

**THE EFFECT OF ELECTIONEERING PROCESS ON THE TOURISM
INDUSTRY – A STUDY OF TOURIST ARRIVALS IN KENYA**

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and to the best of my knowledge it has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

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This research project has been submitted with my approval as University supervisor.

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Date

DEDICATION

This study is especially dedicated to The Almighty God for enabling me to accomplish this work and to my beloved family members especially my wife Linet Nyakoni Aera, my son Izan Erimana Eyong and my daughter Ivania Nelae Eyong for their support during this entire process.

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ABSTRACT

The main objective of this study was to gain deeper understanding of the effect of electioneering process on tourist arrivals in Kenya. It is within public domain that tourism is an immense contributor to Kenya's economy and it is touted to be the acme foreign exchange earner after agriculture and horticulture respectively. But of recent it has experienced a downward trend due to insecurity in the country following issuance of travel advisories by major tourist source markets. Specifically, the study analyzed the effect of election campaign period; voting pattern; and the relationship of election results on tourist arrivals in Kenya. This study adopted a descriptive research design whereby it targeted travel agents, tour operators, Ministry of Tourism (MoT), hotel and allied workers, Kenya Association of Travel Agents (KATA); Kenya Association of Tour Operators (KATO); Kenya Tourism Board (KTB); and airline personnel. The study used 150 respondents as a sample size. A questionnaire was employed as a data collection instrument. The data collected was coded and analyzed with aid of Statistical Packages for Social Sciences (SPSS Version 23.0). The analysis revealed that majority of the respondents agreed that election campaigns affects movement of people within the country, voting pattern has no effect on movement of people within the country, it is risky to travel a few days before and after the general elections, and that voting and announcement of the results causes' tension, and there is a likelihood of violence after the release of the results. From the findings of the study it was concluded that election campaign period and election results negatively influence tourist arrivals in Kenya. In addition voting pattern has no effect on tourist arrivals in Kenya.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CIPEV	Commission of Inquiry into the Post-Election Violence
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KATA	Kenya Association of Travel Agents
KATO	Kenya Association of Tour Operators
KTB	Kenya Tourism Board
KTF	Kenya Tourism Federation
KNCHR	Kenya National Commission on Human Rights
KTB	Kenya Tourism Board
MoT	Ministry of Tourism
PEV	Post Election Violence
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization
WTTC	World Travel & Tourism Council

CHAPTER ONE

THE EFFECT OF ELECTIONEERING PROCESS ON THE TOURISM INDUSTRY: AS STUDY ON TOURIST ARRIVALS IN KENYA

1.1 Background to the Study

International tourism has grown immensely over the years and it has become an economic pillar in the global service trade. Tourism being a labour intensive sector provides employment to many people globally and it generates billions of dollars in the global gross domestic product. Tourism is yet to be fully exploited and if well harnessed can potentially contribute immensely to Africa's economic growth and development especially due to the continent's cultural and natural resource endowments. Countries such as Mauritius, Seychelles, and South Africa reap substantial benefits from tourism.

It is public knowledge that Kenya's tourism sector is a major contributor to the economy and it is touted to be the acme earner of foreign exchange after agriculture and horticulture respectively but of recent it has experienced a downward trend due to insecurity in the country following issuance of travel warnings, cautions or advisories by major tourist source markets. The allure of the country's climate, culture, wildlife, scenery and sandy coastline has seen tourists from diverse nationalities visit Kenya and has enabled growth of the tourism industry. This sector depends on international tourist arrivals as well as domestic tourists for its growth and sustainability. Besides the lucrative international tourist source markets, Kenyan residents over the recent past have developed an interest to explore their own country¹. This development is a good indicator of the growing domestic market supporting the established international arrivals but the sector faces many challenges that

¹ Most ethnic groups preferred visiting their kinsmen during Easter, and Christmas festivities and the practice was deeply rooted in their cultures. Western Kenya was the most affected by this internal movement to rural places such as Gusii, Nyamira, Kisumu, Kakamega, Bungoma, Malaba, Busia, and Kitale among other areas.

threaten its sustainable growth. These challenges may be attributed to flawed electoral processes, civil strife, terrorism, poor infrastructure, wildlife poaching, massive deforestation, rising crime and insecurity among others that deny the country optimal earnings and sustained growth. For the purpose of this research, the researcher mainly focused on assessing the effect of electioneering process on tourist arrivals.

Elections in Kenya are held in five year cycles where national and county government positions are contested nationally². The intensity of campaigns and the events prior to the casting of ballots has seen the stability of Kenya wavering. As campaigns intensify, political rallies build up countrywide; the media runs dedicated coverage and commentary on electoral issues, audio-visual voter sensitization drills conducted by the electoral commission, and political debates organized at national and county levels. These events raise expectations, tension builds, in some cases violence and conflicts arise, destruction of property, and at the worst scenario death. Even though government agencies and other tourism stakeholders are branding and promoting Kenya as a secure tourist destination and managing relations with tourist source markets, they as current tourism indicators portray, are not addressing the issues that are impeding the growth of the tourism industry locally. This study mainly seeks to assess the effects of electioneering process on tourist arrivals³.

1.2 Problem Statement

Tourism contributes approximately 30 percent (%) to the transfer of services in the world, 6 % to gross exports, and 5 (%) to the gross domestic product (GDP) of the world. This puts tourism fourth in rank after fuel, chemicals, and auto products (World Travel & Tourism Council, 2012). Kenya is among the top countries that depend on tourism in

²The major elective positions contested include: presidential, gubernatorial, senatorial, and county representatives.

³ In this case, the focus of the study will only be on the general elections and not by-elections in Kenya

international service trade. The third largest contributor to Kenya's economy is tourism, after agricultural exports which include tea and horticulture, responsible for 12 percent of the total wage employment while contributing 13% of GDP (Government of Kenya, 2012; World Travel & Tourism Council, 2012). To this extent, the country depends heavily on the tourism industry earnings to fund its annual budget. In addition to tourism being a major employer creating jobs for relatively unskilled workers in Kenya and other countries, it is also an important sector in multilateral service trade (Eilat & Einav*, 2004; Naudé & Saayman, 2005).

The performance of this sector has a direct impact on the country's GDP. Government agencies such as the Kenya Tourism Board (KTB), Brand Kenya and other tourism stakeholders play a vital role in branding and promoting Kenya as a tourist destination, and this has paid off over the years. Nonetheless, tourist arrivals and by extension income from this sector have been noted to decline during the period leading to and after general elections. For instance tourist arrivals dropped from 1,425,200 in 2006 to 1,065,800 in 2008 representing 25.2 percent decline, similarly 1,822,900 in 2011 to 1,519,600 in 2013 representing 16.6 percent (KNBS, 2014) coinciding with the electioneering cycles in Kenya.

The tourism industry being service-oriented is sensitive to environmental factors that are responsible for its performance. These factors range from political stability, security, economic growth, climate change, and acts of nature among others (Bentum-Ennin, 2014; Burns & Novelli, 2007). The tourism industry's sustainability and growth is critical to the country's socio-economic advancement. Anything that threatens this strategic foreign exchange earner is critical to Kenya's overall economic progression. It is of utmost concern knowing that the tourism industry faces serious challenges whenever there is a cycle of general elections. Since elections take place after every five years in Kenya, the industry is set to lose its attractiveness to both domestic and international tourists when the

electioneering period reoccurs. When this happens, tourist arrivals decline, earnings from the sector decline and other industries that supply products to the tourism industry, for example farm produce suppliers; draperies, toiletries and linen manufacturers among others also suffer loses. If this trend remains unchecked, then the efforts applied by the Kenya Tourism Board, other government agencies, and tourism stakeholders to maximize performance of the tourism industry will not achieve the desired outcome. In this study, the threat was explained in terms of elections. The growth of domestic tourism, a surge in international arrivals and sustainability of this industry is paramount in so far as achieving of Kenya's Vision 2030 is concerned. The research, consequently, endeavoured to address the gap by examining the effect of electioneering process on the tourism industry using data obtained through a survey.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study was to establish the effect of electioneering process on tourist arrivals in Kenya. Explicitly the study sought to:

- i. Determine the influence of election campaign period on tourist arrivals in Kenya
- ii. Establish the effect of voting pattern on tourist arrivals in Kenya
- iii. Establish the relationship of election results on tourist arrivals in Kenya

1.4 Research Questions

- i. How does the election campaign period influence tourist arrivals in Kenya?
- ii. How does the pattern of voting affect tourist arrivals in Kenya?
- iii. What is the relationship between election results and tourist arrivals in Kenya?

1.5 Justification of the Study

Tourism plays an integral part in Kenya's economic advancement. The government and other stakeholders alike agree that the tourism industry's sustainability is paramount in so far as the realization of Vision 2030 is concerned. Being at the core of economic growth and

owing to the income it generates from foreign exchange and the infrastructure already established, the sector has to be fully developed to meet its full potential.

The tourism industry is broad and it is at the core of economic development in the country. It is enmeshed with other sectors of the economy such as agriculture, energy, transport, national security among others for its flourishing. Many researchers have attempted to explain how a multiplicity of factors individually and/or collectively such as violence (Dercon and Gutiérrez-Romero, 2012; Hall, 1996), political violence (Neumayer, 2004), terrorism (Helmy, 2014; Sönmez, 1998; Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a), insecurity (Mansfeld and Pizam (2006), poaching deforestation, drought, epidemics (Dolnicar, 2007), bed capacity, climate (Ikiara and Okech, 2002), human–wildlife conflict, economic leakage, land delimitation, and ethnic clashes (Klopp, 2001) among others affect tourism. Notwithstanding, little has been done or little is known about the effect of electioneering process on tourism. Also the industry, just like other sectors of the economy has faced many other challenges ranging from poaching, massive deforestation, perennial drought, and the spread of epidemics among other challenges. When the country and by extension the tourism industry still grapple with these setbacks, the country's electoral cycle draws closer, and with it come electoral-related challenges. The effort applied by the government of Kenya and other stakeholders to mitigate these challenges is not sufficient to insulate the tourism sector from the shocks.

A holistic understanding of the sector during the electioneering period was prudent in order for it to realize an exponential growth in inbound tourist arrivals, a surge in domestic tourism, and generate more revenue to the exchequer. The recommendations, once implemented, will generate more employment opportunities to the local population, and will support other sectors of the economy such as agriculture, hospitality and air transport. The sector is wide in terms of coverage and it is only by segregating certain critical aspects of the sector will deeper insight and understanding be gained. When critical aspects affecting the

industry are singled out, fully analysed and recommendations made, will a strategic plan of action be formulated in order to spur the growth of the tourism industry in a holistic manner. Therefore, this research attempts to explain how tourist arrivals as one critical aspect of the tourism industry, is affected by the electioneering process. This understanding is essential:

- 1) In terms of laying the foundation and understanding on the implications of past and present electoral processes on the optimal commercial growth and sustainability of the tourism sector.
- 2) Since stakeholders in the sector need the understanding of the effect of electioneering process on tourist arrivals. This understanding may enable them come up with policies that favour sustained growth of the tourism industry before campaigns start, within the campaign period, and after the elections.
- 3) Because the results of this study adds knowledge over and above that which is in the current literature in the tourism field, and gaps that emerge may trigger future research and eventually enrich the available literature.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study is mainly concerned with investigating the effect of electioneering process on tourist arrivals in Kenya. The study covers the period from 1991 to 2014 capturing the most competitive multi-party electoral cycles in post-independence Kenya. The research covered all the eight tourist circuits in Kenya. These circuits include: Nairobi; Central; Coastal; Southern; Eastern; North Rift; South Rift; and Western Kenya circuits (Bain, de Bruyn, Williams, & Briggs, 2010). All the tourist circuits were considered because they cut across socio-cultural and political boundaries including county, constituency and ward boundaries. The data was acquired from the police, citizens, tourists, travel agents, tour operators, KTF officers, KATO officers, MoT officers, KATA officers and electoral officials, hotel workers, airline personnel, and KTB officers by way of a questionnaire purposively

throughout the eight tourist circuits. These respondents were selected because they are the major actors in the electoral process and the tourism industry in Kenya. Their views were important in order to answer the research questions conclusively.

The following are the limitations to this study. Due to the limited nature of resources, this study did not cover all aspects of tourism. The study was faced by financial challenges especially reaching some respondents considering the geographical and technological disparity. Equally noting, the research demanded a lot of time to collect data and analyse it. Lastly, the findings are not representative of all the factors affecting tourist arrivals beyond the electioneering process.

1.7 Definition of Concepts

a) Electioneering process: According to Brady, Johnson and Sides, electioneering process is the period just before the electorate decide on who to vote for, in most cases signified by the political activeness of the media, interest towards politics by the public, political debates, awareness of who the aspirants are and the increased intentions by the electorate to participate in the voting process (Brady et al, 2006). According to this study, electioneering process refers to the period of heightened political activities. The heightened political activities include intensive campaigns, political rallies, dedicated political coverage by the media, outdoor posters, flyers and billboards bearing images and messages of candidates, distribution of civic education materials, and political debates taking place across the country leading to the actual day of voting. It also involves the partisan actions of all political parties or independent candidates dedicated towards gaining power through strategic campaigns and mobilization or commission of acts contrary to democratic principles such as voter buying and bribery, civil unrest, violence, increased level of crime, ethnic clashes, conflict, and in some instances loss of life.

- b) **Tourist Arrivals:** The Kenya Tourism Board (KTB) defines tourist arrivals according to the motive of visiting including sport, holiday, business, study, conference, visiting friends and relatives, transit, and reason not specified (Lucy, 2014). According to this study, tourist arrivals refer to the number of people who travel to another location, state or country that is not their usual abode, outside their customary milieu. These people travel to another location locally or internationally with an intention of consuming leisure or business products such as hotels, lodges, beaches, museums, historical sites, buildings, strategic assets, and natural endowments. Natural endowments include wildlife, birds, forests, land features, water bodies, people and climate. Strategic assets mean educational institutions, research institutions, medical institutions, MICE (Meetings, Incentives, Conferences and Exhibitions) facilities and space tourism installations.
- c) **Tourism:** According to the World Tourism Organization (2001a), tourism comprises of events that people undertake for business, leisure or other purposes while visiting other places away from their permanent dwelling for a maximum period of one year. According to this study tourism encompasses the undertakings of individuals traveling to other locations, states or places that are not their usual abode, outside their customary milieu. It involves the consumption of leisure, business or other products such as hotels, lodges, beaches, museums, historical sites, buildings, strategic assets, and natural endowments.

1.8 Literature Reviews

Democracy demands that elections are regularly held so that the electorate reaffirm their support to those individuals they confer their sovereign power to govern on their behalf. The mandate is sometimes with-held due to the leaders not meeting the expectations of the voters. Democratic practice requires citizens and those whom they elect to exercise their sovereign power guided by democratic principles. According to Singo, Owuoche, and Kama-Kama (2009) the quest for free and fair elections is a statement for freedom, justice, equality

and representative democracy. A non-disputed election especially in Kenya is an incentive to the country because it re-energizes and creates new opportunities for development and management of the socio-economic and political environment.

The tourism industry is at the core of economic growth creating an interrelated linkage between political, social, cultural and economic activities (von Bergner & Lohmann, 2014). Electioneering process is a highly partisan process that brings together various actors with each playing defined roles such as voters, contestants, electoral management body, and electoral observers among others. A well-managed electoral process creates an atmosphere through which economic progression is realised across all sectors. The realization of increased tourist arrivals is imperative to the growth of the tourism sector and this will have a ripple effect to the other sectors of the economy. This chapter focuses on the existing literature and past studies conducted in relation to the effect of electioneering process on tourist arrivals. The existing literature would not comprehensively address the effect of electioneering process on tourist arrivals, which is what this study attempts to answer.

1.8.1 Historical Perspective of Election Campaign Periods in Kenya

Literature on the electioneering process in Kenya since 1991 paints a disconcerting picture of the process that is meant to bring democratic change in Kenya through a free and fair process pegged on democratic principles of popular participation, public accountability and responsiveness to society. Evidence suggests that during the election campaign periods between 1991 and 2014 most citizens in the country got polarized along ethnic lines, and political actors took advantage of these alignments to abuse the democratic process. In his study, Huguet (2011) found out that more ethnically polarized societies are more prone to violence because there is a stronger divergence of cultural, religious and linguistic preferences. Intense ethnic polarization especially amongst ethnic groups with the highest populations in Kenya has always been a recipe for violence during the electioneering period.

The incentive to align oneself to a particular ethnic group or ethnic coalition is the belief that benefits will accrue once a member gains political office. The benefits may come in terms of employment or economic favouritism.

Electoral violence was experienced prior to the presidential or general elections held in 1988, 1992, and 1997 but in the 2007 general elections, the violence occurred after the casting of the ballots and announcement of results (Truth, Justice, & Governance, 2010). This implies that electoral violence in Kenya can be attributed to negative factors prior to, during and after the general elections. Just before the 1992 general elections, violence erupted in the Rift Valley region and other areas politically controlled by KANU party. Maasai and Kalenjin ethnic groups threatened to wage war against other ethnic groups especially the Kikuyu who had emigrated to this region (Throup & Hornsby, 1998). The Kikuyu ethnic group were mainly targeted because they were perceived to be anti-KANU and were also accused to have stolen the Kalenjin ancestral land in the Rift Valley region. This violence that lasted from 1991 and continued intermittently up to 1994 resulted in the death of over 1500 and displacement of 300,000 people (International Crisis Group, January 9,2012).

Going by a report by KNCHR, ethnic protagonists who were keen to influence the voting patterns at the Coast region prior to the 1997 presidential elections initiated the Likoni clashes. The *Mijikenda* ethnic groups devised a means to forcefully displace other ethnic groups during campaigns by first, spreading flyers that said “*Majimbo juu, pwani Kwa Mijikenda,*” (long live regionalism, the Coast belongs to the nine sub-ethnic groups indigenous to the Coast referred to as Mijikenda), and secondly, the political elite and government officers from the *Mijikenda* sponsored gangs to undertake evictions and attack opponents. The gangs and militia set up illegal road barriers in order to stop, profile, intimidate, beat, and even kill non-*Mijikenda* individuals in order to influence the voting patterns in favour of native communities (KNHCR, 2008).

Prior to the 2007 presidential elections, tensions were evident, systematic signs of hostilities and looming violence not limited to provocative actions, and hate speech were overlooked by the government and this culminated to violence when the presidential results announcement was delayed. What followed was spontaneous violence across the country with the Rift Valley, Nairobi, and Western regions most affected (CIPEV, 2008). Studies conducted on this election revealed that political parties carried out their campaigns in a disorganised manner, without clear agendas and often took advantage of ethnic divisions to cause disruptions and confrontations (CIPEV, 2008). Several communities reported the activities of organized gangs ahead of the election, and to have received hate campaign leaflets and text messages inciting ethnic violence (Dercon & Gutiérrez-Romero, 2012). What followed immediately after the presidential results were announced was an unprecedented eruption of ethnic and political violence (Dercon & Gutiérrez-Romero, 2012). The violence and conflict experienced during the electioneering periods in Kenya is fuelled by both the electorate and politicians. This is perpetuated by use of text messages, electronic and print media, word of mouth, and other means. When these acts take place, the incumbent governments rarely take serious remedial actions due to the mere fact that even the leadership are preoccupied with regaining power. Additionally, once violence erupts, the state's ability to respond to restore peace is inhibited by sapping bureaucratic flaws (Halakhe, 2013).

The 2002 and 2013 presidential elections were generally peaceful although fear still prevailed among Kenyans due to past electioneering experiences. The cycles of violence and conflict during electioneering periods in Kenya, in many occasions, led to carnage and displacement of many people in the country. Beyond the despair and anger over poverty, corruption, and the need for political change in the face of fraudulent elections, the riots, crime, bribery, and other electoral malpractices also reveal the underlying tensions between ethnic groups that is brought to the fore during campaigns (Langer, 2011). It is evident from

the existing literature that indeed most of the electioneering periods since 1986 up to 2014 have experienced violence, conflict and other electoral malpractices.

The tourism industry being a highly conflict-sensitive sector depends on peace for its flourishing (Neumayer,2004). Any perceived disturbance therefore will impact the industry's outbound and inbound tourist flows. The uncertainties experienced during the electioneering period carry widespread ramifications that are felt beyond this exercise and mitigation require studies to be conducted and findings thoroughly analysed and recommendations implemented.

1.8.2 The Electoral Environment in Kenya

The overall electioneering process in Kenya including the conduct of political parties, the ability of electoral institutions to conduct free and fair elections and, the legal framework contribute to a successful election. An analysis of voting patterns in Britain found that electoral systems that promote internal party democracy are generally seen to discourage programmatic politics and invite electoral corruption in the form of bribery, personal influence, and patronage, the reason being that contestants who do not espouse coherent ideology or totally lack ideology will distinguish themselves on grounds of financial rewards (Cox et al, 1998). These acts of corruption, coupled by weak institutions and unimplemented laws if not acted upon by relevant institutions prior to the electioneering period may lead to other vices that lead to an unstable political process.

Political volatility is in most cases identified with strife, terrorism, and political clashes as opposed to stability, and general peace (Helmy, 2014; Sonmez, 1998; Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a). Ivanovic (2009), illustrated that the degree of political fickleness relates to political turbulence and the inclination of a forthcoming change of government. Moreover, Morakabati (2013) views political instability in terms of conflicts, wars, crises, and hostilities. According to Teye (1988) political instability is changes in governments, while

Hall et al (1996) view political upheavals in terms of transnational conflicts, civil wars, terrorism, coups, insurrections, political disputes, social unrest, and strikes (Neumayer, 2004) posits that political instability in actual sense is political violence. Borrowing from the above scholars and projecting to the Kenyan situation, it is evident that the country experiences general instability during electioneering period.

Uncertainty in the political environment in most cases leads to political turmoil which creates a crisis of authority in governance, lack of stability and security (Bhattarai, Conway, & Shrestha, 2005). In the Kenyan scenario, a closer observation of the past elections held in 1987, 1992, 1997, and 2007 bear testimony that the process is beset with violence, uncertainty, conflict, dilemma, and even death (CIPEV, 2008; Kagwanja & KHRC, 1998; Klopp, 2001; Njogu, 2014; Singo et al., 2009). Gwamna (1997), further argues that civil strife has marred Kenya's multiparty elections since 1992 with the 2007 elections being the most violent. These episodes of violence during electioneering periods lead to instability that carries an undesirable effect on the country's social, economic and political milieu.

1.8.3 Effect of Electioneering Process on Kenya's Economy

Electoral violence affects virtually every economic activity in the area which it occurs (Truth et al., 2010). The occurrence of violence creates a belief of high political risk among the population in Kenya hence discouraging new investments or rebuilding causing others to divest in the periods prior to general elections. When the economy suffers shocks of electioneering process, resource conflict intensifies, exacerbates joblessness, creates dejected youth who are effortlessly responsive to political manipulation, and intensifies clan, ethnic racial, and class tensions. These shocks spread across all sectors of the economy negatively affecting economic progress.

Murphy (2003), reported that violence experienced during elections affect the GDP of Kenya. He pointed out that during election years of 1991-1992, and 1997-1998, the country's

GDP fell and this is attributed to the ethnic violence. “The GDP fell from 1.4 percent to 0.8 percent from 1991 – 1992, and from 3.0 percent to -0.8 percent from 1997-1998. The country once more witnessed a drop in the GDP from 1999 to 2000 when it fell from 1.4 percent to -0.4 percent (Murphy, 2003).

1.8.4 Fundamentals of Electioneering Process and Tourism in Kenya

Tourism is an activity that earns Kenya a substantial amount in foreign currency. For instance earnings from tourism gave Kenya 62.5 billion in 2009, 73.7 billion in 2010, 97.9 billion shillings in 2011, 96.0 billion in 2012, and 94.0 billion in 2013 (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2014). The Kenya Vision 2030 identified tourism as one of the areas that will spearhead economic progression (Government of Kenya, 2007). The industry is service oriented and as such depends heavily on the environmental conditions for its survival. Richter et al, (1986) explained that most of the time tourism is the first to be hit by devastating conflict, uprising, or even protracted industrial disputes. Even if areas frequented by tourists are not affected, tourism may still drop tremendously when political certainty is in question. This in turn has a ripple effect on other dependent industries.

Political events (elections) may at times cause physical damage, and may fundamentally reduce the number of visitors towards the affected destination, by increasing anxiety, doubt and perception of safety or risk in the traveller’s minds (Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a). According to the study conducted by Dolnicar (2007) on tourist fears that would stop them from reserving their trip, political instability stood at 46% the scarcity of clean food and water at 46%; an act of terrorism at 56%; chronic diseases at 59%; and war or military upheavals ranked at 79% (Dolnicar, 2007).

Tourists love a peaceful destination where they can unwind or do their business in a serene environment. Noting on the connection that exists between tourism and peace, scholars such as (Neumayer, 2004; Upadhayaya, Müller-Böker, and Sharma, 2011; Upreti et

al., 2013) point out that peace and tourism exist in an interdependent relationship where each strengthens the other. Upadhayaya et al. (2011), additionally perceive that conflict, peace, and tourism are interrelated in a triangular mode in the national milieu. They went on to state that the sector is so sensitive to upheavals and is positively impacted when there is a state of calm. Additionally, conflicts tend to take the growth of tourism backwards if it leads to unsteadiness of the county's situation. Thus the three variables are undeniably linked, as a disruption in any of the three variables fundamentally causes an imbalance in their relationship. Neumayer (2004), observed that occurrences of skirmishes tend to impact on tourism with either long or short-term effects.

Neumayer (2004), observed that tourists tend to alter their desire of visiting destinations which have negative image, as occurrences of violence can impact a destination even after the episode has long gone and peace has indeed been re-established. As explained by Upadhayaya et al. (2011) tourists will always avoid places that are not experiencing calm due to political unrest irrespective of cultural or natural endowments. Events with high intensity such as political susceptibility and terrorism have damaging effect on demand and supply of tourism (Richter & Waugh, 1986; Ryan, 1993). The nonexistence of violence makes destinations mature to receive high number of tourists since tourists prefer social environments which are peaceful and harmonious. Most potential tourists do prefer to stay away from places with risky occurrences (Cooper, 2004; Hall & O'Sullivan, 1996). According to Khunou and Pawson (2009) political factors such as political unrest, crime, terrorism, and war are all political factors that will make tourists to shun a destination.

Looking at whether destination risk affected tourists' destination preferences, Mansfeld and Pizam (2006) posited that a travel risk is a situation that touches on travellers' capacity to fulfil their wishes freely without being subjected to adverse circumstances. These circumstances include political unrest, crime, wars, terror events, natural disasters,

unexpected extreme weather conditions, outbreak of epidemics, and other possible security situations (Fuchs & Reichel, 2004; Gartner & Shen, 1992; Richter & Waugh, 1986; Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a, 1998b; Tasci & Gartner, 2007). They further argue that potential tourists would use information available on the destination to facilitate their constructs of perceived travel risk. Based on these perceptions, potential tourists would make decisions to visit risk-free destinations. The main motivation of assessing the risk factors is the desire by tourists to maximise their travel experience in less risky destinations(Fuchs & Reichel, 2004).

Lepp et al, (2003) analysed the Young-American tourists take on risk where they discovered that tourists that prefer pre-arranged vacations or independent mass tourists do react quickly to risky situations. They concluded that upon determination of a specified travel risk, this group will be on the frontline to change their plans and cancel their planned vacation.

On the same note, Fuchs et al, (2004) discovered that the extent and value of supposed risk also vary along nationality and cultural dimensions. They also discovered that of those who went ahead to visit Israel despite of the risks also vary considerably according to nationality and religious affiliations.

The literature on the effect of elections on tourism has shade light on a number of variables that affect tourism. However, most of the empirical studies analysed the correlation between political upheavals and skirmishes and tourism, but effect of electioneering process in its entirety has received little or no attention. In Kenya there is no recent study on the effect of electioneering process on tourist arrivals despite the significance of tourist arrivals and by extension the tourism industry to the country's economic performance. This study endeavoured to fill the research gaps by analysing the effect of electioneering process on the tourism industry with focus on tourist arrivals in Kenya taking into account election

campaign period, voting patterns and electoral outcome at the national level during general elections.

1.8.5 Campaign Period and Tourist Arrivals

According to this study campaign period refers to the span of time when those seeking political offices try to win over votes from the electorate before elections are actually conducted. In this case, the electorate gets swayed by what they learn about contenders, parties, and platforms from the fourth estate at an earlier period, and not just what they pick up for the duration of the official campaign.

During this period, politicians use emotional appeals to increase their support and decrease support for a challenger. Campaigns habitually pursue to instil affirmative feelings about their contender among party supporters to rally turnout while pursuing to elevate anxiety and fear about the opponent (Brader, Ted, 2006). The Kenyan electorate by and large focus on personality of individuals vying for various positions as opposed to the ideology of the party when making a choice of a candidate to vote for. Even though there are many political parties, most of them are used as vehicles to ascend to positions of power but not as avenues to exercise a particular kind of leadership or agenda. The focus on personality is a result of ethnicity where distribution of national wealth is based on ethnic-alignments and the same applies to civic appointments. In order to gain from the incumbent governments, the electorate perceive that electing a member of their own ethnic group increases chances of gaining public appointments.

For many countries in Africa, Kenya included, tourism is regarded highly for the growth of their economy and as such they to a huge extend depend on it for daily upkeep and look to it to also grow. The industry hangs in the balance, however (Maditinos et al, 2008), tourism, contrary to the other sectors of the economy hinges on the state of calm as those who hope to tour and relax in a carefree manner during vacations eye to experience fun, calm and

pleasure. When a place of interest lacks these experiences, they are more likely to pick on alternative destinations (Hwa Hong et al., 1999). Tourists are also discouraged with instances of political unrest. This is because when they plan to tour a certain destination at the time of unrest, they are unsure of recovering their cash if the holidays become of no value to them. They set this as a prerequisite for making a choice as one of their tour destination. The slightest indication that even a single incident of violence could occur in a place is enough to put-off prospective tourists prompting them to immediately change their travel behaviour. Hence the lack of political calm, unfortunately serves to harm Kenya's tourism sector.

1.8.6 Voting Pattern and Tourist Arrivals in Kenya

Democratic processes such as voting are quite dynamic and complicated as they hinge on a number of factors which could be psychological or social. Electioneering processes for instance, is a time when the public have a direct opportunity to decide on the governments' actions through voting. This is one of the prime ways in which people get involved in liberal democratic actions to advance social and political development. By voting therefore, they are able to make decision regarding their preferences. Through the voting process also, the public is brought into a position of making a choice on the political party of their liking among the ones fronting themselves for election, hence it is a way of making legitimate democratic rule.

The pattern of voting therefore serves to reflect the preferences of the voters, their ideologies and other factors that are in contest during elections. In the voting pattern, factors such as who will be occupying a political office, what number and who will turn out to vote, who will be elected to govern the country and whether the majority will actually take the day are determined. The psychological significance of whether the chosen system will be just, and whether the process will be representative and democratic are also expressed in the voting pattern.

1.8.7 Relationship of Election Results and Tourist Arrivals

Kenya is one of the preferred tourist destinations in Africa but it is also one of the most fragile countries in the continent due to her intense political climate and threats of terrorism to the inbound visitors. A characteristic example for Kenya is the contested general election of 2007 that resulted to the death of over 1,000 people and injury to many others due to politically motivated ethnic clashes that occurred (African National Congress, 2004). Peace began to return to Kenya only after the major competing candidates signed an agreement to form a coalition government. In this agreement Mwai Kibaki formerly became the President and Raila Odinga became the Prime Minister of the Republic of Kenya. The agreement was brokered with the help of the former United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan.

Mayaka et al, (2012), observed that there were troughs in 1998 that proceeded the elections of 1997, in 2003 after the elections of 2003 and similarly in 2008 after the elections of 2007. The study also added that the tourism sector slumped and registered one of its dim performances historically in 2008 when there was the worst political unrest and a situation of extreme insecurity since the inception of multi-party democracy in the country.

The flux in the country and unguaranteed safety of visitors occasioned a huge cancellation of vacations that were initially booked with other tourists interrupting their visits. Also the abduction of vacationers by *Al-Shabab* from a tourist beach resort in the Lamu archipelago - the Kenyan coastal paradise - contributed to low turn up of tourists. Tourism just like other service industries is fragile. Tourists would prefer destinations that are safer, and would tend to move to other destination whenever their security is not assured. Border disputes between countries, civil or international wars, coup d'états, and crime among others contribute to unsafe destinations and commonly result in utter deterioration in visitor movements and border closings (Hall, 2008).

The existing empirical studies suffer from two gaps: First, the effect of electioneering process on the tourism industry has hardly been studied. Second, most of the past studies focused on the impact of elections to stability, the impact of political violence on tourism, and the impact of terrorism on tourism among other fundamentals which mainly focus on macro tourism perspectives. No micro tourism study has been undertaken with a focus on electioneering process and tourist arrivals in Kenya. The tourism industry in Kenya stands to be negatively impacted as a consequence of political unpredictability and specifically, political violence, which includes electoral violence, substantially reducing tourist arrivals (Pilar, 2015). Pilar further argued that the tourism industry suffered massively owing to political violence and the resultant travel advisories issued by various external administrations.

1.9 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework illustrates tourist arrivals as the dependent variable and electioneering process in Kenya as the independent variable. Electioneering process affects the performance of tourist arrivals in Kenya. Electioneering process in Kenya carries the hallmarks of both an independent process which is impartial, transparent, free and fair and a partisan process characterized by violence, intimidation, voter bribery, rigging, ethnic clashes, partiality and corruption. The divide between the two processes and their outcomes is very thin and in most cases, the contestants and supporters alike remain divided even after the winners assume office. When these leaders assume office and appoint civic and political personnel in all the arms of government, they do so based on the manner in which they assumed office. The performance of duties by both the elected and appointed officials will largely be based on patronage for a partisan outcome or merit-based for an independent outcome. This impact on all segments of the economy with the tourism industry also adversely affected. A free and transparent electioneering process ideally shuns violence,

corruption and other vices encouraging the flourishing of economic activities including tourism leading to a vibrant tourism sector. On the other hand, a partisan process leads to violence, civic strife, forcible displacement of the population, and/or in some instances death. When this occurs, tourists shy away from such an environment leading to a decline in performance of the tourism industry. A partisan outcome leads to declined tourist arrivals and discourages domestic tourism, low bed occupancy, and reduced earnings from the sector. On the other hand, an independent outcome ushers in a vibrant economy in general and the tourism industry benefits from a rise in tourist arrivals and increased domestic tourism, high bed occupancy and increased earnings.

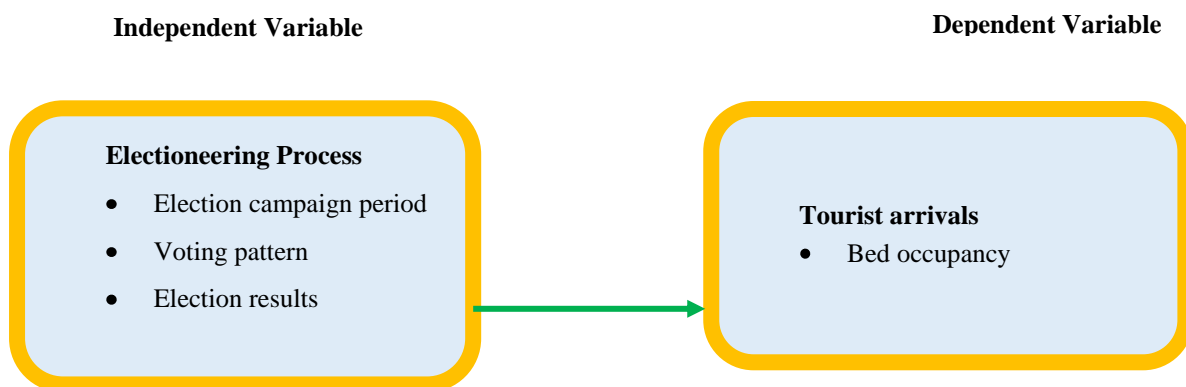
In figure 2.1, electioneering process is an independent variable while tourist arrivals is a dependent variable. Tourist arrivals are the number of people who travel to another state or country that is not their usual abode, outside their customary milieu. Conceptually, the study is interested in determining the effect of electioneering process on tourist arrivals which is better captured by bed occupancy. The figure 2.1 illustrates that the tourist arrivals is explained by electioneering process, which is measured by three sub-variables namely election campaign period, voting pattern, and election results.

The election campaign period as a sub-variable is looked at in terms of the duration before, during and immediately after the general elections, all the partisan actions of political parties, the behaviour of political candidates, the actions of the electorate, the views of electoral observers, and the electoral environment. This period is characterized by intensive campaigns, crisscrossing political rallies, dedicated media coverage and commentary on electoral issues, voter sensitization campaigns undertaken by the electoral commission, and political debates taking place across the country, among other events. Voting pattern sub-variable is looked at in terms of the period when the ballot counting process begins and

results being tallied at the polling stations, sub-county level, county, level and finally national level culminating to the final announcement of winners and losers.

The study looks at the voting pattern to determine its effect on tourist arrivals. Finally, the study looks at the election results and how it affects tourist arrivals. Tourist arrivals are explained in terms of bed occupancy. The relationship between the electioneering period and tourist arrivals is a direct one as shown in Figure 2.1.

Figure 1.9: Conceptual Framework



Source: Author, 2016

In this study, we postulate that election campaign period has a negative correlation with the performance of the tourism industry observed by tourist arrivals, especially when marred with political violence. Concerning the second sub-variable of the electioneering process namely voting pattern, it is usually characterised by ethnic or clan-based voting. Competing interests between the winning and losing ethnic groups or clans lead to conflict which poses a threat to tourist arrivals coupled with undesirable travel advisories by the key tourist source markets. The number of tourist arrivals declines when voting is characterised by chaos and ethnic clashes. Adverse travel advisories such as those issued in 2003 by the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States (US) governments (Economic Survey, 2004), and other negative travel advisories issued in 2008 by major tourist source markets in Europe

and the US following the general elections of 2007 (Mayaka & Prasad, 2012) had an impact on tourist arrivals.

In regards to election results, the contestants once defeated may fail to accept the announcement of results (outcomes), and tension may grip the nation, scaring away potential investors, promoting travel bans by markets which are the main sources of tourists and hence a reduction in tourist arrivals in the country. Henceforth we expect the three measures of electioneering process to have a negative impact on the tourism sector by decreasing the number of tourist arrivals in Kenya.

1.10 Research Methodology

This section focused on the methodology employed for this study. It discussed the research design, the target population, sampling procedure and sample size, criteria of inclusion in the study, data collection method, instruments for data collection, processing, entry and analysis methods.

1.10.1 Research Design

This study adopted a descriptive research design to assess the effect of electioneering process on tourist arrivals in Kenya. Descriptive research design was suited for this study because it provided a description of characteristics and unearthed associations among different political variables. The design further enabled the researcher to answer the questions who, what, when or how according to the research objectives.

1.10.2 Target Population

The target population for this research were travel agents, tour operators, Ministry of Tourism (MoT), hotel and allied workers, Kenya Association of Travel Agents (KATA); Kenya Association of Tour Operators (KATO); Kenya Tourism Board (KTB); Kenya Tourism Federation (KTF), Electoral Officials, Police, citizens, and airline personnel. This

population was chosen since the people in the above institutions are involved in the tourism industry activities and thus provided appropriate data required for this research.

1.10.3 Background Information on the Study Respondents

The study sought to collect data from 150 respondents, a total of 116 respondents replied constituting 89.2 % of the respondent's rate. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) a 50 percent response rate is adequate, 60 % good and above 70 % rated is very good. This also concurs with Kothari (2004) who asserted that a reply rate of 50 % is acceptable, while a reply rate which is more than 70 % is very good. This implies that based on this assertions; the response rate in this case of 89.2 % is laudable.

1.10.4 Sampling Technique and Sample Size

Purposive sampling technique was used to select a representative sample of the population. In purposive sampling, the researcher's own viewpoint is used for picking out items which he deems representative of the study population (Kothari, 2004). Hence this sampling technique was applied to identify respondents for the study. In particular snow ball sampling technique was used to arrive at the sample size in each of the categories sampled.

Table 1.2: Sample Size

Category	Sample size
Travel Agents	40
Tour Operators	30
Airline Personnel	20
Hotel and Allied Workers	30
Citizens	10
MoT officers	5
KTF	3
KATO officers	3
KATA officers	3
Electoral Officers	2
Kenya Police	2
KTB officers	2
Total	150

Source: Author, 2016

The airline personnel who participated in the study were selected from the major airlines operating in Kenya. These airlines include Kenya Airways, Ethiopian Airlines, British Airways, South African Airways, Rwandair Aviation, Jambojet Airlines, Lufthansa, Emirates, Qatar Airways, Air Kenya Aviation, Turkish Airlines, Precision Air, Egypt Air, East African Safari Air, and Five Forty Aviation. Simple random technique was used to select the airline personnel to administer the questionnaire.

Hotel and allied workers, KTF, MoT, KATO, KATA, police and electoral officials are key stakeholders in the electoral process hence their inclusion in the study. Snowballing technique was used to select the Police, Electoral Officials, IEBC officials; KTF Officials, hotel and allied workers. Snowballing technique allowed the researcher to reach out to the targeted population within the tourism industry. Citizens play an integral part in the electoral process and tourism alike. Simple Random sampling technique was used to select citizens to be sampled.

The Kenya Association of Tour Operators (KATO) which is one of the major tourism trade associations in Kenya has 324 Tour Operators as its members (KATO, 2014). Out of the 324 members, 30 Tour Operators were sampled. On the other hand, the Kenya Association of Travel Agents (KATA) has listed 134 Travel Agents as members. Out of the 134 Travel Agents (KATA, 2014), the study sampled a total of 40 Travel Agents. Snowballing technique was used to sample both the Travel Agents and Tour Operators. Travel Agents and Tour operators sampled are shown in Table 1.3.

Table 1.3: Travel Agencies and Tour Operators

	Travel Agencies	Tour Operators
1	Acharia Travel Agency Ltd	Abercrombie & Kent Ltd
2	African Peak Tours and Travel	Acacia Holidays Ltd
3	Archers Tours & Travel Ltd	Africa Point Limited
4	BCD Travel (Highlight Travel Ltd)	African Quest Safaris Ltd
5	Boma Travel Services Ltd	African Savannah Connections
6	Bunson Travel Services Ltd	Archers Tours & Travel Ltd
7	Buzzfly Tours & Travel Co Ltd	Big Five Tours & Safaris Ltd
8	Charleston Travel Ltd	Bonfire Adventures & Events Ltd
9	Cotts Travel & Tours Ltd	BushBlazers Tours Travel & Safaris Ltd
10	Destination Connect Co. Ltd	Bushbuck Adventures Ltd
11	Dodoworld (K) Ltd	Crown Tours & Car Hire Ltd
12	Elite Travel Services Ltd	Enchanting Africa Ltd
13	Express Travel Group	Expeditions Africa
14	Going Places Ltd	Gamewatchers Safaris Ltd
15	Good Hope Travel & Tours Ltd	Go Trip Africa Ltd
16	High Flyers Ventures Ltd	Gofan Safaris
17	Holiday Bazaar Ltd	Kobo Safaris Ltd
18	HRG Elite Travel Services	Linderberg Holidays & Safaris
19	Incentive Travel Ltd	Nature Expeditions Africa
20	Kendirita Tours and Travel Ltd	Pollman's Tours & Safaris Ltd
21	Ketty Tours Travel & Safaris Ltd	Private Safaris (EA) Ltd
22	Let's Go Travel	Rhino Safaris Ltd
23	Muthaiga Travel Ltd	Safari Legacy Ltd
24	Palbina Travel & Tours	Safari Trails Limited
25	Pinnacle (K) Travel & Safaris Ltd	Somak Travel Ltd
26	Raydoll Tours & Travel	Southern Cross Safaris Limited
27	Resort Africa Limited	The Safari Collection Ltd
28	Rickshaw Travels (Kenya) Ltd	Vintage Africa Ltd
29	Silverbird Travel Plus Ltd	Wild Trek Safaris Ltd
30	Spacebeam Travel	Wildlife Safari (K) Ltd
31	Speedbird Travel & Safaris Ltd	
32	Star Travel & Tours Ltd	
33	Talent Travel & Tours	
34	The Safari Collection Ltd	
35	Travel Affairs Ltd	
36	Travel Creations Ltd	
37	Travel 'n Style	
38	Travel Shoppe Ltd	
39	Uniglobe Lets Go Travel Ltd	
40	Vintage Travel & Tours Services Ltd	

Source: Author, 2016

1.10.5 Data Collection Methods and Instruments

The primary method is a survey with the questionnaire. The questionnaire was a useful tool for gathering the primary information since the respondents read and gave answers to each item and it reached a large number of subjects. The questionnaire captured the target population and contained both open and closed ended questions. Open ended

questions allowed respondents to state their own feelings while closed ended questions gave fixed responses. Some of the closed ended questions had binary choices; while choices for other variables had a 5-likert scale with code of 1 for strongly disagree to 5 for strongly agree.

1.10.6 Data Processing and Analysis

Data collected from the field was coded and cleaned to remove out missing values and put into categories manually in relation to the questionnaire items using frequency distribution tables and percentages. Content analysis was used to evaluate the data from the open-ended questions. The coded data then was entered into a computer and processed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS Version 23.0). The results were generated in the form of figures and frequency tables. The results of the data gave the researcher a basis to make conclusions about the study.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL AND BACKGROUND STUDY OF THE TOURISM INDUSTRY IN KENYA

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a historical and contextual study of Kenya's tourism sector. It addresses the issue of the state of the sector in Kenya in terms of performance on a year by year basis. It presents an analysis of the tourism industry as a key foreign exchange earner in comparison with the other foreign exchange earners in Kenya. The chapter also looks at how tourism "climbed the ladder" as a main foreign exchange earner and it points out the factors which occasioned to its decline. The effects of various aspects of tourist arrivals and by extension the tourism industry are also highlighted in this chapter.

2.2 Performance of the Tourism Industry

Tourism plays a key role in the recovery and stability of Kenya's economy. Going by Mburugu et al, (2015), it is the second largest earner in terms of export, and a prime contributor to economic growth after agriculture. Akama, (2000) explains that Kenya is a classic example of African economies which regard tourism highly as a contributor to socio-economic development. The 34 national parks and game reserves in the country have provided platforms for game drives and safaris by tourists who are eager to explore such attractions. The Great Rift Valley, Fort Jesus, Gede Ruins at the Kenyan Coast, Mombasa old town, Nairobi National Museum, Karen Blixen, Mamba Village in Nairobi and Mombasa, Olorgesailie Prehistoric Site, Coffee plantations in Thika, and beaches along the Indian Ocean are other tourist attraction sites in Kenya. The realization of the importance of tourism to the country's economy led to the creation of the Ministry of Tourism, which works hand in hand with the Kenya Tourism Board, and tourism stakeholders to ensure that international tourists enjoy their stay in the country.

As predicted by some sector indicators in 2009, the tourism industry gave strong signals of recovering with the number of tourists arriving rising from a slump of 10.6% in 2008 to a rise of 8.4% in 2009. This growth was on an account of 969,300 tourist visits made. According to the Economic Survey of 2009, overall earnings from the sector rose to Kshs. 17,500 million to Kshs. 21,360 million representing a 22.1% growth in income from the sector in a year. This growth could easily be attributed to the improvement in the situation of calm and security at the Kenyan Coast which ultimately induced the tourist to make their visits. The Economic survey of the year 2001 revealed that the sector continued to experience growth as tourists continued to trickle in and partly due to the stabilization of the Kenyan shilling against other foreign currencies. Tourism promotion campaigns contributed to the improvement in earnings, but unfortunately again the sector's earnings dropped by 6.9% from Kshs. 21,367 million to Kshs. 19,593 million in the year 2000. This was in total contrast to the 8.4% growth experienced in 1999. This was attributed to the tourists opting for a short-term stay in the country. An aggressive marketing campaign was subsequently conducted by the Kenya Tourism Board and the Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Industry.

Another negative impact that the Kenyan tourism industry had to deal with was the 2001 global recession and the terror attack in the US in September of 2000. Due to this two events, there was a drop in the number tourist arrivals by 4.1%. The Economic survey of 2000 indicated that despite the visitors opting for a shorter stay of approximately 9 days the earning from tourism in 2001 increased to Kshs. 24,239 million compared to the previous year which was Kshs. 21,553 million. Again, this rise was attributed to an aggressive marketing exercise by the Kenya Tourism Board in Germany, the US other Kenya's tourism sector contributing countries.

The Economic Survey of 2003 showed that the tourism sector was again on a modest recovery path in the year 2002 revealed by a 0.8% improvement in the number of tourist who

arrived in the country. Their overall stay in the country averaged a marginal improvement in length of 0.1 days from 8.4 days in 2001. Even though the length of stay increased, the earnings decreased from the sector by 10.4% (Kshs. 2,522 million) from Kshs. 24,256 million. Despite the marketing efforts in 2002 for Kenya as a preferred tourist destination, the terror attacks at the Coast served serious setbacks to the sector in the year which caused tourism activities to perform dismally. The image of the country as portrayed globally changed for the better as a result of the peaceful elections in 2002. Subsequently the earnings from the sector, despite the travel advisories to tourists from USA and the UK in 2003, improved from Kshs. 21,734 million in 2002 to Kshs. 25,768 million in 2003. This was as a result of the increase in the number of tourists visiting the country by 14.5% (Economic Survey, 2003). Additionally, this improvement contributed to the increase in the number of prospective investors in Kenya resulting from the change of government.

Following the reversal of the travel advisories imposed in 2002, the year 2004 saw another improved performance. Ultimately, the sector showed a significant recovery with inception of the tourist police unit in the same year. The enhanced security saw earning from the sector rise from Kshs. 25 billion in 2003 to Kshs. 39.2 billion in 2004 representing a 14.5% growth (Economic Survey, 2005). With an increase in the number of visitors from the US increasing and even surpassing that from Germany, the earnings increased to Kshs. 48.9 billion in 2005 (Economic Survey, 2006). Kenya scooped the second place after Egypt in the continent as the destination for ecotourism, a situation brought about again by a rigorous marketing campaign targeting markets in Japan, China and India. This recovery was sustained into the year 2006 which saw the sector become a leader in foreign exchange earnings for the country. This was again attributed to an increase in the number of tourist making visits in the country to 1,600.6 thousand in 2006 from 1,479.0 thousand in 2005, and from this visits, the country was able to experience an increase in earnings from the sector

from Kshs. 48.9 billion in 2005 to Kshs. 56.2 billion in 2006 (Economic Survey, 2007). This all happened on the backdrop of escalating world oil prices, adverse travel advisories by the US government and terrorism scares. The improvement of the Kenyatta International Conference Centre (KICC) into an international conference facility served to affirm the results of the sector as it experienced an upward growth in 2007. In the same year, the sector earned Kshs. 65.4 billion, indicating a 16.4% improvement from Kshs. 56.2 billion in 2006 (Economic Survey, 2008). The large number of conferences held at the KICC also contributed to this good performance registered in 2007, coupled with enhanced marketing of the sector.

There was a very dim performance in the sector experienced in 2008 as the number of tourists that got into the country saw a sharp fall by 33%. In actual number, the arrivals fell from 1,817,000 in 2007 to 1,203,200 in 2008. The relevant earnings subsequently fell to Kshs. 52.7 billion in 2008 from Kshs. 65.2 billion in 2007, representing a 33.8% dip in earnings. (Economic Survey, 2009). Further political skirmishes and upheavals after the 2007 elections in the country compounded the 2008 woes of the sector. Another factor that contributed to this dismal performance was the inflationary tendencies in the economy which came about as a result of the financial meltdown experienced globally, a rise in fuel prices, and the depreciation of the Kenyan currency coupled with adverse publicity by the fourth estate both domestically and internationally (Mayaka et al, 2012). The concerted effort by the government to create a stable environment and successful tourism promotion renewed confidence in Kenya as a preferred tourist destination. In overall, a slump in tourist arrivals poses a serious barrier in the country's attempt to achieve its *Vision 2030* tourism objectives.

The Economic Survey of 2010 reported an increase in tourist arrivals by 23.9% in 2009 compared to the performance of 2008. The earnings from tourism was reported at Kshs.

62.5 billion in 2009 compared to Kshs. 52.7 billion in 2008. This was 19.5% improvement despite the economic recession attributed to the outbreak of influenza A (HINI).

Economic Survey, 2011 revealed that tourism continues to be a key contributor to Kenya's foreign earnings. Tourist arrivals were reported to have increased by 8% which was an increase from 1,490.4 thousand in 2009 to 1,609.1 thousand in 2010. The sum of earnings drawn from international arrivals and that from domestic tourism improved immensely from 65.2 billion in 2009 to Kshs. 73.1 billion in 2010 (Economic Survey, 2011). This was a knock-down of the best results reported in 2007, even though the visiting prices charged from the visitors were high in the year. The government continued to apply the repositioning strategy for the country and marketing Kenya as a high value leisure and business destination. Again, this was on the backdrop of flight cancellations on Europe's airspace as a result of spreading clouds and volcano eruptions in April, 2010. Again the Economic Survey of 2010 affirmed the improving trend in the tourism sector despite the increasing incidents of insecurity and terror threats. The travel advisories of 2011 posed no serious harm to the sector as earnings increased by 13.3% from 1,609.1 thousand arrivals in 2010 to 1,822.9 thousand in 2011. The earnings volume reported in 2011 was Kshs. 97.9 billion from 73.7 billion in 2010. This was due to the tourism environment sanitization and improvements done by the government in the business environment through active promotion of the sector.

The uncertainties surrounding the 2013 general elections resulted in a decrease in the number of tourists visiting the country by 11.2%. This percentage represented a fall from 1,710.8 thousand tourists in 2012 to 1,519.6 thousand in 2014. Earnings from the sector reduced by 2.1% as a result from 96.0 billion in 2012 to 94.0 billion in 2013 (Economic Survey, 2014). The second incident occurred in the second quarter of the year when the country witnessed the Westgate terror attack which adversely impacted on the tourism sector. A slump in business confidence was felt owing to factors such as the pronounced Ebola in

West Africa and increased insecurity caused by terror attacks. The number of foreign arrivals slumped by 11.1% from 1,529,6 thousand in 2013 to 1,350.4 thousand in 2014, representing an earnings decline of 7.3% (Economic Survey, 2015). The Economic Survey of 2016 placed tourism at the top of Kenya's foreign earnings despite of the drop in inbound foreign visitors travelling in to Kenya for tourism purposes. The government increased budgetary allocation towards the sector from Kshs. 5.6 billion to Kshs. 10.7 billion from between the financial years 2014/15 to 2015/16 for the purposes of enhancing the marketing efforts for the country's tourism sector.

2.3 Structural Vulnerabilities of the Tourism Industry in Kenya

Kenya's tourism sector has grown significantly on account of the heavy investment that the government and the external investors have done in diverse aspects of the economy. According to UNEP, (2016), the sector has a substantial debt that owed to foreign investors and a number of multinational organizations. Poaching for example is drastically destroying the sector's assets in the form of wild animals which are the core business of the industry leading to a steady decline in the number of targeted wildlife. This practice is leading to near extinction of key animal species making them highly endangered. Such wild animals include rhinos and elephants that are constantly being hunted down for ivory, and thus a number of stringent measures need to be laid down in order for poaching to be clamped.

Another case in hand is the human animal conflict in Kakamega forest which has seen the destruction of animal habitats, the cutting down of trees in Mau forest to create land for cultivation and human settlement has seen the depletion of water catchment around it. Additionally, the grabbing of a good mass of riparian land and ecosystem meant for reserve has seen the sector witness a slump in revenue (Akama, 2000). Still going by Akama, (2000), a lot of tourism revenue is being taken up by foreign owned tour investors, travel and tours agencies owned by foreign entities and payments made for tourist's imported commodities.

As a result, many local employees are receiving very low salaries which weigh negatively on the tourism environment. It has been noted that if such seepage of revenue continues, the sector will continuously slump and even become extremely unstable. The local stakeholders will remain non-committal from protecting wildlife because they are not benefiting directly and are not being engaged in the sector's overall development process.

CHAPTER THREE

DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis and findings of the study as set out in the research objectives and study methodology. The research findings are presented on the effect of electioneering process on tourist arrivals in Kenya. To achieve the objective of this study the respondents were encouraged and persuaded by the researcher to respond to the accounts in the questionnaires objectively to ensure the accuracy, validity, and reliability of the data.

3.2 Influence of Election Campaign Period on Tourist Arrivals in Kenya

In this study, tourist arrives to engage in the activities of visiting national parks/ reserves or going to a beach holiday. Different measures for election campaign period are employed in this study. These includes any incidents of tourists facing adverse situations during electoral campaign period in Kenya; and a greater likelihood of visiting national parks, game reserves, or staying in tourist hotels and lodges during the campaign period.

Table 3.2: Influence of Election Campaign Period on Tourist Arrivals in Kenya

	Visiting national parks/ reserves	Going to a beach holiday	Any incidents of tourists facing adverse situations during electoral campaign period in Kenya	A greater likelihood of visiting national parks, game reserves, or staying in tourist hotels and lodges during the campaign period
Visiting national parks/ reserves	1			
Going to a beach holiday	0.4143*	1		
Any incidents of tourists facing adverse situations during electoral campaign period in Kenya	-0.1588**	0.1826*	1	
A greater likelihood of visiting national parks, game reserves, or staying in tourist hotels and lodges during the campaign period	0.0886	0.0498	0.1648**	1
	0.428	0.3205	0.0772	

Source: Author, 2016

The influence of election campaign period on tourist arrivals in Kenya is as illustrated in table 3.1. The table shows that any incidents of tourists facing adverse situations during electoral campaign period in Kenya is negatively and significantly (-0.1588) correlated to first tourist activity of visiting national parks/ reserves at the 10 per cent level of significance. In addition any incidents of tourists facing adverse situations during electoral campaign period in Kenya is also shown to be positively and significantly (0.1826) correlated to the second tourist activity of going to a beach holiday at the 5 per cent level of significance. This indicates that any incidents of tourists facing adverse situations during electoral campaign period in Kenya reduces the tourist activity of visiting national parks/ reserves, though there is an increase in tourist activity of going to a beach holiday. Otherwise, a greater likelihood of visiting national parks, game reserves, or staying in tourist hotels and lodges during the campaign period though negatively correlated (-0.0743 and -0.093) to both visiting national parks/ reserves and going to a beach holiday, is not supported by statistical test of significance.

Table 3.2: Influence of Election Campaign Period on Tourist Arrivals in Kenya cont.⁴

	Visiting national parks/ reserves	Going to a beach holiday	People preference of attending political events such as campaign rallies, and debates as opposed to engaging in leisure activities	People preference of attending campaign events where politicians give out bribes as opposed to spending their money for leisure activities
Visiting national parks/ reserves	1			
	0.4143*	1		
Going to a beach holiday	0.0000			
People preference of attending political events such as campaign rallies, and debates as opposed to engaging in leisure activities	-0.021	-0.2786*	1	
	0.8226	0.0025		
People preference of attending campaign events where politicians give out bribes as opposed to spending their money for leisure activities	-0.1231	0.1585	0.2164*	1
	0.188	0.0893	0.0196	

Source: Author, 2016

People preference of attending political events such as campaign rallies, and debates as opposed to engaging in leisure activities is negatively (-0.021 and -0.2786) correlated to both visiting national parks/ reserves and going to a beach holiday, though statistical test of significance supports only going to a beach holiday. Hence, preference to attend political events such as campaign rallies, and debates as opposed to engaging in leisure activities decreases the tourist activity of going to beach holiday. This confirms the prior expectations that heightened election campaign period decreases the number of tourist arrivals in the country.

⁴ Cont means continued

Table 3.3: Association of Election Campaign Period and Tourist Arrivals in Kenya

Whether in the previous presidential election campaigns, rivals sought to disrupt the opponent's campaigns							
	No	Don't know	Yes, the opposition did	Yes, the ruling party did	Both did	Total	Chi-square
Visiting national parks/ reserves	0	6 5.17	3 2.59	5 4.31	15 12.93	35 30.17	64 55.17 chi ² (4) =9.6578* P=0.047
	1	9 7.76	0 0.00	8 6.90	18 15.52	17 14.66	
	Total	15 12.93	3 2.59	13 11.21	33 28.45	52 44.83	
Going to a beach holiday	0	2 1.72	3 2.59	7 6.03	20 17.24	19 16.38	51 43.97 chi ² (4) =14.925* P=0.005
	1	13 11.21	0 0.00	6 5.17	13 11.21	33 28.45	
	Total	15 12.93	3 2.59	13 11.21	33 28.45	52 44.83	
Whether in the previous presidential election campaigns, especially during rallies, debates, and public meetings, contending opponents were violent against each other							
	No	Don't know	Yes, the opposition did	Yes, the ruling party did	Both did	Total	Chi-square
Visiting national parks/ reserves	0	27 23.28	7 6.03	0 0.00	1 0.86	29 25.00	64 55.17 chi ² (4) =22.233* P=0.000
	1	9 7.76	9 7.76	12 10.34	2 1.72	20 17.24	
	Total	36 31.03	16 13.79	12 10.34	3 2.59	49 42.24	
Going to a beach holiday	0	15 12.93	8 6.90	3 2.59	3 2.59	22 18.97	51 43.97 chi ² (4) =5.907 P=0.206
	1	21 18.10	8 6.90	9 7.76	0 0.00	27 23.28	
	Total	36 31.03	16 13.79	12 10.34	3 2.59	49 42.24	

Source: Author, 2016

Table 3.3 shows that the number of respondents who agreed that in the previous presidential election campaigns, the opposition sought to disrupt the opponent's campaigns were 11.21 %, 28.45 % agreed the ruling party did, while 44.83 % of the respondents agreed that both the opposition and ruling party did seek to disrupt the opponent's campaigns.

Furthermore, the table 3.3 shows that 10.34 % of the respondents agreed that in the previous presidential election campaigns, the opposition was violent during rallies, debates, and public meetings, 2.59 % agreed the ruling party was violent while 42.24 % of the respondents agreed both the opposition and ruling party were violent against each other. One of the police officers revealed that "during campaign period fear of demonstrations, riots, lootings and threat of conflict eruption, makes tourists to shun travelling to the country".

The table presents a cross-tabulation between whether in the previous presidential election campaigns, rivals sought to disrupt the opponent's campaigns with both of them visiting national parks/ reserves and going to a beach holiday. A statistically significant association was established, based on the p-value of the chi-square statistics. This was ascertained at the 5 % level of significance. The second part of table 3.3 gives a cross-tabulation between whether in the previous presidential election campaigns, especially during rallies, debates, and public meetings, contending opponents were violent against each other and how these was related to the tourist activity of both visiting national parks/ reserves and going to a beach holiday. However, statistical test of significance was realized only with respect to visiting national parks/ reserves. The aforementioned analysis in tables above shows that election campaign period influences tourist arrivals in Kenya.

3.3 Effect of Voting Pattern on Tourist Arrivals in Kenya

The effect of voting pattern on tourist arrivals is discussed through a correlation coefficient matrix. Voting is measured using two different variables, namely, voting patterns affect movement of people within the country; and it is risky to travel a few days before and after voting.

Table 3.4: Effect of Voting Pattern on Tourist Arrivals in Kenya

	Visiting national parks/ reserves	Going to a beach holiday	Voting patterns affect movement of people within the country	It is risky to travel a few days before and after voting
Visiting national parks/ reserves	1			
Going to a beach holiday	0.4143*	1		
Voting patterns affect movement of people within the country	0.0374	0.021	1	
It is risky to travel a few days before and after voting	-0.0587	0.028	-0.0973	1
	0.5316	0.7655	0.2988	

Source: Author, 2016

The table shows visiting national parks/ reserves is positively and significantly correlated with going to a beach holiday, indicating that individuals who visit national parks/ reserves also go to a beach holiday. However, none of the measures of voting was significantly correlated to either visiting national parks/ reserves or going to a beach holiday. This shows that voting pattern has no effect on tourist arrivals in Kenya. This disconfirms the expected effect of voting pattern on tourist arrivals.

3.4 Relationship of Election Results and Tourist Arrivals in Kenya

Election results in the study is represented by two variables namely during the previous presidential election, were there any allegations on vote rigging and fraud over the results that caused disputes; and there is a likelihood of violence after the release of results. Information obtained by one of the electoral officers contends that "any allegation of vote rigging and fraud over election results, which may bring violence after the release of disputed election results, distracts tourists from the country".

Table 3.5: Relationship of Election Results and Tourist Arrivals in Kenya

	Visiting national parks/ reserves	Going to a beach holiday	During the previous presidential election, were there any allegations on vote rigging and fraud over the results that caused disputes	There is a likelihood of violence after the release of results
Visiting national parks/ reserves	1			
	0.4143*	1		
Going to a beach holiday	0.0000			
During the previous presidential election, were there any allegations on vote rigging and fraud over the results that caused disputes	-0.2222*	0.0237	1	
	0.0165	0.8007		
There is a likelihood of violence after the release of results	0.0638	0.0232	0.052	1
	0.4962	0.8051	0.5791	

Source: Author, 2016

The Table 3.5 shows that during the previous presidential election, any allegations on vote rigging and fraud over the results that caused disputes was negatively (-0.2222) and significantly correlated to visiting national parks/ reserves. This shows that any allegations on vote rigging and fraud over the results that caused disputes reduce visiting of national parks/ reserves. Hence, this indicator of election results is related to tourist arrivals and in particular there exists a negative relationship between election results and tourist arrivals in Kenya. This finding confirms the prior expectations on the inverse relationship between election results and tourist arrivals.

Similar deductions were observed by Mayaka and Prasad (2012), that consistent to 1998 after the elections of 1997; 2003 after the general elections of 2002; and 2008 after the general elections of 2007, of particular concern, they indicated that the electioneering process had an effect on tourism in Kenya. Mayaka and Prasad (2012), further added that the tourism sector slumped and registered one of its worst performances ever recorded in 2008 attributable to the violence experienced immediately after the general elections and the insecurity that rose during the electioneering period making a mark as the worst episode in

the country since the dawn of multi-party elections in Kenya. On the contrary Muchapondwa and Pimhidzai (2011) observed that there was a rise in international arrivals in Zimbabwe, when there was a presidential election that the opposition alleged was stolen by the ruling party. Similar, arguments were put forward by Hall (2008) that a handful of individuals will travel, or they will decide to experience other destinations which are safer since insecure environments are less attractive to a majority of tourists and may also at times be inaccessible by sea, air or land. Likewise, in a Palestinian study, Rami and Ashworth (2012) observed that tourists cherish a feeling of safety while they are away from home in another country and if this is not guaranteed, a majority will move elsewhere or may decide to postpone their travel plans. A study in Fiji by Gurmeet (2012) also observes that insecurity that occurs as a result of political competition deters inbound movement of visitors, with politically unstable tourist destinations being areas shunned by holidaymakers. Moreover, tourist arrivals dropped as a consequence of political instability in the Philippines (Pilapil-Añasco & Lizada, 2014).

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is a synthesis of the entire study, and contains summary of research findings, discussion of the findings, conclusion and recommendations based thereon.

4.2 Summary of the Findings

The main purpose of the study was to investigate the effect of electioneering process on tourist arrivals in Kenya. The specific objectives included; (i) to determine the influence of election campaign period on tourist arrivals in Kenya, (ii) to establish the effect of voting period and voting pattern on tourist arrivals and bed occupancy in Kenya (iii) to establish the relationship of election results and tourist arrivals in Kenya). A descriptive research design was used and the primary data collected by way of questionnaires. The target population was tourism industry personnel which included travel agents, tour operators, airline personnel, hotel and allied workers, KATA officials, KATO officials, KTB officials, KTF officials, and MoT Officials. Also the study targeted the Kenya Police; electoral officials; and citizens. The analysis of the data that was collected established that a majority of the respondents were male as opposed to their female counterparts. Further from the findings majority of the respondents were aged between eighteen to thirty six years.

4.2.1 Influence of Election Campaign Period on Tourist Arrivals in Kenya

The first objective was to establish the influence of election campaign period on tourist arrivals and bed occupancy in Kenya. From the findings of the analysis majority of the respondents agreed that election campaigns affects movement of people within the country, people movements are restricted during the campaigns, local and international members of the fourth estate give prominence to negative news during this period scaring both domestic

and international tourists arrivals and that people prefer staying in familiar places and fear travelling during electioneering period.

Any incidents of tourists facing adverse situations during electoral campaign period in Kenya is negatively and significantly correlated to visiting national parks/ reserves but positively and significantly correlated to going to a beach holiday. People preference of attending political events such as campaign rallies, and debates as opposed to engaging in leisure activities is negatively correlated to going to a beach holiday.

A statistically significant association was established on whether in the previous presidential election campaigns, rivals sought to disrupt the opponent's campaigns with visiting national parks/ reserves and going to a beach holiday. In addition, whether in the previous presidential election campaigns, especially during rallies, debates, and public meetings, contending opponents were violent against each other was significantly associated with visiting national parks and reserves.

4.2.2 Effect of Voting Pattern on Tourist Arrivals in Kenya

The second objective of the study was to establish the effect of voting pattern on tourist arrivals in Kenya. From the findings of the analysis the respondents were of the opinions that voting pattern has no effect on movement of people within the country, it is risky to travel a few days before and after the general election, and that there is little effort by government agencies to promote tourism during this period.

Visiting national parks and reserves is positively and significantly correlated with going to a beach holiday, indicating that individuals who visit national parks/ reserves also go to a beach holiday. However, none of the measures of voting was significantly correlated to either visiting national parks and reserves or going to a beach holiday.

4.2.3 Relationship of Election Results and Tourist Arrivals in Kenya

The third objective of the study was to establish the relationship of election results and tourist arrivals in Kenya. The finding of the analysis was that voting and announcement of the results causes' tension, there is a likelihood of violence after the release of the results, and many people do not travel out of their usual places of residence days before the Election Day.

During the previous presidential election, any allegations on vote rigging and fraud over the results that caused disputes was negatively and significantly correlated to visiting national parks and reserves. Further, a greater likelihood of visiting national parks, game reserves, or staying in tourist hotels and lodges is positively and significantly correlated to going to a beach holiday. Thus any allegations on vote rigging and fraud over the results that caused disputes reduces the visit of national parks and reserves and an increase in the likelihood of visiting national parks, game reserves, or staying in tourist hotels and lodges days after voting also increases going to a beach holiday.

4.3 Conclusion

4.3.1 Influence of Election Campaign Period on Tourist Arrivals in Kenya

This is the first objective of the study, it can be concluded that election campaigns affects movement of people within the country, people movements are restricted during the campaigns, local and international members of the fourth estate give prominence to negative news during this period scaring both domestic and international tourists arrivals and that people prefer staying in familiar places and fear travelling during electioneering period.

Any incidents of tourists facing adverse situations during electoral campaign period in Kenya reduces the tourist activity of visiting national parks and reserves, though there is an increase in tourist activity of going to a beach holiday. People preference to attend political events such as campaign rallies, and debates as opposed to engaging in leisure activities

decreases the tourist activity of going to national parks and reserves or beach holidays. Hence, election campaign period influences tourist arrivals in Kenya.

4.3.2 Effects of Voting Pattern on Tourist Arrivals in Kenya

The second objective of the study was to establish the effect of voting pattern on tourist arrivals in Kenya. From the findings of the study it can be concluded that voting pattern has no effect on the movement of people within the country, it is risky to travel a few days before and after the general elections and that there is little effort by government agencies to promote tourism during this period. Individuals who visit national parks and reserves also go to a beach holiday though voting pattern has no effect on tourist arrivals in Kenya.

4.3.3 Relationship of Election Results and Tourist Arrivals in Kenya

The third objective of the study was to establish the relationship of election results and tourist arrivals in Kenya. From the analysis of the study it can be concluded that voting and announcement of the results causes' tension, there is a likelihood of violence after the release of the results, and many people do not travel out of their usual places of residence days before the Election Day.

Any allegations on vote rigging and fraud over the results that caused disputes reduce visiting of national parks/ reserves. The study results support the assertion by Ngugi (2014) that political instability in a tourist destination decreases tourism demand. Political instability in Kenya during the post-election clashes had a negative effect on tourism demand. An increase in the likelihood of visiting national parks, game reserves, or staying in tourist hotels and lodges days after voting also increases the likelihood of going to a beach holiday. There exists a positive relationship between election results and tourist arrivals in Kenya.

4.4 Recommendations for Policy Implications

The Kenyan security infrastructure should regain civilian confidence: by cultivating citizen-police relations to tame the prevailing account of fear and apathy. This can be worked on and transformed into more justifiable national confidence on the security agencies and a platform created for mutual engagement. This relationship is crucial in helping the security agencies in controlling crime and being able to mitigate the security challenges arising during elections. This way the tourism industry will benefit in terms of enjoying a peaceful environment before, during and after general elections in the country. Once this relationship is built on trust, the police will be able to manage effectively all issues during the electioneering period and will thus mitigate the risks associated with the electioneering process, boost confidence on prospective tourists both locally and internationally. A secure environment during the electioneering period will result in good publicity by local and international media hence boosting positive perception about the safety of the country. This will see increased tourist flows into the country hence boosting foreign exchange from tourism activities and a rise in the overall performance of the Kenyan economy.

The government in power and political actors during the electioneering process should provide opportunity and guarantee space for dynamic citizen participation in matters of national interest. A well informed citizenry in matters of national importance such as general elections and the electioneering process in general, the daily governance process and the future events such as referendums, by-elections, party elections, and institutional recruitment process need to be actively cultivated for a vibrant and cohesive nation. To avoid reliance on goodwill of the government in power, which in most cases during the electioneering process would want to sway votes in their favor in order to retain power or political actors busy working on gaining power, firm laws should be enacted to support

citizen participation, and promote accountability of the government in power and other political actors.

Immediately after the enactment of the new constitution in 2010, the citizens had high confidence in government and participation in national matters was at the peak. The citizens could arrest the police who were found to engage in corruption. But lack of goodwill on the part of government dashed the hope of citizens for a well-managed democratic nation. Soon despair engulfed the nation and the status quo once more was restored. The status quo which favored the haves, the elite and their families resurfaced in all arms of government easily visible during recruitment, appointments and distribution of national wealth. In order to lessen the impact of election results, sustainable avenues should be established to increase the debilitating cost of violence arising out of disputed electoral outcomes in comparison to the lesser cost of peace. Without efforts to mitigate the real and perceived effect of political manipulation, electoral fraud, and impunity that leads to violence or clashes during the electioneering process and promote reconciliation at all levels political competition through constructive engagement by all actors, the electioneering process will remain fragile and subject to recurrent malpractices. The International Criminal Court (ICC), which prosecuted the suspected perpetrators of Kenya's PEV that occurred in 2007 momentarily, lifted the incentive for the citizens and politicians to commit gross crimes for fear of prosecution. But the deterrence value of the ICC has drastically waned, and it no longer carries weight in dissuading politicians, electoral officials from committing electoral malpractices and other crimes. In order for the electioneering process to be free and fair, the government and stakeholders in the security and tourism sectors should enact legislation that deters violence and allows free movement of people in to and outside the country to allow smooth tourist flows during the electioneering period.

The National Cohesion and Integration Commission's role of checking of hate speech and possible incitement will be crucial in ensuring that those perpetuating actions that lead to violence, or increase an incentive for others to commit electoral crimes are prosecuted and efforts aimed at peaceful co-existence among and between diverse ethnic groups before, during and after the elections need to be prioritized. Citizen participation in the reconciliation efforts should be cultivated in order for all involved to feel ownership of the process that led to reconciliation and for the outcome to be acceptable to the citizens, tourism stakeholders, and government.

Preventing electoral violence should have re-sustained transnational backing. The peace building institutions tasked with ensuring peaceful elections need to redefine their prevention capacities and come up with approaches that effectively assimilate temporary solutions related to intermittent violence while working on fixing the structural weaknesses that permit political violence to thrive.

4.5 Suggestions for Further Studies

The main aim of this study was to establish the effect of electioneering process on tourist arrivals in Kenya. Another study should be conducted to include other sectors to give more insights how electioneering process influences the economic growth of Kenya.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Questionnaire For Tourism Industry Personnel

The purpose of this questionnaire is to collect data on the effect of electioneering process on tourist arrivals in Kenya. You have been sampled to take part in the survey and your sincere responses will be essential to this research.

Instructions

- a) Please do not write your name on the questionnaire.
- b) The information you provide will be treated with confidentiality
- c) Kindly provide answers to the questions as honestly and precisely as possible.
- d) Indicate your choice or answer by a tick (√)
- e) Kindly answer all the questions in each section

SECTION A: Background Information

1. Please indicate your gender. Male [] Female []
2. Please indicate your age bracket
Below 18 Years []
18 – 36 Years []
Above 36 Years []
3. Have you ever participated in any of the presidential elections in Kenya?
Yes [] No []
If yes, did you participate as a:
a) Voter []
b) Observer []
c) Polling agent []
d) Electoral official []
e) Other [] please specify_____

SECTION B: Historical Perspective of Electioneering Process in Kenya

4. What do you consider important in choosing the president of Kenya
a) Member of your ethnic group []
b) Security of the country []
c) Job creation []
d) Good governance []

- e) Poverty eradication []
 - f) Change in leadership []
 - g) Other _____
5. Generally, what are the perceptions of election winner-loser relations in Kenya?
 - a) Winner takes-it-all []
 - b) Losers are co-opted in governance []
 - c) Do not know []
 6. In relation to the previous presidential election campaigns, was there any threat of or actual violence to influence the public to participate in the electioneering process?
 - a) Yes, the ruling party did []
 - b) Yes, the opposition parties did []
 - c) Both did []
 - d) No []
 - e) Do not know []
 7. During the previous presidential election, were there any allegations on vote rigging and fraud over the results that caused disputes?
 - a) Yes []
 - b) No []
 - c) Do not know []
 8. In the previous presidential election campaigns, did rivals seek to disrupt the opponent's campaigns?
 - a) Yes, the ruling party did []
 - b) Yes, the opposition parties did []
 - c) Both did []
 - d) No []
 - e) Do not know []
 9. In the previous presidential election campaigns, especially during rallies, debates, and public meetings, were contending opponents violent against each other?
 - a) Yes, the ruling party did []
 - b) Yes, the opposition parties did []
 - c) Both did []
 - d) No []
 - e) Do not know []
 10. Have you ever been a victim of any of the following during electioneering period?

- a) Electoral violence []
- b) Riots/demonstrations []
- c) Crime/Insecurity []
- d) Insults and verbal abuse []
- e) Displacement []
- f) Ethnic motivated attacks []
- g) Fights among opponents []
- h) Other _____

11. In the country's political system, are losers left out in governance process in such a manner that it causes representative conflict?

- a) Yes []
- b) No []
- c) Do not know []

12. In your opinion, has ethnic-based alignment of voters to contending political parties contributed to increased violence or increased peace?

- a) Increased violence []
- b) Increased peace []
- c) Have no contribution at all []

13. In your opinion, do elections contribute to increased political stability/peace or increased instability/violence in the country?

- a) Increases political stability/peace []
- b) Increases political instability/violence []
- c) Have no contribution at all []

SECTION C: Effect of Electioneering Process on Tourist Arrivals in Kenya

14. If you were not actively involved in politics during electioneering period, would you engage in leisure activities? Yes [] No []

15. If yes, what kind of leisure activities would you engage in? (You may tick more than one)

- a) Visiting friends/relatives []
- b) Visiting national parks/reserves []
- c) Going to a beach holiday []
- d) Travelling out of the country []
- e) Others specify _____

16. In regard to domestic travel, what motivates you to visit a destination of your choice?

- a) Destination attractions []
- b) The stability of a destination []
- c) Peaceful environment []
- d) Popularity of a destination []
- e) The prices on offer []
- f) Uniqueness of a destination []
- g) Other _____

17. Would you visit a destination of your choice during the electioneering period?

- a) Yes []
- b) No []

18. If no, why wouldn't you visit a destination of your choice during this period?

- a) _____
- b) _____
- c) _____
- d) _____

19. Have there been incidents of tourists facing adverse situations during electoral campaign period in Kenya? Yes [] No []

20. If yes, what were the adverse situations and approximately how many tourists were affected?

Situation	Number of Tourists
a) Physically harmed	
b) Prevented from reaching attractions	
c) Robbed of belongings	
d) Killed	
e) Other _____	

21. In your opinion, the past election campaigns in Kenya since 1986, which one of the following analyses best describes the kinds of election campaigns in relation to the tourism industry?

- a) Election campaigns affect movement of people within the country []
- b) Election campaigns disrupts economic activities []
- c) Election campaigns disrupts leisure activities []
- d) Election campaigns causes violence []
- e) All the above []

f) None of the above

[]

22. In a scale of 1-5 rate the following factors in relation to their effect on tourism during the electioneering period: 1-represents the factor that affect most to the thriving of tourism during the electioneering period and 5-the factors that affect least to the thriving of tourism during the electioneering period

Factor	Rate
Violence (riots, demonstrations, fighting)	
Crime/insecurity	
Attacks directed at tourists	
Ethnic clashes	
Displacement of people	
Restricted movement of people	
Uncertainty	
Terrorism	
Negative media reporting	

23. In your opinion, what do you think are the main reasons that cause a drop of tourist arrivals and persons visiting places of leisure during the electioneering periods?

- a) _____
- b) _____
- c) _____
- d) _____
- e) _____

24. In your opinion, would you recommend friends or relatives to visit tourist attractions during electioneering period?

Yes []

No []

25. If no, why would you not recommend?

a) _____

b) _____

c) _____

d) _____

26. To what extent do you agree with the following statements in relation to performance of tourist arrivals during the electioneering periods?

Statements	Strongly disagree (1)	disagree (2)	Neutral / undecided (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)
Political violence negatively contributes to the performance of tourist arrivals					
People prefer staying in familiar places and fear travelling during electioneering periods					
People prefer attending political events such as campaign rallies, and debates as opposed to engaging in leisure activities					
People prefer to attend campaign events where politicians give out bribes as opposed to spending their own money for leisure activities					
There is little effort by government agencies to promote tourism during this period					
Local and international members of the fourth estate give prominence to negative news during this period scaring					

both domestic and international tourists arrivals					
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27. In your own opinion what measures can be taken to curb electoral campaign malpractices

- a) _____
- b) _____
- c) _____
- d) _____

Appendix II: Questionnaire For Citizens

The purpose of this questionnaire is to collect data on the effect of electioneering process on tourist arrivals in Kenya. You have been sampled to take part in the survey and your sincere responses will be essential to this research.

Instructions

- a) Please do not write your name on the questionnaire.
- b) The information you provide will be treated with confidentiality
- c) Kindly provide answers to the questions as honestly and precisely as possible.
- d) Indicate your choice or answer by a tick (√)
- e) Kindly answer all the questions in each section

1. During the previous presidential election, were there any allegations on vote rigging and fraud over the results that caused disputes?

- a) Yes []
- b) No []
- c) Do not know []

2. In relation to the previous presidential election campaigns, was there any threat of or actual violence to influence the public to participate in the electioneering process?

- a) Yes, the ruling party did []
- b) Yes, the opposition parties did []
- c) Both did []
- d) No []
- e) Do not know []

3. In the previous presidential election campaigns, did rivals seek to disrupt the opponent’s campaigns?

- a) Yes, the ruling party did []

- b) Yes, the opposition parties did []
- c) Both did []
- d) No []
- e) Do not know []
4. In the previous presidential election campaigns, especially during rallies, debates, and public meetings, were contending opponents violent against each other?
- a) Yes, the ruling party did []
- b) Yes, the opposition parties did []
- c) Both did []
- d) No []
- e) Do not know []
5. If you were not actively involved in politics during electioneering period, what kind of leisure activities would you engage in? (You may tick more than one)
- a) Visiting friends/relatives []
- b) Visiting national parks/reserves []
- c) Going to a beach holiday []
- d) Travelling out of the country []
- e) Others specify _____
- h) Other _____
6. To what extent do you agree with the following statements in relation to performance of tourist arrivals during the electioneering periods?

Statements	Strongly disagree (1)	disagree (2)	Neutral / undecided (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)
People prefer attending political events such as campaign rallies, and debates as opposed to engaging in leisure activities					
People prefer to attend campaign events where politicians give out bribes as opposed to spending their own money for leisure activities					

7. In a scale of 1-5, please tell me when you are almost certain to visit national parks, game reserves, or stay in tourist hotels and lodges. 1-least likely to visit to 5-most likely to visit.

Factor	Rate
During the campaign period	
Days before voting begins	
When voting is ongoing	
Days after voting	
After general elections are over	

8. In your opinion, the past election campaigns in Kenya 1986, which one of the following analyses best describes voting patterns in relation to the tourism industry?

- a) Voting patterns affect movement of people within the country []
- b) It is risky to travel a few days before and after voting []
- c) Voting and announcement of results causes tension []
- d) There is a likelihood of violence after the releases of results []
- e) All of the above []
- f) None of the above []

Appendix III: Questionnaire For Police

The purpose of this questionnaire is to collect data on the effect of electioneering process on tourist arrivals in Kenya. You have been sampled to take part in the survey and your sincere responses will be essential to this research.

Instructions

- a) Please do not write your name on the questionnaire.
- b) The information you provide will be treated with confidentiality
- c) Kindly provide answers to the questions as honestly and precisely as possible.
- d) Indicate your choice or answer by a tick (√)
- e) Kindly answer all the questions in each section

1. During the previous presidential election, were there any allegations on vote rigging and fraud over the results that caused disputes?

- a) Yes []
- b) No []
- c) Do not know []

2. In relation to the previous presidential election campaigns, was there any threat of or actual violence to influence the public to participate in the electioneering process?

- a) Yes, the ruling party did []
- b) Yes, the opposition parties did []
- c) Both did []
- d) No []
- e) Do not know []

3. In the previous presidential election campaigns, did rivals seek to disrupt the opponent's campaigns?

- a) Yes, the ruling party did []
- b) Yes, the opposition parties did []
- c) Both did []
- d) No []
- e) Do not know []

4. In the previous presidential election campaigns, especially during rallies, debates, and public meetings, were contending opponents violent against each other?

- a) Yes, the ruling party did []

- b) Yes, the opposition parties did []
- c) Both did []
- d) No []
- e) Do not know []

5. If you were not actively involved in politics during electioneering period, what kind of leisure activities would you engage in? (You may tick more than one)

- a) Visiting friends/relatives []
- b) Visiting national parks/reserves []
- c) Going to a beach holiday []
- d) Travelling out of the country []
- e) Others specify _____
- i) Other _____

6. To what extent do you agree with the following statements in relation to performance of tourist arrivals during the electioneering periods?

Statements	Strongly disagree (1)	disagree (2)	Neutral / undecided (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)
People prefer attending political events such as campaign rallies, and debates as opposed to engaging in leisure activities					
People prefer to attend campaign events where politicians give out bribes as opposed to spending their own money for leisure activities					

7. In a scale of 1-5, please tell me when you are almost certain to visit national parks, game reserves, or stay in tourist hotels and lodges. 1-least likely to visit to 5-most likely to visit.

Factor	Rate
During the campaign period	

Days before voting begins	
When voting is ongoing	
Days after voting	
After general elections are over	

8. In your opinion, the past election campaigns in Kenya 1986, which one of the following analyses best describes voting patterns in relation to the tourism industry?
- a) Voting patterns affect movement of people within the country []
 - b) It is risky to travel a few days before and after voting []
 - c) Voting and announcement of results causes tension []
 - d) There is a likelihood of violence after the releases of results []
 - e) All of the above []
 - f) None of the above []

Appendix IV: Questionnaire For Electoral Officials

The purpose of this questionnaire is to collect data on the effect of electioneering process on tourist arrivals in Kenya. You have been sampled to take part in the survey and your sincere responses will be essential to this research.

Instructions

- a) Please do not write your name on the questionnaire.
 - b) The information you provide will be treated with confidentiality
 - c) Kindly provide answers to the questions as honestly and precisely as possible.
 - d) Indicate your choice or answer by a tick (√)
 - e) Kindly answer all the questions in each section
-
1. During the previous presidential election, were there any allegations on vote rigging and fraud over the results that caused disputes?
 - a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Do not know
 2. In relation to the previous presidential election campaigns, was there any threat of or actual violence to influence the public to participate in the electioneering process?
 - a) Yes, the ruling party did
 - b) Yes, the opposition parties did
 - c) Both did
 - d) No
 - e) Do not know
 3. In the previous presidential election campaigns, did rivals seek to disrupt the opponent's campaigns?
 - a) Yes, the ruling party did
 - b) Yes, the opposition parties did
 - c) Both did
 - d) No
 - e) Do not know
 4. In the previous presidential election campaigns, especially during rallies, debates, and public meetings, were contending opponents violent against each other?
 - a) Yes, the ruling party did

- b) Yes, the opposition parties did []
- c) Both did []
- d) No []
- e) Do not know []

5. If you were not actively involved in politics during electioneering period, what kind of leisure activities would you engage in? (You may tick more than one)

- a) Visiting friends/relatives []
- b) Visiting national parks/reserves []
- c) Going to a beach holiday []
- d) Travelling out of the country []
- e) Others specify _____
- j) Other _____

6. To what extent do you agree with the following statements in relation to performance of tourist arrivals during the electioneering periods?

Statements	Strongly disagree (1)	disagree (2)	Neutral / undecided (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)
People prefer attending political events such as campaign rallies, and debates as opposed to engaging in leisure activities					
People prefer to attend campaign events where politicians give out bribes as opposed to spending their own money for leisure activities					

7. In a scale of 1-5, please tell me when you are almost certain to visit national parks, game reserves, or stay in tourist hotels and lodges. 1-least likely to visit to 5-most likely to visit.

Factor	Rate
During the campaign period	

Days before voting begins	
When voting is ongoing	
Days after voting	
After general elections are over	

8. In your opinion, the past election campaigns in Kenya 1986, which one of the following analyses best describes voting patterns in relation to the tourism industry?
- a) Voting patterns affect movement of people within the country []
 - b) It is risky to travel a few days before and after voting []
 - c) Voting and announcement of results causes tension []
 - d) There is a likelihood of violence after the releases of results []
 - e) All of the above []
 - f) None of the above []