing change to become a requirement in all spheres of governance.

1.6 Hypothesis of the Study

This study was guided by the following key hypothesis:

1. There was a positive correlation between external actors and democratization of other states, and USAID as a bilateral actor had the potential to contribute to democratization process in Kenya.
2. That USAID in its effort to contribute to Kenya's democratization process was bound to be faced with challenges and limitations.

1.7 Scope of the Study

The scope of the study is limited to processes occurring after 2010 when a new constitution was promulgated thus entrenching basic principles of democracy in law. The study will also limit itself from analysing all bilateral donor activities. Instead, it will focus on the initiatives by the United States agency for international development (USAID)

1.8 Operationalization of Concepts

Civil Society: A civil society is comprised of groups or organizations working in the interest of the citizens but operating outside of the governmental and for-profit sectors. Organizations and institutions that make up civil society include labor unions, non-profit organizations, churches, and other service agencies that provide an important service to society but generally ask for very little in return.

United States Agency for International Development (USAID): The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) is an independent federal agency established by the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 for the purpose of extending economic assistance to developing countries. Its main purpose is to support long-term and equitable economic growth and advance U.S. foreign policy through conflict prevention and humanitarian assistance.

Democratization: Democratization is the introduction of a democratic system or democratic principles

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews related literature on the general contribution of USAID in the democratic transition in Kenya since 1990 to date, the motivations behind USAID intervention in the democratic transition in Kenya, the instruments USAID has employed in its effort to Kenya's democratic transition and how effective they have been and the challenges USAID has faced in its effort to promote democracy in Kenya and to what extent has USAID achieved its objectives. The study was also guided by a theoretical framework.

2.2 The general contribution of USAID in the democratic transition in Kenya since 1990 to date

Kenya like most African countries since 1990, has undergone prolonged transition to democracy. There have been four significant areas in this regard; that is, 1992 multiparty elections were held since independence, in 2002 when Kenya African National Union (KANU) was removed from power, 2007 disputed election triggering the worst outbreak of violence the country has ever seen since independence and 2010 when a new constitution was finally adopted. These developments were culminated in the March 2013 election which raises critical questions about the patterns and processes of transition to democracy in Kenya (Veney and Zeleza, 2013).

Since the reintroduction of multiparty politics in 1992, many elections in Kenya have been characterized by election-related violence (1992, 1997 and 2007 elections). The

pressure of Western donors for improvement in human rights and political pluralism escalated with the Consulate Group meeting of November 1991. Donors suspended all new aid to Kenya (except humanitarian assistance) until a number of reforms were adopted, including liberalizing the political arena, within days Moi announced that Kenya would return to multi-partyism, something he had long maintained was out of the question, arguing that it was undesired by Kenyans and inappropriate for the multi-ethnic country. Soon afterwards parliament amended the constitution to allow opposition parties to function legally, although the executive branch remained quite powerful.

The December 2002 elections were, however, considered much freer and fair than the preceding ones, actually removing KANU from power for the first time since independence. President Moi was prohibited from running again by term limits. A coalition of most opposition parties and the KANU defectors thus gained a majority of seats in parliament and Mwai Kibaki, the coalition's joint candidate, was elected president. Because his new coalition government known as the National Rainbow Coalition, (NARC) contained a number of senior officials who had been KANU stalwarts, it was reluctant to deal with their past crimes. In large part because it relied on these tainted politicians to maintain a parliamentary majority, it did not pursue any major cases of corruption and human rights abuses. The Kibaki government also did not fulfill its key campaign promise of significantly reducing the powers of the presidency and thus extending and deepening the gains in democratization made since the early 1990s. To numerous critics many of the NARC government's practices, including continued corruption on a giant scale and the violent repression of peaceful demonstrations, are far too reminiscent of Kenya under President Moi.

The 2007 general elections which President Kibaki under the Party of National Unity (PNU) ran for re-election against the main opposition the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM). The election results were disputed by ODM and were followed by protests escalated into ethnic violence and destruction of property where over 1,000 people were killed and nearly 600,000 displaced. President Kibaki and Former Prime Minister Odinga signed an agreement on the formation of a coalition government after a successful mediation chaired by then UN Secretary General Koffi Annan in February 2008, this saw Odinga become Kenya's second Prime Minister. The coalition government saw a referendum to vote on a proposed new constitution held on 4th August 2010 and a new constitution came into effect on 27th August 2010. Among other things the new constitution delegates more power to county governments and gives Kenyans a Bill of Rights (Brown & Kaiser, 2010).

According to Kurlantzick (2011), Kenya has not become a democratic success story, President Kibaki used his office to enrich and empower tribal allies while trying to destroy the opposition and make the presidency even more powerful. Graft become worse since 2002. According to him, democracy is going into reverse worldwide and Kenya's turbulence is hardly unique. In its annual international survey, Freedom House found that global freedom plummeted in 2012 for the seventh year in a row. Nations like Kenya that were supposed to be part of a "global wave" of democracy following the third wave in the late 1980's and early 1990's have regressed badly.

What Huntington calls the "fourth wave" has concentrated in Africa, Asia and now the Middle East. Kurlantzick (2011) observes that this has instead produced many dysfunctional democracies like Kenya, countries that have turned into a kind of elected

autocracy. In these nations, political parties that win election use every opportunity between elections to eliminate other checks to political power (Kurlantzick, 2011).

2.3 The motivations behind USAID intervention in the democratic transition in Kenya

Since independence, Kenya had become increasingly dependent on the West in general and the international financial institutions in particular for economic and military aid. External actors have since the mid-1970's used peaceful forms of pressure against authoritarian states to advance human rights and democracy. Peaceful pressure to democratize generally takes three international forms: diplomacy, the conditioning of aid and sanctions (Larry, 2013).

According to Fukuyama (2013) the Western countries pressure or lack thereof for peace, justice and democracy in Kenya with the period between 2008- 2013 had led to donors putting a lot of pressure on the Kenyan government. The donors not enforcing stated conditions for future support, causing diminishing returns and sometimes even become counter-productive. Many of the Western officials continued to make short term decisions favoring stability or peace that actually undermined basic principles of democracy and justice.

There is more influence of international actors at the time of national elections in Africa and other regions of the world, focusing mainly on election monitoring. Analysts tend to over-estimate the ability of Western Countries to influence policies in African countries. The Western-led efforts were partially successful and at worst a failure (Collier, 1997). According to Crawford (2001) political conditionality has had very

limited success in transforming authoritarian regimes into democracies. This is because the donors' failures to take a stronger stand on the partiality. The donor may also become apologists for authoritarian practices, making them reluctant to exert additional pressure for political reforms (Taylor and Francis, 2014).

Diplomatic pressure can take many forms. A major power may deny political leaders from countries reluctant to initiate democratic reforms entry visas (Brown and Raddatz, 2014). In some cases, even the heads of state from those countries may be denied the chance to make official visits. For instance, in 1993, the U.S turned down a request by military ruler Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria to visit the White House because of doubts about his commitment to democratic change (Nying'uro, 2016). It may also take measures either individually or collectively with other powerful countries to isolate non-democratic countries from the international community by vetoing its membership in international or regional organizations (Nying'uro, 1999).

2.4 The instruments USAID has employed in its effort to Kenya's democratic transition and how effective they have been

USAID has been involved in democracy assistance since the 1990s when the Centre for Democracy and Governance was established to date, The Bureau for Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance (DCHA) is responsible for democracy assistance (Del-Biondo, 2015). USAID is not an autonomous actor, as it needs to take into account the preferences of the president and congress. The president proposes the budget, can create new institution and start presidential initiative. The congress approves and thus

closely scrutinizes the budget, they earmark and give directives on how the money is to be spent on certain countries, sectors or purposes (Lancaster, 2009).

In Kenya, USAID has been of assistance to both political and development. Since 2000, USAID has been supporting parliamentary strengthening programme which provides technical assistance, assists the parliament in strengthening its relations with civil society and includes training for legislators (Del-Biondo, 2015). According to the US Senate (2008) in the 2007, USAID supported voter education, media reporting and domestic observation. The fund was increased significantly after the presidential elections in December 2007, in order to support the electoral process. However, the Kenya Elections and Political Processes Strengthening Program included technical assistance to the electoral commission and the office of political parties as well as training among the candidates and the domestic election observers.

Scholars are however unanimous on the limitations of diplomacy as an instrument for influencing democratic transitions. Diplomacy, it is emphasized, is only effective when combined with one or more other instruments. An economic sanction is another instrument that has been largely employed by external actors to influence democratic transitions. Economic instrument has included restrictions on financial remittance, cut offs in military or export aid, adverse changes in trade status, and prohibition on loans from public sources, private banks or international financial institutions.

Sanctions played an important role in Africa's second liberation, in part because South Africa's democratic transition had a snowballing effect across Africa. In Kenya, the suspension of aid in 1991 forced the then President Moi's regime to repeal its ban on

opposition parties and hold multiparty elections within a year. A similar step in May 1992 to freeze \$74 million aid to Malawi following the first mass protest demonstration in twenty-eight years compelled the iron-fisted regime of Hastings Banda to liberalize. It then badly lost a national referendum on multiparty competition in June 1993 and the next year the ruling party was crushed in elections (Grosh& Orvis, 1994).

However sanctions, like other peaceful forms of pressure typically fail when they lack sufficient leverage over the authoritarian state or ruler and when they do not gain backing of neighboring states (Diamond, 2008). Recent democratization has been distinctive not only in the scope of international influence but also for the introduction of a new channel of influence: assistance to strengthen democratic institutions, reform governance, empower civil society, build a democratic culture, monitor democratic elections and in authoritarian circumstances, assist forces in government, in civil society and (in the worst cases) in exile working for democratic change (Birch, 2008).

2.5 Challenges USAID has faced in its effort to promote democracy in Kenya and to what extent has USAID achieved its objectives

Although the USAID was set to help democratic transition the U.S could not initiate democracy abroad because it was difficult to impose that political system through external meddling. Instead democracy normally needs to grow out of internal conditions (Nying'uro, 2016). Aid can promote democracy indirectly by 'modernizing' societies, literacy and increased incomes are key aspects of modernization often believed to increase the demand for democratic government. However, aid could undermine accountability processes essential for healthy democratic government or even encourage violent conflict and coup attempts (Ziaja, 2013).

According to Del-Biondo (2015) democracy assistance is usually delegated to aid bureaucracies. However, the aid bureaucracies are poorly equipped and badly designed to promote democracy. Democratization is a very slow process, of which the results are difficult to measure. Aid bureaucracies, however, are required to show results to their principals (Carothers 2010c; Haring 2013). For this reason, more flexible institutions have been set up, which can act swiftly without having to follow complicated and time-consuming bureaucratic procedures. This has resulted in a complex myriad of actors, what has been termed the 'democracy bureaucracy' (Melia 2005).

Knack (2004) argued that aid potentially weakens government accountability, by retarding development of healthy civil society, undermining democracy and the rule of law. High aid levels may also reinforce executive dominance in new democracies as donors often fund projects outside the budget, precluding any review by parliament (Cornell, 2012). Aid may also encourage coup attempts and political instability, by

making control of the government and aid receipts a more valuable price (Grossman 1992), reducing the prospects for democratic governance. It is widely acknowledged that violent competition for control over large-scale food aid contributed to the breakdown of the government in Somalia (Knack, 2010).

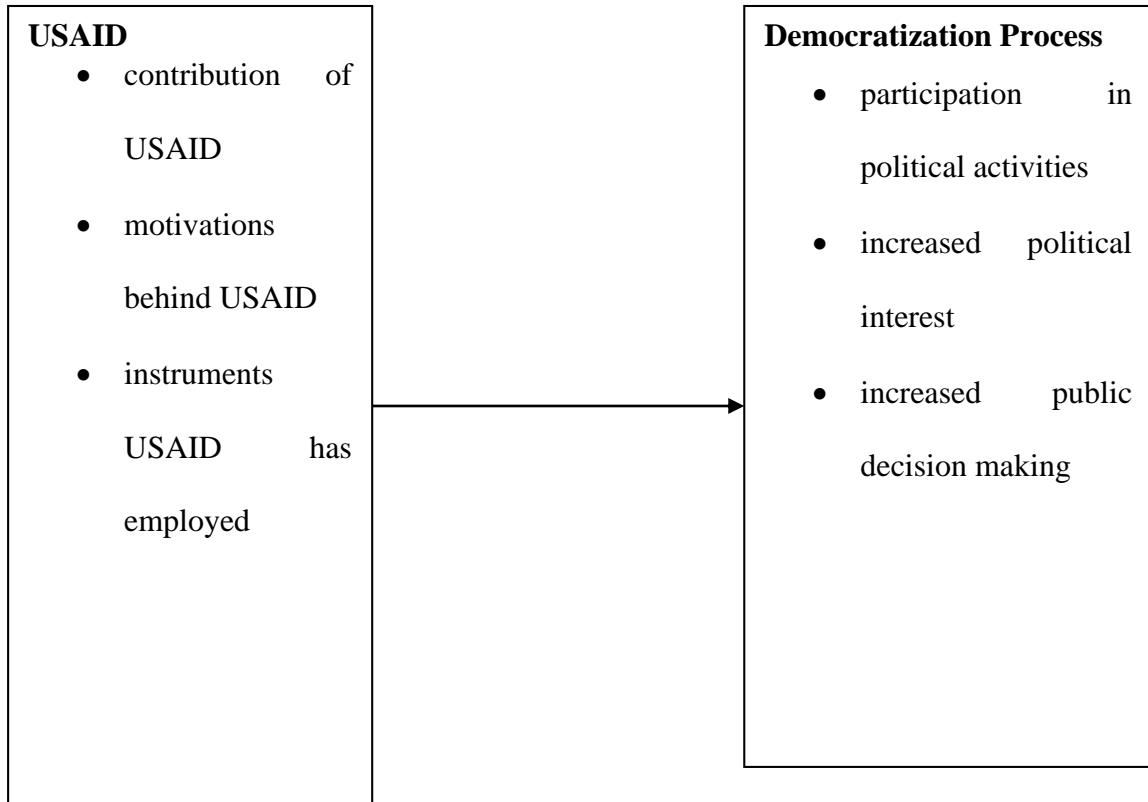
2.6 Theoretical Framework

This study was guided by rational actor model (model 1). This model conceives foreign policy as a decision making process where states take actions because people in governments choose those actions. The model presupposes that the decision maker calculates the costs and benefits of each possible course of action, and finally chooses the one with the highest benefits and lower costs. The choice may be complicated by uncertainty about the costs and benefits of various actions. Governmental behavior can be summarized as action chosen by a unitary, rational decision maker: centrally controlled, completely informed and value maximizing (Golstein 2001). This simplification though does not conceal the fact that a government as an organization consists of a conglomerate of loosely allied organizations and actors, each with a substantial life of its own. Leaders sit formally, and to some extent, in fact, on top of this conglomerate. But governments perceive problems through organizational sensors. Governments define alternatives and estimate consequences as their component organizations process information. This study relied on this theory to examine whether cooperative carrots rather than sticks served better in promoting political reforms in Kenya. In this perspective still, the study looked into the role of USAID in the promotion of democratic governance including the civil society as a medium of influence in political organization and marshalling public participation in governance processes.

2.7 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework in Figure 2.1 demonstrates the relationships that exist between the dependent and independent variables under investigation. The dependent variable is democratization process in Kenya. The independent variables that was investigated to establish its level of influence on the dependent variable is contribution of USAID. As a research tool, it's intended to assist the researcher develop awareness and understanding of the situation under scrutiny and communicate it. For this study, the following framework has been developed:

Figure 2.1: Conceptual framework



Independent Variable

Dependent Variable

2.8 Critique

USAID’s democracy and governance (DG) programming accounts for about USD 5–8 million per year (15–20 per cent of the total ‘normal’ budget) and focuses on four thematic areas: good governance (including anti-corruption and legislative strengthening); civil society; political competition and consensus-building; and conflict mitigation and reconciliation (not discussed here). During the Moi regime, the US gave most of its DG assistance in the form of direct grants to Nairobi-based civil society

organizations (CSOs), which at the time were considered as ‘the de facto opposition’. After the democratic elections in 2002, the US continued giving direct grants to local CSOs but also started engaging with the new Kenyan government. On the civil society side, between 2002 and 2007 USAID was a major supporter of some of the most prominent Kenyan NGOs, including the Kenyan chapters of Transparency International (TI-K) and the International Commission of Jurist, the Centre for Governance and Development and the Institute for Policy Analysis and Research. Whereas other (mostly European) donors opted to participate in the GJLOS basket fund, the US has supported judicial reforms and the implementation of anticorruption measures by working directly with the Department for Public Prosecutions (the Attorney-General’s office) as well as the Judicial Service Commission.

The surge in political conditionality of foreign aid by bilateral donors was preceded by the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) of the IMF and World Bank introduced in the 1980s aiming at liberalising African markets. Though the benefits of introducing SAPs in weak African economies are contestable, they definitely lay the ground for political reforms imposed at the end of the bipolar world order in the late 1980s. In Kenya, the radical economic reforms under the SAPs eroded resources to reward patronage under the authoritarian rule of President Daniel Moi. Coupled with economic stagnation that deteriorated health, education and employment; and increasing graft, they contributed to public antagonism laying the ground for the protests that would pressure the government to open a transition to democracy

Following the end of the Cold War and the third wave of democratization in Latin America and Eastern Europe, donor states and agencies reviewed their assistance programs to prioritize the promotion of democracy through political conditionality

under the guise of promoting good governance. This was aimed at stimulating regime change and institutional reforms using economic assistance as either carrots or sticks. This period would also see the embedment of democratic ideals into instruments of international law. In the study context, foreign missions in Nairobi started criticizing President Moi's government, suppression of increasing political activism in the media, and proactively cut or suspended aid to pressure the government into reforms. Following the democratic transition opened by the 1991 constitutional amendment and the 1992 multi-party elections, the international community has continued to be an integral partner in political and economic institution building through both cooperative and divergent means.

The question of whether democratic assistance does promote the growth of democracy produces an ambivalent answer. Jeroen de Zeeuw (2005) argues that while international assistance has been instrumental in setting up new organizations, it is relatively unsuccessful in consolidating effective democratic institutions mainly due to its nature for short-term project oriented support. However, a study by Bratton and de Walle¹¹ which narrows its focus geographically; finds that in largely authoritarian states in sub-Saharan Africa; there was a substantial impact of aid conditionality in influencing democratic transitions. They nonetheless note that aid was most effective in promoting democratic transitions when authoritarian regimes were faced with increasing domestic pressure and threats to declining popular support.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter contains the research design, site description, sampling frame, data collection/sampling techniques and data analysis, interpretation and presentation.

3.2 Research Design

In attempting to establish the critical role played by external actors in democratic transitions, this study narrows on USAID as an external actor in democratic transitions, and Kenya as one of the states that have received extensive influence in the democratic transition process. The research design was a case study. The reason for this choice was based on the knowledge that case studies are the most appropriate for examining the processes by which events unfold, as well as exploring causal relationships and also they provide a holistic understanding of the phenomena (Kitay and Callus, 1998). A case study is an in-depth study of a particular research problem rather than a sweeping statistical survey as it narrows down a very broad field of research into one or a few easily researchable examples. It allows for testing whether a specific theory and model actually applies to phenomena in the real world. It is a useful design when not much is known about a phenomenon as it allowed a researcher to use one or more of the several research methods depending on the circumstances. The study was thus used to establish the role of United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in the democratization process in Kenya

3.3 Site Description

Kenya is a democratic country in East Africa, having gained independence in 1963 and conducting its first democratic elections in 1992. It was one of the staunchest US cold war allies in Africa and relations between the two countries throughout the cold war period were warm and cordial. This study was conducted in Nairobi Kenya which is the capital city of Kenya, it hosts the headquarters of the central government offices, a number of international institutions and NGOs headquarters and also the foreign embassies offices.

To address the research questions data was derived from discussions with officials from the USAID offices in Nairobi, Officials from the ministry of Foreign affairs, officials from the US embassy in Kenya and selected civil society officials in Kenya involved in democracy and governance.

3.4 Sampling frame

The unit of analysis comprised of the government agencies, that are the US government through the US embassy in Kenya, the Kenyan government through the Ministry of foreign affairs, USAID as the external actor, as well as other government agencies such as the Ministry of Health, environment and also the civil society groups involved in democratization processes. Efforts were made to collect data from government agencies that have played a role in the democratization process in Kenya in one way or another. The target population was 120 made up of Members of civil society, USAID Employees and Government agencies as indicated in the Table 3.1 below

Table 3.1: Sampling frame

	Target
Civil society	40
USAID Employees	40
Government agencies	40
Total	120

3.5 Data collection

A combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods was adopted in the data collection methods. The quantitative techniques enabled the quantification in numerical terms and understanding of the phenomenon being studied. The data collection techniques were through, administering questionnaires of the sample frame and through secondary data; that is, document analysis from the libraries and any materials availed to the researcher. Quantitative and qualitative data was collected using structured questionnaire containing closed and open ended questions. Kuter and Yilmaz (2001) define a questionnaire as a method for the elicitation, recording and collecting of information. Kothari (2003) argues that questionnaires generate data in a very systematic and ordered fashion. Questionnaires were issued out and collected after three days for analysis. Interviews were used once in a while to clarify unclear and ambiguous questions that the respondents could not understand.

3.6 Data Analysis, Interpretation & presentation

This study relied on qualitative analysis of both primary and secondary data. The collected data was edited coded and entered into the computer using statistical packages for social sciences for data analysis (SPSS), this enabled the results to be presented in simpler forms of charts, graphs and percentages. Qualitative data reflecting the opinion

of various respondents were analyzed for interpretation. Based on the research findings conclusions were drawn and recommendations proposed. Secondary data was obtained from literature reviews of books, journals and evaluation reports providing material for re-examination and interpretation in the context of this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter contains the data analysis, interpretation and discussion of research findings. The study sought to establish the role of external actors in the democratization process in Kenya: case study of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The study utilized descriptive statistics. The analysis was based on findings from the four research objectives which sought to examine the motivations behind USAID intervention in the democratization process in Kenya, to analyze the instruments used by USAID in its effort to promote democracy in Kenya, to establish the results achieved by USAID in the democratization process and to establish the challenges faced by USAID in its effort to promote the democratic transition.

4.2. Questionnaire return rate

Questionnaire return rate refers to the number of respondents who return usable instruments for the study out of the total number contacted for the study (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). The questionnaires were for the civil societies, USAID workers and government agencies Kenya. The results of the returned questionnaires among all the categories are as shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Questionnaire return rate

	Target	Returned	Percent
Civil society	40	30	75
USAID Employees	40	20	50
Government agencies	40	20	50
Total	120	70	58.3

Majority (75%) of the respondents returned the questionnaires were from the Civil Society, half (50%) of them were from both the USAID employees and government agencies respondents. Data analysis was based on the returned questionnaires. Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) argues that a 50 percent response rate is adequate for analysis and reporting while a 60 percent return rate is good and 70 percent is very good. Hence, this meant that the response rate would provide the required information for the purpose of data analysis and meaningful generalization for the responses would be good.

4.3 Background information

This section presents the characteristics of personal attributes of individual respondents. They include gender, age, race, level of education, religion and marital status. The rationale behind inclusion of these attributes in the analysis is that they help to shed some light on knowledge the respondents have on the role of external actors in the democratization process in Kenya in the case of United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

4.3.1 Gender of the respondents

The government agencies, civil society and USAID employees were asked to indicate their gender. The results are as shown in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Gender of respondents

	Civil society		USAID Employees		Government agencies	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Male	17	56.7	12	60	10	50
Female	13	43.3	8	40	10	50
Total	30	100.0	20	100	20	100

From the findings majority of the USAID employees were male at 60.0% and 40.0% of them were female. On the other hand 56.7% of the civil society respondents were male and 43.3% of them were female. In government agencies however there was gender parity since the respondents were equal. Despite the gender parity and disparity that appears in the respondents they are all working for organization that have dealt with issues of democracy. Hence they are knowledgeable with what different external actors such as USAID have been doing to help democratization process in Kenya this would enable them answer the questionnaire at hand. Another factor that which was looked at was age, the results are as shown in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Age of respondents

	Civil society		USAID Employees		Government agencies	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
25-30	8	26.7	0	0.0	5	16.7
31-35	6	20.0	6	20.0	6	20.0
36-40	7	23.3	7	35.0	4	20.0
41-45	5	16.7	5	16.7	3	15.0
45-50	4	13.3	2	10.0	2	10.0
Total	30	100.0	20	100	20	100

From across board all the respondents captured were aged between 25 and 50 years of age. This is an age when people have worked in the different organization and have gained exposure and experience of what their organization have doing hence this would enable them answer questions on the role of external actors in democratization process in Kenya.

Race of the Respondents

The race of each individual is unique. The exposure of the different races is also different hence in this study the race was to help the study identify with what the different people had experienced in the different areas. This would also enable them in answering question about external factors involved in the democratization process in Kenya. The results are as shown in Table 4.4

Table 4.4 Race of the respondents

	Civil society		USAID Employees		Government agencies	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
African	25	83.3	6	30	18	90
Whites	0	0	8	40	0	0
Asians	3	10	2	10	2	10
Black American	2	6.7	4	20	0	0
Total	30	100.0	20	100	20	100

About 90% of the respondents in the government agencies were African while 10% were of Asian origin but Kenyan while 83.3% of the civil societies were African, 10.0% of the Asians and 6.7% of them Black American. Among the USAID employees there were all races of people with 40% of them being whites, 30% of them being Africans, 10% being Asian and 20% of them were Black Americans. This implies that all in the USAID many races are represented. The representation of people from different races would help the study on the area of study with information of what external actors have been doing in the democracy of different countries and especially USAID involvement in democratization process in Kenya.

Table 4.5 Level of education

	Civil society		USAID Employees		Government agencies	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Bachelor Degree	15	50.0	5	25	2	10
Master	10	33.3	12	60	13	65
PhD	6	16.7	3	15	5	25
Total	30	100.0	20	100	20	100

Majority of the government agencies respondents had Masters Degree while 25% of them had attained a Doctor of Philosophy Degree and 10% had attained a bachelor degree. On the other 60% of the USAID employees had a master degree while 25% of them had a bachelor degree and 15.0% of them had a Doctor of Philosophy degree. Half of the civil society respondents had a bachelor degree while 33.35 of them had Masters Degree and 16.7% of them had a Doctor of Philosophy Degree. This implies that they had the knowledge that would enable them answer all the questions on the role of external actors in the democratization process in Kenya.

4.4 Examine the Motivations behind USAID intervention in the democratization process in Kenya

The motivation of USAID is to promote participatory representative and inclusive political process and government institutions. It has adopted democracy initiative that made promotions and strengthening of democracy worldwide one of the central aims

of organization. Hence, first this study sought to establish the general contribution of USAID in the democratic transition in Kenya since 1990 to date.

4.4.2 General contribution of USAID in the democratic transition in Kenya since 1990 to date

Since the multi-partisan in the 1990's Kenya transition period started from dictatorial leadership to democratic leadership in 2002 when Kibaki became the president of Kenya. Hence the relations of US and Kenya became closer after Kenya's democratic transition of 2002 and subsequent improvement in civil liberties. After the 2007 general election the USAID has been in the fore front in implementing reforms in Kenya through sweeping political and institutional reform agenda adopted by the coalition government. Kenya adopted a new constitution in August 2010 and election were held in 2013 with the new constitution dispensation (USAID, 2013). This study sought to establish the general contribution of USAID in the democratic transition in Kenya since 1990 to date. The study first sought to know whether the government works with the external actors in promoting democracy in Kenya. The results are as shown in Table 4.6

Table 4.6 The government work with external actors in promoting democracy in Kenya

	Government agency		USAID		Civil society	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Yes	15	75	20	100	25	83.3
No	5	25	0	0	5	16.7
Total	20	100	20	100	30	100

Based on the study findings, 100% of the USAID employees, 83.3% of the Civil Society respondents and 75% of the respondent from government agency agreed that the government was working with external actors in promoting democracy in Kenya. The respondents from the USAID said that the American ambassadors and foreign missions at large had implemented the political component of their foreign policy, the USAID. They noted that they had undertaken such program/ roles as strengthening the electoral process, supporting the writing and implementation of the new constitution, supporting the development of the rule of law, strengthening the public participation through civil society and the media. On the other hand the government agency also noted that the USAID had participated in modelling democracy in the country by supporting the new constitution, the election laws, electoral commission for free and fair elections. Members of the civil society also noted that the USAID had funded programs that supported democracy through them such as civil education to voters, keeping peace among the communities in Kenya.

4.4.3 Does the Government of Kenya have bilateral relations with USAID in democratization process

A foreign policy is set of goals outlining how the country will interact with other countries economically, politically, socially and militarily, and to a lesser extent, how the country will interact with external-actors. The study sought to know whether the government of Kenya has a bilateral relationship with USAID in democratization process. The results are as shown in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7: Bilateral relationship between Kenya and USAID towards democratization process

	USAID		Civil Societies		Government agencies	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Yes	18	90	25	75	20	100.0
No	2	10	5	25	0	0
Total	20	100.0	30	100	20	100.0

All the government agencies respondents, 90% of the USAID Agency respondents and 75% of the Civil Society respondents noted there was a bilateral relationship between Kenya and USAID towards democratization process. This implies that the respondents had the knowledge of the roles the USAID and Kenya had close ties and which promoted democracy in the country. This study then sought to identify the programs USAID had used to promote democracy in Kenya. The results are as shown in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8 USAID has promoted democracy in Kenya/ programs used by USAID

	USAID		Civil society		Government Agencies	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Supporting projects aimed at strengthening of the Country's political institutions	20	100	30	100	20	100
Funding various development project	20	100	30	100	20	100
Enhancing the protection of human rights	18	90	28	93.3	20	100
Assisting Kenyan electoral body to hold relatively fair and free elections	18	90	28	93.3	20	100
Deliberated on conditionality to the government suppressive acts	15	75	30	100	16	80

All the USAID, Civil Society and Foreign Affairs respondents said that USAID supported projects aimed at strengthening of the country's political institutions as well as funding various development projects. All the government agencies, 90% of the USAID and 93.3 of civil society respondents said that they enhanced the protection of human rights and assist Kenyan electoral body to hold relatively fair and free elections. All the civil society, 80% of the government agencies and 75.0% of the USAID

respondents said that USAID deliberated on conditionality to the government suppressive acts. This implies that the respondents were aware of democratization process through supporting projects aimed at strengthening the country’s political institutions, funded various development project, protection of human rights as well as assisting electoral body to hold relatively fair and free election hence bring about democratization of the country. The results agrees with those of Veney and Zeleza (2013) who noted that the USAID had overseen most African countries including Kenya to undergo transition to democracy. This led to the question whether the employees of USAID were satisfied with the contribution the USAID had made towards democratization process in Kenya. Table 4.9 shows the results.

Table 4.9 Satisfaction of USAID in Democratization process in Kenya

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	13	65
No	7	35
Total	20	100

Majority of the respondents (65%) were satisfied with the contribution USAID had made towards democratization process in Kenya while 35% of them were not satisfied. This implies there is still room for improvement on areas for democratization process in Kenya.

4.4.4 Results from Civil Societies organization and government agencies respondents on the role of USAID in democratization

Civil society organizations have played a key role in enhancing democratic governance in Kenya. This study sought to establish from the civil society what the USAID had done for democratization process in Kenya. The results from the civil societies are as shown in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10 Support received from USAID by the civil societies

	Frequency	Percent
Social audit campaign focused on parliamentary funds	28	93.3
Accountability	26	86.7
Transparency	27	90.0
To improve access to justice	26	86.7
Leadership development	25	83.3
Gender equity	25	83.3
Youth empowerment	20	66.7
Assisting in credible elections	24	80.0

N=30

Majority of the civil society group respondents (93.3%) said that the USAID gave them support to campaign on social audit focused on parliamentary funds as a democratization process in Kenya. This implies that social audit that focused on the money used by parliament was audited to help in accountability and transparency among the parliamentarian. Another factor was rated at 90.0% by the respondents was

transparency while 86.7% said accountability as well as to improve access to justice. This implies transparency, accountability and access to justice are other factors that have been given support by USAID as a democratization process in Kenya. The results agree with Stephan, Lakhani and Naviwala (2015) who noted that civil campaigns and movement are key drivers of social and political development in areas of acute corruption, violent conflict and political development. Another 83.3% of the respondents said they were supported on leadership development and gender equity, while 80% of them were supported on credible elections and 66.7% were supported on campaigns on youth empowerment. This implies that leadership development programs, gender equity and issues on credible election were established by the civil societies. This civil societies are involved in the public information, advocacy and policy development, public oversight, participatory governance, direct service provision, capacity development, resource mobilization, research, innovation and networking. In this case the civil society are involved in giving information to the public, advocating for the change and development of policy to raise public awareness and engage in visible activities to bring public attention to the above said issues. According to USAID (2014) the civil societies represent the interest of the public, represent the public in policy discussion and promote equity concerns for better resource allocation in the areas of concern hence promoting democratization process in Kenya.

The government agencies respondents were asked to indicate whether the USAID as an external actor had played a significant role in the democratization process in Kenya. All the government agencies respondents indicated that USAID had played a significant role in democratization. The areas where USAID had played a significant role included

electoral process that aiding free and fair election (election aid), strong national political parties, democratic constitution, rule of law aid, legislative strengthening, civil-military relations, NGO building, media strengthening, civil education and strong independent institutions such as judiciary. The study then sought from the government agencies whether the government of Kenya was giving USAID a conducive environment in performing its functions of promoting democracy in Kenya. Majority of the respondents 75% indicated that the government was allowing a conducive environment for USAID to perform its function and 25% of them said that the government did not allow a conducive environment because the USAID seemed not to be partisan while conducting its function in the country. This as indicated by the government agencies had brought about discomfort between the government and the USAID in areas of civil societies in Kenya. The government had put measures in place to ensure that USAID get a conducive environment in performing its functions which included controlling funds given to the civil societies, they have put in place anti-corruption body, the detachment of the executive from other arms of government, and introduction of the independent electoral commission as a way promoting democratization process in Kenya.

4.5 Instruments used by USAID in the effort to promote democracy

USAID has been involved in democracy assistance since the 1990s when the Centre for Democracy and Governance was established to date, The Bureau for Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance (DCHA) is responsible for democracy assistance (Del DelBiondo, 2015). When policy makers / USAID decide they are going to promote democracy in another country they apply different tools. The study sought to identify

from USAID employees some of the tools employed by USAID in its efforts to promote democracy. The results are as shown in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11: Tools employed by USAID in democratization process

	Frequency	Percent
Sanctions	12	60
Economic rewards (trade benefits, balance of payments)	8	40
Overthrowing a government (military)	3	15

N= 20

Majority of the USAID employee respondents (60%) noted that the USAID most times uses sanctions on government who have crushed democracy while 40% noted that the USAID uses economic rewards which may include trade benefits and balance of payment where the government has promoted democracy. Another 15% of the respondents noted that USAID uses military as a tool by helping to overthrowing a government. The researcher observes that sanctions have been used in Kenya during the past regimes when democracy had been suppressed and also economic rewards have also been used to reward the government during Kibaki and Uhuru leadership. This means both the government have promoted democracy. The results agrees with Catothers (1999) who argues that diplomatic tools are used when a government that is backtracking from democratic, praising a prodemocracy leader, granting or withdrawing high level diplomatic contacts in response to positive or negative development. He also notes that the most significant tool for promoting democracy is democracy aid: aid specifically designed to foster a democratic opening in a non-

democratic country or to further a democratic transition in a country that has experienced a democratic opening.

The study sought to establish the effective instruments used by the USAID in the effort to promote democracy in Kenya. Some of the instruments are as shown in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12: Response by government agencies on effectiveness of some instrument of promoting democracy in Kenya by USAID

Instrument of promoting democracy	Frequency	Percent
Economic sanction	18	90
Financial remittance	15	75
Cut off in military aid	18	90
Cut off in export aid	20	100
Adverse changes in trade status	20	100
Prohibition on loans	20	100

N= 20

All the respondents indicated that USAID had used effectively cut off in-export aid, adverse changes in trade status and prohibition on loans as some of the instrument of promoting democracy in Kenya while 90% of the respondents indicated that economic sanctions and cut of military were other strategies used effectively and 75% of them felt that financial remittance was another strategy used to promote democracy effectively. These instruments according to the government agencies had worked among the people of Kenya. The results corresponded to those of the USAID employees who noted that the USAID to promote democratization process in Kenya

had effectively started strengthening institutions such the electoral commission, the human rights groups, the rule of law, anti-corruption body, civil societies, had encouraged the government to embrace good governance, empowering of women, civic education drive and improving the economic well-being of the people of Kenya. They also agree with those of the civil society groups in Kenya who were asked to indicate which activities they corresponded with USAID. The activities included women empowerment, civic education among the electorates, anti-corruption to improve on accountability and transparency of the members of the public, areas of good governance, free media, freedom of information and civil participation, technical assistance in electoral process among others. The results agree with those of Adel and Hanson (2015) who noted promotion of democracy has been an important component in USAID for over five decades. The attempt by US to promote democracy was intensified and has attempt to export the American model of liberal democracy based on institution building, free market, focus on elections, rule of law, civil societies support and protection of fundamental human rights.

The employees of USAID were asked to rate the adequacy of the instruments employed by USAID in promoting democracy. All the respondents rated the instruments good although there was room for improvement. The civil society also rated the process of democratization with majority of the (90.0%) indicating that it was good. When asked which aspects of democracy USAID had performed best in promoting democracy, freedom of information, good governance, technical assistance of electoral process and women empowerment had been rated high while a few had mentioned the involvement of civil societies was rated poorly. This is because the civil societies in Kenya had

portrayed the government to be on the wrong in many times and that it seemed like the government did nothing right.

Since the transition in Kenyan democracy has taken shape, the USAID in collaboration with civil society groups should engage in areas of anti-corruption and human right promotion. They also noted that although free electoral process have been employed there is need for the USAID as the external actor to put pressure on the government to adopt the measures on corrupt leaders not to be re-elected into office. The results agree with Burnell (2005) who noted that diplomatic pressure is a foreign policy instrument used by democratic promoter towards other countries. He noted that the pressure was effective, and made the other party to compromise and do something they usually otherwise would not chose to do.

On the other hand the civil societies were asked to indicate other areas where the USAID could put focus on to promote democracy, with majority of the respondents (93.3%) of them indicating that pressure should be induced in areas of good governance, free and fair election. Elections are considered as an important step in democratization process. Hence USAID should help the country in designing the electoral system that will bring confidence of the people on the electoral process. This will promote democracy among the people and prevent disputing the coming general election in 2017. The civil societies were asked to indicate whether they would recommend USAID in promoting democracy in other states and they were all in unison agreeing that USAID should be used in other countries to promote democracy. The areas noted especially in African states were of free and fair elections, human rights, corruption among others.

4.6 Challenges facing USAID in promoting democracy in Kenya

One of the challenge facing USAID in promoting democracy in Kenya as mentioned by the civil society is democratic backsliding. After the 2007 general election in Kenya violence broke out this was after realizing a democratic space where people could be able to express their views. The government agencies also said that backsliding was another challenge facing USAID efforts of democratization process in Kenya. The results agree with Ahmed (2014) who notes that backsliding occurs in the absence of democratic breakdown or regime change but the relationship between backsliding and democratization is not clear. Regime are inclusionary to some degree, granting some civil and political liberties to at least some elements of population and exclusionary to some degree placing restriction on these liberties. He argues backsliding does not always have to be remedied but could be viewed as way to help strengthen and consolidate democracy in the long run.

Lack of government commitment to democratization was said to be another challenge. It is important to note that democratic transition is the effort of promoting deeper democratization for hybrid regimes like Kenya however the domestic commitment to democratization is important as well. Even when external actors pressurize the country with less commitment then democratization will not take place through electoral institutions that are weak and poorly organized. They lack structure that can penetrate the national territory. Although USAID has put in place electoral processes that would lead to free and fair election there are still loopholes that make the government feel

more superior. The limited expansion of real vote choice that elections have provided is linked to weakness of democratic institution.

Lack of accountability and transparency on the National and devolved government is another challenge. Although the USAID has supported the government in an effort of renewing the anti-graft agency, there has been little or no accountability and transparency among government official in the National and Devolved government (County government). The results also agreed with those of the government agencies who noted that lack of accountability and transparent among offices in the National and Devolved government. The results agrees with those of USAID (2014) that devolution was meant to bring government close to the people and make it more transparent and accountable but it was also seen as a new entry point and opportunity for local corruption and resource conflict. USAID was to support civil society organizations that can play a watchdog role for under and sustain a national wide program on anti-corruption. Hence USAID was to focus on helping make county government more transparent, open and responsive to citizen although this has not been fully achieved.

Bureaucracy from US government of areas where USAID lags behind in areas of partnering with the community at the grassroots. The congressional and executive agency leaders often talk about partnership but little plans, resource allocation, aligning of incentives, allocating resources that reflect partnership building as a priority and supporting process that enable program design and project planning shows there is little effort to work with them.

4.7 Solutions of some of the challenges facing USAID in its journey to promote democracy in Kenya

USAID has embarked on a journey for preventing Kenya from backsliding. They have introduced civic education to enlighten the electorate. It is best conceived as a change in a combination of competitive electoral procedures, civil and political liberties and accountability. This has been because international market forces have constrained avowedly leftist governments from embarking on massive redistributive project as argued by Fishman (2014) and wealth classes and their political representatives have preferred to undermine accountability within a democracy.

Corruption exists in the most advanced democracies but the extent to which it flourishes and goes unpunished within a country is a reflection of poor democratic institutions and procedures. The USAID should assist the anti-corruption agency set aside by the government in dealing with issues of corruption.

The judicial system should also be free of corruption and political influence. Judicial reforms have been encouraged in the country by USAID. The judiciary to be independent without the interference of the politics and free of corruption.

Media freedom has also been encouraged in the country which classifies the world's countries into three categories. The USAID has been fighting for media freedom this should continue to enable the media to give the view of the government official as well as what the opposition and other members of the public say.

In the area of human rights and treatment of the minorities. The USAID should encourage civil society groups dealing with human right to talk with no fear on abuse of human right and also fair treatment of minorities.

USAID has discouraged civil societies organization respondent in partisan party politics. Hence members of the civil societies have been asked to keep off politics but to concentrate on their work.

4.8 Document Analysis

Document analysis shows that USAID has had an impact on civil and political rights as part of human freedom and therefore prevention would cause human deprivation. Democratization is an important process. USAID has played a major role in transition and consolidation of different democracies in Africa especially transition within Kenya. It has been evidenced in deepening democracy which involves guaranteeing human rights, creating a level playing field for party competition and adhering to constitutional divisions of powers. This has been done through the provision of both development and democracy aid. Development aid is the channeling of aid towards goals on social welfare such as budget support. Democracy aid on the other hand is support to help greater liberalization in a country that has already experienced a democratic transition like Kenya. USAID has been influencing the outcome of the aid's influence in Kenya.

USAID has been supporting the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission, the judiciary, political parties and millions of peace minded Kenyans to enable elections that are free and fair. From the government agencies USAID has built capacity of

County governments as well as civic education efforts to the electorate. It has also enhanced the participation of civil societies and creating an enabling environment. This helps create a strong foundation for enhancing participation to the rule of law.

USAID has participated fully in the constitutional reforms on the other hand by supporting the oversight and legislative roles in Parliament hence strengthening the voice and advocacy capacity of civil society, and building peace. USAID has also provided journalists with training and objectives, especially on areas that are conflict sensitive this would help mitigate conflict especially before, during and after the elections.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter contains the summary, conclusions and recommendations. It also contains suggestions for further research.

5.2 Summary of findings

The study sought to examine the Role of USAID in the democratization process in Kenya.

The study revealed that the government of Kenya was working closely with external actors and especially USAID to promote democracy through such programs as strengthening of electoral processes, support the writing and implementation of the new constitution, reforming institutions such as the judiciary. The study also revealed that USAID promotes democracy in Kenya through supporting of projects aimed at strengthening the country's political institutions, funding various development projects as well as protecting human rights. The tools employed by the USAID to promote democratization include sanctions especially when the government is backtracking on democracy, as well as economic rewards when the government has promoted democracy well since 1990s to date.

The instruments USAID has employed in its effort to Kenya's democratic transition and how effective they have been.

The study revealed that the instrument used in promoting democracy by USAID were economic sanction, cut of in export aid, adverse changes in trade status, prohibition of loans and financial remittance among others. It also revealed that the rating by USAID and civil society respondents was good although there is always a room for improvement. It also revealed that USAID had performed best in promoting democracy in areas such as freedom of information, good governance, technical assistance in electoral process and introduction of reforms within different institutions such as the judiciary.

Challenges facing USAID in promoting democracy in Kenya

The study revealed that democratic backsliding is one of the challenges hence it degradation of the quality, functioning, and experience of democracy and democratic rights negatively this affects international development goals, in all sectors. The continued decline in democratic governance means there is a breakdown or reduced regime change.

The study also revealed that accountability and transparency of the National and devolved government in Kenya was a challenge. They noted that although the USAID had supported the government in establishing structures in the anti-graft body, the two governments had not truly embraced them. The results agrees with those of USAID that devolution was meant to bring government close to the people of Kenya and make it more transparent and accountable but this has led to new entry point and opportunity for local corruption.

Solutions of some of the challenges facing USAID in its journey to promote democracy in Kenya

The study revealed that civic education had been introduced to enlighten the electorate to prevent the country from backsliding. It also revealed that the USAID has assisted in the reforming structures in the anti-corruption agency in Kenya. There have also been reforms in the judicial systems free from corruption and political influence. The study also revealed that media freedom had been encouraged in the country and the civil societies have been empowered by the USAID to ensure that they promote human rights and treatment of minorities.

Bureaucracy lags the planning and initiation of partnership between USAID and grassroots organization that knows the projects that are needed by the community has not been sufficient.

5.3 Conclusions

The following conclusions were drawn.

The government of Kenya has been working closely with external actors and especially USAID in promote democracy since the 1990s to date. At the same time when the government has backtracked from democracy sanctions have been used to caution the government and at the same time when the government has performed well in promoting democracy economic rewards have been used such as trade benefits and balance of payments since 1990s to date.

To promote democracy USAID has employed different instruments which include; export aid, adverse changes in trade status, prohibition of loans and financial remittance among others. Although USAID has been rated good the respondents also felt there was room for improvement. This could be done by improving areas such as freedom of information, good governance and technical assistance. It is however, clear that USAID has experienced some challenges; such as democratic backsliding, accountability and transparency.

Even though civic education has been introduced to help the electorate to make informed decision about elections, institutional reforms are important in areas that would make the country more stable after elections. USAID should be able to include partners in their planning to prioritize the projects that are required by the people on the ground other than coming up with programs on democratization.

5.4 Recommendation

The following recommendations were drawn

There is need for the government of Kenya to implement reforms that have been introduced to prevent democratic backsliding. This would also prevent sanctions and help the country to gain more economic rewards from external actors and especially USAID.

There is no need of USAID using the instruments such as economic sanction when the government is playing its role in democratization process as required. The USAID

should give countries time to experience democratic environment that has been growing in the country to ensure that there is no democratic backsliding.

There is need for the government to embrace civic education to the electorate to enable them make informed decision during elections. Institutional reforms should also be fast tracked to ensure the country remain stable after elections.

There is need for inclusion of partners to prioritize and deliver foreign assistance by encompassing co-planning with the private sector actors for program design and partnership efforts are co-designed. Partners should not be brought in at the end of an internal US government discussion process. Hence the need for the USAID agency to ensure involvement of the locals and consultations with the government before taking any actions geared towards democratization. USAID to be allowed to make decisions without the involvement of the congress since they are on the ground.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: FIELD SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE-USAID EMPLOYEES

Research topic: THE ROLE OF USAID IN THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS IN KENYA

This study seeks to interrogate the role played by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in the democratization process in Kenya from 1990 to 2013. It seeks to address the following research questions: What role has the USAID played in the democratic process since the 1990s? What instruments has it employed in its process of intervening in the democratic process in Kenya? What has it achieved so far and what are some of the challenges it has encountered in its effort to promote the democratization process in Kenya?

The study assumes that USAID as an external actor, has the potential to influence the democratic transition in Kenya. However, it is bound to be faced with challenges and limitations. These challenges and limitations define the extent to which USAID may or may not positively contribute to growth of democracy in Kenya.

By offering an in-depth analysis of the challenges faced by USAID in its attempt to promote democratic growth in Kenya, this study will prove particularly useful to other external actors about their prospects and challenges in their efforts to promote democracy in Kenya.

USAID OFFICIAL QUESTIONNAIRE

DISCLAIMER

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. There are no foreseeable risks associated with this project. However, if you feel uncomfortable answering any

questions, you can withdraw from the survey at any point. It is very important for us to learn your opinions.

Your personal information and survey responses are strictly confidential and will be used solely for academic research purposes. Your identity will not be published with written responses without written consent. Data from this research will only be reported in the aggregate, unless otherwise specified.

This study is conducted by: Joy Rael Andambi, 2015 Candidate for MA in International Relations at the University of Nairobi as part of her dissertation research. The dissertation project is supervised by: Prof. Phillip Nying'uro. Please email, raeljoy@yahoo.com with any further inquiries.

Thank you very much for your time and support. Please start the survey now below.

SECTION A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Gender.....
2. Age.....
3. Race.....
4. What level of education have you completed?

SECTION B. INFORMATION ON USAID INVOLVEMENT IN THE DEMOCRACY PROMOTION IN KENYA.

1. a. Have you heard of the democratization process in Kenya? (a) yes.....(b) no.....
b. if yes, how did you hear about it?

Tick appropriately	
• Through media	
• Through Civil Society group(s)	

• Others (specify)	
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2. Has USAID made any contribution(s)/ played any role(s) towards the democratization

process in Kenya? (a) yes..... (b) no.....

b. if yes which efforts has USAID put in place to promote democracy in Kenya?

Tick appropriately	
Supporting projects aimed at strengthening of the country's political institutions	
Enhancing the protection of human rights	
Deliberate conditionality to the government suppressive acts	
Funding various development projects	
Assisting Kenyan electoral body to hold Relatively fair and free elections	
Others (specify)	

c. Are you satisfied with the contributions the USAID has made towards democratization

process in Kenya? Yes..... (b) No.....

3. What are some of the instruments employed by USAID in its efforts to promote democracy in Kenya?
4. How can you rate the adequacy of the instrument employed by USAID in promoting democracy?

Adequately employed	Fairly employed	Inadequately employed

5. How can you rate the efficiency of the instrument employed by USAID in promoting democracy in Kenya?

Very good	Good	Fair	Poor	Very poor

6. Which aspect(s) of democracy promotion should the USAID focus on promoting most?
7. In your opinion what factors motivates USAID to promote democracy in Kenya?
8. What are some challenges USAID has faced in its journey to promote democracy in Kenya?
(i) Yes.....(ii) No.....

b. If yes which challenges?

9. Has USAID achieved its intended goals and objectives?
10. Please list any further comments regarding this survey or your involvement with USAID?

Thank you for your cooperation

**APPENDIX II: FIELD SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE-CIVIL SOCIETY
GROUP**

**Research topic: THE ROLE OF USAID IN THE DEMOCRATIZATION
PROCESS IN KENYA**

This study seeks to interrogate the role played by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in the democratization process in Kenya from 1990 to 2013. It seeks to address the following research questions: What role has the USAID played in the democratic process since the 1990s? What instruments has it employed in its process of intervening in the democratic process in Kenya? What has it achieved so far and what are some of the challenges it has encountered in its effort to promote the democratization process in Kenya?

The study assumes that USAID as an external actor, has the potential to influence the democratic transition in Kenya. However, it is bound to be faced with challenges and limitations. These challenges and limitations define the extent to which USAID may or may not positively contribute to growth of democracy in Kenya.

By offering an in-depth analysis of the challenges faced by USAID in its attempt to promote democratic growth in Kenya, this study will prove particularly useful to other external actors about their prospects and challenges in their efforts to promote democracy in Kenya.

USAID OFFICIAL QUESTIONNAIRE

DISCLAIMER

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. There are no foreseeable risks associated with this project. However, if you feel uncomfortable answering any

questions, you can withdraw from the survey at any point. It is very important for us to learn your opinions.

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This study is conducted by: Joy Rael Andambi, 2015 Candidate for MA in International Relations at the University of Nairobi as part of her dissertation research. The dissertation project is supervised by: Prof. Phillip Nying'uro. Please email, raeljoy@yahoo.com with any further inquiries.

Thank you very much for your time and support. Please start the survey now below.

SECTION A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. *Name of the respondent (optional).....
2. *Please list your email address.....
3. Area of residence.....
4. Gender.....
5. Age.....
6. Race.....
7. What level of education have you completed?
8. What is your religion?
9. What is your marital status?

***SECTION B. ROLE OF THE CIVIL SOCIETY GROUPS IN DEMOCRACY
PROMOTION***

IN KENYA

1. Are you familiar with any external actor(s) promoting democracy in Kenya?
 (i) Yes..... (ii) No.....

2. Have you heard of the USAID? (i) Yes.....(ii) No.....

If yes how did you hear about it?

3. As a civil society group, what support have you received from the USAID in your

effort(s) to promote the democratization process in Kenya?

4. As a civil society group, which activities have you carried out in collaboration with

the USAID to promote the democratization process in Kenya

5. Which efforts do you think USAID has put in place in promoting democratization

process in Kenya?

6. How can you rate the effort USAID has put in place in promoting the democratization

process in Kenya?

Very good	Good	Fair	Poor	Very poor

7. Which aspects of democracy do you think USAID has performed best in promoting?

8. Which aspects of democracy do you think USAID has performed poorly in promoting?

9. What specific areas is the USAID collaborating with the civil society group(s) to promote democracy process in Kenya?

10. What other areas would you recommend USAID to give more focus?

11. Would you recommend USAID for promotion of democracy in other states?

(a) Yes..... (b) No.....

- ii. If yes, what areas would you emphasize for action?
12. Which challenges do you think USAID face in its efforts to promote democracy in Kenya?
13. Suggest solution(s) to some of the challenges facing USAID in its journey to promote democracy in Kenya?
14. To what extent has USAID presence in Kenya affected your decision to participate in political activities?
15. Has your knowledge of political issues or political interest increased since you became engaged with USAID?
16. Please list any further comments regarding this survey or your involvement with USAID?

Thank you for your cooperation

APPENDIX III: FIELD SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE-GOVERNMENT OF KENYA AGENCIES

Research topic: THE ROLE OF EXTERNAL ACTORS IN THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS IN KENYA: CASE STUDY OF THE UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (USAID).

This study seeks to interrogate the role played by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in the democratization process in Kenya from 1990 to 2013. It seeks to address the following research questions: What role has the USAID played in the democratic process since the 1990s? What instruments has it employed in its process of intervening in the democratic process in Kenya? What has it achieved so far and what are some of the challenges it has encountered in its effort to promote the democratization process in Kenya?

The study assumes that USAID as an external actor, has the potential to influence the democratic transition in Kenya. However, it is bound to be faced with challenges and limitations. These challenges and limitations define the extent to which USAID may or may not positively contribute to growth of democracy in Kenya.

By offering an in-depth analysis of the challenges faced by USAID in its attempt to promote democratic growth in Kenya, this study will prove particularly useful to other external actors about their prospects and challenges in their efforts to promote democracy in Kenya.

USAID OFFICIAL QUESTIONNAIRE

DISCLAIMER

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Thank you very much for your time and support. Please start the survey now below.

SECTION A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. *Name of the respondent (optional).....
2. *Please list your email address.....
3. Area of residence.....
4. Gender.....
5. Age.....
6. Race.....
7. What level of education have you completed?
8. What is your religion?

9. What is your marital status?

SECTION B. ROLE OF GOVERNMENT AGENCIES IN THE DEMOCRACY

PROCESS

1. Does the government work with external actors in promoting democracy in Kenya? (i) Yes.....(ii) No.....

b. If yes how?

2. Has the government of Kenya had any bilateral relations with USAID in the democratization process in Kenya?

b. How would you gauge the bilateral relations between Kenya and USAID?

3. Do you think USAID as an external actor has played significant role(s) in the democratization process in Kenya? Yes.....No.....

If yes which roles?

4. Do you think the government is giving USAID a conducive environment in performing its function of promoting democracy in Kenya?

5. Which measures if any have you put in place to ensure that USAID get a conducive environment in performing its function?

6. Can you mention some of the effective instruments used by USAID in the effort to promote democracy?

7. Can you rate the efficiency of the instruments in promoting democracy?

Very good	Good	Fair	Poor	Very poor

8. Mention some of the programs the USAID has partnered with Kenya government to promote democracy?

9. Which programs or aspects of democracy promotion has USAID performed well/ poorly?

10. Can you rate the contribution of USAID in democratization process in Kenya?

Adequate	Fair	Inadequate	Not provided
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11. Do you think USAID has achieved its objectives in promoting democracy in Kenya? And in your opinion, which areas should USAID focus on improving?
12. Please list any further comments regarding this survey or your involvement with USAID?

Thank you for your cooperation

**APPENDIX IV: FIELD SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE: USA GOVERNMENT/
AMERICAN EMBASSY**

**Research topic THE ROLE OF USAID IN THE DEMOCRATIZATION
PROCESS IN KENYA**

This study seeks to interrogate the role played by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in the democratization process in Kenya from 1990 to 2013. It seeks to address the following research questions: What role has the USAID played in the democratic process since the 1990s? What instruments has it employed in its process of intervening in the democratic process in Kenya? What has it achieved so far and what are some of the challenges it has encountered in its effort to promote the democratization process in Kenya?

The study assumes that USAID as an external actor, has the potential to influence the democratic transition in Kenya. However, it is bound to be faced with challenges and limitations. These challenges and limitations define the extent to which USAID may or may not positively contribute to growth of democracy in Kenya.

By offering an in-depth analysis of the challenges faced by USAID in its attempt to promote democratic growth in Kenya, this study will prove particularly useful to other external actors about their prospects and challenges in their efforts to promote democracy in Kenya.

USAID OFFICIAL QUESTIONNAIRE

DISCLAIMER

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Thank you very much for your time and support. Please start the survey now below.

SECTION A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. *Name of the respondent (optional).....
2. *Please list your email address.....
3. Area of residence.....
4. Gender.....
5. Age.....
6. Race.....
7. What level of education have you completed?
8. What is your religion?
9. What is your marital status?

**SECTION B: INFORMATION FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT ABOUT THE
DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS IN KENYA**

1a. Have you heard of the democratization process in Kenya? (a) yes.....(b) no.....

b. if yes, how did you hear about it?

Tick appropriately	
• Through media	
• Through Civil Society group(s)	
• Others (specify)	

2. a. What are some of the role (s) the United States government has played towards the democratization process in Kenya?

b. Are you satisfied with the contributions the US government has made towards the democratization process in Kenya? Yes..... (b) No.....

11. What are some of the instruments/ strategies employed by the US government in its efforts to promote democracy in Kenya?

12. How can you rate the adequacy of the instruments employed by the US government in promoting democracy in Kenya?

Adequately employed	Fairly employed	Inadequately employed

13. How can you rate the efficiency of the instruments employed by US government in promoting democracy in Kenya?

Very good	Good	Fair	Poor	Very poor

14. Which aspect(s) of democracy promotion should the US government focus on promoting most?
15. What factors motivates US government to promote democracy in Kenya?
16. How would you characterize US government's participation in Kenyan politics?
17. Is the US government efforts to promote democracy in Kenya consistent with its own democracy policies?
18. Has the US government achieved its intended democracy goals and objectives in Kenya?
19. Please list any further comments regarding this survey or your involvement with The State Department?

Thank you for your cooperation