

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI



**THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHANGE IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA**

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DECLARATION

I, Kyeli Annah Mukeke, hereby declare that this research project is my original work. This work has never been submitted to any university college or other institution of learning for any academic or other award.

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

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DEDICATION

I hereby dedicate this research work to my husband Mr. Christopher Mutisya, my children, Deborah Pendo and Jessica Amani, My parents Mr. and Mrs. Johnson Ngui and all my siblings for their support during the duration of my Studies.

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ABSTRACT

The research study seeks to examine how change in political leadership affects economic development in Africa using a case study of Kenya. Examples from various African countries show that, political parties are used as tools to get power but leaders do not implement the manifestos after election. The study seeks to underscore, African leadership seems to have taken a path of ethnic patronage. The main argument in this study is centered on the contention that good political leadership is a universal phenomenon that is not tied to prevailing and/or fashionable development traditions such as capitalism and socialism or both. What it suggests is that what a country's political leaders want to achieve for their citizens is what counts and not structures or institutions.

List of Acronyms

CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
CIPEV	Commission of Inquiry into the Post-Election Violence
COTU	Central Organization of Trade Union
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DFRD	District Focus for Rural Development
ECK	Electoral Commission of Kenya
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
KANU	Kenya African National Union
NARC	National Alliance Rainbow Coalition
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
PNU	Party of National Unity

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

Kenya is found in Eastern part of Africa ,with a population of approximately 40 million people. It is bordered by Ethiopia to the North, Somalia to East, Tanzania to South, Uganda to the West, and Sudan to the Northwest. Kenya was under the British colony until 1963 when it attained independence. During independence in 1963, Kenya's economy was at par with the famous Asian Tiger.

Change is always inevitable in any given society when striving to fulfill human needs. Leadership plays a very important role to cause meaningful change in the society. Since independence Kenya has experienced successions of economic and political changes. This has been witnessed with the shift from central government to county government, cities to farms, agriculture to industries. However, these changes have had little impact if any in the life of the larger population. Those in power and the well-connected have benefitted with multiplicity of riches, while the ordinary citizens struggle to make ends meet. In other words, majority of the population is still languishing in poverty despite the economic growth experienced in the country.

Kenya requires committed Leadership to attain progress in economic and political development. The citizens of a country have the power to choose the leaders they need, this is an important role which most people take for granted. Especially the voters who are easily swayed by

politicians. Unless the leaders take fore front in making sacrifices, it will be difficult to have commitment by the masses to root out evil practices in the government and empess good governance in public offices. Kenyans should at all times elect people of integrity to manage the issues of this country. Kenyan history will depend upon the decisions made by present leaders and the people's commitment to shape country's future.¹

Communication is one of the most effective ways of influencing people and this has been proven by how leaders in different arenas have used it. It is the role of a leader to communicate to his or her followers this is done through manifestos and slogans that seek to spell out the leaders ideology. It is through the direction given that a leader persuades and shapes people's attitude so that they can willingly support his ideals. This calls upon a leader to have a vision and at the same time the charisma to lead people to prosperity. Kenya's political context has been for a long time influenced by ethnic orientation, ethnic conflicts and political struggles that have encouraged corruption, misuse of public fund and abuse of power. This scenario led to the ethnic conflicts and fights after the disputed 2007 presidential election that led to loss of life and property. But with the new dispensation of the new constitution in 2010, things have improved, for instance in 2013after disputed presidential election the complains were resolved amicably through the Supreme Court.

Political representation of women in Kenya's leadership is below the expected global average. The 2010 constitution made provisions to improve the state by setting aside women's positions. The 2013 general election indicates that much has to be done if the threshold is to be achieved. There is already a motion before the parliament on 2/3 gender rule that dim to fail before opposition from majority men member of parliament. In the 10th parliament women

¹ Bienen, Henry (1993) "Leaders, Violence and the Absence of Change in Africa" Political Science Quarterly

representation was at 10 per cent but currently there is a notable increase of 5 per cent. Despite the 5 per cent increase, Kenya still remains with the least women representation in East Africa but the 2010 constitution, has reserved women positions for instance each county having a woman representative. This does not mean that women positions in political leadership is limited because they must attain the 2/3 gender rule as stipulated by the constitution.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The study examines the relationship between change in political leadership and economic development in African countries using the case of Kenya. The study will focus on the economic changes that take place in due to changes in policy. Kenya has been doing poorly in the areas of Leadership and economic development despite her vast wide range of mineral endowment. For Kenya's economic to flourish leadership integrity must be observed to the latter.

1.2 Objectives of Study

The overall objective of the study is to deepen understanding about the relationship between changes in political leadership and economic development in Kenya.

- i. To examine the effects of political leadership changes on economic development.
- ii. To examine the changes made by Kenya's political leadership in economic development.
- iii. To examine the policies that change due to change in political leadership.

1.3 Study Hypotheses

- i. Change in leadership has implications on economic development in Kenya.
- ii. Institutions have a direct influence on leadership in Africa economic development.

1.4 Study Justification and Significance

1.4.1 Academic Justification

This study gives due consideration to leadership and development. It contributes to the current literature for leadership and development. It provides guidelines on how institutions can be used to foster for Africa development, with particular study of Kenya. The results of this study are valuable to researchers and scholars as it adds value to the already existing literature on leadership and development and provide framework for further research. It is apparent that scholars have researched on the leadership and economic development in Kenya, the implications of development caused by changes in leadership. However the research indicates the absence of a comprehensive detailed analysis on the contribution and role of strong institutions has led to slow rate of economic development in Kenya. The research gives a wider knowledge and the role of leadership in fostering economic development.

1.4.2 Policy justifications

The study seeks to suggest ways through which political leadership can enhance its efforts in economic development to meet future challenges. Findings and recommendations of the study will be beneficial not only to Kenya but also to other Africa economies that have gone through the same transition of development. Equally the study was also to assist the policy makers in the government in considering the preferred suggestions that could assist in addressing some of the issues. The findings and recommendations of this study was to help policy makers appreciate the inevitable changes of political leadership in developing inclusive policies and effective programmers' that can foster economic development in Kenya. The research therefore contributes to the literature and data that is useful for researchers, students and implementers and will form a basis for future studies of a similar nature. The study will to assist the policy makers

in government of Kenya in considering the preferred suggestions that could assist in addressing some of the issues related to leadership and development.

1.5 Literature review

When assessing the effects of policies in Kenya from independence 1963 to the present has not been exhaustively done. This dates back from the time of the Kenyan first President Jomo Kenyatta who ruled Kenya during the period between 1963 and 1978. A lot of information about his rule reveal that Kenyatta as a leader at times used his power to make decisions that were detrimental to the economy of the country. The second president, Daniel Moi ruled the country for 24 years, from 1978 to 2002 and he followed in the footsteps of Kenyatta where he moved to end the Kikuyu hegemony and replace it with Kalenjin appointees especially after the failed coup attempt by the airforce in 1982. Moi changed KANU into an effective tool of political control and personal rule through which he channeled his development agenda. Research shows that the last five years of Daniel Moi's leadership were unproductive, in terms of economic development. For instance, according to a report by Commission on Growth and Development 2006 led by Nobel Lauret Michael Spence, in 1978-2002, during the long presidency of Daniel Moi Kenyan economy had a very slow growth; the president did not prioritize the economy. This is evident since in the last years of his rule Kenya was in the bottom quartile on five of the six governance indicators used by the World Bank.

The leadership under NARC showed a strong commitment to enhanced governance by setting up institutions to fight corruption. The reforms undertaken by the Kibaki government through the policy of zero tolerance to corruption saw Kenya win the United Nations public service Award category on improving Transparency, Accountability and Responsiveness in the public sector in 2007. Huntington's conceptualization of the three possible paths towards a democratic transition,

bottom-up, top-down and negotiated political change, helps solidify our argument that political transitions in African countries remain globally unfinished and that political changes are more likely to originate in social protests and armed rebellions than within the regime itself. Most of these political transitions stir social protest which is usually a sign of dissatisfaction with the leadership in place. The issue of social protests is further spelled by issues of economic alienation. Many political leaders agitate for the law that favors them to remain in power for a long time, while opposition has been condemned to use unconstitutional ways of attaining power.² Individual leaders express a difference in their thinking and actions and there always a gap between what they say and what they actually do. There are disparities expressed by individual leaders in what they say and what they actually do.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

Power is related to leadership because it is part of the influence process, this is according to Peter Northouse, and he argues that, most political leaders ride on position power which gives them the capacity to influence others in reference to their status. This research opted to use a dynamic theory of leadership development. Proponents of the theory are Theta and Lambda. The theory of asserts that one can only strive toward truly ethical leadership with the knowledge that this goal is beyond human capacity Another author, Whetten posits that leadership theory answers to three key questions: what, why and how. The “What” refers to the constructs analyzed, or the target of theorizing; while “how” explains the means of creating interrelationships between constructs of the theory; and the “why” represents the conceptual assumptions behind these relationships. Thus, in leadership theory the “what” represents the goal that the leader seeks to attain, while the “how” explains the way the leader reaches the goal, and the “why” explains the reasons behind

² Chabal.P and Dazoz.J.P, Africa works; Disorder as political Investment. (Oxford; James Curry, 1991), Pp 33.

selecting this particular method for attaining the goal. However, the study contend that while the literature into leadership deals with what leaders do or how they do it, it is silent about the reasons for why leaders are motivated to pursue such activities.

In this regard Pascale believes that many theories that have been presented by different scholars are out dated. On the other hand Baker believes that study of leadership requires ever changing theories to suite the current situation. It is evident that ideal leadership and ethics which are core in leadership theory are not found in humans. In this context another author, Weber postulates that institutions are designed in the way we govern us. But ideal leadership does not necessarily describe a particular behavior but it seeks to capture the reality.

1.7 Research Methodology

1.7.1 Case Study

The study conducts a case study of the relationship between change in political leadership and economic development in Africa. Case studies in social science research are quite advantageous as they allow researchers to examine a particular area and use it as a representation of the situation of a greater area. In this research, the study of the relationship between change in political leadership and economic development in Kenya represents the greater Horn of Africa concerning the whole issue of leadership and economic development. Case study method in social science research has advantage of allowing the researcher to maintain the holistic meaning of the events being researched on. This has increased researchers' confidence on case study method.

1.7.2 Data Collection

This study relies on secondary data by reviewing library data and the source of information include books written by scholars on political leadership and economic development, journals as well as the internet sites that address the concept of leadership and economic development. Secondary data is useful as it guides the researcher on relevant materials or areas to use during the research. For instance, the academic literature on leadership and development.

Secondary data were obtained from libraries at Kenya National Library and from the University of Nairobi Library, and also from various learning centers within the Nairobi city county and its environs. These corroborated the information received from respondents and the key informants. The type of secondary data documents that were analyzed included, Internal documents detailing management and other responsibilities, Control mechanisms, Information management, licenses, and exemptions, Specific operating procedures. For the purpose of computer analysis, data was coded using a codebook i.e. conversion of measurements and attributes of variables into numerical form.

1.8 Limitations of the study

In research secondary data is useful as it gives insights on relevant areas of research. Use of secondary data provides a cost-effective of addressing phenomena, like understanding a country's leadership policy. It helps in research but does not give firsthand information like primary data.

There was a challenge in accessing government offices to acquire literature and information on leadership, the information found was inadequate to give full information on how things are run in different government offices.

1.9 Organization of Research Study

This study was arranged into five Chapters whereby Chapter one was on General Introduction and Background to the Study which presented the Statement of the Problem, Objectives, Hypotheses, Justification and Significance of the Study, Theoretical Framework, Research Methodology, Limitations of the study. Chapter two of the research study discusses the effect political leadership has on economic development. This will look into some African countries economies.

Chapter three of the Study discusses the changes made by Kenya's political leadership in economic development and how it has changed over time. Chapter four discusses the policies that change due to change in political leadership and how this affects economic development. While chapter five concludes the Study by giving the Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations towards the need to tackle the ever dynamic changes in leadership that tend to drag economy behind. This proposes ways in which the challenges discussed in the previous chapters may be addressed

CHAPTER TWO

EFFECTS OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP CHANGE ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

2.0 Introduction

It is evident that by 1989 which was the end of cold war brought a new dispensation in which so many Africa's elder, warriors and sages seemed to have outlived their usefulness at in ideological terms. The US- led liberalism stepped in to fill the ideological vacuum left behind by the cold war. The ideologies that informed the struggle for independence and the consolidation of political legitimacy for the elders, warriors and sages such as African nationalism, socialism and anti-imperialism were no longer appealing to the then masses.

This situation slowly culminated in the overthrow of authoritarian regimes in countries like Ethiopia (1991), Somalia (1991), Liberia (1990) and Sierra Leone (1990) and; as well as the adoption of multiparty systems in Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia, Malawi, Mauritania, Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire, Nigeria, Zimbabwe and Burundi among others, soon thereafter. This was the so-called „second liberation“- liberation meant to rid Africa of its own, home-grown colonialists as advanced by Thomson. But this second liberation for many countries never materialized.³

This study builds its ideology of study on the African political economy. This approach provides a realistic approach on relationships between and among economic and political processes. It shows the link between economy and political power. It focuses on how the economic and social environment influences the interests of powerful political actors like politicians. The interests of such actors affect the process of policy formulation. The study summarizes key dimensions of

³ Thomson Alex (2004) *An Introduction to African Politics* (New York, Routledge-Taylor and Francis Group).

the political economy of two African countries, Kenya and Tanzania with a view of spelling out the effect of change in leadership to economic development in African countries.

2.1 The political leadership situation in Africa

At the time of independence African countries and their political leaders were faced with several challenges regarding development. The leaders were preoccupied with transfer of power that led to the attempt to stabilize the governmental system through the centralization of power and politics. In most cases elected leaders had difference in opinion as far as development is concerned. The leaders seemed to have simply adopted the colonial state apparatus of control which made it difficult to retain political stability and at the same time provide the condition for development.

African political leaders had difficult in consolidating power which led to the increase in dependency on foreign aid. The states faced the challenge of improving the living standards of its peoples by providing fundamental basic needs and the provision of a conducive environment this would endanger economic growth. The path of ideology was crucial at the time since most African countries gained independence during the cold war. They were therefore faced with challenge of choosing between capitalist and socialist ideologies of economic development or join the non- aligned movement. The decision made would heavily affect the economy of the newly born countries. They had no choice but to try and fit in an already established political arena.

The tendency of unethical behavior by leaders is detrimental to economic growth of any given country. This may describe numerous leaders, for example, former Liberian president Charles Taylor and Mobutu Sese Seko of the former Zaire. This implies that economy can flourish if

such behaviors were tamed. Consequently leaders can be actively good for growth especially by investing in developmental ventures and formulate policies that would favor trade leading to economic growth. An example of such leaders is Lee Kwan Yew of Singapore.⁴

2.2 Political power and economic growth

Political power and economic growth include the motives and the rules that encourage political leaders and economic players to incentives and norms that regulate behavior of political and economic actors. The relationship between the economic and political actors impacts greatly on economic growth and leadership in a country. Economic- political relationships and networks are difficult to map because of their opaque and unstable nature. Most times the political class favor some business companies within the economy.

2.3 East African leadership economic prospects

The prospects for broad based economic growth do not appear beneficial to a large populations of the majority poor Tanzanians. The link between the two distinct economic structures of Tanzania; traditional and modern sector is weak. The weakness is attributed to the socialist oriented development under leadership of Julius Nyerere. Several economic strategies were developed to try and deal with the crises but it worsened for instance the Arusha declaration where the government adopted the interventionist approach through stringent price controls registered good records in 1970 but led to economic crises in 1972 due to relocation of rural producers to new villages. In 1981 the homegrown policy (response to crises National economic survival program (NESP) which advocated internal mobilization and utilization of resources was

⁴ Easterly, William, "National Policies and Economic Growth: A Reappraisal," in the *Handbook of Economic Growth*, Philippe Aghion and Steven Durlauf, eds., 2005.

unsustainable and led the country into deeper crisis. Tanzanians economy started showing signs of growth in 1996 when president Mkapa took over from president Mwinyi.

The government policy on investment substituting manufacturing and food processing with tourism and mining is grave. This is because of systemic problems in the political economy which include economic actors and some medium-term trends, notably CCM's headlong rush into factional money politics. These trends do not lead us to expect any significant moderation of the effects on business incentives of the Tanzanian-variant clientelistic politics. The reforms in agricultural sector carried by the government are not likely to produce the desired results. It was hoped that President Kikwete's final period in office and his conversion to Malaysian- model policy delivery would make a difference at the margin. The research concludes that the challenges to delivering the necessary coordination for successful sectoral reforms are systemic which arise from the way presidents keep themselves in power for long time.

Uganda as a country has a limited access which is attributed to capitalist nature of the economy and the single ruling party since 1986. From the look of things, the one party rule in Uganda is likely to remain in power for some time. Study shows that Uganda's economic growth picked when Museveni took power. His rule is characterized by being developmental oriented. But the nature of policy formulation and leadership style is likely to have a negative impact on the development. Museveni is likely to dominate the country for some time since he has over the years proven to have the capacity and ability to divide and suppress opposition groups. This calls for the people of Uganda to speak out and bring change in the political arena. The international election oversight board in charge of holding leaders accountable has not achieved much in African context.

2.4 Conclusion

The political leadership and development in Africa has been for a long time hampered by the historical colonial atrocities carried by the colonial masters. The ability of the societies especially African society, to produce leaders more specific political leaders who are dedicated to build the country for the good of all citizens through widely agreed methods and ability of such leaders to turn constitutions into living documents by holding on religiously to the belief that their mandate to form governments is founded on their willingness to uphold their countries values. The people should use constitution to hold leaders responsible through their promises they do make before getting into public offices.

CHAPTER THREE

CHANGES MADE BY KENYA'S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

3.0 Introduction

Kenyan government has made some progress in terms of development despite of many different voices of politicians. Lawson argues that Politics is the activity in which individuals seek to influence decision-making in society either for their own personal gain or to the advantage of group interests they represent. Harold Lasswell's posits that, politics is about who "who gets what, when and how" in society. On the other hand Duverger believes that a political leader is that person who holds public office with the mandate of making authoritative and binding decisions on behalf of those who bestow upon him/her such privilege. Heywood posits that since the emergence of the modern nation-state system, political leadership has evolved rapidly to become a highly advanced, institutionalized and sophisticated activity in many parts of the world. However in other parts, it may be difficult for one to make a clear rationale for the existence of political leadership, let alone make sense of its mandate in society.

Perhaps accounting for these disparities may better explain why some societies are more socio-economically advanced than others. Other authors define development as the process in which any human society strives to reach self-sufficiency, self-reliance, technological advancement, justice and equity. In the modern sense, it focuses on "human development"; measured by the wellbeing and living standards of people in reference to access to basic needs, per capita income, literacy levels, mortality rates and poverty indices among other factors. This chapter seeks to

critically assess the relationship between political leadership and development in Africa, with specific reference to Kenya.

3.1 Kenya's leadership and economic development

According to Waruhiu, Kenya's political leadership can be analyzed at two levels: the National or Government level on one hand and the Political Party level at the other. Kenya attained independence in 1963 with Jomo Kenyatta as its leader. Given the instability of the political alliances formed immediately before and after independence, the first KANU government was unwilling to operate under the then Majimbo Constitution- which was essentially regional. Instead it tried to create a strong central authority- an intention that was confirmed in 1964 with the adoption of a Unitary Constitution, one that Kenya still follows to up to late nineteen nineties. On the other hand Maxon poses that there seemed to be a move right from independence to introduce a strongly centralized governance structure. Two important aspects characterized the Kenyatta regime as far as development planning was concerned. First is that it supported- at least in principle- the ideas of African socialism; and second it was guided by highly centralized development planning which took a top-bottom approach that adopted what would be termed state capitalism; some kind of socialism with capitalist tendencies.

3.2 Challenges to sustainable development

The hindrance to development is as a result of poor governance in a country. In Kenya, the major problem is that the political elite over the years have dominated public institutions and used public resources to advance their interests. This has created brooding space for corruption which has immensely flourished leading to decline of public institutions, faltered growth and worsened poverty. Committees have been set to formulate policies to reverse the decline in these

areas but the political elite greatly opposed the desired patterns of change since they benefit from the status quo.

The coming to power by NARC government in late 2002 provided good progress in development that focused on the poor for instance the provision of free primary education. NARC was the second party to take power after the long serving KANU. This changed the norm of doing things in the country and set the economy moving. The government developed strategy reform processes that have seen the country experience economic growth and improved governance. Although change of government is a significant event, it may not be enough to bring about changes to the country that the former government rooted in historical injustices and ethnic groupings. The unstable coalition politics are likely to put at risk the fragile gains made. The political elite could revert to previous behavior of maintaining the status quo and opposing any policy that would attempt to change that.

3.3 Strategic Economic policy

The Kenya vision 2030 was launched officially by the Kenyan third president Mwai Kibaki during his reign by proclaiming it as a roadmap for accelerating the transformation of the country into a rapid industrializing middle-income nation by the year 2030 which is termed *vision 2030*, it's a partly planning document, but it is also a statement of a soaring political ambition setting out a programme for the profound transformation of Kenyan society and its economy within the space of a single generation. Vision 2030 foresees an economy in which prosperity emerges from the successful exploitation of its strategic location both as a prime tourist destination and as a major exporter of high value agricultural and manufacture goods to Europe, the Middle East and Asia. The vision 2030 is underpinned by a programme of strategic

investment in public capitals, skills and education and supported by a responsive and accountable political system.

Contrary the emergency of ethnic violence that followed the presidential and parliamentary elections of December 2007, plus other adverse effects of global economic crisis in 2008 and 2009 and a sequence of poor harvests put paid to the early year targets laid out in the vision but now there is very little chance that these intermediate milestones will be met. The post-election violence which was rooted in historical ethnic tensions within Kenyan society, many of which surfaced only with the emergence of competitive politics in the early 1990s did severe damage to the economy and was not just in the short run.⁵ The intermediate effects was seen in the collapse of tourism earning and escalating fears about personal security which weakened domestic markets and interrupted the regular planting and harvesting cycle in the traditional agriculture. It also affected the foreign direct investment (FDI) and also other short term capital inflows dried up.

3.4 Legislative changes

Trade unions for many years have faced challenges as a result of changes in legislation; Trade unions have been weak in engaging the government especially on the key issues affecting the workers. At the moment trade unions have gradually become very strong whereby they seem to have a voice in key policies and are more active in engaging with government on matters that concern their members. Some of the unions have shown greater influence, for example the University Academic Staff Union and the Kenya National Union of Teachers. Apart from addressing remuneration concerns, these organizations could potentially have an important

⁵ Christopher S.Adam, Paul Collier and Njuguna S.Ndungu, *Kenya policies for prosperity*. (Oxford press, 2010).

impact on key public sectors like health and education. The voice of trade unions is important in ensuring that the government implements formulated policies.

Trade unions are useful agents of change because they tend to have a multi-ethnic membership and could become strong negotiating partners with government in matters of economic growth and governance. The trade unions face a challenge of membership since currently it is restricted to the formal sector. To attain the envisioned goals trade unions need stronger leadership, increased membership and to develop the capacity to articulate interests

The study attempted to shed light on the place of political leadership in Africa's development experience since independence in the 1960s. It has tried to articulate the connection between politics and development in Africa. The study underscored the fact that during the last decade of the 20th century and the first of the 21st, African leadership seems to have taken a path of political orthodoxy that appeared quite different from earlier traditions. It has also demonstrated that good political leadership is a universal phenomenon that is not tied to prevailing and/or fashionable development traditions such as capitalism and socialism or both. In essence, what a country's political leader wants to achieve for their citizens is what counts.

3.5 Conclusion

Political parties have written strategies which are supposed to guide the party's activities. Leadership in these parties tends to interfere in internal party elections, whereby elective leaders are predetermined.

In many African countries almost elective positions doesn't follow the due process laid down by parties, results are at many times predetermined. The laid procedures are usually ignored and not followed. In some cases winners have been denied their victory and given to the preferred

candidate of party leadership. The major cause is that leadership of different political affiliations practice ethnical biasness who formulate policies that favor their political ambitions. This has led to a huge diversion away from the initial economic development agenda. Many of the parties rely on patrons, who are to a larger extent the financiers of these political parties. This turns the political party into a personal tool of political advancement. Party leadership in Kenya is poorly institutionalized, grossly tribal and corrupt.

The political elite in Kenya is self -interested and has predatory behavior. There is political will among some political leaders who have single handed fought for the change of bad governance through laid procedures. The consistence of the civil society has made the government to be on checks more often than before and also the legislature realization of advocating for the changes in political realm.

CHAPTER FOUR

POLICY CHANGES DUE TO POLITICAL LEADERSHIP CHANGE

4.0 Introduction

In autocracies, leaders have significant influence where they appear to substantially influence both economic growth and the gradual change of political institutions. This usually calls for the society to focus on implementation of formulated policies and the mode of leadership selections. In the recent past national leaders has received relatively little attention due to failed fulfilment of the economic development.

The 2002 successful General Elections marked a new beginning for Kenya and in its relations with key allies both regionally and internationally. One would argue that the popularly elected National Alliance Rainbow Coalition (NARC) government -one that rose to power through a platform change, transparency, accountability and rule of law- the country was now in the hands of an inspired and genuine political leadership. According to Nasong'o, the NARC government led by President Mwai Kibaki appeared to present some degree of economic nationalism by seeking to go beyond the traditional trade and economic aid ties with Great Britain and United States among other key allies; to "looking East" to China and Japan for closer trade and development cooperation- a state of things that made Britain particularly, seemingly edgy on Kenya's conduct of international trade and economic affairs.

Kenya under the NARC dispensation did seem to have gotten back on the democratic course after replacing the 40 year old KANU regime: her economic growth rate per annum was headed for 6% and domestic revenue collection seemed sufficient to cover the fiscal budget (Central Bank of Kenya, 2008:114-117). Yet barely a year or two later, cracks began to appear on the

political landscape. Murunga and Nasong'o argues that a Constitutional Referendum fueled by elitist trajectories for power; amid serious accusations of grand corruption on the part of top leaders in government appeared to kill the spirit of the 2002 "moment of change". This culminated in the December 2007 elections, the disputed results of which opened the country's "horrific closet"- elite engineered ethnic violence that led to mass deaths, hatred and destruction among rural and urban impoverished populations(The Commission of Inquiry into the Post-election Violence -CIPEV- Waki Commission Report: 2009).

4.2 Roles of different actors

A new generation that comprises different actors is on the rise in Africa. They are rising through different sectors of the economy by engaging in income generating activities, working as local representatives of multinational corporations, leading local NGOs and activist groups, and taking an increasing role in political leadership. These groups are fed up with the tendency of status quo in the governments and economic stagnation. They have brought new ideas and strategies that have fostered development.

4.3 Roles of leaders and their Leadership

Leaders do play a wide range of duties depending with the leadership position one is holding though the ultimate goal is to give proper direction. Leaders are always expected to lead by example through giving ethical guidance, design and implement strategies in all spheres.⁶ During the reign of the first president of Kenya Jomo Kenyatta, he ensured that most of the high ranking government offices were manned by members of his ethnic community. There was no clear policy to foster for the development during his regime. But with the coming to power of President Moi, after Kenyatta demise in 1978, the power shifted towards his ethnic group that

⁶ Sorensen, A. and Epps, R. "Community Leadership and Local Development," *Journal of Rural Studies*, 1996.

ran the public offices for 24 years. Under the NARC government that commenced the year 2002, there was a repeat of the same where Kibaki put in office people from his ethnic community. This clearly shows how the first, second and third regime both had no people's interest at their heart. This is a key feature of patronage politics where the poor are at the bottom and decisions and the policies made always favor their interests.

Kenyan political leaders have rarely seen the need to get the views of the poor except at times when leaders felt threatened of losing the political office or needed to gain electoral support, they occasionally manipulate the poor using policies that seem to favor them.⁷ The study shows that poor governance is the root cause of the disappointing development in Kenya. The political elite have failed in their duty and have instead captured public offices and resources to serve their interests promoting a culture of corruption. Power has been highly personalized, and is maintained by specific influential political lineage. These conditions have been favorable for corruption flourish and the capacity of public institutions to deliver public goods and pro-poor services has been substantially eroded. There is limited access of leaders by citizens to hold them accountable.

4.4 Leadership in Africa

African countries have been faced by leadership failures, many of the leaders rule by intimidation, violence, and brute force. This has really dragged the economic development of different countries in Africa behind. In the early 1980s, most of the dictatorial governments were faced out and lost their control on the economic and financial resources. The citizens who opposed such governments called for change and governments lost the backing of key

⁷ Transparency International Kenya Bribery Index 2004 and 2003. The index is derived from a sample survey and mainly relates to incidences of petty corruption encountered by the general public.

supporters. The end of bipolar reign and apartheid in the early 1990s, spelled a new beginning where authoritarian leaders were forced to give way to democratic governments. There was an increase in the number of democracies in sub-Saharan Africa from just 3 in 1989 to 23 in 2008. Democracy means not only elections but greater adherence to basic political and civil rights, more freedom of the press, and stronger political institutions. Although there are emerging democracies, it is not all countries in Africa that have attained it.⁸

4.5 Conclusion

The remedy to good governance in Kenya is through inclusive politics which will ensure that the leadership people entrust with public offices is accountable. Generally, Kenyan leaders are faced with pressure to enrich and to make themselves politically correct. This has greatly affected the quality of leadership in the country. Rarely have they exercised restraint against ethical behavior. The major challenge will be to shift the pressures for personal and political mileage that occupy the political elite to pro-poor policy.

⁸ Diamond, L. Beyond autocracy: Prospect for democracy in Africa. Beyond Autocracy in Africa, (Atlanta: The Carter Center of Emory University, 1989), Pp 24.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This study sought to provide remedies of the research based on the objectives of the study. They were about examining the effects of political leadership changes and how it affect development in Africa, examine the role played by Kenya's political leadership in economic development, and also examine the policies that changes due to change in political leadership. The study set out to test two hypotheses; first, change in leadership has implications on economic development in Kenya and secondly, strong institutions have a direct influence on leadership in Africa economic development.

5.1 Summary and Discussion of Study findings

Leadership in political sphere has evolved rapidly to become a highly advanced, institutionalized and sophisticated activity in many parts of the world. However in other parts, it may be difficult for one to make a clear rationale for the existence of political leadership, let alone make sense of its mandate in any given setup. In many a times political leaders are the one who are at the heart of influencing economic development through legislation in most African economies. Perhaps accounting for these disparities may better explain why some societies are more socio-economically advanced than others. Development as the process in which any human society strives to reach self-sufficiency, self-reliance, technological advancement, justice and equity. In the modern sense, it focuses on human development measured by the wellbeing and living standards of people in reference to access to basic needs, per capita income, literacy levels,

mortality rates and poverty indices among other factors. This chapter seeks to assess the relationship between political leadership and development in Africa, with specific reference to Kenya.

In many African countries almost elective positions doesn't follow the due process laid down by parties, results are at many times predetermined. The laid procedures are usually ignored and not followed. In some cases winners have been denied their victory and given to the preferred candidate of party leadership. The major cause is that leadership of different political affiliations practice ethnical biasness who formulate policies that favor their political ambitions. This has led to a huge diversion away from the initial economic development agenda. Many of the parties rely on patrons, who are to a larger extent the financiers of these political parties. This turns the political party into a personal tool of political advancement. Party leadership in Kenya is poorly institutionalized, grossly tribal and corrupt.

The political elite in Kenya is self -interested and has predatory behavior. There is political will among some political leaders who have single handed fought for the change of bad governance through laid procedures. The consistence of the civil society has made the government to be on checks more often than before and also the legislature realization of advocating for the changes in political realm.

From the look of things, getting a genuine leader is not easy, since what almost every leader promises before being elected don't relate with the development after getting into the office. Leaders should interact with others and make their agenda clear. Such interaction shape ones world of view. According to either Theta and Lambda, the particular worldview will in turn,

shapes all these agendas in which a person embodies in by search for greater self-awareness and contextualization with his external environment.

5.3 Recommendations

The African leadership problem can well be sougled by African themselves for they do understand it more than any other person. Well-handled problem can go long way to benefit the future generations in the continent. The decisions made by leaders affect the continent. The international community should help Africa deal with fast tracking the money stolen from Africa and hidden to foreign financial institutions. There should be a proper mechanism to check on the finances that are transferred by African political leaders if they have followed duly process and also checking on those who connive with them in case is stolen money from Africa.

Trade policies at the national level do not favor African countries to fetch good prices at the world market from their export which is highly competitive. Africa is still weak when it comes to engaging and sustaining economic activities through collective bargaining and creative initiatives that could generate big margin of wealth. This is attributed to poor leadership. The global market which is a liberalized free market is very competitive and requires a government to set up policies that will make it optimize the gains of such a market. The policies and institutions set by leaders should in such a way that they attract foreign investors. Leaders in Africa have to be held accountable when it comes to democratic governance by the people they lead. This will help people to take control of the economy they are entitled to. People can only enjoy the international investment if the resources can be received and trickled down to every citizen. International community must keep in place policies that can help every desired population before disbursement of resources.

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