



**THE IMPACT OF POLITICAL SECURITY ON HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
IN KENYA AND ITS GLOBAL IMAGE**

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DECLARATION

I declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented to any other institution of higher learning other than the University of Nairobi.



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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my family and friends. Thank you for the support and encouragements, you kept me going.

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I would like to take this opportunity to give special reverence to the Almighty God for the abundance of grace and wisdom He accorded me during this period of research. My deep gratitude to my research supervisor Dr. Patrick Kasyula (PhD) for his support and insightful counsel in the course of this research project. I wish to acknowledge my father Mr. John Owino and my aunt Ms. Purity Mwakireti for their continued encouragement and moral support. I extend my heartfelt gratitude to my lecturers and colleagues for the immeasurable support and encouragement you have accorded me throughout my studies.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

APRM-African Peer Review Mechanism

AU-African Union

AUPSC-African Union Peace and Security Council

CMD-Kenya-Centre for Multiparty Democracy Kenya-Kenya

GDP-Gross Domestic Product

HD-Human Development

HDR-Human Development Report

ICCPR- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

IEBC-Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission

IPU- Inter-Parliamentary Council

NASA-National Super Alliance

NEPAD-New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development

KANU-Kenya African National Union

KHRC-Kenya Human Rights Commission

KNCHR-Kenya National Commission on Human Rights

KPU-Kenya People's Union

NHIF-National Hospital Insurance Fund

MFA-Ministry of Foreign Affairs

OSCE- Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe

R2P-Responsibility to Protect

RSF-Reporters Without Borders

UDHR-Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UN-United Nations

UNDP- United Nations Development Programme

UNGA-United Nations General Assembly

UNSC-United Nations Security Council

ABSTRACT

The aim of the study was to draw a relationship between political security (independent variable) and human development (dependent variable) in Kenya and its implication on Kenya's global image (intervening variable), by focusing on three variables of political security; right to vote, freedom of the press and free and fair elections. This study employed a cross-sectional research method. The target population was drawn from Amnesty International Kenya, Civil Rights Defenders-African Segment, Media Council of Kenya, International Society for Human Rights-East Africa Chapter, Kenya Human Rights Commission, International IDEA, Centre for Multiparty Democracy-Kenya as these groups focus on specific aspect of political security and therefore resourceful. The researcher also employed secondary data to measure Kenya's global image through analysis of ranking reports (indices) from Reporters Without Borders from 2013-2021 (reports are available from 2013) and World Bank GovData360 reports from 2002-2017 on electoral participation (right to vote) and free and fair elections covering four election cycles. Stratified sampling design was used in this study. The study used a sample size of 90 respondents. Questions were aligned to the study objectives on the right to vote, freedom of the press and free and fair elections. Kenya was chosen as an area of study informed by the restrictive movement measures put internationally due the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic at the time of this study. The study concluded that even though political security had a bearing on human development in Kenya it had no impact on Kenya's global image. The study recommends the promotion of right to vote, freedom of the press and free and fair elections by Kenya as prerequisite for human development and its contribution to the global human security agenda.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background

The Human Security paradigm in International Relations has been evident in IR discourse across time. In its various dimensions, the concept has triggered contending perspectives, especially its implication on state relations and their standing in the community of nations. The impact of human security on the socio-political development of states has resulted in the proliferation of literature aimed at establishing international standards of conduct on state relations. The significance of Political Security and its effect on Human Development has seen greater efforts at the global scale through various intergovernmental organizations like the United Nations (UN) and associated treaties, that are creating a global ecosystem for the attainment of certain goals in that realm.

Even though political security and its global dimensions began gaining traction among scholars in the post-Cold War era, its origin can be traced in the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) which marked the beginning of individualization of security, the view of freedoms and rights from an individual perspective rather than from the lenses of state security.

The protection and promotion of human rights in reference to political security was espoused in progressive documents like the United States Constitution (1787), the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen in France (1789), the Bill of rights (1791), as well as International Committee of the Red Cross (founded in Geneva in 1863), and the Geneva Conventions. Contemporary documents include The Hague Conventions, the UN Charter, the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) (Article 19, 21) to regional standards including American Convention on Human Rights “Pact of San José. Costa Rica” (OAS), African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Article 13(1)), and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) that emphasize on the security of individuals rather than the state. It encompasses issues such as protection against state repression, state observation of human rights and freedom, protection against political detention, imprisonment, torture, and murder, etc.

Political Security is one of the seven main dimensions of threats to Human Security introduced by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) 1994 report (p32). The report suggested a new approach to security, refocused security to human beings rather than the state by integrating individuals, families, and communities as vital organs of the society alongside government to enable individuals to lead tolerable lives. The UNDP definition focused on protection of fundamental rights and freedoms against authoritarian regimes which were much evident at that time. The report defined political security as *protection against political suppression, systematized torture, ill treatment, or disappearance [of individuals]*, (UNDP, 1994, p32).

The concept Human Development (HD) can be traced to the 1970s and 80s. Human development gained credence as a result of two main factors; it rose to challenge the utilitarian assumption on which much of development economics are founded (GDP) and secondly, informed by the Amartya Sen work that advocated for the expanding the capabilities of individuals rather than increasing utility (Griffin, 2000). The 1990 Human Development Report (HDR) by the UNDP aimed to advance this concept by advocating for a human development, richness of human life (expanding individuals' opportunities and choices) as opposed to the richness of the economy. Human development is associated with three main agendas; people centered, expansion of opportunities and choices and aims to improve the lives of people rather than assumption that growth in economy will automatically translate to individual and community wellbeing (HDR, 2020). Human development approach has been advanced by successive HDRs that have increasingly received consensus that the emphasis on monetary measures (GDP per capita) is not sufficient to measure development (HDR, 2020). The Human Development Index (HDI) measure has continued to be the crude measure of human development focusing on a nation's longevity, acceptable standard of living, and access to education.

In the fifth pillar of the African Union's Common Africa Position on the post-2015 development agenda, the African Union (AU) recognizes the significance of peace and security in the continent and beyond, and the inseparable connections between development and peace, security, and stability. Political security and human development in Africa have been advanced through different methods, for instance the adaptation and affirmation of the New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) by the AU to improve the continent's economic and political governance, while at the same time aimed to strengthen regional integration. Political security in Africa is one

of the major issues that has been a challenge to implement as issues such as suppression of freedom of press, suppression of the right to vote and free and fair elections have led to legitimacy dilemmas leading to internal lawlessness and massive loss of lives.

Political security (seen through dimensions such as freedom of press, right to vote, free and fair elections) has been a subject of concern that has affected human development (seen through the dimension of mortality rate) in many states. Sub-Saharan Africa, for instance, has experienced election related violence which has constantly cast a dark cloud on the human development agenda. In Kenya, for instance, the 2007/2008 disputed elections were marred by political and ethnic violence leading to gross human rights violations ranging from loss of lives, electoral malpractices to suppressed media freedom that substantially dented Kenya's international image.

This is despite considerable efforts - both at global and domestic domains- done regarding advancement of both Political Security and Human Development through ratification, accession and signing of international human rights treaties. These include the ICCPR of 1972, the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Establishment of an African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights of 2003 and the Kenya Constitution 2010 that has a robust Bill of Rights, and expressly advocates for the freedom of press (Article 33 (2)), right to vote as well as the recommendations of the Kriegler and Waki Reports on free and fair elections. In the Kenyan context, despite these wide-ranging regimes, every election cycle is always fragile and uncertain.

Further, in 2008, Article 19 Eastern Africa published a report in reference to the violations of media freedom that put Kenya on the spotlight on violations experienced by media personnel: physical attacks, arrests, threats, denied access and media shutdown (Article 19, 2018). Against this background, this research sought to investigate the effect of political security on human development and its implication on Kenya's global image.

1.2 Statement of Research Problem

Since the inception of the concept of human development in the early 90s, the concept has been discussed and documented nearly yearly with exception of 2006 (Alkire, 2010). Human development has been viewed in three main strands; nation's longevity, knowledge and decent standard of living which have not been missed in any of the UNDP reports. While the UNDP 1994 HDR recognized political security as one of the seven dimensions of Human Security, it did not

draw any linkages on the potential harm it causes to the general theme of human development. Peace is necessary for sustainable development and the need to address security as a developmental issue is imperative.

Gerring & Thacker, (2002) explored the role of political institutions on human development (infant mortality). While their findings supported the positive impact of democracy, proportional electoral systems, and capable state administrations on human development, it did not delve on the specific political issues such as whether freedom of the press, right to vote, free and fair elections etc. enhance human development and their impact on a state's global image. Guseva *et al* (2008) investigated the relation between press freedom and the different aspects of development. While their conclusion supported the positive role of the press on development, poverty, governance, and peace, their research did not extend to issues such as whether freedom of the press, right to vote, free and fair elections had any impact on the mortality rate of a state as a dimension of human development, and their impact on a state's global image.

Considerable efforts have been made towards advancing political security in relation to human development. This has been evident by ratification of international human rights treaties by most states (United Nations Human Rights Treaty Bodies), in addition to the regular ranking of states by international organizations to help them advance the human rights agenda (which encompasses the right to vote, freedom of the press and free and fair elections). Annual reports from Reporters Without Borders (RSF), World Bank GovData360 reports on electoral participation and free and fair elections have become important benchmarks for states to improve their global image. This, however, does not reflect on the actual political security situation globally. On the freedom of the press front, journalists continue to face physical attack and discrimination (RSF, 2021) as this freedom greatly depends on political environment of a state.

States, and more so sub-Saharan states, continue to be fragile in every election cycle impacting their perception at the global stage. This is despite ratification of various international treaties: ICCPR on 1st May 1972 (a)-ratified by 172 countries, Convention against Torture and Other Cruel Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment on 21st February 1997 (a)-ratified by more than 140 countries, African [Banjul] Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights of 23rd January 1992, adaptation and affirmation of the NEPAD by the AU to improve the continent's economic and political governance and strengthening regional integration.

In addition, domestic efforts by many states have not borne desirable fruits. In Kenya, for instance, despite the progressive Constitution of Kenya, 2010 (Articles 33-35 advocating for the media freedom), recommendations for freer and fair elections and the right to vote from the Kriegler and Waki Reports, the right to vote and free and fair elections have not been fully actualized as concerns of voter buying, voter intimidation, voter importation and calls for an impartial administration and an accountable electoral institution continue to surface in every election. On the freedom of the press front, journalists continue to face physical attack; a DW correspondent was attacked by police forces while reporting from a coronavirus demonstration in Nairobi (DW, 2021), the resignation of eight columnists over increased media regulation and a 'worrying pattern' of government influence (DW, 2021). This has impacted Kenya's global image, particularly how it is viewed in the community of states in so far as freedom of the press, right to vote and free and fair elections are concerned.

This creates the impression that indeed political security has an impact on human development and a state's global image. However, no systematic study and empirical research has been undertaken on the potential impact of political security (within the prism of press freedom, right to vote and free and fair elections) on human development (mortality rate) and the impact on a state's global image which this research sought to examine.

1.3 Research Questions

1. What is the impact of freedom of the press on human development in Kenya?
2. What is the impact of free and fair elections on human development in Kenya?
3. What is the impact of the right to vote on human development in Kenya?
4. Does political security and human development affect Kenya's global image?

1.4 Research Objectives

1. To assess the impact of freedom of the press on human development in Kenya.
2. To investigate the impact of free and fair elections on human development in Kenya.
3. To evaluate the impact of the right to vote on human development in Kenya.
4. To assess the impact of political security and human development on Kenya's global image.

1.5 Justification and Significance of the study

This research is of benefit to the fields of International Relations, Political Science and Security Studies as it combined different elements of these fields such that future researchers can critique and identify gaps in this research and conduct an in-depth study of those areas. Further, the findings of this research would contribute to the development of the body of knowledge on Human Development, the linkages between three dimensions of Political Security and Human Development, which is fairly a new frontier.

This study would be beneficial to both international and regional institutions/organizations down to local institutions/organizations in enabling them to have a direction on the relationship between Political Security and Human Development and the general theme of Human Security, a growing area of interest in academia and policy spectrums. Further, the study will benefit these organizations foster better policies in both Human Development and Human Security that will benefit the communities they work at.

This study would be of benefit to governments as guarantors of security and the increasing need of governments to take a central role in security. The study would further offer insights and a framework to policy makers on Political Security as they pursue Human Development and improve their state's global image in the community of nations.

1.6 Scope of the Study

This study looked at the correlation between the impact of political security and human development in Kenya and its implication on Kenya's global image. The respondents were drawn from employees of Amnesty International Kenya, Civil Rights Defenders-African Segment, East Africa Chapter International Society for Human Rights, Centre for Multiparty Democracy Kenya, International Institute of Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA), Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC), Media Council of Kenya. Kenya was chosen as an area of study informed by the restrictive movement measures put internationally due the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic and cost. The researcher focused on the groups to capture the specific aspect of political security that the groups were able to respond adequately. A sample of 10 from each group was used as this was an ideal representation of the organizations' population.

The researcher also employed secondary data to measure Kenya's global image as an intervening variable through analysis of ranking reports (indices) from Reporters Without Borders from 2013-2021 (reports are available from 2013) and World Bank GovData360 reports from 2002-2017 on electoral participation and free and fair elections covering four cycles of election. This was instrumental to gauge Kenya's global image as these reports portray the perception of the international community towards Kenya's performance on freedom of the press, right to vote and free and fair elections.

1.7 Limitations of the study

Some organizations and institutions that were requested to participate in the research did not respond at all that made the researcher revise the initial target organizations and institutions. Due to the ongoing COVID-19, the researcher had to issue questionnaires online which reduced the interaction between the researcher and the respondents to offer clarification on questions not understood. In addition, many organizations were working from home that led to slow response rate from target organizations and institutions. The researcher was however resilient in making phone follow ups and actual visits to some organizations and institutions who responded positively afterwards.

1.8 Literature Review

1.8.1 Overview

This section carefully reviewed appropriate literature (informed by the research objectives) with a view of exploring gaps that needed to be addressed by this study.

Political security as a concept gained traction in the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report that sought to expand the definition of security and place humans at the centre of security. According to the UNDP (1994), political security is the protection of human rights, freedoms, and prevention of government repression. Political security encompasses issues such as protection against state repression (freedom of press, free and fair election, right to vote, etc.), state observation of human rights and freedom, protection against political detention, imprisonment, torture, etc. According to Jimoh and Ojalabi (2006, p5) political insecurity encompasses activities of individual persons or groups of individuals which result in undermining the development of a country.

1.8.2 Freedom of the Press

Press freedom has been defined differently overtime. The United Nations General Assembly (UNGA), under resolution 59 (I), freedom of information (press) is viewed as a primary right commodity and the yardstick of all the freedoms to which the UN is founded. The resolution expanded the scope of freedom of information to encompass the gathering, transmission, and publishing of news anywhere and everywhere without filters. Article 19 of the 1948 UDHR views freedom of the press as the right to freedom of opinion and expression. Further, UDHR asserts that this includes entitlement to hold independent views without impingement.

According to Guseva *et al* (2008), press freedom has a positive influence on human development from poverty reduction, creation of a business-enabling environment, creation of an avenue to more effective public participation to holding government accountability on violence and crime. The press serves as a bridge between citizens and the state (Guseva *et al*, 2008). Further, Guseva *et al* (2008) assert that in a country where citizens' engagement exists, the press can deal freely with the societal problems, and large-scale violence is minimum. Additionally, in a state where violence and crime level are high, journalists are liable to be in danger thus affecting the quality of the press (Guseva *et al*, 2008).

Sen (1999) supports this view to the broader extent that freedom is a tool and an end to development. For Sen, freedom is a pathway to other aspects of development. According to Hachten (2005), freedom of the press is the right of the media to observe, reveal, and to criticize the government without retribution from the government. According to Sen (1982), a freer press is able to report policy disasters enhancing their salience in the public mind and invigorating public dissent.

1.8.3 Free and Fair Elections

According to the AU Declaration on the Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa (2002) free and fair election constitute of impartial, capable, liable electoral institutions by well-skilled staff and furnished with adequate logistics. Article 3 of the Constitutive Act of the AU views free and fair election as "the promotion of popular participation and good governance." The AU views the popular participation, free and fair election, could bring about good governance which will in turn bring overall development of the continent. This is evident in adaptation and

affirmation of the NEPAD by the AU to improve the continent's economic and political governance.

1.8.4 Right to Vote

According to the Inter-Parliamentary Council (IPU) at its 154th session (Paris, 26 March 1994), right to vote is a non-discriminatory act by eligible citizen(s) to choose their preferred political candidates. According to Gerring *at al.* (2016), electorate democracy incentivizes political leaders to provide public goods and services, and these, in turn, save lives. They assert that the electoral aspect of democracy (right to vote, free and fair elections) have a substantial impact on human development. According to Gerring *at al.* (2016), minimal amount of contestation is good for human development, but that greater contestation is even better.

From the available literature, there is limited attention placed on the relationship between political security (freedom of the press, of the right to vote, free and fair elections) and human development (mortality rate) and a state's global image. Much of the literature revolves around the relationship between political security with emphasis on the role of political institutions, governance, poverty, and peace and human development with emphasis on decent standard of living in addition to an inward-looking approach (how this affects a state's global image). This gap in literature therefore informed the purpose of this research.

1.9 Theoretical Framework

1.9.1 Human Security Approach

The theoretical framework adopted for this study was the Human Security approach propounded by scholars such as Mahbub ul Haq, Mary Kaldor, Sakiko Fukuda-Parr, Carol Messineo, Sárka Waisova, Cristina Churruca Muguruza and Emma Rothschild. Human security as an approach emerged at the end of the Cold War where concrete ideas of the security of individuals as pressing issues of human development gained international attention vis-à-vis the old security debate that focused on state preservation through allocation of military resources (Kerr, 2007, p 92). The genocides in third world countries such as Burundi, Rwanda, and Somalia in the 90s pinpointed the weaknesses of the state-centric security approach mainly due to the character of conflict which changed to intra-state conflicts.

Human Security, according to the UNDP's 1994 HDR is protection from persistence threats such as hunger alongside safety from sudden and harmful disruption of normal daily life (UNDP, 1994, p 23). According to Haq (1995, p 115), Human Security is a new approach to security: security is neither the classical territorial interpretation nor just nations but rather in terms of security of people. Development is seen as a catalyst to achieve human security. Human Security according to Rothschild (1995, p 55) is a bottom-up approach that extends peoples' security and communities, upward, to the stability of international systems, multidimensional, from military security to socio-economic-political, multidirectional as it cuts across from international organizations, to regional up to local governments, sideways to encompass non-governmental organizations and civil society.

According to Fukuda-Parr and Messineo (2012), human security is used to achieve different purposes (agenda setting, advocacy, and analysis) by different actors (states, international organizations, researchers, NGOs) in different contexts such as international diplomacy, analytical and development framework, and tool as a new frontier of research in international politics and security studies. This approach therefore has been significant in shaping a state's global image through adoption of various international human rights treaties as evident in European Union's, Japan's and Canada's improved global image and soft power across time (Fukuda-Parr and Messineo (2012) through international initiatives such as Ottawa Treaty.

The HDR of 1994 outlined seven dimensions of human security by recognizing that threats can emerge both as natural and man-made. The dimensions are; Economic security-ability to access basic livelihood and reliable social safety nets, Food security- ability to access to basic food, both physical and economic, Health security- ability to access personal health care both physically and economically, Environmental security- shield from both natural and man-made disasters, Personal security-physical protection from violent conflict and human rights abuses, Community security-cushioning communities from oppressive practices such as ethnic based violence (ethnic cleansing), Political security- preservation of fundamental rights, freedoms and prohibition of government repression.

Two schools of thought have emerged from this approach, 'Freedom from Fear' and 'Freedom from Want'. On the one hand, the Freedom from Fear (narrow approach) is associated with threats of violence, direct violence. According to Liotta and Taylor (2006, p43), the narrow approach can

meet the immediate human necessities such as gross violation of human rights, natural disasters that require intervention capability rather than the capacity building method associated with the Freedom from Want. On the other hand, the Freedom from Want (broad approach), encompasses all issues associated with human vulnerability; threats from all sources-this include threats from organized political violence to other threats such as economic downturn, unemployment, environmental degradation, natural disasters, disease, and hunger.

Human security is associated with three main agendas: development, human rights, and security. It is a “broad and comprehensive” framework as it incorporates these three components into one agenda which is concerned with economic privatization, violent conflict, and economic deprivation, a guarantee of core human rights and quality life, freedom from environmental degradation, and ethnic conflicts. Human security creates a conducive atmosphere for development and human rights. According to Muguruza (2018), human security and human development share conceptual space as they both are people centered, multifaceted, long term objective of people fulfilment and address persistence poverty.

Human security concentrates on the critical choices (looks at risks- negative freedoms) that might hinder people’s choices and freedoms (Muguruza, 2018). For human rights (Muguruza, 2018, p 22), they indicate how human security can be promoted while human security points out human rights at stake in each situation. The conceptual space shared with human rights is the universality and fundamentality of human rights along with protection of violence and poverty (Muguruza, 2018, p 22).

While the usefulness of human security as a policy guideline for states cannot be overlooked, the approach has equally faced criticism. According to Muguruza (2018, p 27), the 9/11 terrorist attack in the US distorted human security agenda and goals. On the onset, human security was presented as both a development and security concept to aid various countries in their policy formulation and allocation of resources; this however changed as it inclined more to security and was seen as a justification for the West to meddle in East agendas. In addition, the approach has been used as a tool for drawing attention and resources (Duffield, 2005) as the general feeling of investments in “their” security is beneficial to “our” security.

According to the Feinstein International Centre, the approach has been incorporated into a Western political and security agenda, an action aimed at alleviating the suffering in countries that have experienced internal instability such as Afghanistan (Feinstein International Centre, 2006). This has had a reversing effect on the earlier progress on the human security literature that aimed in promoting a universalistic human right. Further, the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) presented human security as a selective and narrow concept to suit Northern security agenda as the war on terror was evident in Afghanistan and Iraq while the prevention emphasis of R2P has resulted in intervention.

In addition to the above challenges associated with human security, the concept is fragmented in various UN economic and security agencies which has increasingly made it hard to deliver the human security goal leading to duplication and the overlapping of activities. Despite these drawbacks the usefulness of human security cannot be overlooked. However, a clear conceptual framework needs to be established for a more coordinated and sustained international effort. A Peace Building Commission can be established that will cater for both application of human security analyses and implementation of integrated strategies (Muguruza, 2018, p 31). This will make the human security approach relevant in addressing issues such as poverty reduction, human rights, sustainable development to incorporation of soft and hard security (Muguruza, 2018, p 31).

This approach can therefore be essential in the analysis of the correlation of the Kenyan political security state and human development and its implication on Kenya's global image. This approach would help us appreciate the political security situation in Kenya and how Kenya can improve the various elements of political security to advance human development in the country in addition to its global image in the community of nations.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLE

DEPENDENT VARIABLE

Political Security

Human Development

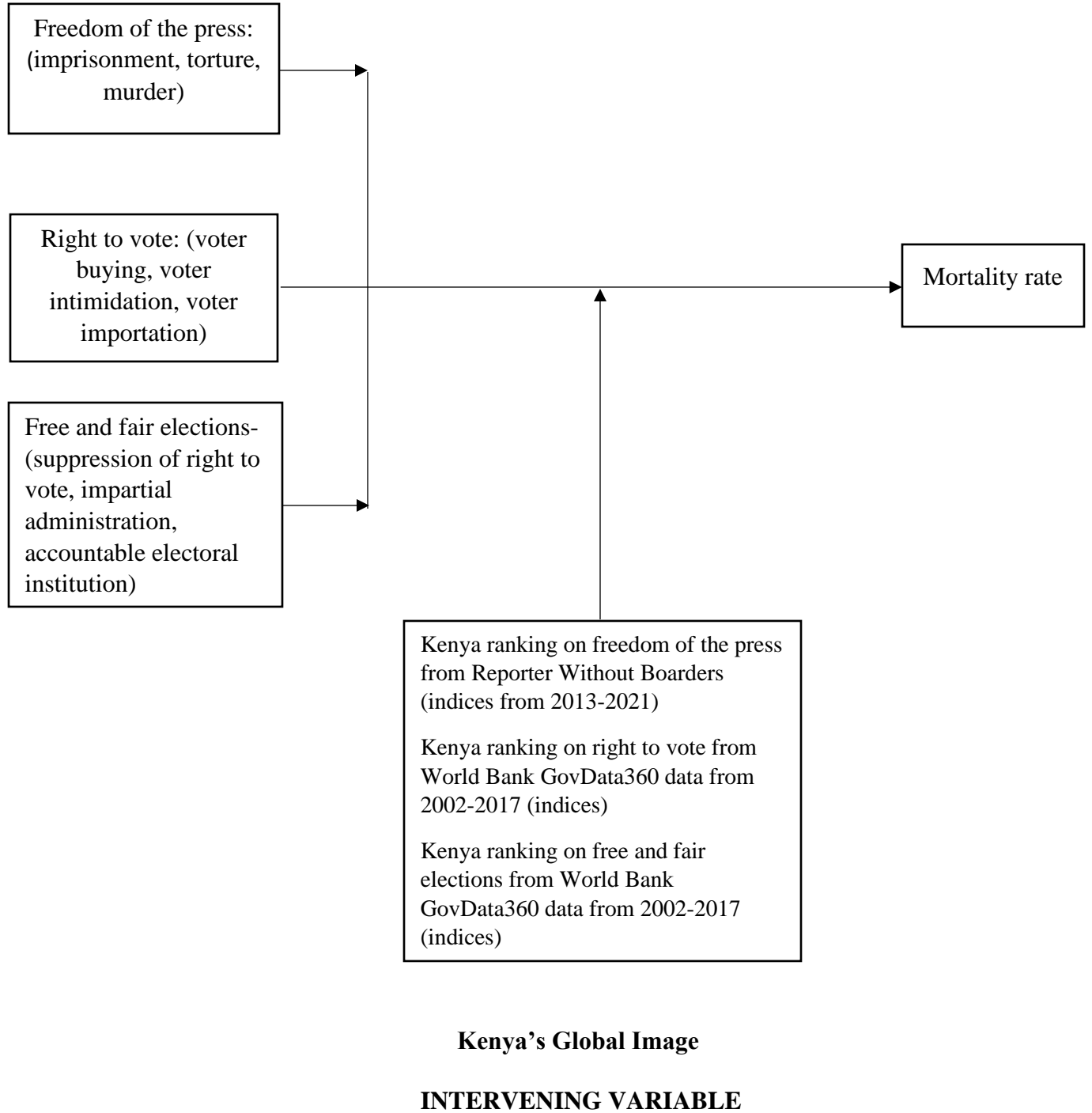


Figure 1.0 Operationalization of variables

1.9.2 Independent Variable

The independent variable that led this research was Political Security which was analyzed in three constructs; freedom of the press, right to vote, and free and fair elections.

1.9.3. Intervening Variable

The intervening variable that led this research was Kenya's global image. This variable was analyzed through analysis of ranking reports (indices) from Reporters Without Borders from 2013-2017 (reports are available from 2013) and World Bank GovData360 reports from 2002-2017 on electoral participation (right to vote) and free and fair elections. These were instrumental to gauge Kenya's global image as these reports portray the perception the international community has towards Kenya's performance on freedom of the press, right to vote and free and fair elections.

1.9.4 Dependent Variable

The dependent variable that led this research was Human Development. This variable was analyzed through mortality rate which is one of the human development sub-variables which is easy to measure since deaths are recorded (Gerring *at al*, 2016). Mortality rate is a good measure as the enjoyment of all other goods depends on it (Gerring *at al*, 2016).

1.10 Definition and Operationalization of Key Concepts

1.11 Political Security

Conceptual Definition

As per the 1994 UNDP HDR, political security is the insurance of basic liberties, opportunities and avoidance of government suppression.

Operational Definition

In this study, Political Security is the protection and enhancement of freedom of press, right to vote and free and fair elections.

1.12 Human Development

Conceptual Definition

According to 1990 UNDP 1990 HDR, human development is the process of expanding people's choices (p 10).

Operational Definition

In this study, Human Development was the enlargement of people's choices and opportunities to live longer lives.

1.13 Right to Vote

Conceptual Definition

According to Article 21 of the UDHR of 1948, the right to vote is the opportunity of citizens to participate in government, directly or representatively through freely chosen leaders by secret ballot.

Operational Definition

In this study, the right to vote is the ability of the electorate to access polling stations and freely electing candidate(s) of their choice by a secret ballot without unreasonable restrictions.

1.14 Freedom of the Press

Conceptual Definition

According to the 2010 constitution of Kenya, Chapter four Article 34 (3 (b)), freedom of press is the independence of media off control by the state, political interests or commercial interests.

Operational Definition

In this study, freedom of the press is the independence of the press from government oppression and the ability to run their operations and editorial independence without control by governments or any other interests.

1.15 Free and fair elections

Conceptual Definition

As per the African Union Declaration on the Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa (2002) free and fair elections mean a reasonable political decision comprising of unbiased, fit, at risk discretionary establishments by well-talented staff and outfitted with sufficient coordinations.

Operational Definition

In this study, free and fair elections mean, the capacity of electorates to communicate their will of their favoured candidate by secret ballot in an unbiased, open and transparent manner.

1.11.0 Hypotheses

1. H1: Freedom of the press has an impact on human development in Kenya.
2. H2: Free and fair elections have an impact on human development in Kenya.
3. H3: Right to vote enhances human development in Kenya.
4. H4: Political security (right to vote, freedom of the press and free and fair elections) and human development (mortality rate) affect Kenya's global image.

1.11.1 Methodology

This section covers the procedures and techniques that were applied to gather the necessary data for this study.

1.11.1 Research Design

Cross-sectional research method was employed in this study. This made the study less costly, time convenience and identified correlations between the variables. Descriptive study design was favoured for two reasons; to give a systematic, accurate description of the characteristics of individuals in a population and association between variables or phenomenon by asking how, what, when and where questions (McCombes, 2020 & Kothari, 2003) which were instrumental to answer the social problem at hand. Qualitative and quantitative data was collected through structured questionnaires that were sent to target population via email, that generated primary data. Secondary data was also employed in this study through analysis of ranking reports (indices) from Reporters Without Borders from 2013-2021 (reports are available from 2013) and World Bank GovData360 reports from 2002-2017 on electoral participation (right to vote) and free and fair elections covering four cycles.

1.11.2 Sampling and Design

According to Bhat (2019), sampling procedure is a selection process of a few representatives of the population to aid in statistical inferences, conclusions and establish estimated characteristics of the whole population. This study depended on primary and secondary data. Structured

questionnaires were employed across the target population to provide flexibility and diversity of information to be elicited from the respondents. Additionally, questionnaires offered greater anonymity. Stratified sampling design was used in this study. Stratified sampling was favoured as it yielded more accurate data. The study used a sample size of 90 respondents. Each category of respondents was viewed as a stratum.

1.11.3 Case Study Description

The study looked at the correlation between the impact of Political Security and Human Development in Kenya and its global image. The researcher focused on the following organizations; Amnesty International Kenya, Civil Rights Defenders-African Segment, East Africa Chapter International Society for Human Rights, Centre for Multiparty Democracy Kenya, International Institute of Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA), KHRC, Media Council of Kenya. This was informed by organizations' experience in specific aspect of Political Security and therefore in a better position to respond adequately.

Table 1.11.3 A: Units of Analysis

| Category | Respondents | Target Population |
|-------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| | Amnesty International Kenya | 10 |
| | Civil Rights Defenders-African Segment | 10 |
| Freedom of the press | Media Council of Kenya | 10 |
| | East Africa Chapter International Society for Human Rights | 10 |
| | Civil Rights Defenders-African Segment | 10 |
| Right to vote | KHRC | 10 |
| | International IDEA | 10 |
| | KHRC | 10 |
| Free and Fair Elections | Centre for Multiparty Democracy Kenya | 10 |
| Total Respondents | | 90 |

Source: Field Data, 2021

Table 1.11.3 B: Kenya's Ranking on Freedom of the Press

| Country | Year | Ranking |
|---------|------|---------|
| Kenya | 2013 | 71/179 |
| | 2014 | 90/179 |
| | 2015 | 100/180 |
| | 2016 | 95/180 |
| | 2017 | 95/180 |
| | 2018 | 96/180 |
| | 2019 | 100/180 |
| | 2020 | 103/180 |
| | 2021 | 102/180 |

Source: Reporters Without Borders

Table 1.11.3 B: Kenya's Ranking on Electoral participation (Right to Vote)

| Country | Year | score |
|---------|------|-------|
| Kenya | 2002 | 0.39 |
| | 2003 | 0.39 |
| | 2004 | 0.39 |
| | 2005 | 0.39 |
| | 2006 | 0.39 |
| | 2007 | 0.54 |
| | 2008 | 0.54 |
| | 2009 | 0.54 |
| | 2010 | 0.54 |
| | 2011 | 0.54 |
| | 2012 | 0.54 |
| | 2013 | 0.56 |
| | 2014 | 0.56 |
| | 2015 | 0.56 |
| | 2016 | 0.56 |
| | 2017 | 0.61 |

Source: World Bank, GovData360-Electoral participation (0 lowest-1 highest)

Table 1.11.3 C: Kenya’s Ranking on Electoral participation (Free and fair elections)

| Country | Year | score |
|---------|------|-------|
| Kenya | 2002 | 0.58 |
| | 2003 | 0.58 |
| | 2004 | 0.58 |
| | 2005 | 0.58 |
| | 2006 | 0.58 |
| | 2007 | 0.36 |
| | 2008 | 0.36 |
| | 2009 | 0.36 |
| | 2010 | 0.36 |
| | 2011 | 0.36 |
| | 2012 | 0.36 |
| | 2013 | 0.51 |
| | 2014 | 0.51 |
| | 2015 | 0.51 |
| | 2016 | 0.51 |
| | 2017 | 0.37 |

Source: World Bank, GovData360- Free and fair elections (0 lowest-1 highest)

1.11.4 Data Collection Methods

Data collection is the process of gathering measurable data guided by the researcher’s variables of interest which will be employed to establish conclusions on a particular social phenomenon. This research combined some aspects of qualitative and quantitative data collection methods. The qualitative data provided complex textual description of people’s experiences which cannot be quantified numerically while the quantitative data was instrumental in grading the effect of political security across sample population. Questionnaires were key to primary data collection as it provided flexibility and diversity of information from the respondents. Questionnaires were administered to employees of Amnesty International Kenya, Civil Rights Defenders-African Segment, East Africa Chapter International Society for Human Rights, Centre for Multiparty Democracy Kenya, International Institute of Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA), KHRC, Media Council of Kenya. Secondary data was also employed in this study through analysis of ranking reports (indices) from Reporters Without Borders from 2013-2021 (reports are available from 2013) and World Bank GovData360 reports from 2002-2017 on electoral participation (right to vote) and free and fair elections covering four election cycles.

1.11.4 Data Reliability and Validity

According to Nachmias and Nachmias (1996), data reliability is the degree to which data analysis produces results that are consistent over time leading to dependability and consistency of a test. An instrument of measurement is said to be reliable if it provides consistent results which will lead to valid results. Two aspects of reliability were put in consideration: stability and equivalence. Stability is concerned with securing consistent results over time using the same instrument by the same person. Equivalence is concerned with the degree of error obtained when different researchers or different samples of the items being studied are introduced. To address these two issues, the study employed Cronbach's Alpha reliability to measure the consistency of the questionnaires. In addition, the questions were standardized; all respondents were asked the same questions in the same order to enable replicability when used by other researchers in the future.

Kothari (2004) argues that a measure possesses construct validity when the predicted correlations with other theoretical propositions is confirmed: assessing the quality of measurement tool used. This is achieved by correlating a measure with another measure that is known to be related. This study sought to look at the impact of Political Security towards Human Development and the methodological choice to achieve this goal was adaptation of a cross-sectional and descriptive research approach. Descriptive approach implied deductive research approach which further implied quantitative methods: grading the effect of Political Security across sample population. In addition, this was achieved through carefully structured questionnaires to capture relevant information without causing diversion.

Internal validity examines the truthfulness of the experiment being conducted. According to Kothari (2004), the ability of the research design to measure what it aims to measure is referred to as internal validity. This is evaluated by looking at if any progressions in the autonomous variable reason changes in the reliant variable. Inward legitimacy in this examination was tended to by arbitrarily choosing members who are illustrative of the more extensive populace under study.

External validity is the extent to which the findings from one research will generalize to other samples, populations, or settings. Kothari (2004) argues that external validity is achieved when generalization can be drawn from a researcher's populations, settings, treatment variables and measurement variables. For external validity, the researcher put into consideration aspects such as gender and age when choosing sample population to ensure data representativeness. This ensured

inclusion and exclusion of the target group. For content validity, it was constructed on expert judgment of my supervisor's guidance, lecturers and colleagues at the University of Nairobi, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, class of 2019. Their recommendations for amendment or adjustments were integrated in the final instrument used as research tools.

1.11.5 Ethical Considerations

The researcher complied with all ethical principles of conducting research and assured all the participants that it was strictly for academic purposes. The researcher obtained research authorization from the University of Nairobi and a research license from National Commission for Science and Innovation (NACOSTI) before proceeding on the data collection process.

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1.11.6 Data Analysis

This research relied on regression analysis to test the hypotheses. The level of significance adopted was .05 which helped to determine if the probability that a relationship between variables exists. Quantitative data was analyzed by using Statistical Package for the Social Science (SPSS). This was presented using tables, pie charts to give a clear picture of the research findings. A multivariate regression analysis was run to determine the strength and direction of the relationship among variables. The regression coefficients assisted to determine degree and the magnitude of relationship to ease on interpreting how the variables can be re-adjusted to improve human development. Qualitative data was analyzed using content analysis. This method involves coming up with interpretations through analysis and accurate ascertainment of specific features of information as the basis to relate to trends. Content analysis provides a qualitative view of the respondents, observations, reasoning and ideas. The study used multiple regression analysis (Stepwise method) to establish the moderating effect of global image on effect of combined political security factors on human development.

CHAPTER TWO

EVOLUTION AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF POLITICAL SECURITY AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

2.0 Introduction

The traditional understanding of security was absence of fear, to values which were prioritized by states, the interests of the states which must be protected in an anarchic international system. Pre-World War I and II, security was mainly understood as state security and defined in terms of military capabilities. Security was measured in terms of territorial integrity and political sovereignty, there was less emphasis on the security of the citizens as threats were assumed to originate from outside.

Political security and human development have their origin in human rights which are indivisible and intrinsic regardless of nationality, gender, colour, religion, ethnic origin, or any other status. This is evident in various landmark human rights literature from the Magna Carta in 1215 that introduced the basic rights and liberties to all persons-rule of law; the English Bill of Rights which was an evolution of the Magna Carta signed to law in 1689 by William III and Mary II and the United States Constitution (1787).

The idea of the individualization of security is not new. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars marked the entry of the individual as the reference of security, more so the failure of the state to protect citizens from violence. From the ancient Greece, the city-states provided the order and protection necessary for human existence (MacFarlane & Khong 2006, p 246) while during the Romans' reign, the *Securitas* offered tranquility and freedom to the citizens (Rothschild 1995, p 61). Political security and human development were not used at the inception of UN in 1945, however, the UN from its inception demonstrated that its purpose was to enhance the access, protection and empowerment of people which was in response of the World War II horrors and the brains behind the UN Charter informed by a collective duty of protection of human rights and freedoms.

The 1948 UDHR marked the entry of both political security and human development as universal concern as countries rallied behind the idea that human rights were key to individual self-

actualization. The 1948 UDHR was one of the early stages to institutionalize the concept political security and human development providing a normative framework of the concepts, a preventive mechanism on issues such as crime, preventing human rights abuse. Notable international conventions on human rights that shaped political security and human development were like the 1976 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Establishment of an African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights of 2003.

These agreements gave international legal recognition to the rights and freedoms of individuals (MacFarlane & Khong, 2006, p 18). The UN Charter bridged development and security (Fukuda-Parr & Messineo, 2012, p 10) informed by the social and economic turmoil in the World War II. Various UN agencies have worked to ensure the economic and social progress alongside peace, security, and human rights as the central objectives of the United Nations. Governments had responsibility under the twin International Covenants on Economic and Political Rights as a guarantor and protector of human rights and freedom while at the same time championing development as a bedrock of increasing peoples' choices in life.

The challenge towards the traditional understanding of security received more critics in the 1970s and 1980s from commissions such as the Club of Rome Group. The Club of Rome Group pointed out that individuals regardless of race, gender or political opinion face dangers from financial interruptions, ecological debasement, and disintegration of conventional qualities (Bajpai, 2003). Further, the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, in 1982 called for collective and cooperative approaches to nuclear related threats and outlined how security goes beyond military and involves both economic and political cooperation (Rothschild, 1995).

The rise of economic and environmental agendas in the 1980s challenged the traditional approach to security. The main argument presented by proponents of this new movement was that the traditional approach was unidirectional and state-centric that did not take into consideration of the fast-changing international society. The disaffiliation of the narrow definition of security had grown particularly in Europe. Further, this disaffiliation was informed by two factors; the utilitarian assumption on which much of development economics are founded (GDP) and secondly informed by the Amartya Sen work that advocated for the expanding the capabilities of individuals rather than increasing utility (Griffin, 2000). The 1990 HDR by the UNDP aimed to advance this

concept by advocating for a human development, richness of human life (expanding individuals' opportunities and choices) as opposed to the richness of the economy.

The end of the Cold War intensified this debate, catalyzed with the global connectedness, the security agenda widened to incorporate the rise of new concerns such as identity issues and transnational crime (Muguruza, 2018, p 17). The security referent objects shifted to economic, environmental, and societal sectors-security become multidimensional, moving from state oriented to people centred: qualification among inner and outside security become obscured. The Agenda for Peace by the then Secretary General Boutros Ghali recognized the intricacy of the idea security in line with the emerging risks: disease, famine, drug trafficking, unchecked population growth, increased trade barriers, all these vulnerabilities catalyzed by the process of globalization which has created (UN Secretary General, 1992).

The end of Cold War presented a new challenge to the state-centric approach of security, insecurity originated within the state (intra-state violence) and a new response was needed. The United Nations Security Council guided by Article 24 of the UN Charter launched a series of resolutions recognizing that breaches of human rights at one part of the world threatens international peace and security. This placed state sovereignty as a responsibility and human rights at the core of the new international order.

The UNDP 1994—Human Development Report (HDR) recognized that “people should be at the centre of development” in the post-Cold War era, the growth in national production should translate into human development which will expand the choices of citizens to lead lives of value and expanding their human capabilities (HDR, 1994).

The Commission on Human Security (CHS) report Human Security Now sought to expand the definition and scope political security and human development by introducing the term vital core as the main objective of human security aiming to promote and enhance freedoms and human fulfillment CHS, 2003). The report expanded the scope of human security to include the Freedom to Live in Dignity, linked security, development, and human rights under the rubric of human security. The UN report A More Secure World (2004) acknowledged threats encountered by both state and individuals are inter-connected and therefore a cooperative approach was needed to eliminate them.

The 2005 Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All put both political security and human advancement at the focal point of worldwide undertakings. It recognized the three columns as key to human life connecting security, improvement, and common liberties. Goal 66/290 of the UN qualified Follow-up for section 143 on human security of the 2005 World Summit Outcome-was embraced by the General Assembly in 2012 trying to bring states as indispensable players of safety.

2.1 Political Security and Human Development in Kenya

2.1.1. Colonial Era

Political security and human development in Kenya dates to the pre-colonial era. During the British colonial rule, native citizens were subjected various methods of administration, which were considered demeaning to their dignity. Some of these mechanisms included both hut and poll taxes (UK Parliament, 1934) which were a source of revenue to the colonial government but a misery to the disadvantaged population. The punishment for non-payment of hut tax was fine, failure to do so earned an individual forced labour thereby providing the colonial government with the cheap labour.

A poll tax was introduced due to demand for labour from the British settlers that required native Kenyans to work for the colonist government not less than 60 days a year unless they were already employed. This led to native population being displaced from their fertile lands which were occupied by settler farmers. This created food shortages for the natives, as they were huddled in reserves and had no land of their own to till, while the settlers who took the prime lands known as the “white highlands” focused mainly on cash crops for export to British markets.

The native men and women were concentrated in reserves like Manyani, Kitui and Ngong’. In addition, the 1913 land bill created further monopoly of land as it gave a 999-year leases to the white British settlers. Additionally, the destocking by the British created food insecurity on the native population who relied on livestock for food, for example the Maasai and Kamba.

The native citizens began to mount pressure on the British government for self-rule among other rights such as right to vote to shape their future, right to education, right to access of health facility, and freedom of movement. The determination to self-rule was an idea, which was not tolerated by the British Empire as uprisings such as Mau Mau were quashed as evident in the state of emergency

declared from October 1952 to December 1959. Those who were captured as the ring leaders of the uprising such as Dedan Kimathi and Waruhiu Itote "General China" did not receive a fair hearing neither did their sympathizers and supporters.

The military operation to suppress the Mau Mau movement resulted to massive violation of political rights and economic rights enshrined in the UDHR as the native citizens lived with fear of the cruelty of the British and African troops. In addition, native citizens could not engage in meaningful economic activities out of fear of getting raid as British troops could take food stuffs without paying. Furthermore, native citizens were pushed to unproductive lands while the highlands were preserved to the colonial masters. Additionally, the high taxes only added more misery to the oppressed population and access to facilities such as hospitals was based on racial considerations at time when most of the natives were suffering from malaria infections and deaths among other diseases.

The healthcare of native Kenyans was not among the priorities of Britain but rather various mechanisms such as sanitation measures out of assumption that native men and women were unhygienic. The Public Health Ordinance of 1913 reemphasized this logic, segregation was introduced in the major towns.

2.1.2 The Jomo Kenyatta Era

Kenya attained independence on 12 December 1963 with President Jomo Kenyatta assuming full power on 12 December 1964 as both head of the state and government. President Kenyatta outlined poverty, ignorance and diseases as the main factors holding Kenya's potential in his acceptance speech and promised to drive the country towards a more prosperous future, a mockery to the British who used all the three as a justification to colonial domination. These promises were not actualized as corruption soon slowed down the efforts. This growing dissatisfaction led to the Shifta War (1963–1967) which was a secessionist movement by the ethnic Somalis in North-Eastern Kenya to join Somalia. This movement was met by severe response where mass violation of human rights was experienced; civilians were forced into concentration camps separating them from their normal lives as well as killing of their livestock of a community that are pastoralists.

On the political rights, the Amnesty International accused the state on the violation of human rights. Prominent politicians who held divergent ideas were viewed as enemies of the state and

were murdered as Kenyatta's firm grip was felt to the grassroots. Political assassinations such as Josiah Mwangi Kariuki, Pio Gama Pinto, Ronald Ngala and Tom Mboya were a drawback to the dark days of the colonial rule. The banning of the multiparty politics, the Kisumu Massacre, and the detention of Kenya People's Union (KPU) leaders without trial was seen as a violation of the UDHR. On the economic front, the country experienced a GDP growth rate of 6.6 per cent a year (Times, 1973) however this did not make an impact on the grassroots as majority of Kenyans lived below poverty line.

According to Mutakha Khangu (Ochola, 2016, p 2) the adoption of the Sessional Paper Number 10 on African Socialism and its Application to Planning as an instrument for socio-economic development was a policy malfunction as it failed to guide the country to great economic independence and political equality, social justice, and dignity as outlined in the opening paragraphs the paper (Sessional Paper No 10 of 1965). The implementation of the sessional paper no. 10 suffered from bad leadership and poor governance. Further, the "Provincial Balance and Social Inertia" created further inequality as citizens who identified as low potential less resources compared to the high potential areas (Sessional Paper No 10, 1965, paragraph 133) - a colonial legacy.

Kenyatta administration retained the health structure developed during the colonial period together with its problems; there was no financing strategy. National growth was seen as a catalyst of economic development and social progress and therefore healthcare was dependent on economic development. The Sessional paper no 14 recommended the creation of the National Hospital Insurance Fund (NHIF) as a starting point for free healthcare services. The paper recommended family planning education as a remedy to the fast-growing population that was deemed undesirable for growth. The Kenya African National Union (KANU) government increased the number of public hospitals to combat malaria and tuberculosis which were main threats at the time.

2.1.3 The Daniel Moi Era

Daniel Arap Moi assumed power in 1978 following Kenyatta's death. He continued with the single party rule despite civil society pressure to reform the constitution to allow multiparty system. Following the attempted coup on 2 August 1982 which was informed by increased demands for multi-party system, elections were held a year early. The Wagalla massacre on 10 February 1984 was the highest violation of human rights under the Moi era (The Truth, Justice and Reconciliation

Commission of Kenya). The *mlolongo* (queuing) system during the 1988 elections where voters lined behind their favoured candidates was the peak of a very authoritarian regime.

The repeal of the section 2A marked the beginning of the multiparty political system after 26 years of single-party rule. The subsequent elections were marked with voter fraud allegations as Moi won the 4th and 5th terms. The Sessional Paper No 1 of 1986 On Economic Management for Renewed Growth was adopted to solve economic crises and slow economic growth. However, Moi, just as his predecessor, continued with the practice of political clientelism and concentrated growth in the Rift Valley province as every project was named after him: Moi Tea Zones, Moi Air force, various Moi high schools etc. Kenya was also faced with various droughts, famine and food shortages periods: the 1985, 1998-2000- was estimated to have had economic costs of \$2.8 billion (Stockholm Environment Institute, 2009).

On the political rights, political assassinations such as Robert Ouko, Fr Anthony Kaiser, Julie Ward, Bishop Alex Muge was a common occurrence. Civil society was closely monitored and tribal clashes such as the 1992 post-election dispute, the 1997 dispute which was associated with the Saba Saba movement that called for more political freedoms.

On human development, the Moi administration focused on four main issues; immunization against disease such as polio and smallpox, nutrition, general sanitation, and healthcare education that was designed to achieve the WHO's Organization's goal of 'Health for All by the year 2020'. The District Focus Rural Development Plan (1982) was adopted as a framework to enhance provision of healthcare services at grassroots as the district officers were empowered to raise local revenue to finance community development projects. The Nyayo wards were created to improve health security along providing affordable and accessible health care to Kenyans. The Sessional paper No. 1 of 1986 on "*Economic Management for renewed growth*" outlined the KANU's priorities relating to health care fund and services that sought to strengthen the National Health Insurance Fund. In 1989, the user fees were introduced in the public health sector to increase additional resources in the health sector, however in 1990 it was temporarily suspended as majority of the population could not afford it. During his reign, Kenya signed the Abuja Declaration of 2001 in which African states committed to be setting aside 15% of their annual budgets to health.

2.1.4 The Mwai Kibaki Era

President Mwai Kibaki first term era was marked with a tremendous economic growth and increased foreign direct investment. There was increased civil society freedom and divergent political thoughts were tolerated. Reforms such as free education increased the general well-being of the citizens and development projects such as infrastructure and access to loans through micro-finance institutions. The 2005 Kenya Referendum on the Constitution did not come to being as it was rejected by 57 per cent of the electorate and reflected that the country was still characterized by political loyalty based on ethnicity.

The 2007/2008 disputed elections was marred by political and ethnic violence. It demonstrated the violation of the fundamental pillars of political security; physical and direct violence that resulted in casualties of more than 1,133, with at least 350,000 internally displaced persons. In addition, sexual violence of unknown numbers as well as destruction of properties (Human Rights Watch). Economically, there were both short-term and long-term effects which went beyond the borders plunging East Africa into uncertainty.

According to Halakhe (2013) Kenya embarked on strengthening the independence of various institutions among them the various courts and impartiality as a viable peaceful dispute mechanism. These efforts did not lead to meaningful justice as no one was held responsible locally. Johan Kriegler, a senior South African judge was appointed by the coalition government to lead a commission of enquiry to investigate the electoral process that led to the disputed 2007/2008 election. The Kriegler Commission presented its findings in mid-September 2008: main conclusion was that there was no clear winner of the 2007 presidential election. This was followed by a unanimous endorsement of the report by Parliament in December 2008 and thus confirming the legitimacy of the coalition government.

Following the recommendations of various committees and commissions in the aftermath of the 2007/2008 disputed elections, a new constitution was adopted that incorporated various issues such as marginalization. The Constitution of Kenya 2010 expanded peoples' liberty through increased representation, empowerment of citizens in decision making and promotion of equity by ensuring that the needs of marginalized communities and individuals are taken care of.

2.1.5 The Uhuru Kenyatta Era

The *Big 4 Agenda* development (affordable housing, universal health, food security and manufacturing) by President Kenyatta in his second term is in tune with both UN reforms agenda and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) aimed at improving the human development state in Kenya. There have been attempts by the Kenyan government as demonstrated through initiatives such as commitment of 988,421.526-acres Galana-Kulalu Food Security Project. The commitment of US\$42 million by the Kenyan government for the first phase of the project was a positive step forward.

Political security (freedom of press, right to vote, free and fair elections) has been a subject of concern in Kenya that has affected human development (mortality rate). Kenya has experienced election related violence which has constantly casted a dark cloud on the human development agenda (Halakhe, 2013). The disputed 2013 and 2017 disputed elections negatively painted the Uhuru presidency marred by political and ethnic violence that affected human rights state in Kenya; violations from loss of lives, suppressed freedom of press and free and fair elections. This comes after the adoption of the Kenya Constitution 2010 advocating for the freedom of press (Article 33 (2)), right to vote and recommendations from various reports aimed at freer and fair elections, the Kriegler and Waki Reports. Kenya continues to be fragile in every election cycle despite the adaptation of the Kenya Constitution 2010, the right to vote and free and fair elections have not been fully actualized as concerns of voter buying, voter intimidation, voter importation and calls for an impartial administration and an accountable electoral institution continue to surface in every election.

The Supreme Court of Kenya on 20 November 2017 dropped off two appeals by National Super Alliance (NASA), opposition coalition aimed to overturn the October 26th presidential elections results. The decision to uphold President Uhuru Kenyatta's victory by the Supreme Court sparked protests by supporters of the NASA opposition, escalating into violent clashes with police coupled by economic effects and loss of lives. Dissatisfaction against the IEBC during the 2013 and 2017 is negative legacy for the Uhuru presidency.

Violations against journalists have not declined as reports such as the ARTICLE 19 Eastern Africa 2018 documented various forms of violations experienced by media personnel: Physical attacks, arrests, threats, denied access and media shutdown (ARTICLE 19, 2018). Journalists

continue to face physical attacks; a DW correspondent was attacked by police forces while reporting from a coronavirus demonstration in Nairobi (DW, 2021), the resignation of eight columnists over increased media regulation and a 'worrying pattern' of government influence (DW, 2021), and the temporary shut down three of Kenya's biggest TV stations that planned to cover the mock presidential inauguration of opposition leader Raila Odinga in the disputed 2017 General election. Further, various laws and regulations by the Kenyan government continue to pose dilemma on the actualization of the freedom of the press; the Media Council Act of 2013, Public Order Act, Books and Newspaper Act, the Access to Information Act 2016.

CHAPTER THREE

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

3.0 Introduction

This chapter outlines the results of the data analysis, presentation and how the data was interpreted. The research aimed to draw a relationship between political security and human development by focusing on three variables of political security. Data analysis was based on the objectives of the study.

The respondents were drawn from Amnesty International Kenya, Civil Rights Defenders-African Segment, Media Council of Kenya, International Society for Human Rights-East Africa Chapter, KHRC, International IDEA, Centre for Multiparty Democracy Kenya as these organizations focus on specific aspect of political security and therefore resourceful.

3.1 Response Rate

From the sampled population, 54 dully filled questionnaires were submitted, which made a return rate of 60%. According to Mugenda (2003), a response rate of above 50% is said to be adequate to facilitate data analysis, a 60% is good while a 70% retrun rate and above is outstanding.

Table 3.1. Questionnaire Return Rate

| Response | Frequency (n) | Percentage (%) |
|----------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| Response | 54 | 60 |
| No response | 36 | 40 |
| Total Response Rate | 90 | 100 |

Source: Field Data (2021)

3.2 Reliability

The internal consistency of the questionnaires was determined by aid of Cronbach alpha. The finding are outlined in the table below:

Table 3.2. Summary of Reliability Test on Independent Variables

| Serial No. | Variable | No. of Items used | Cronbach's alpha |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 1 | Freedom of the press | 13 | $\alpha=0.85$ |
| 2 | Right to vote | 13 | $\alpha=0.83$ |
| 3 | Free and fair elections | 13 | $\alpha=0.80$ |

Source: Field Data (2021)

From the above Cronbach's alpha findings for the research, the tool had acceptable internal reliability (above $\alpha=0.7$), and therefore it yielded reliable data that gave a valid conclusion to the study. As for the validity, the researcher carefully selected the test items and ascertained that the questionnaire was appropriate for the study and it did measure what it was supposed to measure.

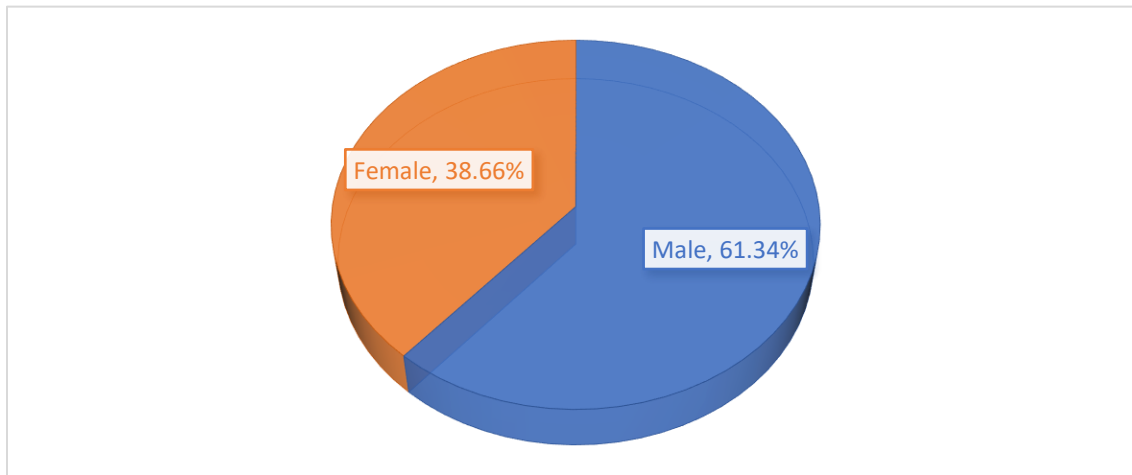
3.3 Characteristics of Research Participants

This section highlights the characteristics of the research participants: gender, and age.

3.3.1 Respondents' Gender

This sub-section highlights results of the participants' gender which are shown in figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1. Respondents' Gender



Source: Field Data (2021)

Majority of the participants were male (61.34%), whilst 38.66% were female. This might depict that majority of employees in these organizations/institutions are male.

3.3.2 Age of Research Participants

This sub-section highlights results of the participants' age as shown in table 3.2.

Table 3.3. Age of Research Participants

| Age of respondents | Frequency | Percentage (%) |
|--------------------|-----------|----------------|
| 18-29 years | 10 | 18.52 |
| 30-39 years | 16 | 29.63 |
| 40-49 years | 22 | 40.74 |
| 50-59 years | 4 | 7.41 |
| 60 years and above | 2 | 3.7 |
| Total | 54 | 100 |

Source: Field Data (2021)

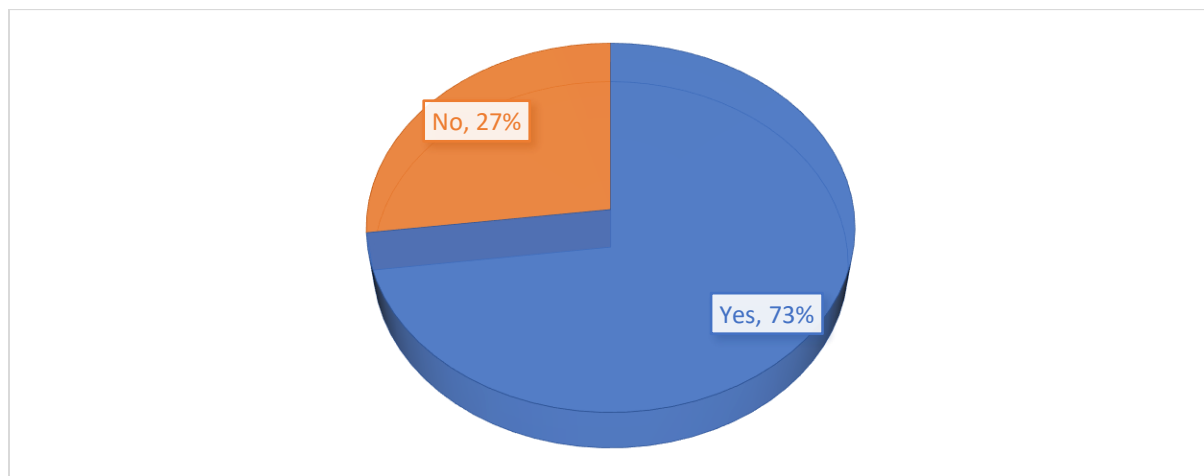
Most of the respondents (40.74%) were aged between 40-49 years, 29.64% were 30-39 years, 18.52% were 18-29 years, 7.41% were 50-59 years, while 3.7% were aged 60 years and above.

3.4. Assessment of Free and Fair Elections on Human Development

3.4.1. Understanding of Free and Fair Elections

The researcher first sought to examine respondents' understanding of free and fair elections as a sub-variable of political security. The findings are shown as below.

Figure 3.2. Understanding of Free and Fair Elections



Source: Field Data (2021)

The result showed that majority (73%) of the respondents had a clear understanding of what free and fair elections entails and 27% were of the contrary opinion. The respondents included aspects such as voter's choice of preferred candidate respected, constitute of impartial, competent accountable electoral institutions, done via secret ballot, transparent and credible in their explanation of what free and fair election entails.

3.4.2 Hypothesis Testing

The study adopted hypothesis; free and fair elections have an impact on human development in Kenya. Indicators of free and fair elections were measured by assessing responses to the following questions: the state of free and fair elections in Kenya basing it on the provisions put by the 1948 UDHR, the number of Kenyans lost to elections related violence from 2002-2017, Kenya's performance on promotion free and fair elections, effect of unfair election practices on human development (mortality rate) in Kenya, relationship between right to vote, media freedom and free and fair elections.

Regression Model

Human Development = f (Freedom of the Press)

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \varepsilon$$

Table 3.4. Influence of free and fair elections on human development.

| Model Summary | | | | | | |
|--|----------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|--------|------|
| Model | R | R Square | Adjusted R Square | Std. Error of the Estimate | | |
| 1 | .721 ^a | .520 | .535 | .71455 | | |
| ANOVA^a | | | | | | |
| Model | | Sum of Squares | Df | Mean Square | F | Sig. |
| | Regression | .044 | 1 | .044 | .086 | .001 |
| 1 | Residual | 26.572 | 52 | .511 | | |
| | Total | 26.616 | 53 | | | |
| Coefficients^a | | | | | | |
| Model | | Unstandardized Coefficients | | Standardized Coefficients | t | Sig. |
| | | B | Std. Error | Beta | | |
| | (Constant) | 3.480 | .548 | | 23.508 | .000 |
| 1 | Freedom of the Press | .212 | .141 | .015 | .292 | .001 |
| Dependent Variable: Human Development | | | | | | |
| Predictors: (Constant), Freedom of the Press | | | | | | |

Source: Field Data (2021)

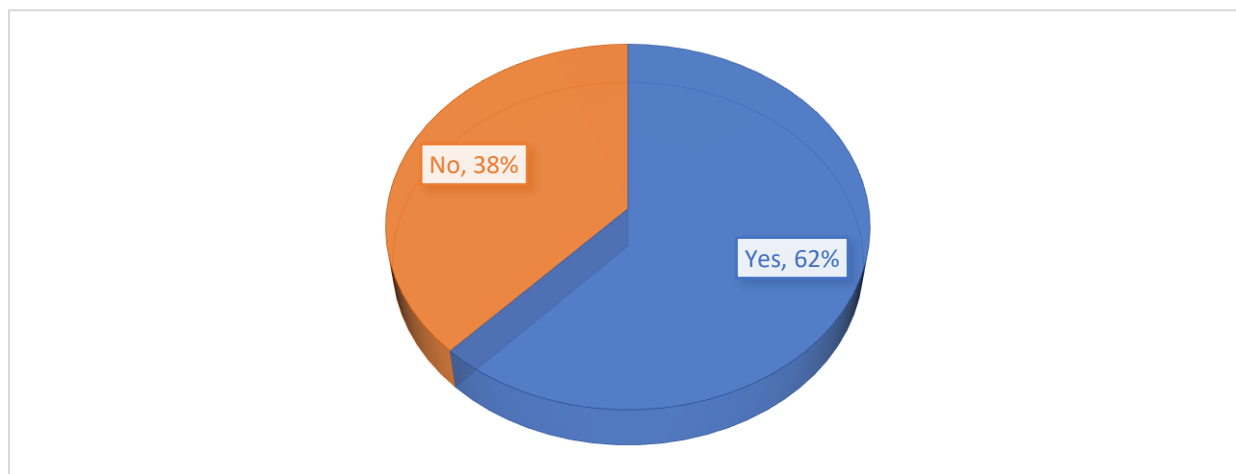
From the above, $r = 0.721$ indicating a positive slope between the independent variable (freedom of the press) and the dependent variable (human development). The R-Squared was .520, meaning that 52.0% of the variation in human development was explained by variation in the freedom of the press. 48.0% were for other factors. The model was statistically significant at ($p < 0.05$) for the ANOVA results.

The results show that the p-value is 0.0010.05, the t is 23.508, the p is 0.0010.05, the r is 0.721, and the r square is 0.520. Hence based on these findings we accept the research hypothesis that free and fair elections have an impact on human development in Kenya.

3.4.3. The state of free and fair elections in Kenya basing it on the provisions put by the 1948 UDHR?

The respondents were required to explain the state of free and fair elections in Kenya and if in their opinion, there are free and fair elections in the country. Sixty two (62%) of the respondents expressed that the state of free and fair elections in Kenya was fair albeit some drawbacks such as lack of political will, negotiated democracy, challenges within the IEBC transmission of results, election malpractices, lack of trust in the IEBC. Further, respondents were required to state a ‘yes’/’no’ on the state of free and fair elections in Kenya with 62% responding ‘yes’ as per below figure.

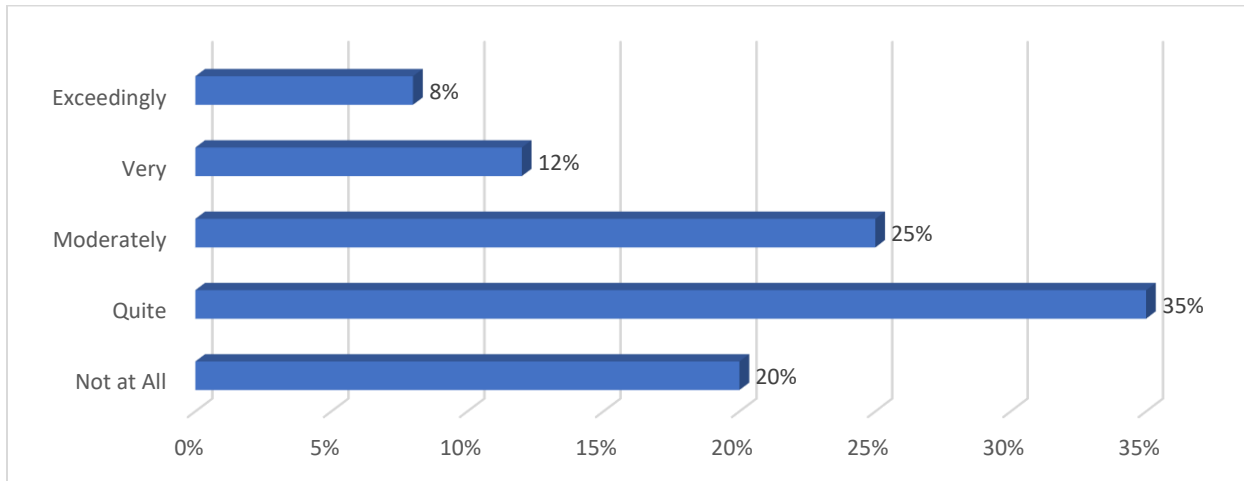
Figure 3.3. The state of free and fair elections in Kenya



Source: Field Data (2021)

They were in addition to asked to rate Kenya’s freedom of the state from 1-5; (1 represents Not at all; 2 - Quite; 3 - Moderately; 4 - Very, and 5 - Exceedingly).

Figure 3.4. Rating the Kenya's freedom of the state

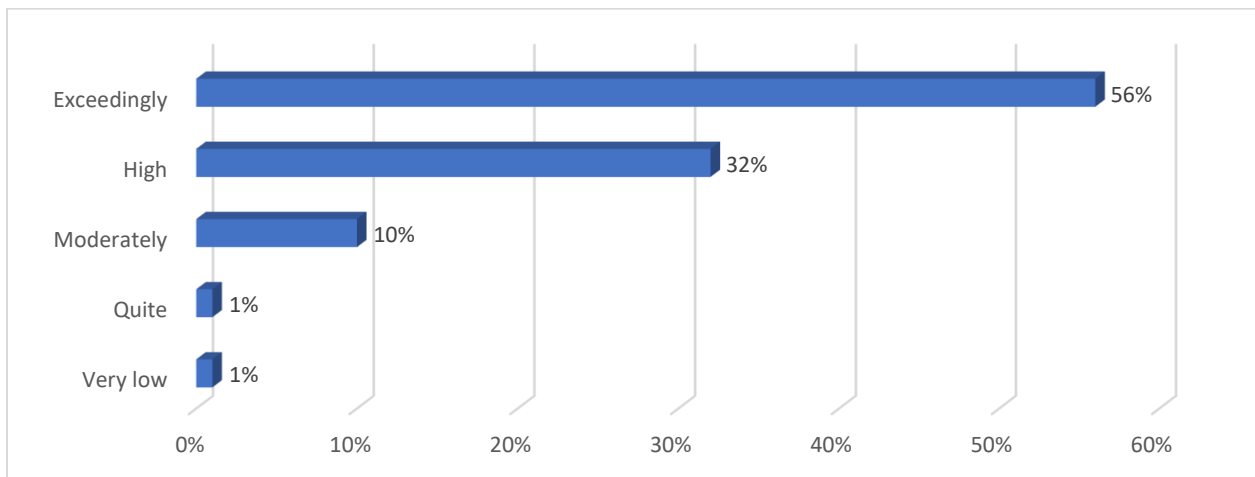


Source: Field Data (2021)

3.4.4. The number of Kenyans lost to elections related violence from 2002-2017

The respondents were required to state number of Kenyans lost to elections related violence from 2002-2017. The measure that was used was; 100-250 'very low, 5-10 indicated 'quite', 250-500 indicated moderately, 500-750 indicated 'high' while above 1,000 'exceedingly'.

Figure 3.5. Number of Kenyans Lost to Election related violence

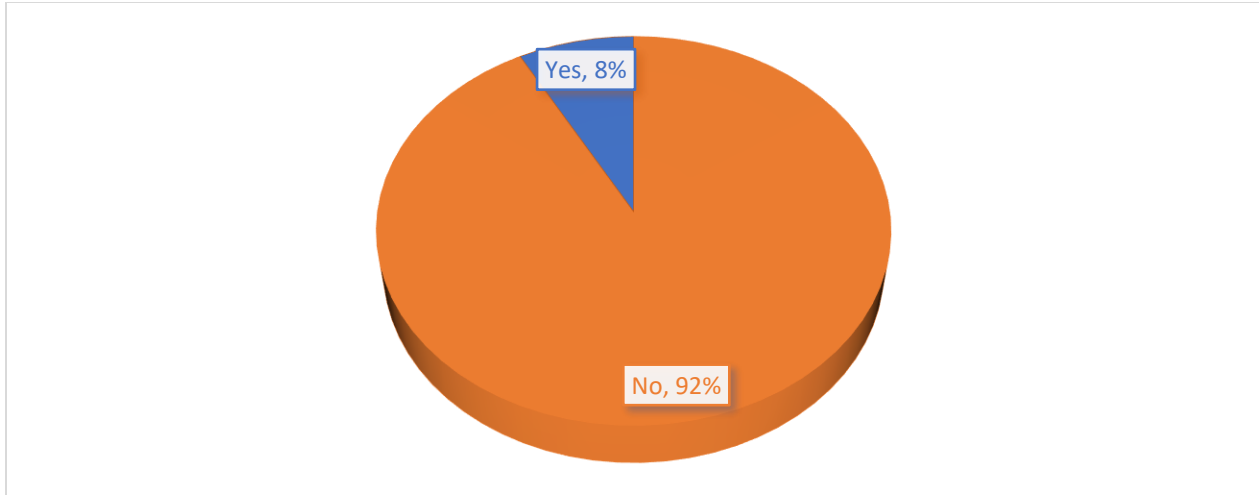


Source: Field Data (2021)

From the findings majority (56%) indicated that the number of Kenyans lost to elections related violence from 2002-2017 was exceedingly high, 32% indicated high, 10% indicated moderately, while 1% indicated quite and very low respectively. This depicts that an exceedingly high number of Kenyans were lost to elections related violence from 2002-2017.

Respondents were in addition asked whether the above reflected the provisions put by UDHR (Article 21), ICCPR (Article 25).

Figure 3.6. Whether the number of kenyan lost to election related violence-reflects the provisions put by UDHR (Article 21), ICCPR (Article 25).



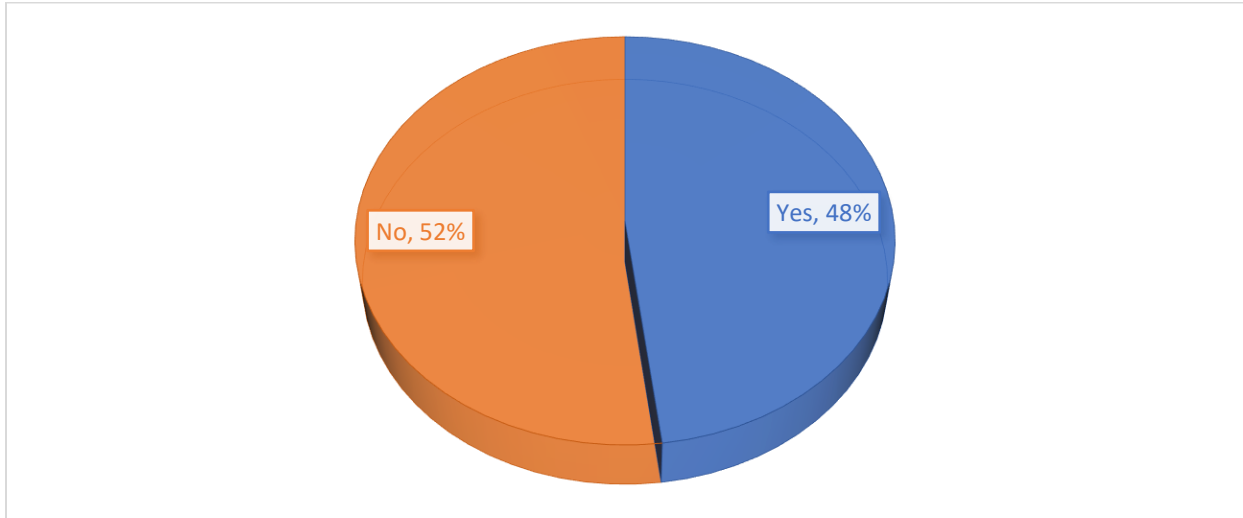
Source: Field Data (2021)

Ninety two (92%) of the respondents indicated that it was contrally to the provisions put by the 1948 UDHR (Article 21), ICCPR (Article 25).

3.4.5. Are there adequate strategies in place to address incidences of unfair elections practices in Kenya

The respondents were required to respond 'yes' or 'no'. For 'yes' respondents were required to issue ratings from 1-5; (1 represents Not at all; 2 - Quite; 3 - Moderately; 4 - Very, and 5 - Exceedingly). The findings are as shown in the following figures

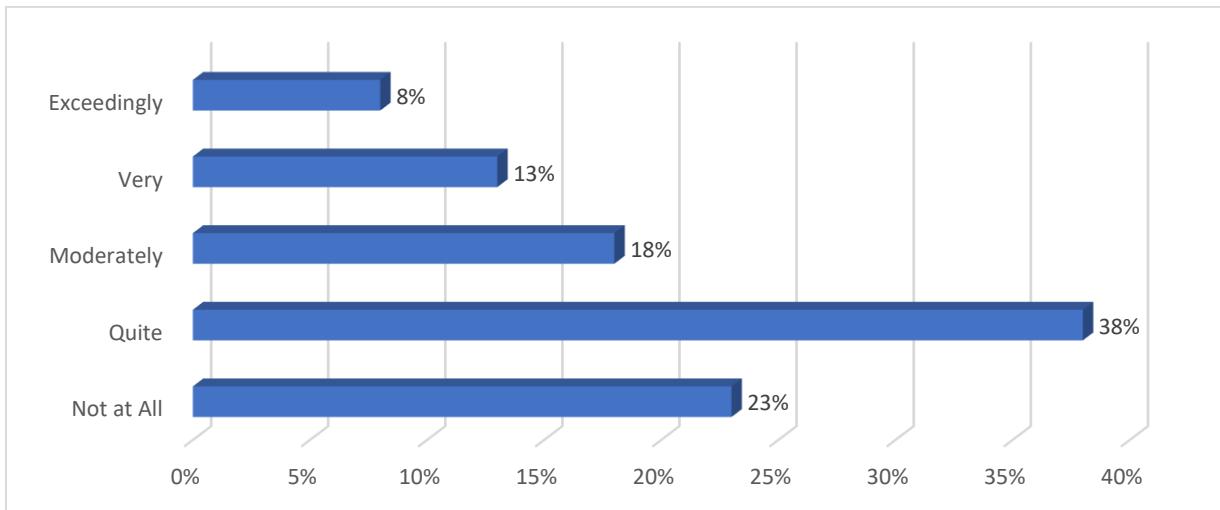
Figure 3.7. Strategies to address incidences of unfair elections practices



Source: Field Data (2021)

From the findings majority (52%) of the respondents indicated that there are no adequate strategies in place to address incidences of unfair elections practices in Kenya while 48% were of the contrary opinion.

Figure 3.8. Rating of strategies to address unfair elections



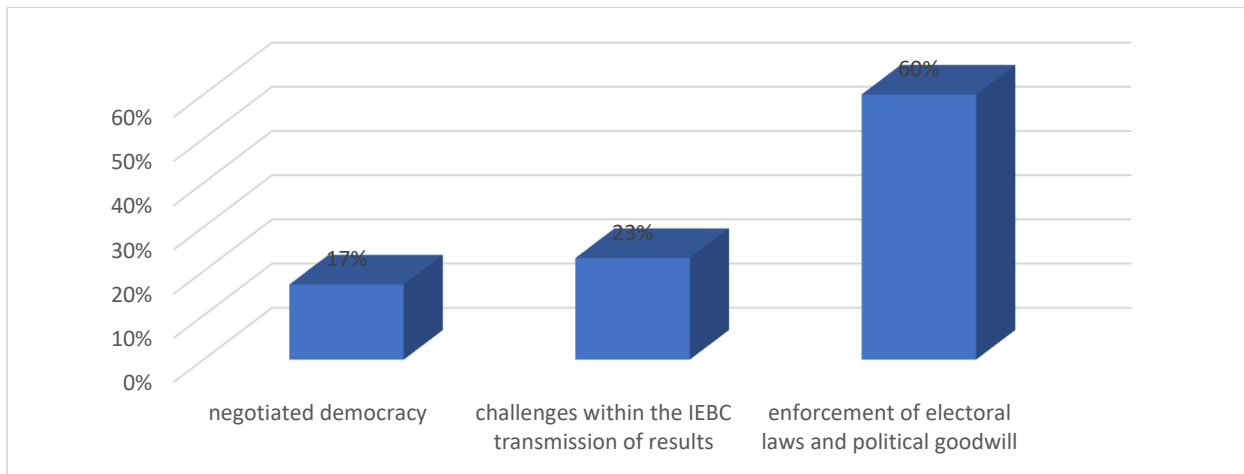
Source: Field Data (2021)

From the findings most (38%) of the respondents rated quite on the adequacy of the strategies in place to address incidences of unfair elections practices in Kenya, 23% rated not at all, 18% rated

moderately, 13% rated very while 8% rated exceedingly. This depicts that the adequacy of the strategies in place to address incidences of unfair elections practices in Kenya.

For ‘no’, the respondents were to state reasons with the respondents stating the following; negotiated democracy, challenges within the IEBC transmission of results, enforcement of electoral laws and political goodwill. The findings are shown in the figure below.

Figure 3.9. Reasons for incidences of unfair elections practices



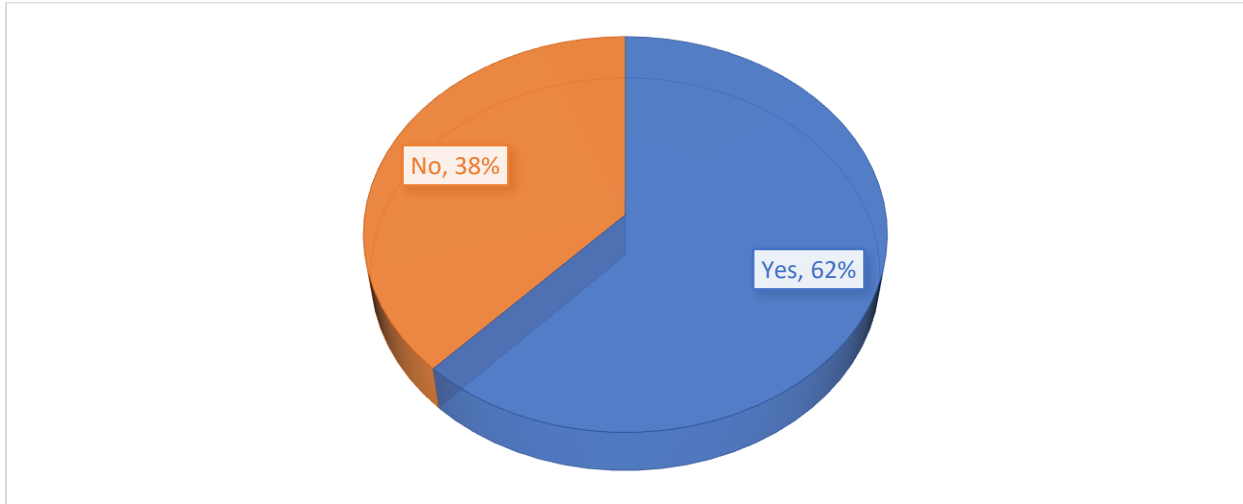
Source: Field Data (2021)

From the findings majority (60%) of the respondents indicated that enforcement of electoral laws and political goodwill affected the adequacy of strategies in place to address incidences of unfair elections practices in Kenya, 23% indicated challenges within the IEBC transmission of results while 17% indicated negotiated democracy. This depicts that enforcement of electoral laws and political goodwill affected the adequacy of strategies in place to address incidences of unfair elections practices in Kenya.

3.4.6 Has Kenya effectively implemented various international agreements aimed at promotion of free and fair elections?

Sixty two percent (62%) of respondents expressed that Kenya has made positive strides in this regard as evident by the adaptation of the 2010 constitution that domesticated various international agreements aimed at promotion of free and fair elections.

Figure 3.10. Implementation of various international agreements aimed at promotion of free and fair elections

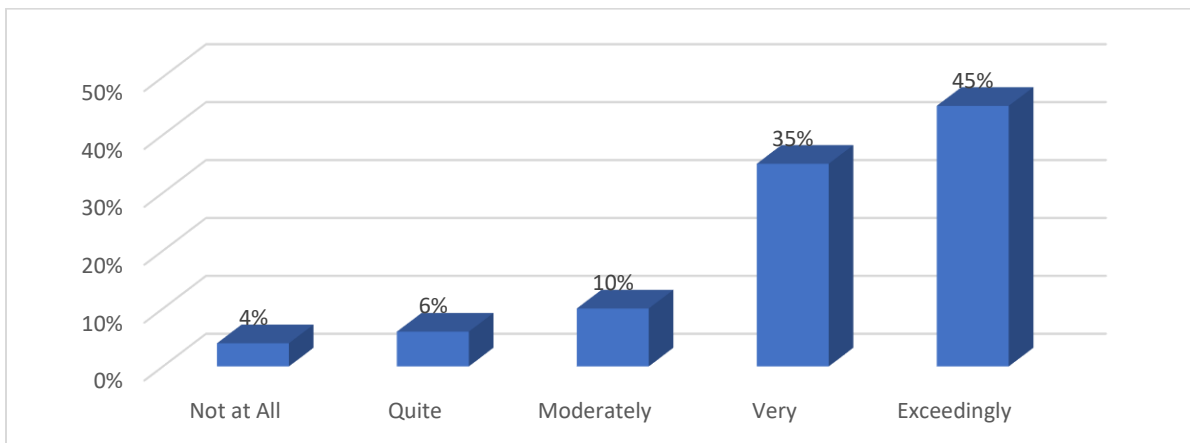


Source: Field Data (2021)

3.4.6. Effect of unfair election practices on human development (mortality rate) in Kenya.

The respondents were required to issue ratings from 1-5; (1 represents Not at all; 2 - Quite; 3 - Moderately; 4 - Very, and 5 - Exceedingly). The findings are shown in figure below.

Figure 3.11. Effect of unfair election practices on human development



Source: Field Data (2021)

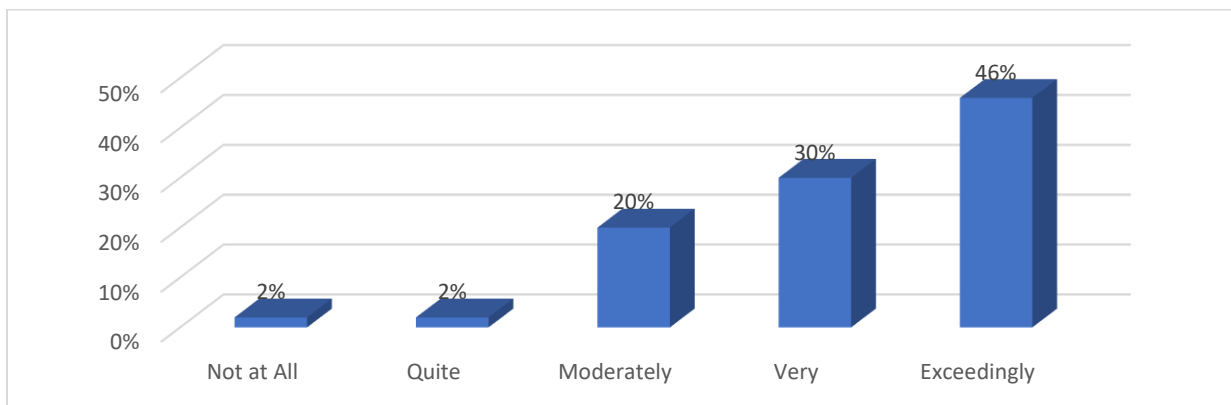
From the findings most (45%) of the respondents rated exceedingly that suppression of fair elections affects human development (mortality rate) in Kenya, 35% rated very, 10% rated

moderately, 6% rated quite, while 4% rated not at all. This depicts that suppression of fair elections affects human development (mortality rate) in Kenya.

3.4.7. The relationship between Right to Vote, Freedom of the Press and Free and Fair Elections

The respondents were required to issue ratings from 1-5; (1 represents Not at all; 2 - Quite; 3 - Moderately; 4 - Very, and 5 - Exceedingly). The findings are shown in figure below.

Figure 3.12. Relationship between Right to Vote, Freedom of the Press and Free and Fair Elections



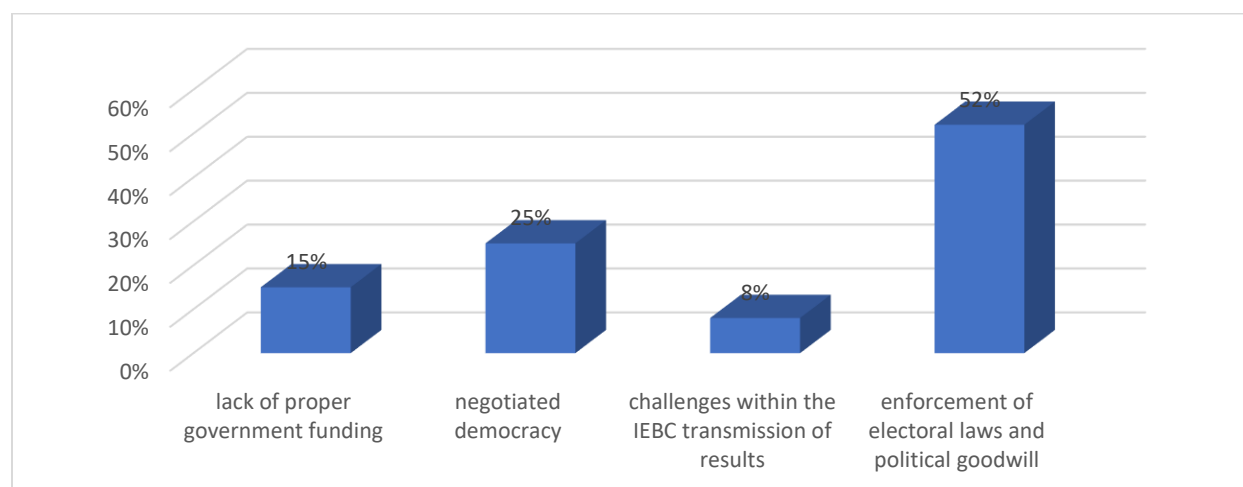
Source: Field Data (2021)

From the findings majority (46%) of the respondents rated exceedingly the relationship between right to vote, media freedom and free and fair elections, 30% rated very, 20% rated moderately, while 2% rated quite and not at all respectively. This depicts that there is an exceedingly high relationship between right to vote, media freedom and free and fair elections.

3.4.8. Challenges are facing the attainment of free and fair elections in Kenya

The respondents were required to state challenges facing the attainment of free and fair elections in Kenya. They responded as follows; lack of proper government funding, negotiated democracy, challenges within the IEBC transmission of results, enforcement of electoral laws and political goodwill.

Figure 3.13. Challenges are facing the attainment of free and fair elections in Kenya



Source: Field Data (2021)

From the findings, majority (52%) of the respondents indicated that enforcement of electoral laws and political goodwill was the main challenge facing the attainment of free and fair elections in Kenya, 25% indicated negotiated democracy, 15% indicated lack of proper government funding, while 8% indicated challenges within the IEBC transmission of results. This depicts that enforcement of electoral laws and political goodwill was the main challenge facing the attainment of free and fair elections in Kenya.

The respondents were requested to indicate their extent of agreement on the effect of free and fair elections on human development. The findings are shown in the table below.

Table 3.5. Descriptive Statistics on free and fair elections in Kenya

| Statement | Mean | Std. Dev. |
|--|------|-----------|
| The state of free and fair elections in Kenya | 3.87 | 0.1384 |
| No. of Kenyans lost to elections related violence | 4.12 | 0.1529 |
| Kenya's performance on promotion free and fair elections | 3.62 | 0.1723 |
| Effect of unfair elections on human development (mortality rate) | 3.95 | 0.1834 |
| Relationship between right to vote, freedom of the press and free and fair elections | 3.80 | 0.1324 |

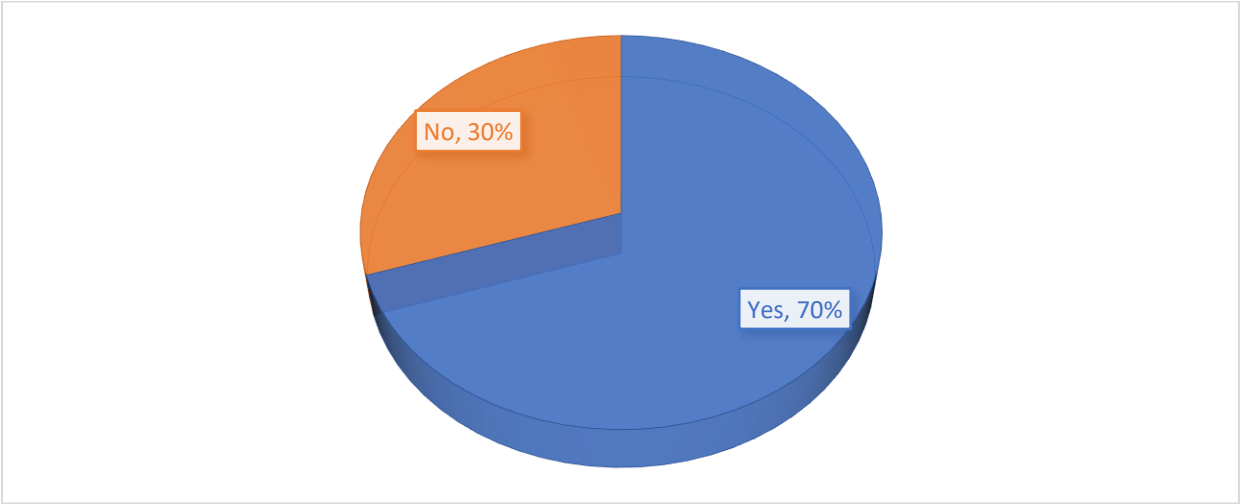
Source: Field Data (2021)

From the findings the respondents agreed that the number of Kenyans lost to elections related violence affected human development (mean=4.12), followed by effect of unfair elections on human development (mortality rate) (mean=3.95), the state of free and fair elections in Kenya (mean=3.87), relationship between right to vote, media freedom and free and fair elections (mean=3.8), Kenya’s performance on promotion free and fair elections (mean=3.62). The depicts that the number of Kenyans lost to elections related violence affected human development.

3.5. Assessment of Right to Vote on Human Development

The researcher sought to establish the impact of the right to vote on human development in Kenya. The researcher first examined the respondents’ understanding of right to vote as a sub-variable of political security. The result showed the respondents had a clear understanding of what right to vote entails as 70% of the respondents included aspects such as voter’s ability to access a polling station and partake the electoral process, ability of a voter to freely elect a candidate of their choice, vote via secret ballot, and opportunity to take part in the government, periodic elections-after 5 years.

Figure 3.14. Assessment of Right to Vote on Human Development.



Source: Field Data (2021)

3.5.1. Hypothesis Testing

The study adopted the hypothesis; right to vote enhances human development in Kenya. Indicators of free and fair elections were measured by assessing responses to the following questions: the state of right to vote in Kenya basing it on the provisions put by the 1948 UDHR, the number of Kenyans lost to elections related violence from 2002-2017, Kenya’s performance on promotion of

right to vote, effect of suppression of the right to vote on human development (mortality rate) in Kenya, relationship between right to vote, media freedom and free and fair elections.

Regression Model

Human Development = f (Right to Vote)

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_2 X_2 + \varepsilon$$

Table 3.6. Influence of right to vote on human development.

| Model Summary | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|--------|------|
| Model | R | R Square | Adjusted R Square | Std. Error of the Estimate | | |
| 1 | .812 ^a | .659 | .661 | .69544 | | |
| ANOVA^a | | | | | | |
| Model | | Sum of Squares | Df | Mean Square | F | Sig. |
| | Regression | 10.441 | 1 | 10.441 | 21.572 | .000 |
| 1 | Residual | 25.168 | 52 | .484 | | |
| | Total | 35.609 | 53 | | | |
| Coefficients^a | | | | | | |
| Model | | Unstandardized Coefficients | | Standardized Coefficients | t | Sig. |
| | | B | Std. Error | Beta | | |
| 1 | (Constant) | 2.809 | .157 | | 17.845 | .000 |
| | Right to Vote | .205 | .144 | .230 | 4.646 | .000 |
| Dependent Variable: Human Development | | | | | | |
| Predictors: (Constant), Right to Vote | | | | | | |

Source: Field Data (2021)

From the above, $r = 0.812$, indicating a positive slope between the independent variable (Right to Vote) and the dependent variable (Human Development). The R- Squared was .659, meaning that 65.9% of the variation in the human development was explained by variation in the right to vote.

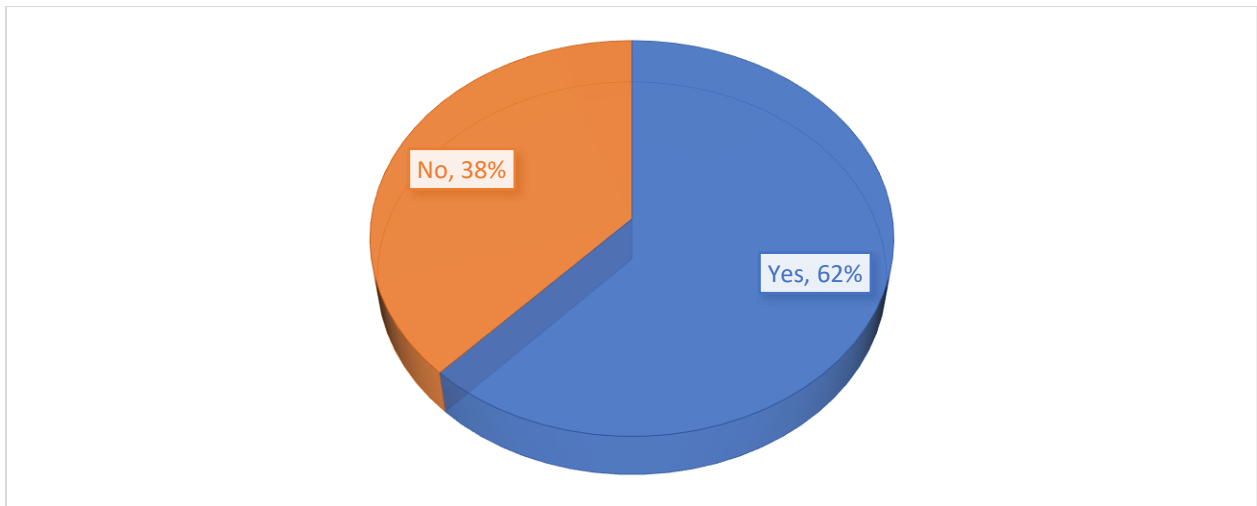
34.1% were for other factors. The model was statistically significant at ($p < 0.05$) for the ANOVA results.

The results indicate that the $p\text{-value} = 0.000 \leq 0.05$, $t = 17.845$, $p = 0.000 < 0.05$, $r = 0.812$ and $r\text{ square} = 0.659$. Hence based on these findings we accept the research hypothesis that right to vote enhance human development in Kenya.

3.5.2. The state of right to vote in Kenya

The respondents were required to explain the state of right to vote in Kenya. 62% of the respondents expressed that the state of right to vote in Kenya was fair albeit some drawbacks such as lack of political will, negotiated democracy, challenges within the IEBC transmission of results, election malpractices, lack of trust in the IEBC. Further, respondents were required to state a ‘yes’/‘no’ on the state of right to vote in Kenya with 62% responding ‘yes’ as per below figure. The findings are shown in figure below.

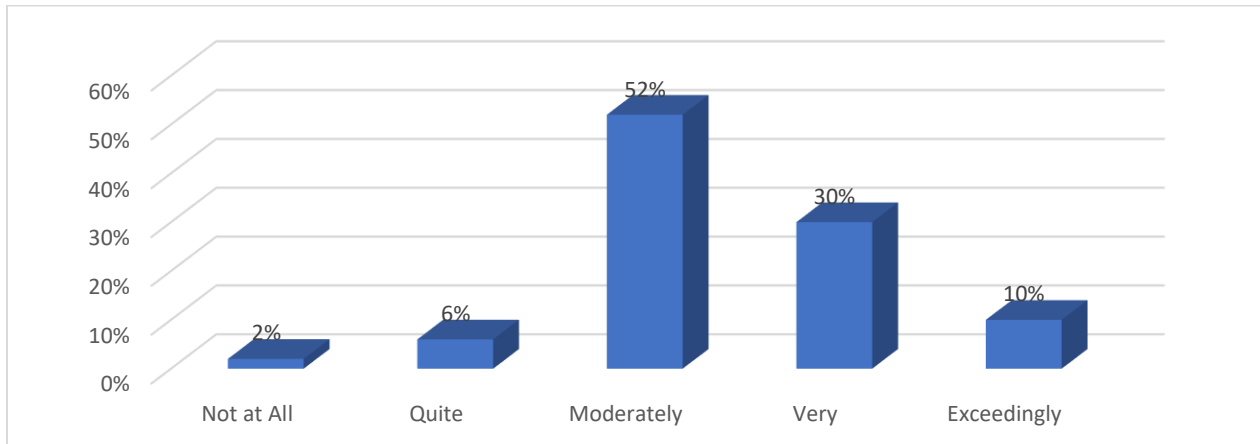
Figure 3.15. The state of right to vote in Kenya



Source: Field Data (2021)

They were in addition asked to rate Kenya’s right to vote from 1-5; (1 represents Not at all; 2 - Quite; 3 - Moderately; 4 - Very, and 5 - Exceedingly).

Figure 3.16. Rating the state of right to vote in Kenya



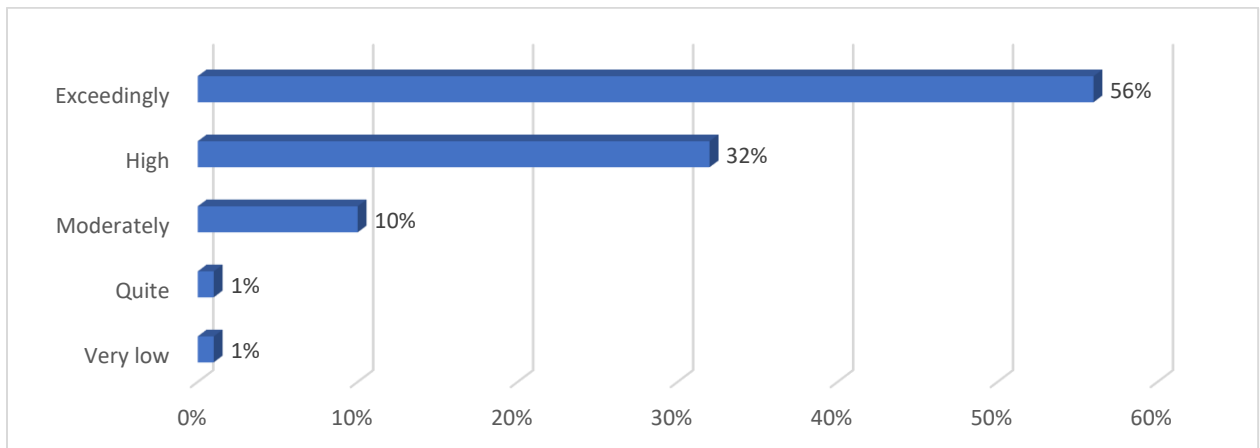
Source: Field Data (2021)

From the findings, majority (52%) of the respondents rated the right to vote as moderate, 30% rated very, 10% rated exceedingly, 6% rated quite, while 2% rated not at all. This depicts that the right to vote was rated moderately.

3.5.3. The number of Kenyans lost to elections related violence from 2002-2017

The respondents were required to state number of Kenyans lost to elections related violence from 2002-2017. The measure that was used was; 100-250 ‘very low’, 250-500 indicated ‘quite’, 500-750 indicated moderately, 750-1,000 indicated ‘high’ while above 1,000 ‘exceedingly’. Figure 3.3. highlights the findings

Figure 3.17. Number of Kenyans Lost to Elections

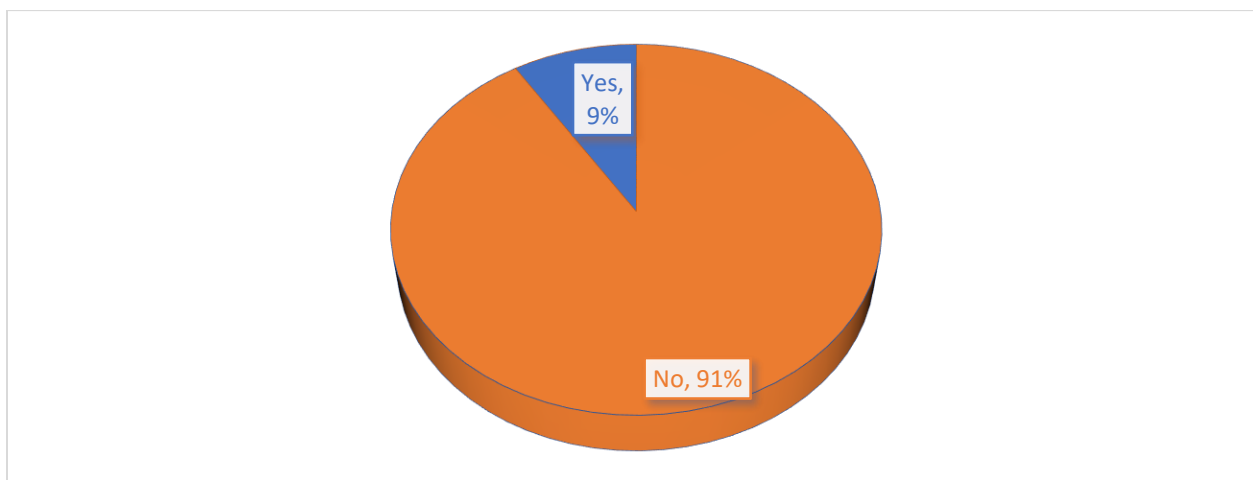


Source: Field Data (2021)

From the findings majority (56%) indicated that the number of Kenyans lost to elections related violence from 2002-2017 was exceedingly high, 32% indicated high, 10% indicated moderately, while 1% indicated quite and very low respectively. This depicts that an exceedingly high number of Kenyans were lost to elections related violence from 2002-2017.

Respondents were in addition asked whether the above reflected on the provisions put by UDHR (Article 21), ICCPR (Article 25).

Figure 3.18. Whether number of Kenyans Lost to Elections reflects provisions put by UDHR (Article 21), ICCPR (Article 25).



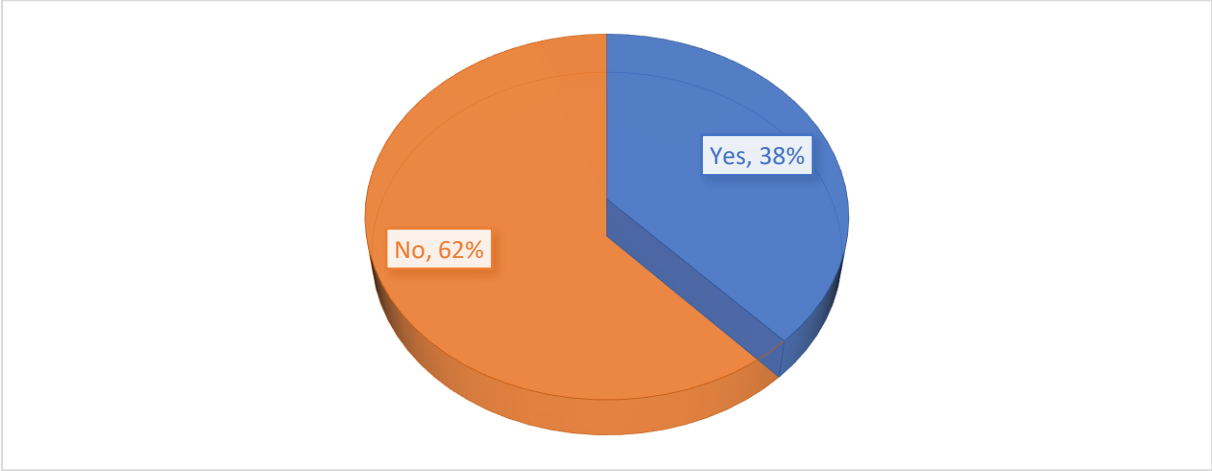
Source: Field Data (2021)

91% of the respondents indicated that it was against the provisions of put by UDHR (Article 21), ICCPR (Article 25).

3.5.4. Are there are adequate strategies in place to address incidences of of voter buying, voter importation and voter intimidation in Kenya

The respondents were required to respond 'yes' or 'no'. For 'yes' respondents were required to issue ratings from 1-5; (1 represents Not at all; 2 - Quite; 3 - Moderately; 4 - Very, and 5 - Exceedingly). The findings are shown in the following figures.

Figure 3.19. Adequate strategies in place to address incidences of of voter buying, voter importation and voter intimidation in Kenya

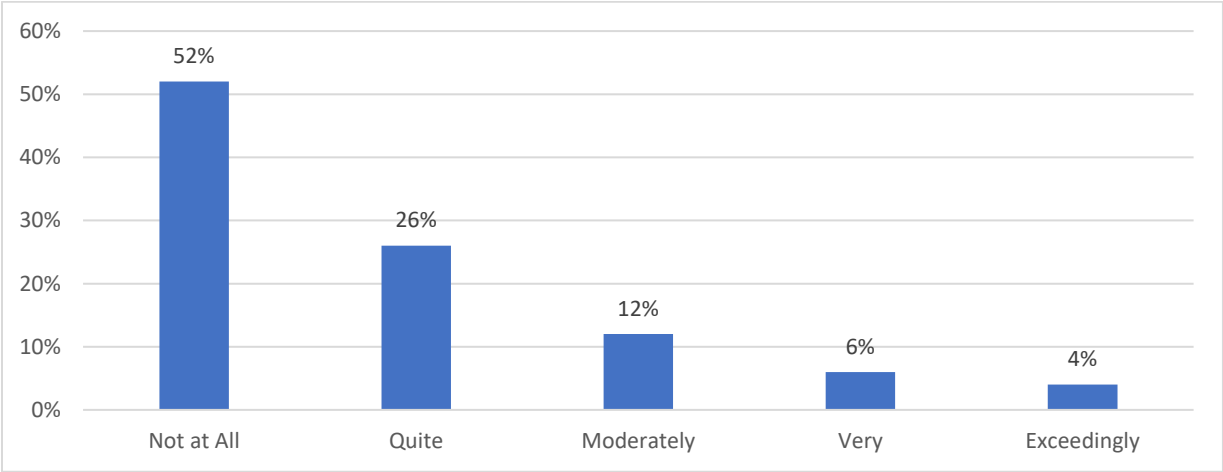


Source: Field Data (2021)

Majority (62%) of the respondents indicated that more strategies are needed address incidences of of voter buying, voter importation and voter intimidation in Kenya while 38% were of the contrary opinion.

In addition, the respondents were requested to indicate if there are adequate strategies in place to address incidences of voter buying, voter importation and voter intimidation in Kenya, to what extent do they rate these strategies. The findings are shwon in figure below.

Figure 3.20. Rating of adequate strategies in place to address incidences of of voter buying, voter importation and voter intimidation in Kenya

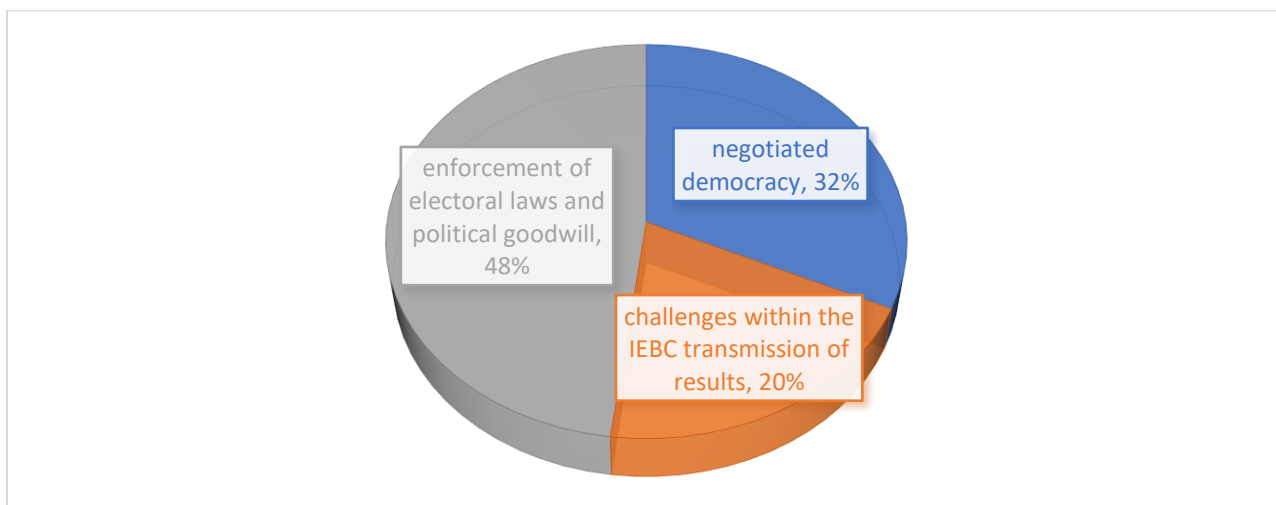


Source: Field Data (2021)

From the findings, majority (52%) of the respondents rated *not at all* on the adequacy of the strategies in place to address incidences of voter buying, voter importation and voter intimidation in Kenya, 26% rated quite, 12% rated moderately, 6% rated very while 4% rated exceedingly.

For ‘no’, the respondents were to state reasons with the respondents stating the following; negotiated democracy, challenges within the IEBC transmission of results, enforcement of electoral laws and political goodwill.

Figure 3.21. Reasons for incidences of voter buying, voter importation and voter intimidation in Kenya



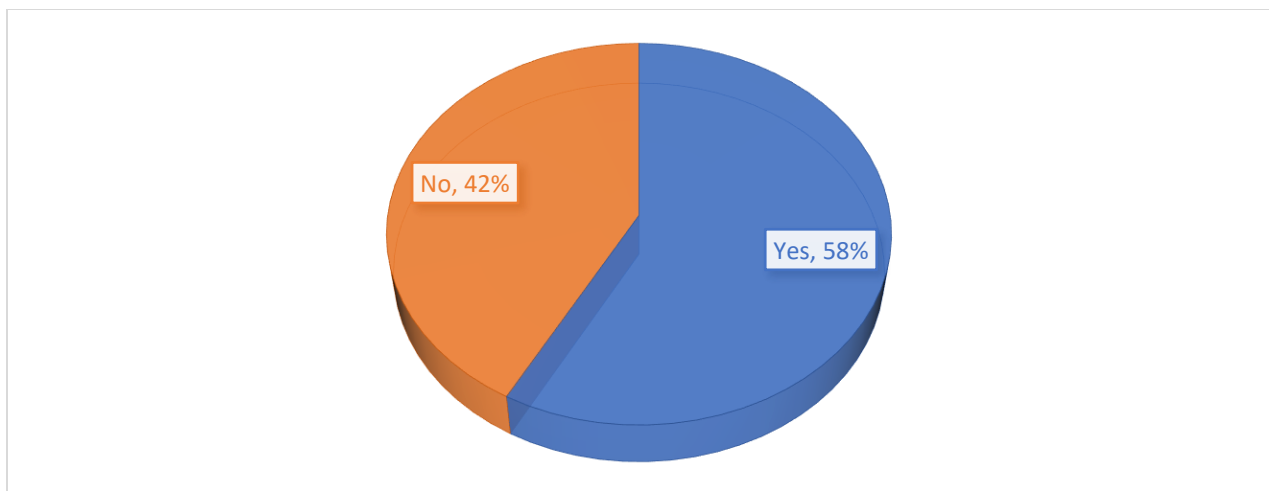
Source: Field Data (2021)

Majority (48%) of the respondents indicated that enforcement of electoral laws and political goodwill was the reason for inadequacy of the strategies in place to address incidences of voter buying, voter importation and voter intimidation in Kenya, 32% indicated negotiated democracy, while 20% indicated challenges within the IEBC transmission of results. This depicts that enforcement of electoral laws and political goodwill was the reason for inadequacy of the strategies in place to address incidences of voter buying, voter importation and voter intimidation in Kenya.

3.5.5 Has Kenya effectively implemented various international agreements aimed at promotion of right to vote?

As shown in the figure below, 58% of respondents expressed that Kenya has made positive strides in this regard as evident by the adaptation of the 2010 constitution that domesticated various international agreements aimed at promotion of right to vote.

Figure 3.22. Implementation of various international agreements aimed at promotion of right to vote

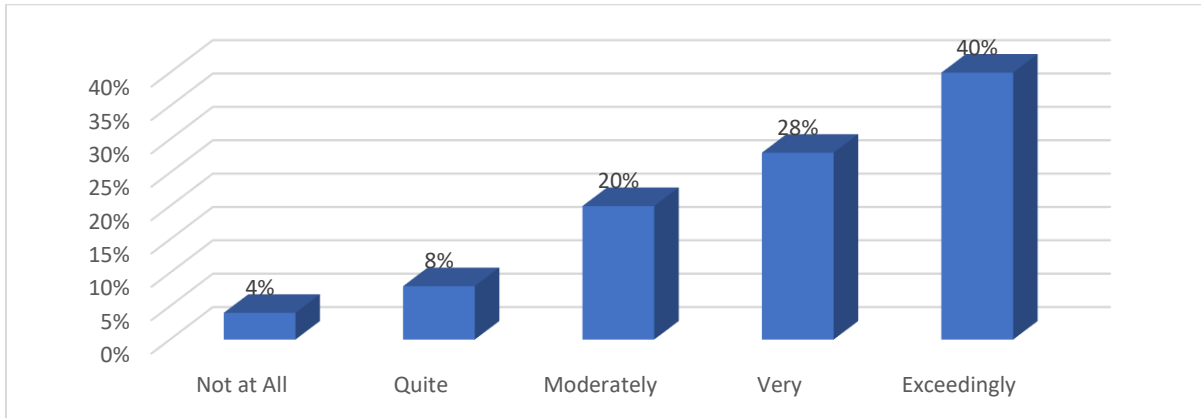


Source: Field Data (2021)

3.5.5. Effect of suppression of the right to vote on human development (mortality rate) in Kenya.

The respondents were required to issue ratings from 1-5; (1 represents Not at all; 2 - Quite; 3 - Moderately; 4 - Very, and 5 - Exceedingly). The findings are shown in figure below.

Figure 3.23. Effect of suppression of the right to vote on human development (mortality rate) in Kenya



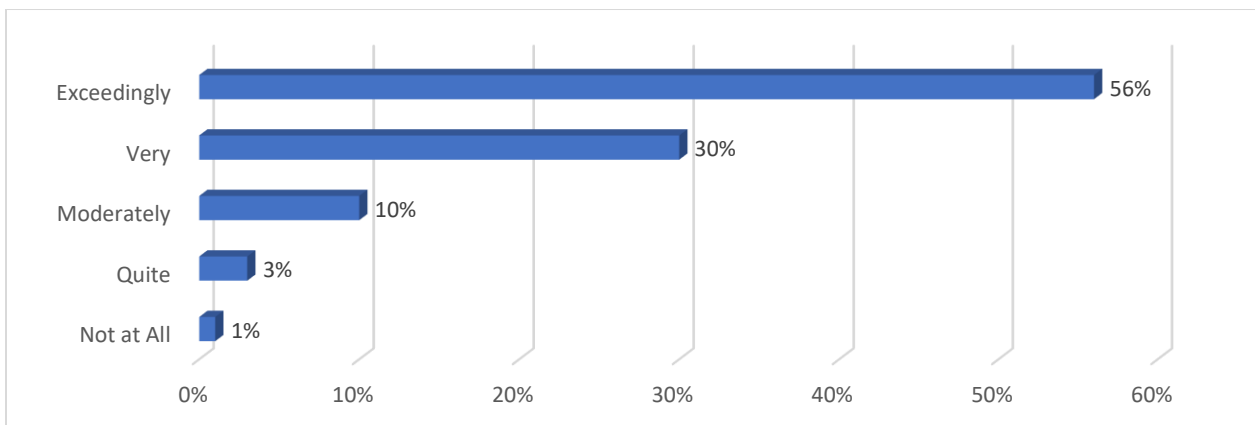
Source: Field Data (2021)

From the findings most (40%) of the respondents rated exceedingly that suppression of the right to vote affects human development (mortality rate) in Kenya, 28% rated very, 20% rated moderately, 8% rated quite, while 4% rated not at all. This depicts that suppression of the right to vote affects human development (mortality rate) in Kenya.

3.5.6. The relationship between right to vote, freedom of the press and free and fair elections

The respondents were required to issue ratings from 1-5; (1 represents Not at all; 2 - Quite; 3 - Moderately; 4 - Very, and 5 - Exceedingly). The findings are shown in figure below.

Figure 3.24. The relationship between right to vote, freedom of the press and free and fair elections



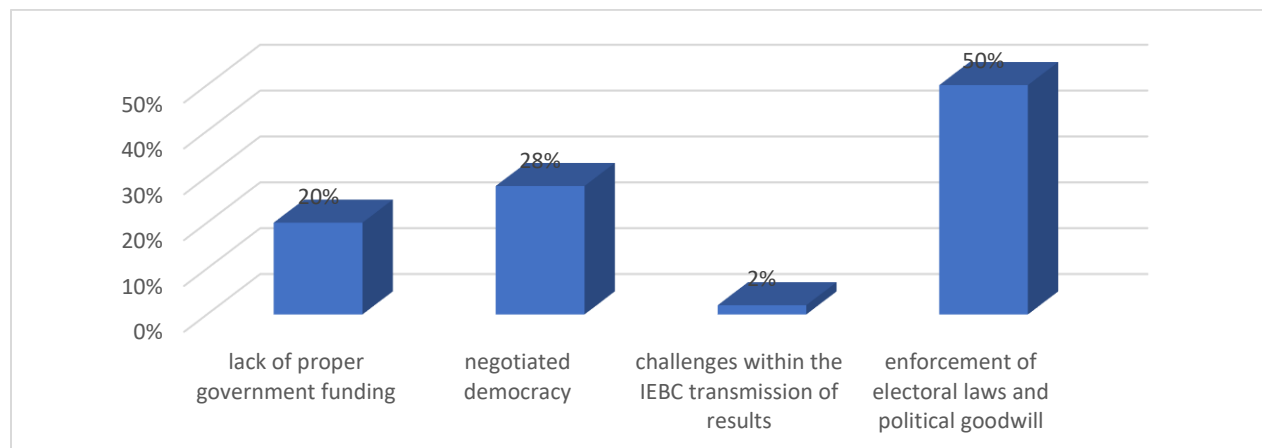
Source: Field Data (2021)

From the findings, majority (56%) of the respondents rated exceedingly the relationship between right to vote, media freedom and free and fair elections, 30% rated very, 10% rated moderately, 3% rated quite while 1% rated not at all. This depicts that there is an exceedingly high relationship between right to vote, freedom of the press and free and fair elections.

3.5.7. Challenges are Facing the Attainment of the Right to Vote in Kenya

The respondents were required to state challenges facing the attainment of right to vote in Kenya. They responded as follows; lack of proper government funding, negotiated democracy, challenges within the IEBC transmission of results, enforcement of electoral laws and political goodwill.

Figure 3.25. Challenges are Facing the Attainment of the Right to Vote in Kenya



Source: Field Data (2021)

Majority (50%) of the respondents indicated that enforcement of electoral laws and political goodwill was the main challenge facing the attainment of free and fair elections in Kenya, 28% indicated negotiated democracy, 20% indicated lack of proper government funding, while 2% indicated challenges within the IEBC transmission of results. This depicts that enforcement of electoral laws and political goodwill was the main challenge facing the attainment of free and fair elections in Kenya.

The respondents were requested to indicate their extent of agreement on the impact of right to vote on human development in Kenya. The findings are shown in the table below.

Table 3.7. Descriptive Statistics on right to vote in Kenya

| Statement | Mean | Std Dev. |
|---|-------------|-----------------|
| The state of right to vote in Kenya | 3.87 | 0.3145 |
| No. of Kenyans lost to elections related violence | 3.90 | 0.3002 |
| Kenya's performance on promotion right to vote | 4.29 | 0.3987 |
| Effect of suppression of the right to vote on human development (mortality rate) in Kenya | 4.18 | 0.3324 |
| Relationship between right to vote, media freedom and free and fair elections | 4.08 | 0.3187 |

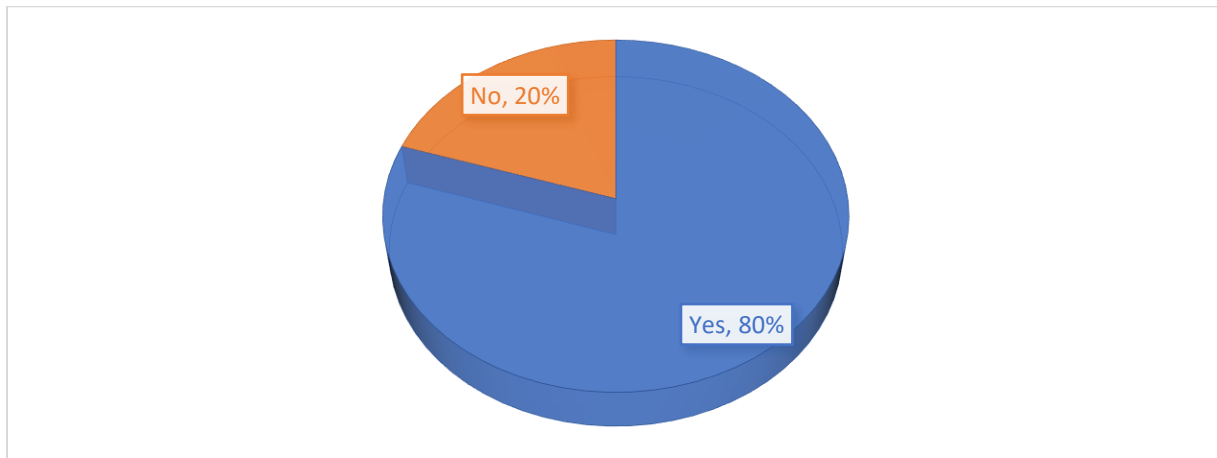
Source: Field Data (2021)

From the findings the respondents agreed that Kenya's performance on promotion right to vote affects human development (mean=4.29), followed by effect of suppression of the right to vote on human development (mortality rate) in Kenya (mean=4.18), relationship between right to vote, media freedom and free and fair elections (mean=4.08), number of Kenyans lost to elections related violence (mean=3.9), and the state of right to vote in Kenya (mean=3.87). This depicts that Kenya's performance on promotion right to vote affects human development.

3.6. Assessment of the Effect of Freedom of Press on Human Development in Kenya

The researcher sought to assess the impact of freedom of the press on human development in Kenya. The researcher first sought to examine respondents' understanding of freedom of the press as a sub-variable of political security. The result showed respondents had a clear understanding of what freedom of the press entails as 80% of the respondents cited aspects such as media independent of government's control through state machinery/powerful external actors, limited interference of how press functions, abolishment of oppressive law/policies and regulations to punish media house and journalists, and media's ability to convey information is curtailed.

Figure 3.26. Assessment of the Effect of Freedom of Press on Human Development in Kenya



Source: Field Data (2021)

3.6.1. Hypothesis Testing

The study adopted the hypothesis; freedom of the press has an impact on human development in Kenya. Indicators of freedom of the press were measured by assessing responses to the following questions: the state of freedom of the press in Kenya basing it on the provisions put by UDHR, the number of journalists who have been lost/imprisoned/tortured due government's oppression from 2002-2017, strategies in place to address incidences of journalists intimidation, torture and murder in Kenya, strategies needed to be adopted to foster freedom of the press in Kenya, the relationship between right to vote, media freedom and free and fair elections, role of media in ensuring right to vote and free and fair elections, challenges facing the attainment of freedom of the press in Kenya.

Regression Model

Human Development = f (Freedom of the Press)

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_3 X_3 + \varepsilon$$

Table 3.8. Influence of freedom of the press on human development

| Model Summary | | | | | | |
|--|----------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|--------|------|
| Model | R | R Square | Adjusted R Square | Std. Error of the Estimate | | |
| 1 | .814 ^a | .663 | .671 | .70895 | | |
| ANOVA^a | | | | | | |
| Model | | Sum of Squares | Df | Mean Square | F | Sig. |
| | Regression | 3.118 | 1 | 3.118 | 6.199 | .013 |
| 1 | Residual | 26.156 | 52 | .503 | | |
| | Total | 29.274 | 53 | | | |
| Coefficients^a | | | | | | |
| Model | | Unstandardized Coefficients | | Standardized Coefficients | t | Sig. |
| | | B | Std. Error | Beta | | |
| | (Constant) | 3.948 | .175 | | 22.570 | .000 |
| 1 | Freedom of the Press | .221 | .149 | .126 | 2.491 | .013 |
| Dependent Variable: Human Development | | | | | | |
| Predictors: (Constant), Freedom of the Press | | | | | | |

Source: Field Data (2021)

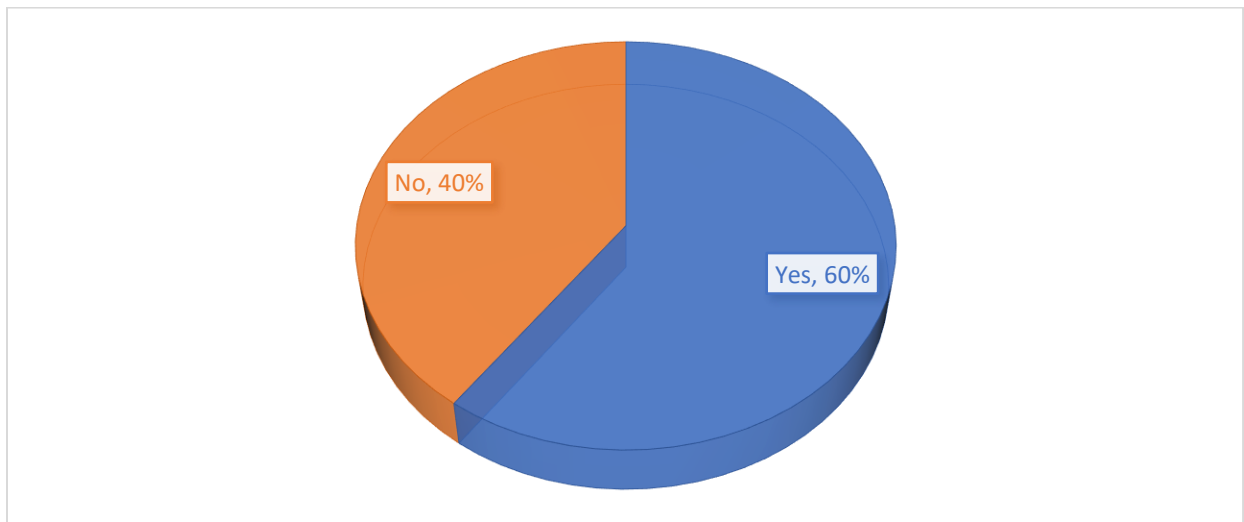
From the above, $r = 0.814$, indicating a positive slope between the independent variable (Freedom of the Press) and the dependent variable (Human Development). The R- Squared was .663, meaning that 66.3% of the variation in the human development was explained by variation in the freedom of the press. 33.7% were for other factors. The model was statistically significant at ($p < 0.05$) for the ANOVA results.

The results indicate that the $p\text{-value} = 0.013 \leq 0.05$, $t = 22.570$, $p = 0.013 < 0.05$, $r = 0.814$ and $r\text{ square} = 0.663$. Hence based on these findings we accept the research hypothesis that freedom of the press has an impact on human development in Kenya.

3.6.2. The state of freedom of the press in Kenya

The respondents were required to explain the state of freedom of the press in Kenya basing it on the provisions put by the 1948 UDHR; 60% of the respondents expressed that the state of freedom of the press in Kenya was fair albeit some restrictions such as attack against journalists/killing that are unresolved, government coercion and predatory government's act against specific media houses, oppressive law/policies/lack of laws to protect journalists. Further, respondents were required to state a 'yes'/'no' on the state of freedom of the press in Kenya with 60% responding 'yes' as per below figure.

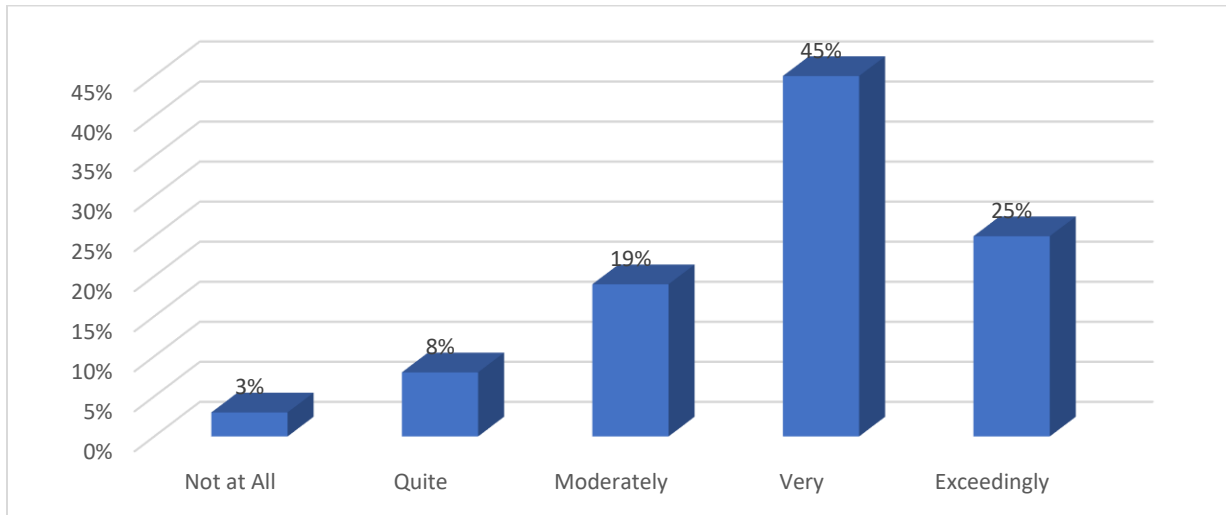
Figure 3.27. The state of freedom of the press in Kenya



Source: Field Data (2021)

They were in addition to asked to rate Kenya's freedom of the press from 1-5; (1 represents Not at all; 2 - Quite; 3 - Moderately; 4 - Very, and 5 - Exceedingly).

Figure 3.28. Rating Kenya’s Freedom of the Press



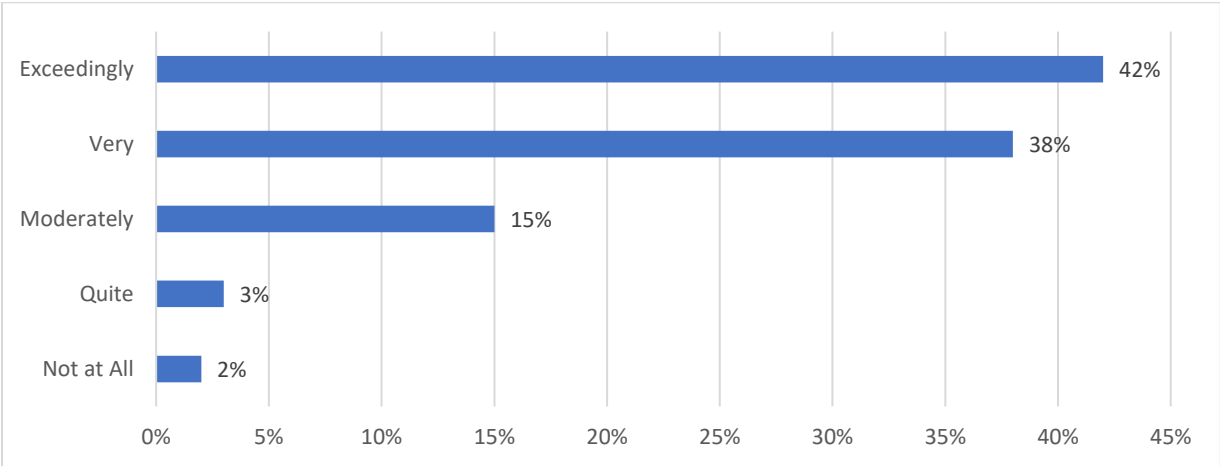
Source: Field Data (2021)

From the findings most (45%) of the respondents rated ‘very’ the Kenya’s freedom of the press, 25% rated it exceedingly, 19% rated moderately, 8% rated quite while 3% rated not at all. This depicts that there is freedom of press in Kenya.

3.6.3. Number of Journalists Who Have Been Lost/Imprisoned/Tortured Due Government’s Oppression From 2013-2021

The respondents were required to state the number of journalists who have been lost/imprisoned/tortured due government’s oppression from 2013-2021. The measure that was used was; 0-5 ‘indicated not all’, 5-10 indicated ‘quite’, 10-15 indicated moderately, 15-20 indicated ‘high’ while above 20 ‘exceedingly’. The findings are shown in figure below.

Figure 3.29. Number of Journalists Who Have Been Lost/Imprisoned/Tortured Due Government’s Oppression From 2013-2021

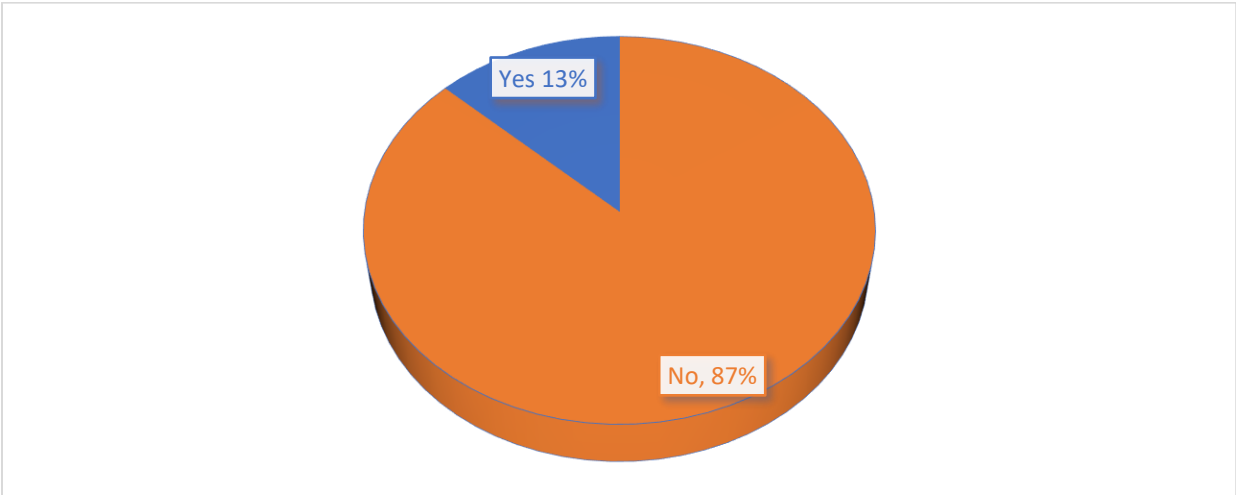


Source: Field Data (2021)

From the findings most (42%) of the respondents rated exceedingly the number of journalists who have been lost/imprisoned/tortured due government’s oppression from 2013-2021, 38% rated very, 15% rated moderately, 3% rated quite while 2% rated not at all. This depicts that there was a high number of journalist who have been lost/imprisoned/tortured due government’s oppression from 2013-2021.

Respondents were in addition asked whether the above reflected on the provisions put by UDHR (Article 19), ICCPR (Article 19).

Figure 3.30. Whether the number of Journalists Who Have Been Lost/Imprisoned/Tortured Due Government’s Oppression From 2013-2021 reflects provisions put by UDHR



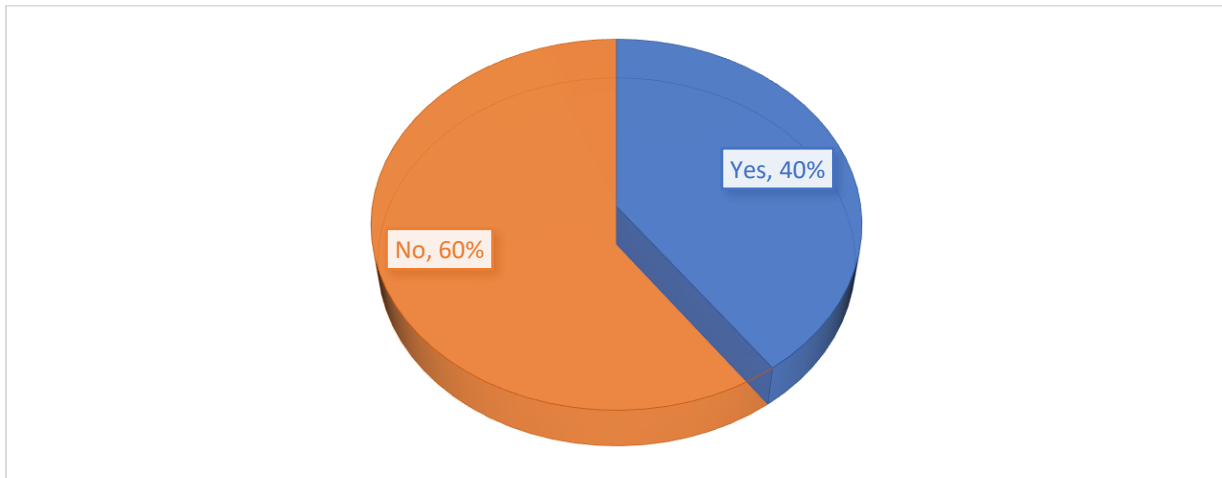
Source: Field Data (2021)

87% of the respondents indicated that it was against the provisions of put by UDHR (Article 19), ICCPR (Article 19).

3.6.4. Strategies In Place To Address Incidences Of Journalists Intimidation

The respondents were required to respond ‘yes’ or ‘no’. For ‘yes’ respondents were required to issue ratings from 1-5; (1 represents Not at all; 2 - Quite; 3 - Moderately; 4 - Very, and 5 - Exceedingly). The findings are shown in the following figures.

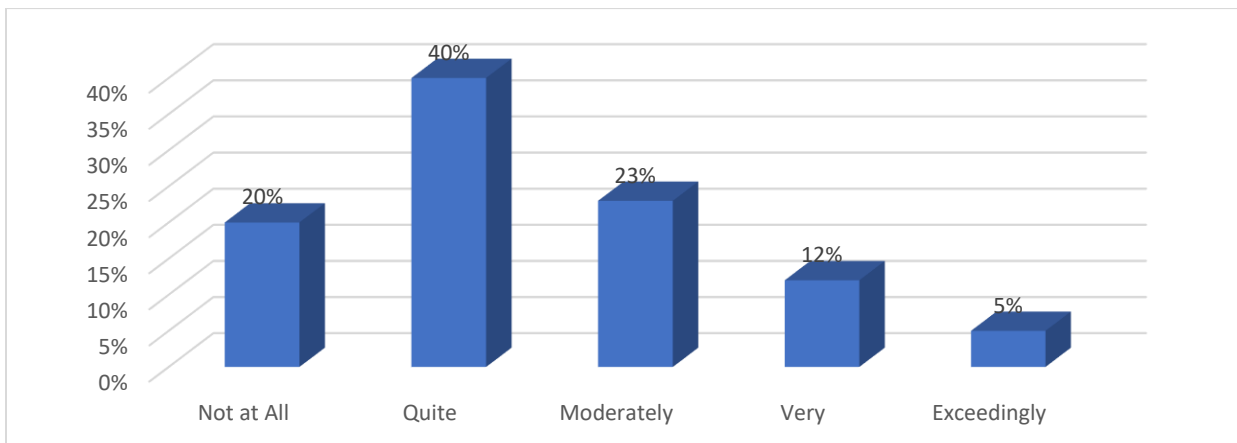
Figure 3.31. Strategies In Place To Address Incidences Of Journalists Intimidation



Source: Field Data (2021)

Majority (60%) of the respondents indicated that more strategies were needed to address incidences of journalists intimidation while 40% were of the contrary opinion.

Figure 3.32. Rating of Strategies In Place To Address Incidences Of Journalists Intimidation

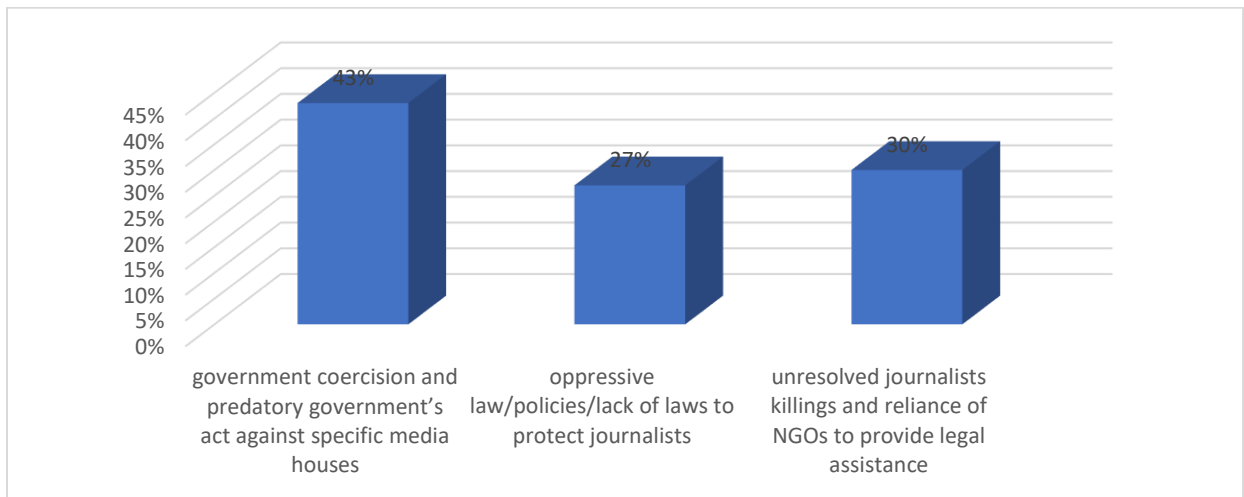


Source: Field Data (2021)

From the findings most (40%) of the respondents rated quite on the adequacy of strategies in place to address incidences of journalists intimidation, 23% rated moderately, 20% rated not at all, 12% rated very while 5% rated exceedingly. This depicts that the respondents rated quite on the adequacy of strategies in place to address incidences of journalists intimidation.

For ‘no’, the respondents were to state reasons with the respondents stating the following; government coercion and predatory government’s act against specific media houses, oppressive law/policies/lack of laws to protect journalists, unresolved journalists killings and reliance of NGOs to provide legal assistance. The findings are shown in figure below.

Figure 3.33. Reasons for Journalists Intimidation



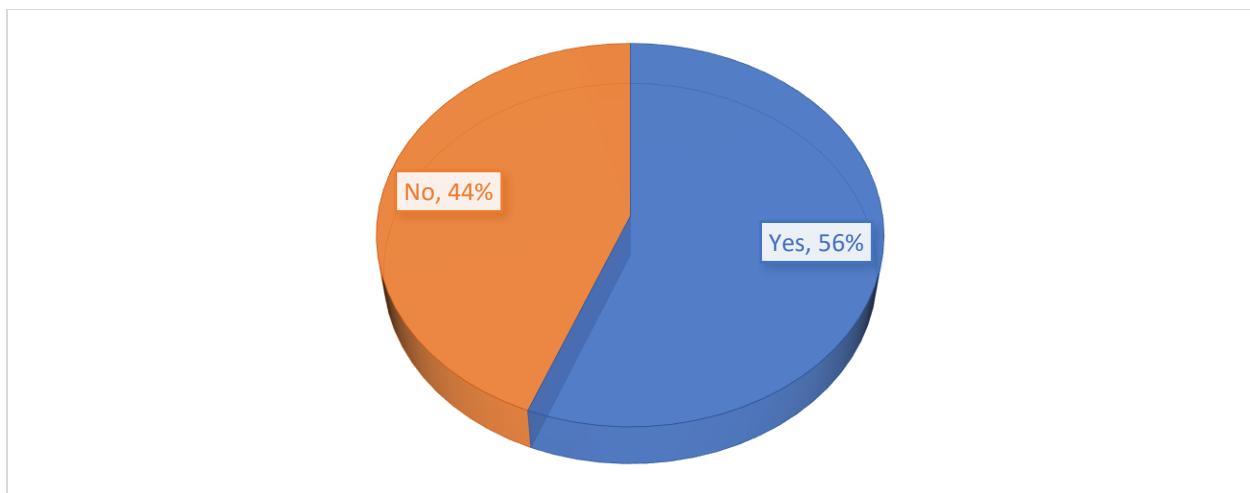
Source: Field Data (2021)

Majority (43%) of the respondents indicated that government coercion and predatory government’s act against specific media houses affected the adequacy of strategies in place to address incidences of journalists intimidation, 30% indicated unresolved journalists killings and reliance of NGOs to provide legal assistance while 27% indicated oppressive law/policies/lack of laws to protect journalists. This depicts that government coercion and predatory government’s act against specific media houses affected the adequacy of strategies in place to address incidences of journalists intimidation.

3.6.5 Has Kenya effectively implemented various international agreements aimed at promotion of free and fair elections?

Majority (56%) of respondents expressed that Kenya has made positive strides in this regard evident by the adaptation of the 2010 constitution that domesticated various international agreements aimed at promotion of freedom of the press.

Figure 3.34. Implementation of various international agreements aimed at promotion of freedom of the press

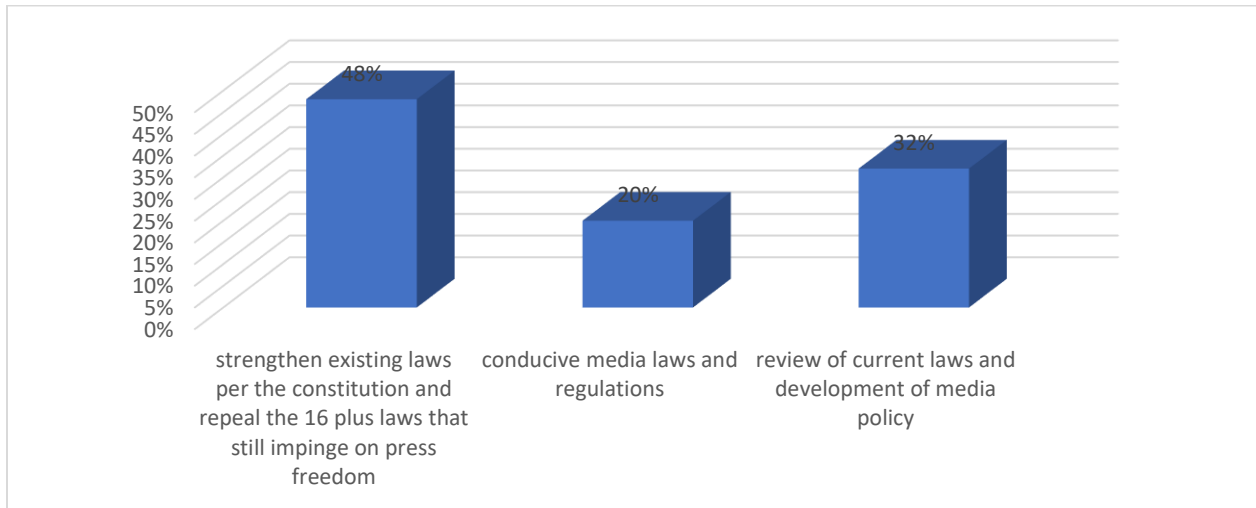


Source: Field Data (2021)

3.6.5. Strategies need to be adopted to foster freedom of the press in Kenya

The respondents were required to state strategies preferred to foster freedom of the press in Kenya. The respondents responded as follows; strengthen existing laws per the constitution and repeal the 16 plus laws that still impinge on press freedom, conducive media laws and regulations, review of current laws and development of media policy. The findings are as shown in figure below.

Figure 3.35. Strategies Need to be Adopted to Foster Freedom of the Press in Kenya



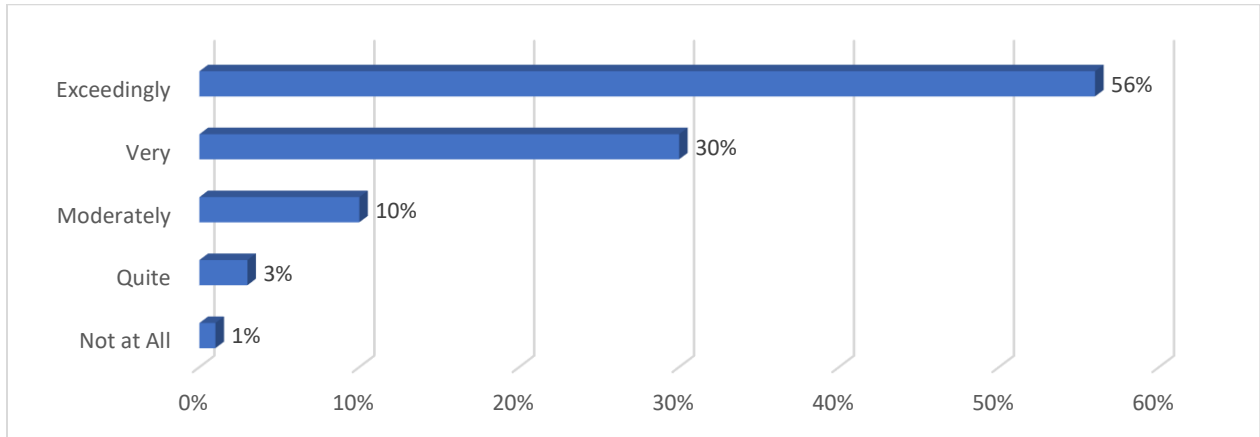
Source: Field Data (2021)

Majority (48%), from the findings, the respondents indicated that strengthening existing laws per the constitution and repeal the 16 plus laws that still impinge on press freedom is the main strategy that need to be adopted to foster freedom of the press in Kenya, 32% indicated review of current laws and development of media policy, while 20% indicated review of current laws and development of media policy. This depicts that strengthening existing laws per the constitution and repeal the 16 plus laws that still impinge on press freedom is the main strategy that need to be adopted to foster freedom of the press in Kenya.

3.6.6. The relationship between right to vote, freedom of the press and free and fair elections

The respondents were required to rate relationship between right to vote, media freedom and free and fair elections the from 1-5; (1 represents Not at all; 2 - Quite; 3 - Moderately; 4 - Very, and 5 - Exceedingly). The findings are shown in figure below.

Figure 3.36. Relationship between right to vote, freedom of the press and free and fair elections



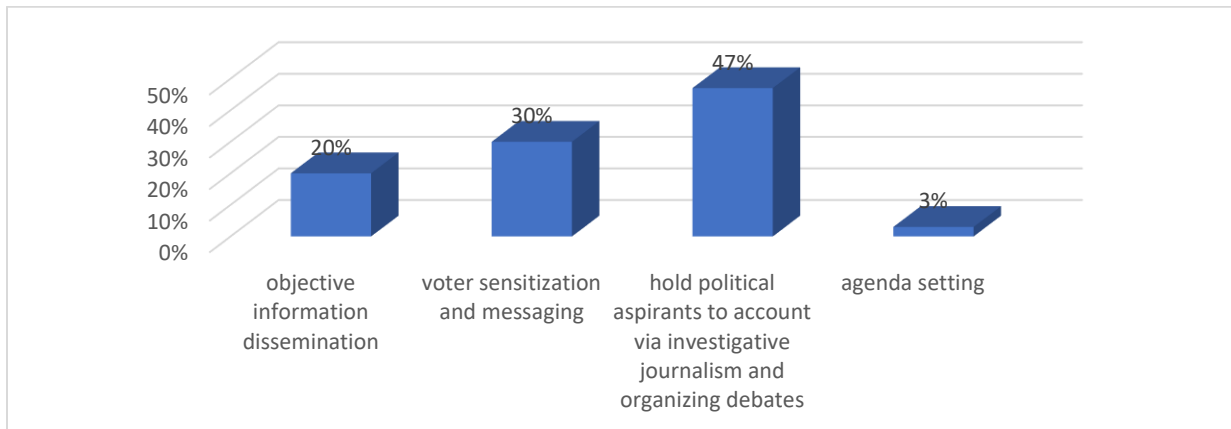
Source: Field Data (2021)

From the findings majority (56%) of the respondents rated exceedingly the relationship between right to vote, media freedom and free and fair elections, 30% rated very, 10% rated moderately, 3% rated quite while 1% rated not at all. This depicts that there is an exceedingly high relationship between right to vote, media freedom and free and fair elections.

3.6.7. Role of Media in Ensuring Right to Vote and Free and Fair Elections

The respondents were required to state role of media in ensuring right to vote and free and fair elections. They responded as follows; objective information dissemination, voter sensitization and messaging, hold political aspirants to account via investigative journalism and organizing debates, agenda setting.

Figure 3.37. Role of Media in Ensuring Right to Vote and Free and Fair Elections



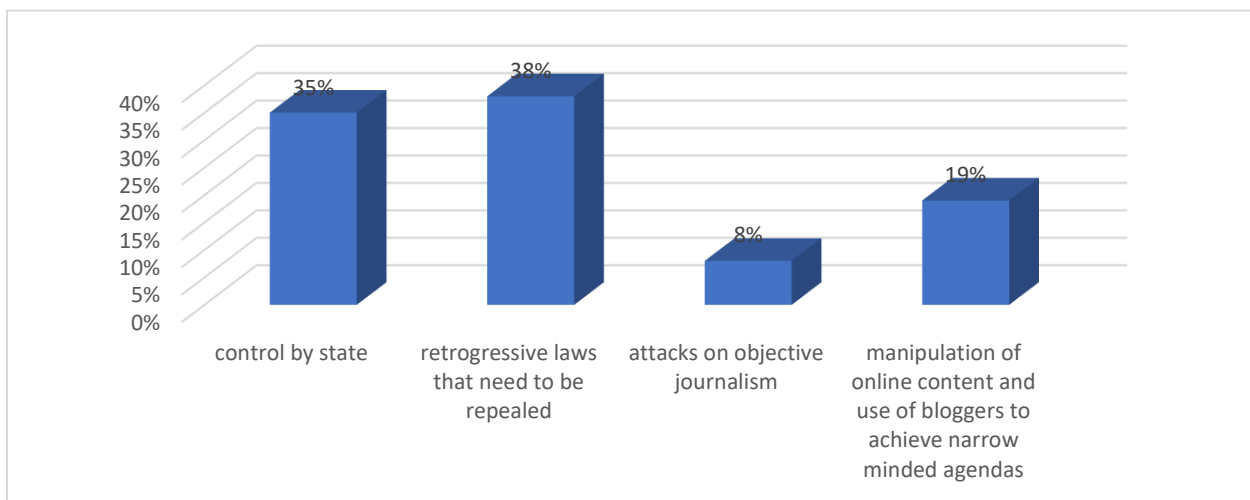
Source: Field Data (2021)

Majority (47%) of the respondents indicated that the media hold political aspirants to account via investigative journalism and organizing debates, 30% indicated voter sensitization and messaging, 20% indicated objective information dissemination while 3% indicated agenda setting. This depicts that the media hold political aspirants to account via investigative journalism and organizing debates.

3.6.8. Challenges facing the attainment of freedom of the press in Kenya

The respondents were required to state challenges facing the attainment of freedom of the press in Kenya. They responded as follows; control by state, retrogressive laws that need to be repealed, attacks on objective journalism, manipulation of online content and use of bloggers to achieve narrow minded agendas.

Figure 3.38. Challenges facing the attainment of freedom of the press in Kenya



Source: Field Data (2021)

From the findings most (38%) indicated that retrogressive laws that need to be repealed affected the attainment of freedom of the press in Kenya, 35% indicated control by state, 19% indicated manipulation of online content and use of bloggers to achieve narrow minded agendas, and 8% indicated attacks on objective journalism. This depicts that retrogressive laws that need to be repealed affected the attainment of freedom of the press in Kenya.

The respondents were requested to indicate their extent of agreement on the effect of freedom of press on human development in Kenya. The findings are shown in the table below.

Table 3.9. Descriptive Statistics on Suppression of the Freedom of the Press

| Statement | Mean | Std. Dev. |
|---|-------------|------------------|
| The state of freedom of the press in Kenya | 3.82 | 0.8901 |
| No. of journalists who have been lost/imprisoned/tortured due government's oppression | 3.68 | 0.7723 |
| Kenya's performance on promotion of freedom of the press | 3.58 | 0.9240 |
| Effect of the suppression of the press freedom on human development (mortality rate) | 3.52 | 0.8245 |
| Relationship between right to vote, media freedom and free and fair elections | 3.77 | 0.8009 |

Source: Field Data (2021)

From the findings the respondents agreed that the state of freedom of the press in Kenya affects human development (mean=3.82), followed by relationship between right to vote, media freedom and free and fair elections (mean=3.77), number of journalists who have been lost/imprisoned/tortured due government's oppression (mean=3.68), Kenya's performance on promotion of freedom of the press (mean=3.58), effect of the suppression of the press freedom on human development (mortality rate) (mean=3.52). This depicts that the state of freedom of the press in Kenya affects human development.

3.7. Assessment of the impact of political security (right to vote, freedom of the press and free and fair elections) and human development on Kenya's global Image

This research adopted the hypothesis; political security and human development affect Kenya's global image.

The hypothesis was tested using the following linear regression model

Human Development = f (Global Image)

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_4 X_4 + \varepsilon$$

Where

Y = Combined Political Security Factors (freedom of the press, free and fair elections, and right to vote)

X₅ = Global Image

β₀: = Constant term

ε = Error term

The 1986 Baron and Kenny four-step technique was employed to evaluate this supposition. Linear regression was employed in each phase. When we find that there is statistically significant between the R² and beta coefficients we proceed to step two, if not important the process will end, and it will be concluded that global image does not mediate the relationship between political security elements and human growth.

The second step entailed regressing the global image against a set of integrated political security factors. Because the parameters for moderation have been met, the process moves on to step 3 if the results are substantial. Step three involves examining the impact of global image on human development by use of simple linear regression model. A statistically significant influence of global image on human development is necessary to test for moderation. The investigation then advances to stage 4 of the process. Step four looked at the effects of combined political security on human development, taking into account the global image effect. These tests were carried out using simple linear regression analysis. This is a requirement for moderation testing.

The first step: Test of the impact of combined political security factors on human development. The results of the regression analysis are presented in Table 3.10.

The results in Table 3.10 show that combined political security factors had a moderate positive relationship with human development (R=.814). 66.3 percent of the diversity in human development was explained by the model, (R²=.663, F=.689, p 0.05), this left 33.7 percent unexplained. This confirmed the step one of testing for the moderation of global image between combined political security factors and human development.

Table 3.10. Effect of Combined Political Security Factors on Human Development.

| Model Summary | | | | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|--------|------|
| Model | R | R Square | Adjusted R Square | Std. Error of the Estimate | | |
| 1 | .814 | .663 | .671 | .71399 | | |
| Predictors: (Constant), Combined Political Security Factors | | | | | | |
| ANOVA | | | | | | |
| | Model | Sum of Squares | Df | Mean Square | F | Sig. |
| | Regression | 1.053 | 3 | .351 | .688 | .000 |
| 1 | Residual | 25.5 | 50 | .510 | | |
| | Total | 26.553 | 53 | | | |
| Dependent Variable: Human Development | | | | | | |
| Predictors: (Constant), Combined Political Security Factors | | | | | | |
| Coefficients | | | | | | |
| | Model | Unstandardized Coefficients | | Standardized Coefficients | t | Sig. |
| | | B | Std. Error | Beta | | |
| | (Constant) | 3.372 | .584 | | 18.332 | .000 |
| 1 | Combined Political Security Factors | .243 | .151 | .042 | .830 | .000 |
| Dependent Variable: Human Development | | | | | | |
| Predictors: (Constant), Combined Political Security Factors | | | | | | |

Table 3.11. Effect of Combined Political Security Factors on Global Image

| Model Summary | | | | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|-------|-------------------|
| Model | R | R Square | Adjusted R Square | Std. Error of the Estimate | | |
| 1 | .871 | .759 | .767 | .64597 | | |
| Predictors: (Constant), Combined Political Security Factors | | | | | | |
| ANOVA | | | | | | |
| Model | Sum of Squares | Df | Mean Square | F | Sig. | |
| 1 | Regression | .444 | 1 | .444 | 1.065 | .004 ^b |
| | Residual | 21.684 | 52 | .417 | | |
| | Total | 22.128 | 53 | | | |
| Dependent Variable: Global Image | | | | | | |
| Predictors: (Constant), Combined Political Security Factors | | | | | | |
| Coefficients | | | | | | |
| Model | Unstandardized Coefficients | Standardized Coefficients | t | Sig. | | |
| | B | Std. Error | Beta | | | |
| 1 | (Constant) | 3.228 | .166 | 19.397 | .000 | |
| | Combined Political Security Factors | .248 | .146 | .052 | 1.031 | .004 |
| Dependent Variable: Global Image | | | | | | |
| Predictors: (Constant), Combined Political Security Factors | | | | | | |

Second Step: moderation of global image in the correlation between combined political security factors and human development involved testing the influence of combined political security factors on global image. The results of the tests are presented in Table 3.11

The results presented in Table 3.11 above indicate that combined political security factors had a large and significant beneficial effect on the overall image ($R=.871$, $P<0.05$). The model expressed 75.9% of the variation in the global image ($R^2=.759$, $F=1.065$, $p < 0.05$), this left 24.1 percent unaccountable for. This therefore verifies global image intervention in the relationship between combined political security elements and human development and allowed the researcher to progress to the third step

The third step: involved the test for the moderation of global image in the correlation between combined political security factors and human development involved testing the influence of global image on human development. The results for the third step are in Table 3.12.

The results in Table 3.12 show a weak positive connection between global image and human development ($R=.111$). The model was able to explain 1.2 (0.012%) of the variance in human development. Other factors not included in the model account for 98.8% of human growth. At $P=0.05$, the results were not statistically significant. As a result, the results in the third step of testing for the moderation effect of global image in the link between combined political security elements and human development did not satisfy the criteria.

Table 3.12. Intervening Effect of Global Image on the Relationship between Combined Political Security Factors and Human Development.

| Model Summary | | | | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|----------|-----------------------------------|-------------|
| Model | R | R Square | Adjusted R Square | | Std. Error of the Estimate | |
| 1 | .111 | .012 | .014 | | .2989 | |
| ANOVA | | | | | | |
| Model | Sum of Squares | Df | Mean Square | F | Sig. | |
| 1 | Regression | .188 | 2 | .094 | 1.057 | .307 |
| | Residual | 4.539 | 51 | .089 | | |
| | Total | 4.727 | 53 | | | |
| Coefficients | | | | | | |
| Model | Unstandardized Coefficients | | Standardized Coefficients | | T | Sig. |
| | B | Std. Error | Beta | | | |
| | Global Image | .015 | .061 | .030 | .252 | .006 |
| | Combined Political Security Factors | .087 | .055 | .186 | 1.566 | .307 |
| Predictors: (Constant), Combined Security Factors, Global Image | | | | | | |
| Dependent Variable: Human Development | | | | | | |

Because the statistical results at step three were not significant, the intervening influence of global image on the link between combined political security elements and human development could not be supported. As a result, the operation came to a stop at step 3, and no results for step 4 are available at this time.

The findings suggested that a combination of political security factors interacts with Kenya's global image, and that this interaction has an effect on their influence on human development, however the study's findings did not reveal the indirect effect. The study assumes that the relationship between combined political security elements and human development is unaffected by global perceptions.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the summary, conclusion as well as recommendations to advance Political Security, Human Development and Kenya's global image. The research aimed to draw a relationship between political security and human development (mortality rate) on Kenya's global image by focusing on three variables of political security; suppression of the right to vote, suppression of the freedom of the press and free and fair elections.

4.2. Summary of Findings

4.2.1. Assessment of the effect of Freedom of Press on Human Development in Kenya

Under the first objective, the researcher sought to assess the impact of freedom of the press on human development in Kenya. The study found that respondents had a clear understanding of what freedom of the press entails as they included aspects such as media independent of government's control through state machinery/powerful external actors, abolishment of oppressive law/policies and regulations to punish media house and journalists, and media's ability to convey information is curtailed. These are in line with provisions from United Nations' 1948 UDHR (Article 19), ICCPR (Article 19) and African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Article 9) which recognizes the integral role of media in society and therefore the need to protect this fundamental freedom.

The study found that the respondents expressed that the state of freedom of the press in Kenya was fair albeit some restrictions such as attack against journalists/killing that are unresolved, government coercion and predatory government's act against specific media houses, oppressive law/policies/lack of laws to protect journalists and therefore the need for more strategies to address incidences of unfair elections practices in Kenya; adoption of international standards on freedom of the media provided under Article 19 of United Nations' 1948 UDHR.

The study found that an exceedingly high number of journalists who have been lost/imprisoned/tortured due government's oppression from 2013-2021 (mortality rate). This was

mainly attributed to government coercion and predatory government's act against specific media houses, oppressive law/policies/lack of laws to protect journalists and journalists/killing that are unresolved. This affirmed the hypothesis of the study; freedom of the press has an impact on human development in Kenya.

4.2.2. Assessment of the effect of Free and Fair Elections on Human Development

The second objective of the study was to investigate the impact of free and fair elections on human development in Kenya. The study found that the respondents had a clear understanding of what free and fair elections entails; the respondents included aspects such as voter's choice of preferred candidate respected, constitute of impartial, competent accountable electoral institutions, done via secret ballot, transparent and credible. These are in line with provisions from United Nations' 1948 UDHR (Article 21), ICCPR Article 25 and African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Article 13(1)) which recognizes the integral role that transparent and open elections play in ensuring the fundamental right to participatory government.

The study found that the state of free and fair elections in Kenya is not quite free and fair with enforcement of electoral laws and political goodwill affected the adequacy of strategies in place to address incidences of unfair elections practices in Kenya and therefore the need for more strategies to address incidences of unfair elections practices in Kenya; adoption of international standards on the conduct of elections provided under article 12 of United Nations' 1948 UDHR and Article 25 of ICCPR.

The study found that an exceedingly high number of Kenyans were lost to elections related violence from 2002-2017 (mortality rate). This was mainly attributed to the 2007/2008 Post-Election Violence. This affirmed the hypothesis of the study; free and fair elections do matter to human development in Kenya.

4.2.3. Assessment of the Effect of Right to vote on Human Development in Kenya

The third objective of the study was to assess the impact of the right to vote on human development on a state. The study found that the respondents had a clear understanding of what right to vote entails, the respondents included aspects such as voter's choice of preferred candidate respected,

constitute of impartial, competent accountable electoral institutions, done via secret ballot, transparent and credible. These are in line with provisions from United Nations' 1948 UDHR (Article 21), ICCPR Article 25 and African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Article 13(1)).

The study found that the respondents expressed that the state of right to vote in Kenya was fair albeit some drawbacks such as lack of political will, negotiated democracy, challenges within the IEBC transmission of results, election malpractices, lack of trust in the IEBC and therefore the need for more strategies to address incidences of unfair elections practices in Kenya; adoption of international standards on the conduct of elections provided under Article 12 of United Nations' 1948 UDHR and Article 25 ICCPR.

The study found that an exceedingly high number of Kenyans were lost to elections-related violence from 2002-2017 (mortality rate). This was mainly attributed to the 2007/2008 Post-Election Violence. This affirmed the hypothesis of the study; right to vote enhances human development in Kenya.

4.2.4 Relationship between political security and human development in Kenya and its global image

The findings suggested that a combination of political security factors interacts with Kenya's global image, and that this interaction has an effect on their influence on human development, however the study's findings did not reveal the indirect effect. The study assumes that the relationship between combined political security elements and human development is unaffected by global perceptions.

4.3. Conclusion of the Study

The study concluded that there were no adequate strategies in place to address right to vote and fair elections practices in Kenya. Additionally, the effectiveness of strategies to promote right to vote and fair elections were greatly hampered by lack of enforcement of electoral laws and political goodwill. There were no adequate strategies in place to address incidences of voter buying, voter importation and voter intimidation in Kenya. The number of Kenyans lost to elections related violence was high, and in effect, affected human development.

Even though the respondents expressed that the state of freedom of the press in Kenya was fair, there are still notable incidents that are slowing down the gains made in this area, including attack against journalists and killings that are unresolved, government coercion and predatory government's act against specific media houses and oppressive laws and policies to protect journalists that greatly affect the effectiveness of strategies in place to address threats against media freedom.

These findings agree with a study by Guseva *et al* (2008) that investigated the relationship between media freedom and different aspects of development. Their study established a relationship between media freedom and development and the increasing role of media in spearheading development. These findings also concur with Ronan Porhel's (2008) findings on the effect of political insecurity on the general theme of human development (political setback and the economic consequences). Porhel's findings recommended political stability as a prerequisite to human development. This is in line with Dupas & Robinson (2012) conclusion on the link between political instability and microeconomic impacts of the political crisis and civil conflict in Busia County in the aftermath of the 2007/2008 General Election.

This study is in line with the Human Security Approach in International Relations, linking development, human rights, and security by incorporating these three elements into one agenda informing the purpose of the study. From the findings, human rights (right to vote and freedom of the press) can be used to indicate how human security can be promoted while human security points out human rights at stake in each situation (Muguruza, 2018, p 22). This therefore can be used as a policy guideline for states, making it essential in the analysis of the correlation between the state of Kenya's political security and human development as it addresses both human rights and human development. The findings also point to the importance of countries addressing the human security agenda which has been domesticated through adoption of various international treaties and conventions. Adherence to these treaties is key to a country's perception at the global stage, as evidenced with Kenya's performance in various human security parameters over the years. This has also a bearing on a country's willingness and commitment to international norms.

Kenya's membership at the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and the African Union Peace and Security Council (AUPSC) for instance, provides the country with the opportunity to scale up

efforts aimed at addressing human security for its people, as part of its global obligations. In 2021, for instance, Kenya assumed the UNSC rotational presidency for the month of October, which saw it preside over a number of UNSC resolutions seeking to address various insecurity concerns in various countries across the world including Haiti and Western Sahara (MFA, 2021). Membership to these institutions gives Kenya greater visibility at the global stage, given the UNSC is responsible for the promotion of global peace and security, including interventions aimed at enhancing the living standards of people through elimination of forms of inhuman conditions and promotion of democracy.

4.4. Recommendations of the Study

From the above findings and conclusions, the study makes the following recommendations:

4.4.1. Policy Recommendations

First, there is a need for Kenya to work closely with both International Non-Governmental Organizations and Non-Governmental Organizations in the realization of both political security and human development. This can be done through joint projects and research initiatives to enhance political security and human development in Kenya.

Secondly, the study recommends the government should enhance efforts to promote legislation and policy interventions to increase public trust in the exercise of right to vote, and free and fair elections. Kenya can also draw lessons from countries in the region like Ghana, which have made tremendous strides in enhancing their democracies through addressing the electoral architecture that guarantees free and fair elections. This includes addressing issues of suffrage, addressing electoral malpractices, promoting political rights and accountability, and enhancing confidence of various players in the voter registry.

Thirdly, the study recommends strengthening the implementation of existing laws, among them the Whistleblower Act to support journalists in their work, to ensure adequate protection in the event of disclosure on issues of public interest so that they are not victimized for doing their job. Even though the right to information is guaranteed in Article 35 of the Constitution of Kenya 2010, the enabling legislation, the Access to Information Act, 2016 is yet to achieve the intended objectives since the associated regulations have not been promulgated yet. The ATI Act was envisaged to be instrumental in allowing the public and indeed the media access to information

held by the state on a wide range of issues in public interest. Kenya can borrow lessons from Namibia, which is ranked the first in Africa (and 24 globally while Kenya is ranked 102) according to the World Press Freedom Index 2021 by the Reporters Without Borders (RSF). In Namibia, for instance, press freedom, besides being guaranteed by the constitution, is also strongly supported by the courts whenever it is under attack from the state or other quarters (RSF, 2021).

Finally, the study recommends that the country takes necessary measures to safeguard its international reputation based on the annual rankings undertaken from time to time on a wide range of issues of international concern, including its performance in the political security realm. This is important because Kenya's image among the community of nations is key in securing the country's gains within the internal relations space, particularly in pursuit of its foreign policy objectives.

4.4.2. Recommendations for Further Studies

One, a study is needed to analyze the wider electoral architecture in Kenya, particularly existing structural and technical capacity of the electoral body that hinders delivery of free and fair elections.

Two, a study is needed to explore the extent to which suppression of the right to vote and suppression of the freedom of the press affects other elements of human development (like decent living).

Finally, a study is needed to investigate the role of international organizations/institutions in the promotion of both political security and human development in Kenya and evaluate their current performance in this area this course.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: INTRODUCTORY LETTER

TOPIC: THE EFFECT OF POLITICAL INSECURITY ON HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN KENYA

AMOS MWADIME OWINO,
UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI, DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC
ADMINISTRATION,
P.O BOX 30197 GPO, NAIROBI KENYA.

RE: PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am a graduate student at the University of Nairobi pursuing a master's degree in International Relations. I am conducting a research study on the Effect of Political Security on Human Development in Kenya as part of my course requirement.

I kindly request for your participation in this research by responding to the questions in the attached questionnaire. I wish to assure you that the the information and findings of this study will be strictly for academic purpose and will be handled with strict confidentiality. Your participation is voluntary.

Thank you in advance for your participation and feedback.

Yours Sincerely,

Amos Owino

APPENDIX II: RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

The aim of this questionnaire is to investigate the Effect of Political Security on Human Development. It is designed to collect data that will lead to the assessment freedom of the press, right to vote and free and fair elections impact towards human development. Kindly fill in the questionnaire to the best of your knowledge.

Freedom of the press: Amnesty International Kenya, Civil Rights Defenders-African Segment, Media Council of Kenya.

1. What is the name of your organization/institution?
2. What is your gender?
Male Female Non-binary
3. Age
18-29 years 30-39 years 40-49 years 50-59 years 60 years and above
4. What do you understand by of freedom of the press?
5. What is the state of freedom of the press in Kenya basing it on the provisions put by the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)?
6. Based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights do you think there is freedom of the press in kenya?
 - a. Yes b. NoIf yes, on a scale of 1-5 how can you rate freedom of the press in kenya? (1 represents Not at all; 2 - Quite; 3 - Moderately; 4 - Very, and 5 - Exceedingly)
 1.
 2.
 3.
 4.
 5.

- i. If not kindly explain
7. Approximately, what is the number of journalists who lost their lives/ imprisoned/ tortured due government's oppression from 2013-2021? (1 represents Not at all; 2 - Quite; 3 - Moderately; 4 - Very, and 5 - Exceedingly).
1. 0-5 ()
 2. 5-10 ()
 3. 10-15 ()
 4. 15-20 ()
 5. 20 and above ()
- b. Does this consider the provisions put by UDHR (Article 19) and ICCPR (Article 19)?
8. In your opinion do you think there are adequate strategies in place to address incidences of journalists intimidation, torture and murder in Kenya.
- a. Yes () b. No ()
- i. If Yes, on a scale of 1-5 how can you rate Kenya on promotion of freedom of the press. (1 represents Not at all; 2 - Quite; 3 - Moderately; 4 - Very, and 5 - Exceedingly)
1. ()
 2. ()
 3. ()
 4. ()
 5. ()
- ii. If not kindly explain
9. On your opinion do you think Kenya has effectively implemented various international agreements aimed at promotion of freedom of the press?

- b. Apart from arrangements from the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Article 9), UDHR (Article 19) and ICCPR (Article 19) what different techniques should be embraced to cultivate opportunity of the press in Kenya?

10. On a scale of 1-5 what is the effect of suppression of freedom of the press on human development (mortality rate) in Kenya?.

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

11. On a scale of 1-5 what is the relationship bwtween right to vote, freedom of the press and free and fair elections (1 represents Not at all; 2 - Quite; 3 - Moderately; 4 - Very, and 5 - Exceedingly).

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

12. What is the role of media in ensuring right to vote and free and fair elections?

13. What are the challenges facing the attainment of freedom of the press in Kenya?

Right to vote: East Africa Chapter International Society for Human Rights, Civil Rights Defenders-African Segment, KHRC

1. What is the name of your organization/institution?

2. What is your gender?

Male Female Non-binary

3. Age

18-29 years () 30-39 years () 40-49 years () 50-59 years () 60 years and above ()

4. What do you understand by right to vote?
5. What is the state of right to vote in Kenya basing it on the provisions put by the 1948 UDHR?
6. In your opinion do you think the right to vote is effectively practised in Kenya basing it on the provisions put by the (ICCPR)?
 - a. Yes () b. No ()
 - i. If Yes, on a scale of 1-5 how can you rate Kenya on promotion of right to vote. (1 represents Not at all; 2 - Quite; 3 - Moderately; 4 - Very, and 5 - Exceedingly)
 1. ()
 2. ()
 3. ()
 4. ()
 5. ()
 - ii. If not kindly explain
7. Approximately, what is the number of Kenyans loss to elections related violence from 2002-2017?
 1. ()
 2. ()
 3. ()
 4. ()
 5. ()
- b. Does this consider the provisions put by UDHE (Article 21) and ICCPR (Article 25)?

8. In your opinion do you think there are adequate strategies in place to address incidences of voter buying, voter importation and voter intimidation in Kenya.

a. Yes () b. No ()

i. If yes on a on a scale of 1-5 how can you rate Kenya's performance on promotion of right to vote. (1 represents Not at all; 2 - Quite; 3 - Moderately; 4 - Very, and 5 - Exceedingly)

1. ()

2. ()

3. ()

4. ()

5. ()

ii. If not kindly explain

9. On your opinion do you think Kenya has effectively implemented various international agreements aimed at promotion of freedom of the press?

b. Apart from arrangements from the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Article 9), UDHR (Article 21) and ICCPR (Article 25) what different systems should be embraced to elevate right to cast a ballot in Kenya?

10. On a scale of 1-5 what is the effect of suppression of right to vote on human development (mortality rate) in Kenya?

1. ()

2. ()

3. ()

4. ()

5. ()

11. On a scale of 1-5 what is the relationship between right to vote, freedom of the press and free and fair elections (1 represents Not at all; 2 - Quite; 3 - Moderately; 4 - Very, and 5 - Exceedingly)

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

12. Apart from voter buying and voter intimidation, what other challenges are facing the attainment of right to vote in Kenya?

13. What are the challenges facing the attainment of freedom of the press in Kenya?

Free and fair elections: Centre for Multiparty Democracy Kenya, International IDEA, KHRC.

1. What is the name of your organization/institution?

2. What is your gender?

Male Female Non-binary

3. Age

18-29 years 30-39 years 40-49 years 50-59 years 60 years and above

4. What do you understand by free and fair elections?

5. What is the state of free and fair elections in Kenya basing it on the provisions put by the 1948 UDHR?

6. In your opinion do you think the right to vote is effectively practised in Kenya basing it on the provisions put by the ICCPR?

a. Yes () b. No ()

i. If Yes, on a scale of 1-5 how are the elections free and fair? (1 represents Not at all; 2 - Quite; 3 - Moderately; 4 - Very, and 5 - Exceedingly)

1. ()

2. ()

3. ()

4. ()

5. ()

ii. If not kindly explain

7. Approximately, what is the number of Kenyans loss to elections related violence from 2002-2017?

1. 100-250 ()

2. 250-500 ()

3. 500-750 ()

4. 750-1,000 ()

5. Above 1,000 ()

b. Does this consider the provisions put by UDHR (Article 21) and ICCPR (Article 25)?

8. In your opinion do you think there are adequate strategies in place to address incidences of unfair elections practices in Kenya?

a. Yes () b. No ()

i. If Yes, on a scale of 1-5 how can you rate Kenya's performance on promotion free and fair elections. (1 represents Not at all; 2 - Quite; 3 - Moderately; 4 - Very, and 5 - Exceedingly)

1. ()

2. ()

- 3. ()
- 4. ()
- 5. ()

ii. If not kindly explain

9. On your opinion do you think Kenya has effectively implemented various international agreements aimed at promotion of free and fair elections?

b. Apart from arrangements from the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Article 9), UDHR (Article 21) ICCPR (Article 25) what different techniques should be embraced to elevate right to cast a ballot in Kenya?

10. On a scale of 1-5 what is the effect of suppression of right to vote and free and fair elections on human development (mortality rate) in Kenya?

- 1. ()
- 2. ()
- 3. ()
- 4. ()
- 5. ()






11. On a scale of 1-5 what is the relationship between right to vote, freedom of the press and free and fair elections (1 represents Not at all; 2 - Quite; 3 - Moderately; 4 - Very, and 5 - Exceedingly)

- 1. ()
- 2. ()
- 3. ()
- 4. ()
- 5. ()

12. Apart from voter buying and voter intimidation, what other challenges are facing the attainment of free and fair elections in Kenya?

13. What are the challenges facing the attainment of freedom of free and fair elections in Kenya?

APPENDIX III: NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE AND INNOVATION (NACOSTI) RESEARCH LICENSE

| | |
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APPENDIX IV: TURNITIN REPORT

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