

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**THE CHALLENGE OF ATTAINING GOOD GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA:
THE USE OF SOCIAL MEDIA IN KENYA AND MAURITIUS.**

BY

CHRISTOPHER KASEMA

REG NO. R50/11294/2018

SUPERVISOR: PROF AMB. MARIA NZOMO

**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE
IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

DECEMBER 2020

DECLARATION

I, Christopher Muange Kasema, hereby declares that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any university.

Signed..... Date.....

Christopher Muange Kasema

R50/11294/2018

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

Signed..... Date.....

Prof. Amb. Maria Nzomo

Director,

Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies,

University of Nairobi

DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this research project to family and friends who supported me throughout the Masters programme. May God's abundance be with you all.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Through God's blessings in health and the people He has positioned around me that I have managed to undertake this study and the whole course. I hereby and with great humili give all Thanks to Him. To my supervisor Prof. Amb. Maria Nzomo, I give special acknowledgement and appreciation for the guidance, support and input throughout the study despite the challenges of working remotely. I also extend my sincere gratitude to My lovely and besutiful Jocelyn who has given me moral and emotional support through out the study. To my friend and colleague Sandra and my family members im gretful for all the support you have accorded me. To all be Blessed.

ABSTRACT

Conscious to the prevailing challenge of poor governance in Africa and the opportunities presented by technology through social media, this study seeks to critically analyze the challenge of attaining good governance in Africa and what role technology specifically social media can play to address this challenge in Kenya and Mauritius. This project was guided by three objectives: to critically analyze the challenge of attaining good governance in Africa, to assess and analyze the key factors hindering the attainment of good governance in Kenya and Mauritius and to critically examine the impact of social media in addressing the challenge of attaining good governance in Kenya and Mauritius. Conversation and debate on good governance remains one of the oldest debates that African states continue to struggle with to date. It is clear that the much hyped transition to liberal democracy in Africa in the 1990s did not translate into ensuring good governance in the continent and a happy life for Africans. As the study has revealed, despite significant gains made, some of the old challenges such as bad leadership, weak institutions, corruption, electoral fraud, lack of constitutionalism, suppression of individual rights and freedoms still continue to persist. At the same time, introduction of competitive elections has manifested the challenge of negative ethnicity in many countries making some of these countries to slide into civil conflicts. As a result of the challenge of attaining good governance, some countries like Bukina Faso are contemplating returning to authoritarianism. While acknowledging the gains made in Africa, the study argues that transition to liberal democracy in Africa might have been necessary, but it has not translated into good governance and as a result there is need for African scholars to engage in a program of rethinking the application and practice of liberal democracy in Africa and how good governance can be operationalized in the continent. This research has also been able to test how good governance infrastructure in Kenya and Mauritius are; and noted that in an effort to attain good governance, states should not be preoccupied by the quantity or ideology of regimes but rather by the quality, efficiency, effectiveness and intelligence of bureaucracies that can deliver on policy objectives. The project recommends that policy makers more so the public officials to focus on the process of implementation of the already existing legal and policy frameworks to further operationalize good governance in Kenya, Mauritius and Africa at large. At the same time, the wave of globalization and advancement in technology has also presented Africa with an excellent opportunity by empowering many citizens to be able to participate and have their voices heard on various issues that affect Africa's governance infrastructure. This opportunity has been presented in form of internet based applications normally referred to as social media. Social media has become a very powerful tool in advancing good governance in the world over, and very instrumental in some African countries like Kenya. To this end, the study has been keen on bringing out the role that social media can play and the impact it can have on attaining good governance specifically in Kenya and Mauritius. In retrospect, the study argues that social media has played a key role in addressing the challenge of poor governance across the globe and if used well and responsibly, it can have a positive impact in advancing good governance in the two countries. However, it is important to note that social media is a double edged sword that can cut either way if not used responsibly. It can polarize societies, bring instabilities and make societies ungovernable. It is imperative that communications authority come up with policies that will ensure that social media platforms are not used to spread hate and divide the society.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....	i
DEDICATION.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	iv
ABSTRACT.....	v
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xi
ABREVIATIONS.....	xii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY .1	
1.1 Introduction and Background to the Study	1
1.2 Problem Statement	8
1.3 Research Questions	9
1.4 Research Objectives.....	9
1.4.1 General Objective	9
1.4.2 Specific Objective	10
1.5 Literature Review.....	10
1.5.1 Theoretical Literature Review	10
1.5.2 Realism theory of international politics and the Challenge of Good governance.....	10
1.5.3 Liberalism Theory and Good Governance in Africa.....	11
1.5.4 Collective Framework Organization Theory and the Impact of Social Media in Advancing Good Governance	12
1.5.5 Empirical Literature	14
1.5.5.1 Challenge of Attaining Good Governance	14
1.5.5.2 The Challenge of attaining Good Governance in Africa.....	15

1.5.5.3 Factors Inhibiting Attainment of Good Governance in Kenya and Mauritius	16
1.5.5.4 The Role of Social Media in Addressing the Challenge of Attaining Good Governance	19
1.5.5.5 The Role of Social Media in Addressing the Challenge of Attaining Good Governance in Africa	20
1.5.5.6 The Use of Social Media to Address the challenge of Attaining Good Governance in Kenya and Mauritius	21
1.6 Gaps in the Literature.....	23
1.7 Justification of the Study	23
1.7.1 Justification of the Study in Policy	24
1.7.2 Justification of the Study to the Academy	24
1.7.3 Justification of the Study to the General Public.....	25
1.8 Theoretical Framework.....	25
1.9 Study Hypotheses.....	26
1.10 Research Methodology	26
1.10.1 Research Design.....	27
1.10.2 Data Collection Methods	27
1.10.3 Target and Sample Population	28
1.10.4 Data Collection Procedures.....	28
1.10.5 Reliability and Validity of the Research Instruments	29
1.10.5.1 Reliability.....	29
1.10.5.2 Validity	29
1.10.6 Data Analysis and Presentation	29
1.10.7 Scope and Limitation of the Research	29

1.11 Chapter Outline	30
CHAPTER TWO: THE CHALLENGE OF ATTAINING GOOD	
GOVERNANCE	31
2.1 Introduction.....	31
2.2 The Conceptualization of Good Governance in Africa	31
2.3 Attaining Good Governance in Africa.....	33
2.3.1 Good Governance, Development and Peace in Africa	34
2.4 The Second Liberation and Good Governance in Africa.....	34
2.5 Return of Multiparty Politics in Africa.....	36
2.6 Multi-Party Democracy and Ethnicity in Africa.....	37
2.6.1 Coalition Governments and Good Governance in Africa.....	39
2.7 Current Realities of African Governance	40
2.7.1 Elections and Good Governance in Africa	41
2.7.2 Corruption and Good Governance in Africa.....	43
2.7.3 Institutional and Legal Framework to Fight Corruption.....	44
2.7.4 Foreign Powers and Good Governance in Africa	47
2.7.5 Technology and the Challenge of Attaining Good Governance in Africa.....	49
2.8 Chapter Summary and Conclusion	51
CHAPTER THREE	53
FACTORS INHIBITING ATTAINMENT OF GOOD GOVERNANCE IN	
KENYA AND MAURITIUS.....	
3.1 Introduction.....	53
3.2 Challenge of Attaining Good Governance in Kenya	53
3.3 The Plural Political System and the Challenge of Attaining Good Governance in Kenya.....	55

3.4 Kenya's Current Good Governance State	57
3.4.1 Technology and Attainment of Democracy in Kenya	62
3.5 The Challenge Of Attaining Good Governance In Mauritius.....	63
3.5.1 The Reality of the Mauritius Good Governance.....	66
3.5.2 Technology and Attainment of Good Governance in Mauritius	69
3.6 Chapter Summary and Conclusion	72
CHAPTER FOUR: THE ROLE AND IMPACT OF SOCIAL MEDIA ON	
GOOD GOVERNANCE IN KENYA AND MAURITIUS	74
4.1 Introduction.....	74
4.2 Definition of Concepts	74
4.3 The potency of Social Media in Political Processes	76
4.4 The Use and the Impact of Social Media in Africa	79
4.5 Social Media Landscape in Kenya.....	83
4.5.1 Social Media as a Leveler in Kenya	84
4.5.2 The use of Social Media in Kenya in political processes	87
4.5.3 The Impact of Social Media on Governance in Kenya.....	89
4.5.4 Social Media and Crisis Emergency Response in Kenya	90
4.5.5 The Impact of Social Media in Fighting Corruption in Kenya	94
4.5.6 The Impact of Social Media on Human Rights in Kenya.....	96
4.6 Social Media Landscape in Mauritius.....	98
4.6.1 Use of Social Media in Political Process in Mauritius	99
4.6.2 Similarities and Difference in the use of Social Media in Kenya and	
Mauritius	101
4.7 Summary and Conclusions	102

CHAPTER FIVE: DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION	104
5.1 Introduction.....	104
5.2 Results and Data Analysis	107
5.2.1 The Challenge of Attaining Good Governance in Africa	107
5.3 Factors Inhibiting Attainment of Good Governance in Kenya and Mauritius.....	109
5.4 The Role and Impact of Social Media on Good Governance in Kenya and Mauritius	112
5.5 Chapter Summary and Conclusions.....	115
CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS.....	116
6.1 Introduction.....	116
6.2.1 The Challenge of Attaining Good Governance in Africa	116
6.2.2 Factors Hindering Attainment of Good Governance in Kenya and Mauritius	117
6.2.3 The Role and Impact of Social Media on Governance in Kenya and Mauritius	118
6.3 Conclusion	118
6.4 Recommendations to the Academia.....	119
6.4.1 Recommendations to the Policy Makers.....	120
6.5 Key Learning Outcomes	121
REFERENCES.....	122
APPENDIX.....	129
Appendix I: Questionnaire.....	129
Appendix II: NACOSTI Permit	132
Appendix III: Turnitin Report	133

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 5.1.2: Data Collected from Kenya and Mauritius.....	104
Figure 5.1.2: Responses Received from Kenya and Mauritius.....	105
Figure 5.1.3: Gender Presentation of Respondents.....	105
Figure 5.1.4: Age Representation of the Respondents.....	106
Figure 5.1.5: Highest Level of Education	106
Figure 5.2.1: Challenge to the Attainment of Good Governance in Africa	107
Figure 5.2.2: Whether Transition to Liberal Democracy has Translated into Good Governance in Africa	108
Figure 5.3.1: Factors Inhibiting Attainment of Good Governance in Kenya and Mauritius	109
Figure 5.3.2: Key Factors Hindering the Attainment of Good Governance in Mauritius	110
Figure 5.3.3: Constitutional Reforms, Devolution and Increased Representation as Key Improvements in the Kenyan Governance	111
Figure 5.3.5: Steps taken to advance good governance in Mauritius	111
Figure 5.4.1: The extent to which social media can be used to advance good governance in Kenya and Mauritius	113
Figure 5.4.2: Mauritius social media can be a powerful tool to advance good governance in the country	114
Figure 5.4.2: The Impact of Social Media in Advancing Good Governance in Mauritius	115

ABBREVIATIONS

BBC	-	British Broadcasting Chanel
CNN	-	Cable News Network
COK	-	Constitution of Kenya 2010
EISA	-	Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa
EUI	-	Economist Intelligent Unit
IDS	-	institute of Development Studies
ICT	-	Information Communication Technology
KOT	-	Kenyans on Twitter
MENA-		Middle East and North Africa
SADC	-	South African Development Community
OSIEA-		Open Society Initiative for East Africa
SID	-	Society for International Development

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction and Background to the Study

The wave of protests witnessed in many countries around the globe denote the entrenched challenge of attaining good governance. The increased police brutality against the black community in the United States have put once considered an epitome of democracy globally in test. The elections of president Trump in 2016 has turned the united states of America a country that in 1990s was seen as the leaders in spreading and exporting its liberal democratic ideals to the rest of the world into one of the most undemocratic country countries now. His ignorance of the need of a democratic world and his continued support and association with dectators in Russian and other parts of the world indicates the declining role that the united states is willing to in advancing good governance in the world. The recent killing of George Floyd and Jacob Blake both of whom are members of the black community and the increased used of armed police to restrain peaceful protests has been the straw that has broken the camel back in the United states good governance.

The question of good governace in Africa remains one of the most controversial subjects of modern African history. The importation and application of liberal democracy in Africa has not automatically translated into good governance in the continent. The question of whether Africa is progressing or retrogressing and at the blink of sliding back to authoritarianism still baffles many scholars. While much of the democratization efforts in Africa coincided with the third wave of democratization, Samuel Huntington noted that there could be a possibility of a reverse in democratization with some countries sliding back to authoritarian regimes and others at risk of becoming flawed democracies. Notably, the democratizing efforts in Africa

in this period were led by the United States and the Catholic church (the Vatican) especially in the western part of the continent¹.

The third wave of globalization has been presented by some of the greatest writers such as Anthony Giddens, as a double edged sword². It has increased and intensified interconnectedness between the society, the states and the markets. Information and communications technology (ICT) have revolutionized accessibility and sharing of information as well as changing how citizens and governments communicate. The emergence of the internet and social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram has made it easy for people in different parts of the world to share content, comment and like other people's content. At the same time, this very noble discovery has been viewed as a great threat both to democratic and authoritarian governments who traditionally had the power to control mainstream media. The power that the government held on mainstream media has quickly diffused to different centres. However, the impact of new media on political processes still remains a subject of great controversy, especially with some cases being a success while others have degenerated into a more polarized society. It is the intent of this paper to examine under what conditions does political mobilization through social media lead to a successful transition to democracy and good governance in Africa.

While democracy and good governance are a phenomenon that has transcended antiquity, in the contemporary world internet news service has become a very important tool that has been used in different parts of the African continent to address the problem of good governance. Social media, although a recent occurrence has provided the

¹ Pierre, Andrew J., and Samuel P. Huntington. "The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century." *Foreign Affairs* 71, no. 2 (1992): 190. <https://doi.org/10.2307/20045138>.

² Neocleous, Mark, Anthony Giddens, and Christopher Pierson. "Conversations with Anthony Giddens: Making Sense of Modernity." *Contemporary Sociology* 29, no. 2 (2000): 433. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2654463>.

citizenry with a virtual platform for participation in governance and in the formulation of public opinion. The start of the 21st century caught many governments and organizations unprepared for drastic diffusion of power from the state to individuals and organized groups through the use of social media. Scholars and policymakers' world over have been unable to put any convincing arguments on how social media has been able to significantly influence attainment of good governance in different cases. It is noteworthy to mention that social media has increasingly become an important tool in political processes as well as coordinating collective action in advancing politico and socio-economic reform agendas.

One of the first and biggest surprises brought by social media was the 2002 presidential election of President Roh Moo Hyun. Although the media has played a great role in South Korean democracy and has earned the trust of the South Korean people, it is noteworthy to mention that before 2002 majority of the big and well-established newspapers tended to be ideologically conservative. President Roh Moo Hyun while working in President Kim Dae Jung's administration from 1997 to 2002, experienced serious mistreatment and resentment by major newspapers in the country. The elections of 2002 showed that mainstream media was no longer the sole public opinion shaper. The emergence of ohmynews (an online news agency), which promised a 24-hour news and provided a platform for citizenry engagement, became very popular and brought many young voters together to vote for president Roh Moo Hyun in 2002³.

On February 15 2003, through the use of new media citizens across 800 cities around the globe planned and organized over 8 million people -including 2 million people in

³ Shin, Eui Hang. "Correlates of the 2002 Presidential Election in South Korea: Regionalism, the Generation Gap, Anti-Americanism, and the North Korea Factor." *East Asia* 21, no. 2 (2004): 18–38. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12140-004-0014-y>.

London- to demonstrate against their states' involvement in the Iraqi Invasion. This was noted as the biggest demonstration in human history as of that time.

The use of social media was also a very instrumental tool in the 2008 United States of America presidential election. This was the first time a black person was elected president of the United States in history with a record level turnout⁴. The turnout was even bigger from the black community, women and first-time voters. Through use of various online engagement platforms, president Obama was able to get community support, popular engagement and enormous funding from the public. Similarly, the same approach was used by president Trump in his 2016 presidential election campaigns. From the Onset President Trump previously who harbors a wealth of experience in the mainstream media at one point playing a role of a reality Show television host in fox expressed his distrust in the Cable News Network (CNN) and regarded them as "fake news". This meant that the only option for his campaign was FOX news and social media where up today he has shown a great mastery in the use of twitter in mobilizing the white folks in American politics. Trump's use of new media and other politicians in Europe has been viewed as a great threat to liberal democracy by awakening the ghosts of populism.

While mainstream media is viewed as reclusive to young people and people of modest social status, in the last two decades' citizenry and organizations have learned the great participatory benefits of digital media. Today people in different parts of the world use new media, advanced democratic developments and social rights. The political activities have ranged from; racial discrimination, discrimination against women, corruption, wage bills, unemployment, un-constitutionalism, etc. For instance, in 2011,

⁴"Anti-War Protests around the World." *The Guardian*. March 15, 2003, sec. Politics. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2003/mar/15/antiwar.uk>.

citizens of Spain through social media were able to coordinate a demonstration in which between 6.5 to 8 million Spaniards participated. The demonstrations were to push the government to address political corruption, unemployment, disaster capitalism and welfare cuts. The International occupy movement demonstrated against inequality in 2011 and this had a great spillover effect to over 80 countries. In almost all regions of the world from Europe, America, Asia and Africa have had different experiences in the outcome of online political mobilization.

In Africa, a continent that by 2000 had experienced over 115 violent and unconstitutional changes in governments or what others refer to as coup d'état. With the third wave of democratization sweeping through Africa the number of authoritarian regimes have reduced significantly with some authoritarian leaders like Museveni of Uganda turning into some reluctant democrats. The technological advancements of the 21st century, tempered with different aspects of globalization, found both democratic and authoritarian African regimes unprepared for the new changes in the channels of communications. With the majority of African states still having u, they did not give mainstream media their independence. One of the most affected regions was the Islamic North African region. Tunisia & Sudan citizens have used social media to agitate for d change in different countries in that region.

One of the most cited events is the Arab springs which left many authoritarian regimes in North Africa and the Middle East region in disarray. In 2011 young Mohammed Bouazizi after being denied an opportunity to sell vegetables by the street to fend for his family set himself on fire. This occurrence sparked enormous uproar from the online community and it pushed the then president of Tunisia El Abidine Ali to flee. This online coordination of collective action of the occurrences and the determination of the Tunisian people to push for change inspired many citizens in the neighboring countries

through the spillover effect to do the same in their respective countries. The Arab spring spread to over twenty countries in the Middle East and North African Region (MENA). It also saw the great Muammar Al-Gadhafi fall and the emergence of the Facebook revolution in Egypt which deposed President Hosni Mubarak.

As Helen Margett et al, denote, majority of the digital media driven political mobilization have ended up serving an opposite purpose of what they were designed to do by being very unstable. For instance, with the fall of Gadhafi, the Libyan society became anarchic, in Syria and Yemen it metamorphosed into civil conflicts while in Egypt they ended up replacing one autocratic leader with another. While that has been the case; the 2019 Sudan revolution seemed to be well coordinated and brilliantly executed to successfully agitate regime change from military to civilian,. At The same time the Sudan revolution was happening, there were big online mobilizations by students in Hong Kong, while Sudan citizens were able to depose Bashir, the people of Hong Kong were not able to either depose the chief Executive or even have the Fugitive Offenders' Amendment Bill reversed.⁵.

Kenya has been considered as one of the leading countries in internet penetration in Africa. The Kenyan's on Twitter(KOT) has been recognized world over as the strongest and disorganized social media movements especially when it comes to standing in solidarity with fellow Kenyans. This was very evident in July 2015 during president Obama's visit to the country, when the Cable News Network(CNN) referred to Kenya as a "Hot Bed of terrorism". Kenyans on twitter came out strongly to defend their country against this stereotype. In 2018 when Kenya experienced another terror attack (the Dusit D2 attack) New York Times East African Editor editorialized some

⁵ Margetts, Helen, Peter John, Scott A. Hale, and Taha Yasseri. *Political Turbulence How Social Media Shape Collective Action*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017.

disturbing graphics on the attack. Kenyans on twitter through collective efforts were able to rally the entire globe against the New York Times in demanding dignity for the dead and ultimately forced the New York times to apologize and pull down the article⁶.

Kenya has also seen a great increase in online conversations on democracy and governance some of which have been led by common people who now have the platform to call out all wrong doings by the government and at the same time suggesting creative solutions to pressing challenges in the country. There has been a significant increase in the number of politicians and activists on different social media platforms. For instance, in 2013 general elections, all presidential candidates had social media accounts that they used to tap into neutral voters. This has increased citizens' participation in the process of governance. This was specifically witnessed in the presidential debates hosted by mainstream media in 2013 and 2017 general elections with Kenyan's asking questions to the candidates from their homes.

Mauritius has been tautened as a o be doing well in 2019 by the Economist Intelligent Unit democracy index annual report 2019. Social media and media in general has also been said to be one of defining tools that the Mauritians have used to hold their leaders accountable especially after the 2014 election. The journal for African Elections notes that from 2014 to 2017 there has been a significant increase the number of politicians and Mauritians using social media especially Facebook to address the challenge of attaining good governance in the country.

⁶ Bloomberg

1.2 Problem Statement

The idea of good governance in Africa has been a problematic one. Despite the wide adoption of liberal democratic ideals in Africa in 1980s and 1990s as the a result of the third wave of democratization, the concept of liberal democratic ideals remains highly contested in its origin, the manner in which it should exist and be practiced in the African society. The transition to liberal democratiy in Africa, was expected to yield good governance by ensuring and guaranteeing individual rights, freedoms, liberties and shared prosperity. The practice of liberal deomocracy was expected to eradicate poverty, ensure peace, trianguilty and political stability while providing a condusive environment for the Africas economic and development to take off.

Ironically, Within the African context liberal democratiy as practiced has not translated to a happy and trianqual society as expected or good governance. The pure application and practice of liberal democracy in Africa has resulted to grave political crisis due to its inability to deliver on progressive, descent, honest and efficient governments that are sensitive to the needs of its people. the resultant aftermath of this continuous and persistent challenge transition to liberal democracy to translate to a happy life and good governance in Africa has led to a decrease in the demand for liberal democracy and an increase demand for alternative forms of government. Consequently, many countries that transitioned to libral democracy in 1990s have either stalled, truncated or experiencing a regress to strogmanship and authoritarian regimes. To as such Africa many African countries seems to be failing under liberal democracy as a result of a perceived malfunction of the conversion process of liberal democracy to deliver good governance in Africa.

With this challenge of attaining good governance in Africa, the emergence of information technology that has birthed new social platforms that seem to be

revolutionarizing advocacy, activism and political communication processes. Social media platforms in the recent years have provided a wider space for citizens' participation and greater platforms for collective action that has been used to address the problem of poor governance in Africa as witnessed in the Arab springs.

This study therefore, this study will critically asses and analyze the challenge of attaining good governance in Africa. The study will singularly focus on testing whether liberal democracy is Africa has lead o good governance in the continent and more specifically in Kenya and Mauritius. The study will also critically examine how social media has been used as a tool to address the problem of attaining good governance in Kenya and Mauritius. In doing so, the study will be able to test whether social media has been a key driving factor in the the process of good governance consolidation in the two countries and to bring out conditions necessary for a predictable, sustainable, and successful social media revolution.

1.3 Research Questions

- i. How has the challenge of attaining good governance manifested itself in Africa?
- ii. What are the factors impeding attainment of good governance in Kenya and Mauritius?
- iii. What is the impact of social mediain in addressing the challenge of attaining good governance in Kenya and Mauritius?

1.4 Research Objectives

1.4.1 General Objective

To critically analyze the challenge of attaining good governance in Africa.

1.4.2 Specific Objective

- i. To critically analyze the challenge of attaining good governance in Africa.
- ii. To Assess and analyze the key factors hindering the attainment of good governance in Kenya and Mauritius.
- iii. To critically examine the impact of social media in addressing the challenge of attaining good governance in Kenya and Mauritius.

1.5 Literature Review

The review of work done by others in this area of study is an important aspect for this paper, more so because it will enable us to decipher where the knowledge gaps exist and at the same time help us to broaden our understanding and have a great background in this area of study. This part will focus on both theoretical and empirical literature review.

1.5.1 Theoretical Literature Review

Theory in essence, can be viewed as an abstraction of social reality. It is an analytical tool or model that social scientists use to predict the causal relationship between variables while at the same time accounting for change processes thereof relating to the phenomenon at hand. There are normative and empirical theories, but for the purpose of this paper we shall focus singularly on the normative theories of digital media and collective action in leading a social change.

1.5.2 Realism theory of international politics and the Challenge of Good governance

Realism is One of the most persuasive theories in international politics and one that has been very influential in shaping issues, events and processes in the international arena. It is a theory that has widely been publicized by its proponents as once that explicitly explains human behavior. As Morgenthau notes that realism theory is one that can

transcend times and circumstance because human behavior is unfettered by time and circumstances. The theory can be traced to Thucydides in his explanation of the Peloponnesian war where he describes power as a commodity that should always triumph over justice and morality.

The critiques of realism have considered the Thucydides statement of power triumphing over justice and morality as to why the theory has been a great impediment to attainment of good governance worldwide. Kenneth Waltz and John Mearsheimer coined structural realism as a high bride of the classical realism as a response to the flaws that have made realism unattractive in advancing good governance. To as such many realists today pride themselves with a progressive foreign policy adopted by some of the most well governed states in the world and their leaders including President Barack Obama and the Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi⁷.

Modern theorists have also pointed out that the overemphasis by realists on power and more so on hard or military power has been a great disservice to the theory because the accumulation of military power by a state for defense has often been systematically turned by despots and authoritarians against their own people. As noted by Thomas Hobbes in the *Leviathan*, power was necessary to keep subjects in check and restore order because human beings are naturally evil, egoist and self-centered. Therefore, realism has been accused of glorifying and accentuating violence, oppression, intolerance and poor governance.

1.5.3 Liberalism Theory and Good Governance in Africa

Unlike realism, Liberalism and more specifically its proponents like Jean Jacques Rousseau and John Locke adopt a more optimistic view about the world and human

⁷ Realism and Anti-Realism. (2017). *On Thinking and the World*, 157-185. doi:10.4324/9781315247649-6

behavior. John Locke for instance, argues that human beings are not evil at all but rather the environment in which they existed was the only factor that could make them become otherwise. According to Jeffrey Meiser today liberalism has been considered as defining feature of democracy because of its emphasis on issues of freedom, liberty, and shared prosperity⁸. The theory farther argues that protection of individual rights, liberties and prosperity should be the key priorities of all the governments around the world.

Liberalism theory farther notes that a democratic political system is the only type of governance that can guarantee universal suffrage, protect human rights liberty and property. In relations to social media the theory note that a good governance should always ensure a guarantee greater participation of its citizens in political processes and policy formulation. To this end Jeffrey Meiser notes that liberalism is majorly concerned with the construction of effective, transparent and accountable institutions that are citizens centered and ones that are able to protect freedoms, rights and liberties while at the same time keeping the government of the day in check.

1.5.4 Collective Framework Organization Theory and the Impact of Social Media in Advancing Good Governance

Olson et al, in their wisdom argued that where some objectives are involved groups of individuals with those common interests tend to further those interests. This argument is predicated on the assumption that the individuals that form the group are informed by their own personal and selfish interest. It follows that if by any chance the individuals divorced their personal interest it would be very unlikely for them to collectively pursue any common societal goal. Such altruism has been considered exceptional in few places

⁸ Liberalism vs. Democracy. (n.d.). *After Liberalism*, 30-48. doi:10.2307/j.ctt7rtpk.5

where online mobilization has worked to achieve its policy objective. All individuals making a group, if they acted in a rational and self-interested manner, they would gain more only if they achieve the collective group action. It follows the logic that if people in different social media platforms acted in a rational and self-interested manner either by pushing economic or education policy and if they acted as a group and pushed for that one policy objective they would all stand to benefit from that collective action.

Sometimes the varied self-interests that individual members of a group harbor can act as an arbiter to a successful collective action. In order to achieve the policy objective of collective action it must be well structured, coordinated and organized. As Margetts et al puts it, for any effective online mobilization people must think of it in terms of structure, organization and coordination, tempered with good packaging of information and guarantee for visibility of the actions of others. Often such kinds of structures and organizations collapse because many of them have only existed to serve the interest of leadership at the expense of the individual members interests. In retrospect, when these kinds of organizations don't serve the interest of the individual members, they perish. This becomes a very big challenge in bringing in more people to participate in a political process and acts as a hindrance to a successful online political mobilization.

Aristotle noted that, "People walk together only with an imagination of a particular advantage and in the view that they would get a certain thing needed for the purpose of life. Same can be said of a political association for the leadership has to come together and continue to exist for the singular goal of the benefits it brings." Professor Leon Festinger notes that the attraction of group membership is not merely by the sheer belonging but rather in gaining a meaningful advantage by their means of membership. Therefore, people in different social media platforms will be attracted to champion for a course if one of it gives them that sense of belonging and if they stand to gain by their

participation in any course of action. Bimber notably argues that coordination of the organization of collective action online can lead to the rise of populism and abuse of such efforts.

1.5.5 Empirical Literature

1.5.5.1 Challenge of Attaining Good Governance

Samuel Huntington in his essay on the third wave of democratization noted that the world from 1990 onwards would experience a wave of democratization that will sweep through eastern Europe, Asia, Pacific, Latin America and Africa⁹. He noted that the third wave of democratization would be driven by the emergence of the United States as the sole super power from the cold war, the Soviet Union and the Catholic church. Huntington noted that in every wave the democratization process had at some point experience some sort of a drawback, but for the third wave he wondered when the regress would be. Huntington also wondered what would be the key drivers of the next wave of democratization process¹⁰.

According to the Economist Intelligence Unit democracy index annual report of 2019 noted that for the last 19 years the world has been experiencing a recess in democracy with many countries that were democratically promising in the 1990s regressing from full democracies to flawed democracies. The report also noted that although the number of full democracies had increased from 20 in 2018 to 22 in 2019 there still remained a big number of authoritarian regimes at 54 out of 165 states¹¹. According to Joan Hoey democracy has stalled in 2000s and true to Huntington fears a retreat of the third wave of democratization has been experienced from 2010-2020. However, that's a renewal of

⁹ ibid

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ The Economist Intelligence Unit. (n.d.). Retrieved July 17, 2020, from <https://www.eiu.com/topic/democracy-index>

the democratization wave with the increased and ongoing protests in many developing states and even some of the most developed states like the United States, France, Britain and other places¹².

According to Usman A. Tar, the wave of democratization in 1980s and 1990s swept across the newly and emergent states from colonization in the global south. He notes that regimes that were majorly dominated by military and political juntas experienced a significant change to good governance practices. For instance, in Africa by the end of the last decade of the 20th century African states from South Africa's independence from the white settler apartheid regime to the Ironic Democratic republic of Congo to Kenya, to Ghana which now is considered as the beacon of democracy and the epitome of good governance in Africa had started implementing significant reforms. Usman farther argues that majority of the states in the middle east resisted this transitions¹³.

1.5.5.2 The Challenge of attaining Good Governance in Africa

Scholars world over have considered the African continent as the sick boy of the world when it comes to good governance. Usman Argues that the challenge of attaining good governance in Africa underlies the colonial legacy which ingrained the culture of dictatorship, neo-patrimonialism, fragile economies and continuous and persistence foreign influence and interference. This has left the African state underdeveloped and at the mercy of their former colonial powers who still continue to extend and impose their neo-imperialism on the African states¹⁴. The African Elites have been in cahoots with the colonial masters and as such they have perfected the art of stealing and looting the public coffers and public financial impropriety. For instance, in Nigeria, Gabon,

¹²Ibid

¹³ Tar, U. A. (2013). Civil Society and Neoliberalism. *The Handbook of Civil Society in Africa Nonprofit and Civil Society Studies*, 253-272. doi:10.1007/978-1-4614-8262-8_16

¹⁴ Ibid

Senegal and others states in Africa the reluctant democratic elite have widely been accused of grave corruption in their countries¹⁵.

While noting that some progress has been made in the democratization process, the 2019 Economist intelligent unit annual democratic index noted that the number of dictatorships have persisted, while the number of full democracies have regressed to flawed democracies¹⁶. The Intelligent democratic units have attributed the persistence of this trend to some key factors that have inhibited attainment of good governance in Africa.

1.5.5.3 Factors Inhibiting Attainment of Good Governance in Kenya and Mauritius

The Economist Intelligent Unit Annual democracy index 2019 report listed Mauritius as the only full democracy in Africa out of a list of 22 full democracies in the world. The EISA research project No 37 on *'Consolidating democratic governance in the SADC region noted that Mauritius'* noted that within the region Mauritius was the only country that has in a consistent manner promoted development of its people since independence. The report adds that the government of Mauritius has managed its economy fairly well and ensure fiscal transparency to significant degree. The government upholds the rule of law protects and promotes human rights, freedoms and liberties. The governments have expresses great tolerance to political opposition, ensured and followed free and fair electoral procedures tempered with regular power alternation. They have also ensured the independence of the Judiciary, rigorous

¹⁵ BBC (2004) "How deep is corruption in Africa" available: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3819027.stm>, accessed 29th May 2010.

¹⁶ The Economist Intelligence Unit. (n.d.). Retrieved July 17, 2020, from <https://www.eiu.com/topic/democracy-index>

parliamentary politics and a well-managed ethnic, religious and cultural diversity with greater respect, maturity and tolerance¹⁷.

As noted by professor karuti Kanyinga, Kenya on the other hand has exhibited a contradictory path from that of Mauritius in her quest to attain good governance. Kanyinga and Okello noted that even after the re-introduction of multiparty democracy, the government institutions still retained their one-party attitudes and cultures that still hound the country up to date. They add that the descent of an election in Kenya has precipitated conflicts and violence as witnessed in 1992,1997 and 2007. The judiciary and the legislature remained insubordination to the executive and this farther incubated imperial character of the state tempered by lack of constitutionalism and rule of law¹⁸.

Kenya like many other African countries as noted by Thandikwa Mkandawire, exhibited strong unethical character of capturing, retention and exercising political power, which often lead to constitutions that were drawn by blood¹⁹. After the successful power transition from president Moi's regime to president Kibaki's Regime and the subsequent invitation of president Kibaki to Washington by President George W Bush Showed an increase in Kenya's attraction to Washington for those strides towards democracy²⁰. Professor Joel D Barkan writes that president Kibaki was the first African leader to be honored in this manner by president George W Bush. Despite this good and noble gesture Barkan notes that the Kenyan Democracy was still under great threat of regress due to fragility of its good governance, lack of sound and centralized

¹⁷ Ogundimu, F. F. (2017). Media and Democracy in Twenty-First-Century Africa. *Media and Democracy in Africa*, 207-238. doi:10.4324/9780203785980-9

¹⁸ Holmquist, F. (2011). Karuti Kanyinga and Duncan Okello, eds. *Tensions and Reversals in Democratic Transitions: The Kenya 2007 General Elections*. Nairobi: Society for International Development, in conjunction with the Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, 2010. 709 pp. Notes. Paper. No price reported. *African Studies Review*, 54(2), 210-212. doi:10.1353/arw.2011.0038

¹⁹ Mkandawire, T. (2002). Incentives, Governance, and Capacity Development in Africa. *African Issues*, 30(1), 15. doi:10.2307/1167084

²⁰ Barkan, J. D. (1999). Regime change in Africa. *Journal of Democracy*, 10(2), 165-170. doi:10.1353/jod.1999.0026

leadership and institutions, riven ethnic factionalism that has dangerously manifested itself in every electoral cycle since the re-introduction of multiparty democracy. He adds that this has also been made worse by the growing security challenge and socio-economic pressure that the state is experiencing²¹.

A report by the Open Society Initiative for East Africa(OSIEA) in collaboration with the Institute of Development Studies (IDS)- University of Nairobi, opine that the biggest impediment to attainment of good governance in Kenya is the challenge of ethnicity and identity politics, the political system of the first-past-post and the continuous dominance of the executive. The same report adds that although there has been significant progress in advancing good governance in Kenya, especially through the 2010 constitution, the gains that had been achieved are slowly experiencing a gradual but consistent reversal. The Kenyan constitution of 2010 identifies and lays down a coherent framework for accountability, public participation, the rule of law and the code of conduct that state officers should abide by in their administration of public affairs²². The report farther argues that if there is limited adherence to principles of good governance, the democratic space for participation, respect and protection of basic rights and freedoms remain to experience a regress²³.

Mauritius on the other hand has been praised to be the epitome of good governance, one that other countries can emulate in Africa. According Roukaya Kasenally and Dooshweena Avatar noted that Mauritius since its independence in 1968 has held 10 elections that has been deemed free and fair. They farther add that the Mauritius democracy is not all good with no flaws. They argue that the emergence dynastic of ethno-politics tempered with big money politics have presented a big challenge to

²¹ Ibid

²² Open Society Initiative for East Africa(OSIEA)- Kenya: Democracy and Political Participation

²³ Ibid

Mauritius attainment of good governance. They add that although there has been regular alternation of power in the state, the alternation has been to the same people and same parties hence leaving a very small space for new leadership and inclusivity²⁴.

1.5.5.4 The Role of Social Media in Addressing the Challenge of Attaining Good Governance

According to Bennet and Segerberg, globalization has altered the traditional operations of the society. One of the many ways that globalization has changed the world has been through greater interlinkage of social and economic issues such as labor markets, trade and inequality, climate change, the loss of control by government on many issues as well as the separation of individuals from traditional attachments of the society such as political parties, tribes, religion and other societal organizations. They add that this trend has been facilitated by the effect of individualization of action to communicate the meaning assigned to lifestyle which leads to the personalization of issues such as climate change, historical injustices, inequalities and human rights. This will lead to a point where each participant in the collective action speaks from personal experience. They also denote the key role that globalization has played in creating an interrelation between domestic and international issues such as human rights, trade and inequality among others. Countries and civil societies are able to personalize issues to pursue certain policy objectives either nationally or globally²⁵.

In their analysis Bennet and Segerberg argue that success of an online collective action is dependent on the varied degrees of individualization of action and personalization of the issues. Many successful online political mobilizations have registered great ability to invite republics to participate on different levels of flexibility in affiliation, issue

²⁴ Kasenally, R., & Awatar, D. (2017). Social Media, Elections and Political Engagement: The 2014 General Elections in Mauritius. *Journal of African Elections*, 16(2), 47-70. doi:10.20940/jae/2017/v16i2a3

²⁵ Meyer, J. C. (2013). Dynamic Deontic Logic, Segerberg-Style. *Outstanding Contributions to Logic* Krister Segerberg on Logic of Actions, 119-132. doi:10.1007/978-94-007-7046-1_6

definition and expression. According to Kavanaugh et al, greater success in the online mobilization would be realized if there would be a bridging of the gap between organizational networks as well as personal networks to allow for easy and efficient diffusion of information and appeal between communities. Bennet further denotes that the most impressive social media mobilizations have had to strictly focus on undermining the conventional maintaining of agenda focus and strong coalition relations. He notes the need to move the public from the traditional parochial party and tribal confines²⁶. Bimber et al in his argument questions whether some organizations subject their members to high cost of membership in order to mobilize the publics and conferred legitimacy to their political cause or even the pursuit of membership of more independent minded publics reduces the integrity of the organizational identity and mission²⁷.

1.5.5.5 The Role of Social Media in Addressing the Challenge of Attaining Good Governance in Africa

According to WIS 2014, 1.32 billion people globally use social media platforms for social, political and economic purposes²⁸. The MBRSG report of 2013 noted that in regions where states had rejected the spread of democracy like the Arab world, out of 131 million people who use social media, 71 of them used social media to advance good governance²⁹. According to Ipsos-Markinor and ITU noted that the number of citizens involved in online activities was still very few but the number has been increasing drastically to slightly over 240 million by 2012 with the biggest proportion being social media engagements. As such, Khair adds that the revolutions in Egypt and Tunisia drew

²⁶ Cohill, Andrew Michael., and Andrea L. Kavanaugh. *Community Networks: Lessons from Blacksburg, Virginia*. Boston, MA: Artech House, 2000.

²⁷ Bimber, Bruce A., Andrew J. Flanagin, and Cynthia Stohl. *Collective Action in Organizations: Interaction and Engagement in an Era of Technological Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

²⁸ WIS 3014

²⁹ MBRSG REPORT OF 2013

government's attention to the potential of social media driving a meaningful change in the continent³⁰.

According to Etling social media today remains the only accessible tool for citizens in authoritarian regimes and to influence the government to fight all ills of governance and protect and promote their rights freedoms and liberty. Consequently, the information provided on social media often triggers action and to certain extends provide direction to the masses during negotiation process. The online activities that somehow seem invisible tend to end up driving the fastest, most efficient, richest results for driving results in a despotic regime³¹.

1.5.5.6 The Use of Social Media to Address the challenge of Attaining Good Governance in Kenya and Mauritius

According to Bunwaree & Kasenally, Mauritius has been taunted as one of the African states that has taken the route of the ballot and not the bullet as it has been the case for many African countries. For all the elections that have been held in Mauritius, they have been categorized as free and fair and in many cases the media has been celebrated for entrenching this dgood governace practice. According to the African Journal for elections, Mauritius in the use of social media in political processes remains very low compared to Kenya, none of the mainstream political party leaders in 2014 had a twitter account. It notes that there has also been a conspicuous online absence of the Mauritian Electoral commissions. In addition, the journal argues that the Mauritian Election

³⁰ Haseeb, K. E. (2011). On the Arab 'Democratic Spring': Lessons derived. *Contemporary Arab Affairs*, 4(2), 113-122. doi:10.1080/17550912.2011.577276

³¹ Etling, B., Kelly, J., Faris, R., & Palfrey, J. (n.d.). Mapping the Arabic Blogosphere. *Media Evolution on the Eve of the Arab Spring*. doi:10.1057/9781137403155.0008

Management Bodies have a very timid digital footprint and a basic website that only provides basic information³².

After the 2014 general elections the regime of the time faced great economic constraints and political turmoil's leading to separation of parties that formed the main coalition, resignation of key political figures from key positions such as deputy prime minister and ministerial positions. The report points that the worst that happened to regime was the resignation of the prime minister and handing power to his son. This translated to a social wave demanding for purposeful and ethical leadership. As a result many civil societies have turned to use of social media to address this challenges with the relevant political leaders³³.

Nanjala Nyabola writes that social media in Kenya is not just a space for commercial use but a space where some of the most insightful and in formative conversations happen. She adds that some platforms such as twitter have been a critical instrument in driving a lot of offline activities such as gender based violence to get the attention needed. In many cases social media has been a key link between the victims and resource needed to have the issue taken up by relevant government departments and ultimately have the issue addressed. Nanjala notes that the 2017 Kenyan general election has been the most expensive elections across the globe because of deployment and use of technology³⁴. According to Mutahi and Kimari, social media has become an indispensable tool for political action. They comment on its increasing use by politicians and leaders to share information and mobilize for votes during elections³⁵.

³² Mauritius (Vol 11, 2014). (n.d.). *Africa Yearbook Online*. doi:10.1163/1872-9037_ayb_ayb2014_com_0049

³³ Ibid

³⁴ Nyabola, N. (2018). *Digital democracy, analogue politics: How the Internet era is transforming Kenya*. London: Zed Books.

³⁵ Mutahi, P., & Kimari, B. (2020). Fake News and the 2017 Kenyan Elections. *Communicatio*, 1-19. doi:10.1080/02500167.2020.1723662

1.6 Gaps in the Literature

Literature available for both Kenya and Mauritius has singularly focused on elections as the only measure for good governance. For instance, Mauritius is viewed as the epitome of good governance in the continent by various reports and scholars based on the assumption of holding regular, free and fair elections. However apart from holding regular elections that are considered to be free and fair the country's other aspects of good governance like corruption, nepotism, lack of transparency and press freedom remain unaddressed. Additionally, the literature fails to touch on issues that lead to greater attainment of good governance in the two countries. For the Kenyan case, the literature fails to cover the realities of Kenya's good governance infrastructure within the COK 2010 dispensation and the extent to which social media can be used effectively to fight an external enemy and fail to deliver in advancing substantive policy issues within a state.

The coverage of the events of the Arab spring cannot conclusively be said to lead to attainment of good governance in the states that were affected. On the contrary, many states where the Arab spring happened became pariah states like Libya, Yemen and Syria. Others like the Facebook revolution in Egypt only succeeded in deposing one dictator and replacing him with another. To as such this study aims at bringing out findings on the role and extent to which social media can aid in advancing good governance in Kenya and Mauritius. At the same time the study will seek to tease out the factors and conditions under which a successful online mobilization can advance good governance in Kenya and Mauritius.

1.7 Justification of the Study

This study will be very instrumental to the three key important consumers of knowledge which are the Academy, policy makers and the general public.

1.7.1 Justification of the Study in Policy

The problem of attaining good governance in Africa remains to be one of the stubborn challenges in the continent. Many scholars have tried to put forward excellent arguments to address this challenge especially through the challenge of attaining good governance in Africa and more specifically in the Kenya and Mauritius separately. At the same time they have selectively picked some elements as real measures of good governance in isolation of others.

Similarly the use of social media as an important tool of advancing good governance in Kenya and Mauritius is scantily discussed. The literature available has only focused on one aspect of social media which is elections. The concept of social media is quite a new phenomenon that is still evolving especially in its role and impact in transforming the general physique of the society in terms of communication and organizing collective actions. The study will be very instrumental in bringing out the role and impact of social media in all aspects of good governance. To as such the study will be very beneficial in civil society organizations, human rights organizations, development organizations, government, political parties, philanthropists amongst others.

1.7.2 Justification of the Study to the Academy

This study will play a very critical role in moving the discussion beyond the frequent and regular elections as the only measure of good governance in Africa and, more specifically in Kenya and Mauritius. It will also be very imperative to bringing out new ideas and knowledge on the role and impact of social media on all other aspects of governance beyond frequent and regular elections in Kenya and Mauritius. It will also add knowledge on the ongoing debate on the correlation between transition to liberal democracy and attainment of good governance in Africa. The study will be very relevant to students and teachers who seek to have a greater understanding of the nature and the

cause of good governance in Africa. It will also be very critical to those who want to understand the role and impact of social media in addressing the problem of attaining good governance in Africa. It will be beneficial to students and teachers who want to have an in-depth understanding of poor governance challenge in Africa, and, the role and impact of social media this challenge.

1.7.3 Justification of the Study to the General Public

This study will also seek to bring awareness to the governed and the citizens to help them understand the problem of attaining good governance and the power that digital media has to influence how they are governed. It will also be beneficial to them in understanding how they can use that power to enhance their political participation and have an input in different policy outcomes. This study will help the general public to have a better understanding of how through digital media they can have a voice and increase their participation in governance. This will make governments understand that they must respond promptly to the needs of the people.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

This study will utilize liberalism, which is one of the oldest and mainstream theory of international relations. The theory was first propagated by Classical scholars such as John Locke and Jean Jacque Rosneau and it was based on the argument that it ensures and guarantees the rights of individual person to life, property and liberty. Liberalism theory puts a lot of emphasis in the wellbeing of individual as a fundamental building blocks of a society. It follows that a political system that lacks balance and an overriding principal of checking power cannot guarantee or protect individual rights, freedoms and liberty. To this end, the proponents of this theory denotes that a democracy is the only political system in the world that can guarantee individual rights, provide checks and balance to the regime in office and universal suffrage.

This theory will be very instrumental in this study because it links two very important subjects together of democracy and media. A perfect democracy is one that allows for the greater participation and the involvement of the citizenry that allows them to have a voice on how they are governed. Liberalism theory denotes that media has a responsibility in addressing societal challenges. Overtime the citizenry have lost confidence in the mainstream media in its ability to speak truth to power and hold those in power accountable. To as such majority of citizens has found it very beneficial to use social media to voice out their dissatisfaction with different government policies and also to have a say on how they are governed. Through this many citizens are able to participate directly in a political process and with multiple sources of information being available to them they are able to exercise their democratic right in the ballot.

1.9 Study Hypotheses

- Africa still struggles with the challenge of attaining good governance.
- Kenya and Mauritius are faced with different challenges in attaining good governance.
- Social media has had a positive impact in addressing the challenge of attaining good governance in Kenya and Mauritius.

1.10 Research Methodology

Research methodology is a strategy a researcher employs in investigating a particular phenomenon to obtain the important answers to a research problem. Therefore, the following titles are thematically covered; - Research design, target population and sampling frame, sample size and sampling procedure, data collection procedure, reliability and validity of the research instruments, ethical issues, data analysis and presentation, scope of the study, limitations of the research and chapter outline.

1.10.1 Research Design

A research design is the overall plan for connecting the conceptual research problem to the pertinent research. It articulates what data is required, methods for analyzing the data and how this is going to answer the research questions. This study will adopt the descriptive survey research design to assess and analyze the role, challenges and the impact of social media in addressing the challenge of attaining good governance in Kenya and Mauritius. The study will employ a mixed-method approach research method that includes both qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis procedures, this is for triangulation purposes. Qualitative research will be important in determining the attitudes, opinions, understandings and knowledge on the state of good governance in Africa, factors inhibiting attainment of good governance in Kenya and Mauritius as well as the role, and impact of social media in addressing the challenge of attaining good governance in Kenya and Mauritius. Through quantitative research, it will be possible to measure the impacts and challenges in the use of social media for political mobilization geared towards achieving good governance.

1.10.2 Data Collection Methods

The study will employ both qualitative and quantitative processes of data collection. Primary data will be collected through online google questionnaires and in-depth interviews while secondary data will be obtained from detailed reviews of journals, reports, books, newspapers, online documentation on the topic of study. The questionnaires will have both structured and open-ended questions which will aid in gathering relevant responses to the role and impact of social media in addressing the challenge of attaining good governance in Kenya and Mauritius. Interviews will be conducted between the researcher and the respondents in confidential and secure ways using an interview guide with identical questions. The study will also utilize mined data

from different social media sites to quantify the numbers involved in the online collective action for the quantitative analysis.

1.10.3 Target and Sample Population

Collecting data for the research in Kenya and Mauritius, whose population is over 47 million and 1.3 Million people respectively, is impractical, therefore the researcher will choose a sample to be a representative of the entire population. The sample size will be arrived at through computation at 95% confidence level and 5% margin of error. The study will use purposive sampling to identify the study units which will include civil society organizations, members of academia, researchers, journalists, women and youth groups, and more particularly different users of different social media platforms.

1.10.4 Data Collection Procedures

The data that will be collected from online interviews and google questionnaires will offer responses to the key research questions. The questions in the interview guide and those in the questionnaire will be administered through face-to-face conversations and discussions while others will be done through online real-time video conferencing technology via zoom, google meet/hangout or skype. The study will also put into good use online tools such as emails. The researcher will allocate about 30 minutes for interviews and discussions to be able to produce the needed data for analysis. Interviews and discussions will be recorded using note-taking, summarized and interpreted. Questionnaires will be distributed to the respondents and collected after three days to account for respondents' busy schedules and provide them with enough time to read, understand and provide reliable responses.

1.10.5 Reliability and Validity of the Research Instruments

1.10.5.1 Reliability

Reliability is the degree to which a research instrument yields consistent results or data after repeated rehearsals. The researcher will use the test- retest technique before the actual study by administering the questionnaires to comparable respondents.

1.10.5.2 Validity

Validity is the accuracy and meaningfulness of the obtained results to the phenomenon under study. To ascertain the validity of the research instruments, the researcher intends to conduct a pilot study using the questionnaire and interview guide. The researcher will also ensure that the questions in the instruments for data collection are related to the objectives under study and provide accurate and meaningful inferences, this will be through cross-checking and consultations.

1.10.6 Data Analysis and Presentation

After the collection of data, editing, coding, tabulation and analysis will be done. The analysis of quantitative data will be carried out using SPSS and Microsoft Excel Statistical Packages, and will be presented in tables, graphs and charts where applicable. Qualitative data will be analyzed through content analysis, and verbal reports will be presented as direct quotations.

1.10.7 Scope and Limitation of the Research

The research study will be conducted within the scope of Kenya and Mauritius, focusing on the topic of study; the challenge of attaining good governance and the role and Impact of the social media in addressing this challenge in Kenya and Mauritius. The study may have various limitations such as limited time to collect primary data from the involved stakeholders on the topic of study and difficulties in accessing key

information on the role, and the impact of social media in addressing the challenge of good governance in Kenya and Mauritius.

1.11 Chapter Outline

Chapter one covers the background of the study, statement of the research problem, objectives of the research, literature review, justification of the study, theoretical framework, hypothesis and the methodology of the research.

Chapter two is on the challenge of attaining good governance in Africa

Chapter three will be on the. Factors affecting attainment of good governance in Kenya and Mauritius.

Chapter four, will cover the role and impact of social media on governance in kenya and Mauritius.

Chapter five has covered the data analysis, presentation and findings of the study

Chapter six draws up the researcher's summary of the findings, conclusions and recommendations which will be the ultimate achievement of the research objectives.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CHALLENGE OF ATTAINING GOOD GOVERNANCE

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on the first specific objective of the study. It will start by conceptualizing the idea of democracy and good governance in Africa, it will then focus on laying down the historical development of good governance in Africa teasing out some of the challenges that the continent is facing in its efforts to attain good governance and the role of the international community in perpetuating and addressing the challenge of attaining good governance in the continent. It will also discuss the role of technology in addressing the challenge of good governance in the continent.

2.2 The Conceptualization of Good Governance in Africa

"Democracy" is a term that many African states and societies struggle to define until today. The challenge of the definition of this term to Africans has majorly been a self-serving and self-imposed ignorance by leaders who want or have already engaged in acts of state capture and impunity. In Greece, the word "democracy" was used to denote the power of the people who harbor varied interests, and through democratic representation, those interests could be served. Robert A. Dahl notes that for anything to exist and be referred to as a democracy, it has to fulfill two criteria; - one, it must be able to allow and guarantee active participation and voting equality to all adults who are subject to the binding collective decisions in society. Dahl adds that democracy must also be able to provide the citizenry with opportunities for civic engagement and ultimately give space for them to participate in the general decision making on matters that affect them³⁶. Samuel Huntington et al.; argue that even when a polity can fulfill

³⁶ Dahl, R., 2008. *How Democratic Is The American Constitution?*. Yale University Press.

these two caveats, they could never be referred to as a democracy until there is a smooth, peaceful, and consistent transfer of instruments of power from one party that loses to another party after an election. This election must be free, fair, and credible and must reflect the will of the people³⁷.

Governance, on the other hand, is a very new concept in political discourse. The term was first defined as obsolescence in the 1920s and the 1950s as obsolete by Webster English usage³⁸. The term was used later in the 1980s to describe Africa's governance crisis owing to the 1970s and 1980s economic crisis. Before this period, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund did not have any preference for governance for them to channel their assistance to its member states. The adoption of the world Development report in 1989 saw an accelerated use of governance as a political concept, and ever since, different institutions have fronted different definitions for this word. For instance, the World Bank defined governance as an act through which governments and institutions exercise power through the management of public resources in a sustainable manner in an environment that is conducive³⁹. Often when term governance is used, the emphasis is usually put on good governance.

The Bretton Woods institutions in the 1980s conceptualized good governance as efficient and effective management of public resources without putting any emphasis on the critical tenants of good governance. For African states, Bretton woods institutions did not put any limitations on borrowers who were not well governed. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the establishment of a liberal democratic order under the leadership of the United States of America, the concept of good

³⁷ 1989. *World Development Report*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

³⁸ Webster English dictionary

³⁹ *The World Bank annual report 1992 (English)*. Washington, D.C. : World Bank Group.

<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/403031468780283602/The-World-Bank-annual-report-1992>

governance was conceived to include other good governance tenets such as the rule of law, independent, efficient and fair judicial systems, open participation by the citizenry in political and socio-economic affairs, competent and efficient management of development, transparency and accountability in the management of public relations⁴⁰. To this end, good governance can be viewed as a system of governance that ensures universal suffrage, guarantees individual rights, freedoms, and liberties, broad-based participation in political and social-economic activities, as well as efficient and effective management of development and all public affairs.

2.3 Attaining Good Governance in Africa

The history of good governance in Africa has exhibited progress and regress characteristics. The emergent African state from colonialization has been considered to have experienced a false start in terms of good governance. Immediately after the departure of the colonial masters, the independence constitution, which was seen as a compromise document between the retreating colonialists and the African elites, was subjected to mutilation by self-serving African leaders who at the time were guided by great inordinate avarice. Political leaders of the time changed their attitude towards political power and viewed it as an end in itself rather than a means for service delivery. They replaced the independent multiparty political system to a single party system, which exuberated higher tendencies of neopatrimonialism, kleptocracy, and ethnic nepotism. The new African governments adapted kakistocratic type of governance and infringed on individual rights, freedoms and liberty. The African leaders and their regimes went on an onslaught to clamp civil society organizations, opposition movements, exiling of public intellectual for expressing alternative views and the silencing of traditional media. They curtailed the independence of the judiciary and

⁴⁰ *ibid*

converted justice to a commodity that is readily available for sale to the highest bidder. The legislature was reduced into a subordinate organ of the executive.

2.3.1 Good Governance, Development and Peace in Africa

By the turn of 1990, the African continent was viewed as the poorest, most underdeveloped, and most conflictual continent. The African continent was seen to be faced by the triple perils of poor governance, underdevelopment and conflicts, something that made it to be viewed as the sick child of the world.

The desire to seek and hold on to power led to the militarization of politics in Africa, and leaders of the time resulted in ruling through decree. As a result of this repression, the public was deprived of their legitimate right to hold their leaders and governments to account. Between 1960 and 1990, due to a lack of good governance, power transition was highly characterized by violence and bloodbath. Many African countries only recognized military coups as the norm for seizing political power. which later transformed itself into deadly civil wars, as witnessed in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria, Central Africa Republic, Uganda, Rwanda, sudan, angola, Liberia, Sierra leon, Chad etc. In this period, Africa experienced over 90 successful violent coups attempts⁴¹.

2.4 The Second Liberation and Good Governance in Africa

The third wave of democratization as postulated by Samuel Huntington in 1980s combined with the new conceptualization of the term good governance by the Bretton Woods institutions, international pressure from development partners as well as systematic and organized agitation by the citizenry pushed African states to abandon their old ways of seizing political power⁴². The last decade of the 20th century saw the

⁴¹ *Indexed African Journals Online: www.ajol.info*

⁴² *ibid*

democratization wave sweep across Africa and observed numbers of democracies grow to a significant number. By the end of the 20th century, many African countries were able to meet one of the good governance indicators by holding regular elections that were allegedly said to be free and fair.

Unlike the historic moments of the 1960s that ushered in the first project of nation-building in Africa from colonization, which was received with a lot of optimism, the second liberation and the re-introduction of multiparty politics in Africa was received with a lot of pessimism. Scholars afraid of the repeat of the failed wave of democratic transition of the 1960s referred to the period between 1980 to 1990 as an afro-pessimism decade or a lost decade to Africa and many developing countries. Samuel Huntington, in particular, argued that every democratic wave experienced in the past has, at some point, attracted a significant reversal of those good governance gains. In his essay on the third wave of democratization, Huntington wondered when the much excited democratic transition of the 1990s would experience a regress⁴³. The writings of Francis Fukuyama in 1989 on the end of history farther resonated with these fears by postulating that there was a need to start rethinking of other alternative forms of governance because democracy had reached its peak, and it could not deliver more gains from what it had offered already⁴⁴.

Within this period some countries in East Asia were experiencing exponential and rapid economic growth and development. The happening in Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and South Korea as a result of their refusal to follow the economic growth footprint provided by the Bretton Woods institutions in the 1980s in the name of structural adjustments elicited a new debate on what type of governance would be more

⁴³ *ibid*

⁴⁴ Roth, M. and Fukuyama, F., 1993. The End of History and the Last Man. *History and Theory*, 32(2), p.188.

development-oriented. Africa, on the other hand, chose to follow the structural adjustment route. As a result, many viewed the transition that happened in Africa as forceful process that did not resonate with the structure and nature of the African society which is highly fragmented and heterogeneous. In as much the democratic transition was necessary for African states, the economic and developmental conditions subjected to them by the Bretton woods institution made the democratization process in Africa not as successful as anticipated. Many African countries that were heavily reliant on foreign aid and technical support from the west were left with no option but to accept democracy. This was made more intense after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the defeat of communism and the triumph of liberal democracy headed by the United States of America, which bestowed upon itself the role of a global police for good governance.

2.5 Return of Multiparty Politics in Africa

The return of multiparty democracy in Africa was met with a lot of optimism by the citizens who, for the previous three decades, had been subjected to abject poverty and oppression by heir successive regimes. As a result, the citizens started demanding more dividends from good governance in terms of economic growth and development. The re-introduction of multiparty democracy in Africa majorly focused on political reforms, a plan that many African leaders at the time were scared due to internal and international societal pressure to follow and conform to principle elements of good governance. Some acquiesced to the democratization wave and transformed their countries for better. Others were swept off by the wave while majority learned and adapted to new ways of circumventing the wave and became reluctant democrats who could speak the ideas and visions of good governance but practice something different.

The re-introduction of a plural political system was expected to lead a political reform across the continent, for it was believed that democratic elections would provide an opportunity to drive change in African society. It was thought that regular, free, and fair elections would be the way through which governments would come into power. Through competitive elections, citizens would get an opportunity to evaluate their leaders based on their performance and be able to either reward them with re-election or punish them by voting them out. To this extend, African states have been able to hold regular elections; some have been considered free and fair while others have been opposite of what was expected. Surprisingly enough countries that have shown that are capable of holding regular, free and fair elections are countries that were doing so even before 1990 like Botswana, Mauritius and Senegal with Zambia, Benin and Malawi joining the list. The rest of the African states maintained a calendar ritual that looked democratic and effective enough to silence any critique.

2.6 Multi-Party Democracy and Ethnicity in Africa

The failure of the multiparty political system to deliver a new electoral culture in Africa has been a big disappointment to the democratization process. Electoral fraud through rigged elections and coming into power of illegitimate governments is seemingly becoming one of the most significant causes of conflicts in Africa. As Karuti Kanyinga and Dan Okello note many elections in Africa today even in the most united societies, elections tend to lead to a conflict that leaves behind scars as pointers of reference to a highly fragile community in a constant, vicious circle of tension⁴⁵. This has been the case in many countries like Kenya, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Gambia, Burundi, DRC Congo, Cameroon, Nigeria, Uganda, etc. Many of these conflicts have manifested

⁴⁵ Kanyinga, K. and Okello, D., 2010. *Tensions And Reversals In Democratic Transitions*. Nairobi: Society for International Development.

themselves as tribal or ethnic driven conflicts where one or a few ethnic groups that are dominant in domestic politics in terms of numbers and wealth while others feel excluded in governance and marginalized in resource allocation and distribution.

Since the re-introduction of the multiparty political system in many African states, issues of ethnicity generated a critical debate on the functionality of democracy in a continent that was highly factionalized. Many argued that the re-introduction of a plural political system that is highly competitive would lead to ethnic division. Some argued that negative ethnicity was a result of colonial legacy, which followed divide and rule tactics to subdue African. While this was the case and a big challenge for the first generation of African leaders, the three decades that followed should have been enough for them to engage in nation-building projects that would unite African societies together. Contrary to these African leaders took advantage of the situation and engaged in regional and tribal politics that pit one community against the other, driving the wedge between these communities more for their political gain. Before 1990 negative ethnicity was somehow contained because of the one-party rule and the lack of staunch opposition, civil society, and media. With multiparty democracy, negative ethnicity became a big challenge as those who had mastered the art of manipulating ethnic emotions around the election period got their way in the name of multipatism. Some of the earliest casualties of were countries like Kenya which experienced electoral violence in 1992, 1997, 2007 and in 2017. The Rwandan genocide of 1994 where close to a million people lost their lives, the DRC Congo conflict in 1997 are some cases in point.

Additionally, the challenge of negative ethnicity has also manifested itself in a social, political ways as parties to compete for elections were formed within ethnic lines. Consequently, this shifted power in a plural electoral system from the people to the

politicians, whereby as Mkandawire notes, the voters were not the ones to choose their leaders, but it's their leaders who want their voters⁴⁶. This, in turn, bore a ripple effect on all other elements of good governance since the voters could not audit their leaders based on their performance in policy development but instead on where they come from. As a result, issues like corruption and nepotism have been normalized in many African societies as leaders accused of plundering and looting public resources retreat to their communities, politicize the problem and make it look like that community is a target.

2.6.1 Coalition Governments and Good Governance in Africa

In dealing with the challenge of heterogeneous and highly fragmented society with many ethnic groups in a multiparty environment, many African states tried to improvise a remedy for the challenge of negative ethnicity and settled on coalition governments as the only solution to the problem. The coalition government is the formation of a political cooperation venture between two parties to work together to achieve a specific political end, usually to win an election with a majority. This is informed by the idea that no one single party or ethnic group is capable of winning a clear parliamentary majority on its own.

In Africa, the coalition has come into two forms; - one is the coalitions that are formed before the elections for the singular purpose of winning a parliamentary majority. This has been the norm in Mauritius, a country that is considered as the beacon of African democracy. This form of government in Mauritius has proven very successful in delivering regular and credible elections as well as in ensuring a peaceful power transition from one government to another. The second type of coalitions is those that

⁴⁶ Mkandawire, T., 1999. Social Sciences and Democracy: Debates in Africa. *African Sociological Review / Revue Africaine de Sociologie*, 3(1).

are formed in times of difficulty or political crisis. This type of alliances are vital in bringing the society together, handling the political crisis, and ensuring the functionality of the government by giving it the legitimacy it needs to address the conflicts that might have risen as a result of highly divisive elections. This form of a coalitions have been formed in countries like Kenya to end the 2007/2008 post-election violence between Orange Democratic Movement(ODM) and Party for National Unity(PNU) as well as in Zimbabwe between the Movement for Democratic Change(MDC) and the Zimbabwe African Union-Patriotic Front. Today governments of national unity or coalition governments have come to be more accepted in Africa as a guarantee for a peaceful power transition. As of 2019, coalition governments in Africa stood at thirteen. However, these coalitions in Africa are characterized by deceit and treachery that lead tp breakups and instability. As a result of some parties feel shortchanged in the process and opt to shift and play the role of opposition as they position themselves for the next elections. Despite the formation of coalitions and governments of national unity, the challenge of negative ethnicity remains a persistent pull back factor for the African good governance.

2.7 Current Realities of African Governance

Whereas, the gains of multiparty democracy cannot be written off their remains, fundamental challenges to the attainment of good governance in Africa. These challenges have been critical drivers in driving the good governance deficit been experienced in Africa today, especially at a time when the world is being faced by a deadly pandemic that requires efficient and effective public governance to deal with the epidemic. According to the EIU democracy index, t he 2019 annual report Africa registered a drop in its good governance index to 4.26 from 4.36 in 2018. This was considered to be the most significant decline in the democratic index for Africa since

2010, which was seen to be a result of the 2008 global economic and financial crisis. Governments, in their response to the crisis, come up with protectionist policies that were not in line with the principle elements and tenants of good governance. Out of the 44 countries surveyed in Africa, 23 states reported a regress in good governance in one aspect or another. There are some countries out of the 44 that did register progress in attaining good governance, but their gains were offset by a steep decline in holding good governance principles in other countries. From this survey, out of 44 states, 22 countries remain under authoritarian rule⁴⁷.

2.7.1 Elections and Good Governance in Africa

Elections are a crucial element of good governance and envisioned in the re-introduction of multiparty democracy. It provides an essential opportunity for the citizens to audit the policy performance of the leaders and either reward them with re-election or punish them with a vote of no-confidence and send them home. It is one of the rare moments when citizens get to engage directly with their representatives and have a governance dialogue. However, this has not been the case because of the declining political participation by many African citizens. This has been necessitated by the fact that Africans citizens have realized that their voice and their vote does not matter because elections are often fraudulent. Declining participation of citizens in political processes has presented its self through poor and low voter turnouts across the continent. For instance, in February elections in Nigeria, the voter turnout was registered at 34%. Although some argue that the insecurity challenge posed by the Boko Haram militia group that successive governments have been unable to deal with was

⁴⁷ The Economist. 2020. *Economist Intelligence Unit | Economist - World News, Politics, Economics, Business & Finance*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.economist.com/topics/economist-intelligence-unit>> [Accessed 23 August 2020].

the reason for the low voter turnout, many believe that people didn't want to vote because of their vote won't bring any real change in the country.

The credibility of the electoral process and pluralism, as noted by the EIU 2019 report, fell from 4.30 in 2018 to 3.99 in 2019. The noted drop has been viewed to be a result of a lack of trust in inefficient and weak institutions that are always manipulated by the political elite. Some have used these institutions to suppress individual rights and freedoms, silence the opposition, clamp down civil society and undermine media freedom for them to secure a re-election. For instance, Nigeria is expected to go to elections in 2021, but as of 2019, the current regime had already amended the constitution to lockout some key opposition leaders from contesting in the polls.

Tanzania is one of the countries that have been seen to be retrogressing in good governance since president Magufuli took overpower. With elections scheduled for October 2020, president Magufuli has gone rogue by exiling political opposition, silencing media and the civil society. After the March 2019 elections in Comoros, which was considered by many observers not to have been conducted inclusively, the election results were announced by a presidential decree. There is notably a significant retreat from plural electoral systems in countries like Rwanda, Benin, Senegal, and Zambia⁴⁸. By mid-2020 15 African countries had the same leaders for the last decade, many countries are still ruled by the same party that has been there since independence. For instance, Tanzania, South Africa, Zimbabwe are still under the same party that fought for freedom.

Some countries have recorded significant progress in adopting many political systems like Madagascar, Guinea Bissau, Malawi, Gambia, Ethiopia, and Angola. Madagascar

⁴⁸ *ibid*

and Guinea Bissau conducted free and fair elections in 2019 with Guinea Bissau going for a re-run that got an opposition candidate elected. Malawi 2020 elections followed the same trajectory as the Guinea Bissau elections, where Chakwera and opposition candidate was elected after a re-run. The polls were highly considered as free, fair, and credible. The change of guard in Ethiopia, with a new prime minister and a first female president in the country, the general expectation, has been that Ethiopia might be adjusting to a plural political system. However, with the ongoing civil unrest, illegal arrests, and detention of protesters, journalist and human right activists shows that Ethiopia has gone back to the dark days.

2.7.2 Corruption and Good Governance in Africa

Corruption is considered as cancer that has been ailing the African continent. According to the afro barometer survey 2016/2018, 55% of African citizens believe that corruption had increased significantly in the first 12 months. Countries like Sudan, DRC Congo, and Gabon over 80% of their citizens believe corruption had increased in their countries unchecked. 23% of the respondents surveyed believed that corruption decrease, and that was majorly in countries like Mozambique, Cabo Verde, Lesotho, Ghana, Burkina Faso, and surprisingly Nigeria. Contrary to the common belief that most democratic countries are more accountable, Mauritius, the only nation that is considered to be well governed in Africa, seems to be struggling with the challenge of corruption and accountability. Between 60 and 62% of Mauritians believe that corruption has increased in the country, especially within the parliament, presidency, and prime minister's office and more significantly in the police department⁴⁹.

⁴⁹ Land Portal. 2020. *Afrobarometer Survey*. [online] Available at: <<https://landportal.org/book/dataset/afrb-surv-0>> [Accessed 23 August 2020].

Although some countries have taken deliberate steps to fight graft in respective departments, the war on graft is experiencing severe resistance from an organized cabal of political elites and business people who have participated in the process of state capture. In Kenya, those reported to have engaged in graft have turned the issues into political rhetoric, changing the narrative and making it look like the fight against corruption to appear selective and targeting one community. In Mauritius, despite her being taunted as the benchmark for democracy not only in Africa but across the globe, corruption, financial fraud, and illicit financial flow have made the idea of good governance in the country unattainable. Countries like DRC Congo, Angola, Cameroon, Mali, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, South Sudan, and Sudan have all normalized corruption to the extent that an average of 20% of their citizens believes that corruption is profitable and necessary⁵⁰.

2.7.3 Institutional and Legal Framework to Fight Corruption

Surprisingly enough, some of these African states have excellent and elaborate legal frameworks and institutions that have been set aside to fight corruption. However, many of these institutions have been unable to deliver on their mandate. Since politicians create many of these legal frameworks and institutions, it has become tough for them to function because of the influence some politicians have on them. Some politicians have used these institutions for a political witch-hunt, while others have been effective in manipulating these institutions to serve their interests. Successive governments across the continent have perpetuated the challenge of corruption by deliberately being dismissive and ignorant to the needs of their citizens by not implementing the legal instruments put in place to fight corruption. Similarly, the ineffective bureaucracies,

⁵⁰ Chimdi Mbara, G., 2019. Corruption and good governance in Nigeria : zooming the lens on the Buhari anti-corruption crusade. *Journal of Gender, Information and Development in Africa*, S1(1), pp.193-217.

overly centralized policy-making processes that are generally considered as a reserve of the governing class, the consent of legislature and judiciary, as well as general lack of accountability from leaders, have further exuberated the challenge of corruption and underdevelopment.

The failure of many governments to address corruption in their respective countries on the continent has led to the challenge of underdevelopment. Resources that were meant for health care, education, and infrastructure have been diverted to individual offshore accounts. More often, this challenge has translated into insecurity and an increase in criminal activities within the continent. In all countries identified by the afro barometer and transparency international to be the most corrupt countries majority of them are experiencing insecurity of a different kind. Nigeria, for instance, is still battling with the challenge of Boko Haram; Mali and Burkina Faso are also experiencing the same Boko Haram challenge but with more factions who are dissatisfied with how things are going. DRC Congo has been in a civil war for over two decades, and with the ongoing protests against the governments of Felix Tsishikedi on its legitimacy, the problem of insecurity is expected to grow. In Sudan, even after the deposition of Bashir, corruption is still high, and conflict has risen again in the eastern part of the country. In Mali, the military has overthrown and arrested President Ibrahim Boubacar Keita⁵¹.

These shortcomings have greatly affected the demand side of democracy, with many citizens, especially in Burkina Faso, wishing for a return of a benevolent dictator to run the country. This has been necessitated by the failure of attain good governance to deliver on its promise. By mid-2020, the Burkina Faso government had lost the

⁵¹ Aljazeera.com. 2020. *Mali Coup Leaders Promise Elections after Keita Overthrow*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/08/mali-soldiers-promise-elections-coup-200819094832716.html>> [Accessed 24 August 2020].

autonomy of a sizeable territory to jihadist and military groups. To as many such citizens have wished that former dictator Blaise Compaore would return or emerge another strongman to lead the country. The realization of the fact that it is the quality of government that matters and not the quantity nor ideology of the government that matters, especially with the Rwandan example, has made many Africans express their desires for a benevolent dictator as compared to a democrat⁵².

Institutions And Good Governance In Africa

In any democracy, the strength, independence, efficiency and intelligence of institutions has been considered an important prerequisite for good governance. At the core of Africa's struggle to attain good governance has been the challenge of weak, inefficient and insubordinate institutions to the executive. However, over time this narrative has been changing with many judiciaries across Africa being able to act independently of the executive. A case in point is Kenyan supreme court that was able to nullify 2017 presidential elections against an incumbent.

With increased constitutional reforms across the continent, there have emerged independent minded judges with far much greater autonomy, authority, prestige and confidence to enforce constitutional guarantees. Unlike in the 20th century where the judicial systems was ran by executive minded judges, the crop of judges that emerged in the new century have now made law, constitution and justice matter. Courts in Mali, Benin, Ghana, Malawi, Zambia, Kenya on different occasions have ruled against sitting regimes. These trend denote the significant gains that have been made from 1990s towards the attainment of good governance. In as much over the last few years due to the frustration experienced by the executive, the executive has been taking deliberate steps towards disempowering of the judiciary by ensuring that its not well financed.

⁵² 2020. [online] Available at: <<https://munkdebates.com/dialogues/fareed-zakaria-200819094832716.html>> [Accessed 24 August 2020].

The legislature is another institution that has suffered the same ordeal as the judiciary, but overtime there has been some gains with some countries amending their constitutions to ensure that presidential and parliamentary elections to ensure guarantee regime turn overs. . For instance states like Ghana, Benin and Senegal constitutional reforms have had significant regime turnovers in both presedential and legislative elections. The tragedy of the Africa legislature has been the problem of client-patron politics whereby, party leaders and tribal kingpins hold a sway on their members. Members of particular parties as a result have transformed into chalatants and psychopants. This has greatly affected the independence and the operations of the legislature and transformed it into a ruber stamp institution

2.7.4 Foreign Powers and Good Governance in Africa

Foreign powers have profoundly influenced the struggle for good governance in Africa since its independence. Much of this has been attributed to the historical ties that exist between African states and their colonial powers. While many blame the underdevelopment and poor governance challenge that Africa has experienced over the years to colonial legacy, it is essential to appreciate the role that foreign powers and development partners have contributed to the advancement of good governance in the continent. The retreating colonialist left behind good constitutions that, if followed, would have put Africa on a good governance path, but immediately after their departure, African leaders of the time embarked on mutilation of those constitutions to accumulate more power and to retain it. In the second liberation, Bretton Woods institutions and the foreign aid donors from developed countries put a caveat and introduced good governance as a condition for loans and financial development support. The pressure from foreign powers and institutions pushed many countries to transition to multiparty democracy in the 1990s.

The end of the cold war signified the triumph for liberal democracy around the globe. The emergence of the United States of America as the sole power and her belief in a liberal democracy was a vital driving force in the transition to democracy that happened in many countries in Africa and beyond. The Catholic Church was also very instrumental in spreading democracy in West African countries. The Catholic Church previously was considered not to follow the principle tenets of good governance. The shift from that traditional approach of governance by the Catholic Church was a big boost for the third wave of democratization⁵³.

In as much as foreign powers have played a vital role in the democratization process in Africa, some have directly or indirectly participated in making good governance in Africa unachievable. They granted their former colonies self-rule but still maintain excellent control of those countries. Others systematically disenfranchised and incapacitated institutions to make sure some African countries are still reliant on them; others have directly interfered in the territorial integrity of some African countries to impose their puppets. For instance, in West Africa, Burkina Faso and Mali have been heavily reliant on France to address many of the challenges that the two countries face. In the central Africa republic, France has participated directly in overthrowing a sitting president. Although under authoritarian and repressive regime before foreign powers have made Libya, DRC Congo, and Somalia ungovernable. They went to those countries under the pretense of spreading democracy, but in the real sense, they wanted to take control of resources in those countries which they would not access had those countries had a useful and functioning government.

⁵³ibid

The regress in good governance being experienced in the United States currently under President Donald Trump has had a significant adverse effect on other countries, specifically in Africa. Her retreat from her global role of agitating for good governance as the worst form of governance after all others have left a power vacuum that needs to be filled. Unlike his predecessor's president, Trump has shown that he doesn't care about good governance any more by exuding some authoritarian characteristics and by shaking hands with the world's worst dictators and human rights violators. As a result of this retreat, China has risen to the occasion and has taken a different approach to entice African leaders. Unlike the U.S, China opted to provide cheap loans to African states that are not tied to good governance. For China, they only care that a state recognizes the one Peoples Republic of China and not Taiwan and the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries⁵⁴. The Chinese loans without good governance condition has been very attractive to many African countries, with many opting for facing china's policy for loans and financial support. Apart from china luring African countries into a debt trap, her support of African countries without any due regard as to whether they are adhering to principle elements of good good governance had father made the attainment of good governance a nightmare.

2.7.5 Technology and the Challenge of Attaining Good Governance in Africa

Technology has grown to become one of the critical drivers of good governance across the globe. Technology is now viewed as the new and most consistent and principal policy tool that can advance good governance in Africa. Some countries like Kenya have embraced technology in elections by using biometric technology to verify and eliminate ghost voters and stuffing of ballot papers to favor one side. The use of

⁵⁴ Babaci-Wilhite, Z., Geo-JaJa, M. and Lou, S., 2012. Human Rights in Development Experience in Africa: the Foreign Aid and Policy Nexus in OECD and China Aid. *World Studies in Education*, 13(1), pp.55-87.

biometric technology in the 2017 elections proved to be problematic, especially after the Supreme Court nullified the August 8th elections. The nullification of the 2017 elections dented the credibility of that technology, and as a result, it failed to win voters' confidence in the run-up to the presidential election re-run, with the position boycotting the elections⁵⁵.

Technology has also opened new frontiers for civic engagement and citizenry participation in political processes through its internet-based social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, and blogs. Through these social platforms, citizens can communicate directly to their elected leaders, and they are also able to organize and mobilized other users to participate in a collective action that advances good governance in Africa. The increase in internet penetration in Africa has liberalized the process of accessing real-time information without relying on the mainstream media, which most of the time, they are either working as the government mouthpiece or are unable to speak truth tom power. According to the annual digital report of 2020, Africa has experienced the highest average increase in the penetration and use of social media at 13%. The southern Africa and Central Africa region posted an 18% increase in the use of social media, which was the second-highest globally after south Asia. West Africa and East Africa registered a 12% increase in the use of social media while North Africa posted a 9.6% increase in the use of social media to the global tally of 3.8 billion social media users⁵⁶.

The drastic increase in the use of social media in Africa and other parts of the world tempered by a more educated and informed society has made it easy for citizens to participate in political activities in their daily lives. This has given the citizens an

⁵⁵Nyabola, N., n.d. *Digital Democracy, Analogue Politics*.

⁵⁶We Are Social. 2020. *Digital 2020 - We Are Social*. [online] Available at: <<https://wearesocial.com/digital-2020>> [Accessed 24 August 2020].

opportunity to micro-donate small bits of their time and effort to a particular course of action that will lead to good governance in general. According to a survey done by an afro barometer in 2018 showed that an average of 50% of the African citizens believes that through the use of social media they can be able to lead meaningful change in the state of good governance in their respective countries. Recent trends of protests in Africa presents hope and a season of renewal for the attainment of governance in the continent.

Through the use of social media, Malians have gone to the streets demanding the resignation of President Ibrahim Boubacar Keita, who, on August 18th, 2020, was overthrown and arrested by the mutinying military. The people of the DRC Congo have started demonstrating against the government of Felix Tsishikedi on the grounds of corruption and his illegitimate election in 2019. In North Africa use of social media has seen Tunisians depose Zine El Abidine Ben Ali in 2011, in Egypt, through the Facebook revolution of 2012, Egyptians ousted President Hosni Mubarak. The fall of some of the longest-serving African dictators like Muammar al-Gaddafi, Robert Mugabe and Bashir were all organized through social media⁵⁷. On August 18th, 2020, #Zimbabweanlivesmatter was trending at number one on Twitter and Facebook as citizens have gone to the streets to call for the resignation of President Mnangagwa on corruption grounds.

2.8 Chapter Summary and Conclusion

The challenge of good governance in Africa remains one of the oldest conversations that Africans continue to struggle with. There are significant gains compared to the last century; however, it is essential to note that if the challenge of attaining good

⁵⁷ Margetts, H., 2016. *Political Turbulence*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton university press.

governance is addressed in Africa, many of the problems that the continent is faced with like underdevelopment and insecurity will be addressed in the long run. It is no longer fashionable for African leaders to blame their colonial masters for the challenge of attaining good governance because the majority of African countries, especially those that gained independence in the 1960s, have had at least 50 years to address this challenge but instead, they choose to perpetuate the problem farther. There is a dire need for many African countries to decentralize their policy formulation frameworks to make them more inclusive to ensure no idea is left out in the development plan. The judiciary and the legislature need to fight for their independence, while electoral processes need to be made more transparent, credible, free, and fair to win public trust. Some of the African countries have some of the best constitutions on paper worldwide. However, adherence to the body and spirit of these constitutions has been extremely wanting. To this end, African states need to Fast-track the process of implementation of those constitutions and other legal frameworks to their totality order to operationalized good governance in Africa. Citizens have a responsibility as well, and with the presence of technology, internet, and social media, they have an opportunity to participate in national dialogues with their respective governments to demand more dividends from good governance in their countries.

Finally this chapter has been able to dissect the first objective of the study, which was to critically analyse the challenge of attaining good governance in Africa. The chapter has tested the hypothesis on Africa still struggling with the challenge of attaining good governance. The chapter concludes that although there are some progress that has been made towards the attainment of good governance in Africa, it is clear that theres still a lot to be done. This validates the hypothesis that Africa still struggles with challenge of attaining democratic governance.

CHAPTER THREE
FACTORS INHIBITING ATTAINMENT OF GOOD GOVERNANCE IN
KENYA AND MAURITIUS

3.1 Introduction

This section will cover the historical development of good governance in Kenya and Mauritius, challenges the two countries are facing in their effort to address this problem and similarities and differences in their current situation of governance. It will also give a short synopsis of the place of technology and, more specifically, the domicile of social media in advancing good governance in the two countries.

3.2 Challenge of Attaining Good Governance in Kenya

The regress in governance being experienced in the last two decades in Africa and more so by Kenya and Mauritius are as a result of long historical underpinnings, some of whom have been systematically designed by a particular group of people for self-preservation. Some Other factors that have been a critical push back factor in the attainment of good governance in Africa are nothing but mere accidents. For the Kenyan case, many of the factors that have been critical inhibitors to of good governance have been linked to historic colonial legacy, which some scholars consider to be a system that was undemocratic, inhumane, and oppressive. Others like Koigi wa Mwere and Bethwel Ogot consider the Kenyan challenge of attaining google governance as a deliberate self-doing by the leadership that has been there since independence until now⁵⁸.

In as much as the colonial rule was oppressive and undemocratic, the retreating colonizers did leave behind constitutions and legal documents that were designed to

⁵⁸ Google Books. 2020. *Negative Ethnicity*. [online] Available at: <https://books.google.com/books/about/Negative_Ethnicity.html?id=8duB0b-C1WAC> [Accessed 23 August 2020].

enhance multiparty political systems that were supposed to act as a foundation for good governance and development. In the eve self-rule, many Kenyans had a lot of expectations from the new leadership that they thought were sensitive to their needs and understood what was necessary to drive significant citizen-based development. The events of the 1960s and 1970s turned to be a big disappointment for the Kenyan people as the government watered down the independence constitution and adopted a single-party rule in the country⁵⁹.

The leadership in preserving the status quo from 1965 to 1990 engaged in political assassinations of anyone who dared express a contradictory view against what the government of the day held. Many Kenyans with the tremendous intellectual capacity to lead developmental agenda were assassinated, silenced through illegal detentions, or forced to run away to western countries. The civil society organizations that were necessary for the expansion of the democratic space were clamped down, and the state took control of the mainstream media. Institutions lost their credibility as the judiciary, and the legislature were all turned to act not for the interest of the citizens but as a subordinate organ of the executive. Academic institutions that were supposed and expected to speak truth to power were micro-managed by the government, forcing those who held a divergent opinion to fly away. Those that remained lost their objectivity, sense of reason, and judgment and opted to become government charlatans⁶⁰.

As a consequence before 1990, government affairs were seen as a highly classified information's due to lack of transparency as the government had a monopoly over information and it decided what the citizens needed to hear as opposed to making the information readily available to the people to go through it and make an informed

⁵⁹ Ogot, B., 2012. *Kenyans, Who Are We*. Kisumu: Anyange Press Ltd.

⁶⁰ *ibid*

decision as to what is right and wrong. At the time, there was only one central media station that alone acted as a mouthpiece and in the interest of the government. Due to the lack of opposition and the fears of prosecution, there was no accountability at all, and the leadership of the time took advantage to loot the public coffers and enrich themselves and their clients. Nepotism was on the rise with crucial appointments to public offices from 1964 to 1980 being from the Kikuyu tribe, while from 1980 to 2002, they were predominately occupied by the Kalenjin tribe, which is the ethnic group of the president Moi. A country that in the 1960s was a beacon of hope in Africa by 1990, it had turned to be one of the most impoverished to a point where the citizens could only rely on the mercy and the goodwill of their greedy leaders for food through food relief programs.

3.3 The Plural Political System and the Challenge of Attaining Good Governance in Kenya

The re-introduction of the multiparty political system in Kenya and many African countries come with a lot of agitation, blood, and sweat and not as a surprise. This change coincided with three major issues; - one it came at a time when international development partners had reviewed their basis of lending money to Kenya and other developing countries. This meant that loans and aids to Kenya and African countries were to be tied to good governance as a threshold for lending. Secondly, it also came in at a time when other political systems and ideologies had been defeated and the ultimate emergence of the United States of America as a sole superpower. The United States at the time was considered as a real benchmark of good governance. In its global leadership, it endeavored to spread its ideologies of a free world, and liberal democratic ideals, which she believed was the only assured way of driving development and guaranteeing accountability of the public resources.

Thirdly and lastly, it comes at a time when religion was a significant factor in driving the third wave of democratization. Initially, the Catholic Church and the most dominant faith since antiquity were run an orthodox manner that did not comply with the critical tenets of good governance. From 1980, the Catholic Church had started reviewed its governance infrastructure to make it in line and consistent with the principles of good governance⁶¹. As a result, the church and the civil society worked together to see a transition to democracy in many African countries. For Kenya, many recall the role the clergy played in the agitation of multiparty democracy and the pain and agony that many went through to an extend of some being maimed and incurring life-long injuries from the reluctant KANU regime.

While this was considered as a landmark for Kenya's transition to democracy, it didn't come free without its fair share of challenges. The multiparty political system has been viewed as a model of governance that is based around ethnic or regional sectarianism. It also saw an import and increase of patron-client politics with a growing de facto preferment of groups drawn from different ethnic groups. Politicians much mastered the art of manipulating ethnic lines by whipping ethnic emotions just before elections for them to win and cling to power. This has been witnessed in the successive elections that have been highly divisive since 1992, and more often, this has culminated into a violent confrontation in every electoral cycle, with 2007 elections being the worst of them all. This has been made worse, especially when other communities feel that they have been marginalized and historically sidelined in informing the agendas of the country since power has only been held by two and most populated ethnic groups communities in the country since independence.

⁶¹ *ibid*

Although all elections since 1990 have been regular and, in most cases, done in a manner that many reluctant democrats chant is consistent with the constitution. Many have been disappointed by how multiparty democracy has been exercised. The electoral process is considered as a hallmark in a democratic process where citizens get a rare opportunity to directly participate in the process of governance by keenly evaluating regimes and either reward them by re-election for excellent performance and sanction them by voting them out for poor performance. Generally, since elections are the only and accepted way of change in a democratic society, they provide an excellent opportunity for the citizens to engage the state at this opportune moment⁶². However, this has not been the case since many election results are fabricated and manufactured. More often, these elections are meant to look like they are free and fair, but in most instances, those elections are legal but illegitimate. For example, in Kenya since 1992, it's only the 2002 election that did not have any contestation. All other polls have had contestation with some turning out to be violent, and the supreme court has declared the 2017 August election as illegitimate.

3.4 Kenya's Current Good Governance State

While it is imperative to acknowledge different strides made towards the attainment of good governance in Kenya, it is equally essential to critically ask whether Kenyan good governance is as good as they say within the East African region. After the 2007/2008 post-election violence, Kenyans retreated for a soul searching moment to evaluate what could have been the principal causes of the violence that had left the Kenyan society in great distress, despair, broken and suspicious of each other. The Waki and Kriegler report produced in the aftermath of the violence identified key governance issues as the

⁶² Holmquist, F., 2011. Karuti Kanyinga and Duncan Okello, eds. *Tensions and Reversals in Democratic Transitions: The Kenya 2007 General Elections*. Nairobi: Society for International Development, in conjunction with the Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, 2010. 709 pp. Notes. Paper. No price reported. *African Studies Review*, 54(2), pp.210-212.

leading cause of the violence and recommended that addressing these key governance issues as the only solution to Kenya's peace, stability, and tranquility⁶³. In their recommendations, they argued that Kenya needed to address its long-standing historical injustices by endeavoring to ensure inclusivity, equality, and restoring fundamental rights and freedoms. The result of this was the COK 2010, which has been taunted as one of the best constitutions of the African continent.

The promulgation of the COK 2010 was seen as a renewal for attaining Kenya's good governance architecture. The constitution received a lot of accolades and praises internationally for capturing it captured aspirations of many Kenyans. The idea of devolution was seen as the silver bullet that would address inequality between and among different communities, therefore, putting an end to issues of exclusivity and marginalization. At the same time, devolution was expected to deliver more considerable social-economic developments at the local levels, something that the national government alone proved it could not be able to do since independence. However, in the current state with increased corruption at the county level, the project of devolution has been seen as devolution of corruption and unacceptable societal vices⁶⁴.

The constitution extensively captures and emphasizes respect and promotion of fundamental rights and freedoms and have been said to have set a new but ambitious standard in its bill rights chapter in the continent. This was supposed to farther advance and guaranteed civic and political rights in the country⁶⁵. Despite this excellent legal

⁶³ "Kenya: Waki Report Causes Angst." 2008. *Africa Research Bulletin: Political, Social and Cultural Series* 45 (11): 17756B-17756C. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-825x.2008.02046.x>.

⁶⁴ Aluku, Silas. 2014. "Bicameralism: A Critique of the Constitution of Kenya 2010." *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2461329>.

⁶⁵ Ngure, Benson Kinyua. 2011. "A Revolution of Human Rights in Kenya: Assessing the Enforceability of Socio-Economic Rights Under the Constitution of Kenya 2010." *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1864585>.

framework, human rights watch in its 2020 report notes that Kenya still lags in instituting human severe rights accountability mechanisms. During the 2017/2018 election tensions in the country, human rights watch documented over 100 killings committed by police forces whom up to date have not been brought to book⁶⁶. According to reporters without borders media freedom index 2020, out of 180 countries surveyed, Kenya was ranked 103. This shows the government's disregard for freedom of expression and press freedom⁶⁷. According to the media council of Kenya between May 2017 and April 2018, at least 94 incidences of violence and intimidation against journalists and bloggers. This was recorded as the highest number of human rights violations in press freedom in a decade⁶⁸.

The COK 2020 provides a very elaborate chapter on ethics, principles, and values of how public officers should come to the office and how they should conduct themselves while in office. This was meant to increase accountability and transparency of elected and appointed public officers to fight the rampant corruption that has ailed the country since independence. The constitution is very clear on issues of the freedom of the judiciary and the legislative organs of the government, and it provides a unique space for the opposition to provide checks and balances to the executive and the government of the day. The constitution is also very expressing on issues of gender equality and inclusivity⁶⁹.

⁶⁶ "World Report 2020: Rights Trends in Kenya." 2019. Human Rights Watch. December 9, 2019. <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2020/country-chapters/kenya>.

⁶⁷ RSF. 2020. *2020 World Press Freedom Index | Reporters Without Borders*. [online] Available at: <<https://rsf.org/en/ranking>> [Accessed 24 August 2020].

⁶⁸ Schneider, Laura. "The Five International Media Freedom Indices: a Critical Analysis." *Measuring Global Media Freedom*, 2019, pp. 89–121., doi:10.1007/978-3-658-28095-6_4.

⁶⁹ Tripp, Aili Mari. 2016. "Women's Movements and Constitution Making after Civil Unrest and Conflict in Africa: The Cases of Kenya and Somalia." *Politics & Gender* 12 (01): 78–106. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s1743923x16000015>.

The constitution was supposed to be operationalized and be able to be fully implemented in body and spirit within the first five years of its promulgation. On August 27th, 2020, the constitution will have been in existence for a decade, but still, the implementation process is scanty. Issues of inclusivity and gender mainstreaming in governance remain an illusion with the current government operating illegally without fulfilling the 2/3 gender rule as provided for in the constitution. Elections and power transition have lost their sense of legitimacy in the last three elections, with each election being highly contested and more often leaving the country more divided between ethnic lines. Although there are some significant attempts by president Kenyatta to fight corruption, an equal might has met the war with different political factions in the country politicizing the issue to look like its targeting as a specific community.

Currently, Kenyans are engaged in a constitutional change debate. The conversation is highly driven by the political elite, while the ordinary citizen has been converted into a spectator. The same questions that were raised before the COK 2010 and issues that the same constitution aimed to address are still the same issues dominating the current constitutional review debate. Instead of trying to operationalize the COK 2010 and make it work first then from that basis look at the shortcomings of the constitution and propose a review based on that, the political elite is up in arms with new propositions that seek to create positions for the political class in the name of inclusivity. The much taunted constitutional review process before 2022, which is a result of a unity pact between the current president Kenyatta and opposition leader Rt Hon Raila Amolo Odinga on March 9th, 2018, after the highly contested and divisive 2017 general elections has been fronted as a uniting project. However, as witnessed with the ongoing crackdown on decedents who fail to tear presidents line in the parliamentary leadership

and parliamentary committees, many have seen the building bridges initiative as dividing factor rather than a uniting factor. Kenyan parliaments today they are not independent nor objective on any issue. Politicians have extended their patron-client politics and charlatantry to parliament⁷⁰.

The efforts of the judiciary to maintain and remain independent have been one of the issues that have made the jubilee regime uncomfortable hence the many unwarranted attacks by the executive and inadequate financing from the treasury. Both the judiciary and the executive have been engaged in a cold war since 2017 after the nullification of the 2017 general elections, where President Kenyatta was declared the winner by the independent electoral and boundaries commission. The president, then the presidential candidate for the jubilee party, was quoted addressing a gathering in Nairobi threatening to deal with alleged crooks in the judiciary, which, if loosely translated it meant the chief justice and his team who agreed and passed the ruling on the nullification of the 2017 elections.

Even within the COK 2010 dispensation, negative ethnicity has been one of the critical challenges that remain unaddressed. In as much it is a historic challenge, the current political environment and politicians have deliberately chosen to perpetuate it. As mentioned elsewhere, multiparty democracy in Kenya opened up the country to regional and tribal politics. All the parties that emerged after 1990, all of them have been based on ethnicity. Politicians over the years have taken it upon themselves to preach divisive politics through hate and weeping ethnic emotions around election time to secure a win. As a result, the Kenyan political environment has been characterized

⁷⁰ Akoko Akech. 2019. "BBI: A Ploy to Subvert Democracy through Deception." *The Elephant*. December 13, 2019. <https://www.theelephant.info/features/2019/12/13/bbi-a-ploy-to-subvert-democracy-through-deception/>.

by ethnic, regional dominance, and sectarianism. Many of the electoral violence experienced in Kenya have all manifested themselves through negative ethnicity. In many instances, ethnic tensions around election time have made investors flee the country and made it hard for the government to operate without a truce between the winner and loser of the election.

Despite the excellent and elaborate legal and institutional framework put in place under the COK 2010, corruption in the country remains very high, especially within the public offices. According to transparency international CPI 2020 report, Kenya was ranked 137th least corrupt nation out of 180 countries surveyed with a total score of 28/100. Chapter VI of COK 2010 provides that holders of public office shall be men and women of high integrity, principled, and ethical values. However, poor implementation of the constitution and institutional frameworks for fighting corruption has made the war on graft very slow. This has been tempered by the ability of politicians turning the issue into a political debate and by retreating to their ethnic groups and making the war to appear as if it's targeting a particular community. The office of the director of public prosecution has been very instrumental in the fight against corruption. However, the ODPP has been blaming the judiciary for a lack of convictions. Judiciary, on the other hand, has also condemned the investigative bodies for providing enough evidence that would lead to convictions. As a result of this blame game and the back and forth corruption has thrived in this kind of environment.

3.4.1 Technology and Attainment of Democracy in Kenya

Kenya has been taunted as the Silicon Valley and the technological hub for the Eastern African region. The mobile money transfer system through m-pesa has been one of the groundbreaking technological innovations the country has ever come up with. Additionally, it has been among the first countries ever to use biometric technology and

electronic voter transition system. In mobile connectivity, Kenya has established herself as a leader in the region with mobile connectivity that is more than its population, while in internet penetration, Kenya has almost half of its population is connected. According to the 2020 digital report, mobile connectivity in Kenya stood at 52 million while internet connectivity stood at 22 million internet users. Social media platforms that have grown to be trusted sources of timely information and news in the country, as reported by digital Africa, stood at 8 million users, with Facebook and whatsapp platforms leading in the number of users and most vibrant platforms for political conversation⁷¹.

Through the use of social media, Kenyans have established themselves as the most vibrant online social world. Kenyans on twitter have engaged in different global conversations and driven meaningful impact, especially in changing negative narratives peddled by international media. They have also been very keen on domestic politics, especially on social justice issues, police brutality, and state of the economy, corruption, nepotism, and appointment of unqualified public officers into public offices. However, in the face of impunity, many Kenyans on these different platforms have approached different conversations majorly from a tribal point of view, hence trivializing the conversations and blurring its objectivity. As a result, many discussions have been left online without them leading any policy outcome that would lead to addressing the poor governance challenge that the country experiences⁷².

3.5 The Challenge Of Attaining Good Governance In Mauritius

Different reports and indexes and scholars have considered Mauritius as one of the few countries that choose a different path from the rest in Africa. From 1968 Mauritius has

⁷¹Statista. 2020. *Topic: Social Media*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.statista.com/topics/1164/social-networks/>> [Accessed 24 August 2020].

⁷² Nyabola, N., n.d. *Digital Democracy, Analogue Politics*.

followed a good governance trajectory by holding regular and competitive elections that have been deemed by various observers as free and fair. All the polls that have been held in Mauritius the voter turnout have been high averaging between 75% to 85%, which has conferred more legitimacy to the government of the day and guarantees popular support from the public. To this end, Mauritius has been viewed as a beacon and paradigm of good governance in the African continent relative to other African states. Due to its peaceful transition of power, stable political climate, and prudent management of the economy, Mauritius has presented herself as one of the most prosperous countries and with a GDP of USD 11,203 per capita, which is the highest in the continent after Seychelles⁷³.

According to the economist intelligent unit democracy index report of 2019, Mauritius was ranked as one of the 22 well governed countries globally, and the only one in the continent⁷⁴. The research conducted by EIU 2019 covered over 167 countries globally and 44 countries in Africa. The report looked at electoral procedures, civil liberties, political participation, and threat to free speech. In terms of the legislative process, Mauritius has done all her elections in a manner consistent with international democratic standards and the constitution. Despite the existence of four main ethnic groups, Mauritius elections have generally been peaceful for the country and have always adopted a plural electoral system. As a result, it has encouraged high voter turnout and increased political participation of Mauritians in the electoral process. Free

⁷³ World Bank. 2020. *Annual Report 2019*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.worldbank.org/en/about/annual-report>> [Accessed 23 August 2020].

⁷⁴ The Economist. 2020. *Economist Intelligence Unit | Economist - World News, Politics, Economics, Business & Finance*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.economist.com/topics/economist-intelligence-unit>> [Accessed 23 August 2020].

speech, freedom of the media, and civil liberties are relatively respected and unhelpt compared to other African countries⁷⁵.

While from a bystander point of view, Mauritius seems to be the best example of good governance not only in the continent but globally, many have engaged in a debate to try to answer the question of whether democracy is working as it seems. In a survey carried out by the afro-barometer, 85% of the respondents expressed their desire to live in a well governed Mauritius, while 5% preferred to live in a dictatorship or one-party rule, 9% they don't care about the type of government or ideologies they harbor but instead quality services and efficient bureaucracies. Despite the desire to live in a democracy, many Mauritians are dissatisfied with the governance status in Mauritius. In the same survey noted that in as much as 85% of the citizens express their support for good governance in the country, only 16% of the respondents are completely satisfied with the way democracy is working in the country. 56% are relatively happy, 22% not very satisfied, and 5% are not satisfied at all. Notably, none of the respondents said Mauritius was poorly governed⁷⁶.

As noted by the EIU, Freedom house and afro barometer, just like any other country, Mauritius is currently experiencing a good governance recess and deficit. There are years when Mauritius has been ranked at 9 out of 10 by the EIU, but in 2019 she dropped to 8 out of 10, showing that there are fundamental challenges that the Mauritius democracy is experiencing. Some of the problems that have been considered to have contributed to Mauritius good governance recess are; - rampant corruption, illicit capital flows, nepotism, little media freedom and free speech, exclusivity especially the sidelining of

⁷⁵ Freedom House. 2020. *Expanding Freedom And Democracy*.. [online] Available at: <<https://freedomhouse.org/>> [Accessed 23 August 2020].

⁷⁶World Bank. 2020. *Annual Report 2019*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.worldbank.org/en/about/annual-report>> [Accessed 23 August 2020].

women in the political processes, nepotism and cronyism, and rotation of countries leadership on the same group of people.

3.5.1 The Reality of the Mauritius Good Governance

Although Mauritius is seen as one of the countries in Africa that chose the ballot rather than the bullet since its independence in 1968, internally, Mauritius is experiencing some of the biggest governance challenges internally. Apart from the regular and peaceful elections that have been said to have been free and fair, other principal elements of good governance seem to have been neglected. For instance, in Mauritius, despite the regular elections, power has always rotated between and among the same group of people and families. For example, the former Prime Minister Sir Anerood Jugnauth has been in power since 1976 until recently when he handed over power to his son Pravind Jugnauth. From 1982 to 1985 he served as the prime minister of Mauritius, he then served again as a prime minister from 2000 to 2003 before he assumed the highest office in the country where he served as the president of Mauritius from 2003 to 2012. In 2014 his party won the elections, and he was again appointed as the prime minister. In 2014 Sir Anerood Jugnauth resigned from the office of the prime minister and named his son Pravin Jugnauth.

Similarly, Dr. Navinchandra Ramgoolam, who first came into the Mauritius political landscape in 1990 and served as the opposition leader up to 1995, was elected the prime minister of Mauritius in 1995 to 2000. From 2000 to 2003, he served as the opposition to Sir Anerood Jugnauth for the second the First time being from 1991 to 1995. In the 2005 election, his party alliance won, and he was appointed again as the prime minister for the second time. In 2008 he offered to support Sir Anerood Jugnauth for presidential re-election, which guaranteed him a win in the 2010 elections where his party in an

alliance with Sir Anerood Jugnauth party won, and he was able to extend his tenure to 2014. In an attempt to vie for the Mauritius presidency in an election that was supposed to happen in 2015 but brought forward to 2014, he was voted out, and Sir Anerood Jugnauth took over as the prime minister. This clearly shows how power has only been rotating to the same people and families for the last three decades. To as such, nepotism, concentration, and control of power by a few elites have been key drawbacks to Mauritius' good governance architecture.

Mauritius has established itself as one of the most advanced markets in the continent. This comes at great leniency, with Mauritius being one of the leading couriers in corruption, fraud, and money laundering. According to the business insider, Mauritius has drawn a lot of attention for east African and Indian businesspeople for its ability to act as an offshore industry tax heaven⁷⁷. Compared to many African countries, Mauritius is still better off in terms of corruption with Transparency International corruption perception index of 2013 ranking Mauritius 52nd out of the 177 countries that were assessed. With the increasing corruption, fraud, and money laundering scandals from 2011, Mauritius corruption index has been on a decline. For instance, the World Bank governance indicator for control of corruption dropped from 73 in 2011 to 67 in 2012⁷⁸.

The cases cited for the pervasive and ingrained corruption in Mauritius is the intrinsic relationship between business and politics, a deliberate loophole in the constitution where members of parliament are immune to all forms of prosecution, including corruption and manipulation and poor implementation of legal instruments put in place

⁷⁷ Business Insider. 2020. *THE DIGITAL 100: The World's Most Valuable Private Tech Companies*.

[online] Available at: <<https://www.businessinsider.com/2012-digital-100>> [Accessed 23 August 2020].

⁷⁸ World Bank. 2020. *World Bank Group - International Development, Poverty, & Sustainability*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.worldbank.org/>> [Accessed 23 August 2020].

to fight corruption. Despite Mauritius setting up a Financial Service Act that Established the financial service commission to combat money laundering, signing and ratifying over 40 international conventions and treaties on the fight against corruption, the Independent Commission Against Corruption among many other instruments Mauritius in the recent experience serious corruption scandals both locally and internationally. Notably, in 2011, Mauritius hit the international headlines when a corrupt Indian telecommunications minister deposited 3000 rupees of bribe to his wife's offshore account in Mauritius and Seychelles.

It is noteworthy to mention that the legal and institutional frameworks in Mauritius can fight graft. The resignation of President Ameenah Gurib-Fakim in 2018 on conflict of interest and her involvement with a credit card provided by an NGO, founded by an Angolan banker interested in doing business in Mauritius. The current Prime Minister Pravind Jugnauth was arrested and charged with conflict of interest for authorizing payment of MRs144.7m an equivalent of US\$5m in December 2010 this was meant for the purchase of the Med-Point clinic which is owned by his brother-in-law, to convert it into a national geriatric hospital. This lead to his resignation from his ministerial position. However, in 2017, his father handed over power to Pravid as the new prime minister of Mauritius after his resignation. This shows that in Mauritius, there are no accountability mechanisms to prevent people with questionable integrity to hold public office.

The attainment of good governance in Mauritius is also faced by twin challenge of a shrinking press and media freedom as well as exclusivity, especially in gender mainstreaming in public-governance. According to world economic freedom, 2020 noted that Mauritius has experienced slow growth in press freedom with a total score of 33/100 and ranked 56th out of 180 countries survey in 2019. This was a small growth

from 2018, where she was ranked 58th out of 180 with a total score of 28/100. It is noteworthy to state that comparatively, Mauritius is doing well in terms of press freedom in Africa by reporting zero killings of journalists and bloggers. Despite the country having been served from 2014-2018 by a woman as president, Mauritian society remains a very patriarchal society with women only getting in an office that is ceremonial and that have no real power to drive significant change⁷⁹.

3.5.2 Technology and Attainment of Good Governance in Mauritius

Although Mauritius, due to its population, is a small market for technological consumption, its economy because of its strength, it has enabled many Mauritians to access technology easily. Mobile penetration stood at 150% of the country's population, with over 1.91 million internet users. Internet penetration and social media users stood at 860,000 users as of January 2020. Unlike in many countries, Mauritians have had little use of social media to advocate on issues of governance, and many use social media for entertainment. Facebook remains the most dominant social media platform in Mauritius, and many Mauritians are increasingly starting to use Facebook as a media of communication and a tool to hold their leaders accountable. With increasing economic hardships, poverty, social challenges such as drugs that are challenging the governance structure of Mauritius, Mauritians have been using Facebook and other social media platforms to agitate for leadership that is new, ethical, and capable of addressing these challenge. Before the 2014 elections, traditional mainstream parties and their politicians were not on social media, but in the last six years, their presence on different social media platforms has significantly increased⁸⁰. Good governance

⁷⁹Afrobarometer.org. 2020. *Data | Afrobarometer*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.afrobarometer.org/data>> [Accessed 23 August 2020].

⁸⁰ Statista. 2020. *Statista - The Statistics Portal*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.statista.com/>> [Accessed 23 August 2020].

The comparison between the two countries that both have taken different paths in their good governance development, it is surprising how similar and different the two countries are in the challenges they face in attaining good governance. It is evident now the problem of achieving good governance in Africa is not a unique challenge to every country individually but a challenge that many African states share. Corruption in the two countries remains a very persistent challenge to the two countries. Although Mauritius ranks higher in corruption index than Kenya, both countries seem to be faced by poor implementation of the legal and institutional framework as well as misuse of these institutions to serve the interest of the political elite in the two countries. Mauritius, on her case, needs to revisit her constitution specifically on the immunity of the members of parliament against arrest and prosecution while in office.

The analysis provided by in this chapter notes that both countries are still having challenges on issues of gender mainstreaming in governance. Mauritius has had a woman as president, while Kenya has not yet gotten there. As noted, the current regime in Kenya is operating illegally and in contravention of the constitution, specifically on the 2/3 gender rule. Both countries are also faced with the challenge of independence and effective institutions. In a comparative analysis, Kenya seems to be experiencing growth in the independence of the judiciary at a rate of 3.39% in the last ten years, while Mauritius appears to be experiencing a slow growth of 0.52%. In press freedom and free speech, both countries seem not to be taking any measures to advance press freedom, with Mauritius scoring 33/100 and being ranked 56th globally, while Kenya scored 28/100 and ranked 103 out of 180 countries in 2020. It is also important to

mention that in 2020 Mauritius has not registered any deaths of journalists or bloggers⁸¹.

The population of the two countries is made of different ethnic groups. Since 1968 Mauritius has not experienced any ethnic tensions that would lead to violent conflict. Kenya, on the other hand, after the re-introduction of the multiparty political system, has experienced ethnic tensions, most of which have resulted in a violent confrontation between different tribes overpower control. Since 1992 Kenya had only missed ethnic-based conflict driven by political competitions seize and control power except in 2002 when the two main contestants came from the same community. The pre-election coalition in Mauritius seems to have worked to manage the dragon of negative ethnicity, while in Kenya, pre-election coalitions have not had any meaningful impact in addressing the challenge of negative ethnicity.

Mauritius is said to have taken the ballot and not the bullet but conducting elections that have been reported to be regular, free, and fair for the last fifty-two years. Kenya, on the other hand, from 1992 to 2017, only the 2002 elections could be considered to be free and fair, given the fact that the presidential winner came from the opposition. The rest of elections have had high contestation, with some polls leading to conflict like 2007/2008 post-election violence and others nullified by courts for being inconsistent with the constitution like the August 8th, 2017 general elections. More important to note is that the two countries have had the same leadership or leadership from the same community or family for many decades. Kenya, for instance, out of the four presidents, three came from the same community, with two coming from the same family. Similarly, in Mauritius since 1990, prime minister, presidency, and opposition have

⁸¹ TCdata360. 2020. *Tcdata360: Judicial Independence (WEF)*. [online] Available at: <https://tcdata360.worldbank.org/indicators/h5ebaeb47?country=MUS&indicator=669&countries=BRA&viz=line_chart&years=2007,2017&indicators=944> [Accessed 23 August 2020].

been rotating on the same group of people with the current prime minister who has taken over from his father after his resignation.

3.6 Chapter Summary and Conclusion

From the analysis presented in this chapter it is very clear that there a big disconnect from what is presented in literature and the reality on the ground. Although Mauritius has had regular elections viewed as free and fair the country still experiences challenges of exclusivity with power being concentrated on a few individuals and families. Similarly, Kenya's top political seat has three out of four times been held by the same tribe and two out of four times by the same family. The two countries are also faced with similar challenges of gender inequality, corruption, nepotism, suppression of fundamental rights and freedoms, clamping down the civil society and silencing journalists. Therefore, it is imperative for these countries to take radical and deliberate steps towards these vices in order for them to be able to attain greater levels of good governance.

It is noteworthy to acknowledge that, Mauritius compared to Kenya is definitely a better democracy, specifically on how she has managed her politics and public resources. Mauritius has demonstrated to the rest of the world that it is not the quantity of the government or its ideologies but rather the quality, intelligence and effectiveness of governments in delivering their mandate to people that matter. As a result, Mauritius has been able to manage its multi-ethnic society in a better manner than Kenya. From Mauritius example Kenya should learn and accept the responsibility for its failure to manage her ethnic politics for last five and a half decades and not blame it on the colonial legacies of division. Surprisingly, Kenya seems to averse with technological advancement than Mauritius yet Mauritius seems to be doing better in terms of good governance.

This chapter has been able to carry out an analysis of the factors that inhibit the attainment of good governance in Kenya and Mauritius. This was inline with objective two of this paper. The chapter has also validated the second hypothesis of he study by confirming that both Kenya and Mauritius are faced by different challenges in their quest to attain good governance.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ROLE AND IMPACT OF SOCIAL MEDIA ON GOOD GOVERNANCE IN KENYA AND MAURITIUS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will critically analyze the role and the impact of social media on good governance in Kenya and Mauritius. The chapter will define key concepts of social media, it will also cover a brief history on the emergence, use and impact of social media in Africa in general and quantify its impact on good governance in the continent. Thereafter the chapter will singularly focus on the use and impact of social media in Kenya and Mauritius, with an aim to test if it has had any positive impact in the overall governance infrastructure of the two countries.

4.2 Definition of Concepts

Social media has been one of the most contested concepts in its definition since its emergence, especially on what it should include or excluded in its definition. The concept of social media is said to have started at the second half of the 20th century when Bruce and Susan Abelson created the Open Diary. Open diary was one of the first of the first networking sites to ever be created and it brought together several online diary writers to form a community. In 1979 Tom Truscott and Jim Ellis from Duke University creation of Usenet which was widely recognized and accepted as a proper social networking site than the Open Diary. With increased access to internet in 1997 the sixdegrees.com was launched and just like in 1979 during the launch of Usenet Boyd and Ellison in their writing considered it as the first true social networking site due to its unique features that added the visibility of social networks as key characteristic to the existing platforms. From 2000, there emerged a second wave of social networking platforms but out of the many its only Linked in which focuses on

business networks which survived as a result of its responsiveness the needs of the users. Others platforms such as Facebook 2004, twitter 2006, Instagram, snapchat, Whatsapp have also emerged and grown in prominence.

As a result of the existence of these many platforms, every time any new platform emerged scholars were quick to coin new definitions or improve on the existing ones without consideration of the concept as an organic idea that is always evolving. To as such, Kaplan and Haenlein's definition of social media as an internet based virtual interaction platforms that allow for creation and exchange of user-generated content for the purposes of sharing information, entertainment and interaction⁸². This kind of platforms include dark social media platforms such as Whatsapp where much of the communication channels are private but generate internet traffic; social networking sites such as twitter, Facebook and snapchat; content sharing sites such as YouTube; blogs, bookmarking sites like reddit,; gaming sites and project produce online goods like Wikipedia⁸³. Boyd and Ellison considered social networking platforms as ones that are web-based in their definition it is important to note that social media platforms as we know them today can be accessed through the use of internet but not necessarily through web. Therefore, the only unique feature for social media platforms is the use of internet.

In order to avoid further confusion on the terms internet and web, it is imperative that this paper defines what internet is and what a web is. The confusion has been as a result of the evolution of the concept of social media. In the early years of the existent of social media many platforms require internet accessibility as well as an existence of a

⁸² Kaplan, A. and Haenlein, M., 2010. Users of the world, unite! The challenges and opportunities of Social Media. *Business Horizons*, 53(1), pp.59-68.

⁸³ Ibid

web hence the increasing use of the two terms interchangeably. When Facebook was first launched many people could only access it through a computer or a web but of course with that presences of internet but as time went on with improvement of mobile technology these platforms became more and easily accessible through mobile phones especially those with android and IOS technologies. Some of these platforms started existing as apps that don't need a web to access them. Therefore, internet can be considered as a global network of interconnected computer networks that work at a sub-speed, while a web is a complex information system of interconnected or interlinked elements where documents and other resources are stored and can be navigated through hypertext or hyperlinks and accessed by use of internet. To this end internet remains the common denominator for both social media platforms and web resources.

4.3 The potency of Social Media in Political Processes

At the start of the 21st century no one would have thought that in 2020 a virtual platforms would driving conversations in the world. In its early years of existence social media platforms mere existed at the margins of the main stream media. With an increase in accessibility of internet and mobile phone technologies at affordable rates social media had grown to be rattle big mainstream media houses and to be viewed as a threat to both democratic and authoritarian regimes alike. In the first decade of the 21st century social media rose in ranks to be recognized as one of the most underrated but powerful tool for political communication and as a platform for citizens to hold their governments accountable.⁸⁴ One of the first incidences that shocked the way people viewed the power of social media was the rise to presidency of a little know Roh Moo-Hyun of South Korea in 2002. This was followed by the 2003 protest against the invasion of

⁸⁴ Goldman AI, Whitcomb D. Social Epistemology: Essential Readings. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 2011.

Iraq by the United States of America and her allied. The 2003 protests has been recorded to be one of the biggest protests in the world which happened in over 800 cities around the world with London hosting over 2 million protestors in February. The election of the first African-American president in America was highly influenced by social media as David Plouffe notes⁸⁵.

Consequently, with high literacy levels people have become more aware of their rights, duties and obligations and with the realization of the existing biases, low levels of credibility, lack of professionalism and inability to speak truth to power of the mainstream media they opted for the most reliable and cheapest way of getting information. Towards the end of the first decade of the 21st century the use of social media was not only a threat to the governments but now they had extended to private and corporate sector. During the 2008 recession citizens took it to the streets to demonstrate against some of their government institutions, banks and their leaders due to the economic hardships inflicted on them as a result of poor governance. Some of these protests organized and coordinated through social media happened in 2011 in Spain where between 6.5 and 8 million demonstrated against high levels of unemployment, welfare cuts and generally against the entire political system in Spain. Notably the “occupy Wall Street” protests in New York in 2011 saw over eighty cities in different American states protested against the social economic inequalities caused by disproportionate power held by large corporations in America.

Today social media collective actions across the globe has grown in its prominence over the mainstream media to a point they are now considered as a substitute for the print and mainstream media. This has necessitated the rise and increase of political

⁸⁵ Plouffe, D. and Davies, E., 2009. *The Audacity To Win*. New York.: Penguin Audio.

activities and online activism. The inaccessibility and the cost of using mainstream media to discuss certain political agendas has left different doors open for the citizenry to engage in conversations on democracy, good governance and human rights issues. Online mobilization has seen many sign and present successful petitions on issues of gender such as the petition on depiction of women on the bank notes in the United Kingdom, the global campaign to end female genital mutilations, climate change petitions, fundraising for humanitarian support in countries and cities affected by natural calamities and disasters. In Chile protestors have used social media to mobilize more numbers to demand to equality, in America the black community and people of colour are using social media to mobilize to fight racism and white supremacism, while in Belarus for two months now citizens have used social media to demand the resignation of the illegitimate election of dictator Lukashenko.⁸⁶

However, in as much as the social media has done much good in putting pressure on governments, institutions and corporations to take certain actions that would advance human welfare, it is important to note that in some cases it has been used and manipulated serve certain interests that are not good for the general public. In some cases it has been to hinder the attainment of good governance like the in the case of the Cambridge analytical in the 2016 United States elections and in the BREXIT referendum. In some cases the use of social media to address social and political issues the process has been hijacked by dark forces and in the end the results have been totally opposite of the expected outcome, such as political instability, Conflicts or replacing one dictator with another.

⁸⁶ Vosoughi S, Roy D, Aral S. The spread of true and false news online. *Science*. 2018;359(6380):1146–1151

4.4 The Use and the Impact of Social Media in Africa

When it comes to technological advancements and the efficacy of the utilization of such technologies, Africa has been considered as the sick-boy of the world. However when it came to the penetration of new mobile technology, internet and social media Africa seems to be growing at a very rapid rate. The increased penetration of mobile technology and internet penetration has been made much easier due to lower cost of purchasing and maintenance of such lifestyle in Africa. According to the latest data produced by GSMA show that by the end of 2019 Africa recorder over 477 Million unique mobile service subscribers an equivalent of 45% of the total African population. Projects done my the same report show that by the end of 2021 Africa will have over a half a billion unique subscribers and by 2024 Africa will have cross over the billion mark of unique subscribers with by 2025 Africa will have achieve and equivalent of 50% of mobile service penetration. Africa has been considered to have the highest mobile service and internet penetration the world over the current decade⁸⁷.

The increase in the technological and internet penetration has not only made Africa one of the most attractive markets for new technology for the western companies but it has changed how Africans have viewed the nature of political conversations in the continent. Since 2010 social media has played a critical role in disseminating content of oppression, human rights violations to demonstrate the state violence to the outside world. With a globalized world that is ever increasing and intensifying in its interconnectedness evens happening in one place today have the capacity of simultaneously being broadcasted in a different part of the world. As a result of this boomerang effect social media has been key in connecting people in different parts of

⁸⁷ The Mobile Economy. 2020. *The Mobile Economy 2020*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.gsma.com/mobileeconomy/>> [Accessed 6 November 2020].

the world to rally for a certain course and even drive meaningful change. The events of the Arab springs in 2011 remain one of the most referenced events that underlie the instrumental role that social media can play in advancing democracy and good governance in Africa.

The self-immolation of a young unemployed Mohamed Bouazizi out of frustrations caused by government restrictions that curtailed his business operations in Tunis set the Centre stage of the Arab springs. The images of Bouazizi wailing in fire was broadcasted across Tunisia and world over. Many citizens feeling the pain and the sane frustrations that forced Bouazizi to immolate himself took it to the streets protesting against bad governance in the country forcing then then president of Tunisia El Abadine to flee away from Tunisia and later resigned. The citizens of the MENA region who for a very long time had been subjected to bad governance and dictatorship by their leaders realized of the power they had through social media and decided they had to follow the same route as Tunisia in order to emancipates themselves from oppression and control strongman-ship leadership in their countries setting of the famous Arab springs in 2011. In the months that followed Libyans started demanding more dividends of good governance from their government which responded with uttermost violence against their citizens. The violence perpetrated by the Libyan government against their citizens was broadcasted world over attracting a lot of attention and a resolution from the United Nations Security Council to stop the violence. The disobedience of the Libyan authorities to end violence against its citizens saw the involvement of other countries in a quest to depose Gadhafi and his regime. In 2012 Egyptians through the use of Facebook a social networking platform organized and mobilized protestor across the country to depose Hosni Mubarak.

The wave of Arab spring springs crossed over the Suez Canal to middle east a region mainly predominated by dictatorial regimes. The Arab springs hit hard countries like Yemen, Syria, Bahrain, Libya, Algeria, Morocco, Jordan and Oman some of which the anticipated outcome of the social media mobilization were catastrophic and still continue to hurt those countries to date. Much of the successful mobilization in social media during the Arab springs has been associated with high internet and social media penetration in the North Africa and Middle East region. At the time of the start of the Arab springs in 2010 the region recorded over 340 million social media users and probably the reason why it achieved a large scale mobilization. At that time different commentators who at the time had not fully understood the dynamics of social media mobilization argue that the Tunisian protests will not be tweeted nor birth any real policy outcome in regime change. When the then president of Tunisia El Abadine fled the country the narrative changed and now they argue for reasons as to why the social media revolution won't spread to other countries. In all these accounts those commentators were wrong except for the fact that the Arab springs did not have any impact in advancing good governance in those countries. It is also true that some of these countries after the Arab springs have exhibited some characteristics of instability as witnessed in Libya and some other parts of the Middle East.

This paper, considers the discontent between the transition to liberal democracy translating to good governance as a key reason as to why the Arab spring did not achieve much in making the countries affected attain good governance. Consequently some of these countries like Egypt deposed one dictator for another and Libya is at the verge of collapse due to conflicts that have ensued ever since coupled with other social-economic challenges like the modern day slavery. Many of other social media mobilizations that have followed have majorly been focused on transition to democracy

and not for good governance in those countries. From lessons learnt from the Arab springs, all types of governments have whether democratic or authoritarian have taken different measures to ensure to ensure that social media platforms are not used to the detriment of their regimes due to bad governance. African governments have become very notorious in shutting down internet and social media platforms. According to available data from 2017 the frequency of internet shutdowns in the continent has increased by over 32%. A number of the governments that shutdown the internet do so for over seven days with Chad shutting down internet and blocking social media apps for record time of over 16 months.

Looking at the major countries that have experienced social media organized protests and mobilizations from the Arab springs, to the deposition of Robert Mugabe and Bashir, to Algeria, DRC Congo, Uganda, Burkina Faso, Mali and others have not resulted to any attainment of good governance in those respective countries. The underlying denominator in these collective actions on social media has been the unsustainability of those activities online whereby they lose momentum a half way while others just fizzle out even before they start. To as such it has been easy for them to depose one bad regime with another one without really leading to regimes that government better and improve the general social economic welfare of the citizenry. The best explanation as to why this has been the case is because many of these mobilizations have not been centered on real governance issues but rather around individuals where many citizens feel that a certain leader is the problem. They fail to look at regimes and governance infrastructures as independent from each other. The notion and imagination that transition to liberal democracy would ultimately translate into good governance has been a false imagination that has consistently played a trick on the online collective actions. Transition to liberal democracy is the first step but it

must be followed by a proper, precise and clinical surgery of the governance infrastructure and thorough audit of the bureaucratic cultures.

4.5 Social Media Landscape in Kenya

Kenya is has been considered as the silicon valley of the eastern and central Africa when it comes to technological advancement. Kenya has been one of the first countries in Africa to adapt digital economy through the use of its home grown money transfer technology. It has been among the first countries to adopt a technological electoral process through its real-time voter identification and transmission systems. The internet technology and social media penetration has grown to presented level in the last one decade. Data available show that Kenya recorded over 23 Million internet users and over 9 million social media users translating to 17% of Kenya's total population⁸⁸. Kenya has the third highest users of social media after Egypt and South Africa and the general expectation has been that at one point Kenya will have a strong social media community that can drive an agenda that will advance good governance in the country. The paradox of digitization of politics that with social media a society is expected to be more democratic and well governed, however, in Kenya even with high tech digitization process the country still remains under bad governance. Surprisingly enough some countries that are not as digitized as Kenya they seem to be doing better in terms of governance.

According to Belva digital, out of a possible population of 7.75 Billion people phone population connectivity was recorder at (7.95billion) 103% of the total population. Out of the 7.95 billion mobile connectivity rate at least 4.54 billion can access internet. Out of the 4.5 Billion people who could access internet at least 3.8 billion are social media

⁸⁸ 2020. [online] Available at:<<https://www.businessdailyafrica.com/bd/lifestyle/society/why-social-media-freedom-matters-2255334>> [Accessed 6 November 2020].

users. Kenya has contributed significantly to these numbers with a mobile connectivity rate of 98% of the total population and with almost a half (23 million) of the population connected to the internet and close to 9 million social media active users. As of March 2020, Facebook was the most used social networking platform with a total of 8.9 million users, LinkedIn follows in with a total number of users of over 2.5 Million, followed by Instagram and messenger recording 1.6 million and 1.5 million users respectively. Social media usage in Kenya seems to be skewed towards the male population recording over 57% of total social media users while women record only 43%⁸⁹.

According to a study done by the United States International University (Kenya), WhatsApp and Facebook are the most used social media platforms in Kenya with 88.5% and 88.6% usage. These two platforms were also recorded as the leading in political conversations especially in the remote areas. Twitter is the most vibrant social media platform in urban areas in hosting political conversations with many of its users being the most affluent young members of the urban society. According to the same study, 66% of Kenyans have participated in an online collective action on governance issues on different social media platforms. Kenyans aged between 21-35 years spent at least 3 hours of their day on social media⁹⁰.

4.5.1 Social Media as a Leveler in Kenya

Social media is increasingly considered as a tool of leveling all people regardless of their status, social class, profession or education. On social media, it doesn't matter who you are or where you come from, one can make a comment that will have an impact in

⁸⁹ Statista. 2020. *Topic: Social Media*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.statista.com/topics/1164/social-networks>> [Accessed 6 November 2020].

⁹⁰ SIMELAB 2019

America from a small countryside town on remote areas in Kenya. When protests against the murder of George Floyd by the police in Minnesota, A Kenyan from Nyeri using Username: Ndirangu twitted that the Americans should go and burn the Whitehouse for their grievances to heard. When Ndirangu twitted that he hope that his tweet will go unnoticed. To his surprise the tweet got so much attention and reactions from all around the world including some senior government officials from the United States. While Ndirangu might have been concerned by the racism status in America and other places in the world, when asked he said his was just a joke that he didn't mean and he didn't expect would get that Kind of attention. To this end social media does not discriminate, it can only Amplify a situation for better by getting people to rally for a certain collective action or to worse by creating more divisions, hatred and polarization.

Kenya harbors one of the most dynamic and vibrant on communities in the African continent after Nigeria and South Africa and it has also been ranked as among the best in the world. The respect that Kenyan community online demands from other online communities didn't come easy. It has been one of the many efforts that many Africans are taking to reconstruct the global narrative of what Africa is. Just like many African countries Kenya has had to put a lot of efforts to protect its brand and global image which global media is always ready to disdain it and make Kenya and Africa appear like the worst place. Twice in the last five years the Kenyan government has had to rely on its social media user to defend her name when global media house are busy trying to damage it. One of those incidences was a comment that made by the CNN in 2015 during presidents Barack Obama's state visit. The CNN covered the preparations of the Visit and while referring to Kenya Wrote that President Obama was visiting a hot bed of terrorism due to some terror attacks that had hit the country consistently in

2013 and 2014. Unhappy Kenyans took it social media demanding that CNN apologizes to Kenya for using such phrase to refer to their country. The pressure that spilled from the social media platforms led to Brandkenya to suspend all its advertisements CNN forcing the Deputy President of the News network to apologize to the Kenyan President.

The second incidence of Kenyans trying to reconstruct the narrative was witnessed again during the Dusit D2 hotel terror attack in 2018. When the attack happened and with numerous pleading from the government and the public to not broadcast dilapidated images of victims of the terror attack, the New York Times covered the story and published dilapidated images of the victims. The publication got a very serious reaction from Kenya demanding that the New York Times east African editor apologizes to Kenyans and pull down the image. The uproar from the Kenyan online community got the editor to apologize for publishing those kind of images on global media and for being insensitive to the family of the bereaved and the Kenyan community which at the time was still trying to rescue other Kenyans from the hotel under attack.

For many years the global mainstream media has been in the forefront broadcasting and reporting untrue events in Africa and covering the continent in a bad image. Due to the power the owners of these global media hold and with their governments support these media corporations have become very notorious in giving misleading narratives about Africa and making the continent to appear like nothing good ever exists or will ever come from there. With the Kenyan online community Africans have realized that they have the ability and power to participate in global conversations and be able to define their continent in the right way and manner. Before social media such narratives like the ones covered by the CNN and the New York Times would have been reconstructed

because some of these corporations are wealthier than some countries and are also backed by their governments some of which are also powerful. Therefore, social media has been able to level the playing ground for all individuals and nations. It has also liberalized the information industry by ensuring that no one has monopoly over information.

4.5.2 The use of Social Media in Kenya in political processes

Internet is believed to have got into Kenya mid 1990s but the use of internet based platforms can be traced in the early years of the 21st century. At the beginning social media platforms did not have a lot of trust from the public probably because it was a new phenomenon. However, with new platforms coming up and expanding their user bases like Facebook which originally started as a university students platform before opening to the public started gaining traction with Kenya recording the highest growth rate in the usage of these platforms(10.9%) after South Africa (14.5%)⁹¹. The first incidence of the use of social media in Kenya was during the 2007/2008 post-election violence where different platforms were used to spread hatred and division. As a result, the years that followed social media was majorly associated with the negatives in political communication⁹². Nonetheless, due to lack of media ethics, professionalism and government involvement in controlling and intimidating journalist, social media has become the only way to access timely information and where there are no restrictions.

The rapid growth in the usage of social media in Kenya, has also been pinned on the narrative that access to information and ability to express oneself freely democratic and can translate into good governance. In retrospect the idea of liberal democracy is rooted

⁹¹ Ibid

⁹² Ibid

on the argument that it is supposed to bring people together and give them that sense of belonging. It follows that there is a sense of peace that comes from togetherness and people feeling as if they belong, this gives the idea of a community. A community where it exists whether real or imaginary it has an obligation to its member's in terms of ensuring their rights and privileges are protected. Similarly the individual members of the society have certain obligations and duty to society and it's underlined by the need to grow and nature a progressive society. Social media has been able to give its users that sense of belonging and a collective bargain to be able to demand for their rights and dividend from the government.⁹³ It has enable people to create networks with people around certain interest areas for the ease of accessing timely and credible information.

The realization of the importance of social in political process from the events of 2007/2008 post-election violence, with social media being used both ways to spread hate and incite violence and in counter-messaging to spread message of peace in the same time; it has become the most important communication tool for government agencies, non-governmental organizations, corporations and politicians. The 2013 Kenya's general elections was one of the first experiences of using social media as a communication tool for political campaigns. The jubilee coalition which formed government at the time rode on the narrative of digitization which wiped a lot of emotions and mobilized the young people to vote for them. The CORD coalition which lost, due to their little activity online was regarded as an analogue brigade, that was old and had no ideas to offer Kenyans. Ever since social media has been used by Kenyan politicians to reach big audience in different areas and mobilize at a very low cost.

⁹³ Allcott H, Gentzkow M. Social Media and Fake News in the 2016 Election. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. 2017;31(2):211–236.

During the 2013 elections when the tensions were very high social media played a critical role in calming down the tension, with influencers preaching peace and co-existence on the platforms.

Consequently, the 2017 elections, farther stamped the important role that social media has played in the political campaigns and the same time how it as an important tools to highlight issues of violence and broadcast peace messages during very polarizing elections. After the elections in 2017, Kenya experienced some pockets of violence with baby Pendo losing her life due to police brutality. Pendo was hit by stray bullet from the police who were trying to suppress protests from the opposition supporters who were not happy with the 2017 general election results. After the incidence Kenyans on Twitter despite their political alignments, they all came together to demand justice for baby Pendo under the #justiceforbabypendo. The other incidence was also denoted by the return of the former prime minister into the country where thousands of his supporters showed up at the airport to welcome him and with police trying to disperse the supporters causing a running battle between the police and the supporters. In this incident the social media was used to demand the police not to use excessive force on the civilian and also calling on the protestors to desist from acts of violence.⁹⁴

4.5.3 The Impact of Social Media on Governance in Kenya

With a big percentage of Kenyans having accessibility to internet, social media has become a common feature in many Kenyans lives. While many use social media for different purposes, there are those that have used social media to advance good governance in Kenya. In the process of online mobilization for collective action to advance good governance in Kenya, there are mobilizations that have yielded some

⁹⁴ Jamieson KH, Cappella JN. Echo chamber: Rush Limbaugh and the conservative media establishment. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 2008.

fruits, while others have been romanticized and trivialized and ended up being a big failure. Some of the social media collective actions that have been successful have made the government more effective and responsive to the needs of the citizenry. Some of these conversations have been very difficult but as the debates go on with many people being very critical of the government at some point the government and the governed have been able to find a common ground and in the end improved the state of governance in the country.

4.5.4 Social Media and Crisis Emergency Response in Kenya

With the eminent threat posed by the Alshabab militia group in Somalia, that has consistently carried several attacks in Kenya from the north Eastern part of the country to the coastal region and to the capital city, Kenya has had to struggle with her security responsiveness to these attacks. On 21st September 2013 armed gunmen put the Westgate mall under siege for 4 continuous days. During the siege period approximately 69 Kenyans lost their lives while 175 Kenyans' were left wounded. Through twitter Alshabab Militia group took responsibility of the attack confirming that the attack was not a robbery attack as had been communicated by the government earlier.⁹⁵ The attack exposed the soft underbelly of the Kenya national security response and the general weakness of the command control and communication in the security forces. There were a lot of conflicting information shared by different government and security agencies that later culminated into an open difference between the National police services and the Kenya defense forces on whose mandate should it be to for the hostage rescue. In this attack twitter was the most used social media platform for the update of the events from the scene well as a platform of exchange of

⁹⁵ Asur, S., Huberman, A. B., Szabo, G., & Wang, C. (2011). Trends in Social Media: Persistence and Decay. Proceedings of the Fifth International AAAI Conference on Weblogs and Social Media, 434-437

information between the public and the government of the relatives who had gone to the mall for shopping and had not been traced.

Kenyans on twitter became very critical on the management of the security crisis at the Westgate mall attack. One of critical questions raise was the role of the Kenya Defense Force in the rescue mission owing to the fact that the issue fell squarely within the Kenyan territories and to as such the issue was within the national police jurisdiction. The questionability of the KDF in the crisis make more critical especially after it emerged that they participated in looting from the mall while pretending they were on a rescue mission. The other critical question that Kenyans on twitter raised was the speed at which the security operators took to respond to the emergency and the time it took to accomplish the mission. The online debate that ensued as a result of the attack and the issues raised by the general public send the government agencies back to think of better ways of handling emergency crisis. One of the key steps was to ensure that all government agencies had active social media accounts that they could communicate to the public in case of such kind of crisis. The other issue was to work on the preparedness of such crisis and the efficient and effective ways of responding to such crisis.⁹⁶

For the case of the Westgate attack, the Kenyan Public used the social media platforms for producing information on the event of the attack and rescue mission, to share and consolidate information, to express emotional and social support to families and the victims of the attack as well as responders affected by the attack. Others raised concerns about privacy and security issues regarding the use of social media, others used it to offer volunteership, while the majority used social media to criticize the government

⁹⁶ Taylor, M., Wells, G., Howell, G., & Raphael, B. (2012). The role of social media as psychological first aid as a support to community resilience building.. *The Australian Journal of Emergency Management*, 29(1), 20-26.

and its security services. The government used social media to request for information from the public through crowdsourcing, to solicit support from the Kenyan public, to provide updates on the events of the attack. Both the government and the public used their social media to create awareness on the emergency. The terrorists on the other hand used social media to take responsibility for the attack and to create more fear to the Kenyan population. The social media engagements during the Westgate terrorist attack made the Kenyan government appreciate the importance of these platforms in their role in sharing and exchanging information but more importantly it made the government take deliberate steps to respond better in this kind of emergency crisis⁹⁷.

The subsequent terror attacks that followed in the University of Garisa, an approximate number of 147 university students were killed in the terror attack. This was recorded as the most devastating attack after the 1998 attack on the American embassy in Nairobi. Kenyans woke to the news of the attack and they were more devastated by the slow response of the government security agencies that led to the death of 147 students. However, in this case the response was well coordinated and well executed and it took a very short period for the Kenyan Elite forces to neutralize the threat. On this incidence Kenyans were more concerned with the viability of the presence of Kenyan forces in Somali who cannot protect their borders. The opposition coalition and many Kenyans took it to social media to put pressure on the government to withdraw the Kenyan forces from Somali in order to broker a ceasefire with the terrorist. The Garisa attack social media events were far reaching with Students in different countries putting doing memorials in honor of the deceased Kenyan Students. Major mobilizations were

⁹⁷ <https://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0104136>

done around the #147not justanumber which encouraged Kenyans to share videos and photos of their deceased friends and family members for their memorial⁹⁸.

As a result of the compounded activism of Kenyan citizens using social media to push government to respond quickly and effectively in times of crisis major improvements were witnessed in the 2019 Dusit D2 terror attack. The response by the security forces was very quick with support from civilians on the ground and in different parts of the country. Kenyans used social media to communicate with family members and trapped in the complex under attack to update on the movements of the terrorist who in turn shared this information with the security forces for effective response. The trapped Kenyans were also being informed of places to hide in order to buy time for the security forces to be able to manage the situation. People trapped in the complex were informed through the use of social media to periodically turn off their mobile phones to save charge, not to disclose their phone locations by turning off their GPS and to put their phones on silent. The victims, their families, security authorities and Red Cross medics used WhatsApp chats to communicate and ensure a quick rescue. Kenyans having learned from their previous experiences with terror attacks, they exercised a great restraint from sharing the videos and photos of the affected because it was insensitive to the families and it was also aiding the terrorists more. In turn they broadcasted the dilapidated images of the killed terrorists⁹⁹. Through the use of social media Kenya has revolutionized its preparedness and response to terror attacks.

⁹⁸ 2020. [online] Available at:

<<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/07/23/kenyans-ridicule-cnn-report-calling-their-country-a-terror-hotbed/>> [Accessed 6 November 2020].

⁹⁹ <https://www.themantle.com/international-affairs/can-social-media-help-kenyas-fight-against-terrorism>

4.5.5 The Impact of Social Media in Fighting Corruption in Kenya

As noted in the previous chapters, Kenya like many African countries still continue to struggle with the challenge of graft and corruption. The challenge of public looting has weakened the economy, increased the inflation levels, increased poverty levels, underdevelopment and increased unemployment level. Since independence issues of corruption have been matter of national and public debate, with the last 10 years corruption cases looking as if they are on the rise. This has brought about the debate of whether Kenya has become more corrupt in the last decade than it was the last century. This paper argues that corruption generally is not as rampant as it was in the 20th century, however due to proliferation of information corruption information has become public. This has been made possible by the COK 2010 which gives express right for the citizens to access public information from government departments and agencies. Most importantly the corruption cases have become more known due to the use of social media.

Kenyans have used social media to put pressure on the government to fight corruption in all its departments and agencies. Between 2013 and 2017 the jubilee government was not very keen in fighting corruption with its senior officials being implicated in the major corruption scandals such as the NYS scandals where close to a billion Kenyan shillings was lost. Through Kenyans on twitter the cabinet secretary at the time Ms Ann Mumbi Kamatho and the Principle Secretary Mangiti had to resign due to public pressure from online mobilization. At the same time other Cabinet secretaries such as Charity Ngilu for Lands, Housing and Urban Development, Kipchirchir Cabinet secretary for Energy and Micheal Kamau Cabinet secretary for transport at the time were fired by President Kenyatta for corruption allegations. Surprisingly enough even

after allegations of corruption in various ministries, Ann Mumbi and Charity Ngilu were elected as the first women county governors in 2017.

In the second term of the Jubilee government and more after the Handshake between President Kenyatta and opposition leader Raila Odinga, Kenyans have started seeing arrest of key political figures involved in corruption. Some of the key figures arraigned in court for corruption allegations include the former Nairobi governor Dr Evan Kidero, former Kiambu County governor Ferdinand Waititu, governor Obado of Migori county, Hon Waluke a sitting member of parliament, Henry Rotich former cabinet secretary for Treasury, current Nairobi governor Mike Mbuvi, current Muranga county governor Mwangi Wairia, current governor of Tharaka Nithi county Mothomi Njuki, Garisa county governor Ali Korane, former cabinet secretary for Agriculture Mwangi Kiunjuri among others. The Kenyan community on different social media platforms have played a critical role in pushing the government to act on these officials who have been implicated in corruption with some online collective actions leading to impeachment of the Former Kiambu governor Waititu, firing of Cabinet secretaries Mwangi Kiunjuri and Henry Rotich.

Social media has also been used to fight corruption in police departments with Kenyans encouraging each other not to pay bribes or take photos and share on different platforms of police officers soliciting for bribes to shame them and have them prosecuted. This has significantly reduced bribery and corruption in the police department although there is much to be done in order to eradicate corruption fully in those departments. Social media was also used in taking back the Langata primary school playing ground which had been grabbed by some government officials to build a parking lot for the Weston hotel along Langata road. It was also used to highlight the Ruaka land scandal that led

to the firing of the former lands commissioner Swanzuri. Kenyans using different social media platforms have also been at the forefront in demanding for quick investigation and conviction of COVID-19 Billionaires who stole from the public moneys meant for fighting the Pandemic. It is important to note that these corruption cases have only led to one conviction of Hon Waluke while others dragging in the courts. There has been a tuff between the Executive and the Judiciary with the Judiciary accusing the executive of not providing substantial evidence that would lead to conviction and underfunding. The executive on the other hand has been blaming the judiciary sluggishness in the corruption trials. Both sides have been sponsoring different hashtags and paid bloggers to blame the other.

4.5.6 The Impact of Social Media on Human Rights in Kenya

The ability to express oneself freely and ability to access information are rights that are ingrained in the COK 2010 and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948 (UDHR). Social media allows and give space to citizenry to freely express themselves and be able to share that within ones networks and contacts. It is through these expressions and sharing ideas that lead to a constructive debate on issues ailing the society and avenues advancing good governance. Over the years, due to the threat caused by use of social media governments across Africa have been curtailing the right of expression through these social media platforms but shutting down internet and blocking the use of social media platforms. Others resulted to detention of bloggers who seem critical to regimes. Kenya has never shut down internet even one there are extreme tensions in the country, however in different occasions they have detained journalists and bloggers. In those occasions, Kenyans have stood in solidarity with the bloggers and defendant their rights to express themselves. The most arrested bloggers

being Cyprian Nyakundi and Robert Alai, who on different occasions have been critical to Uhuru Kenyatta regime.

Kenyans have also used social media to fight against extrajudicial killings and police brutality. The Kenyan police forces is regarded as one of the discipline and the professional internationally. However, internally some officers have engaged in extrajudicial killings of lawyers and sometimes used by powerful individuals to eliminate decedents. Kenyans on different social media platforms have come together to demand for action against police brutality and excessive use of force. One of the most recent occurrences was a video of a police officer in Eastlight town in Nairobi stepping an armed civilian and shooting him¹⁰⁰. Between 27th march 2020 and 15th April 2020 at least 6 people died as a result of use of excessive force on civilian by police as they try to enforce the dusk to dawn curfews to curb the spread of the Corona Virus¹⁰¹. Kenyans took it on social media to call an end to police brutality forcing President Kenyatta to apologize to the public and called to end to excessive use of force on civilians.

The Kenyan online community has also played an important role in protesting against key government appointments give to wrong people. Kenyans protested the appointment of 91 years old former Vice president of Kenya to the board of sports fund. Kenyans online were questioning his ability to deliver based on his old age, while demanding for appointment of younger person who is capable and deserves it. Similarly the appointment of Mary Wambui a former member of parliament as the chairperson

¹⁰⁰ 2020. [online] Available at: <<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-45472469>> [Accessed 6 November 2020].

¹⁰¹ Human Rights Watch. 2020. Kenya: Police Brutality During Curfew. [online] Available at: <<https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/04/22/kenya-police-brutality-during-curfew>> [Accessed 6 November 2020].

of the National employment Authority caused an online outrage with Kenyans online calling for the revocation of her appointment and her replacement with a youthful person who understood the needs of the youths who make up the biggest percentage of unemployment. As a result of the outrage president Kenyatta was compelled to revoke the appointment of Mary Wambui and replaced her with Wambui Nyutu¹⁰².

Social media has also being used in advancing gender equity and equality with Kenyans on different platforms reacting the advisory opinion of the Chief Justice David Maranga to President Kenyatta, advising him to dissolve parliament because since the 2017 elections the current parliament has not been able come up with legislations that ensure that no gender in more than 2/3 in the government. Kenyans have been divided over the advisory opinion with some disagreeing with the advisory while others have been pushing for the dissolution of parliament with the chairman of the Law society of Kenya carrying out occupying parliament protests that only attracted 18 protestors. Kenyans have also sued social media to fight female genital mutilation in areas like Pokot and Turkana County.

4.6 Social Media Landscape in Mauritius

Mauritius is one on of biggest economies per capital in Africa despite her small geographical and population size recording 152% in phone technology penetration in 2018. 70% of Mauritians, are connected to smart phone technologies that can access internet based applications such as social media platforms. Mauritius is also among the few countries that has excellent internet connectivity infrastructure with a direct connection to the submarine optical fiber that links the Island to Europe and Asia

¹⁰² Ogila, J., 2020. Ex-MP Mary Wambui'S Appointment Elicits Sharp Reactions From Kenyans. [online] The Standard. Available at: <<https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/nairobi/article/2001345585/kenyans-mock-ex-mp-mary-wambuis-appointment>> [Accessed 6 November 2020].

through South Africa. There has been a significant partnerships between the local stakeholders majorly the public and the private sector in investing in internet connectivity with Telecom foundation setting up over 350 Wi-Fi spots in Mauritius to power Wi-Fi Mauritius. As a result in 2018 Mauritius recorded 101% internet penetration in the country and it is projected to grow at the same rate years on¹⁰³.

With the high levels of mobile phone technology and internet penetration, social media platforms have experienced and exponential growth with over 860, 000 Mauritians using different social media platforms for various reasons. Facebook is the most dominant social media platform in Mauritius with over 790,000 users in 2017 but declined in the number of its users to 765,000 in 2018. Women represent the highest percentile in the usage of Facebook with a 46% compared to men with 45% in 2018. Mauritius Research Council ranked Facebook as the most used channel promotional channel by SMEs with a 68%. Whatsapp which is a dark social media has been ranked as the second most used promotional channel with 53% of active users in the country after Facebook. YouTube is the second most used social networking platform in Mauritius with its users using it primarily to search for music and movies. LinkedIn is the most used professional social media platform with majority of its users being local professionals who spent an average of 6 minutes plus on the site on daily basis. Instagram has experienced a significant growth in Mauritius from 2017 recording 220,000 monthly active users to 250,000 monthly active users in 2019.

4.6.1 Use of Social Media in Political Process in Mauritius

Despite high internet connectivity in Mauritius, use of social media to promote good governance in the country has being very marginal with the 2014 general elections

¹⁰³ Ibid

being the first election campaign. Before 2014 none of the major political parties nor the key politicians had a social media account. This can be attributed to the advanced ages of the key politicians and political party leaders. However, cognizant of the increased importance of social media in political process across the globe, from 2014 there has been a significant increase of politicians and political parties online. The other reason as to why social media use in political process has been slow in Mauritius has to do with the trust that the mainstream media has established with the public. Mainstream media and more specifically the print and written media has been very critical in advancing emancipatory narrative for the people of Mauritians. For instance, Le Cerneen newspaper has a long standing history of safeguarding the interest of Franco-Mauritian elites and their allies. Similarly, the Hindu8 and other oriental language newspapers have been instrumental in the advocacy among the indo-Mauritians¹⁰⁴. Mauritius has consistently scored very high in media freedom reporting very zero assassinations of journalists and very minimal detentions and intimidations.

The increase in state control and abuse of the National Broadcaster (MBC) by the incumbent has made the social media the alternative channel for accessing reliable information by the Mauritians. According to the EISA election observation report 2010 and the AU election observation report 2014, the MBC has been biased throughout the campaign period and favoring the incumbent. Following the 2014 general elections and potency of social media, the two main party coalitions and small parties all created social media accounts in 2014. This was done majorly in Facebook and YouTube, platforms that majority of Mauritians use. As a result of abuse of mainstream media by the incumbent, social media predominantly was used by opposition party (ALLIANCE

¹⁰⁴ Ibid

LEPEP) and small parties for political communications. For smaller parties, social media is cheap and easily accessible for use and can reach big audiences.

Mauritius have used social media, pressure the government to tackle issues of the independence of judiciary and corruption that ail the judicial system. They have also put the government to task on key issues of graft leading to resignation of the former president and key government officials. Corruption in the police department has been a key challenge to the governance infrastructure of the island state, however with social media and other online platforms has made it easy for Mauritians to call out and shame perpetrators of corruption. Mauritius now has established online corruption reporting mechanisms for the public to fight rampant corruption. Mauritians have also used social media to fight big money in political campaigns and called for regulation.

4.6.2 Similarities and Difference in the use of Social Media in Kenya and Mauritius

The two countries have experienced a significant growth in the penetration of internet and use of social media. However in terms of advancing good governance Kenya seems to be having some real impact in some policy issues. Mauritius on the other hand, social media use for political debates predominantly remains a preserve of political parties who use them as a marketing strategy for their main political candidates. This seems to be the case because as noted earlier many users of social media in Mauritius predominantly use those platforms to entertainment, business and some time to access information. There's also a huge population in Mauritius that has very little information of political processes and governance issues hence incapacitating them and alienating them from effective participation in governance of the country.

Kenya on the other hand seems to have use experienced some positive impact in using social media platforms to advance good governance in the country. There are some

online collective actions have resulted to a total failure, while some of bore some fruits. The success experienced has been associated with high levels of information and interest by Kenyans in wanting to be part of and have a voice on how they are governed. The good achievements that Kenya has experienced in online mobilization has been important in highlighting the potency of social media as tool that can be used to advance good governance in Africa. The failures experienced by Kenya in online collective actions has majorly been associated with the wave of fake news where people are bombarded with confusing information and are unable to decide what is right or wrong. The other challenge that can be associated with the failures in online collective action is trivialization of key debates and making them mere joke. Unlike in Mauritius where they have been able to tame negative ethnicity, Kenyans ethnic divide has also played out in online collective actions especially when corrupt officials align themselves with tribes as a line of offense.

4.7 Summary and Conclusions

From the cases noted above, social media platforms has a lot of potential in advancing good governance in Kenya and Mauritius and can also act otherwise and be used to polarize a society hence making it ungovernable as in the 2007/2008 PEV. In Kenya it has had tremendous impacts in advancing good governance and if utilized in large scale it has the potential of giving Kenya and Mauritius well governed. It must be noted that it will also require a lot of legislation that will ensure regulations on the usage of social media to eradicate spewing of hate and violence. Although Mauritius seems to be doing better in governance than Kenya proper utilization of social media can lead to greater transparency and accountability from public officials to help in fighting corruption. In Mauritius there is great need to for more civic education to captivate interest among Mauritian to participate in political processes.

Kenya seems to harbour a lot potential for online collective action but for it to work effectively there must be some deliberate efforts taken to ensure that there are sound policy regulations to prevent abuse of social media. The Kenyan online community must also ensure that they don't fall back into their ethnic alignments especially when there are serious debate issues.

This chapter is inline with objective three of the study and it sought to do an analysis of the role and impact of social media on governance of Kenya and Mauritius. The chapter invalidates that third hypothesis of this study on grounds that the use of social media in Kenya has had both positive and negative impact on governance, while in Mauritius from the data available shows that social media has not translated into real impact on governance. This has been attributed to a lot of trust and reliance on the mainstream media by Mauritians.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will analyze and present the data collected from the field to answer key questions raised in this paper. The data was collected from Kenya and Mauritius. Out of 70 questionnaires sent to the field 77% were answered correctly and submitted back as shown in figure 5.1.

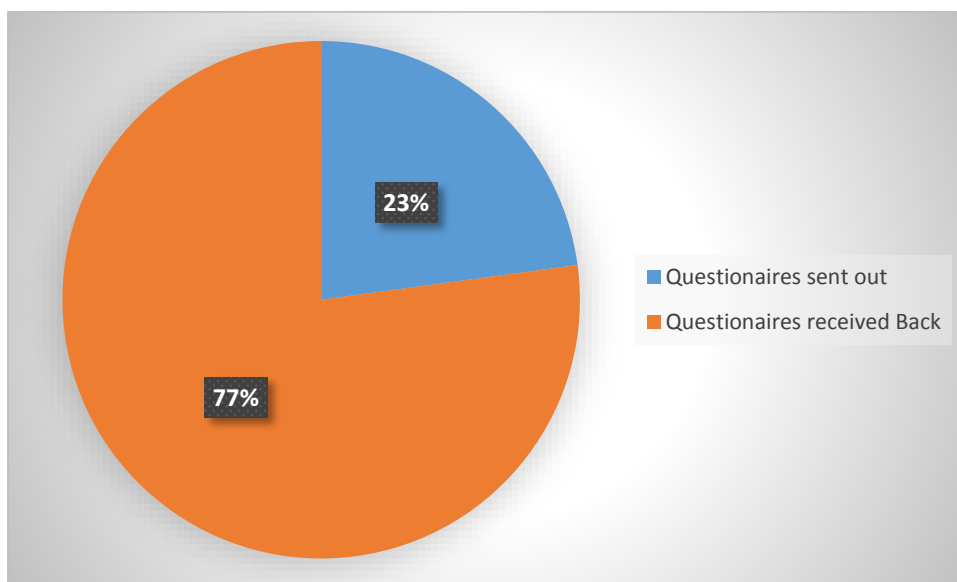


Figure 5.1.2: Data Collected from Kenya and Mauritius

Out of 54 responses received 41% were Mauritians while 59% were Kenyans as Presented in Figure 5.1.2

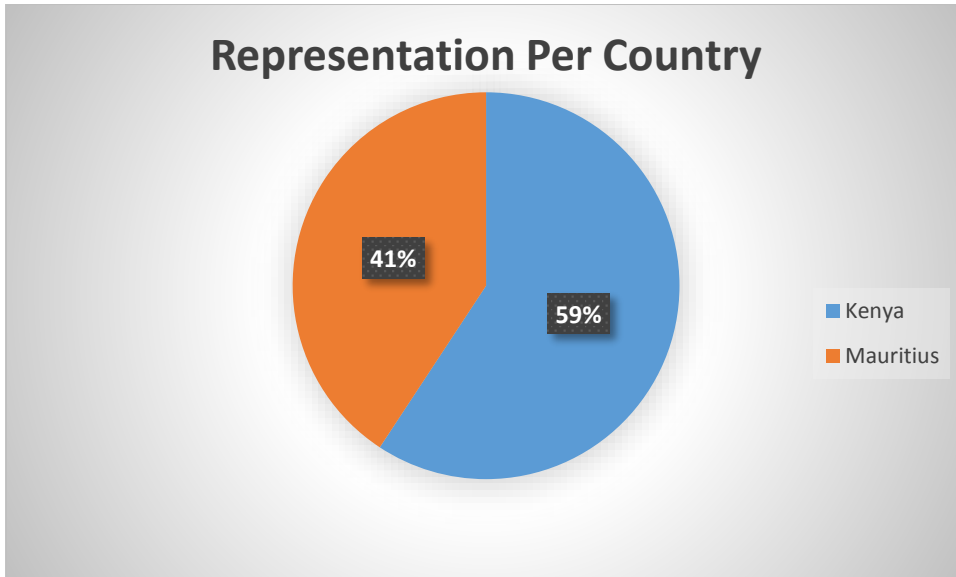


Figure 5.1.2: Responses Received from Kenya and Mauritius

In terms of gender presentation, 58% were male while 42% were female from both Kenya and Mauritius as presented in Figure 5.1.3

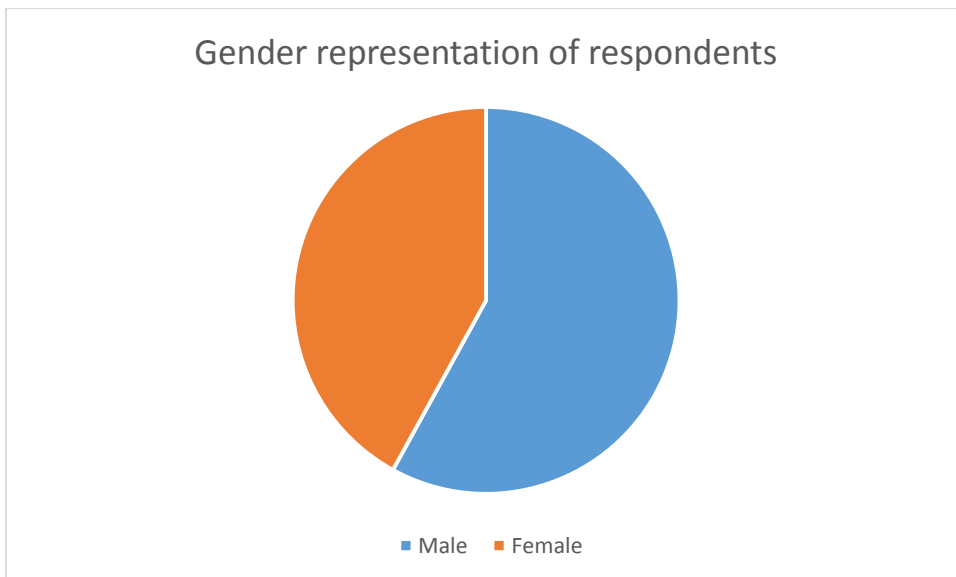


Figure 5.1.3: Gender Presentation of Respondents

As noted in previous chapter majority of the Social media users are youths that is between the age of 21 to 35 years. 85% of the respondents were between the ages of 21

to 30 years, while 15% were over 30 years of age from both Kenya and Mauritius. This is presented in Figure 5.1.4

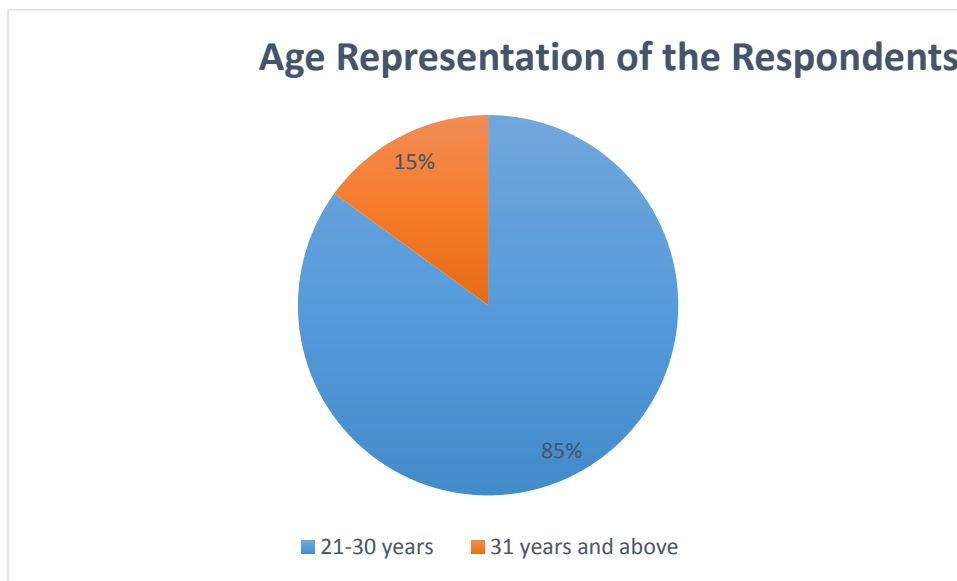


Figure 5.1.4: Age Representation of the Respondents

This study also factored in different levels of education of the respondents. 73% (n=54) of the respondents had a at least a first degree, 23%(n=54) of the respondents had a Master's degree, while 4%(n=54) had High school certificates. See figure 5.1.5

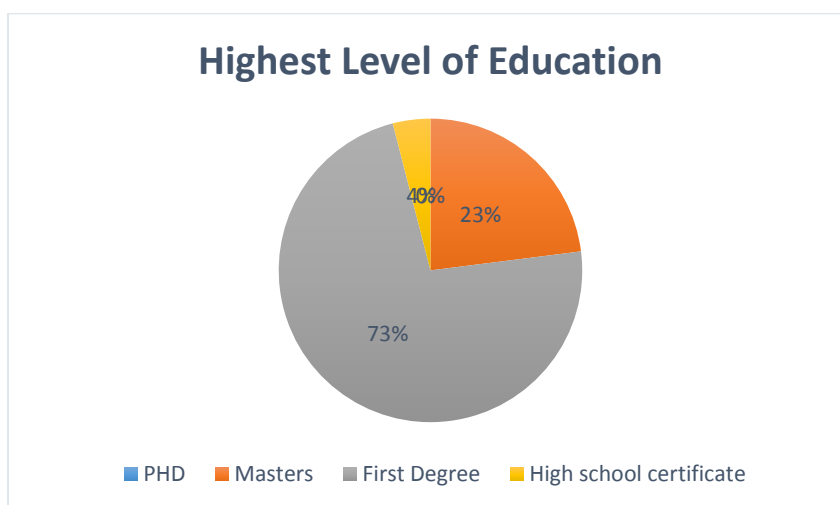


Figure 5.1.5: Highest Level of Education

5.2 Results and Data Analysis

5.2.1 The Challenge of Attaining Good Governance in Africa

The respondents were asked to share their opinion on the challenges that they think have made it hard for African countries to attain good governance. As shown in figure 5.2.1, 28% of the respondent feel that corruption has been the biggest challenge that has negatively affected the attainment of good governance in Africa. 19% of the respondents think Poor leadership has affected the process of attaining good governance in Africa, 15% think lack of constitutionalism and rule of law has been a challenge to the attainment of good governance in Africa while 13% submit that weak and insubordinate institutions such as the legislature and judiciary has played a part in making Africa not achieve good governance. 12% of the respondents attributed the challenge of attaining good governance to negative ethnicity, 7% of blamed colonial legacies, 4% have cited nepotism as the challenge while 2% have think lack of civil education and illiterate population has been a challenge to the attainment of good governance in Africa. See Figure 5.2.1

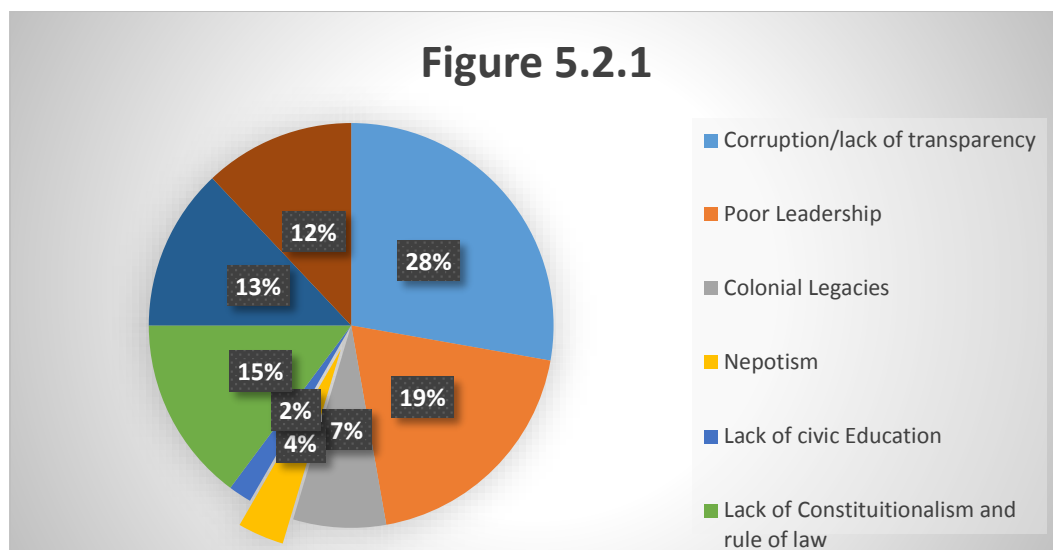


Figure 5.2.1: Challenge to the Attainment of Good Governance in Africa

The respondents were also asked the question of whether transition to liberal democracy has translated into good governance in Africa. 52% of the respondents do not believe that transition to liberal democracy and its application has translated into good governance and a happy life, 35% of the respondents feel that somehow, transition to liberal democracy has had a positive impact in advancing good governance in Africa, while 13% remain not sure of the impact of the transition to liberal democracy in Africa on governance. Those who said the transition to liberal democracy in Africa has not translated to good governance cite that liberal democracy is a foreign and colonial ideology that seek to retain the control of the African state in the hands of the colonial masters. Others argue that as a result of liberal democracy African states have become more polarized and underdeveloped. Those who argued for liberal democracy cited the expanded spaces for participation, holding of regular elections and respect for basic rights and freedoms in some countries.

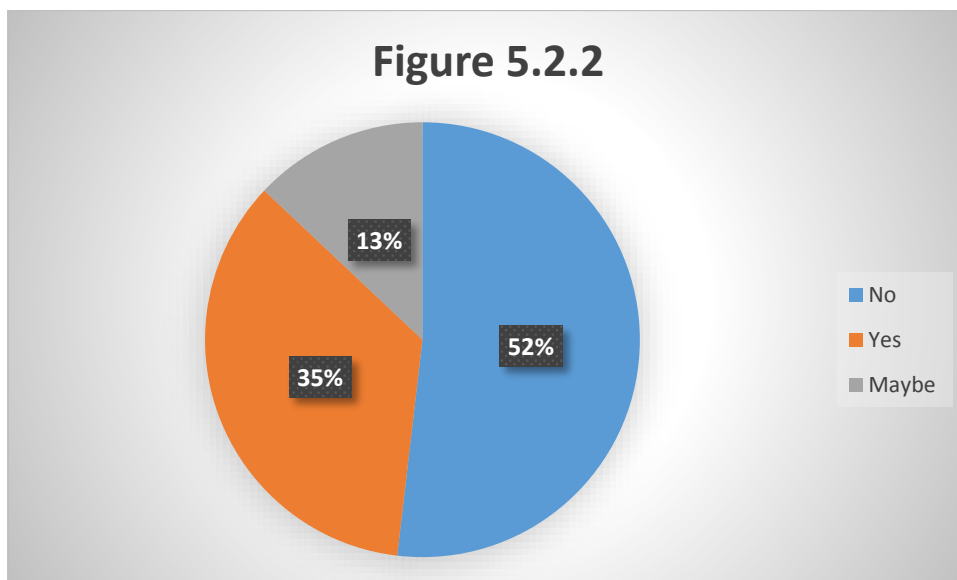


Figure 5.2.2: Whether Transition to Liberal Democracy has Translated into Good Governance in Africa

5.3 Factors Inhibiting Attainment of Good Governance in Kenya and Mauritius

Within the second objective of the study, the respondents were asked the question of what factors they feel were inhibiting attainment of good governance in Kenya and Mauritius. For Kenya 34 % (n=32) identified corruption as the key inhibitor to the attainment of good governance in Kenya, 25% of the Kenyan respondents attributed the challenge of attaining good governance in Kenya to poor leadership, 19% of the Kenyan respondents associated this challenge with weak institutions, while 12% consider negative ethnicity as the problem and 10% think poor implementation of COK 2010 as the factor hindering attainment of good governance in Kenya.

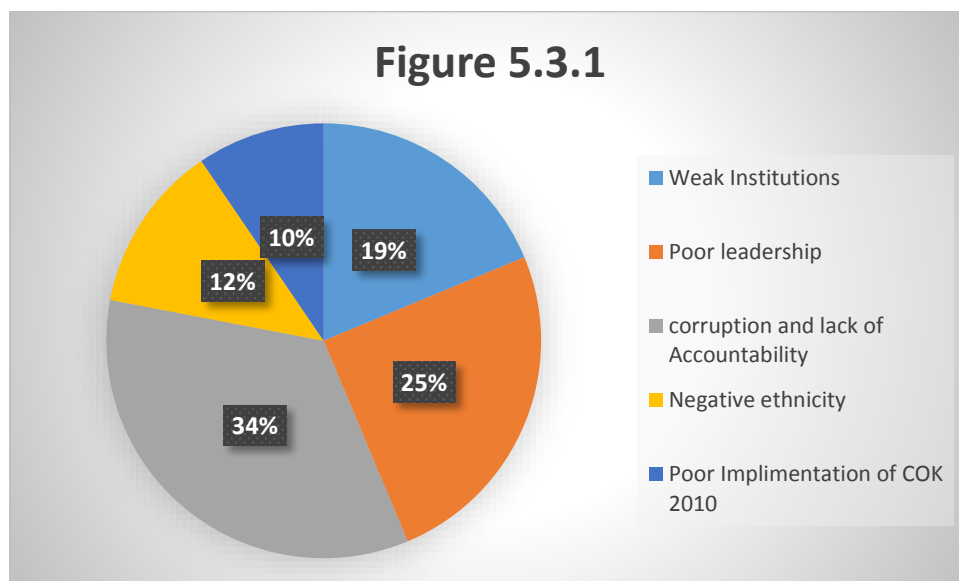


Figure 5.3.1: Factors Inhibiting Attainment of Good Governance in Kenya and Mauritius

Mauritians on the other hand, identified corruption and money laundering, Nepotism and politics of patronage as well as lack of new leadership as the key factors hindering the attainment of good governance in their country. 41 % (n=22) consider corruption and money laundering as the problem, 36 % (n=22) of the respondents identified

nepotism and politics of patronage as challenge, while 23 % (n=22) feel the country has not had any new and fresh leadership for decades. See figure 5.3.2

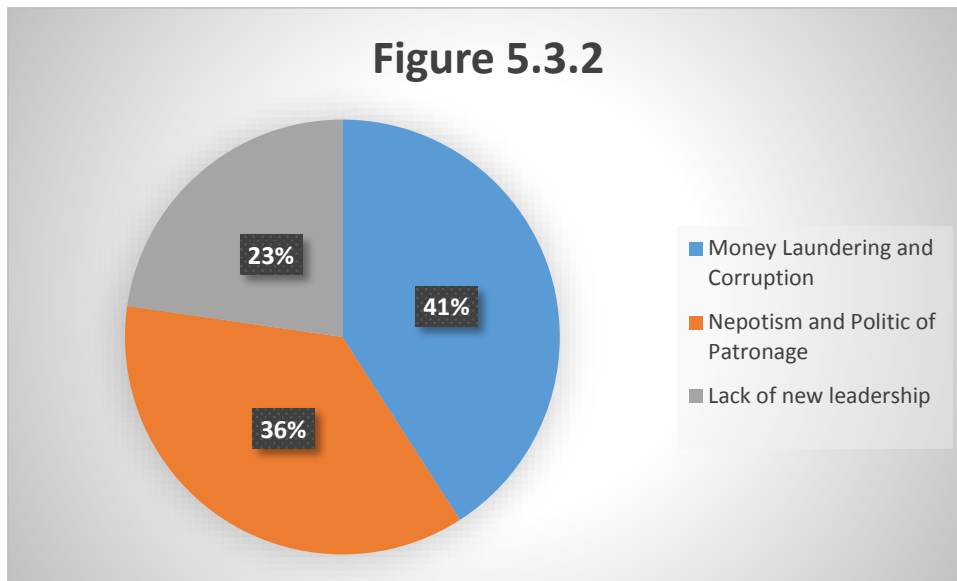


Figure 5.3.2: Key Factors Hindering the Attainment of Good Governance in Mauritius

In order to appreciate the key milestones achieved by the two countries in their effort to attain good governance was to identify key areas that they felt their countries had done well in terms of attaining good governance. Kenyan respondents identified constitutional reforms, devolution and increased representation as key improvements in the Kenyan governance. 50%(n=32) said constitutional reform was an achievement towards attainment of good governance in Kenya, 28% said devolution has been a key advancement towards good governance, while 22% submitted that increased representation of marginalized groups such as youth, women and people with disability was a key milestone for Kenya's advancement to attaining good governance.

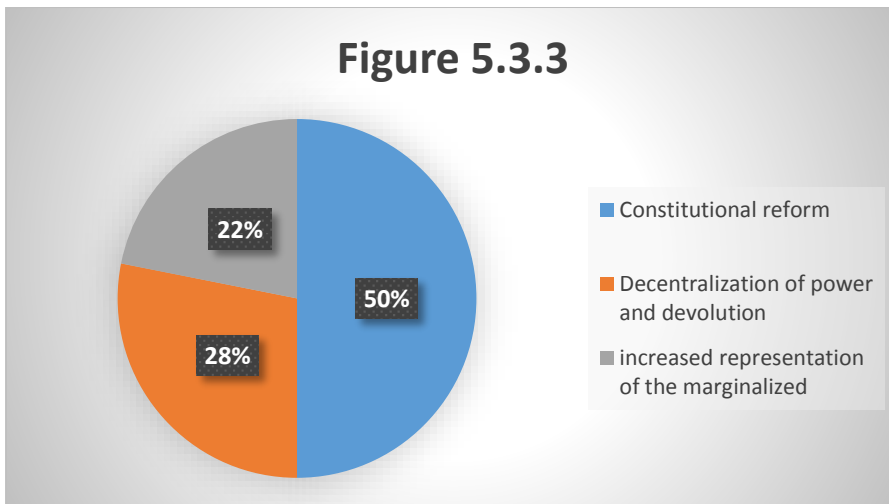


Figure 5.3.3: Constitutional Reforms, Devolution and Increased Representation as Key Improvements in the Kenyan Governance

Mauritian respondents, 32% of the respondents identified access to education as a good governance practice, 18% indicated regular and peaceful elections as an advancement towards good governance, 20% of respondents identified Anti-money laundering and combating financing of terrorist regulations as a key improvement, while 16% and 14% consider respect for individual rights and freedoms and economic development as key steps taken to advance good governance in Mauritius respectively.

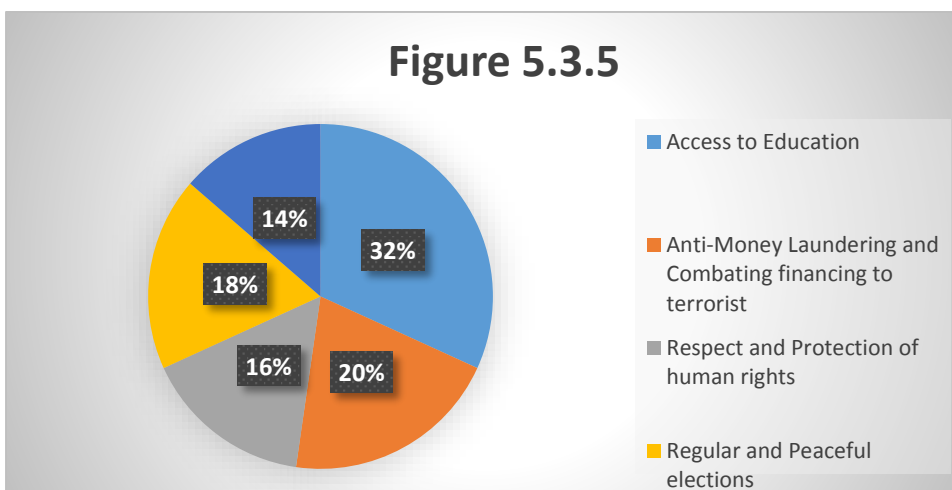


Figure 5.3.5: Steps taken to advance good governance in Mauritius

5.4 The Role and Impact of Social Media on Good Governance in Kenya and Mauritius

In order to establish the role and impact of social media in advancing good governance, the respondent were asked to indicate if they used any social media platform and the reason they use it for. Results from this questioned showed that 100% of the Kenyan respondents who answered the questionnaire were on different social media platforms. With over 53% of the respondents using at least three social media platforms. A 60% of the respondents noted that they use social media for political debates and access to information.

In Mauritius 100% of the respondents use different social media platforms, with majority hugely present in Facebook and Instagram. Less than 22% of the respondent use social media for political and governance debates while majority use social media for entertainment and social interactions.

The Extent to Which Social Media can be Used to Advance Good Governance in Kenya and Mauritius

The respondents were also asked to answer if social media has the capacity to be used to advance good governance in the two countries. For Kenya, 75% of the respondents said that social medias was a powerful tool that is easy to access and cheap to use and since it does not discriminate it can advance good governance in the country significantly. 16% of the Kenyan respondents argue that social media cant advance governance in the country due to lack of seriousness of some users who turn serious issues into a joke, misuse and abuse of the social media platforms and lack of unity by the Kenyan online community has acted as a regress from good governance. 6% of the

respondents said social media can be a double edged sword that can have both good and bad benefits if not used properly. See figure 5.4.1

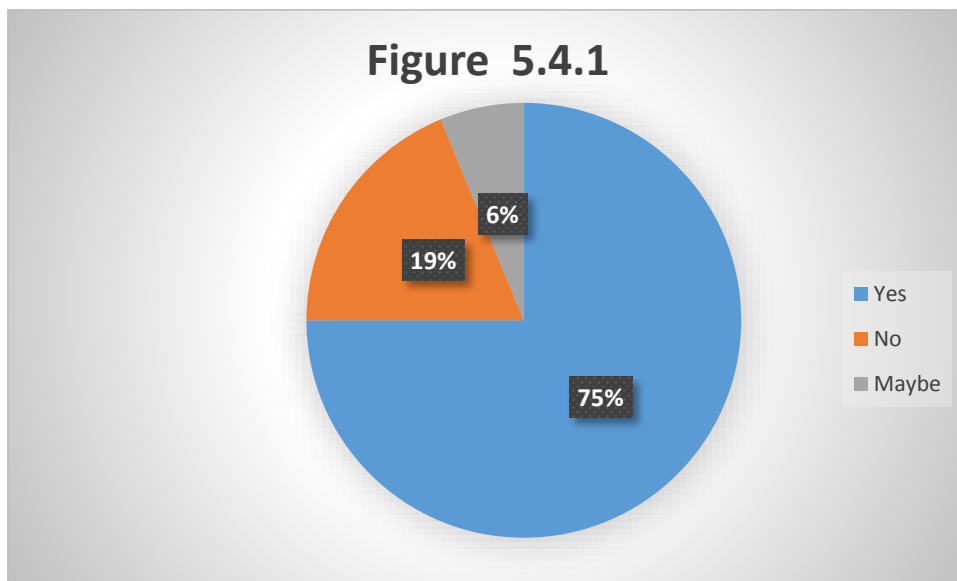


Figure 5.4.1: The extent to which social media can be used to advance good governance in Kenya and Mauritius

73% of the Mauritian respondents noted that social media can be a powerful tool to advance good governance in the country, however they note that it has not been used to achieve this end goal in the past. 18% of the respondents argue that sometimes social media might fail to advance good governance due to manipulation of users by politicians and due to ignorance and lack of civic education on the population. 9% of the respondents indicated that social media cannot be used to advance good governance in Mauritius.

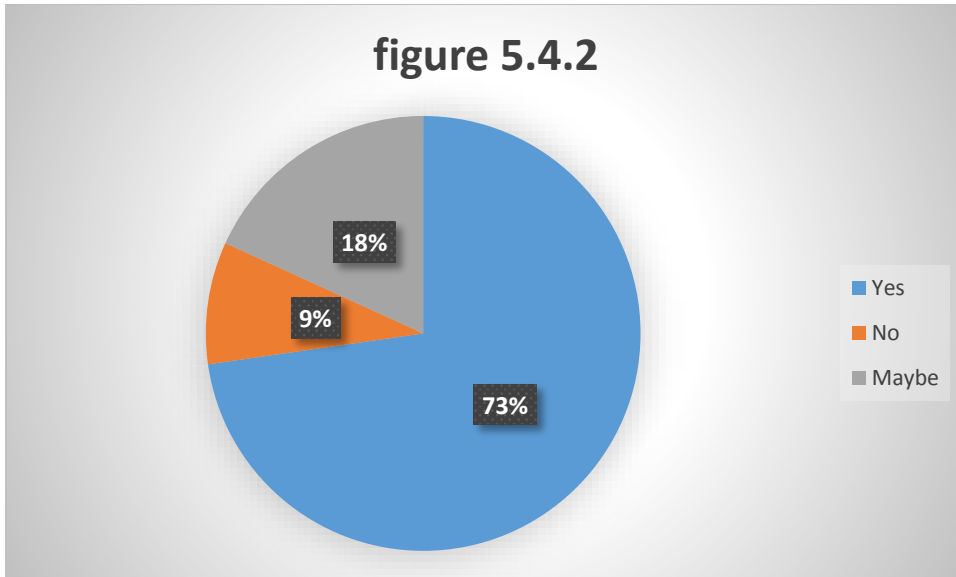
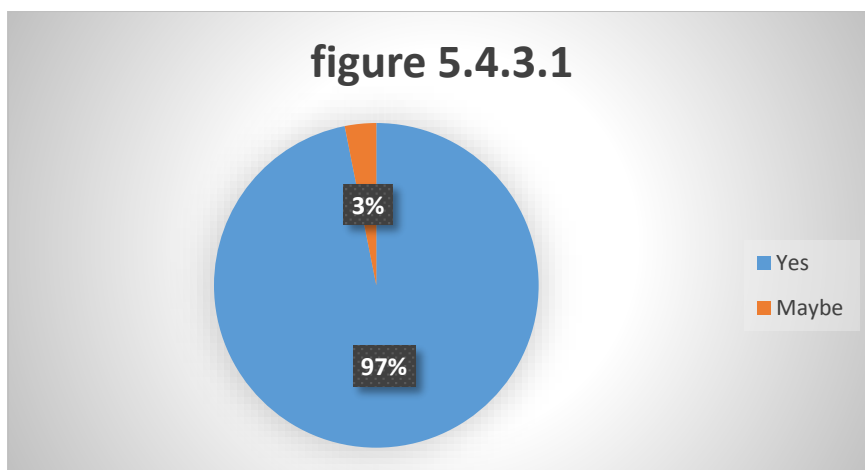


Figure 5.4.2: Mauritius social media can be a powerful tool to advance good governance in the country

The Impact of Social Media in Advancing Good Governance

Under this section, the respondents were asked to respond on whether social media has an impact on the governance of their respective countries and why they thought it had a positive or a negative impact. 97% of the Kenyan respondents indicated that social media has had a positive impact on the Kenya’s governance, with majority pointing different exposure of corruption, gender based violence, unmasking societal vices and creating awareness to Kenyans to effectively participate in governance debates. Only 3% of the respondents thought social media cannot be used to advance good governance.



For the case of Mauritius statistics remained the same as provided in the figure 5.4.2

Figure 5.4.2: The Impact of Social Media in Advancing Good Governance in Mauritius

5.5 Chapter Summary and Conclusions

From the data presented above, it is clear that many of the African countries are still faced by different challenges in their quest to achieve good governance. As indicated many of these countries are faced by the challenge of corruption, poor leadership, weak institutions, lack of civic education and negative ethnicity. The data also shows that despite of the perception created of how good Mauritius is governed, Mauritius is still faced by enormous challenges in its attainment of good governance. In Kenya the data has showed and highlighted key challenges that the country faces. In line with the last objective of the study, this data denotes that in Kenya social media has had both positive and negative impact on governance. In Mauritius the data shows that social media has not achieved much in terms of advancing good governance.

The data collection, analysis and presentation reflects the three specific objectives of this study. It has also tested the three hypotheses of this study and validated the first two objectives and invalidated the last objective.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to cover the summary of the study, outline key recommendations to the academia and policy makers as well as lay down the conclusions of the entire study.

6.2 Summary

6.2.1 The Challenge of Attaining Good Governance in Africa

The challenge of attaining good governance in Africa remains one of the oldest conversations that Africans continue to struggle with. There are significant gains compared to the last century; however, it is essential to note that if the challenge of attaining good governance is addressed in Africa, many of the problems that the continent is faced with like underdevelopment and insecurity will be addressed in the long run. It is no longer fashionable for African leaders to blame their colonial masters for the challenge of attaining good governance because the majority of African countries, especially those that gained independence in the 1960s, have had at least 50 years to address this challenge but instead, they choose to perpetuate the problem farther. There is a dire need for many African countries to decentralize their policy formulation frameworks to make them more inclusive to ensure no idea is left out in the development plan. The judiciary and the legislature need to fight for their independence, while electoral processes need to be made more transparent, credible, free, and fair to win public trust. Some of the African countries have some of the best constitutions on paper worldwide. However, adherence to the body and spirit of these constitutions has been extremely wanting. To this end, African states need to Fast-track the process of implementation of those constitutions and other legal frameworks to their totality order to operationalized good governance in Africa. Citizens have a

responsibility as well, and with the presence of technology, internet, and social media, they have an opportunity to participate in national dialogues with their respective governments to demand more dividends from good governance in their countries.

6.2.2 Factors Hindering Attainment of Good Governance in Kenya and Mauritius

From the analysis presented in this chapter it is very clear that there a big disconnect from what is presented in literature and the reality on the ground. Although Mauritius has had regular elections viewed as free and fair the country still experiences challenges of exclusivity with power being concentrated on a few individuals and families. Similarly, Kenya's top political seat has three out of four times been held by the same tribe and two out of four times by the same family. The two countries are also faced with similar challenges of gender inequality, corruption, nepotism, suppression of fundamental rights and freedoms, clamping down the civil society and silencing journalists. Therefore, it is imperative for these countries to take radical and deliberate steps towards these vices in order for them to be able to attain greater levels of good governance.

It is noteworthy to acknowledge that, Mauritius compared to Kenya is definitely a better democracy, specifically on how she has managed her politics and public resources. Mauritius has demonstrated to the rest of the world that it is not the quantity of the government or its ideologies but rather the quality, intelligence and effectiveness of governments in delivering their mandate to people that matter. As a result, Mauritius has been able to manage its multi-ethnic society in a better manner than Kenya. From Mauritius example Kenya should learn and accept the responsibility for its failure to manage her ethnic politics for last five and a half decades and not blame it on the colonial legacies of division. Surprisingly, Kenya seems to averse with technological

advancement than Mauritius yet Mauritius seems to be doing better in terms of good governance.

6.2.3 The Role and Impact of Social Media on Governance in Kenya and Mauritius

From the cases noted above, social media platforms has a lot of potential in advancing good governance in Kenya and Mauritius and can also act otherwise and be used to polarize a society hence making it ungovernable as in the 2007/2008 PEV. In Kenya it has had tremendous impacts in advancing good governance and if utilized in large scale it has the potential of giving Kenya and Mauritius well governed. It must be noted that it will also require a lot of legislation that will ensure regulations on the usage of social media to eradicate spewing of hate and violence. Although Mauritius seems to be doing better in governance than Kenya proper utilization of social media can lead to greater transparency and accountability from public officials to help in fighting corruption. In Mauritius there is great need to for more civic education to captivate interest among Mauritian to participate in political processes.

Kenya seems to harbor a lot potential for online collective action but for it to work effectively there must be some deliberate efforts taken to ensure that there are sound policy regulations to prevent abuse of social media. The Kenyan online community must also ensure that they don't fall back into their ethnic alignments especially when there are serious debate issues.

6.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, the African experiment of transition to liberal democracy doesn't guarantee good governance, because it is the worst form of government after all others, and therefore it requires commitment and fidelity to the principle of constitutionalism and the willingness to implement legal and policy frameworks that can make a country better governed. Internet based applications such as social media as noted in this study

has a positive impact in advocating for good governance, however, some time the same platforms can also be used to make a country polarized and ungovernable. Therefore, as the paper advocates for use of social media platforms to increase participation and as people enjoy these benefits and rights that come therefore there is need to exercise great caution, maturity and responsibility in their use of these platforms.

6.4 Recommendations to the Academia

While this study has experienced Limitations especially in the area of literature that is specific to the subject under discussion, the study will be very instrumental in the academic world for it brings in new perspective on how to look at the African governance infrastructure. Firstly this study recommends that African scholars must as a matter of priority decolonized the business of knowledge and especially in the area of democracy and good governance. Scholars must go back and interrogate the concept of liberal democracy and its correlation with good governance and its application in Africa. Secondly the members of the academy must also inculcate the need to go beyond the traditional ways of looking at democracy by looking at all aspects of good governance without just looking at the electoral cycles and generalized that as win for democracy or even interpreting that as the means necessary to attain good governance.

Thirdly the emergence of social media opens new frontiers of knowledge and provides an opportunity to the members of the academy to look at the value that internet based application can have the progress of humanity. May it be in terms of governance, e-commerce or activist? This is important because as the study potent, social media has the capacity to transform the way we look at things entirely, to as such there's an increased demand in the consumption of social media that gives enormous opportunity for growth in different areas of governance. To this end, intuitions of higher learning should consider designing a curriculum that reflects the increasing use of social media

platforms. The academy in Mauritius must also deliberately find way to captivate interest in governance among young people. The Academy must also re-orient its curriculum to meet the needs of a changing world by teaching students about their obligations and duties to the society as well as their rights and the need to demand for those rights.

Members of the academy and institutions of higher learning must also claim their rightful place in being the custodians of knowledge the ability to speak true to power. They need to be more vocal and in the frontline in fighting corruption, government inefficiencies, inequalities and injustices that still face the African continent and more so Kenya and Mauritius.

6.4.1 Recommendations to the Policy Makers

This study will be of great importance to the policy makers and practitioners in the areas of democracy and governance in Africa. Cognizant to the findings of this study that Transition to liberal democracy in Africa did not automatically translate to good governance, Policy makers they have a duty and obligation to make policies that make the African continent better governed, prosperous and peaceful. This requires that they intelligently engage in policy formulations that are geared towards the creation of strong, efficient and independent institutions that are capable of addressing the problems that hinder attainment of good governance in Africa and more specifically in Kenya and Mauritius. In an effort to fight negative ethnicity and conflicts come as a result of competitive elections there is need for policy makers to create policies that lead to the creation of an impersonal government that is resilient to regime change and one that guarantees equality, equity, justice and development of the people.

Policy makers need also to come up with policies that guarantee freedom of expression and ensure that social media platforms exist as safe spaces for debate and dialogues that

advance good governance in Kenya and Mauritius. One of the major challenges that has been associated with the problem of attaining good governance in Africa has been the problem of corruption and poor leadership. If these problems are not addressed sooner and completely the African states risk sliding back to serious problems of underdevelopment. This calls for serious legislations and proper implementation of legal and policy frameworks that seek to address these challenges. Additionally social media users should not be regarded as idle people who have no value to add to governance debates, rather policy makers should develop an ear for this special group of people because in a democratic society every voice matters. In order to realize the full potential of social media in governance, policy makers ought to come up with sound policies that prevent abuse of these platforms and the spread of fake news.

6.5 Key Learning Outcomes

From this study, it is clear that Africa continues to experience the challenge of attaining good governance. The transition to liberal democracy in Africa might have brought some significant gains in addressing the challenge of attaining good governance but did not automatically translate into good governance. To as such there is need to empower African intellectuals to be able to come up new knowledge that is geared towards addressing the challenge of attaining good governance. Cognisant to the role that technology has played in advancing good governance in Kenya and Mauritiu, ths study notes that social media has expanded the spaces for citizen participation in governance and it can be used as an excellent tool for advancing good governance. However, it is important to note that this study gives argues that the misues and abuse of social media can make a country polarized and ungovernable. Therefore there is great need for the social media users to exercise great responsibility in their use of social media.

REFERENCES

- “Anti-War Protests around the World.” *The Guardian*. March 15, 2003, sec. Politics.
<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2003/mar/15/antiwar.uk>.
- Afrobarometer.org. 2020. Data | Afrobarometer. [online] Available at:
<<https://www.afrobarometer.org/data>> [Accessed 23 August 2020].
- Akoko Akech. 2019. “BBI: A Ploy to Subvert Democracy through Deception.” *The Elephant*. December 13, 2019.
<https://www.theelephant.info/features/2019/12/13/bbi-a-ploy-to-subvert-democracy-through-deception/>.
- Aljazeera.com. 2020. Mali Coup Leaders Promise Elections after Keita Overthrow. [online] Available at: <<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/08/mali-soldiers-promise-elections-coup-200819094832716.html>> [Accessed 24 August 2020].
- Allcott H, Gentzkow M. Social Media and Fake News in the 2016 Election. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. 2017;31(2):211–236.
- Aluku, Silas. 2014. “Bicameralism: A Critique of the Constitution of Kenya 2010.” *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2461329>.
- Asur, S., Huberman, A. B., Szabo, G., & Wang, C. (2011). Trends in Social Media: Persistence
- Babaci-Wilhite, Z., Geo-JaJa, M. and Lou, S., 2012. Human Rights in Development Experience in Africa: the Foreign Aid and Policy Nexus in OECD and China Aid. *World Studies in Education*, 13(1), pp.55-87.
- Barkan, J. D. (1999). Regime change in Africa. *Journal of Democracy*, 10(2), 165-170.
doi:10.1353/jod.1999.0026
- BBC (2004) “How deep is corruption in Africa” available:
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3819027.stm>, accessed 29th May 2010.
- Bimber, Bruce A., Andrew J. Flanagin, and Cynthia Stohl. *Collective Action in Organizations: Interaction and Engagement in an Era of Technological Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

- Business Insider. 2020. THE DIGITAL 100: The World's Most Valuable Private Tech Companies. [online] Available at: <<https://www.businessinsider.com/2012-digital-100>> [Accessed 23 August 2020].
- Chimdi Mbara, G., 2019. Corruption and good governance in Nigeria : zooming the lens on the Buhari anti-corruption crusade. *Journal of Gender, Information and Development in Africa*, S1(1), pp.193-217.
- Cohill, Andrew Michael., and Andrea L. Kavanaugh. *Community Networks: Lessons from Blacksburg, Virginia*. Boston, MA: Artech House, 2000.
- Cornish, Derek B., and R. V. G. Clarke. *The Reasoning Criminal: Rational Choice Perspectives on Offending*. New York: Transaction Publishers, 2014.
- Dahl, R., 2008. How Democratic Is The American Constitution?. Yale University Press.
- Etling, B., Kelly, J., Faris, R., & Palfrey, J. (n.d.). Mapping the Arabic Blogosphere. *Media Evolution on the Eve of the Arab Spring*. doi:10.1057/9781137403155.0008
- Freedom House. 2020. Expanding Freedom And Democracy.. [online] Available at: <<https://freedomhouse.org/>> [Accessed 23 August 2020].
- Google Books. 2020. Negative Ethnicity. [online] Available at: <https://books.google.com/books/about/Negative_Ethnicity.html?id=8duB0b-C1WAC> [Accessed 23 August 2020].
- Haseeb, K. E. (2011). On the Arab ‘Democratic Spring’: Lessons derived. *Contemporary Arab Affairs*, 4(2), 113-122. doi:10.1080/17550912.2011.577276
- Holmquist, F., 2011. Karuti Kanyinga and Duncan Okello, eds. Tensions and Reversals in Democratic Transitions: The Kenya 2007 General Elections. Nairobi: Society for International Development, in conjunction with the Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, 2010. 709 pp. Notes. Paper. No price reported. *African Studies Review*, 54(2), pp.210-212.
- <https://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0104136>

<https://www.themantle.com/international-affairs/can-social-media-help-kenyas-fight-against-terrorism>

Human Rights Watch. 2020. Kenya: Police Brutality During Curfew. [online] Available at: <<https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/04/22/kenya-police-brutality-during-curfew>> [Accessed 6 November 2020].

Jamieson KH, Cappella JN. Echo chamber: Rush Limbaugh and the conservative media establishment. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 2008.

Jenkins, Henry. "Henry Jenkins on John Fiske." *Exploring the Roots of Digital and Media Literacy through Personal Narrative*, October 2016, 138–52. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvrf898z.13>.

Kanyinga, K. and Okello, D., 2010. *Tensions And Reversals In Democratic Transitions*. Nairobi: Society for International Development.

Kaplan, A. and Haenlein, M., 2010. Users of the world, unite! The challenges and opportunities of Social Media. *Business Horizons*, 53(1), pp.59-68.

Kasenally, R., & Awatar, D. (2017). Social Media, Elections and Political Engagement: The 2014 General Elections in Mauritius. *Journal of African Elections*, 16(2), 47-70. doi:10.20940/jae/2017/v16i2a3

"Kenya: Waki Report Causes Angst." 2008. *Africa Research Bulletin: Political, Social and Cultural Series* 45 (11): 17756B-17756C. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-825x.2008.02046.x>.

Land Portal. 2020. *Afrobarometer Survey*. [online] Available at: <<https://landportal.org/book/dataset/afrb-surv-0>> [Accessed 23 August 2020].

Liberalism vs. Democracy. (n.d.). *After Liberalism*, 30-48. doi:10.2307/j.ctt7rtpk.5

Margetts, H., 2016. *Political Turbulence*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton university **press**.

Margetts, Helen, Peter John, Scott A. Hale, and Taha Yasseri. *Political Turbulence How Social Media Shape Collective Action*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017.

Mauritius (Vol 11, 2014). (n.d.). *Africa Yearbook Online*. doi:10.1163/1872-9037_ayb_ayb2014_com_0049

- Meyer, J. C. (2013). Dynamic Deontic Logic, Segerberg-Style. *Outstanding Contributions to Logic Krister Segerberg on Logic of Actions*, 119-132. doi:10.1007/978-94-007-7046-1_6
- Mkandawire, T. (2002). Incentives, Governance, and Capacity Development in Africa. *African Issues*, 30(1), 15. doi:10.2307/1167084
- Mkandawire, T., 1999. Social Sciences and Democracy: Debates in Africa. *African Sociological Review / Revue Africaine de Sociologie*, 3(1).
- Munger, Michael C., and Kevin M. Munger. *Choosing in Groups: Analytical Politics Revisited*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Mutahi, P., & Kimari, B. (2020). Fake News and the 2017 Kenyan Elections. *Communicatio*, 1-19. doi:10.1080/02500167.2020.1723662
- Nasr, Amir Ahmad. "Opinion | In Sudan's Revolution, the Hardest Part Comes Next." The Washington Post.WP Company, April 12, 2019. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/04/12/sudans-revolution-hardest-part-comes-next/>.
- Neocleous, Mark, Anthony Giddens, and Christopher Pierson. "Conversations with Anthony Giddens: Making Sense of Modernity." *Contemporary Sociology* 29, no. 2 (2000): 433. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2654463>.
- Ngure, benson kinyua. 2011. "A Revolution of Human Rights in Kenya: Assessing the Enforceability of Socio-Economic Rights Under the Constitution of Kenya 2010." *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1864585>.
- Nyabola, N. (2018). *Digital democracy, analogue politics: How the Internet era is transforming Kenya*. London: Zed Books.
- Ogila, J., 2020. Ex-MP Mary Wambui'S Appointment Elicits Sharp Reactions From Kenyans. [online] The Standard. Available at: <<https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/nairobi/article/2001345585/kenyans-mock-ex-mp-mary-wambuis-appointment>> [Accessed 6 November 2020].
- Ogot, B., 2012. *Kenyans, Who Are We*. Kisumu: Anyange Press Ltd.

- Ogundimu, F. F. (2017). Media and Democracy in Twenty-First-Century Africa. *Media and Democracy in Africa*, 207-238. doi:10.4324/9780203785980-9
- Olson, Mancur. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Harvard University Press, 1965.
- Open Society Initiative for East Africa(OSIEA)- Kenya: Democracy and Political Participation
- Pierre, Andrew J., and Samuel P. Huntington. "The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century." *Foreign Affairs* 71, no. 2 (1992): 190. <https://doi.org/10.2307/20045138>.
- Plouffe, D. and Davies, E., 2009. *The Audacity To Win*. New York.: Penguin Audio.
- Porta, Donatella Della, and Manuela Caiani. *Social Movements and Europeanization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Realism and Anti-Realism. (2017). On Thinking and the World, 157-185. doi:10.4324/9781315247649-6
- Roth, M. and Fukuyama, F., 1993. *The End of History and the Last Man*. History and Theory, 32(2), p.188.
- RSF. 2020. 2020 World Press Freedom Index | Reporters Without Borders. [online] Available at: <<https://rsf.org/en/ranking>> [Accessed 24 August 2020].
- Schneider, Laura. "The Five International Media Freedom Indices: a Critical Analysis." *Measuring Global Media Freedom*, 2019, pp. 89–121., doi:10.1007/978-3-658-28095-6_4.
- Shin, Eui Hang. "Correlates of the 2002 Presidential Election in South Korea: Regionalism, the Generation Gap, Anti-Americanism, and the North Korea Factor." *East Asia* 21, no. 2 (2004): 18–38. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12140-004-0014-y>.
- Shin, Eui Hang. "Political Demography of Korea: Political Effects of Changes in Population Composition and Distribution." *East Asia* 19, no. 1-2 (2001): 171–204. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12140-001-0006-0>.
- Statista. 2020. Statista - *The Statistics Portal*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.statista.com/>> [Accessed 23 August 2020].

- Statista. 2020. Topic: Social Media. [online] Available at: <<https://www.statista.com/topics/1164/social-networks/>> [Accessed 24 August 2020].
- Statista. 2020. Topic: Social Media. [online] Available at: <<https://www.statista.com/topics/1164/social-networks>> [Accessed 6 November 2020].
- Tar, U. A. (2013). Civil Society and Neoliberalism. *The Handbook of Civil Society in Africa Nonprofit and Civil Society Studies*, 253-272. doi:10.1007/978-1-4614-8262-8_16
- Taylor, M., Wells, G., Howell, G., & Raphael, B. (2012). The role of social media as psychological
- TCdata360. 2020. Tcdata360: Judicial Independence (WEF). [online] Available at: <https://tcdata360.worldbank.org/indicators/h5ebaeb47?country=MUS&indicator=669&countries=BRA&viz=line_chart&years=2007,2017&indicators=944> [Accessed 23 August 2020].
- The Economist Intelligence Unit. (n.d.). Retrieved July 17, 2020, from <https://www.eiu.com/topic/democracy-index>
- The Economist. 2020. Economist Intelligence Unit | Economist - World News, Politics, Economics, Business & Finance. [online] Available at: <<https://www.economist.com/topics/economist-intelligence-unit>> [Accessed 23 August 2020].
- The Mobile Economy. 2020. The Mobile Economy 2020. [online] Available at: <<https://www.gsma.com/mobileeconomy/>> [Accessed 6 November 2020].
- The World Bank annual report 1992 (English). Washington, D.C. : World Bank Group. <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/403031468780283602/The-World-Bank-annual-report-1992>
- Tripp, Aili Mari. 2016. "Women's Movements and Constitution Making after Civil Unrest and Conflict in Africa: The Cases of Kenya and Somalia." *Politics & Gender* 12 (01): 78–106. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s1743923x16000015>.

Unwin, Tim. “10. ICTs and the Dialectics of Development.” *Communication and Technology*, 2015. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110271355-012>.

Vosoughi S, Roy D, Aral S. The spread of true and false news online. *Science*. 2018;359(6380):1146–1151

We Are Social. 2020. Digital 2020 - We Are Social. [online] Available at: <<https://wearesocial.com/digital-2020>> [Accessed 24 August 2020].

World Bank. 2020. Annual Report 2019. [online] Available at: <<https://www.worldbank.org/en/about/annual-report>> [Accessed 23 August 2020]. “World Report 2020: Rights Trends in Kenya.” 2019. Human Rights Watch. December 9, 2019. <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2020/country-chapters/kenya>.

World Bank. 2020. World Bank Group - International Development, Poverty, & Sustainability. [online] Available at: <<https://www.worldbank.org/>> [Accessed 23 August 2020]

APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Questionnaire

I am Christopher Kasema Muange a Masters of International Studies Student conducting a study on The Role of New Media in Advancing Democracy and Good Governance in Africa: A Case Study of Kenya. The responses from this study will be treated with utmost confidentiality and will only be used for academic purposes towards this study.

PART A: General information

1. Name (Optional)-----

2. Gender -Male [] Female []

3. Age Below 20 years [] 21-30years [] 31-40 years [] 41-50 years 51-60 years []

4. Highest level of education? PhD [] Masters [] First degree [] Diploma []
College certificate [] "A" level [] "O" level []

5. In your opinion, what do you think is the biggest challenge of achieving good governance in Africa?

6. Do you think transition to liberal democracy in Africa has translated to good governance in Africa? Yes [] No []

7. In your opinion, do you think transition to democracy has had any positive impact to the governance infrastructure in your country? Yes [] No []

8. In your opinion, what are the key factors that you think inhibit attainment of good governance in your country?-----

9. In what areas of good governance do you think Mauritius/Kenya has done well?-----

10. Are you on any social media platform? Yes [] No []

11. if yes, which social media platforms?-----

12. What discussions do you engage in on these platforms? -----

13. Do you think Kenyans/Mauritians on different social media platforms can collectively push for an agenda that can advance good governance in your country? Yes [] No []

Why do you think so?-----

14. What do you think is the reason that Kenyan's/Mauritians on social never unite to push for agendas that advance good governance in your country?-----

15. Do you think social media has had any impact in advancing good governance in Kenya/Mauritius? Yes [] No []






If yes what impact do you think it has made?-----

16. Do you think the use of social media in Kenya/Mauritius has advanced democracy and good governance? Yes [] No []

17. Do you think there is greater space for citizens' participation through social media in Kenyan/Mauritius governance? Yes [] No []

Thank you.

Appendix II: NACOSTI PERMIT

 REPUBLIC OF KENYA	 NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION
Ref No: 544975	Date of Issue: 13/November/2020
RESEARCH LICENSE	
	
This is to Certify that Mr., CHRISTOPHER Muange Kasema of University of Nairobi, has been licensed to conduct research in Nairobi on the topic: THE CHALLENGE OF ATTAINING GOOD GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA: THE USE OF SOCIAL MEDIA IN KENYA AND MAURITIUS, for the period ending : 13/November/2021.	
License No: BAHAMAS ABS/P/20/7661	
544975	
Applicant Identification Number	Director General NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION
	Verification QR Code
	
NOTE: This is a computer generated License. To verify the authenticity of this document, Scan the QR Code using QR scanner application.	

THE SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION ACT, 2013

The Grant of Research Licenses is Guided by the Science, Technology and Innovation (Research Licensing) Regulations, 2014

CONDITIONS

1. The License is valid for the proposed research, location and specified period
2. The License any rights thereunder are non-transferable
3. The Licensee shall inform the relevant County Director of Education, County Commissioner and County Governor before commencement of the research
4. Excavation, filming and collection of specimens are subject to further necessary clearance from relevant Government Agencies
5. The License does not give authority to transfer research materials
6. NACOSTI may monitor and evaluate the licensed research project
7. The Licensee shall submit one hard copy and upload a soft copy of their final report (thesis) within one year of completion of the research
8. NACOSTI reserves the right to modify the conditions of the License including cancellation without prior notice

National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation
off Waiyaki Way, Upper Kabete,
P. O. Box 30623, 00100 Nairobi, KENYA
Land line: 020 4007000, 020 2241349, 020 3310571, 020 8001077
Mobile: 0713 788 787 / 0735 404 245
E-mail: dg@nacosti.go.ke / registry@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke

Appendix III: Turnitin Report

THE CHALLENGE OF ATTAINING GOOD GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA: THE USE OF SOCIAL MEDIA IN KENYA AND MAURITIUS.

ORIGINALITY REPORT

6%	4%	2%	2%
SIMILARITY INDEX	INTERNET SOURCES	PUBLICATIONS	STUDENT PAPERS

PRIMARY SOURCES

1	erepository.uonbi.ac.ke Internet Source	1%
2	hdl.handle.net Internet Source	<1%
3	"Social Media: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2016 Publication	<1%
4	Benjamin Appiah Osei, Ama Nyenkua Abenyin. "Applying the Engell–Kollat–Blackwell model in understanding international tourists' use of social media for travel decision to Ghana", Information Technology & Tourism, 2016 Publication	<1%
5	www.tandfonline.com Internet Source	<1%
6	pdfs.semanticscholar.org Internet Source	<1%
