A HISTORY OF COALITION POLITICS AND PARTY DISCIPLINE IN KENYA SINCE 1945

Kennedy Wakhungu Maasi

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for Conferement of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History of Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology

November, 2024

DECLARATION

This research thesis is my original work prepared with no other than the indicated sources support and has not been presented elsewhere for a degree or any other award. Signature..... Date.....

Maasi Kennedy Wakhungu

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The undersigned certify that they have read and hereby recommend for acceptance of Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology a research thesis entitled,

"A History of Coalition Politics and Party Discipline in Kenya since 1945"

Signature: …… Date: …….

Prof. Pontian Godfrey Okoth, PhD.

Department of Peace and Conflict Studies

Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology

Signature: …… Date: ……

Fr. Dr. Kizito Muchanga Lusambili

Department of Social Science Education

Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my dear wife Zipporah Wakhungu and my beloved sons Benjamin, Einstein, and Prince.

ABSTRACT

Globally, political coalitions and party dynamics have shaped the course of nations, including Kenya. Prior to and after gaining independence in 1963, Kenya has experienced an intricate and ever-changing political environment marked by shifting alliances. This has often resulted in political instability, challenges in policy implementation, uncertainty in governance, power struggles, and impacts on socio-economic development. It is against this backdrop that the study delved into the historical evolution of coalition formations and party discipline within the Kenyan political sphere, shedding light on their impact on governance, stability, and democratic processes over the decades. The study was guided by the following specific objectives to; trace the origins and development of coalition politics in Kenya since 1945; explore the types of political coalitions in Kenya since 1945; assess how party ideologies have shaped the development of political coalitions in Kenya since1945 and evaluate how party discipline has impacted political coalitions in Kenya since 1945. The study was anchored on Political Coalition theory and Social Exchange theory. The study was carried out in Kenya covering 18 counties within the study period. The study was founded on interpretivism research philosophy. Historical research design was used to guide the study. The sample size was 454 respondents. This included a sample of 432 ordinary voters, 8 leaders of political parties, 6 respondents from civic organizations, 4 leaders from local intelligentsia, and 4 experts on historical matters. Purposive, snowball and convenience sampling techniques were used in the selection of the respondents. Primary data was collected using questionnaires, focus group discussion guides and interview schedules. Document analysis guide was used to collect both archival and secondary data. Archival data was collected from Kenya National Archives whereas secondary data was sought from official reports, published and unpublished theses, books, journal articles, newspapers, library sources and online sources. Qualitative research techniques were used in data analysis. Qualitative data was analyzed based on themes and presented through narratives and verbatim quotations. The findings of the study revealed the intricate and ever-evolving landscape of coalition governance in Kenya, showcasing how historical events, political transitions, and the interactions among diverse ethnic communities have influenced the development of coalitions in Kenya over the years. Secondly, formation of political coalitions was analyzed based on timing and nature revealing coalitions like pre-election, post-election, issue-based and ethnic-based with various key figures that have had impacts on political, social, and economic spheres. Thirdly, the results emphasize how party ideologies have been both a unifying force and a divisive factor, influencing governance, socio-political dynamics, and coalition building processes in Kenya. Lastly, the findings show that internal party coherence and discipline are essential factors in shaping the dynamics of political alliances and their ability to govern effectively and address the needs of the populace. The study concludes that political coalitions have played a significant role in shaping the landscape of Kenyan politics, influencing governance, social dynamics, and economic policies. To realize successful political coalitions and party discipline in Kenya, the study recommends promotion of inclusivity and transparency within political coalitions; fostering issue-based alliances transcending ethnic divisions; developing coherent party ideologies beyond ethnic affiliations; cultivating a culture of strong party discipline through training programs, transparent enforcement mechanisms, inclusive practices, continuous evaluation, and public engagement.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIADMK	:	All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
ANC	:	Amani National Congress
APC	:	All Progressives Congress
APP	:	African People's Party
B-BBEF	:	Broad-Based Black Economic Emowerment
BBI	:	Building Bridges Initiative
BJP	:	Bharatiya Janata Party
CCM	:	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
CD&V	:	Christian Democratic and Flemish
CDA	:	Christian Democratic Appeal
CDC	:	Coalition for Democratic Change
CDU	:	Christian Democratic Union
CHADEMA	:	Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo
CMD	:	Centre for Multiparty Democracy
COPE	:	Congress of the People
CORD	:	Coalition for Reforms and Democracy
CPA	:	Comprehensive Peace Agreement

CPK	:	Communist Party of Kenya
CSU	:	Christian Social Union
CUF	:	Civic United Front
DA	:	Democratic Alliance
DAP	:	Democratic Action Party
DMK	:	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
DP	:	Democratic Party
DPJ	:	Democratic Party of Japan
DPK	:	Devolution Party of Kenya
DPS	:	Directorate of Postgraduate Studies
EAA	:	East African Association
EACC	:	Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission
ECK	:	Electoral Commission of Kenya
EFF	:	Economic Freedom Fighters
EFP	:	Economic Freedom Party
EPRDF	:	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
FDC	:	Forum for Democratic Change
FDP	:	Free Democratic Party

FGD	:	Focus Group Discussion
FNP	:	Forum for National Parties
FORD	:	Forum for the Restoration of Democracy
FP	:	Farmers Party
GNU	:	Government of National Unity
ICC	:	International Criminal Court
IEBC	:	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
IFP	:	Inkatha Freedom Party
INC	:	Indian National Congress
INEC	:	Independent National Electoral Commission
JIBEBE	:	Tujibebe Wakenya Party
KACC	:	Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission
KADU	:	Kenya African Democratic Union
KANU	:	Kenya African National Union
KASU	:	Kenya African Study Union
KAU	:	Kenya African Union
KAU	:	Kenya African Union
KCA	:	Kikuyu Central Association

KKA	:	Kenya Kwanza Alliance
KNADS	:	Kenya National Archives and Documentary Services
KPU	:	Kenya People's Union
KVDA	:	Kerio Valley Development Authority
LDP	:	Liberal Democratic Party
LPDP	:	Liberia People's Democratic Party
LREM	:	La République En Marche
MDC	:	Movement for Democratic Change
MDCA	:	Movement for Democratic Change Alliance
MoDem	:	Democratic Movement
MR	:	Reformist Movement
NACOSTI	:	National Council of Science and Technology
NARA	:	National Accord and Reconciliation Act
NARC	:	National Rainbow Coalition
NASA	:	National Super Alliance
NCP	:	Nationalist Congress Party
NDA	:	National Democratic Alliance
NDP	:	New Democratic Party

NLD	:	National League for Democracy
NP	:	National Party
NPK	:	National Party of Kenya
NPP	:	National Patriotic Party
NRM	:	National Resistance Movement
N-VA	:	New Flemish Alliance
ODM	:	Orange Democratic Movement
OKA	:	One Kenya Alliance
O.I	:	Oral Interview
ORPP	:	Office of the Registrar of Political Parties
OVP	:	Austrian People’s Party
PDP	:	People's Democratic Party
PDP	:	People's Democratic Party
PMDB	:	Brazilian Democratic Movement Party
PNU	:	Party of National Unity
PPDT	:	Political Parties' Dispute Tribunal
PSB	:	Brazilian Socialist Party
PSL	:	Social Liberal Party

PSOE	:	Spanish Socialist Workers' Party
PSUV	:	Chávez's United Socialist Party of Venezuela
PT	:	Workers’ Party
RJD	:	Rashtriya Janata Dal
SACP	:	South African Communist Party
SADC	:	Southern African Development Community
SNP	:	Scottish National Party
SPD	:	Social Democratic Party
SPK	:	Shirikisho Party of Kenya
SPLM	:	Sudan People's Liberation Movement
SPO	:	Social Democratic Party of Austria
TDA	:	The Democratic Alliance
TJRC	:	Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission
TMC	:	Trinamool Congress
TNA	:	The National Alliance
TSP	:	The Service Party
UDA	:	United Democratic Alliance
UDF	:	United Democratic Forum

UK	:	United Kingdom
UKAWA	:	Umoja Wa Katiba ya Wananchi
UMNO	:	United Malays National Organization
UMP	:	Union for a Popular Movement
UMP	:	Umoja na Maendeleo Party
UPA	:	United Progressive Alliance
UPA	:	United Progressive Alliance
UPC	:	Uganda People's Congress
URP	:	United Republican Party
VR(1-32)	:	Voter Respondent (1-32)
VVD	:	People's Party for Freedom and Democracy
WDM	:	Wiper Democratic Movement
ZANU-PF	:	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front

OPERATIONALIZATION OF KEY CONCEPTS

Coalition It refers to a situation where a number of political parties come together prior to or after election with purpose of forming and running the government jointly for mutual benefit of each party in Kenya.

Coalition building It refers to the process of coordinating parties collectively in pursuit of a common goal. This process would include pooling resources of political parties in order to achieve the common goal – in most cases a share of representation or power; having communication about the goal; forming binding commitments and an agreement about the distribution arrangements of the benefits that may result from achieving this goal in Kenya.

Consociational coalition

Governments It refers to forms of governments which are formed under unique circumstances that calls for the need to guarantee stability through the embracing of the dissimilar sections of an intensely divided community in Kenya.

Hung Parliament it refers to a parliament that has the winning party lacking majority seats in parliament to enable it to effectively drive its legislative agenda in Kenya.

Legislative Majority refers to a parliament that has a winning party with legislative majority in Kenya.

Local Intelligentsia as used in this study, it refers to the local elites whose involvement in this sudy was considered critical in bringing in an intellectual eye by providing an insight in their views and feelings on how the community has benefited or suffered under coalition formations in Kenya.

No confidence	It refers to a vote taken by members of parliament aimed at voting out a particular individual/party from position of leadership on perceived unsatisfactory performance in Kenya.
Party Coalition	a partnership between political parties to form a government or work together on certain issues.
Party ideology	is a certain set of ethical ideals, principles, doctrines, myths or symbols of a social movement, institution, class or large group that explains how political parties/coalitions should work and offers some political blueprint for a certain order in Kenya.
Party Discipline	it refers to order of operation in a political party evaluated by ability of party members to conform to rules of operation set by political parties in Kenya.
Political Party	It refers to an association whose associates have values, ideas and ambitions in common and at least partake in the structured competition fights for political power in Kenya.
Political Stalemate	It refers to position of paralysis that come up when political parties in dispute reach a deadlock in making certain political decisions either within or without the coalition in Kenya.
Post-election Coalition	a coalition that is crafted after the general election in Kenya.
Pre-election coalitions	a coalition that is created prior to general election. The aim of these coalitions is to win elections so that the partners can form the government in Kenya

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The chapter provides the study's background, statement of the problem, general objective, specific objectives, research questions, justification, significance of the study, scope, and limitations of the study. The chapter also provides the theories that guided the study. The literature review based on the specific objectives and summary of the identified gaps were outlined. The chapter also provides a comprehensive research methodology for the study.

1.2 Background to the Study

Political parties, as understood in modern times, did not exist in the same way during ancient periods.[1] However, historical records attest that coalition governments existed in ancient civilizations like Greece and Rome.[2] In ancient civilizations of Greece and Rome, coalition-like alliances were indeed formed among political leaders or factions to maintain power or make decisions.[3]

For instance, in Athens, political leaders, often from aristocratic families or influential groups, formed alliances or coalitions to sway the decision-making process in the Assembly. These alliances were primarily based on personal relationships, patronage, or shared interests. During the Peloponnesian War (431-404 BC) between Athens and Sparta, alliances were formed between city-states and their allies, leading to coalitions.[4] The Delian

[1] Berger Asa Arthur. Political parties: A sociological study of the oligarchical tendencies *of modern democracy*. Routledge, 2017. Pp.1-9

[2] Larsen Jakob Aall Ottesen. Representative government in Greek and Roman history. Univ of California Press, 1976.

[3] Gohardani Farhad, Zahra Tizro, Farhad Gohardani, and Zahra Tizro. "Formation of Unstable Coalitions." The Political Economy of Iran: Development, Revolution and *Political Violence* (2019): pp.129-187.

[4] Isaac Meyer, Anthony Lee. "Determining the Significance of Alliance Pathologies in Bipolar Systems: A Case of the Peloponnesian War from 431-421 BCE." PhD diss., Wright State University, 2016

League, led by Athens, and the Peloponnesian League, led by Sparta, were alliances of city-states with shifting loyalties and coalitions based on strategic interests rather than strict party lines.[5]

The Peloponnesian War between Athens and Sparta between 431 and 404 BC was triggered by interplay of factors among the competing factions. The rivalry between these two powerful city-states, stemming from conflicting interests and ambitions for dominance in Greece, prompting the formation of opposing alliances: The Delian League led by Athens and the Peloponnesian League led by Sparta. Fear, security concerns, disputes over hegemony, and economic interests all contributed to the necessity of these coalitions. City-states sought coalitions in order to attain safety in numbers, assert their interests, and counter the growing influence of their adversaries. The formation of alliances was solidified through agreements, mutual interests, and shared enmity, ultimately shaping the trajectory and outcomes of the war while leaving a lasting impact on the political landscape of ancient Greece.

The formation of Alliances spread to other regions. In the Roman Republic, political factions or groups known as "factions" (factio) were mainly powerful individuals or aristocratic families. The factions in form of city states or families always competed for power and resources, a situation that occasionally led to fighting. In ancient Rome, the first Triumvirate was formed around 60 BC.[6] It consisted of Julius Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus, three powerful leaders who formed an informal alliance to consolidate their influence and control over Roman politics. However, this arrangement was more of a

[5] Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox, and Alvin Bernstein, eds. *The making of strategy: rulers, states, and war*. Cambridge University Press, 1996

[6] Charles Williams E. "Pompey and Cicero: An Alliance of Convenience." (2013).

personal agreement rather than a structured political party with specific policies. Similarly, the Second Triumvirate, formed by Octavian (later known as Augustus), Mark Antony, and Marcus Lepidus in 43 BC, was aimed at seizing power and maintaining control in the wake of political instability.[7]

The ancient period was regarded as an era of lesser enlightenment among the populace. With passage of time to the period around 17th and 18th Centuries, the level of enlightenment among the citizens had expanded leading to development of parliamentary systems in Europe and emergence of political parties. The emergence of political parties demanded that there was need to have structures to guide party operations with defined rules that were to govern behavior of members and promote party cohesion. However, at initial stages, the structures and the rules for guidance of party operations and discipline were not as well-defined and understood.[8] As such, early forms of political parties operated disjointedly with limited cohesion same to the resultant and coalition governments.

The Whig and Tory factions in Britain for instance emerged as prominent political parties, representing two major political groupings. However, they were not cohesive enough as seen in contemporary times.[9] Members had varying degrees of loyalty with considerable independence in decision-making. William Pitt emerged the younger key figure in British politics in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, leading governments that included various factions and individuals with diverse interests.[10] His governments relied more on personal patronage and alliances rather than strict party structures or cohesive discipline.

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[7] Grueber H. A. "Coinages of the Triumvirs, Antony, Lepidus, and Octavian, Illustrative of the History of the Times." The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society (1911): pp.109-152.
[8] Annelien De Dijn. "The politics of enlightenment: from Peter Gay to Jonathan Israel." *The Historical Journal* (2012): pp.785-805.
[9] Stephen Ingle. The British party system: an introduction. Routledge, 2008.
[10] Michael Duffy. *The Younger Pitt*. Routledge, 2016.

The French Revolution and the subsequent periods saw the emergence of political clubs and factions.[11] However, these groups were fluid, with shifting alliances and differing ideologies, making it challenging to establish firm party structures, rules and enforcement of discipline. During Napoleon Bonaparte's rule, various factions and groups were brought under a coalition, but these alliances were more about centralized control but did not have formal party structures, rules and disciplinary mechanism to enforce coalition cohesion and discipline.[12] Coalition governments during this period were often formed through informal alliances and negotiations between different factions or individuals with shared interests rather than adherence to a unified party ideology or platform. This loose arrangement left members of early political factions or groupings significant autonomy in decision-making, often voting based on personal convictions or local interests rather than strict adherence to party lines.

The rate of development of political coalitions was accelerated following World War I, World War II, and the aftermath which saw coalition governments in several European countries that were politically fragmented identify collaboration in form of coalitions as an avenue of addressing post-war challenges.[13] Similarly, there was an observable trend towards the strengthening of party discipline in some nations during this period.

Maier postulates that the period after World War II, several European countries faced the task of rebuilding their nations.[14] Coalitions were formed in countries like Italy, France, and

[11] Francis Fukuyama. The origins of political order: From prehuman times to the French Revolution. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011.
[12] Michael Rowe. "Collaboration and resistance in Napoleonic Europe." *State-Formation in an Age of Upheaval*, c. 1800–1815 (2003).
[13] Jolande Withuis and Annet Mooij. The politics of war trauma: *The aftermath of World War II in eleven European countries*. Aksant Academic Publishers, 2010.
[14] Charles S. Maier. "The two postwar eras and the conditions for stability in twentieth-century Western Europe." *The American Historical Review* (1981): pp.327-352.

Belgium to ensure stability and address the challenges of reconstruction.[15] This post-war period saw a notable shift towards heightened party discipline in certain nations, as political parties' prioritized unity and coherence to ensure stability and present a unified front in the face of post-war adversities. Consequently, the formation of political coalitions and the emphasis on party discipline captured the interest of prominent scholars worldwide, as evidenced by their extensive studies in this area.

Wolfgang and Strom's comprehensive work on coalition governments in Western Europe delves into the complexities of coalition formation and functioning within the region, highlighting the prevalence of coalition governments attributed to proportional representation electoral systems.[16] Their research emphasizes the significance of power-sharing and addressing diverse interests within coalitions, showcasing examples from countries like Belgium and Sweden.[17] By exploring how coalition governments navigate complex policy outcomes and the importance of inclusive governance, their work enriched the understanding of parliamentary democracies, coalition politics, and the interplay between identity politics and governance within diverse political landscapes in Western Europe.

Building on this foundation, Wolfgang Müller's study on "Coalition Governance in Central Eastern Europe" further elucidates how the presence of fragmented party systems in the region shapes the prevalence of coalition governments.[18] In countries such as Poland and Hungary, where no single party holds a clear majority due to the multiplicity of parties

[15] Ibid

[16] Wolfgang C. Müller, and Kaare Strom, eds. *Coalition governments in Western Europe*. Oxford University Press, USA, 2003.

[17] Ibid

[18] Torbjörn Bergman, Gabriella Ilonszki, and Wolfgang C. Müller, eds. *Coalition Governance in Central Eastern Europe*. Oxford University Press, USA, 2020.

competing for power, coalition formations become essential. Müller's research highlights the intricate negotiations and power-sharing arrangements that are crucial in such contexts.[19] Moreover, his work emphasizes the importance of ethnic and minority representation within coalition governments in Central Eastern Europe, emphasizing how addressing diverse ethnic interests and minority rights is vital for political stability and effective governance.[20] By examining examples from countries like Romania and Slovakia, Müller underscores the complexities of coalition governance in accommodating varied interests and ensuring inclusivity within coalition partnerships across the region.

David Farrell's research on party discipline and parliamentary government explores the evolution of party systems in response to changing political landscapes, such as the transition from two-party to multi-party systems in countries like Italy, showcasing the adaptability of party systems to societal shifts.[21] Additionally, Farrell emphasizes the importance of party competition and coalition-building in governance, exemplified by coalition governments in Germany like the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Social Democratic Party (SPD), highlighting the complexities of forming alliances for effective governance.[22] Furthermore, Farrell underscores the crucial role of party discipline in maintaining internal cohesion and effective party functioning, emphasizing its impact on party unity, legislative effectiveness, and organizational behavior within political systems like the United Kingdom.

[19] Ibid
[20] Ibid
[21] Shaun Bowler, David M. Farrell, and Richard S. Katz. *Party discipline and parliamentary government*. The Ohio State University Press, 1999.

[22] Ibid

Richard Katz's influential work on party discipline in parliamentary government underscores its crucial role in maintaining government stability and enabling effective policy-making.[23] He demonstrates how party discipline influences legislative behavior, decision-making processes, and policy implementation, emphasizing its significance in promoting coherence, efficiency, and unity within parliamentary democracies. By examining mechanisms like leadership control and whip systems in the United Kingdom's parliamentary system, Katz highlights how strong party discipline enhances decision-making efficiency, streamlines processes, and contributes to government stability.[24] His research, alongside David Farrell's work on party systems, provides a comprehensive understanding of how party discipline shapes political systems and ensures effective governance in diverse parliamentary contexts.

In emerging democracies like India, South Africa, Kenya, and in many other African countries, coalition governments have been formed due to various socio-cultural and political reasons, often tied closely to the complexities of representing diverse interests.[25] Party discipline within these coalitions plays a pivotal role in their functionality and sustainability.

South Africa, post-apartheid, witnessed the African National Congress (ANC) initially holding a dominant position but not always securing an absolute majority in elections.[26] This led to coalition formations, particularly at the municipal level.[27] In such scenarios,

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[23] Shaun Bowler, David M. Farrell, and Richard S. Katz. *Party discipline and parliamentary government*. The Ohio State University Press, 1999.
[24] Ibid
[25] Jimmy Kisobo J. "The Impact of Coalition Government on Political, Economic and Social Development of Postconflict Societies: case of Kenya, 2008-2012." PhD diss., University of Nairobi,, 2013.
[26] Christopher Isike, and Hakeem Onapajo. "The Decline of a Dominant Political Party: The Case and Future of South Africa's African National Congress (ANC)." *Politeia (02568845)* 36, no. 2 (2017).
[27] Kanego Mokgosi, Kgothatso Shai, and Olusola Ogunnubi. "Local government coalition in Gauteng province of South Africa: Challenges and opportunities." *Ubuntu: Journal of Conflict and Social*

party discipline becomes crucial to bridge the gap between diverse political ideologies and accommodate varied interests. Upholding discipline within these coalitions ensures effective governance and the inclusion.[28]

Oyugi, writing on "Coalition politics and coalition governments in Africa." observes that in Nigeria, the country's political landscape has seen coalitions formed to contest elections or establish governments.[29] For instance, in the 2015 and 2019 general elections, the All Progressives Congress (APC) emerged victorious through a coalition of several opposition parties.[30] Party discipline within the APC is crucial for policy implementation and managing the diverse interests and expectations of its constituent parties and regions.[31]

Makonye posts that the Movement for Democratic Change Alliance (MDC-Alliance) in Zimbabwe was formed as a coalition of opposition parties to contest elections against the ruling ZANU-PF party.[32] Maintaining party discipline and cohesion within the MDC-Alliance has been a significant challenge due to differing priorities and leadership approaches among the member parties.[33] This has impacted the coalition's effectiveness in presenting a united front in governance and policymaking.

Transformation 6, no. 1 (2017): p.37-57.

[28] Prudence Khumalo, and Mpfareleni Mavis Netswera. "The complex nature of coalitions in the local sphere of government in South Africa." *African Journal of Democracy and Governance* 7, no. 3-4 (2020): pp.173-192.

[29] Walter Oyugi. "Coalition politics and coalition governments in Africa." *Journal of contemporary African studies* 24, no. 1 (2006): pp.53-79.

[30]Pius Ademola Adebisi. "All Progressives Congress: A Study in the Rise of an Opposition Party in Nigeria." Asian Journal of African Studies 43 (2018): pp.1-30.

[31] George Tsaro, Anthony Egobueze, and Lucky Nwaoburu. "Intra-party conflicts and democratization in Nigeria: An examination of the All Progressives Congress, Rivers State, 2009-2019." *African Political Science Review* 13, no. 1 (2021): pp.150-166.
Nigeria: An examination of the All Progressives Congress, Rivers State, 2009-2019." *African Political Science Review* 13, no. 1 (2021): pp.150-166.

[32] Felix Makonye. "The inherent resort to violence in opposition politics: a synthesis of the post-2005 movement for democratic change (MDC) formations in Zimbabwe." *African Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies* 10, no. 1 (2021): p.77.

[33] Hlahla, Kevin. Fault-lines within the movement for democratic change: factionalism and Zimbabwe's *opposition, 1999-2015*. University of Johannesburg (South Africa), 2020.

The political landscape in Tanzania has seen coalitions like the Coalition of Defenders of the Constitution (UKAWA), comprising opposition parties such as CHADEMA and the Civic United Front (CUF).[34] These alliances aimed to challenge the dominance of the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) party.[35] Managing party discipline within UKAWA was essential for presenting a formidable challenge to the ruling party, although internal disagreements at times affected the coalition's unity.[36]

Similarly, Elischer, in his study "Ethnic Coalitions of Convenience and Commitment: Political Parties and Party Systems in Kenya." postulates that Kenya's coalition governments stem from its multi-ethnic society.[37] Kadima and Owuor also hold the view that various political parties representing distinct ethnic groups form alliances to promote inclusivity and stability in governance.[38] However, party discipline within these coalitions often faces challenges due to divergent ethnic interests and power struggles among parties.[39] Ensuring discipline becomes vital for sustained collaboration and cohesive decision-making, ultimately impacting the stability and success of the coalition governments.

Kenya has experienced various coalition governments due to its multi-ethnic society.[40] Notably, the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) formed a successful coalition in 2002,

[34] Reader, A. Dipd. "*Coalition Building*."
[35] Ernest T Mallya. "Promises, Pains and Realities of Coalition Politics in Tanzania." (2005).
[36] Elvin Ong. Opposing Power: Building Opposition Alliances in Electoral Autocracies. University of Michigan Press, 2022.
[37] Sebastian Elischer. "Ethnic coalitions of convenience and commitment: Political parties and party Systems in Kenya." (2008).
[38] Denis Kadima, and Felix Owuor. "Kenya's decade of experiments with political party alliances and coalitions-motivations, impact and prospects." *Journal of African Elections* 13, no. 1 (2014): pp.150-180.
[39] Ibid
[40] Gilbert M Khadiagala. "Political movements and coalition politics in Kenya: entrenching ethnicity." South African Journal of International Affairs 17, no. 1 (2010): pp.65-84.

leading to the defeat of the long-ruling Kenya African National Union (KANU).[41] Maintaining party discipline within NARC was critical for policy implementation and governance, yet internal conflicts and divergent interests eventually led to the coalition's fragmentation.[42]

These examples illustrate the inherent challenges within coalition governments where maintaining party discipline faces obstacles due to the diversity of ideologies, the need for negotiation and compromise among parties with varying priorities, and internal dissent among coalition members. The need for balancing these challenges while aiming for coherent governance within coalitions remains a persistent task for political parties participating in such arrangements. The history of coalition politics and party discipline reflects an ongoing tension between the need for unity within parties and the necessity for cooperation and compromise in coalition governance. Balancing these dynamics remains a challenge for modern political systems.

The background highlights the prevalence of coalition formations in both pre-election and post-election periods across democratic nations, a trend also observed in Kenya. However, these coalitions have had mixed outcomes with some failing to endure an entire electoral cycle, frequently experiencing fragmentation and dissolution, often attributed to challenges in maintaining party discipline within these coalitions. Kenya, in its democratic journey, has witnessed significant coalition governments, notably the pre-2002 coalition and the post-2007 coalition formed in the aftermath of election-related violence. These coalitions, however, have exhibited an elusive nature, marked by inconsistent and varied outcomes.

[41] Denis Kadima, and Felix Owuor. "Kenya's decade of experiments with political party alliances and coalitions-motivations, impact and prospects." *Journal of African Elections* 13, no. 1 (2014): pp.150-180.
[42] Oita Etyang. "The Formation and Instability of Coalition Governments in Kenya." *The African Review* 49, no. 2 (2022): pp.167-194.

Against this backdrop, the study sought to delve into the historical narrative of coalition politics and assess the role of party discipline in Kenya's political landscape since 1945.

1.3 Statement of the problem

Political coalitions are designed to operate cohesively, with shared objectives outlined in agreements or manifestos, fostering unity and cooperation.[43] Achieving consensus on policy matters and legislative decisions requires considering diverse viewpoints. Transparent communication builds trust, and power sharing ensures equitable representation. The ability to compromise is crucial for unity, and responsiveness to citizens' needs contributes to effective governance. By adhering to these principles, political coalitions work towards achieving collective goals and advancing the public interest.

However, the operation of political coalitions in Kenya has frequently encountered challenges in adhering to the ideal principles of unity and shared purpose. Furthermore, the responsiveness of coalitions to the needs and concerns of citizens has varied, with some coalitions facing criticism for prioritizing political interests over the public interest. The ability to negotiate and compromise on contentious issues has also been tested, at times leading to internal dissent and instability within coalitions.[44]

While some coalitions in Kenya have demonstrated unity and cooperation in pursuing common objectives, others have faced challenges in operating according to the ideal principles of effective coalition governance. The diverse and dynamic nature of Kenya's

[43] Shaun Bowler, David M. Farrell, and Richard S. Katz. "*Party cohesion, party discipline, and* parliaments." Party discipline and parliamentary government (1999): pp.3-22.
[44] Japhet Biegon. "The advent of unholy alliances? Coalition governments in the aftermath of disputed elections and electoral violence in Africa: a case study of Kenya." PhD diss., University Of Pretoria, 2008.

political landscape has contributed to the varying experiences of coalition operations within the country. The discrepancy between the ideal situation in the operation of political coalitions and the reality in the functionality of coalitions in Kenya's political setting is not in tandem with the spirit of the formation of political coalitions, and as such, political coalitions have not fully tapped into the benefits that accrue from the formation and operations of stable political coalitions.

Although studies on coalition, politics in Kenya exist for example by Biegon, Kadima, Elischer, Oyugi and Oita, a notable gap has been identified in terms of insufficient coverage of the historicity of coalition politics, particularly from 1945. Many studies tend to focus more on recent political developments, leaving a deficiency in comprehensive analysis of the historical evolution of coalition politics in Kenya. Additionally, there is a noted insufficiency of emphasis on the aspect of party discipline within these coalitions. The intricate dynamics of party discipline, its evolution over time, and its impact on coalition functioning have not been thoroughly explored in existing research studies. It was hoped that addressing these gaps would contribute to a more holistic understanding of the historical context and internal dynamics that shape coalition politics in Kenya. It was against this background that the study sought to trace the history of coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya since 1945.

1.4 General Objective of the Study

The general objective of the study was to interrogate the history of coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya since 1945.

1.4.1 Specific Objectives of the Study

The specific objectives of the study were to:

(i) Trace the origins and development of coalition politics in Kenya since 1945.

(ii) Explore the types of political coalitions in Kenya since 1945.

(iii) Assess how party ideologies have shaped the development of political coalitions in Kenya since 1945.

(iv) Evaluate how party discipline has impacted political coalitions in Kenya since 1945.

1.5 Research Questions

The study sought to answer the following questions;

(i) How has coalition politics developed in Kenya since 1945?

(ii) Which are the types of political coalitions in Kenya since 1945?

(iii) How have ideologies shaped the formation of various political coalitions in Kenya since 1945?

(iv) How has party discipline impacted political coalitions in Kenya since 1945?

1.6 Justification of the Study

The exploration of coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya since 1945 holds academic, philosophical, and policy justification. Through a comprehensive analysis of this historical trajectory, the study contributes valuable insights that may inform scholarly discussions, align with democratic principles, and guide policymakers in their pursuit of a more stable and effective political system.

1.6.1 Academic Justification of the Study

Globally, political coalitions and party dynamics have shaped the course of nations, including Kenya. Prior to and after gaining independence in 1963, Kenya has experienced an intricate and ever-changing political environment marked by shifting alliances. This has often resulted in

political instability, challenges in policy implementation, uncertainty in governance, power struggles, and impacts on socio-economic development. However, these coalitions have had mixed outcomes with some failing to endure an entire electoral cycle, frequently experiencing fragmentation and dissolution, often attributed to challenges in maintaining party discipline within these coalitions. Despite the challenges, Studies have been done more specifically focusing on the following facets;"Kenya's decade of experiments with political party alliances and coalitions-motivations, impact and prospects."[45] The politics of coalition formation in Kenya;[46] among others, however these studies failed to provide a thorough chronological examination of the origins and development of coalition politics in the country since 1945. This study comprehensively analyzed historical account of coalition politics in Kenya, addressing specific gaps in existing literature. The inadequacies in historicization by former scholars created a space for this research to offer fresh insights and a more nuanced perspective on the dynamics of coalition politics in the country.

1.6.2 Philosophical Justification

The study was founded on Interpretivism philosophical foundation which was advanced by Wilhelm Dilthey and Max Weber. Dilthey emphasized the importance of understanding human experience and the subjective nature of knowledge.[47] Accordingly, Weber introduced the concept of *verstehen*, which means understanding social action from the actor's perspective, highlighting the need to comprehend the meanings individuals assign to

[45] Denis Kadima, and Felix Owuor. "Kenya's decade of experiments with political party alliances and coalitions-motivations, impact and prospects." *Journal of African Elections* 13, no. 1 (2014): pp.150-180.
[46] Oita Etyang. The politics of coalition formation in Kenya: 1992-2017. University of Johannesburg (South Africa), 2021.
[47] Outhwaite, William. "Hermeneutics and the social sciences." In *The Routledge Companion to Hermeneutics*, pp. 486-497. Routledge, 2014.

their actions. Generally, interpretivism seeks to capture the complexity of social reality and the richness of human experience.

Interpretivist research philosophy is a qualitative approach that emphasizes understanding the subjective meaning of social phenomena. This philosophy focuses on the context in which social interactions occur, recognizing that meanings are shaped by cultural, social, and historical factors. It seeks to understand how individuals interpret their experiences and the world around them.

Interpretivism is a research paradigm recognizes that knowledge is constructed through social processes, aiming to understand participants' perspectives shaped by their unique contexts. Typically employing qualitative methods like interviews and focus groups, interpretivist research seeks to uncover the subjective meanings behind social interactions. Reflexivity is crucial, as researchers acknowledge their own biases and how these may affect the research process and outcomes.

The interpretivist research philosophy was crucial for studying coalition politics in Kenya as it emphasized understanding the experiences of political actors. This approach allowed the researcher to explore how different political groups perceived and engaged in coalitions, revealing the motivations and ideologies behind these alliances. It also facilitated a nuanced analysis of the historical, cultural, and social contexts shaping coalition formation, particularly how party ideologies influenced these dynamics. Additionally, by focusing on the experiences of party members and leaders, interpretivism

highlighted the impact of party discipline on coalition politics, leading to a deeper understanding of individual and collective behaviors within political parties.

1.6.3 Policy Justification

The policy justification for the study was grounded in the recognition of existing weaknesses in Kenya's current constitutional and legal frameworks governing coalition politics and party discipline. According to the study, these deficiencies contribute to challenges that undermine political stability, effective governance, and the adherence to democratic principles in the country.

One notable issue, as highlighted by the study, is the weakness of specific constitutional provisions addressing the formation, functioning, and dissolution of political coalitions. From the findings, the absence of clear guidelines may result in uncertainties and disputes during coalition negotiations and alliances. To address this, the researcher recommends specific constitutional amendments or additions that can provide a legal framework for coalition politics, ensuring transparency, fairness, and stability in political alliances.

Additionally, the researcher argues that the constitution may lack sufficiently robust mechanisms to enforce party discipline, leading to internal strife, defections, and a lack of cohesion within political parties. The study under recommendations highlights areas in the constitution where amendments or supplementary legislation could enhance party discipline, promoting internal cohesion and reducing disruptions within political parties.

Another concern, as revealed from the study findings, is the limited protection against party hopping, as the constitution may not contain strong provisions to deter or penalize

politicians who frequently switch party allegiance. The researcher suggests that this lack of deterrents can contribute to a lack of stability and predictability in the political landscape. The exploration aimed to identify measures to address party hopping, proposing constitutional amendments or legal provisions to minimize the impact of such actions on political stability. Furthermore, the researcher asserts that the constitution may not adequately safeguard the principles of intra-party democracy, potentially allowing for undemocratic practices within political parties. The research aimed to identify areas where constitutional provisions could be strengthened to protect and enhance intra-party democracy, ensuring fair representation and decision-making processes within parties.

The policy justification underscores the critical need to address gaps in the Kenyan constitution regarding coalition politics and party discipline. The research provides concrete insights and recommendations for legal reforms, amendments, or additions to strengthen the country's political framework. The researcher expresses the intention to contribute to political stability, effective governance, and the reinforcement of democratic principles in Kenya, aligning the legal landscape with the evolving nature of politics in the country.

1.7 Significance of the Study

The study findings hold significant relevance for political parties in Kenya. Understanding the historical development of coalition politics provides insights into effective strategies and challenges faced by parties when forming alliances. Insights into the impact of party ideologies and party discipline on coalition durability would guide parties in crafting more sustainable and ideologically aligned coalitions. This would enable political parties to

refine their strategies, enhance coalition management, and strengthen internal discipline, contributing to more stable and enduring political alliances.

The study also empowers citizens to make informed voting decisions, considering the potential impact of different alliances on governance. It contributes to a more value-based voting process, allowing citizens to align their preferences with parties sharing similar principles. Additionally, the study's findings enable citizens to set realistic expectations for the stability and effectiveness of coalition-formed governments, aiding in their understanding of democracy, accountability, transparency, and inclusivity. The study also contributes substantially to the academic sphere by providing a comprehensive historical analysis of coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya, which can be used as a foundation for further investigations into coalition dynamics, political party behavior, and the interplay of ideologies in diverse political settings.

1.8 Scope of the Study

This study explores the history of coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya since 1945. The study focuses on Kenya during this period because it witnessed significant political agitation and nationalist activities driven by local and international influences. The establishment of the Kenya African Study Union (KASU) marked a critical step in organized political activism, advocating for African rights and self-governance. The post-World War II context spurred a global decolonization movement, with the United Nations promoting self-determination, inspiring Kenyan leaders. Increased political awareness emerged from returning soldiers and the rise of organizations like the East African Association. The 1945 San Francisco Conference emphasized human rights, further

validating Kenyan aspirations. Key figures, such as Jomo Kenyatta, began to emerge, laying the foundation for future political mobilization.

The end period being left open allowed for a comprehensive analysis of coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya, encompassing a broader historical context up to the present. Moreover, by considering developments up to the present allowed for the assessment of the continuity and changes in coalition dynamics, party behavior, and governance structures in Kenya. The research covers 18 counties, focusing on diverse perspectives from the electorate, local intelligentsia, civic leaders, and political party officials to provide a comprehensive understanding of coalition dynamics and party discipline in Kenya. The study was carried out between May 2023 and January 2024.

1.9 Limitations of the Study

Several challenges emerged during the study, primarily stemming from delayed responses to questionnaires and the unavailability of respondents for interviews due to their work schedules. To overcome this hurdle, the researcher extended the allotted time for responses and adjusted interview schedules to accommodate the convenience of the participants.

Another significant barrier was the hesitancy by some respondents to openly address the research inquiries, driven by fears and suspicions regarding the research motives. To alleviate this concern, the researcher took proactive measures by clearly explaining the purpose of the study. This transparency facilitated a more open and honest response from the participants, a positive outcome further reinforced by engaging local research assistants to build trust and rapport. Furthermore, the study faced logistical challenges in terms of the expansive geographical coverage of the selected counties in Western, Nyanza, Rift Valley and Nairobi. Traveling across these regions posed a demanding task for the researcher. To

tackle this obstacle, the researcher enlisted the assistance of nine trained research assistants specifically for data collection among the electorates. These proactive measures and strategic adjustments were instrumental in overcoming the barriers encountered during the study, ensuring a more effective and comprehensive data collection process.

1.10 LITERATURE REVIEW

1.10.1 Introduction

This section comprehensively reviewed literature relevant to the study, aligning it with the specific objectives of the research. It adopted a pyramidal approach, analyzing the literature from a global perspective down to the continental, regional, and finally to Kenya as specific area of study. The review concluded by summarizing the analyzed literature, highlighting the gaps and areas of deficiency that the study sought to address.

1.10.2 The Concept of Coalition Politics

According to Matlosa, coalition politics emerges in multi-party democratic systems when no single political party secures an outright majority of seats in the legislature during an election.[48] In parliamentary systems, where governments are formed based on the majority support in the legislative body, a situation can arise where no single party obtains the necessary seats to govern independently. In such cases, coalition politics becomes crucial for the formation and functioning of the government. In a coalition, multiple parties agree to work together, sharing power and decision-making responsibilities.[49] This collaboration aims to combine their strengths, ideologies, and support bases to create a more stable and representative government. Typically, each party in the coalition retains its identity and

[48] Khabele Matlosa. "Electoral systems, party systems and coalitions." *Marriages of Inconvenience: The* politics of coalitions in South Africa (2021): p.97.

[49] Brian D Christens., Kymberly Byrd, Lacey A. Hartigan, and Paul W. Speer. "Participatory roles in community coalitions: associations with perceptions of influence on decision-making." *Community Development* 52, no. 3 (2021): pp.365-381.

policy positions while compromising on certain issues to maintain the unity of the coalition.

Dalmases postulates that Coalition politics involves a delicate balance of power-sharing, compromise, and cooperation among different political entities to form a government.[50] While providing representation to diverse interests, it also poses challenges that require adept negotiation and management skills to maintain unity and effectively govern.

1.10.3 The Concept of Party Discipline

At its core, this concept underscores the unity and cohesion required among party members in parliamentary or representative democratic systems. It ensures that legislators or representatives vote consistently in accordance to the party's agenda, thereby enhancing the party's influence and effectiveness in decision-making processes. Within political parties, a hierarchical structure exists, often led by influential figures and whips who guide and enforce party discipline.[51] These leaders are pivotal in steering the party's course, determining positions on key issues, and directing members on how to vote or act in various contexts.

Party discipline is reinforced through mechanisms and regulations within the party, including rules of conduct and potential consequences for members who deviate from the party line. This may include reprimands, removal from committee positions, or, in severe cases, expulsion from the party. This enforcement mechanism serves to maintain control over the actions and decisions of party members, ensuring a unified approach to governance and representation. Moreover, the concept of collective responsibility is

[50] Jordi Matas Dalmases. *Guide to forming a coalition government*. Edicions Universitat Barcelona, 2021.
[51] Shaun Bowler, David M. Farrell, and Richard S. Katz. "*Party cohesion, party discipline, and* parliaments." Party discipline and parliamentary government (1999): p.3-22.

integral to party discipline, necessitating that members publicly support and stand by the party's decisions, even if they privately disagree. This unity of purpose strengthens the party's image and credibility, especially in parliamentary systems where the government's stability often hinges on maintaining legislative support.

However, the enforcement of strict party discipline can sometimes stifle dissenting opinions or independent thinking within the party. Balancing the need for unity and coherence with the space for healthy debate and diverse perspectives presents an ongoing challenge for party leadership. Effectively managing this balance is crucial to maintaining the party's identity, fostering loyalty among members, and adapting to changing societal and political landscapes while ensuring robust and effective governance.

1.10.4 Development of Coalition Politics

The history of coalition politics has evolved over centuries, shaped by diverse political systems, social dynamics, and the need for governance in various countries.[52] This section provides an overview of its historical trajectory

1.10.4.1 Early Forms of Coalitions (Ancient Times to Middle Ages)

Historical records indicate instances of alliances and coalitions among city-states, kingdoms, or rulers in ancient civilizations such as Greece, Italy, and Persia.[53] These alliances were often formed to strengthen military power or to secure trade routes. In medieval Europe, feudal lords and monarchs formed alliances for mutual protection or to expand their territories.[54] The formation of alliances and coalitions in ancient civilizations

[52] Kathryn Sikkink. "Patterns of dynamic multilevel governance and the insider-outsider coalition." Transnational protest and global activism (2005): pp.151-173.
[53] Ronald M Glassman. The origins of democracy in tribes, city-states and nation-states. Springer, 2017.
[54] Andrew T. Young. "The political economy of feudalism in medieval Europe." *Constitutional Political Economy* 32 (2021): pp.127-143.

and medieval Europe played a pivotal role in shaping political dynamics, military strategies, and trade relationships. These coalitions were instrumental in addressing various needs such as defense, expansion, or economic prosperity.

1.10.4.2 Ancient Civilizations

In ancient Greece, city-states like Athens and Sparta formed alliances called "symmachia" to strengthen military power and fend off common enemies.[55] The Delian League, led by Athens, and the Peloponnesian League, led by Sparta, were two prominent alliances during the Peloponnesian War (431-404 BC).[56] These coalitions were pivotal in shaping the power dynamics of the region and influencing the outcomes of conflicts.

The Delian League, led by Athens, was established after the Persian Wars in the early 5th century BC as a defensive alliance against Persia, with members contributing ships or funds to a treasury on Delos. In response to Athens' rising power, Sparta formed the Peloponnesian League, focusing on countering Athenian dominance. These alliances, initially for defense, escalated into the Peloponnesian War, characterized by power struggles between Athens and Sparta. The war ultimately led to Athens' defeat and the decline of the Delian League, while Sparta emerged dominant but faced challenges in maintaining control. This conflict reshaped Greek power dynamics and illustrated how alliances could evolve into contests for influence.

The Roman Republic and later the Roman Empire engaged in alliances and treaties with various states to consolidate power and control trade routes. Rome formed alliances with neighboring cities and states, such as the Latin League, to secure its borders and expand its

[55] Connie Galatas. "Allies for all times?: a study on the disintegration of Greek interstate alliances in the classical period." (2008).
[56] Sarah Bolmarcich. "The date of the" oath of the Peloponnesian League"." *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* H. 1 (2008): pp.65-79.

influence across the Mediterranean.[57] Additionally, Rome utilized alliances with client kingdoms to maintain control and stability in conquered territories. In the context of Rome, the formation of alliances and treaties was a fundamental component of the Republic and later the Empire's expansionist policies, governance strategies, and diplomatic maneuvers.

The Latin League and Neighboring Alliances were significant alliances formed in the early history of Rome.[58] It included multiple Latin cities and neighboring communities. Rome initially formed this alliance for mutual defense against neighboring threats. Over time, Rome's rise to power led to the subjugation of the other Latin cities, which were then incorporated into the expanding Roman Republic.[59] The alliance evolved, with Rome taking a dominant role, eventually using it as a means to exert control over the Italian Peninsula.

1.10.4.3 Medieval Europe

The medieval period in Europe was characterized by a complex web of alliances and coalitions shaped by feudal relationships, power struggles, and religious fervor, particularly evident during the Crusades.[60] Feudalism formed the basis of medieval European society, where feudal lords, vassals, and monarchs established alliances through various means.[61] Feudal bonds were forged through agreements, oaths of loyalty, and marriages, solidifying alliances between lords and their vassals or between different ruling

[57] Arthur M Eckstein. "Intra-Greek Balancing, the Mediterranean Crisis of c. 201-200 BCE, and the Rise of Rome." In *The balance of power in world history*, pp. 71-98. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2007.
[58] John W Rich. "Treaties, allies and the Roman conquest of Italy." *War and peace in ancient and medieval history* (2008): pp.51-75.
[59] Armin Eich, and Peter Eich. "War and state-building in Roman Republican times." *Scripta Classica Israelica* 24 (2005): pp.1-33.
[60] David Paradis, Sheena Barnes, and Abby Lagemann. "The Early Middle Ages." *Origins of European* Civilization (2021).
[61] Carl ephenson. "The origin and significance of feudalism." *The American Historical Review* 46, no. 4 (1941): pp.788-812.

houses.[62] These alliances were essential for maintaining internal stability, protecting territories, and expanding influence through strategic marriages or military support.

In medieval Europe, alliances among feudal lords and monarchs were crucial for stability and expansion.[63] A notable example was the marriage alliance between Eleanor of Aquitaine and Henry II of England.[64] Eleanor's lands in Aquitaine merged with Henry's English territories, forming a powerful union. Their marriage symbolized the strategic use of matrimonial ties to consolidate power, strengthen monarchies, and expand influence across regions, notably contributing to the formation of the Angevin Empire.

Feudal lords relied on these alliances for mutual protection against external threats, whether from rival lords, invasions by foreign powers, or incursions by nomadic tribes. These arrangements often led to complex networks of loyalties and allegiances, contributing to the fragmented nature of medieval political authority. The Crusades, a series of religious wars sanctioned by the Latin Church, spurred significant alliances among European kingdoms and the Holy Roman Empire.[65] Various European powers, including England, France, the Holy Roman Empire, and others, formed coalitions to undertake military expeditions to the Holy Land, particularly Jerusalem, during the 11th to 13th centuries.[66]

The study noted that the alliances and coalitions in medieval Europe, whether based on feudal ties or religious fervor during the Crusades, played pivotal roles in shaping political

[62] Karen Schroeder Nicholas. Feudal relationships in the Low Countries: a comparative study of nine *principalities.* Brown University, 1972.
[63] John Roland Seymour Phillips. *The medieval expansion of Europe*. Oxford University Press, 1998.
[64] Colette Marie Bowie. "The daughters of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine: a comparative study of twelfth-century royal women." PhD diss., University of Glasgow, 2011.
[65] Thomas Asbridge. *The crusades: The war for the Holy Land*. Simon and Schuster, 2012.
[66] John Roland Seymour Phillips. *The medieval expansion of Europe*. Oxford University Press, 1998.

landscapes, military endeavors, and inter-regional dynamics, leaving a lasting impact on European history.

1.10.4.4 Emergence of Parliamentary Systems (17th to 19th Century)

The practice of coalition politics began gaining prominence with the development of parliamentary systems.[67] In countries like England, the emergence of political parties led to alliances between factions in Parliament. For instance, the Glorious Revolution of 1688 in England led to the formation of a coalition government and the establishment of the constitutional monarchy.[68] The emergence of coalition politics within parliamentary systems, particularly in countries like England during the 17th to 19th centuries, marked a significant shift in governance, political structures, and the role of political parties.[69] This period witnessed the evolution of coalition-building as a means to navigate complex political landscapes and establish stable governance.

The establishment of political parties in England began to take shape during the 17th century, notably with the emergence of the Whigs and Tories.[70] These factions represented different political ideologies and interests, often aligning themselves with specific social, economic, or religious groups. Over time, these early parties evolved into more organized entities with defined policies and support bases. During the Glorious Revolution of 1688, which resulted in the overthrow of King James II, the ascension of William III and Mary II to the throne led to a significant realignment of political power.[71] This period saw the

[67]Lanny W Martin, and Georg Vanberg. Parliaments and coalitions: The role of legislative institutions in *multiparty governance*. Oxford University Press, USA, 2011.
[68] Saumitra Jha. Shares, coalition formation and political development: evidence from seventeenth century *England.* Graduate School of Business, Stanford University, 2008.
[69] Lanny W Martin, and Georg Vanberg. Parliaments and coalitions: The role of legislative institutions in *multiparty governance.* Oxford University Press, USA, 2011.
[70] Eric J. Evans. Political Parties in Britain 1783-1867. Routledge, 2006.
[71] Charles K Rowley, Bin Wu, Charles K. Rowley, and Bin Wu. "The Demise of the Divine Right of Kings, the Decline of Monarchic Power, and the Rise of Parliament, 1689–1775." *Britannia 1066-1884:*

formation of a coalition government comprising Whigs and moderate Tories.[72] This coalition aimed to safeguard parliamentary supremacy, protect Protestant interests, and establish a constitutional monarchy, as exemplified in the Bill of Rights (1689) and the Act of Settlement (1701). The coalition government facilitated a balance of power and laid the foundation for a more structured and constitutional approach to governance.

The formation of coalitions in the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution demonstrated the pragmatic need for cooperation among political factions to achieve common objectives.[73] It showcased the effectiveness of alliances between different ideological groups in governing a nation and fostering stability. This era laid the groundwork for a more stable parliamentary system in England, emphasizing the importance of compromise, negotiation, and shared governance among competing political factions.

Subsequent developments in the 18th and 19th centuries further solidified the role of political parties and coalition-building in English politics. The evolution of the two-party system, with Whigs evolving into the Liberal Party and Tories into the Conservative Party, continued to shape coalition politics in England.[74] Coalitions and alliances became recurrent during periods of political crises or when no single party held a clear majority in Parliament.

The emergence of coalition politics in England during the 17th to 19th centuries reflected the evolving nature of governance, the growing influence of political parties, and the

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From Medieval Absolutism to the Birth of Freedom under Constitutional Monarchy, Limited Suffrage, and *the Rule of Law* (2014): 97-134.

[72] Viscount Bolingbroke, Arthur Wellesley, and Robert Peel. "*Tories (British political party*)."

[73] Owen Stanwood. The Empire Reformed: English America in the Age of the Glorious Revolution. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.

[74] Leslie Lipson. "The two-party system in British politics." *American Political Science Review* 47, no. 2 (1953): pp.337-358.

importance of collaborative governance to address complex challenges. The Glorious Revolution stands as a pivotal moment that highlighted the efficacy of coalition governments in establishing a more balanced and constitutional approach to governance within a parliamentary framework.

1.10.4.5 Coalition Politics in Modern Democracies (20th Century)

In the 20th century, especially after World War II, coalition politics became more common in many European countries.[75] It became a necessity in countries where multi-party systems prevailed, and no single party could secure an absolute majority. Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands are examples of countries where coalition governments became a norm due to the proportional representation electoral systems. In the 20th century, coalition politics gained prominence in several European countries, particularly those with multi-party systems and proportional representation electoral systems.[76] This era witnessed the increased necessity of forming coalition governments as a means to achieve governing majorities when no single party could secure an absolute majority in elections.

In "The Civic Culture," Almond and Verba explore various types of political cultures that influence democratic stability and citizen engagement.[77] They categorize political cultures into four types: civic, participant, subject, and parochial. A civic culture, exemplified by the United States, combines active participation with respect for authority, fostering democratic functioning. In Germany, a participant culture encourages political discussions and voting, while in Mexico, a subject culture reveals passivity among citizens who

[75] Gregory M Luebbert. "Social foundations of political order in interwar Europe." *World Politics* 39, no. 4 (1987): pp.449-478.
[76] Lanny W Martin, and Georg Vanberg. Parliaments and coalitions: The role of legislative institutions in *multiparty governance*. Oxford University Press, USA, 2011.
[77] Gabriel Abraham Almond and Sidney Verba. "The civic culture: Political attitudes and democracy in five nations." (2015): pp.1-576. P.402

primarily obey political authorities. In contrast, rural Italy demonstrates a parochial culture, where individuals focus on local issues with limited awareness of national politics.[78]

The authors argue that democratic stability is closely linked to the presence of a strong civic culture.[79] Countries like the United States and the United Kingdom showcase greater stability due to long-standing traditions of civic engagement, supported by civil society organizations. They also find that positive citizen attitudes towards political institutions enhance civic engagement, as seen in the U.S., where belief in government legitimacy correlates with higher participation in elections and community activities. Trust in political institutions is critical; for instance, citizens in the United Kingdom engage more with political processes compared to those in Italy, where political scandals have diminished public trust.

Almond and Verba highlight the impact of socio-economic factors on political engagement, noting that higher education levels in wealthier nations like the U.S. lead to increased political participation.[80] Their cross-national comparisons reveal significant cultural differences affecting governance, with Italy experiencing instability due to a fragmented political culture. Ultimately, they conclude that fostering a civic culture is vital for the health of democracies, advocating for initiatives that promote civic education and engagement to strengthen democratic values. Their work remains influential in understanding the dynamics of political culture and its implications for democratic governance.

The works of Almond and Verba, particularly their insights on political culture and civic engagement, informed the current study by providing a framework to analyze how different

[78] Ibid. 420
[79] Ibid.473
[80] Ibid. 323

political cultures affect coalition dynamics and party behavior in Kenya. Their classification of political cultures—civic, participant, subject, and parochial—helps contextualize the varying levels of citizen engagement and trust in political institutions within Kenya's historical landscape. This understanding allows for a deeper exploration of how these cultural factors have shaped the formation and stability of political coalitions and the discipline within parties, highlighting the interplay between citizen attitudes and the effectiveness of governance in the Kenyan context.

Wolfgang and Strom's comprehensive work on coalition governments in Western Europe delves deeply into the complexities of coalition formation and functioning within the region. Their research investigates the various factors influencing coalition building, endurance, and policy outcomes, offering valuable insights into the intricate dynamics of governance in diverse political landscapes.[81] By shedding light on both the challenges and opportunities inherent in coalition governance, their work enriches our understanding of parliamentary democracies, coalition politics, power delegation, and accountability mechanisms in Western European contexts.

One major finding highlighted by Wolfgang and Strom is the prevalence of coalition governments in Western Europe, often attributed to proportional representation electoral systems.[82] They showcase how ideological disparities can be effectively navigated for the greater good of governance, as seen in stable coalition governments like that led by Angela Merkel and the Social Democrats in Germany. Additionally, their research underscores the significance of power-sharing in coalition politics, exemplified by collaborative decision-

[81] Wolfgang C Müller, and Kaare Strom, eds. *Coalition governments in Western Europe*. Oxford University Press, USA, 2003.
[82] Ibid

making processes in countries like the Netherlands, emphasizing the importance of inclusive governance for achieving balanced outcomes within diverse coalitions.

Another significant finding from Wolfgang and Strom's work is the importance of addressing diverse interests within coalition governments, as illustrated by relevant examples from Western Europe.[83] For instance, the case of Belgium highlights how coalition governments navigate complex policy outcomes by considering the diverse interests of linguistic communities. The need to strike a balance between these communities has influenced policy decisions on critical issues such as language rights and federalism, showcasing the intricate interplay between identity politics and governance within a coalition setting. In Sweden, the formation of coalition governments often relies on pre-election agreements between political parties, shaping the institutional framework for governance. The design of these agreements significantly impacts the government's capacity to enact legislation and implement policies effectively, emphasizing the role of institutional arrangements in ensuring governance efficacy and policy coherence.

Wolfgang Müller, writing on "Coalition Governance in Central Eastern Europe" observes that the presence of fragmented party systems in Central Eastern Europe significantly influences the prevalence of coalition governments in the region.[84] With multiple parties competing for power and no single-party dominance, coalition governments become a common feature. The findings highlights examples from countries like Poland and Hungary where coalition governments are formed due to the absence of a clear majority, leading to complex negotiations and power-sharing arrangements. The case of Poland,

[83] Ibid

[84] Torbjörn Bergman, Gabriella Ilonszki, and Wolfgang C. Müller, eds. *Coalition Governance in Central Eastern Europe*. Oxford University Press, USA, 2020.

where the Law and Justice Party (PiS) and Agreement (Porozumienie) formed a coalition government despite ideological differences, illustrates how parties with varying stances come together to govern, emphasizing the challenges and complexities of coalition formation in a fragmented party system.

His work also lays emphasis on Ethnic and Minority Representation within coalition governments in the region.[85] His findings reveal how coalition governance in Central Eastern Europe often involve considerations of ethnic diversity and minority rights, particularly in countries with significant minority populations. For instance, in countries like Romania and Slovakia, coalition governments must address the demands of diverse ethnic groups to ensure political stability and representation. The complexities of coalition governance in relation to ethnic and minority representation are exemplified by coalitions in Hungary, such as the partnership between Fidesz and the Christian Democratic People's Party (KDNP). These coalitions require negotiations on various issues like economic policy, social welfare, and national identity to accommodate the diverse interests within the coalition partners. This finding underscores the importance of addressing ethnic and minority representation within coalition governments in Central Eastern Europe to ensure inclusivity, political stability, and effective governance.

The challenges in forming political coalitions in both Western and Central Eastern Europe include managing ideological differences, navigating power dynamics, addressing diverse interests, handling fragmented party systems, and ensuring ethnic and minority representation within the government. These challenges require careful negotiation,

[85] Ibid

compromise, and effective governance mechanisms to sustain stable coalition partnerships and achieve policy coherence.

1.10.4.6 Post-Colonial and Developing Nations

In the mid-20th century, many newly independent nations in Africa inherited multi-party systems from their colonial pasts.[86] These countries faced the challenge of managing diverse ethnic, cultural, and regional identities, leading to the emergence of coalition politics as a means to navigate complexities and prevent internal conflicts. African nations, upon gaining independence from colonial rule in the mid-20th century, encountered a diverse mosaic of ethnic groups and regional differences within their borders. The colonial legacy often left behind fragmented political landscapes with multiple parties representing various ethnic or tribal identities.[87] In many African nations following their independence from colonial rule, the diverse ethnic and regional composition often posed a challenge to governance due to historical divisions and fragmented political landscapes. This scenario led to the emergence of coalition politics as a mechanism to foster inclusivity and address the varied interests of different ethnic groups or regions.[88]

Nigeria, a country with over 250 ethnic groups, faced challenges in maintaining political stability after gaining independence.[89] The diverse ethnic composition often translated into political divisions along ethnic and regional lines. Following military rule, Nigeria transitioned to a democratic system marked by a multi-party landscape reflecting its ethnic

[86] Dmitri M Bondarenko. Post-colonial Nations in Historical and Cultural Context. Rowman & Littlefield, 2023.
[87] Bruce J Berman. "Ethnicity, patronage and the African state: the politics of uncivil nationalism." *African affairs* 97, no. 388 (1998): pp.305-341.
[88] A. Carl Le Van. "Power sharing and inclusive politics in Africa's uncertain democracies." *Governance* 24, no. 1 (2011): pp.31-53.
[89] Goddy Uwa Osimen, Balogun Akinyemi, and Adenegan Taiwo Samuel. "Ethnicity and identity crisis: Challenge to national integration in Nigerian." *IOSR Journal of Humanities and social science* 16, no. 4 (2013): pp.79-86.

diversity.[90] In Nigeria's democratic history, various coalitions have been formed to accommodate diverse regional interests. For instance, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) led a coalition comprising regional parties to secure governance and represent the interests of different regions.[91] Additionally, during elections, alliances were forged between parties representing different ethnic groups to gain broader support.

In South Africa, coalition politics has emerged notably in cities like Johannesburg, where the ANC has formed alliances with smaller parties to govern effectively.[92] These coalitions aim to ensure inclusive governance, represent diverse communities, and address complex socio-economic challenges by leveraging the strengths of different political entities.[93] They foster collaboration across ideological lines to create a more responsive governance approach that reflects the varied needs and priorities of the local populace.

In Zimbabwe, coalitions have been formed between opposition parties to challenge the ruling ZANU-PF party's long-standing dominance.[94] The Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) led by Morgan Tsvangirai and later other opposition leaders sought alliances to present a united front against ZANU-PF in elections, emphasizing the need for unity to bring about political change and promote inclusive governance.[95]

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[90] Isiaka Hassan Aliyu, Garba Ibrahim, and Abdulrahman Yusuf. "Multi-party system and the predicament of political development in Nigerian democratic dispensation." *International Journal of Intellectual Discourse* 4, no. 2 (2021): pp.389-401.

[91] Onyedika O. Anioke. "Party Politics and National Integration: A Case Study of People's Democratic Party (Pdp) in Nigeria, 1999-2015." PhD diss., Godfrey Okoye University Ugwuomu-Nike, Enugu, 2018.

[92] Johannes Mokhobo Moshodi. "Coalition politics a new political landscape in South Africa." PhD diss., University of the Free State, 2018.

[93] Rodríguez Bolívar, Manuel Pedro, Laura Alcaide Muñoz, More Ickson Manda, and Judy Backhouse. "Smart governance for inclusive socio-economic transformation in South Africa: are we there yet?." *E-participation in smart cities: Technologies and models of governance for citizen engagement* (2019): pp.179-201.

[94] Gift Mwonzora. "Opposition failures in forming pre-electoral coalitions in Zimbabwe." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 40, no. 4 (2022): pp.544-560.

[95] Aaron Rwodzi. "Constraints on multiparty democracy in Zimbabwe: opposition politics and Zanu-PF (1980-2015)." PhD diss., 2018.

Tanzania, known for its diverse ethnic groups and a history of socialist-oriented governance under Julius Nyerere, faced challenges in managing political diversity after independence. The dominance of the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) party has been a defining feature of Tanzanian politics. While Tanzania has a dominant ruling party, coalitions and alliances have emerged at various levels of governance.[96] The CCM, though dominant, has included other parties and interest groups within its framework, fostering cooperation and unity. Moreover, in local elections, alliances and coalitions among opposition parties have been formed to challenge the CCM, aiming to present a united front against the ruling party's dominance.

In Kenya, the post-independence political landscape was characterized by a multi-ethnic society with diverse regional interests. The country's political parties often aligned along ethnic lines, leading to political fragmentation.[97] In his work Ajulu postulates that Kenya became independent in 1963 under a multi-party system with two main parties, KANU and KADU, under a Westminster parliamentary system. KANU had secured the majority of seats in the bi-cameral Assembly and had formed the first independent government while KADU settled in the opposition benches. The two main parties of African nationalism KANU and KADU had represented different combinations of class forces. KANU was the party of advanced sections of the indigenous embryonic class of capital (the 'right'), the petty-bourgeoisie and aspirant African middle classes (the 'left') which for historical reasons was located mainly in the two nationalities, the Kikuyu and Luo, and to some degree the Akamba. KADU on the other hand was an alliance ofweaker sections

[96] Therkildsen, Ole, and France Bourgouin. Continuity and change in Tanzania's ruling coalition: Legacies, crises and weak productive capacity. No. 2012: 06. *DIIS Working paper*, 2012.
[97] Lilian Akoth Oogo. "State building, democratization and the role of ethnic political identity: a case study of Kenya." PhD diss., 2014.

ofthese classes, mainly from the minority nationalities — the conglomeration of the nilotic ethnic groups in the Rift Valley which call themselves the Kalenjin, sections of the Luhyia tribal groupings, and the coastal Giriamas and Swahilis of Arabic extraction.[98]

On the anniversary of independence in December 1964, Kenya became a republic, with Kenyatta from the party's right wing as its first president and Oginga Odinga from the left wing as his deputy. Around this time, the defections from KADU to the ruling party, which had begun in 1963 with Nandi MP Jean Marie Seroney, escalated into a widespread exodus. By December, KADU dissolved itself and merged with the ruling KANU, effectively establishing a single-party system. This dissolution strengthened the right wing within KANU and created a setting where the long-standing conflict between radicals and conservatives could finally reach a resolution.

After the 2002 elections, NARC emerged, forming a coalition government that united various political parties and ethnic groups.[99] The coalition included parties like the Liberal Democratic Party, National Alliance Party of Kenya, and smaller ethnic-based parties. The NARC coalition, led by Mwai Kibaki, aimed to create a more inclusive government, breaking the dominance of the long-standing ruling party, KANU.[100] This coalition's formation symbolized a departure from the past and brought together diverse political interests to address issues of governance, regional disparities, and ethnic tensions that had persisted for decades.

[98] Njonjo, Apollo. "The Africanisation of the “White Highlands”: A Study in Agrarian Class Struggles in Kenya’." *Unpublished PhD thesis, Princeton University* (1977).
[99] Denis Kadima, and Felix Owuor. "Kenya's decade of experiments with political party alliances and coalitions-motivations, impact and prospects." *Journal of African Elections* 13, no. 1 (2014): pp.150-180.
[100] Walter O. Oyugi. "Coalition politics and coalition governments in Africa." *Journal of contemporary African studies* 24, no. 1 (2006): pp.53-79.

Peter Wanyande's research on the Politics of Alliance Building in Kenya: The Search for Opposition Unity, delved into the complex dynamics of alliance formation in Kenya, particularly focusing on the challenges of achieving opposition unity against the long-standing dominance of the ruling party, KANU.[101] The study highlighted the historical context of Kenya's political environment, characterized by a history of one-party rule and the emergence of multiple opposition parties striving to unite against KANU. It shed light on the internal rivalries, strategic maneuvers, and obstacles encountered by both ruling and opposition factions in navigating electoral politics and forming alliances.

Emphasizing the significance of the 2002 elections as a transformative moment for potential political transition, Wanyande's work outlined the hurdles faced by opposition parties in consolidating alliances, including ideological differences, internal divisions, and resource limitations that have historically impeded efforts towards cohesive unity.[102] Wanyande's work, while insightful in exploring the challenges of alliance building and opposition unity in Kenya, falls short in providing a comprehensive analysis of the broader evolution of coalition politics in the country since 1945. By focusing primarily on the specific context of opposition unity against KANU and the dynamics of alliance formation within that framework, Wanyande's research did not capture the full spectrum of coalition dynamics and party discipline across different political contexts and historical periods in Kenya. This limitation prompted the need for a study to trace the origins and development of coalition politics in Kenya since 1945.

His study serves as a foundational framework for the current research, offering valuable insights into the complexities of alliance building and power dynamics within Kenya's

[101] Peter Wanyande. "The politics of alliance building in Kenya: the search for opposition unity." (2003).
[102] Ibid

political landscape. Building on Wanyande's analysis, the current study aimed to deepen the understanding of coalition politics over an extended period, leveraging the historical context and challenges identified in Wanyande's research.

Oita's thesis explored the politics of coalition formation in Kenya from 1992-2017, focusing on the challenges and achievements of various political alliances during this period.[103] It highlights the emergence and subsequent collapse of key coalitions like NARC, showcasing the struggle to balance personal interests with collective goals within these partnerships. The analysis underscores the complexities of coalition governance in Kenya, where issues such as internal strife, ethnic tensions often led to the downfall of political alliances.[104] While his work provides valuable insights into coalition governance during the specified period, it falls short in adequately addressing the historicity of coalition politics from the earliest forms in Kenya.

The thesis focuses primarily on the period from 1992 to 2017, which limits its ability to comprehensively trace the entire evolution of coalition politics in Kenya. By narrowing the scope to a specific timeframe, the thesis overlooks crucial historical events, key coalitions, and political shifts that occurred before 1992, thus failing to provide a holistic understanding of the development of coalition politics in the country creating a gap which the current study aimed to fill. The current study also endeavored to cover up to the current status of affairs in coalition politics in Kenya.

[103] Oita Etyang. *The politics of coalition formation in Kenya: 1992-2017*. University of Johannesburg (South Africa), 2021.
[104] Ibid

1.10.5 Types of Political Coalitions

Political coalitions can take various forms and operate based on specific objectives, circumstances, and the nature of the political system. The study analyzed some types of political coalitions and how they function:

1.10.5.1 Pre-Election Alliances

These coalitions form before elections with the aim of maximizing electoral success by uniting parties or groups with similar ideologies or goals.[105] Parties agree to contest elections together to present a united front and increase their chances of securing a majority or achieving specific electoral outcomes. Once the elections are over, the alliance may or may not translate into a post-election coalition government.[106] This section cross examines some of the pre-election coalitions as discussed below;

In Germany, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and its sister party, the Christian Social Union (CSU), along with the Free Democratic Party (FDP), have historically engaged in pre-election alliances and coalitions to secure majorities in the German Bundestag, the federal parliament.[107] The CDU and CSU are center-right political parties that have an enduring alliance.[108] The CSU operates primarily in Bavaria, while the CDU operates in the rest of Germany.[109] Both parties typically form an electoral alliance, presenting a joint platform in federal elections while retaining separate identities. The FDP,

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[105] Sona Nadenichek Golder. *The logic of pre-electoral coalition formation*. Ohio State University Press, 2006.
[106] Raimondas Ibenskas. "Understanding pre-electoral coalitions in Central and Eastern Europe." *British journal of political science* 46, no. 4 (2016): pp.743-761.
[107] Ibid
[108] Amanda Sloat. "Germany's New Centrists? The evolution, political prospects, and foreign policy of Germany's Green Party." Brookings–robert bosch foundation transatlantic initiative, the new geopolitics europe (2020).
[109] Carol Carl-Sime. "Bavaria, the CSU and the West German party system." *West European Politics* 2, no. 1 (1979): pp.89-107.

a classical liberal party, has often aligned ideologically with the CDU/CSU on various economic policies, emphasizing free-market principles, reduced government intervention, and fiscal responsibility.[110] Before elections, the CDU/CSU and FDP often engage in pre-election cooperation or agreements, strategically presenting themselves as a potential coalition government if they collectively secure a parliamentary majority.

When the parties collectively secure enough seats in the Bundestag, they negotiate to form a coalition government. These coalitions, commonly known as "black-yellow" coalitions due to the CDU/CSU's black color and the FDP's yellow color in political branding, have been observed in various German governments.[111]Once in government, the parties negotiate and collaborate on policy initiatives. In previous coalitions, they've focused on issues such as economic reforms, tax policies, business regulations, and social policies, seeking to find common ground while accommodating differences.

While these coalitions have often been successful in forming governments, they also face challenges due to differences in policy priorities and occasional disagreements. Some coalitions have experienced breakdowns over contentious issues, leading to early elections or the formation of new coalitions. The CDU/CSU-FDP coalitions have been a recurrent feature of Germany's political landscape, reflecting the parties' ability to find common ground and govern effectively. Their alliances and coalitions have played a significant role in shaping Germany's policies and governance over the years.

The United Progressive Alliance (UPA) in India is a significant political coalition comprising multiple parties that join forces before elections to contest against the National

[110] David F Patton. "THE ‘OLD FIVE’." *The Oxford Handbook of German Politics* (2022): p.216.
[111] Manfred G Schmidt. "The Policy of Strategic Demobilisation: The Social Policy of the Christian Democratic–Liberal Coalition, 2009–13." *German Politics* 23, no. 4 (2014): pp.353-370.

Democratic Alliance (NDA), presenting itself as an alternative governing coalition at the national level.[112] The UPA was formed ahead of the 2004 Indian general elections, bringing together various political parties with the Indian National Congress (INC) as its leading force.[113] It includes a diverse array of regional and left-leaning parties from different states across India. The Indian National Congress, led by figures such as Sonia Gandhi and later Rahul Gandhi, has been a central force within the UPA, providing leadership and direction to the coalition.[114]

The UPA strategically forged alliances with various regional parties, particularly those holding significant influence in specific states or regions. These alliances enable the coalition to expand its reach and electoral prospects across the diverse political landscape of India. The UPA's electoral successes in the 2004 and 2009 general elections led to the formation of governments at the center, with the INC leading the coalition. Manmohan Singh served as the Prime Minister during both UPA governments.

Over time, the UPA faced challenges, including internal disagreements among coalition partners and criticisms on issues such as corruption. The coalition witnessed shifts in its composition, with some parties exiting or joining at different junctures.[115] In subsequent elections, especially the 2014 general election, the UPA faced electoral setbacks, leading to a change in the government, with the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), led by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), securing a majority.[116] The United Progressive Alliance has

[112] Parvathy Appaiah. "Coalition Government in India. *NDA Vs UPA*." (2008).
[113] Makkalanban, D. S. "Coalition's in Indian Political Process: A Critical Analysis." *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 76, no. 3 (2015): pp.397-401.
[114] K. Alan Kronstadt. "India's 2004 National Elections." *Congressional Information Service, Library of* Congress, 2004.
[115] Lawrence Sáez, and Gurharpal Singh, eds. New Dimensions of Politics in India: The united progressive alliance in power. Routledge, 2017.
[116] Louise Tillin. "Regional resilience and national party system change: India's 2014 general elections in context." *Contemporary South Asia* 23, no. 2 (2015): pp.181-197.

been a significant force in Indian politics, reflecting the diversity and complexities of the country's political landscape. It has played a crucial role in shaping government formations, policies, and governance in India, particularly during its tenure at the center.

In Tanzanian politics, the formation of pre-election alliances or coalitions between Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) and Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA) has been a notable and occasionally controversial phenomenon aimed at gaining political advantage in the country's elections.[117] Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) has been the dominant political party in Tanzania, maintaining a significant hold on power since the country's independence.[118] Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA) emerged as a prominent opposition party challenging CCM's dominance.[119] There have been instances, particularly at the local or regional levels, where CCM and CHADEMA entered into pre-election alliances or coalitions. These collaborations aimed to strategically consolidate support and increase electoral prospects in specific constituencies.

In certain regions or constituencies, where the political landscape allowed for potential cooperation, CCM and CHADEMA formed tactical alliances to enhance their chances of success, taking into account local dynamics and voter sentiments. The formation of coalitions between CCM and CHADEMA has sparked debates and controversies within both parties and among their supporters due to their ideological differences and historical opposition roles. Such alliances have occasionally faced skepticism or resistance from party loyalists. The impact of these coalitions on election outcomes varied. While they

[117] Kurt Hirschler, and Rolf Hofmeier. A Decade of Tanzania: Politics, Economy and Society 2005-2017. Brill, 2019.
[118] Boakye, Baffour Agyeman Prempeh. "Political supremacy and quandaries of liberation parties in Africa: The Case of Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) and Convention People's Party (CPP)." *Journal of African* Political Economy and Development 6, no. 1 (2021): pp.32-45.
[119] Mangasini Atanasi Katundu. "Why is Tanzanian opposition weak twenty five years since its re-introduction?." African Journal of Political Science and International Relations 12, no. 5 (2018): pp.69-84.

might have influenced local or regional elections in some instances, their broader impact on national politics or CCM and CHADEMA's overall positions remained limited.

The instances of CCM-CHADEMA coalitions in Tanzanian elections underscore the complexities of political maneuvering and strategic collaborations in a multi-party democracy. While these alliances might have localized impacts, their broader significance and long-term effects on Tanzanian politics remain subject to ongoing political developments and the evolving relationship between the two parties.

The Jubilee Coalition, established before the 2013 Kenyan general election, was a significant political alliance that brought together several parties, most notably The National Alliance (TNA) and the United Republican Party (URP).[120] This coalition played a pivotal role in securing the election of Uhuru Kenyatta as the President of Kenya. The Jubilee Coalition was formed by merging various political parties, with TNA and URP being the major entities. Other smaller parties also joined forces under this coalition umbrella. Uhuru Kenyatta, representing the TNA faction within the coalition, emerged as the presidential candidate of the Jubilee Coalition. William Ruto, representing URP, became his running mate.

The Jubilee Coalition strategically united different parties, pooling together their support bases across various regions and ethnic groups in Kenya.[121] This broadened their appeal and contributed to a diverse voter support. The Jubilee Coalition's effective campaigning, combined with the popularity and support garnered from the alliance, led to Uhuru Kenyatta winning the presidential election in 2013, securing a majority of votes.

[120] Peter aNyaNg'NyoNg'o. "Political Parties and Coalition Politics in Kenyan General Election (s): The 2013. Presidential and General Elections." Kenya's 2013 General Election: Stakes, Practices and *Outcome* (2017).
[121] Ibid

Following the election, the Jubilee Coalition formed the government, with Uhuru Kenyatta as president.[122] The coalition faced various challenges, including issues related to governance, security, and economic reforms, while also achieving successes in certain policy areas. The Jubilee Coalition's victory marked a significant shift in Kenya's political landscape. It showcased the strength of political alliances and coalitions in shaping electoral outcomes and forming governments. The Jubilee Coalition's formation and subsequent electoral success demonstrated the potency of uniting various parties under a common goal. Its victory in the 2013 election significantly impacted Kenya's political trajectory and governance, contributing to the country's political landscape and leadership.

The study by Dennis Kadima and Felix Owuor on “Kenya’s Decade of Experiments with Political Party Alliances and Coalitions" explored the formation, survival, and collapse of pre-electoral alliances and coalition governments in Kenya.[123] It discusses how these alliances have impacted national cohesion by bringing together polarized political parties and ethnic groups, leading to a more equitable sharing of national resources. While alliances and coalitions have contributed to a degree of national cohesion, their disintegration in certain circumstances could undo progress made in building unity. Their work also highlights how party alliances and coalitions tend to weaken smaller parties in favor of larger ones, influencing the country's party system dynamics.

The narrative further delves into historical instances like NARC victory in 2002, signaling a shift in Kenya's electoral and government politics.[124] It emphasizes the necessity for political parties to engage in broad-based electoral pacts to secure wins in national elections

[122] Gabrielle Lynch. "Electing the ‘alliance of the accused’: the success of the Jubilee Alliance in Kenya's Rift Valley." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 8, no. 1 (2014): pp.93-114.
[123] Denis Kadima, and Felix Owuor. "Kenya's decade of experiments with political party alliances and coalitions-motivations, impact and prospects." *Journal of African Elections* 13, no. 1 (2014): pp.150-180.
[124] Ibid

and form governing coalitions. Their work chronicles key events such as the 2005 constitutional referendum, the 2007 general elections, and subsequent developments that shaped Kenya's political landscape. It underscores the challenges faced by these alliances, including power-sharing disputes and policy disagreements, which at times led to coalition breakdowns, impacting governance structures and electoral processes in the country.

The study by Denis Kadima and Felix Owuor provided valuable insights into the dynamics of political party alliances and coalitions in Kenya. However, it fell short with its limited focus on a specific period "Kenya's Decade of Experiments" and not covering a broader historical perspective. This was the research gap that the current study sought to fill by expanding the scope to encompass a longer timeframe, to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the evolution of the types of political coalitions in Kenya, including their formation, survival, and collapse over several decades. The study by Kadima and Owuor delved into historical instances such as the National Rainbow Coalition's victory in 2002 and the subsequent political developments. Understanding these historical events provided a context that guided the current study to trace the evolution of the types of political coalitions in Kenya over time.

1.10.5.2 Post-Election Coalitions

Formed after elections, these coalitions are essential in situations where no single party secures a clear majority to form a government.[125] Political parties or factions negotiate and form alliances to obtain a governing majority.[126] These coalitions can be based on shared policy goals, power-sharing arrangements, or compromises to ensure stable governance.

[125] Bandyopadhyay, Siddhartha, Kalyan Chatterjee, and Tomas Sjostrom. *Pre-electoral coalitions and post-election bargaining*. No. 2009-08. Working Paper, 2009.
[126] Ibid

Post-election coalitions play a crucial role in various parts of the world where no single party secures a clear majority to form a government. This section provides an analysis of post-election coalitions from different regions:

The 2017 German federal elections saw Angela Merkel's Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and its ally, the Christian Social Union (CSU), emerge as the largest political bloc, yet they fell short of a majority in the Bundestag.[127] In response to this outcome, coalition negotiations ensued, leading to an agreement with the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD). This resulted in the formation of a "Grand Coalition" government, where the CDU/CSU and SPD joined forces to govern together.[128] Angela Merkel continued her tenure as Chancellor, and this coalition combined the policies and strengths of the center-right CDU/CSU with the center-left SPD, highlighting the necessity for collaboration among different ideological factions to achieve stable governance in Germany's proportional representation system.

Coalitions are intrinsic to Germany's political landscape due to its proportional representation system, which often prevents any single party from securing an outright majority.[129] Consequently, political parties must engage in post-election negotiations and compromise to form a government. The formation of coalitions demands cooperation among parties with varying ideologies, as was exemplified by the CDU/CSU-SPD Grand Coalition in 2017. Such alliances serve as a means to achieve the necessary parliamentary

[127] Clay Clemens. "The CDU/CSU's ambivalent 2017 campaign." *German Politics and Society* 36, no. 2 (2018): pp.55-75.
[128] Clay M Clemens. "The grand coalition and a changing political order: shifting alliances and a new era in German politics." In *The Forum*, vol. 5, no. 3, p. 000010220215408884191. De Gruyter, 2007.
[129] Schmidt, Manfred G. "Germany: the grand coalition state." In *Comparative European Politics*, pp. 68-103. Routledge, 2008.

majority, fostering stability and governance despite the diversity of perspectives within Germany's political spectrum.

Post-election coalitions in India are essential when no single party secures a clear majority in the Lok Sabha during national elections.[130] The formation of alliances or coalitions becomes necessary for political parties to gather enough seats to establish a majority and form a stable government. The United Progressive Alliance (UPA) and the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) have been the primary post-election coalitions shaping Indian politics.[131] The UPA, led by the Indian National Congress, comprised center-left and left-leaning parties and governed from 2004 to 2014. Meanwhile, the NDA, led by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), has held power multiple times, notably from 1998 to 2004 and from 2014 to the present, uniting BJP with several regional parties with similar ideological alignments.[132] These coalitions highlight the necessity for collaboration among diverse political parties to ensure effective governance in India's multi-party political landscape.

These post-election coalitions underscore the significance of cooperation and consensus-building among parties with differing ideologies and regional interests to facilitate stable governance. They exemplify the complexities of Indian politics, wherein alliances are crucial to overcome fragmented electoral outcomes and to form governments capable of addressing the nation's diverse challenges. The alliances necessitate compromises and

[130] Malik Farooq Ahmad, and Bilal Ahmad Malik. "Politics of coalition in India." *Journal of Power, Politics & Governance* 2, no. 1 (2014): pp.1-11.
[131] Tariq Rather. "Political developments of Coalition Politics in India." *Research Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 11, no. 03 (2020).
[132] Makkalanban, D. S. "Coalition's In Indian Political Process: A Critical Analysis." *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 76, no. 3 (2015): pp.397-401.

negotiations among parties, reflecting the intricacies of managing a multi-party system and the importance of collaborative efforts to ensure the smooth functioning of the government.

In Tanzania, smaller opposition parties have occasionally formed coalitions or alliances to challenge the dominance of CCM. For instance, in the 2015 elections, four opposition parties united to form a coalition known as Ukawa (Umoja wa Katiba ya Wananchi), presenting a collective front against CCM. Ukawa was composed of the Chadema party, Civic United Front (CUF), National League for Democracy (NLD), and NCCR-Mageuzi.[133] Despite these coalitions, CCM has largely maintained its stronghold in Tanzanian politics, winning both parliamentary and presidential elections consistently for several decades. However, opposition parties have sought alliances to enhance their electoral prospects and create a more formidable challenge to the ruling party.

Biegon's study delved into the aftermath of the 2007 Kenya presidential election, emphasizing the historical context, disputed results, electoral violence, and the subsequent formation of a coalition government.[134] It underscored Kenya's deep-rooted issues of exclusion and ethnic politics, which had fueled the violence following the election. The study highlighted challenges faced during the election process, including transparency issues during tallying, leading to a disputed outcome acknowledged by the Electoral Commission of Kenya. The coalition government formed between PNU and ODM aimed to resolve the political impasse but encountered obstacles related to power-sharing arrangements and cabinet composition.

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[133] Machiko Tsubura. "“Umoja ni ushindi (Unity is victory)”: Management of factionalism in the presidential nomination of Tanzania's dominant party in 2015." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 12, no. 1 (2018):pp. 63-82.

[134] Japhet Biegon. "The advent of unholy alliances? Coalition governments in the aftermath of disputed elections and electoral violence in Africa: a case study of Kenya." PhD diss., University of Pretoria, 2008.

Based on the study by Biegon regarding the aftermath of the 2007 Kenya presidential election, there is a gap on the effectiveness of power-sharing arrangements in addressing deep-rooted issues of exclusion and ethnic politics. The current study therefore, sought to examine how successful these coalitions have been in promoting political stability, fostering inclusivity, and managing ethnic tensions in the country. By drawing on Biegon's study as a foundation, the current study sought to deepen its analysis of post-election coalitions in Kenya in order to contribute to a better understanding of the dynamics of governance and politics in the country.

1.10.5.3 Grand Coalition

This section delves into the discussion of the grand coalition politics and coalition governments;

Grand coalitions have been a recurring aspect of Germany's political landscape, notably seen after the 2013 federal elections when Angela Merkel's Christian Democratic Union (CDU) formed a grand coalition with the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD).[135] These coalitions emerged in response to closely contested elections and no single party secured a clear majority, allowing major center-right and center-left parties to join forces for effective governance and stability. They represent a collaborative approach to governance, combining differing ideologies to navigate crucial national issues.

These grand coalitions have historically arisen during periods of national necessity or significant challenges, showcasing the willingness of major parties to set aside differences and work together for the country's benefit. While providing stability, such alliances present complexities in reconciling distinct party identities and meeting diverse voter

[135] Thomas Saalfeld. "Coalition formation and coalition governance after the election of 2013." In *Germany After the 2013 Elections*, pp. 203-224. Routledge, 2016.

expectations, as parties with differing ideologies collaborate in governing Germany. Despite challenges, these coalitions demonstrate Germany's commitment to fostering cross-party cooperation to ensure effective governance in times of political uncertainty.

In Austria, grand coalitions have been a notable feature in the country's political landscape, exemplified after the 2008 elections when the Social Democratic Party of Austria (SPÖ) and the Austrian People's Party (ÖVP) formed a grand coalition. This alliance between major center-left and center-right parties was forged in response to economic challenges gripping the nation. The SPÖ and ÖVP joined forces to confront these pressing economic issues, recognizing the need for collaborative governance to address the country's difficulties effectively.

The decision to establish a grand coalition reflected Austria's commitment to cross-party cooperation in times of national importance. The SPÖ and ÖVP set aside their ideological differences to pool their strengths and policy approaches, showcasing a pragmatic approach to governance. Grand coalitions, as seen in Austria, have been instrumental in providing stability and addressing critical challenges by leveraging the combined expertise and resources of major political factions despite their differing political orientations.

In 2020, Israel did not form a grand coalition, but instead witnessed the establishment of a unity government between the Likud Party led by Benjamin Netanyahu and the Blue and White Party led by Benny Gantz.[136] This unprecedented move occurred amid a prolonged political deadlock and the COVID-19 pandemic. The unity government aimed to address

[136] Csaba. Nikolenyi. "7 Government by Consensus? A Comparison of the Alignment-Likud (1984–1988) and the Likud-Blue and White (2020) National Unity Coalitions." *Polarization and Consensus-Building in* Israel: The Center Cannot Hold (2023).

pressing national issues by forging a power-sharing agreement between the two major political rivals, setting aside their differences to provide stability in governance during a period of uncertainty.

This unique unity government in Israel between Likud and Blue and White, while not a traditional grand coalition, symbolized a collaborative effort to confront the challenges facing the nation. It demonstrated a willingness among major political factions to set aside longstanding political divisions and work together to navigate through a period of crisis, particularly focusing on tackling the COVID-19 pandemic and other critical national issues. The unity government represented an attempt to create a unified front for governance, emphasizing the importance of cooperation and shared responsibility between major political adversaries for the welfare of the country.

In Chile following the 2013 elections, the formation of the Nueva Mayoría (New Majority) coalition represented a significant grand coalition effort uniting left-leaning and centrist parties.[137] Led by Michelle Bachelet, this coalition aimed to ensure governance stability while confronting urgent social and economic challenges prevalent in Chile. Comprising diverse political factions, the Nueva Mayoría sought to address issues of social inequality, prioritize educational reforms, and focus on economic development as key areas of concern.

The coalition's creation marked a pivotal moment in Chilean politics, demonstrating a commitment to transcending ideological differences for the greater good of the nation.[138]

[137] Roland Benedikter, Roland, Katja Siepmann, and Miguel Zlosilo. "The Political Dimension: Chile After The Presidential and General Elections of 2013—What Future?." In *Chile in Transition: Prospects and* Challenges for Latin America's Forerunner of Development, pp. 79-102. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2015.
[138] Ibid

By consolidating various political groups under one umbrella, the Nueva Mayoría aimed to consolidate support for policy initiatives and governance strategies. This grand coalition emphasized collaboration among disparate parties to confront the pressing societal issues, signaling a concerted effort to unify political ideologies and work collectively towards addressing Chile's most significant challenges.

In Africa, during South Africa's transition from apartheid to democracy, a significant step towards reconciliation and the establishment of democratic governance was the formation of a Government of National Unity (GNU) in 1994.[139] This coalition brought together major political parties, including the African National Congress (ANC) led by Nelson Mandela, the National Party (NP) led by President F.W. de Klerk, and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The primary objective of this coalition was to facilitate a peaceful transition to majority rule and ensure stability during a crucial period of change.

The GNU was pivotal in South Africa's history, particularly around the time of the 1994 elections, which marked the end of apartheid and the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as the country's first democratically elected President. This grand coalition exemplified a commitment to inclusivity, reconciliation, and a shared vision for a united, democratic South Africa. By involving major political parties representing diverse constituencies, the GNU aimed to promote stability, foster cooperation, and guide the nation through a historic and transformative phase towards democracy and unity.

[139]Jonathan Mpanza Bafana. "A critical study of the impact of the Government of National Unity in South Africa, 1994-1999." PhD diss., University of Zululand, 2014.

Following the tumultuous 2008 elections in Zimbabwe, marked by political turmoil and economic crises, a pivotal power-sharing agreement emerged between President Robert Mugabe's ZANU-PF party and the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC).[140] This historic arrangement led to the establishment of a grand coalition government known as the Government of National Unity (GNU).[141] The GNU aimed to stabilize the country amidst political tensions and severe economic challenges by sharing ministerial positions between the ruling party and the opposition factions of the MDC.

The formation of the Government of National Unity represented a significant effort to mitigate Zimbabwe's crises, including economic decline, hyperinflation, and political violence.[142] By fostering cooperation and power-sharing between ZANU-PF and the MDC, the coalition sought to create an environment conducive to stability and address the pressing issues facing the nation.[143] This grand coalition marked a crucial step towards easing political tensions, emphasizing collaboration between opposing factions to navigate Zimbabwe through a period of crisis and towards a more stable future.

After the disputed and contentious 2007 elections in Kenya, which sparked widespread violence and tensions across the country, a historic power-sharing agreement was reached between the two major political rivals.[144] President Mwai Kibaki's Party of National Unity (PNU) and Raila Odinga's Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) formed a grand coalition

[140] Thys Hoekman "Testing ties: opposition and power-sharing negotiations in Zimbabwe." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 39, no. 4 (2013): pp.903-920.
[141] Walter O. Oyugi "Coalition politics and coalition governments in Africa." *Journal of contemporary African studies* 24, no. 1 (2006): pp.53-79.
[142] Isaac Chinyoka, and Jeremy Seekings. Social policy reform under the Government of National Unity in *Zimbabwe, 2009-13*. University of Cape Town, 2016.
[143] Siphamandla Zondi "ZANU-PF and MDC Power-Sharing: Zimbabwe Still at a Crossroads?." In *Zimbabwe: Picking Up the Pieces*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, (2011):pp. pp. 13-35.
[144] Douglas K. "Power-sharing in resolving Africa's electoral conflict." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2013.

government.[145] The primary objective behind this coalition was to restore stability, foster reconciliation, and alleviate the political and social tensions that arose after the disputed elections.

The coalition government, established in 2008, aimed to address the deep-seated issues stemming from the electoral crisis and the ensuing violence.[146] It sought to bring together the political rivals and their supporters, representing different ethnic and political factions, to work towards stability, unity, and reconciliation. The grand coalition between the PNU and ODM was a significant step towards calming the political tensions and promoting a sense of national cohesion in Kenya, emphasizing the importance of unity and collaboration to overcome the challenges faced by the country after the tumultuous elections.

These examples highlight instances where grand coalitions were established in African countries to address political instability, election disputes, economic challenges, and social unrest, emphasizing the importance of unity and collaboration in times of crisis. Generally, Grand coalitions are crucial during times of national crisis or when no single party commands a majority, enabling diverse ideologies to come together for the sake of stability, national unity, and addressing critical challenges.

[145] Nicholas Siphetfo Dlamini . "Kenya's power-sharing agreement, 2008: a consociational formula?." PhD diss., 2010.
[146] Ben, Sihanya, Duncan Okello, and Karuti Kanyinga. "Mediating Kenya's Post-Election Crises: The politics and limits of power sharing agreement'." Tensions and reversals in democratic transitions: The *Kenya (2007)*: pp.653-709.

1.10.5.4 Issue-Based Coalitions

These coalitions are temporary alliances formed to address specific policy issues or achieve certain legislative goals. Parties or interest groups with shared interests or on a particular issue collaborate to push through legislation or policy changes. Issue-based or tactical coalitions are formed around specific policy matters or legislative objectives.

In 2019, amidst the Brexit turmoil, an issue-based coalition emerged in the British Parliament with the primary objective of blocking a no-deal Brexit.[147] Opposition parties, including Labour, the Liberal Democrats, and smaller parties like the Scottish National Party (SNP) and Plaid Cymru, collaborated to prevent the United Kingdom from departing the European Union without a formalized agreement, which was a scenario known as a no-deal Brexit.[148]

This issue-based coalition transcended traditional party lines and political ideologies, uniting various opposition factions with the shared goal of averting the potential consequences of a no-deal Brexit. The collaboration aimed to pass legislation that mandated the Prime Minister to seek an extension from the EU to avoid a disorderly exit. This temporary alliance underscored the critical nature of the Brexit debate, with parties setting aside their differences on other issues to focus on preventing what they deemed a potentially detrimental outcome for the UK's economy and stability.

Within the European Parliament, issue-based coalitions are indeed a common occurrence and play a crucial role in advancing specific policies or agendas.[149] Various political parties

[147] Jelle RM Floot. "The Netherlands on European political axes: Coalition building, diplomatic relations and new alliances in a Brexit era." Master's thesis, 2020.
[148] Margaret Arnott, and Richard Kelly. *Small parties and law-making*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.
[149] Iñaki Sagarzazu, and Heike Klüver. "Where have all the leaders gone? Evaluating the dynamics of parties' issue attention in coalition governments." *Social Science Quarterly* 98, no. 3 (2017): pp.1045-

and factions often form temporary alliances or coalitions based on shared interests or objectives related to particular policy areas, even if they hold differing ideologies on other matters.

These issue-based coalitions allow MEPs (Members of the European Parliament) from different political groups to unite around specific topics such as climate change initiatives, digital regulations, trade policies, or other pressing issues that require collective action. For instance, parties with diverse ideological backgrounds might collaborate on environmental policies aimed at combatting climate change or advocate for digital regulations to ensure consumer data protection and digital market fairness. This strategic cooperation emphasizes the importance of consensus-building and finding common ground among different political factions to effectively address complex and cross-cutting policy challenges within the European Union.

In various political contexts, including the United States, issue-based coalitions frequently arise, showcasing bipartisan collaboration to address pressing challenges. A notable instance was the 2020 CARES Act in the United States, where Democrats and Republicans in Congress joined forces to pass legislation aimed at alleviating the economic repercussions of the COVID-19 pandemic.[150] This bipartisan coalition transcended party lines and ideological differences, focusing on providing financial aid and support to individuals, businesses, and healthcare systems affected by the pandemic-induced economic crisis. The coalition's unity underscored the necessity of bipartisan cooperation

1060.

[150] David M. Konisky, and Paul Nolette. "The state of American Federalism, 2020–2021: Deepening partisanship amid tumultuous times." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 51, no. 3 (2021): pp.327-364.

in swiftly responding to national emergencies and formulating impactful legislation for the country's welfare.

In India's parliamentary system, issue-based coalitions frequently emerge around specific bills or policies, demonstrating a willingness among political parties to set aside ideological differences for collective advocacy.[151] Various parties may unite to support or oppose legislation based on the merits or implications of the proposed bills or policies. Instances of issue-based coalitions forming around diverse topics, such as agricultural reforms, economic policies, or social welfare initiatives, are prevalent in Indian parliamentary discussions.

Parties in the Indian parliament often collaborate based on shared interests or concerns related to specific bills or policies.[152] For example, coalitions might form to advocate for reforms in the agricultural sector, to address economic challenges, or to support social welfare initiatives. This strategic cooperation showcases the significance of consensus-building and mutual cooperation among political factions in pursuing policy objectives that resonate across party lines, emphasizing the importance of collective action in shaping India's legislative landscape.

Within Nigeria's National Assembly, issue-based coalitions often emerge to address crucial matters such as security reforms, infrastructure development, or electoral reforms.[153]

[151] Nandini Deo, and Duncan McDuie-Ra. The politics of collective advocacy in India: Tools and traps. Kumarian Press, 2011.
[152] Arend Lijphart. "The puzzle of Indian democracy: A consociational interpretation." *American political science review* 90, no. 2 (1996): pp.258-268.
[153] Arowolo, Dare E., and Olukemi A. Aluko. "Democracy, political participation and good governance in

Political parties with common interests may form temporary alliances, setting aside their usual ideological differences, to collectively advance specific agendas or policies aimed at addressing pressing national concerns.

These issue-based coalitions underscore the importance of cooperation and consensus among different political factions to tackle critical issues that require immediate attention. For example, parties might collaborate on advocating for security reforms to address challenges related to national security, strategize for infrastructure development to improve the country's overall infrastructure, or work towards electoral reforms to enhance the electoral process in Nigeria. This tactical collaboration among parties with shared interests demonstrates the significance of pragmatic approaches and collective action in addressing pressing issues and shaping impactful policies within Nigeria's legislative framework.

1.10.6 Party Ideologies and the Formation of Political Coalitions

The extent to which party ideologies influence the formation of political coalitions can vary significantly across regions. This section discusses the relevant examples illustrating how ideologies have shaped the formation of political coalitions;

David Farrell, writing on "*Party discipline and parliamentary government*" delves into the importance of organizational structures and ideological foundations in shaping party identities, as exemplified by the Conservative Party in the UK.[154] The Conservative Party's adherence to conservative principles and its hierarchical organizational structure are key factors that define its identity and influence its functioning within the political landscape. The party's commitment to conservative ideologies shapes its policy positions, electoral

Nigeria." International Journal of Development and Sustainability 1, no. 3 (2012): pp.797-809.

[154] Shaun Bowler, David M. Farrell, and Richard S. Katz. *Party discipline and parliamentary government*. The Ohio State University Press, 1999.

strategies, and overall political messaging, reflecting a coherent and consistent approach to governance. Additionally, the party's hierarchical organizational structure provides a framework for decision-making, leadership control, and party discipline, contributing to its stability and effectiveness in mobilizing support and implementing its agenda. By highlighting the significance of organizational structures and ideological coherence, Farrell's work underscores how these elements play a pivotal role in shaping party identities, guiding their actions, and influencing their interactions within the broader party system.

In the United States, ideological differences between the Democratic and Republican parties significantly impact coalition-building, often creating substantial barriers to broader cooperation.[155] A notable instance illustrating these ideological divides occurred regarding the passage of comprehensive immigration reform. Despite bipartisan efforts emerging at various times to address immigration issues, deep ideological differences between the two parties impeded comprehensive legislative solutions. In 2013, the Senate passed a bipartisan immigration bill that aimed to overhaul the immigration system, including providing a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants.[156]

However, this legislation faced significant resistance in the Republican-controlled House of Representatives, primarily due to ideological disagreements within the GOP over issues such as border security measures and the pathway to citizenship.[157] These ideological

[155] Grossmann Matt, and David A. Hopkins. "Ideological republicans and group interest democrats: The asymmetry of American party politics." *Perspectives on Politics* 13, no. 1 (2015): pp.119-139.
[156] Maria Parbon Lopez, and Natasha Ann Lacoste. "Immigration Reform in 2013-14: An Essay on the Senate's Bipartisan Plan, the House's Standards for Immigration Reform, Interest Convergence and Political Realities." *Harv. Latino L. Rev.* 17 (2014): p.121.
[157] Amira Karyn A., Jason S. Byers, Martin S. Cohen, Marty Cohen, April A. Johnson, Jeffrey Lazarus, J. Christopher Paskewich et al. The Republican Resistance: NeverTrump Conservatives and the Future of *the GOP*. Lexington Books, 2020.

divisions prevented the bill's advancement, highlighting how deeply entrenched ideological differences often hinder bipartisan cooperation and comprehensive policy solutions on critical issues like immigration reform in the United States.[158]

In South Africa, ideological differences have indeed played a significant role in shaping coalition dynamics, particularly between the African National Congress (ANC) and opposition parties.[159] The ANC has historically formed coalitions with left-leaning parties, emphasizing social justice and economic equality agendas.[160] For instance, in some municipalities, the ANC has collaborated with parties such as the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) or the South African Communist Party (SACP), sharing common ground on issues related to social welfare, redistribution of wealth, and addressing historical inequalities.[161] On the other hand, opposition coalitions have emerged among centrist and center-right parties, such as the Democratic Alliance (DA) and smaller parties like the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) or the Freedom Front Plus (FF+), often differing significantly on economic policies, particularly regarding approaches to economic liberalization, market reforms, and government intervention in the economy. These divergent ideologies have influenced coalition formations and policy directions in South Africa, shaping the governance landscape across different municipalities and provinces.

In Kenya, ideological differences among political parties have indeed shaped coalition formations, often leading to alignments based on shared ideologies or regional interests.[162]

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[158] Ibid
[159] Anna Karolin. "The Effect of Predominance on Party's Ideological Positioning: The Example of African National Congress."
[160] Hesjedal, Siv Helen. "Contemporary Left Politics in South Africa: The Case of the Tri-partite Alliance in the Eastern Cape." PhD diss., Rhodes University, 2009.
[161] Isabel Nel. "The Economic Freedom Fighter's rise to power: A threat to South Africa's democratic consolidation." PhD diss., Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University, 2019.
[162] Walter O. Oyugi. "Coalition politics and coalition governments in Africa." *Journal of contemporary African studies* 24, no. 1 (2006): pp.53-79.

A prominent example is the formation of the Jubilee Coalition in the lead-up to the 2013 general elections. The coalition brought together the Jubilee Party, led by Uhuru Kenyatta, and the United Republican Party (URP), led by William Ruto.[163] Despite coming from different ethnic backgrounds, the parties united under the banner of a center-right ideology, emphasizing economic growth, devolution of power, and infrastructure development. Their shared support for devolution and the promise to implement policies promoting regional development and local governance resonated with a significant portion of the electorate. This coalition's success in the 2013 and 2017 elections underscored how parties with divergent views on issues like devolution, economic policies, and governance structures strategically aligned based on shared ideologies or regional interests to garner support and secure electoral victories in Kenya.

Although Oita's thesis explored the intricate dynamics of coalition politics in Kenya from 1992 to 2017, focusing on the challenges and achievements of various political alliances during this period. His thesis lacks a comprehensive evaluation of how party ideologies have influenced coalition formations throughout Kenya's political history.[164] By not delving into the ideological underpinnings of these coalitions and their implications on governance, the thesis overlooks a critical aspect of coalition politics. Understanding how party ideologies intersected with coalition building could have provided valuable insights into the motivations and dynamics driving political alliances in Kenya. The current study therefore, sought to fill this gap by assessing the extent to which party ideologies have shaped the development of political coalitions in Kenya since 1945.

[163] Denis Kadima, and Felix Owuor. "Kenya's decade of experiments with political party alliances and coalitions-motivations, impact and prospects." *Journal of African Elections* 13, no. 1 (2014): pp.150-180.
[164] Oita Etyang. *The politics of coalition formation in Kenya: 1992-2017*. University of Johannesburg (South Africa), 2021.

Georgine Anyango in her work explores the political ideologies in Africa like African Socialism, African Marxism, African Socialist Populist Ideology, *Nyayoism* & *Harambee* in Kenya and emphasizes the urgent need for ideological discipline to enhance development prospects on the continent.[165] According to Anyango, Africa's political ideological foundations historically centered on ideals such as social justice, liberty, equality, humanity, and people-centered development. However, following independence and amid the Cold War era, African elites strayed from these principles. This departure from founding ideologies led to a rapid deterioration characterized by interstate conflicts, negative ethnicity, corruption, and unfair distribution of state resources, among other issues.

The study highlights how African political elites deviated from the founding ideological principles of social justice, liberty, equality, and people-centered development after independence. This deviation led to various issues such as corruption, negative ethnicity, and inequitable distribution of resources. The current study, explored how this deviation has manifested specifically in Kenya and its impact on the political landscape.

The study by Georgine Anyango provides valuable insights into the historical evolution of political ideologies in Africa and their impact on governance. However, a potential shortcoming is the focus on the deviation of African political elites from founding ideological principles and its consequences, particularly within the context of Kenya. This is the gap that the current study sought to fill by assessing the extent to which party ideologies have shaped the development of political coalitions in Kenya since 1945. Anyango's study offers insights into the historical evolution of political ideologies in Africa

[165] Georgine A. Onyango "Ideology and Party Discipline in African Setting." *International Journal of Research in Education and Social Sciences (IJRESS) 3 (4)*,(2020): pp.12-21.

and Kenya, providing a backdrop for understanding the ideological landscape within which political coalitions have operated. This historical context informed the current study's analysis of how party ideologies have influenced coalition dynamics over time.

Khadiagala's study on "Political movements and coalition politics in Kenya: entrenching ethnicity."[166] offers a detailed analysis of political movements and coalition politics in Kenya, particularly focusing on how ethnicity has been entrenched in the country's political landscape. It discusses the challenges faced in building political parties that transcend individualistic and ethnically based politics, especially in the post-colonial era. Khadiagala highlights how political parties in Kenya have struggled to evolve into coherent and principled entities; often remaining fragmented and dominated by strong individuals and ethnic affiliations. It also discusses the role of coalitions and movements in Kenyan politics, noting that these formations lack inner organizational coherence and often serve as vehicles for ethnic mobilization rather than genuine political parties with clear ideologies.

Moreover, he delves into the historical context of Kenya's political transition in the early 1990s, the challenges faced by opposition parties, the manipulation of electoral processes, and the impact of ethnic violence on political dynamics. It also covers the period leading up to the 1997 elections, the post-Moi era from 1997 to 2002, and the formation of significant political coalitions like NARC that eventually led to a change in government in 2002.

Khadiagala's study provides valuable insights into how ethnicity has influenced the country's political landscape and the challenges faced in building coherent political parties. However, one notable gap in his study is that it focuses more on the impact of ethnicity and

[166] Gilbert M. Khadiagala "Political movements and coalition politics in Kenya: entrenching ethnicity." *South African Journal of International Affairs* 17, no. 1 (2010): pp.65-84.

the lack of party coherence, rather than delving deeply into the specific role of party ideologies in shaping political coalitions in Kenya. The current study sought to assess the extent to which party ideologies have shaped the development of political coalitions in Kenya since 1945.

1.10.7 How Party (In) Discipline has Shaped Coalition Politics

The (in) discipline within political parties can significantly shape coalition politics, affecting their ability to form alliances, maintain cohesion, and implement collective agendas.[167] The following illustrates how party discipline (or lack thereof) has impacted coalition politics especially in countries practicing democracy:

David Farrell writing on Party discipline and parliamentary government delves into how party systems evolve over time in response to changing political landscapes.[168] For example, the transition from a two-party system to a multi-party system in countries like Italy reflects the adaptability of party systems to societal transformations. This finding underscores the dynamic nature of party systems and their ability to adjust to shifting political contexts, highlighting the importance of understanding the evolution of party systems in different political environments.

Another significant finding from Farrell's work is the emphasis on party competition and the crucial role of coalition-building in forming governments. Farrell's analysis underscores the dynamics of party competition and highlights the importance of coalition-building in the governance process. For example, in Germany, the formation of coalition

[167] Shaun Bowler, David M. Farrell, and Richard S. Katz. "Party cohesion, party discipline, and parliaments."*Party discipline and parliamentary government*. The Ohio State University Press (1999): pp.3-22.
[168] Shaun Bowler, David M. Farrell, and Richard S. Katz. *Party discipline and parliamentary government*. The Ohio State University Press, 1999.

governments involving parties like the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Social Democratic Party (SPD) exemplifies the complexities of party interactions and the necessity of forming coalitions to secure governing majorities. This finding emphasizes how parties must engage in competitive electoral processes and negotiate alliances to effectively govern and implement policies, showcasing the intricate nature of coalition-building in modern political systems.

Farrell's analysis also delves into the importance of party discipline in maintaining internal cohesion and ensuring effective party functioning. He explores how party discipline, which refers to the ability of party members to adhere to the party line and leadership decisions, plays a crucial role in party unity and coherence. For instance, in parliamentary systems like the United Kingdom, parties rely on strong discipline to ensure that members support party policies and maintain solidarity on key issues. He observes that the level of party discipline within a political party can influence its ability to govern effectively, pass legislation, and maintain a cohesive party identity. Farrell's examination of party discipline sheds light on its significance in shaping party dynamics and organizational behavior within political systems.

Richard S. Katz's groundbreaking work on "Party Discipline and Parliamentary Government" illuminates the crucial role of party discipline in parliamentary systems, emphasizing its impact on government stability and policy-making.[169] Katz's analysis reveals how party discipline influences legislative behavior and decision-making processes, ensuring coherence and consistency in policy implementation. By examining mechanisms like leadership control and whip systems, Katz underscores the vital

[169] Shaun Bowler, David M. Farrell, and Richard S. Katz. *Party discipline and parliamentary government*. The Ohio State University Press, 1999.

importance of party discipline in upholding efficient governance and fostering unity within parliamentary democracies, as exemplified by the prominent role of the whip system in the United Kingdom for enforcing party discipline and maintaining effective governance.

His work underscores the impact of party discipline on decision-making processes in parliamentary governments, highlighting how maintaining high discipline levels streamlines decision-making and ensures efficient policy implementation. For example, in Japan, the Liberal Democratic Party's strong discipline enables effective control over decision-making processes and policy unity. Moreover, Katz emphasizes the crucial link between party discipline and government stability, showcasing how enforcing discipline enhances a party's resilience against challenges, contributing to longevity and effective governance within parliamentary systems.

In Zimbabwe, internal divisions within political entities like the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and opposition parties such as the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) have significantly influenced coalition dynamics and governance effectiveness.[170] Notably, within ZANU-PF, power struggles and factionalism have caused internal rifts, particularly evident during the succession crisis following the ousting of former President Robert Mugabe in 2017.[171] The subsequent leadership contest between different factions, notably involving supporters of former Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa and the G40 faction linked to Mugabe's allies, led to deep divisions within the party.[172]

[170] Kevin Hlahla. Fault-lines within the movement for democratic change: factionalism and Zimbabwe's opposition, 1999-2015. University of Johannesburg (South Africa), 2020.
[171] Aaron Rwodzi. "Constraints on multiparty democracy in Zimbabwe: opposition politics and Zanu-PF (1980-2015)." PhD diss., 2018.
[172] Phillan Zamchiya. "Intra-Party Cohesion in Zimbabwe's Ruling Party after Robert Mugabe." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* (2023): 00219096221149686.

This internal strife hindered the party's ability to present a united front, affecting its capacity to negotiate effectively within and outside the party. Similarly, within the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), internal disputes over leadership and strategies have plagued the party, causing fragmentation and weakening its ability to form strong alliances or challenge the ruling party cohesively.[173] These internal conflicts and lack of party discipline in both ZANU-PF and the MDC have impeded the formation of robust coalitions, resulting in governance instability, policy stagnation, and an inability to implement shared policy objectives due to the persistent internal disagreements and power struggles.

During the period from 2017 to 2022 in Kenya, party discipline within political parties, notably within the Jubilee Party and the National Super Alliance (NASA), profoundly influenced coalition dynamics and governance. Within the ruling Jubilee Party, internal divisions became evident following the contentious 2017 general elections.[174] Disagreements among top leadership, including President Uhuru Kenyatta and Deputy President William Ruto, led to fractures within the party.[175] These internal rifts within Jubilee affected the party's ability to provide cohesive leadership within the coalition and compromised its collaboration with other parties within the National Super Alliance (NASA).[176]

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[173] Nicole Anne Beardsworth. "Electoral coalition-building among opposition parties in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Uganda from 2000 to 2017." PhD diss., University of Warwick, 2018.
[174] Cheeseman, Nic, Karuti Kanyinga, Gabrielle Lynch, Mutuma Ruteere, and Justin Willis. "Kenya's 2017 elections: winner-takes-all politics as usual?." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 13, no. 2 (2019):pp. 215-234.
[175] Oita Etyang. "The Formation and Instability of Coalition Governments in Kenya." *The African Review* 49, no. 2 (2022): pp.167-194.
[176] Oita Etyang. The politics of coalition formation in Kenya: 1992-2017. University of Johannesburg (South Africa), 2021.

In his book "For the Record: The Inside Story of Power, Politics, Law Making and Leadership in Kenya", Aden Duale delves into significant events recounted in chapters eleven, twenty-seven, twenty-eight, and thirty.[177] Chapter eleven, titled "The Break-Up," elucidates the fragmentation within ODM party, attributing it to biases rooted in ethnicity and feelings of betrayal. In chapter twenty-seven, Duale chronicles the 2017 elections, highlighting the formation and success of the Jubilee Coalition, which emerged victorious in both the 2013 and 2017 elections. This coalition represented a significant political force in Kenya's landscape.

Moving forward to chapter twenty-eight, "Things Fall Apart," Duale navigates through the escalating tensions within the Jubilee Coalition, indicating a gradual breakdown attributed to various factors, including internal power struggles and succession politics surrounding Uhuru Kenyatta.[178] Chapter thirty, titled "Gone in 22 Minutes," serves as a culmination of the mounting tensions within the Jubilee Coalition. Duale suggests that the swift unraveling of the coalition could be traced back to the complexities of navigating succession politics in the aftermath of Uhuru Kenyatta's leadership. Through these chapters, Aden Duale provides a comprehensive narrative of Kenya's political landscape, elucidating the intricate dynamics of power, betrayal, and the complexities of coalition politics.

Although the author provides a detailed account of significant events in Kenya's political landscape, focusing on the dynamics of power, betrayal, and coalition politics. There are certain shortcomings in Duale's book which primarily focuses on recent events and specific political figures without providing a broader historical perspective on coalition politics in

[177] Aden Duale. For The Record: The Inside Story of Power, Politics, Law Making and Leadership in Kenya, (2023)
[178] Ibid

Kenya. The current study aimed to fill this gap by tracing the evolution of coalition politics over several decades, highlighting key trends and patterns. There is also inadequate analysis of party discipline, while Duale touches upon internal power struggles within political parties, there is limited analysis of party discipline and its impact on coalition dynamics. This was the gap that the current study sought to fill by exploring the impact of party discipline in shaping coalition formations, governance, and stability in Kenya.

Duale's book serves as a foundational text by providing a contemporary account of coalition politics in Kenya, offering insights into recent developments and key players. The research built upon Duale's narrative by contextualizing these events within a broader historical framework and conducting a more in-depth analysis of coalition dynamics and party discipline.

The case of NARC in Kenya's 2002 elections, as analyzed by Shumbana Karume on "Factional intrigues and alliance politics: the case of NARC in Kenya's 2002 elections." sheds light on the intricate dynamics of factional intrigues and alliance politics that shaped the country's political landscape at that time.[179] The formation of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) marked a significant shift in Kenya's political history, uniting various opposition parties to oust the long-standing Kenya African National Union (KANU). Despite initial successes in the elections and the formation of a new government, NARC faced challenges such as power conflicts, difficulties in policy coordination, and the emergence of ethnic divisions within the coalition. While NARC's governance record had its share of achievements, like introducing free primary education and anti-corruption efforts, internal divisions and tensions threatened to undermine its effectiveness.

[179] Shumbana Karume. "Factional intrigues and alliance politics: the case of NARC in Kenya's 2002 elections." *Journal of African Elections* 2, no. 2 (2003): pp.1-13.

Karume in his work describes how the post-election period saw NARC grappling with internal divisions and tensions stemming from personal ambitions and differing policy agendas within the coalition.[180] Despite initial successes in governance, such as anti-corruption initiatives and education reforms, challenges persisted, including delays in fulfilling campaign promises, struggles for power within the coalition, and tensions between coalition partners. The government's efforts to address corruption, reform the judiciary, and revive the economy were commendable, but criticisms from opposition parties like KANU highlighted ongoing challenges in governance and coalition management. NARC's experience underscores the complexities of coalition politics and the need for effective leadership and cooperation to navigate diverse interests and maintain stability in governance.

Karume's research on the factional intrigues and alliance politics within NARC during Kenya's 2002 elections provides valuable insights into the challenges faced by political coalitions. However, a potential shortcoming is the focus on a specific case study (NARC in 2002) rather than a comprehensive analysis of political coalitions in Kenya over a more extended period. This was the gap that the current study sought to fill by evaluating the extent to which party discipline has impacted the durability of political coalitions in Kenya since 1945.

By leveraging the insights provided by Karume's study on factional intrigues and alliance politics within NARC, the current research on evaluating the impact of party discipline on political coalitions in Kenya since 1945 benefited from a nuanced understanding of the

[180] Ibid

challenges, opportunities, and key factors influencing coalition durability and effectiveness over several decades.

Ajulu, in his work argues that the crisis of democratization in Kenya is deeply rooted in the country's political history and structure, particularly the persistence of authoritarianism from both the Kenyatta and Moi regimes. He contends that both regimes relied on institutionalized despotism, using state power to suppress dissent and maintain control rather than fostering genuine democratic practices. The political landscape is marked by ethnic divisions, with opposition parties often organized along ethnic lines, leading to a fragmented political environment that hinders effective coalition-building. Ajulu emphasizes that the ruling elite's dependence on state power for economic accumulation has perpetuated a cycle of corruption and clientelism, undermining efforts toward true democracy. He suggests that without addressing these foundational issues, including the role of ethnicity and the legacy of colonial governance, any attempts at democratization are likely to be superficial and ineffective.

His study informed this study by highlighting how ethnicity shapes coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya, emphasizing that political parties often align along ethnic lines, complicating coalition-building.

In summary, the (in) discipline within political parties across various regions significantly impacts coalition politics, affecting their ability to negotiate, maintain coherence, and implement collective agendas. Instances of party infighting, internal dissent, or lack of unity can challenge the stability and effectiveness of coalition governments.

1.10.8 Summary of Reviewed Literature

This section reviewed literature related to the study under the specific objectives of the study from a global to the study area perspective. The section delves into the historical evolution of coalition politics, spanning from ancient civilizations to modern democracies and post-colonial nations. It outlines how alliances and coalitions were crucial for military power, trade security, and territorial expansion in regions like ancient Greece, Rome, medieval Europe, and parliamentary systems. The emergence of coalition governments in the 20th century in countries like Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and Belgium due to multi-party systems is discussed, as well as the significance of coalition politics in post-colonial nations like Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, and Kenya.

Identified research gaps drawn from the scholarly works by Wanyande and Oita respectively include the need for a comprehensive analysis tracing the evolution of coalition politics in Kenya since 1945, beyond specific periods or events. Further exploration is required to understand the historicity of coalition politics from its earliest forms in Kenya, considering the limited timeframe covered in existing research. Additionally, a deeper examination of broader coalition dynamics, party discipline, and political contexts across different historical periods is essential to provide a holistic understanding of coalition politics.

The second section detailed various types of political coalitions, including pre-election alliances and post-election coalitions, in different countries such as Germany, the United States, India, South Africa and Kenya. It reveals coalitions formed to secure governing majorities, address national challenges, and ensure stable governance through collaboration among political parties with diverse ideologies and interests. Pre-election

alliances aimed to maximize electoral success, while post-election coalitions were crucial when no single party secured a clear majority to form a government. Grand coalitions brought together major political parties during national crises or when no clear majority emerged to ensure stability and national unity.

The analysis in the third section illustrates how party ideologies influenced the formation of political coalitions in various countries like Germany, Italy, the United States, India, South Africa, and Kenya. It provided examples of parties with diverse ideological positions coming together based on shared policy goals, pragmatic governance needs, and responses to specific challenges or electoral outcomes. While ideological differences played a role in coalition formation, practical considerations and regional contexts often led to alliances that prioritized stability, compromise, and effective governance over strict adherence to ideological divides.

The research gaps identified highlight the need for a more comprehensive evaluation of how party ideologies influence coalition formations. While existing studies focus on factors like ethnicity and party coherence, there is a lack of in-depth analysis on the specific role of party ideologies in shaping political alliances. Additionally, there is a call for a more detailed exploration of how party ideologies interact with coalition dynamics to drive policy directions and governance approaches. The studies mentioned, including Oita's thesis and Khadiagala's work, tend to focus more on factors like ethnicity and lack of party coherence rather than delving deeply into the specific role of party ideologies in shaping political coalitions. There is a gap in the comprehensive evaluation of how party ideologies have influenced coalition formations throughout the political history of countries like Kenya.

The fourth and last section discusses how party discipline, or the lack thereof, within political parties has significantly influenced coalition politics in countries like Italy, the United States, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, and Kenya. In Italy, internal party indiscipline and fragmentation have complicated coalition-building efforts, leading to unstable governance and frequent changes in government due to defections and factionalism. Similarly, in the United States, internal divisions within parties like the Democratic and Republican parties have hindered coalition-building efforts on critical issues such as healthcare and immigration, resulting in legislative deadlock. The examples from Nigeria, Zimbabwe, and Kenya further illustrate how internal disputes, lack of party discipline, and power struggles within major political parties have impacted coalition dynamics, governance stability, and policy implementation.

While studies like Karume's analysis of factional intrigues within NARC during Kenya's 2002 elections provide valuable insights into the challenges faced by political coalitions, there is a need for a more comprehensive analysis of political coalitions in Kenya over a more extended period. The potential research gap identified prompts a study to evaluate the extent to which party discipline has impacted the durability of political coalitions in Kenya since 1945. By expanding the focus beyond specific cases like NARC in 2002 and examining the broader historical context of coalition politics in Kenya, the researcher aimed to gain a deeper understanding of how party discipline influences coalition durability and effectiveness over several decades.

1.10.9 Theoretical Framework

The study was anchored on the following two theories: The Theory of Political Coalitions and the Social Exchange Theory. The theories were specifically selected to address the two

variables of the study, which were coalition politics and party discipline, respectively. The two theories provided a theoretical framework on which the study endeavored to interrogate a history of coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya since 1945.

1.10.9.1 Theory of Political Coalitions

This theory was advanced by William Riker in 1962, a prominent political scientist who developed the theory of political coalitions as a framework for understanding how parties and individuals come together to form political alliances. His work, particularly outlined in his book "*The Theory of Political Coalitions*", has contributed to the study of coalition formation and dynamics in politics.[181]

The theory focuses on how political actors form alliances and coalitions to achieve their goals. According to this theory, politicians and parties strategically form coalitions based on their interests, ideologies, and bargaining power. These coalitions are often formed to gain majority support for policies, win elections, or advance specific agendas. The theory emphasizes the importance of understanding the dynamics of coalition building in political systems to analyze decision-making processes and outcomes.

The theory emphasizes that party's objective in formation coalitions is to attain "minimum winning coalitions," which are the smallest possible alliances needed to achieve a desired outcome, such as passing legislation or winning an election. Under coalitions, Parties seek to minimize the number of coalition members while still securing enough support for success. Secondly, the formation of coalitions is influenced by the preferences and policy payoffs of the participating parties. Under this consideration, each party evaluates the

[181] Richard R. Fagen. "The Theory of Political Coalitions. By William H. Riker.(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962. Pp. x, 292. $6.00.)." *American Political Science Review* 57, no. 2 (1963): pp.446-447.

potential benefits and costs of coalition membership based on its policy goals and the outcomes it can achieve through cooperation.

Under this theory, Riker introduces the concept of preference intensity, where parties with more intense preferences on certain issues are more likely to form coalitions. Parties that strongly prioritize a particular policy outcome are more motivated to seek like-minded partners to achieve their goals. Coalition formation involves negotiation and bargaining, with parties making policy concessions to secure the support of potential coalition partners. Riker highlights the importance of policy compromises as parties balance their policy preferences to gain coalition allies.

Riker advances the concept of "veto players," which are individuals or groups whose agreement is required for a policy change to occur. The theory advances that, Coalitions are formed strategically to include or exclude veto players in order to shape the decision-making process and policy outcomes. The theory further advances that coalition structures are inherently unstable, as party preferences and external factors change over time. Shifts in preferences or the addition/removal of parties can lead to coalition instability and realignment. Parties engage in a political calculus when deciding whether to form or join a coalition. They assess the potential benefits, costs, risks, and opportunities associated with coalition membership, considering both short-term gains and long-term implications.

According to Riker, there are often multiple equilibrium points in coalition formation, and small changes in party preferences or conditions can lead to shifts between equilibria. This contributes to the dynamic nature of coalition politics. Coalition formation involves coordination challenges, as parties must align their actions and strategies to achieve

common goals. Overcoming coordination problems is essential for effective coalition governance.

1.10.9.1.1 Relevance of the theory to the study

The theory of coalition politics and party discipline was highly relevant to the study. This theory effectively addressed specific objectives of the study, providing valuable insights into the historical development and dynamics of political coalitions in Kenya.

In tracing the origins and development of coalition politics in Kenya since 1945, the theory shed light on significant events and power dynamics. For instance, after Kenya gained independence in 1963, KANU marked a dominant political force. However, due to political rivalries and the diverse ethnic landscape of Kenya, coalitions emerged as a means to consolidate power. A notable example was the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD), formed in the 1990s, which brought together multiple opposition parties to challenge KANU's dominance. The theory of coalition politics allowed for an analysis of the historical progression, alliances, and power-sharing arrangements that shaped the development of coalition politics in Kenya.

Further, William Riker's theory on political coalitions provided a robust analytical framework. Parties strategically engaged in coalition formation, guided by the principle of "minimum winning coalitions." Notably, the formation of NARC in 2002 exemplified this approach, as diverse political parties coalesced with the common objective of unseating the long-standing ruling party, contributing to a transformative moment in Kenyan politics.

1.10.9.1.2 Critique of the Political Coalition Theory

Riker's theory, while providing a valuable framework, exhibits certain weaknesses. Firstly, it rests on the assumption of rational decision-making by political actors, neglecting the complexity of emotional and non-rational factors that often play a crucial role in real-world politics. In the context of the study on coalition politics in Kenya, instances where historical grievances, emotional considerations, or personal relationships influenced coalition formations would not be fully explained by Riker's rationality-centric approach.

Another notable weakness lied in the theory's limited attention to socio-cultural factors. Riker predominantly focuses on policy preferences, potentially overlooking the impact of socio-cultural dynamics on coalition formation. For instance, historical and ethnic considerations, which have been significant in Kenyan politics, could not find adequate representation in Riker's framework. The formation of the National Accord in 2008, driven by ethnic considerations to address post-election violence, exemplifies a scenario where Riker's theory fell short.

Despite its weaknesses, Riker's theory exhibits notable strengths that enhanced its relevance to the study. One strength lies in its emphasis on strategic coalition formation, aligning well with observable patterns in Kenyan politics. Parties often strategically come together to achieve specific electoral or policy objectives.

There was need to adopt the second theory to complement Ricker’s theory. Therefore, the study benefitted from adopting the Social Exchange Theory by George Homans to effectively guide the objective. Homans' theory places emphasis on the social relationships, costs, benefits, and fairness within alliances, providing a more comprehensive framework to analyze the influence of party discipline on the sustainability of political coalitions. By

adopting the Social Exchange Theory, the study evaluated the extent to which party discipline has impacted the durability of political coalitions in Kenya, considering the relational dynamics and exchanges within these alliances since 1945.

1.10.9.2 The Social Exchange Theory

The Social Exchange Theory is a sociological and psychological concept that explains social change and stability because of negotiated exchanges between parties.[182] It suggests that individuals and groups engage in social interactions based on the principle of maximizing benefits and minimizing costs.[183] This theory was initially proposed by George Homans in 1958 and further developed by Peter Blau in the 1960s. It has had a significant impact on various fields, including sociology, psychology, economics, and organizational behavior.

The main tenets of the Social Exchange Theory include rationality, interdependence, rewards and costs, comparison level, and equity.[184] It emphasizes that individuals are rational actors who weigh the benefits and costs of their actions before making decisions. Social exchanges are based on the principle of interdependence, where individuals rely on each other for resources, support, and cooperation. People engage in social exchanges to maximize rewards and minimize costs, which can include material resources, emotional support, social status, and opportunities. Individuals have a comparison level, which is a standard against which they evaluate the fairness and satisfaction of their social exchanges.

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[182] Karen S. Cook, Coye Cheshire, Eric RW Rice, and Sandra Nakagawa. "*Social exchange theory*." Handbook of social psychology (2013): pp.61-88.
[183] Ibid
[184] Coyle-Shapiro, Jacqueline AM, and Marjo-Riitta Diehl. "Social exchange theory: where is trust?." In *The Routledge companion to trust*, pp. 197-217. Routledge, 2018.

The theory also emphasizes the importance of fairness and equity in social exchanges, where individuals seek to maintain a balance between their contributions and rewards in relationships.

The strengths of the Social Exchange Theory include its emphasis on the rational decision-making of individuals, the focus on interpersonal relationships, and its applicability to various social contexts, such as family dynamics, organizational behavior, and economic transactions. However, the theory has also been criticized for its narrow focus on individual rationality and self-interest, overlooking the role of emotions, cultural norms, and power dynamics in social exchanges. Critics argue that the theory may oversimplify complex social interactions and fail to account for the broader societal and structural factors that influence relationships and exchanges. Despite its weaknesses, the Social Exchange Theory offers valuable insights into the dynamics of social interactions, emphasizing the importance of rational decision-making and the exchange of resources in relationships.

1.10.9.2.1 Relevance of Social Exchange Theory to the study

The Social Exchange Theory guided the study by providing a framework to evaluate the impact of party discipline on the durability of political coalitions. This theory was applied to understand the dynamics of political alliances and the influence of party discipline on their sustainability, with specific reference to coalitions such as NARC formed in 2002 and the Jubilee Coalition formed in 2013.

In the context of the study, the Social Exchange Theory was used to analyze the relationships between political parties within these coalitions. It was employed to evaluate the costs and benefits associated with maintaining party discipline within these alliances.

The theory was used to assess the efforts and resources invested by individual parties in upholding the coalition agreements and maintaining discipline among their members.

The Social Exchange Theory guided the study by providing a systematic framework to analyze the costs, benefits, and fairness of relationships within specific political coalitions in Kenya, thereby facilitating an evaluation of the impact of party discipline on the durability of these alliances since 1945.

1.11 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.11.1 Introduction

This section provides the research methods of how research data was collected, analyzed and presented concerning the study on interrogation of a history of coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya since 1945. It presents the philosophical underpinning, research approaches, research design, the study area, the target population, the sample size, sampling procedures, data collection tools and data analysis procedures. The section concludes by discussing ethical consideration of the study.

Timans, Wouters and Heilbron state that an analysis of methodology entails the discussion of the epistemological position selected to guide general research undertaking.[185] The methodology bridges philosophical stance on ontology and epistemology and perspective and tool by facilitating their meeting. As such, it shapes the subject of the study (the research problem) and how it is studied (the methods) by indicating the connection between the researcher and the research contestants.

[185] Wouters R. Timans, P. and Heilbron, J., 2019. Mixed methods research: what it is and what it could be. *Theory and Society*, *48*, pp.193-216.

1.11.2 Philosophical underpinning

Research philosophy forms the foundation of knowledge with beliefs about a specific segment of reality.[186] The researcher adopted interpretivism philosophy that informed both ontological and epistemological considerations. From an ontological perspective, the researcher focused on the practical realities and power dynamics that shaped the formation and evolution of political coalitions in Kenya.

Epistemologically, the researcher adopted a flexible and adaptive approach, adjusting the data collection and analysis methods based on the practical requirements of the investigation and the insights gained through the process. The researcher gathered a wide range of interpretive data, including political manifestos and interviews with key political actors. As the research progressed, the researcher recognized the need to incorporate additional data sources, such as interviews with political leaders, leaders of the Civil Society and experts on historical matters to develop a more comprehensive and contextually-relevant understanding of coalition politics and party discipline. This interpretive approach to epistemology allowed the researcher to navigate the complexities of the subject matter and ensure the practical relevance of the findings to the contemporary Kenya.

1.11.3 Research Design

The study adopted historical research design. A research design was aimed at guiding the steps to be undertaken by the researcher when carrying out research by outlining the critical

[186] Kumar Krishna Khatri. "Research paradigm: A philosophy of educational research." *International* Journal of English Literature and Social Sciences 5, no. 5 (2020): pp.1435-1440.

building blocks.[187] The design also links the research problem to an appropriate methodology by providing the most effective methods for data collection and analysis.[188]

A historical research design is a methodological approach employed in the study of past events, developments, and phenomena.[189] This design seeks to investigate and analyze historical contexts, causes, and consequences, aiming to construct a comprehensive understanding of a particular subject over time. Historical research design involves the systematic collection, examination, and interpretation of primary and secondary sources to reconstruct narratives, identify patterns, and draw conclusions about historical processes.[190]

The historical research design was essential for analyzing coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya, allowing for a detailed examination of the contextual factors, events, and political structures shaping the country's political landscape. This approach facilitated a chronological analysis, starting with early political parties like KAU and KASU during the pre-independence era, and extending to significant developments such as the reintroduction of a multi-party system in the 1990s and the formation of the Jubilee Alliance in 2013. By utilizing primary sources like archival documents and official records, the research provided insights into the evolution of political dynamics and the impact of socio-economic and geopolitical factors on coalition formation and party discipline, contributing to a comprehensive understanding of Kenya's political history.

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[187] Michael D. Myers. "Qualitative research in business and management." *Qualitative research in business and management* (2019): pp.1-364.
[188] Alam, Md Kausar. "A systematic qualitative case study: questions, data collection, NVivo analysis and saturation." Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management: *An International Journal* 16, no. 1 (2021): pp.1-31.
[189] Hayden White. "The question of narrative in contemporary historical theory." *History and theory* 23, no. 1 (1984): pp.1-33.
[190] Ibid

1.11.4 Study Area

Kenya is positioned in East Africa, sharing borders with several neighboring countries. To the south, it is bordered by Tanzania. Uganda lies to the west, South Sudan to the northwest, and Ethiopia to the north. Additionally, Kenya shares its northeastern border with Somalia. Geographically, Kenya lies between latitudes 5°N and 5°S and longitudes 34°E and 42°E.

Kenya is divided into 47 counties, each governed by an elected governor.[191] These counties are further subdivided into sub-counties, wards, and villages. Administrators oversee sub-counties, while elected representatives in the county assembly represent wards. Local elders or administrators typically manage villages, the smallest units.

The President, who serves as both the head of state and government, heads the executive branch. The President, elected through a popular vote for a maximum of two five-year terms, appoints Cabinet Secretaries to lead various government ministries. The legislative branch consists of the bicameral Parliament, comprising the National Assembly and the Senate. The National Assembly, made up of elected Members of Parliament representing constituencies and nominated members, holds the primary responsibility for lawmaking and oversight. Meanwhile, the Senate represents county interests and reviews legislation passed by the National Assembly. The judiciary, headed by the Chief Justice, operates independently, interpreting and applying the law while resolving disputes impartially.

Kenya's linguistic composition encompasses over 60 indigenous languages grouped into various language families, including Bantu, Nilotic, Cushitic, and Afro-Asiatic. Bantu language of groups such as Kikuyu and Luhya, are widespread, while Nilotic languages like Luo and Kalenjin are predominant in specific regions. Cushitic languages like Somali

[191] https://kenyaembassy.nl/government-structure/. Accessed on 22nd March 2024

are primarily spoken in the northeast, and Afro-Asiatic languages such as Borana are also represented. This linguistic diversity reflects Kenya's cultural richness and contributes to its vibrant tapestry of identities and traditions. According to the reports of the 2019 Kenya Population and Housing Census (KPHC), Kenya’s population is 47.5 million. Total registered voters as per 2022 records of Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission stands at 22,152,144.[192]

Kenya's economy is characterized by diversification, with significant contributions from agriculture, manufacturing, tourism, and services. Agriculture remains a cornerstone, providing employment to a substantial portion of the population and making a considerable contribution to the GDP. Notably, Kenya is internationally recognized for its production of tea, coffee, and horticultural exports. Moreover, the country boasts a growing technology and financial services sector, particularly centered in Nairobi, the capital city. Tourism also plays a vital role, with Kenya renowned for its wildlife safaris, pristine beaches, and rich cultural heritage.

For the purpose of this study, given the vastness of the study area, research was carried out in all counties in the former Nyanza, Western, Nairobi County, and seven counties within the former Rift Valley (see figure 1). This comprehensive approach ensured a thorough interrogation of a history of coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya since 1945 given the socio-political and economic dynamics prevailing across these regions.

[192] https://venasnews.co.ke/2022/02/09/total-number-of-registered-voters-in-kenya-2022/.Retrieved and accessed on 5/01/2024.



Figure 1: Map of Kenya showing the Counties

Source: *Kibabii University Geography Department 2024*

1.11.5 Target Population of the Study

Creswell describes the target population as "the entire group about which the researcher wants to generalize the study findings."[193] Leadership of political parties, leadership of civic organizations involved in promotion of civic education, experts on historical matters and Local Intelligentsia.

Ordinary voters were targeted to assess their consultation and voting influences, while party leadership provided insights from past coalition experiences. Historical experts contributed contextual understanding of coalition formations since 1945, enhancing analysis and policy recommendations. Civic organizations advocated for transparency and included grassroots perspectives, enriching the study with their historical knowledge. The local intelligentsia offered critical evaluations of coalition dynamics, ensuring a comprehensive understanding of the implications of coalition formations in Kenya. The categories of respodents supplemented information from other sources as part of triangulation, which is an acceptable technique in historical research.[194]

1.11.6 Sample Size and Sampling Techniques

"Sample size is the number of units that are selected from the population to be studied. It is typically a subset of the population and is used to draw inferences about the larger population."[195] According to Creswell, "Sampling techniques are the procedures used to select a subset of individuals or items from a larger population for the purpose of making

[193] John W. Creswell. A concise introduction to mixed methods research. SAGE publications, 2021.
[194] Charles N. L. "An investigation into internal efficiency measures in promotion of access and completion rates in public secondary schools in Bungoma South District." *Unpublished M. Ed Thesis*, University of Nairobi (2009).
[195] Uma Sekaran, and Roger Bougie. Research methods for business: A skill building approach. john wiley & sons, 2016.

inferences about the population. The choice of sampling technique can significantly impact the validity and reliability of research findings."[196]

The study employed purposive, snowball and convenience sampling techniques.[197] Purposive sampling was employed to select respondents who were deemed to possess relevant information necessary for the researcher to address the research questions and achieve the study's objectives.[198] Both purposive and Snowball sampling were used to select and collect data from key stakeholder groups: the experts on historical matters, leaders of civic organizations, leaders of political parties, and the local intelligentsia as shown in table 1.1. Convenience sampling is commonly used in social sciences, leveraging pre-existing groups that are convenient for the researcher.[199] This sampling technique was deemed most appropriate, particularly for collecting data from ordinary voters in the expansive study area**.**

Table 1.1: Summary of Sampling Techniques

[196] Creswell, John W, *Op. Cit.*
[197] Pandey Prabhat, and Meenu Mishra Pandey. *Research methodology tools and techniques*. Bridge Center, 2021.
[198] Ibid, p.3
[199] Etikan Ilker, Sulaiman Abubakar Musa, and Rukayya Sunusi Alkassim. "Comparison of convenience sampling and purposive sampling." American journal of theoretical and applied statistics 5, no. 1 (2016): p.1&3.

Sr.No	Target Group	Sampling Technique(s)	Sample size
1	Ordinary Voters	Convenience	432
2	Leaders of Civic Organization	Purposive/Snowball	6
3	Local Intelligentsia	Purposive/Snowball	4
4	Experts on Electoral Matters	Purposive/Snowball	4
5	Leaders of Political Parties	Purposive/Snow ball /Convenience	8

Source: Researcher, 2023

The study utilized three sampling techniques to determine a final sample size of 454 respondents after reaching content saturation. This included 400 voters sampled conveniently and 32 voter respondents from four Focus Group Discussions of eight members each. Additionally, purposive and snowball sampling methods were employed to select eight political party leaders, six civic organization leaders, four local intelligentsia members, and four historical experts. These respondents were drawn from 18 counties across four regions: the former Western region (Bungoma, Busia, Kakamega, and Vihiga), the former Nyanza region (Migori, Kisumu, Homa Bay, Kisii, Nyamira, and Siaya), and the former Rift Valley region (Trans Nzoia, Kericho, Turkana, Elgeyo Marakwet, Uasin Gishu, Nandi, and Nakuru), along with Nairobi County, as detailed in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2: Distributions of Voter Respondents per Study Region

Sr no.	Region/County	No. of Respondents
1	Western	67
2	Nyanza	95
3	Rift Valley	164
4	Nairobi	74
	Total	400

Source: Researcher, 2023

1.11.7 Data Collection Instruments

The study utilized Qualitative methods included semi-structured interviews (refer to appendix iii, iv, v, & vi) to gather data. Consequently, the research relied on both primary and secondary sources to complement each other in data collection. The incorporation of data from diverse sources is a widely recommended approach in research, as demonstrated in previous studies.

In addition to in-depth interviews, the researcher also utilized document analysis as a qualitative method. The combination of in-depth interviews and document analysis enabled the researcher to gather rich and contextual data on coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya.

1.11.7.1. Qualitative Data

1.11.7.1.1 Questionnaire

A questionnaire is a structured set of questions aimed at gathering information from respondents.[200] For this study, open-ended questionnaires were chosen as a primary data collection instrument (*see appendix II*) for several reasons: they minimize interviewer's

[200] Kothari, C. R. "Research Kothari. pdf." (2004).

bias, provide convenience for respondents who may not be easily accessible, allow participants ample time to formulate thoughtful responses, and enable the collection of data from a large sample, enhancing the reliability of the results.

The questionnaires were administered to a diverse group of 400 ordinary voters within the study area. Out of these, 356 questionnaires were completed and returned, indicating a response rate of 89 percent. Previous research suggests that a response rate exceeding 70 percent is considered excellent, highlighting the effectiveness of the current study's data collection efforts.[201] This demographic was selected by convenient sampling to capture a broad spectrum of opinions and experiences related to coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya. The insights from ordinary voters were crucial as they reflected the electorate's perspective on the effectiveness and implications of political coalitions.

The questionnaires were distributed through research assistants. This approach leveraged their established trust and rapport within the community, facilitating higher response rates. These research assistants were knowledgeable about the political landscape and could guide respondents in understanding the questions, thereby enriching the data quality.

1.11.7.1.2 Interviews

The study utilized semi-structured interviews to collect qualitative primary data, incorporating pre-conceived questions and ad-hoc probing questions. This approach struck a balance between structured and unstructured interviews, allowing for flexibility while maintaining a focus on the research topic. The interviews aimed to capture new issues and themes that emerged alongside the intended research areas. The method is widely

[201] Selina Chepkoech, Ibrahim Khatete, and Genevieve Wanjala. "Quality of trainers at public technical, vocational, education and training institutions: The missing link in Kenyas skill development." *UNIZIK* Journal of Educational Research and Policy Studies 2, no. 1 (2021): pp.1-8.

recognized as fundamental for obtaining qualitative data, enabling the gathering of opinions, beliefs, and feelings in participants' own words.[202] The interviews were conducted with leaders of political parties, civic organizations, historical experts and local intelligentsia as detailed in the provided appendices (III, IV, V& VI).

The utilization of tape recorders was handy during interviews as it allowed for accurate and comprehensive documentation of the discussions.[203] By recording the interviews, the researcher captured the exact responses and perspectives of the interviewees without the risk of missing important details. This ensured that the data collected was reliable and could be revisited for analysis and reference during the research process. The research assistants played a crucial role in managing the logistics and technical aspects of the interviews, including setting up and operating the tape recorders, coordinating the interview schedule, and providing support in administrative tasks. Their involvement was essential in ensuring the smooth execution of the interviews and the accurate documentation of the data.

Interpretivism research philosophy was highly useful during interviews as it allowed for a deep understanding of the perspectives and experiences of the interviewees. Interpretivism emphasizes the importance of understanding the meanings and interpretations that individuals attach to their experiences, which was crucial in exploring the historical context and personal insights related to coalition politics in Kenya. This philosophy enabled the researcher to delve into the complexities of coalition politics, party ideologies, and the impact of historical factors on the development of political coalitions. By embracing

[202] Peters, Kath, and Elizabeth Halcomb. "Interviews in qualitative research." *Nurse Researcher (2014+)* 22, no. 4 (2015): p.6.
[203] Sophie Tessier. "From field notes, to transcripts, to tape recordings: evolution or combination?." *International journal of qualitative methods* 11, no. 4 (2012): pp.446-460.

interpretivism, the interviews were able to capture diverse viewpoints of the interviewees, providing valuable qualitative data that aligned with the research objectives.

1.11.7.1.3 Focus Group Discussion

The focus group discussion served as a platform for individual ordinary voters to share their perspectives on the history of coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya since 1945. There were four focus group discussions involving eight ordinary voter participants in each. The Focus Group Discussions were carried out in Bungoma, Trans Nzoia, Kisumu and Nairobi. The research assistants in the said counties played a leading role of organizing for the FGD sessions by prior arrangement of venues that provided comfort for the respodents. The respondents were conveniently sampled for the FGD. The researcher conducted the focus group discussions while the research assistants recorded the FGD sessions and helped in translation where there was need. The use of FGD was meant to enhance and strenghthen the use of questionnaires targeting the ordinary voters in the study area.

The focus group discussions were structured around specific study objectives, with the interviewer demonstrating strong skills in managing diverse viewpoints and engaging all participants. The researcher effectively moderated, encouraging contributions and preventing dominance by any individual, which led to dynamic and innovative exchanges. While the discussions showcased the advantages of empowerment and flexibility, challenges such as participant dynamics and dominant personalities were addressed through clear ground rules and structured guides. Each session included eight participants to balance interaction and moderation, and language barriers were mitigated by allowing

communication in Kiswahili with translation support from the research assistants, ensuring an inclusive environment focused on coalition politics and party discipline since 1945.

1.11.7.1.4 Archival Data

The researcher acquired important and relevant information from the Kenya National Archives. The archival sources were of great provision of reports concerning the history of coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya since 1945. The information acquired from this source was critical in solidifying the findings on the dynamics of coalition developments and party discipline in Kenya.

In the study, document analysis was utilized as a guide to obtain archival information from the Kenya National Archives based on the specific objectives. This involved a systematic approach to reviewing and analyzing historical documents, records, and materials. The following steps were taken: Firstly, relevant historical documents, records, and materials were identified and selected from the Kenya National Archives, focusing on the development of coalition politics, party discipline, and party ideologies in Kenya since 1945. This included official government records, political party documents, correspondence, policy papers, and historical publications.

A historical research approach was utilized to review historical documents, focusing on the development of coalition politics, political ideologies, and party discipline in Kenya since 1945. The analysis involved critically examining historical context, narratives, and perspectives within the documents, considering subjective meanings and diverse interpretations. Information from archival sources was triangulated with interviews and scholarly publications to construct meaning from multiple perspectives. Maintaining reflexivity, the study recognized personal biases in analysis, aiming for transparency and

self-awareness to gain valuable insights into the complex history of political factors in Kenya.

1.11.8 Secondary Data

In the study, the document analysis guide was employed to obtain secondary data based on the specific objectives of the study. To begin, relevant secondary sources such as historical texts, scholarly articles, theses, dissertations, and publications on Kenyan politics were identified and selected from the Kenya National Library Services, Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology Library, and Kibabii University Library. These sources provided a foundation for understanding the historical context and development of coalition politics in Kenya. The document analysis guide was then used to systematically review and analyze the selected secondary sources. This involved critically examining the narratives, perspectives, and historical accounts presented in these materials, seeking insights into the development of coalition politics, the types of political coalitions, and the impact of party ideologies and party discipline through this analysis.

The study utilized a triangulation approach, combining secondary data from various sources such as historical texts, academic publications, scholarly articles, official reports, party manifestos, and archival materials—to gain a comprehensive understanding of coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya. The researcher maintained reflexivity during document analysis, recognizing their role in interpreting these sources. The diverse materials provided qualitative narratives and firsthand accounts, enriching the analysis of political developments, coalition formations, and party ideologies over time. Additionally, contemporary perspectives were gathered from newspaper articles and media reports, further enhancing the study's depth.

1.11.9 Validity of Research Instruments

Validity is the degree to which results obtained from the analysis of data actually represents the phenomenon under study.[204] Validity, therefore, has to do with how accurately the data obtained in the study represents the variables of the study and is largely determined by the presence or absence of systematic error in data. Validity represents the truthfulness of the findings.[205]

The research instruments were validated for content and face validity to ensure reliable data collection aligned with the study's objectives. This validation involved assessing construct validity, which measures how well the instruments captured the theoretical concepts under investigation. The researcher compared the questions in the instruments with the research objectives, seeking input from fellow doctoral candidates in history. Additionally, research supervisors provided guidance throughout the validation process, reviewing the design and content of the interview questions to ensure they aligned with the study's theoretical framework and variables, as illustrated in Plate no.1.

[204] Johnson R. Burke. "Examining the validity structure of qualitative research." *Education* 118, no. 2 (1997): pp.282-292.
[205] Hill IL Brink. "Validity and reliability in qualitative research." *Curationis* 16, no. 2 (1993): pp.35-38.



Plate 1: The supervisors Prof. P.G Okoth (right) and Fr. Dr. Kizito (left) and the researcher (middle) in the process of validating research instruments

Face Validity involves reviewing the instrument to ensure that it appears to measure the intended constructs on the surface.[206] Face validity of the research instruments, such as questionnaires and interview questions, was assessed through expert reviews and stakeholder feedback. Research supervisors and subject matter experts were engaged to review the instruments and provide professional judgment, while relevant stakeholders, such as politicians and political analysts, offered valuable insights. These methods ensured that the questions and items on the instruments were perceived as relevant and aligned with the intended theoretical constructs related to the study.

1.11.10 Data Collection Procedure

The researcher initially obtained research approval from Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology through the Directorate of Post Graduate Studies. Following the receipt of the approval letter, the researcher proceeded to apply for a research permit online from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NaCoSTI), the

[206] David S., Bedford, and Roland F. Speklé. "Construct validity in survey-based management accounting and control research." *Journal of Management Accounting Research* 30, no. 2 (2018): pp.23-58.

institution responsible for granting research permits in Kenya. Upon receiving the permit, and considering the study's extensive geographical scope, the researcher recruited and trained nine research assistants, each assigned to cover two counties, to support the research operations.

The training aimed to familiarize the research assistants with their roles in achieving the research objectives. Subsequently, the researcher and research assistants conducted familiarization tours in various sampled areas, briefing local administrations about the intended research and arranging dates for administering research instruments. Permission to conduct research in the counties was sought and obtained. The research assistants, equipped with rigorous training on data collection procedures and ethical considerations, gathered data from the electorates in their assigned counties by use of questionnaires to ordinary voters who were sampled conveniently. Data collected from oral sources was triangulated with other sources to ensure validity.

Additionally, the researcher conducted in-depth interviews with experts on historical matters, leaders of political parties, leaders of civic organizations, and the local intelligentsia across the study area to address the specific objectives of the study. The researcher also conducted four FGDs with ordinary voters in the four counties of Bungoma, Trans Nzoia, Kisumu and Nairobi. Furthermore, the researcher visited the Kenya National Archives and the Kenya National Library Services to collect both primary and secondary data, providing a foundation for the analysis and interpretation of issues related to the history of coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya since 1945.

1.11.11 Data Analysis and Presentation

Data analysis and presentation in research involve the process of systematically examining, cleaning, transforming, and interpreting data to uncover meaningful patterns, trends, relationships, and insights.[207] The research utilized various methodologies for analyzing and presenting data, including thematic analysis, content analysis. In the historical analysis approach, data analysis entailed the review of historical documents, archival documents, and records concerning political events, alliances, and party formations in Kenya throughout different periods. The researcher examined primary sources such as official documents and speeches to trace the evolution of coalition politics in the country. By analyzing these historical sources, patterns, trends, and key turning points in coalition formation and party discipline were identified.

Thematic analysis involves identifying themes or patterns within qualitative data.[208] For this method in the study, the researcher analyzed interview transcripts, survey responses, and other qualitative data sources related to party ideologies and coalition dynamics in Kenya. By coding and categorizing the data based on recurring themes such as party loyalty, ideological differences, leadership dynamics, and coalition stability, the researcher gained insights into how these factors influenced coalition politics in Kenya since 1945. Thematic analysis helped in organizing and interpreting qualitative data to extract meaningful insights relevant to the study objectives.

The researcher employed content analysis to examine a variety of textual sources, such as party manifestos, speeches, historical records, and other relevant documents, to identify

[207] Sivarajah, Uthayasankar, Muhammad Mustafa Kamal, Zahir Irani, and Vishanth Weerakkody. "Critical analysis of Big Data challenges and analytical methods." *Journal of business research* 70 (2017): pp.263-286.

[208] Saraswati Dawadi. "Thematic analysis approach: A step-by-step guide for ELT research practitioners." *Journal of NELTA* 25, no. 1-2 (2021): pp.62-71.

themes, patterns, and trends related to political coalitions and party discipline in Kenya since 1945. This systematic analysis of the content allowed the researcher to extract valuable insights into the types of political coalitions that have existed in Kenya, the role of party ideologies in shaping these coalitions, and the impact of party discipline on the durability and stability of these coalitions over time, providing a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of coalition politics in the country.

1.11.12 Ethical Considerations

According to McNabb, ethics in research refers to a process that involves usage of moral principles in planning, directing, and writing the research results, with the crucial moral ideals concentrating on the right and the wrong.[209] In qualitative research, ethics involves protection and respect for respondents taking part in the study.[210] Questionable practices, such as intrusion into people's privacy, or exerting influence by offering inducements, are matters of concern that need to be addressed by professional bodies.[211] In conducting research study, ethical considerations were paramount. It was imperative to ensure that the welfare and rights of the participants took precedence over the expected benefits to human knowledge. To achieve this, the researcher adhered to ethical guidelines in data collection and interpretation.

Firstly, all necessary permissions were sought from relevant authorities before the study began. This included obtaining a letter of approval from Masinde Muliro University of Science and technology through the Directorate of Postgraduate Studies (DPS), acquiring a

[209] David E. McNabb. Research methods for political science: Quantitative and qualitative methods. Routledge, 2015.
[210] Benjamin Baez. "Confidentiality in qualitative research: Reflections on secrets, power and agency." *Qualitative research* 2, no. 1 (2002): pp.35-58.
[211] Malcolm Hill. "Ethical considerations in researching children's experiences." *Researching children's experience* (2005): pp.61-86.

research permit from the National Council of Science and Technology (NACOSTI) in compliance with regulatory requirements and obtaining authorization from the study area for conducting research. Furthermore, the free and informed consent of participants involved in the research process was obtained. This was done by requesting the respondents to fill consent forms before being involved in the study. Additionally, the research process took into account the local, cultural, and social attitudes of the respondents to ensure that their perspectives were respected.

In order to maintain research ethics, respondents were made fully aware of their rights in participating in the study. They were requested to sign an informed consent form, which outlined the purpose of the study, the identity of the researcher, the role of the respondent in the research, the degree of confidentiality, and the use and storage of data. Moreover, sources of secondary data were properly acknowledged, and any direct quotes or paraphrased information were appropriately attributed to avoid issues of plagiarism. The study also avoided academic fraud, ensuring that all data presented had been collected and analyzed truthfully.

Confidentiality and secrecy of the participants was guaranteed, and final copies of the thesis were provided to relevant authorities to ensure transparency and accountability on the part of the researcher. Revealing of the respodents identity was done so with their consent. The researcher upheld the highest ethical standards in all aspects of the research process, ensuring the protection and respect of the participants involved.

1.11.13 Thesis Chapterization

This thesis consists of six chapters. Chapter one entails the background to the study, the statement of the problem, the study objectives, and the significance of the study. It further

provides a policy, academic, and philosophical justification of the study, reviewed the related literature, and established the theoretical framework. Finally, it discussed in detail the research methodology.

Chapter two embarked on tracing the origins and development of coalition politics in Kenya since 1945. Chapter three examined the types of political coalitions that have been in existence in Kenya since 1945. Chapter four assessed the extent how party ideologies have shaped the development of political coalitions in Kenya since 1945. Chapter five evaluated how party discipline has impacted the durability of political coalitions in Kenya since 1945. Finally, chapter six presents the summary of the findings, conclusions, and recommendations.

1.11.14 Chapter Summary

The chapter began with an introduction that provided background to the study, employing a pyramidal approach in presentation. It discussed the statement of the problem adequately, pointing out the knowledge gap to be filled, and subsequently outlined the general and specific objectives. Furthermore, the chapter justified the study by examining philosophical, academic, and policy aspects. It explained the significance, scope, and limitations of the study. A comprehensive literature review was presented, aligned with the study objectives, thereby identifying the gaps to be addressed. The chapter also provided the theories on which the study was anchored. Additionally, it discussed the methodology by identifying the research design, study area, and target population. The sample size was determined from the target population. Sampling techniques, including purposive, convenience, and snowball sampling, were discussed. Data collection methods, ranging from primary to secondary sources, and data analysis techniques were examined. Finally,

the chapter addressed ethical considerations. The following chapter marks the onset of discussion of findings and specifically traces the origins and development of coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya since 1945.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF COALITION POLITICS IN KENYA SINCE 1945

2.1 Introduction

The chapter explores the origins and evolution of coalition politics, under the following key periods: the colonial era, the post-independence era characterized by the Kenyatta era, the Moi era (single party rule), the multi-party era, the post-2002 era, and the coalition dynamics under the 2010 constitution. Finally, the chapter analyzes the factors that influence coalition politics in Kenya.

The chapter utilized the theory of Political Coalitions to analyze the dynamics of coalition formation and policy influence within Kenya's diverse ethnic and ideological context. Employing a historical research design, it chronologically examined key periods through primary sources, grounded in an interpretivist philosophical foundation that values subjective experiences. This approach facilitated a nuanced understanding of coalition politics, highlighting the motivations behind alliances and their significant impact on Kenya's political stability and socio-economic development over the decades.

It was critical that before tracing the historical trend of formation of political coalitions, there was need to understand the general population support of the idea of coalition formation in Kenya from ordinary voters. From the data collected by use of questionnaires, it was evident that majority of respondents were aware of the concept of political coalition formation in Kenya. This indicates significant support among the general population for the idea of political parties forming coalitions.

2.2 An Overview of the Political Landscape in Kenya before 1945

Before 1945, Kenya's political landscape was shaped by the enduring presence of British colonial rule, which wielded significant control over the country's affairs.[212] The colonial administration imposed policies that led to the dispossession of land from indigenous African communities, causing profound social and economic disruptions.[213] This period was marked by a stark imbalance of power, with limited political representation for the local population, as governance was primarily in the hands of British colonial officials and a minority of European settlers.

Within this restrictive environment, early political movements began to emerge, such as Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) and later Kenya Africa Study Union (KASU).[214] These movements sought to advocate for African rights and representation in a system that marginalized indigenous voices. Ethnic divisions were prevalent in pre-1945 Kenya, with different communities competing for resources and influence within the colonial framework. These divisions often exacerbated tensions and hindered unified political action among the diverse ethnic groups.[215]

Alongside the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) and the Kenya African Study Union (KASU), other notable early political associations included the Young Kikuyu Association (YKA), the East African Association (EAA), the Kavirondo Taxpayers Association, and the Taita Hills Association.[216] These organizations, formed between the 1920s and early

[212] Joanna Lewis. Empire state-building: war & welfare in Kenya, 1925-52. Ohio State University Press, 2000.
[213] Ambreena Manji. *The struggle for land and justice in Kenya*. Vol. 49. Boydell & Brewer, 2020.
[214] Keith Kyle. The politics of the independence of Kenya. Springer, 1999.
[215] Assa Okoth. A History of Africa: African nationalism and the de-colonisation process. Vol. 2. East African Publishers, 2006.
[216] Mutizwa-Mangiza, Shingai Price. "Political party institutionalization: A case study of Kenya." PhD diss., Rhodes University, 2013.

1930s, advocated for African rights and representation within the colonial system, addressing community-specific issues and promoting unity among diverse ethnic groups to combat colonial oppression and discriminatory policies.

Additionally, labor movements gained traction during this period, with trade unions advocating for workers' rights and challenging exploitative colonial labor practices. Despite the limitations imposed by colonial rule, these movements laid the groundwork for future political mobilization and resistance against oppressive policies. The pre-1945 political landscape in Kenya was characterized by a complex interplay of colonial dominance, emerging political activism, ethnic rivalries, and struggles for land and labor rights. These dynamics set the stage for the eventual push for independence and the evolution of coalition politics in Kenya's quest for self-governance.

The researcher observes that the colonial government regarded the emerging political formations with suspicion, utilizing surveillance, divide-and-rule tactics, co-option strategies, and repression to assert authority over the colony. Political entities advocating for African rights and independence were seen as challenges to colonial rule and were closely surveilled to thwart any perceived subversive actions. The colonial administration aimed to undermine unity among diverse communities by exploiting ethnic rifts, while also trying to co-opt cooperative groups to maintain their supremacy in Kenya before 1945.

2.2.1 Early Political Movements (1945-1952)

The period from 1945 to 1952 marked a significant era in Kenya's history with the emergence of early political movements that laid the groundwork for the country's eventual independence from British colonial rule. Central to this period was the formation of the

Kenya African Study Union (KASU) in 1944.[217] KASU served as a pioneering platform for organized political activism among Africans in Kenya, providing a voice for the marginalized indigenous population within the colonial framework. Through KASU, African leaders and intellectuals began to articulate their grievances, advocate for increased representation, and lay the foundation for broader political mobilization in the quest for self-determination.

The emergence of political activism among Africans in Kenya during this period marked a significant shift in the political landscape.[218] The rise of KASU and other early political movements signaled a growing consciousness and assertiveness among the African population, challenging the status quo of colonial domination and discrimination. Political activism served as a catalyst for social change, empowering individuals to demand equal rights, justice, and political participation. The increasing momentum of political activism reflected a desire among Kenyan Africans to assert their agency and shape the future of their nation.

The impact of these early political movements on the push for independence cannot be overstated. Through their advocacy efforts and mobilization campaigns, organizations like KASU played a crucial role in galvanizing support for the nationalist cause and laying the groundwork for broader resistance against colonial rule.[219] The political awakening fostered by these movements paved the way for future leaders and grassroots activists to unite under a common vision of liberation and self-governance. The seeds sown by the

[217] Bethwell A. Ogot, and William Robert Ochieng, eds. *Decolonization & independence in Kenya, 1940-93*. Ohio State University Press, 1995.
[218] Mordechai Tamarkin. "The roots of political stability in Kenya." *African affairs* 77, no. 308 (1978): pp.297-320.
[219] Bethwell A. Ogot, and William Robert Ochieng, eds. *Decolonization & independence in Kenya, 1940-93*. Ohio State University Press, 1995.

early political movements between 1945 and 1952 would continue to germinate, fueling the momentum towards Kenya's eventual independence and shaping the trajectory of coalition politics in the years to come.

2.2.2 State of Emergency and Political Repression (1952-1957)

The period from 1952 to 1957 in Kenya was marked by a state of emergency declared by the British colonial authorities in response to the Mau Mau uprising.[220] The declaration of a state of emergency in 1952 was a turning point in Kenya's history, leading to a period of heightened political repression and turmoil. This drastic measure was implemented by the British government to suppress the Mau Mau rebellion, a militant movement seeking to challenge colonial rule and address grievances related to land dispossession and social injustices. The state of emergency drastically altered the political landscape, ushering in a period of intense conflict and resistance against colonial authorities. An informant recounted:

> … one of the major outcomes of the state of emergency was the apprehension of nationalist leaders, including notable figures such as Jomo Kenyatta. The incarceration of pivotal nationalist figures was a calculated maneuver by the colonial administration to suppress opposition and disband resistance movements. The apprehension of Jomo Kenyatta, who later assumed the role of Kenya's inaugural President, epitomized the persecution of influential advocates for independence and self-governance. The crackdown on nationalist leaders through arrests and confinement was designed to undermine the determination of the anti-colonial struggle and hinder its operational effectiveness.[221]

Consequently, the British government implemented repressive measures during this period to suppress the Mau Mau rebellion and maintain control over the colony.[222] These measures

[220] Bennett, Huw C. Fighting the Mau Mau: The British army and counter-insurgency in the Kenya *emergency*. Cambridge University Press, 2013.
[221] Oral Interview, Dominic Wetangula at Mukhweya in Bungoma, 19th November 2023.
[222] Newsinger, John. "Revolt and Repression in Kenya: The" Mau Mau" Rebellion, 1952-1960." *Science & Society* (1981): pp.159-185.

included mass arrests, torture, forced relocations, and the imposition of collective punishment on suspected Mau Mau sympathizers. The use of coercive tactics and brutal methods by colonial forces further fueled resentment and resistance among the Kenyan population, exacerbating tensions and deepening divisions within society. The repressive actions taken by the British government not only intensified the conflict but also underscored the lengths to which colonial powers would go to maintain their grip on power.

The brutality experienced during the state of emergency compelled various ethnicities to band together, recognizing their shared struggle against colonial oppression, and laid the groundwork for a more unified and determined movement advocating for self-governance and sovereignty in Kenya.[223]

Similarly, *The Weekly Review* reported that:

> …the mass of Africans, who grew impatient with the colonial government's failure to solve their problems, resorted to armed revolt which crystallised into what came to be known as Mau Mau movement. In order to curb the activities of this movement, the colonial government declared a state of emergency on October 20, 1952. All African political associations were proscribed, and thousands of Africans and their leaders imprisoned, including Mzee Jommo Kenyatta. In absence of a countrywide political party, African political activity centered upon the trade union movement, namely, the Kenya Federation of Labour.[224]

According to an oral interview with an informant:

> …the colonial administration's attempts to suppress dissent in Kenya ignited a wave of political awakening and activism that culminated in the rise of formidable leaders and organizations advocating for independence. The imposition of repressive measures, such as the declaration of a state of emergency in the 1950s, aimed at quelling resistance, paradoxically fueled the flames of resistance. Grassroots movements, notably the Mau Mau, emerged as a powerful force, drawing support from diverse communities and uniting against colonial oppression. Simultaneously, political organizations like

[223] Peter Karari. "Modus operandi of oppressing the "savages": The Kenyan British colonial experience." *Peace and Conflict Studies* 25, no. 1 (2018): p.2.
[224] KNADS: *The Weekly Review*, December 7, 1990, "The KANU ReviewCommittee Report". P.38.

> KAU led by figures such as Jomo Kenyatta and KANU played crucial roles in galvanizing public sentiment, orchestrating protests, and articulating demands for self-rule….these movements and organizations became platforms for articulating the aspirations of Kenyan people, raising consciousness about their rights and autonomy, ultimately contributing significantly to the momentum that led to Kenya's eventual independence in 1963.[225]

Maloba, writing on Mau Mau and Kenya, echoes similar findings regarding the impact of colonial suppression on political awakening.[226] Maloba emphasizes how the colonial administration's repressive measures, including the state of emergency during the 1950s, inadvertently fueled a surge of political activism and consciousness among the Kenyan people. Grassroots movements like the Mau Mau, he notes, gained momentum as a formidable resistance against colonial oppression. Simultaneously, political figures such as Tom Mboya and organizations like KANU played pivotal roles in uniting diverse communities, orchestrating protests, and advocating for self-rule. Maloba's research underscores how these movements and organizations served as crucial platforms for articulating the collective aspirations of the Kenyan people, fostering a heightened awareness of their rights and autonomy. Ultimately, both findings converge on the idea that the colonial suppression of dissent played a paradoxical role in catalyzing the political momentum that led to Kenya's eventual independence in 1963.

The period from 1952 to 1957 was characterized by heightened political tensions stemming from the state of emergency and repressive policies enforced by the British authorities. The crackdown on dissent, the arrest of nationalist leaders, and the brutal suppression of the Mau Mau rebellion created a volatile environment marked by fear, uncertainty, and resistance. The political landscape during this period was fraught with conflict and struggle

[225] Oral Interview with Dominc Wetangula at Mukhweya in Bungoma, 19th November 2023
[226] Wunyabari O. Maloba. Mau Mau and Kenya: an analysis of a peasant revolt. East African Publishers, 1994.

as Kenyans fought against colonial oppression, setting the stage for further developments in the quest for independence and self-rule.

The researcher underscores that the period before 1960 political landscape in Kenya laid the groundwork for a unified struggle against colonialism, setting the stage for the formal negotiations and eventual attainment of independence. It was a period marked by the convergence of various socio-political forces, ethnic solidarity, and the emergence of leaders who would shape Kenya's future as an independent nation. The years leading up to 1960 witnessed a transformation in Kenya's political climate, characterized by the crystallization of nationalist sentiments, resistance against colonial oppression, and the gradual emergence of a united front seeking self-rule and independence from British rule.

2.2.3 The Path to Independence and Coalition Building (1957-1960)

The period from 1957 to 1960 marked a crucial phase in Kenya's journey towards independence, characterized by significant developments in coalition building and political negotiations. The 1957 elections in Kenya marked a significant milestone on the path to independence by granting Africans the right to participate and be elected for the first time.[227] This increased political representation allowed for the emergence of influential nationalist leaders, such as Oginga Odinga, Tom Mboya, and Daniel arap Moi, who went on to play central roles in the independence movement. The 1957 elections also laid the foundation for coalition building among various African political groups, leading to the formation of broader alliances like the Kenya African National Union (KANU). This momentum, combined with the negotiation and compromise between European, Indian,

[227] Hastings WO., Okoth-Ogendo. "The politics of constitutional change in Kenya since independence, 1963-69." *African Affairs* 71, no. 282 (1972): 9-34.

and African political factions, set the stage for the subsequent independence struggle and the eventual establishment of an independent Kenyan state in 1963.

The Lancaster House Conference held in 1960 stands out as a key milestone during this period.[228] This conference brought together various stakeholders, including British colonial officials and Kenyan political leaders, to discuss Kenya's future political structure and the path to independence. The deliberations at the Lancaster House Conference laid the groundwork for the transition to self-governance and set the stage for the emergence of coalition politics as a strategic mechanism for achieving independence and navigating the complexities of post-colonial governance.

Discussions during the Lancaster House Conference centered on shaping Kenya's political landscape and determining the country's path to independence.[229] The negotiations focused on issues such as constitutional reforms, electoral processes, and power-sharing arrangements, reflecting the aspirations of Kenyans for self-rule and democratic governance. The outcomes of these discussions played a pivotal role in shaping the political trajectory of Kenya and setting the stage for the formation of a new political order based on principles of inclusivity and representation.

This period also witnessed the emergence of political parties such as KANU and KADU.[230] These parties represented diverse ethnic interests within the Kenyan population and played a significant role in mobilizing support for independence and self-governance. The formation of political parties signaled a shift towards organized political engagement and

[228] Kariuki, Godfrey G. "Lancaster Constitutional negotiation process and its impact on foreign relations of post-colonial Kenya, 1960-1970." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2015.
[229] Ibid
[230] Jennifer A. Widner. The Rise of a Party-State in Kenya: From Harambee! to Nyayo! Univ of California Press, 2023.

coalition building as a means to consolidate support, bridge ethnic divides, and pursue common goals in the quest for independence. This period was a transformative period in Kenya's history, marked by critical milestones in the path to independence and the development of coalition politics. The Lancaster House Conference and the emergence of political parties played integral roles in shaping Kenya's journey to independence and laying the foundation for a new era of governance based on cooperation, inclusivity, and national unity.

The period from 1945 to 1960 in Kenya witnessed the emergence of early political movements like KASU that challenged British colonial rule, leading to a shift in African consciousness and political activism. The colonial government initially viewed these movements with suspicion and responded with repression, culminating in a state of emergency from 1952 to 1957 during the Mau Mau uprising.[231] This period was marked by mass arrests, torture, and crackdowns on dissent as the authorities sought to maintain control and suppress nationalist aspirations. The arrest of key leaders and the use of coercive tactics underscored the colonial government's fear of losing power and its determination to uphold colonial dominance despite growing resistance among the African population.

The researcher emphasizes that the period preceding 1960 in Kenya's political landscape established the foundation for a cohesive struggle against colonialism, paving the way for formal negotiations and eventual independence. This era was defined by the convergence of diverse socio-political influences, ethnic solidarity, and the rise of leaders who would shape Kenya's destiny as a sovereign nation. The years leading to 1960 witnessed a shift in

[231] Thomas Wright. "'Constituencies of control': repertoires of coercive punishment in Kenya's Mau Mau emergency, 1952-1956." PhD diss., University of York, 2022.

Kenya's political environment, characterized by the solidification of nationalist sentiments, defiance against colonial subjugation, and the gradual formation of a unified front advocating for self-governance and liberation from British colonial rule.

2.3 Emergence of Political Parties (1960-1963)

The period from 1960 to 1963 in Kenya was marked by the emergence of significant political parties that played pivotal roles in shaping the country's journey towards independence. The formation of key political entities such as KANU and KADU reflected the diverse political ideologies and strategies employed by various leaders to navigate the path to self-governance.[232]

KANU, founded in 1960, emerged as a prominent political force under the leadership of Jomo Kenyatta, who became a central figure in Kenya's struggle for independence.[233] The party attracted widespread support and membership across diverse ethnic groups, advocating for a united Kenya and a centralized form of government. Kenyatta's leadership and his vision for a cohesive, independent nation resonated with many, contributing to KANU's popularity and influence.[234]

In contrast, the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) was established in the same year, led by leaders such as Ronald Ngala and Masinde Muliro.[235] The formation of the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) was deeply rooted in the apprehension that the Kenya African National Union (KANU) might not adequately represent or safeguard the

[232] Karuti Kanyinga. "Kenya: Democracy and political participation." (2014).
[233] Jennifer A Widner. The Rise of a Party-State in Kenya: From Harambee! to Nyayo! Univ of California Press, 2023.
[234] James Baigent. "Political Leadership after the British: A Study of Jomo Kenyatta and Julius Nyerere." (2013).
[235]Joshua M. Kivuva. "Different Paths, Similar Destination." *African Governance, Security, and Development* (2021): p.1.

interests of smaller ethnic groups. KADU emerged as an alternative political entity advocating for a federal system of governance that aimed to ensure the protection and autonomy of smaller ethnic communities within Kenya.[236]

The central concern was that a centralized government, as proposed by KANU, might concentrate power among larger ethnic groups, potentially sidelining the needs and voices of smaller communities. KADU proposed a decentralized framework where regions would have more control over their own affairs, allowing for greater representation and protection of the diverse interests and cultures across Kenya.[237] This approach sought to balance national unity with the preservation of local identities and autonomy, envisioning a system where each community could have a say in decisions affecting their region while being part of a unified nation.

The ideological differences between KANU and KADU were central to their political agendas.[238] KANU favored a strong, centralized government, arguing for national unity and the pooling of resources for the collective good.[239] Meanwhile, KADU championed a more decentralized approach, emphasizing the preservation of regional autonomy and the protection of minority ethnic groups' interests.[240] The formation of these political parties marked a significant shift in Kenya's political landscape. They provided platforms for

[236] Reginald MJ. Oduor. "Ethnic minorities in Kenya's emerging democracy: Philosophical foundations of their liberties and limits." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, Kenya, 2011.
[237] Wilson Kamau Muna. "Towards decentralisation: a critical analysis of decentralising governance in Kenya." PhD diss., 2012.
[238] Peter Anyang Nyong'o. "State and Society in Kenya: The Disintegration of the Nationalist Coalitions and the Rise of Presidential Authoritarianism 1963–78." *Africa Development/Afrique et Développement* 11, no. 4 (1986): pp.175-216.
[239] Livinus Okereke Chimezie. "Anthony Kanu's Igwebuike Philosophy and its Implications for National *Unity*." (2022).
[240] Kevin K. Kariuki. "Secessions, majimboism and the federalist debate in Africa: a comparative study of south Sudan, Kenya and Nigeria." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2014.

articulating divergent views on governance, land distribution, and representation, reflecting the complexities of Kenya's socio-political fabric.

Noah Wekesa reliably informed the study that:

> ….KANU's popularity and widespread support allowed it to emerge as a dominant political force, with Kenyatta's leadership driving its momentum. The party's inclusive approach attracted members from diverse ethnic backgrounds, contributing to its success in mobilizing support for independence. Conversely, KADU's emphasis on federalism resonated with certain regions and ethnic groups, particularly those concerned about preserving their autonomy within a united Kenya…..KADU's formation represented the aspirations of smaller ethnic communities seeking to safeguard their interests and identities within the broader national framework.[241]

Similarly, Kanyinga observes that the rivalry and competition between KANU and KADU shaped the political discourse, creating a polarized environment and triggering debates on the optimal governance structure for an independent Kenya.[242] The divergence in ideologies between the two parties set the stage for tensions and negotiations, laying the groundwork for future coalition dynamics and challenges in forging a unified vision for governance post-independence.

Ultimately, the emergence of KANU and KADU demonstrated the complexities of nation-building in a diverse society and highlighted the varying visions for Kenya's future governance. These parties symbolized the diversity of political thought and interests within the broader context of the struggle for independence, shaping the trajectory of Kenya's political landscape in the lead-up to its eventual independence in 1963. During the pre-independence era in Kenya from 1960 to 1963, the political landscape was characterized by attempts at coalition-building and alliances among different political factions, primarily

[241] O.I, Noah Wekesa, Kitale, 16th November 2023
[242] Karuti Kanyinga. "Kenya: Democracy and political participation." (2014).

between KANU and KADU.[243] These initial coalitions and alliances played a significant role in shaping the political discourse and negotiations leading up to Kenya's independence.

Initially, there were efforts to foster collaboration and unity between KANU and KADU, despite their ideological differences. Both parties recognized the importance of consolidating their support bases and presenting a united front in the struggle for independence.[244] However, reconciling their divergent views on the country's governance structure posed challenges to forming a cohesive coalition. The quest for unity between KANU and KADU was influenced by the need to negotiate with the colonial authorities for Kenya's independence.[245] Though they represented contrasting ideologies, the leaders of both parties understood the importance of presenting a united front during negotiations, aiming to leverage their combined influence for favorable terms in the run-up to independence.

After the formation of the two major countrywide political parties, the first general election on a broad based electorate was held early in 1961.[246] KANU won the polls, but would not form a coalition government until Kenyatta was free. After a long tussle over Kenyatta's release, KADU agreed to form a government, with Ngala as the first African chief minister. This step was intended as a preparation for internal self-government. When Kenyatta was finally released on August 14, 1961, KANU and KADU formed a coalition government, with a view to strengthening African unity and, therefore, hastening peacefull independence.[247]

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[243] Jennifer A. Widner. The Rise of a Party-State in Kenya: From Harambee! to Nyayo! Univ of California Press, 2023.
[244] Rok Ajulu. "Politicised ethnicity, competitive politics and conflict in Kenya: A historical perspective." *African Studies* 61, no. 2 (2002): pp. 251-268.
[245] Lindsey Gustafson. "Kenya: the struggle to create a democracy." *BYU L. Rev.* (1995): p.647.
[246] KNADS: *The Weekly Review*, December 7, 1990, "Saitoti Report". P.39.
[247] Ibid

The challenges in forging a lasting coalition between KANU and KADU due to their fundamental differences in governance vision had a significant impact on the political landscape of Kenya. The inability to form a sustainable coalition led to fragmented attempts at unity and alliances, with the intention of maximizing political influence and representation.[248] However, the shifting nature of these alliances and the persistence of ideological differences hindered the formation of a cohesive and enduring coalition. These challenges in establishing enduring coalitions and the negotiations and attempts at collaboration during this period were crucial in shaping subsequent political developments in Kenya. They set the stage for discussions around governance structures, representation, and the balance of power within the future independent Kenyan state. The complexities of reconciling diverse political ideologies and interests were highlighted, and these early attempts at coalition-building demonstrated the challenges of achieving consensus among competing political factions, which continued to shape Kenya's political landscape post-independence.

The Lancaster House conferences held in London between 1960 and 1962 were pivotal in determining the terms and conditions for Kenya's path to independence.[249] These negotiations marked a crucial phase in Kenya's pre-independence era, bringing together representatives from Kenya's political parties, particularly KANU and KADU, along with British colonial authorities.

The primary objective of the Lancaster House conferences was to address key issues surrounding Kenya's transition to independence, including the form of government, land

[248] Peter A.'Nyong'o. 1986. State and Society in Kenya: The Disintegration of the Nationalist Coalitions and the Rise of Presidential Authoritarianism 1963–78. *Africa Development/Afrique et Développement*, *11*(4), pp.175-216.
[249] KNADS/MSS/29/9, 1962. Lancaster House Constitutional Talks

distribution, representation, and the future structure of the country.[250] The negotiations aimed to reconcile the differing ideologies and demands of KANU and KADU, seeking a consensus on the governance framework for an independent Kenya. Throughout the deliberations, there were intense debates and negotiations between the Kenyan political leaders and the British colonial authorities. The conferences sought to strike a delicate balance between the aspirations of Kenyan nationalists for self-governance and the concerns of the colonial administration regarding a smooth transition and protection of British interests in the region.

The Lancaster House conferences resulted in agreements that paved the way for Kenya's independence, culminating in the country gaining sovereign status on December 12, 1963.[251] The negotiated terms provided a framework for a centralized government structure, addressing issues related to land distribution and representation while establishing the foundation for Kenya's governance post-independence. The outcomes of these negotiations at the second Lancaster House in 1962 laid the groundwork for Kenya's transition to self-rule and set the stage for the subsequent challenges and opportunities in the newly independent nation. When the differences between KANU and KADU were not resolved, it was suggested that the two parties form a coalition in order to facilitate the formation of a constitution and to accelerate the transition to independence.[252] This was agreed and a federal/Majimbo constitution was drawn up.

The study observes that the theory of Political Coalitions was key in the formation of a coalition between KANU and KADU during the Lancaster House conferences, as it

[250] Gary Wasserman. "The independence bargain: Kenya Europeans and the land issue 1960–1962." Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics 11, no. 2 (1973): pp.99-120.
[251] Godfrey G. Kariuki. "Lancaster Constitutional negotiation process and its impact on foreign relations of post-colonial Kenya, 1960-1970." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2015.
[252] KNADS/MSS/66/173. Kenya Coalition. Retrieved on 27th June 2023.

addressed the need to bridge ideological divides and achieve common goals. The unresolved differences between the two parties underscored the necessity for collaboration to negotiate a constitution that would ensure representation and address land distribution issues critical for Kenya's transition to independence. By forming a coalition, they aimed to leverage their collective influence to establish a federal/Majimbo constitution, ultimately facilitating a smoother governance framework for the newly independent nation.

2.4 Post-Independence Period (1963-1978)

This section focuses on the post-independence era in Kenya (1963-1978) which was dominated by the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and its leader Jomo Kenyatta. While the government pursued African socialism for economic development, political dissent faced suppression, leading to a de facto one-party state. Land reforms aimed at addressing historical injustices were significant, and the economy experienced moderate growth. However, issues like corruption and inequality surfaced. The period concluded with Kenyatta's death in 1978, setting the stage for Daniel arap Moi's leadership, which would define Kenya's political landscape in subsequent years.

2.4.1 KANU's Rise to Power and its Hegemony in Kenyan Politics

The post-independence period from 1963 to 1978 in Kenya was characterized by the remarkable ascendancy and sustained dominance of the Kenya African National Union (KANU) under the leadership of President Jomo Kenyatta.[253] KANU emerged as the dominant political force, solidifying its hegemony and shaping the country's political landscape during this era.

[253] Peter Wanyande, Walter Oyugi, and C. Odhiambo-Mbai. "*The Politics of Transition in Kenya: FROM* KANU To NARC." (2003).

KANU's rise to power was propelled by several factors, including the charismatic leadership of Jomo Kenyatta, who was Kenya's first President.[254] Kenyatta's stature as a prominent nationalist figure, coupled with his ability to foster a sense of unity among diverse ethnic groups, contributed significantly to KANU's popularity and widespread support.[255] The party's success was also attributed to its inclusive approach and ability to accommodate diverse interests within its ranks. KANU portrayed itself as a national party, attracting members from various ethnic communities and regions, fostering a sense of national unity, and positioning itself as the primary vehicle for Kenya's post-independence development.

President Kenyatta's leadership style and political maneuvering also played a pivotal role in consolidating KANU's dominance.[256] He wielded significant influence within the party, maintaining a central role in decision-making processes and leveraging his authority to shape policies and the direction of the nation. KANU's hegemony was further reinforced through strategic alliances and patronage networks. The party established a formidable organizational structure that extended its reach across the country, enabling it to mobilize support and secure electoral victories in subsequent elections.

The consolidation of KANU's power also involved the suppression of political dissent and the stifling of opposition voices.[257] The government under Kenyatta's leadership

[254] Anaïs Angelo. Power and the presidency in Kenya: the Jomo Kenyatta years. Vol. 146. Cambridge University Press, 2020.
[255] Ibid
[256] George Odhiambo Okoth, and Juliet Akinyi Jagero. "Thinking Through the Crisis of Intra-Party Democracy in Kenya: Reflections on Kenyatta's KANU Leadership (1963-1978)." *Journal of Historical Studies* 2, no. 1 (2021): pp.1-29.
[257] Barney Afako. "*Resisting Repression*." (2004).

implemented policies that curtailed opposition activities, limited freedom of speech, and restricted political pluralism, consolidating KANU's grip on power.[258] Furthermore, KANU's dominance was maintained by its ability to control key institutions, including the civil service, security forces, and the judiciary, which reinforced its political authority and stifled dissenting voices, consolidating its hold on governance structures.

Widner, in her examination of Kenya's post-independence politics, similarly highlights the consolidation of KANU's power through the suppression of political dissent and restrictions on opposition activities.[259] Widner emphasizes that policies implemented under Kenyatta's leadership curtailed freedom of speech and constrained political pluralism, thereby solidifying KANU's dominance. Additionally, Widner underscores the strategic control exercised by KANU over critical institutions such as the civil service, security forces, and the judiciary. According to her analysis, this control not only bolstered KANU's political authority but also effectively stifled dissenting voices, contributing to the party's sustained hold on governance structures. Widner's work aligns with the understanding that KANU's consolidation of power involved both policy measures and institutional control during Kenya's post-independence period.

The party's economic policies, such as the implementation of the Harambee system, which relied on community-driven development initiatives, contributed to bolstering KANU's popularity among grassroot communities. However, these policies also centralized power and resources, reinforcing KANU's authority and control over the allocation of

[258] Peter Anyang 'Nyong'o. "State and Society in Kenya: The Disintegration of the Nationalist Coalitions and the Rise of Presidential Authoritarianism 1963–78." *Africa Development/Afrique et Développement* 11, no. 4 (1986): pp.175-216.
[259] Jennifer A. Widner. The Rise of a Party-State in Kenya: From Harambee! to Nyayo! Univ of California Press, 2023.

resources.[260] KANU's dominance during this period significantly impacted Kenya's political landscape, as it became synonymous with state power, leading to limited political pluralism and opposition activities. The party's control over the political arena restricted the development of a robust multi-party democracy, contributing to a one-party dominant system.[261]

The study contends that KANU's rise to power and its subsequent hegemony under President Jomo Kenyatta's leadership shaped Kenya's political trajectory during the post-independence period. The party's dominance, characterized by its organizational strength, strategic alliances, and centralized authority, significantly influenced the country's governance structures and political landscape for years to come.

During the post-independence period in Kenya from 1963 to 1978, the political landscape witnessed significant shifts marked by the evolution, mergers, and realignments of political parties.[262] The era was characterized by dynamic changes in party politics, with various alliances and mergers reshaping Kenya's political fabric.

Initially, the political scene was dominated by KANU, led by President Jomo Kenyatta. The merger between KANU and KADU in 1964 marked a significant milestone in Kenya's post-independence political landscape.[263] KANU and KADU were the two major political parties representing contrasting ideologies, with KANU advocating for a centralized

[260] Daniel Branch, and Nicholas Cheeseman. "The politics of control in Kenya: Understanding the bureaucratic-executive state, 1952–78." *Review of African Political Economy* 33, no. 107 (2006): pp.11-31.
[261] George Odhiambo Okoth, and Juliet Akinyi Jagero. "Thinking Through the Crisis of Intra-Party Democracy in Kenya: Reflections on Kenyatta's KANU Leadership (1963-1978)." *Journal of Historical Studies* 2, no. 1 (2021): pp.1-29.
[262] Gufu Oba. "Political Legacies of Shifting Politics." In *Nomads in the Shadows of Empires*, pp.313-325. Brill, 2013.
[263] Wanjala S. Nasong'o. "Kenya at fifty and the betrayal of nationalism: The paradoxes of two family dynasties." In Kenya After 50: Reconfiguring Historical, Political, and Policy Milestones. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, (2016): pp.165-187.

government and KADU pushing for a federal system to protect the interests of smaller ethnic groups.

The decision for the KANU-KADU merger was driven by the desire to foster national unity, consolidate political support, and mitigate the growing ethnic divisions and tensions between the two parties.[264] President Jomo Kenyatta played a pivotal role in spearheading the merger, emphasizing the need for a united front to foster nation-building and overcome the divisive politics that existed between KANU and KADU. The merger was viewed as a crucial step towards political consolidation and the creation of a more cohesive nation.[265] It aimed to address the fragmentation of political support along ethnic lines and promote a more unified approach to governance. By uniting under one party, former KANU and KADU members sought to present a more inclusive and cohesive political front, aiming to overcome the challenges posed by ethnically driven political affiliations.

Contrary to the foregoing assertion**,** Nyukuri Barasa argues that:

> …the KANU-KADU merger was not primarily motivated by a genuine commitment to foster national unity but rather by strategic political considerations or power consolidation…president Jomo Kenyatta's emphasis on unity served as a political narrative to justify the merger and maintain control over the political landscape…in my opinion…the merger, instead of addressing ethnic tensions, furthered marginalized minority voices by consolidating power within a single dominant party….the merger aimed to eliminate political competition rather than genuinely promoting inclusivity, potentially stifling diverse political ideologies and limiting democratic pluralism in Kenya.[266]

The weekly review revealed:

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[264] Anirudha Gupta. "Political System and the One-Party States of Tropical Africa." *India Quarterly* 31, no. 2 (1975): pp.159-184.

[265] Eyo Bassey Nte, Edem Edemekong Edemidiong, Francis Edem Otioro, and I. Osin Anwana. "*Political* Transition and Democratic Consolidation in Selected African Countries. A Study of Nigeria, Ghana and Kenya."

[266] Nyukuri Barasa, Oral Interview at County hotel, Bungoma on 15th November, 2023.

> …after independence, the consultations which characterized KANU relations with KADU and other political parties like APP prior to independence were stepped up with a view to maintaining their common purpose through a merger. In this regard, Kenyatta's political wisdom was a major asset. In addition, the fact that KANU and KADU had participated in coalition government earlier on was itself goodwill, which created the necessary enabling conditions for the proposed merger. Eventually, KADU and the other parties voluntarily dissolved themselves and joined KANU in 1964. The federal (*Majimbo*) constitution was abolished, and the country became a republic on December 12, 1964, under the leadership of the newly-united KANU.[267]

The dissolution of political parties for the anticipation of joining KANU to form one national party was viewed as a strategy of Kenyatta to kill the opposition as most of the politicians were lured into dissolving their parties for personal interest. This was exhibited when Paul Ngei dissolved his party APP and led his supporters back to KANU. The about-turn was followed by Kenyatta's appointing Ngei chairman of the maize and marketing board. The following year, Ngei was made a cabinet minister, and was given the portfolio of marketing and co-operatives.[268]

Similarly, Ajulu posits that on the anniversary of independence in December 1964, Kenya became a republic, and Kenyatta (from the right wing ofthe party) became the first president of the republic of Kenya with Oginga Odinga (from the left wing of the part) as his deputy. At the same time, the KADU defections to the ruling party which had started earlier in 1963 with the defection of the Nandi MP, Jean Marie Seroney now turned into a full scale desertion of the party. In December, the party dissolved itself and joined the ruling KANU thus creating a de facto single-party system. The dissolution of KADU and the emergence of a de facto one-party system bolstered the right wing within KANU and

[267] KNADS: *The Weekly Review*, December 7, 1990, "Saitoti Report". P.40.
[268] KNADS: *The Weekly Review*, December 30, 1990, "A Conspicuous Public Figur". P.17.

created an environment in which the long running battle between the radicals and the conservatives could now be brought to a conclusive end.[269]

The restriction of political freedom in Kenya commenced with the amalgamation of KANU and KADU in the National Assembly.[270] As the President and the National Assembly form the Parliament in Kenya, the rise of executive authority impacted the parliament's fundamental roles in legislation, public discourse, and political enlistment. Parliamentary practice and the institution of parliament required the institutionalization of competitive political recruitment, such as elections. These elections served as a means of attracting new political talent and provide incentives for political ambition. The effectiveness of parliament's various functions relied on constraints on executive power growth, the presence of a diverse political system, and active engagement at all levels of political activity in the state.

The foregoing position was supported by an informant who noted that:

> Kenyatta's ascension to power and its subsequent centralization had extensive implications for political enlistment…..by diminishing the avenues of political recruitment in the Kenyan state, Kenyatta managed to control the leadership succession of both political and economic elites. Political recruitment, the system for selecting political leadership, was always based on certain norms, laws, and selection procedures - the means by which legislators are chosen as members of the political elite. The nature of political recruitment and the exact correlation between political survival and national legitimacy.[271]

[269] Rok Ajulu. "Thinking through the crisis of democratisation in Kenya: a response to Adar and Murunga." *African Sociological Review/Revue Africaine de Sociologie* (2000): pp.133-157.
[270] Daniel Branch. *Kenya: Between hope and despair, 1963-2011*. Yale university press, 2011.
[271] Herman Manyora, Oral Interview Fountain of Knowledge UoN, Nairobi on 21st November 2023.

However, the study established that despite the merger, challenges persisted in fully integrating the ideologies and interests of former KADU members within KANU's framework. The merger sought to create a more united political landscape, but the complexities of reconciling differing political ideologies and addressing the concerns of smaller ethnic groups within the merged entity posed ongoing challenges to achieving genuine unity and political harmony. Amidst growing discontent and challenges within KANU, opposition parties began to emerge as alternative political platforms. The Kenya People's Union (KPU) formed in 1966 under the leadership of Oginga Odinga, a former Vice President, emerged as a significant opposition force challenging KANU's dominance.[272] *The weekly review* revealed that:

> …with the opposition assimilated, KANU began another campaign to get rid of radical elements from within its ranks, an exercise that culminated in the party's opposition from within the party's own ranks when Odinga, who was then vice president of both the republic figure to be disenchanted with the Kenyatta governments's policies and the political tactics employed by the then powerful KANU secretary General, the late Tom Mboya. Odinga discovered that the very machinery he had set up in KANU to make Kenya a one party state was being used to eliminate his influence in KANU. By 1966 Odinga's differences with the Kenyatta government had become of major concern to KANU stalwarts and when the party called a national conference at Limuru, it was clear that Odinga's future in KANU was in the balance. He was stripped of the party vice-presidency in a clever move that saw the creation of provincial vice-presidencies thus leaving him powerless.[273]

Nyukuri Barasa added that:

> Kenyatta attempted to reduce competition for political recruitment through an internal purge in KANU and control of the electoral process. The roots of conflict in independent Kenya revolved around the ideology and policies of the new state. The ideological conflict

[272] George Odhiambo Okoth, and Juliet Akinyi Jagero. "Thinking Through the Crisis of Intra-Party Democracy in Kenya: Reflections on Kenyatta's KANU Leadership (1963-1978)." *Journal of Historical Studies* 2, no. 1 (2021): pp.1-29.
[273] KNADS: *The Weekly Review*, April 6, 1990, "Kenya's Multi-Party Experience". P.11.

> between Odinga and Kenyatta came to a head in 1966. By the time of the Limuru Conference in 1966, the myth of political unity and the illusion of leadership unity shattered as differences emerged on land, the organization of state power, economic development strategies, and so on.[274]

In the same vein, Ajulu observes that in 1966, the Odinga and Kaggia faction broke with KANU to form the opposition Kenya Peoples Union (KPU). The formation of the party was a culmination of protracted battles over ideological differences which had consumed the party throughout its six years of existence. Odinga was immediately followed into the opposition benches by 33 MPs and as pressures built in the constituen cies, there were indications that more members might follow Odinga and Kaggia into the opposition.[275]

Similarly, in 1969, the Kenyan government introduced a critical constitutional change known as the First Amendment, which had far-reaching consequences for the country's political landscape.[276] This amendment marked a significant turning point as it formally declared Kenya to be a one-party state by de-facto. Under the First Amendment, the Kenya African National Union (KANU) was legalized as the sole political party, a move that profoundly consolidated political power under the leadership of President Kenyatta.

The legalization of KANU as the sole political party had profound consequences for the political landscape of Kenya.[277] It resulted in a severe limitation of political pluralism and opposition. By concentrating authority within a single party, the government effectively marginalized alternative political voices and restricted the democratic space. Elections,

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[274] Nyukuri Barasa, Oral Interview at County hotel, Bungoma on 15th November, 2023.

[275] Rok Ajulu. "Thinking through the crisis of democratisation in Kenya: a response to Adar and Murunga." *African Sociological Review/Revue Africaine de Sociologie* (2000): pp.133-157.

[276] H. W. O., Okoth-Ogendo. “The Politics of Constitutional Change in Kenya since Independence, 1963-69.” *African Affairs* 71, no. 282 (1972): pp.9–34. http://www.jstor.org/stable/720361.

[277] Jennifer A. Widner. The Rise of a Party-State in Kenya: From Harambee! to Nyayo! Univ of California Press, 2023.

which had previously been contested by multiple parties, became mere formalities, lacking genuine competition.

The consolidation of political power under KANU and President Kenyatta had implications beyond the political realm. It extended into various aspects of Kenyan society, impacting civil society organizations and curtailing freedom of association and expression. The space for independent political oversight and checks and balances significantly weakened, contributing to an environment where dissent was met with severe consequences. During an oral interview with Dominic Wetangula as seen in Plate no.2, it was observed that:

> The establishment of the one-party state in Kenya following the First Amendment in 1969 led to a systematic suppression of political opposition, consolidating power within KANU and limiting the democratic space. The government, under President Jomo Kenyatta, took various measures to eliminate rival political entities and stifle dissenting voices….one significant action was the outright banning of political parties other than KANU. The legality of alternative political organizations was revoked, rendering them non-existent in the eyes of the law. This move, effectively criminalizing opposition parties, left KANU as the sole legally recognized political entity in Kenya. The dissolution of opposition parties curtailed citizens' ability to express diverse political views, consolidating political power within the ruling party.[278]

[278] Dominic Wetangula, Oral Interview at Mukhweya, Bungoma on 19th November 2023.



Plate 2: The Researcher (right) interviewing the retired politician Dominic Wetangula (left) on political development in Kenya

The suppression of political opposition extended beyond legal measures, encompassing severe consequences for dissidents and critics of the government. Opposition figures, activists, and individuals perceived as threats to the one-party state faced arrest, imprisonment, and harassment. One notable example was the arrest and detention of former Vice President Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, who had fallen out of favor with the ruling party.[279] Odinga's detention symbolized the government's intolerance of dissenting voices and its determination to quash any perceived challenges to its authority.

Mueller argues that between 1966 and 1969, the KANU government exercised strict control over political discourse. The opposition was denied adequate press coverage, particularly the state-controlled radio and TV. From 1968 legislation required candidates for local elections be nominated by a political party with registered branches and sub-branches with certificates of registration, and then refused KPU branches registration. She shows that 42.7% of KPU's applications were refused registration as opposed to KANU's

[279] Gimode, Edwin A. "The role of the police in kenya's democratisation process." *Kenya: The struggle for democracy* (2007): pp.227-262.

1.8%. In 1968, all 1,800 KPU candidates for local elections were disqualified by the DC at nomination stage, on the grounds that they had incorrectly completed their application forms. Most of these had correctly completed their forms as KANU candidates in the 1963 elections. The prospects of KPU controlling local authorities in Nyanza must have been considered unacceptable to the government. Having failed to stem the threat of opposition, in 1969 the opposition KPU was banned and all its leaders detained. Kenya once again became a de facto one party state. But more crucially, the banning of the opposition KPU allowed Kenyatta to hold the 1969 elections which were already delayed by nearly a year.[280]

According to *The Weekly Review*:

> …after the Kisumu riot, an angry Kenyatta responded by banning the KPU and hauling Odinga into detention without trial. This marked the end of real opposition to KANU which, for the better part of the Seventies remained largely moribund, becoming active only during elections when it ensured that no former KPU member got elected…..KANU guarded itself jealously against any attempts to form another political party but still kept the doors open until 1982 when, reacting to another rumoured move by Odinga and George Anyona to form another party by amending the constitution to make KANU the only legally recognized party. Even as parliament amended the constitution, Anyona was already in detention while Odinga was under house arrest…[281]

The political environment that emerged as a result of this suppression became increasingly authoritarian, characterized by limited freedom of expression and a lack of tolerance for dissenting opinions. Media outlets were subject to government control, and censorship was

[280] Rok Ajulu. "Thinking through the crisis of democratisation in Kenya: a response to Adar and Murunga." *African Sociological Review/Revue Africaine de Sociologie* (2000): pp.133-157.
[281] KNADS: *The Weekly Review*, April 6, 1990, "Kenya's Multi-Party Experience". P.11.

employed to restrict the dissemination of critical viewpoints.[282] Opposition figures who dared to challenge the status quo faced not only legal consequences but also social and political marginalization. The suppression of political opposition contributed significantly to KANU's unchallenged dominance in the political landscape. With no viable alternatives legally permitted to contest elections or present alternative policies, citizens were left with limited choices, further entrenching the ruling party's control. The absence of a robust opposition allowed KANU to secure electoral victories with minimal competition, maintaining its grip on power for an extended period.

The 1969 assassination of Tom Mboya, a charismatic and influential political figure within KANU, was a watershed moment in Kenyan politics.[283] Mboya's prominence and consideration as a potential successor to President Jomo Kenyatta made him a key leader within the ruling party. His untimely death created a significant void, eliminating a unifying force within KANU and triggering heightened internal party dynamics. While the assassination itself was not directly linked to KANU's consolidation of power, its aftermath contributed to a political climate of suspicion and increased factionalism within the party.[284] The loss of Mboya amplified existing tensions, and the absence of a clear successor intensified internal power struggles. This event, occurring against the backdrop of broader political changes, played a role in shaping the internal dynamics of KANU and influenced the subsequent trajectory of Kenyan politics.

[282] Lusike Mukhongo. "Friends or foes? A critique of the development of the media and the evolving relationship between press and politics in Kenya." *Critical Arts* 29, no. 1 (2015): pp.59-76.
[283] Anaïs Angelo. "Jomo Kenyatta and the repression of the 'last'Mau Mau leaders, 1961–1965." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 11, no. 3 (2017): pp.442-459.
[284] David Throup. "Elections and political legitimacy in Kenya." *Africa* 63, no. 3 (1993): pp.371-396.

The 1975 assassination of Josiah Mwangi Kariuki, popularly known as J.M Kariuki, marked a tragic episode in Kenyan politics.[285] As a fervent critic and Member of Parliament, Kariuki gained recognition for his tireless advocacy against corruption and his commitment to championing the rights of ordinary citizens. His outspoken stance and popularity positioned him as a significant figure in Kenyan political discourse.

J.M Kariuki's untimely death, while not directly linked to the formal consolidation of power within KANU, had profound consequences. The assassination heightened political tensions and sparked suspicions regarding the motivations behind the killing.[286] Many perceived it as a response to Kariuki's vocal opposition to government corruption and his demands for transparency. The event underscored the challenges faced by those who dared to critique the establishment and contributed to a climate of political unease. Beyond the immediate political ramifications, Kariuki's assassination left an enduring impact on public perceptions of governance, fostering a continued push for accountability and political reform in Kenya.

The Weekly Review reports:

> In March, 1975 the country was thrown briefly into turmoil when the MP for Nyandarua North Josiah Mwangi Kariuki, disappeared mysteriously and was later found murdered near Nairobi. Parliament was in uproar over Kariuki's murder and briefly turned into a rallying point for opposition to the Kenyatta government. When things returned to normal after a parliamentary select committee had handed in its critical report to the government, the opposition subsided, although a few MPs remained vocally opposed to certain government policies.[287]

[285] Jake Harms. "Disrupting ethnic politics and imagining alternative futures in Kenya, 1975: the JM Kariuki assassination." PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 2021.
[286] Ibid
[287] KNADS: *The Weekly Review*, January 12, 1990. "The Assassination of Mwangi Kariuki". p.11

The Kenya African National Union witnessed significant internal dynamics in its leadership structure between 1969 and 1978, contributing to the consolidation of power within the ruling party.[288] Despite President Jomo Kenyatta maintaining his paramount leadership role, internal power struggles within KANU resulted in notable shifts in other party positions. These changes were often emblematic of strategic maneuvers by various factions within the party seeking to align themselves with the president's policies and secure influential positions. Kenyatta's presidency emphasized a centralized power structure, and the alterations in leadership were, in part, responses to maintain alignment with the party's paramount leader. Noah Wekesa contends that:

> …the leadership changes within KANU during this period were intricately linked to the broader strategy of suppressing dissent. As opposition parties were banned and dissenting voices marginalized, the internal reorganization of KANU's leadership played a crucial role in solidifying the party's unity. The strategic realignment within the leadership ranks aimed to minimize internal challenges and present a united front. The suppression of dissent, coupled with these leadership changes, ultimately reinforced the centralization of power within KANU. The party emerged as a cohesive force with a unified leadership structure, contributing to the entrenchment of authority and control during a transformative era in Kenyan politics.[289]

Concurring with the aforementioned observation, the historical landscape reveals a recurrent theme across diverse nations throughout history, various countries have experienced similar patterns of leadership changes and strategic realignment to suppress dissent and consolidate power. During Stalin's rule, the Soviet Union witnessed a series of purges and leadership changes aimed at eliminating dissent within the Communist Party.[290] The Great Purge of the 1930s resulted in the removal and execution of party members

[288] George Odhiambo Okoth, and Juliet Akinyi Jagero. "Thinking Through the Crisis of Intra-Party Democracy in Kenya: Reflections on Kenyatta's KANU Leadership (1963-1978)." *Journal of Historical Studies* 2, no. 1 (2021): pp.1-29.

[289] Noah Wekesa, Oral Interview in Kitale on 16th November, 2023.

[290] John Arch Getty. Origins of the great purges: the Soviet Communist Party reconsidered, 1933-1938. No. 43. Cambridge University Press, 1987.

deemed disloyal, as well as a restructuring of the leadership hierarchy. These measures were intended to solidify Stalin's control, suppress internal opposition, and establish a unified party structure.

The issue of presidential succession within KANU became a prominent and complex aspect of Kenyan politics during the late 1970s as President Jomo Kenyatta aged.[291] The question of who would succeed Kenyatta generated intense political maneuvering within the ruling party. With Kenyatta's long and influential presidency, the selection of his successor was a matter of great significance, carrying implications for the direction of Kenyan politics and governance. The uncertainty surrounding the succession fueled intra-party competition, as various factions within KANU sought to position their preferred candidates to ensure a smooth transition of power.

The study findings established that in 1978, upon the death of Jomo Kenyatta, the anticipated succession process unfolded within KANU. Daniel arap Moi, who had served as Vice President, emerged as the chosen successor. The transition marked a critical moment in Kenyan political history and underscored the party's control over the political landscape. Moi's ascension to the presidency was facilitated by a careful orchestration within KANU, reflecting the party's ability to manage internal dynamics and ensure continuity in leadership. The succession process highlighted the centralization of power within the ruling party and its capacity to maintain stability in the aftermath of a significant leadership change. Moi's presidency, which lasted for over two decades, further solidified KANU's dominance in Kenyan politics and shaped the trajectory of the country during this period.

[291] Anaïs Angelo. Power and the presidency in Kenya: the Jomo Kenyatta years. Vol. 146. Cambridge University Press, 2020.

2.4.2 Single-Party Rule and Opposition Dynamics (1978-1991)

During the period spanning 1978 to 1991 in Kenya, the political landscape witnessed a notable consolidation of single-party rule under President Daniel arap Moi and the Kenya African National Union (KANU).[292] Moi's ascent to power following Jomo Kenyatta's death in 1978 marked a turning point, as he swiftly strengthened KANU's dominance and tightened control over the country's political institutions.[293] One significant manifestation of this consolidation was the 1982 amendment to the constitution, which effectively outlawed multiparty politics, solidifying KANU's monopoly on power.[294] Reporting on Kenya becoming a one-party state, the findings revealed:

> The bill to make Kenya a *de jure* one-party state sailed through parliament on Wednesday with a massive vote of "aye" from the members, and no single dissenting voice. The bill got 158 "ayes" during the first division and 150 in the second going through in 45 minutes in two divisions. Speaking during the third reading, the minister for constitutional affairs, Charles Njonjo, who moved the bill, noted that…its a historic moment for the nation since the bill has been passed without any problems…therefore, the amendment has the support of MPs and also the support of the people…KANU is allowing the wishes of the people and there is nothing new...[295]

Following the amendment, the first major change was the insertion of a new section, 2A, which stated that, "There shall be in Kenya only one political party, the Kenya African National Union." Section five of the constitution was amended by deleting two paragraphs (a and e) which had stated that one candidate for president would be nominated by each political party participating in the general election. The new constitution stated, "Every candidate for the president shall be a member of the Kenya African National Union and

[292] Korwa G Adar. "Assessing democratisation trends in Kenya: A post-mortem of the Moi regime." Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics 38, no. 3 (2000): pp.103-130.
[293] Peter Wanyande, Walter Oyugi, and C. Odhiambo-Mbai. "*The Politics of Transition in Kenya: from* KANU to NARC." (2003).
[294] Wanjala S. Nasong'o. "Political Consolidation and the Rise of Single-Party Authoritarianism." In *The Palgrave Handbook of Kenyan History*, pp. 245-256. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2023.
[295] KNADS: *The Weekly Review*, June 11, 1982. "Kenya Becomes One-Party State by Law"p.4

shall be nominated by that party in the manner prescribed by or under an Act of parliament." Unlike the old constitution, the new one stated that in every constituency where there was an election for a president and for a member of parliament, separate polls would be taken.[296] Moi's regime utilized tactics of political repression, exemplified by the suppression of opposition figures, journalists, and activists through arbitrary arrests, censorship, and harassment. For instance, the detention of prominent opposition figures like Kenneth Matiba and Raila Odinga underscored the regime's intolerance of dissent and stifling of political pluralism.[297]

To affirm the foregoing assertion, *The Weekly Review* revealed:

> …the Nairobi advocate, John Khaminwa, who represented people who had been detained, was himself detained. After a search of his office and home, Khaminwa was served with detention orders. He became the third detainee following the detention of former deputy director of intelligence, Mwangi Stephen Muriithi, and former MP for Kitutu East, George Anyona, two weeks prior. It was interesting that Khaminwa was detained at about the same time as two of his clients whose cases had made headline news, Muriithi and Anyona. Just before Anyona was detained, he had held a press conference in which he stated that Kenya was ripe for a second political party. Kenya had since become a de jure one-party state.[298]

Similarly, according to the *Weekly Review*, president Moi ordered security forces to crackdown on FORD, which he described as an illegal political organization out to cause chaos. The order raised fears to some extent that the government was finally at the threshold of taking action similar to mid-last years, when the multi-party movement, then led by Kenneth Matiba and Charles Rubia, was halted in its tracks after a crackdown that saw the detention of the two together with Raila Odinga as well as lawyers John Khaminwa and Mohammed Ibrahim and the editor and publisher of the *Nairobi Law Monthly*, Gitobu

[296] Ibid. p.5
[297] John Ndungu Kungu, and Thomas Njiru Gichobi. "Torture, Politics of Pain and Transitional Justice in Kenya: A Historical Perspective." (2020).
[298] KNADS: *The Weekly Review*, June 11, 1982. "Detention: Khaminwa In"p.6

Imanyara. The latter three were released shortly afterwards although Imanyara was immediately arraigned on sedition charges, while two other lawyers, Gibson Kamau Kuria and his legal partner, Kiraitu Murungi, fled the country.[299]

Musikari Kombo recounts:

> …throughout this period, KANU's dominance extended beyond the political sphere, permeating Kenya's social and economic realms. The party's influence and control were widespread, creating a political environment where dissent was marginalized and opposition voices were silenced. Moi's administration strategically utilized patronage networks and coercion to maintain authority, consolidating power within a close circle of loyalists….Moi adeptly exploited ethnic divisions to bolster his rule, manipulating ethnic tensions for political advantage while weakening potential opposition alliances. The regime's authoritarian tendencies and the suppression of alternative political movements curtailed the prospects for a competitive political landscape.[300]

In agreement with the aforementioned findings, Adar and Munyae, in their detailed report on human rights abuses during Daniel arap Moi's regime, echo the sentiment of KANU's far-reaching influence, extending well beyond the political realm into Kenya's social and economic spheres.[301] Their findings underscores that KANU's pervasive control created an environment where dissent was marginalized, and opposition voices were systematically silenced. Adar and Munyae highlight Moi's administration's adept use of patronage networks and coercion as key strategies to maintain authority, resulting in the consolidation of power within a closely-knit circle of loyalists.

Moreover, they document how Moi strategically exploited ethnic divisions, leveraging these tensions for political advantage while actively undermining potential opposition alliances. Their examination of human rights abuses sheds light on the authoritarian

[299] KNADS: *The Weekly Review*, October 4, 1991, "KANU Back on the War-Path" p. 4.
[300] Musikari Kombo, Oral Interview at Lovington, Nairobi, 21st November, 2023.
[301] Korwa G. Adar, and Issac M. Munyae. "Human rights abuse in Kenya under Daniel arap Moi, 1978-2001." *African studies quarterly* 5, no. 1 (2001): pp.1-18.

tendencies of the regime, further emphasizing how the suppression of dissent curtailed the prospects for a competitive political landscape during this era. Adar and Munyae's work provides additional corroboration of the multidimensional dominance of KANU and the strategic political maneuvers employed during Moi's administration, particularly in the context of human rights violations.

Despite the repressive environment, pockets of opposition resilience persisted.[302] Civil society organizations, pro-democracy activists, and some opposition leaders continued to operate clandestinely, advocating for democratic reforms and challenging the autocratic regime. Simultaneously, international pressure mounted against Moi's government due to concerns over human rights abuses and the lack of political freedoms.[303] This external scrutiny, coupled with internal dissent, culminated in mounting calls for democratic reforms.

University student activism was central in advancing the democratization process in Kenya, as students vigorously opposed state security forces and often faced violent confrontations with police.[304] They championed fundamental rights such as freedom of assembly, speech, and association, while addressing issues like political interference in university curricula and corrupt administrative appointments. Their commitment to democratic ideals extended beyond their campuses, as they contested policies affecting not only Kenyans but also citizens of neighboring countries like Rhodesia. Additionally, they protested against the oppression of government critics and radical politicians, organizing

[302] Herve Maupeu. "Violence and resilience of Kenyan authoritarianism." *Nairobi Today: The Paradox of a Fragmented City* (2010): pp.365.
[303] Joseph, Figaro. "Domestic actors and liberalization: a case study of internal and external pressures in Moi's Kenya." *Contemporary Politics* 19, no. 3 (2013): pp.321-338.
[304] Maurice N Amutabi. "Crisis and student protest in universities in Kenya: Examining the role of students in national leadership and the democratization process." *African Studies Review* 45, no. 2 (2002): pp.157-177.

demonstrations against political assassinations and arbitrary detentions without trial. Through these efforts, student activism played a significant role in reinforcing democratic values and contributing to Kenya's ongoing struggle for democratization.[305]

Despite government crackdowns, student activists in Kenya persistently challenged oppressive policies, notably opposing new terms for student loans that required parents to deposit land title deeds for their children to qualify. In July 1982, the Student Organization of Nairobi University (SONU) organized a boycott against this proposal, arguing it would unfairly disadvantage students without property and restrict access to higher education. Following an ultimatum to the minister for higher education, events escalated when a coup attempt against President Moi's government occurred just days later. The failed coup prompted a severe crackdown on the University of Nairobi, leading to its dissolution in October 1982, with many students arrested and mistreated.

Prominent student leaders played critical roles during this period. Titus 'Tito' Adongusi, SONU chairman, was arrested and sentenced to ten years for complicity in the coup attempt, ultimately dying in prison. Peter Nicholas Oginga Ogego, another student leader, was charged with sedition and received a ten-year sentence after the government claimed he lacked remorse. David Onyango Oloo faced a five-year sentence for possessing a seditious document, defending himself in court and questioning the definition of sedition, which resonated in later judicial cases.[306]

Tragically, Jacob Wandera, a 23-year-old student, was killed by security forces in 1985 while attending a prayer meeting, an incident that drew international condemnation and highlighted the regime's brutality. Robert Wafula Buke, a SAFINA party activist, was

[305] Ibid
[306] *Daily Nation* of 27 October 1982

expelled from the university in 1987 and falsely accused of espionage, receiving a ten-year prison sentence after leading a significant student strike.[307] Despite ongoing repression, these leaders and their peers continued to advocate for democratic ideals, facing arrests and harsh penalties while the government's oppressive measures aimed to stifle opposition and promote loyalty to the ruling party.

The study established that the turning point came between 1990 and 1991 when faced with escalating internal and external pressures, Moi reluctantly acceded to demands for multiparty politics.[308] Under significant domestic and international pressure, Moi repealed the ban on opposition parties in 1991, signaling the beginning of a transition toward a more pluralistic political landscape in Kenya. This pivotal shift marked the end of an era of single-party rule and set the stage for a renewed political trajectory, allowing for the emergence of a more diverse and competitive political arena in Kenya's subsequent years.

According to *The Weekly Review*, a week after the Kanu special delegates' conference had moved to end the party's monopoly on the country's politics, the Kenyan parliament had officially legalized the return to multi-party democracy in the country. The report stated that the bill seeking to repeal Section 2(A) of the constitution in order to provide for political pluralism was passed within the same afternoon, following slightly more than three hours of debate. The vice-president and minister for finance, George Saitoti, who also served as the leader of government business, had moved the procedural motion to seek the House's approval to reduce the mandatory waiting period between the bill's publication and

[307] Maurice N Amutabi. "Crisis and student protest in universities in Kenya: Examining the role of students in national leadership and the democratization process." *African Studies Review* 45, no. 2 (2002): pp.157-177.
[308] KNADS: *The Weekly Review*, December 6, 1991. “KANU says yes to Multi-partism”p.3&9

its tabling in parliament from 14 days to just 6 days. This entire exercise, the report mentioned, had taken less than five minutes.[309]

During the transitional period from 1978 to 1991 in Kenya, there was a notable splintering within the Kenya African National Union (KANU), leading to the emergence of various smaller parties.[310] The fragmentation of KANU stemmed from internal power struggles, dissatisfaction with the autocratic rule of President Daniel Arap Moi, and differing ideological perspectives among party members.[311]

Similarly, *The Weekly Review* highlighted that:

> When Charles Rubia was expelled from KANU in June last year, KANU's national chairman. Peter Oloo Aringpo, said that Rubia had been kicked out of the party because he was "arrogant and disrespectful to the party and its officials". Aringo was apparently reffering to the bitter exchanges between Rubia and local KANU officials after he lost the Starehe parliamentary seat to Kiruhi Kimondo in the 1988 general election. Matters came to a head in late 1988, when Starehe KANU officials accused Rubia of organizing a demonstration at his House, Nairobi, of nursery school children from Pangani. Rubia protested to his innocency but was never the less summoned to appear before the Nairobi KANU branch on the matter. After being kept waiting outside the branch offices for five hours however, Rubia lost his temper and denounced the whole disciplinary affair as a "Kangaroo court" and swore never to appear before it again. He was swiftly suspended from the party and a recommendation to expel him was adopted by party's national governing council.[312]

Accordingly, within KANU, dissenting voices emerged, challenging the centralized authority and policies of the ruling elite.[313] A significant event that highlighted this

[309] KNADS: *The Weekly Review*, December 13, 1991. "Quick passage for repeal bill"p.8
[310] Jennifer A. Widner. The Rise of a Party-State in Kenya: From Harambee! to Nyayo! Univ of California Press, 2023.
[311] Peter Wanyande, Walter Oyugi, and C. Odhiambo-Mbai. "*The Politics of Transition in Kenya: from* KANU to NARC." (2003).
[312] KNADS: *The Weekly Review*, May 11, 1990. "Rubia: A Collision Course".p.11.
[313] Patricia Stamp. "The politics of dissent in Kenya." *Current History* 90, no. 556 (1991): pp.205-229.

fragmentation was the fallout between Moi and a faction led by Kenneth Matiba and Charles Rubia in the late 1980s. Matiba and Rubia advocated for more democratic reforms within KANU, criticizing Moi's leadership style and calling for greater political pluralism.[314] This internal strife resulted in their expulsion from KANU in 1991, leading to the formation of the multiparty advocacy group, the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD).

2.5 Coalition Politics in the Multiparty Era (1991-2002)

This era marked a transformative phase as the country transitioned from single-party rule to a multi-party system. Following the repeal of the one-party state provision in 1991, Kenya experienced the proliferation of political parties, leading to the formation of coalitions as a means to address the challenge of securing majority support. This period was characterized by intricate negotiations and compromises among parties with diverse ideologies. The shift to coalition politics in Kenya not only reflected the desire for political pluralism but also had profound implications for the nation's democratic evolution, shaping the dynamics of governance and influencing the trajectory of political developments in subsequent years.

2.5.1 Advent of Multiparty Democracy and its Influence on Coalition Building

The reintroduction of multiparty democracy in Kenya in 1991 marked a critical moment in the country's political history, breaking away from decades of single-party rule under KANU.[315] This significant shift toward multiparty politics had far-reaching implications, not only transforming the political landscape but also shaping coalition formations that have played a critical role in Kenya's governance and elections.

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[314] Maurice Amutabi. "Beyond imperial presidency in Kenya: Interrogating the Kenyatta, Moi and Kibaki regimes and implications for democracy and development." *Kenya Studies Review* 1, no. 1 (2009): pp.55-84.

[315] KNADS: *The Weekly Review*, December 20, 1991. “An Historic Amendment”p.16

The repeal of the ban on opposition parties in 1991 represented a watershed moment in Kenya's political history, signifying the culmination of domestic and international pressures for democratic reforms.[316] Under the prolonged single-party rule of KANU since independence in 1963, political dissent and opposition movements were suppressed, limiting political freedoms and stifling pluralism.[317]However, the mounting domestic discontent, fueled by grievances over authoritarian governance, lack of political inclusivity, and human rights abuses, catalyzed calls for reforms and the restoration of multiparty democracy.[318]

Internationally, Kenya faced mounting scrutiny and pressure from the global community, including foreign governments, international organizations, and human rights bodies, urging the government to embrace political pluralism and respect fundamental human rights. The Cold War era's end and the global wave of democratization further amplified the calls for Kenya to adopt more democratic governance.[319] International condemnation of human rights violations and calls for political reforms intensified, creating significant external pressure on the government to initiate changes toward democratization.

Throup and Hornsby observe:

> Despite the fact that President Moi had emerged as one of Africa's most outspoken opponents of multiparty democracy, by November 1991 the pressures against KANU had become so great that it was in serious difficulties and its grasp on power was under attack. Support for the opposition had continued to grow … Meanwhile, the regime came under ever increasing pressure, especially from the

[316] Michael Chege. "Kenya: back from the brink?." *J. Democracy* 19 (2008): p.125.
[317] Gibson Kamau Kuria. "Confronting dictatorship in Kenya." *J. Democracy* 2 (1991): p.115.
[318] Michael Bratton and Nicolas Van de Walle. "Popular protest and political reform in Africa." *Comparative politics* (1992): pp.419-442.
[319] Peter Kagwanja. "After the Third Wave: The Global Crisis of Democracy and the Future Governance of Africa." In Civilization and Governance: The Western and Non-Western World, pp.103-120. 2023.

> American, Canadian, and German governments to liberalize politically as well as economically, permitting the formation of opposition parties and a free press.[320]

The repeal of the ban on opposition parties in 1991 was a response to these domestic and international pressures for democratic reforms.[321] .This pivotal decision marked a departure from the era of single-party dominance, opening up the political space for the emergence of multiple parties, fostering a more pluralistic political environment, and laying the groundwork for a more democratic Kenya.[322]

Kanyinga observes that the return of multi-party democracy in 1991 led to the expansion of space for the enjoyment of civil and political freedoms. It generally enhanced the space for participatory democracy. The state loosened its grip on political space and allowed for the proliferation of political groups, including opposition political parties and human rights organizations. But these gains were not effectively consolidated. The state paralysed the opposition political parties by preventing them from operating in cetain areas the government considered to be the strongholds of the ruling party. In other instances, the government would deny the opposition the licence to hold political meetings. Thus, in spite of multi-party democracy the ruling party(KANU) and its leader President Daniel Arap Moi continued to constrain the new space through repressive measures.[323]

The transition to multiparty democracy in Kenya in 1991 facilitated the emergence of a multitude of political parties, each representing various ideologies, regional interests, and ethnic affiliations.[324] This proliferation of parties transformed the political landscape,

[320] Throup D & C Hornsby, *op. cit*., p. 270.
[321] Nowrojee Eruch. "Kenya: Political Pluralism, Government Resistance, and United States Responses." (1992): p.149.
[322] John Mukum Mbaku, and Julius O. Ihonvbere, eds. *Multiparty democracy and political change:* Constraints to democratization in Africa. Routledge, 2018.
[323] Kanyinga, Karuti. "Kenya: Democracy and political participation." (2014).p. 8
[324] Frank Holmquist, and Michael Ford. "Kenyan politics: toward a second transition?." *Africa Today* 45, no. 2 (1998): pp.227-258.

offering Kenyan citizens a broader spectrum of choices and reflecting the country's diverse socio-political dynamics. Among the prominent political parties that surfaced after the reintroduction of multiparty politics was the Democratic Party (DP). Led by Mwai Kibaki, a seasoned politician and former Vice President, the DP attracted support from different regions and became a significant player in Kenya's political scene.[325] It presented itself as an alternative to the dominant KANU and played a crucial role in challenging the ruling party's long-standing control.

Another notable party was FORD that played a pivotal role in Kenya's transition to multiparty democracy, emerging as a significant opposition movement following the repeal of the ban on opposition parties in 1991.[326] Founded by a coalition of prominent opposition figures, FORD aimed to challenge the longstanding dominance of KANU and advocated vehemently for democratic reforms, including the reintroduction of multiparty politics and increased political pluralism.[327]

Kenneth Matiba and Jaramogi Oginga Odinga were instrumental in forming FORD, leveraging their stature within Kenya's political landscape to rally support against the autocratic rule of KANU.[328] Matiba, a former minister and businessman, and Odinga, a veteran politician and former Vice President, brought together dissident voices seeking political change, galvanizing a movement that garnered significant public attention and support. However, internal divisions and power struggles soon emerged within FORD,

[325] David M. Anderson. "Briefing: Kenya's Elections 2002: The Dawning of a New Era?." *African Affairs* 102, no. 407 (2003): pp.331-342.
[326] D. Pal Ahluwalia. "Democratic transition in African politics: The case of Kenya." *Australian Journal of Political Science* 28, no. 3 (1993): pp.499-514.
[327] Mutizwa-Mangiza, Shingai Price. "Political party institutionalization: A case study of Kenya." PhD diss., Rhodes University, 2013.
[328] Oita Etyang. The politics of coalition formation in Kenya: 1992-2017. University of Johannesburg (South Africa), 2021.

leading to the fragmentation of the party. Disagreements over leadership, ideological differences, and divergent approaches to political strategies led to rifts within the party ranks. These internal tensions culminated in the splintering of FORD into multiple factions, notably FORD-Kenya and FORD-Asili.[329]

Musikari Kombo noted:

> …FORD-Kenya, led by Oginga Odinga maintained a focus on advocating for democratic reforms and sought to carry forward the original vision of FORD. The party attracted support from various regions, particularly in western Kenya, positioning itself as a formidable opposition force challenging the status quo. On the other hand, FORD-Asili, led by Kenneth Matiba and Charles Rubia, sought a more moderate approach, emphasizing reconciliation and a focus on economic reforms alongside political change. FORD-Asili aimed to appeal to a broader spectrum of Kenyans disillusioned with KANU's rule, presenting itself as an alternative that could address both political and socio-economic challenges facing the nation.[330]

The fragmentation of FORD into these splinter groups, each with its distinct leadership and political objectives, showcased the complexities and internal dynamics of opposition politics in Kenya.[331] Despite the fragmentation, both FORD-Kenya and FORD-Asili continued to exert influence in Kenyan politics, contributing to the opposition's efforts to challenge KANU's dominance and pave the way for the evolution of multiparty democracy in the country.

According to the ordinary voters during the focus group discussion at Kanduyi as shown in Plate 3, the disunity among opposition parties was majorly propagated by KANU under Moi regime for he feared the force of united opposition. They observed that

> …KANU regime under president Moi was very reluctant in embracing multiparty. As such, Moi advocated for

[329] D. Pal Ahluwalia. "Democratic transition in African politics: The case of Kenya." *Australian Journal of Political Science* 28, no. 3 (1993): pp.499-514.
[330] Musikari Kombo, Oral Interview at Lovington in Nairobi, 21st November, 2023.
[331] Kadima, Denis, and Felix Owuor. "Kenya's decade of experiments with political party alliances and coalitions-motivations, impact and prospects." *Journal of African Elections* 13, no. 1 (2014): pp.150-180.

> registration of so many political parties even on tribal lines as a way of enhancing the division of opposition more so among the bigger ethinic communities while advancing for unity of the smaller communities to which he belonged.[332]



Plate 3: The researcher (seated in front) having a focus group discussion with ordinary voters on factors influencing coalition Politics in Kenya at Mayanja-Kanduyi in Bungoma.

Supporting the foregoing position, respondents in FGD 1 contended that:

> …even after opposition parties like FORD Asili had successfully won a number of seats, President Moi embarked on a mission to coerce them into defecting to KANU by offering various tempting incentives in return for their defection. This situation led to the then Hamisi MP from Ford-Asili Nicodemas Khaniri and a councilor defect to Kanu abandoning their seats and seeking re-election on the KANU ticket, with all government machinery mobilized to campaign for the by-elections triggered by these defections.[333]

The study contends that the reintroduction of multiparty politics in Kenya in 1991 fundamentally transformed the country's political landscape. Coalition formations have been instrumental in shaping governance, electoral strategies, and power dynamics, with ethnic considerations, power-sharing arrangements, and shifting alliances playing central roles. Despite challenges, coalition politics remains a defining feature of Kenya's

[332] FGD 1 at Kanduyi in Bungoma County on 13th September 2023.
[333] FGD 1 at Kanduyi in Bungoma County on 13th September 2023.

democratic journey, influencing the country's political direction and prospects for inclusive governance.

2.5.2 Shifts in Alliances, Mergers, and Realignments among Political Parties

During the multi-party era, coalition politics underwent significant shifts, mergers, and realignments among political parties.[334] This era was marked by a dynamic political landscape where parties formed alliances to consolidate power, influence elections, and navigate the complexities of Kenya's multiparty democracy.

The 1992 and 1997 general elections in Kenya, KANU dominated the political scene, winning both the presidential and parliamentary contests.[335] In 1992, President Daniel arap Moi secured re-election with 38% of the total votes, while KANU claimed 99 out of 188 parliamentary seats. Notably, the opposition parties, despite collectively earning the largest share of the presidential votes, were unable to present a unified front and divided the parliamentary seats among themselves, amassing a total of 89 seats.[336]

In 1994, KANU's popularity continued to flourish with the defection of yet another opposition MP, Kiruhi Kimondo, former FORD Asili MP for Starehe. As the party embarked on its reorganization and restructuring programme countrywide, more defectors from opposition parties continued to rejoin KANU where they seemed to find solace.[337]

A similar narrative unfolded in the 1997 elections, where KANU retained power with 40 percent of the presidential votes and secured 113 seats out of the expanded total of 222,

[334] Gilbert Khadiagala. "Coalition politics in Kenya." Marriages of Inconvenience: The politics of coalitions in South Africa (2021): p.157.
[335] Denis Kadima, and Felix Owuor. "Kenya's decade of experiments with political party alliances and coalitions-motivations, impact and prospects." *Journal of African Elections* 13, no. 1 (2014): pp.150-180.
[336] Ibid
[337] KNADS/SF.40/21/17. Security Intelligence Report no.17. September 1994. Accessed on 9/8/2023.

including 12 nominated seats.[338] The simplicity of the electoral system and KANU's stronghold in specific constituencies, buoyed by a skewed constituency delimitation, virtually guaranteed the party's success. The opposition, discerning lessons from these electoral outcomes, recognized the formidable challenge posed by a well-established incumbent party and initiated discussions to forge a united front. Commenting on how Moi won in the two consecutive elections, Noah Wekesa observed:

> KANU's electoral victories were not solely a consequence of opposition fragmentation; multiple factors played pivotal roles. The reintroduction of multiparty politics lacked comprehensive reforms, failing to address the over-concentration of power in the presidency and resulting in a legal framework more suited to a one-party state. Additionally, President Moi faced no restrictions in participating in multiparty elections despite his longstanding incumbency, contesting both the 1992 and 1997 elections with incumbent privileges. The influential presidency extended to key appointments in electoral institutions, granting the president undue advantage in shaping their composition and operations.[339]

Contrary to the foregoing assertion that KANU's electoral victories were primarily influenced by factors such as the lack of comprehensive reforms in the reintroduction of multiparty politics, Olukoshi argue that opposition fragmentation indeed played a more decisive role.[340] While acknowledging the shortcomings in the constitutional amendments and the persistent concentration of power in the presidency, he contends that the opposition's inability to present a united front and articulate a compelling alternative vision to KANU's leadership was a more critical factor. He argues that even with a more conducive legal framework and restrictions on incumbency, the fractured opposition could

[338] Ibid
[340] Adebayo Olukoshi., ed. *The politics of opposition in contemporary Africa*. Nordic Africa Institute, 1998.

have struggled to coalesce and pose a formidable challenge to KANU's dominance in the absence of a coherent strategy and a unified political agenda.

In anticipation of the 2002 elections, two distinct alliance-building initiatives took shape. On one front, KANU pursued an alliance with the National Development Party (NDP).[341] Concurrently, the opposition, comprising parties such as the Democratic Party (DP), FORD-Kenya, and the National Party of Kenya, coalesced under the banner of the National Alliance for Change.

The KANU-NDP alliance, materialized in February 2002 through Raila Odinga's merger with KANU, faced internal discord.[342] President Moi's unilateral endorsement of Uhuru Kenyatta as KANU's presidential candidate led to dissent within the party. Raila Odinga, a key figure in the opposition, strongly opposed this move and played a pivotal role in the formation of the Rainbow Alliance. This coalition, with prominent personalities like George Saitoti, Kalonzo Musyoka, Musalia Mudavadi, and Joseph Kamotho, emerged as a counterforce within KANU.[343]

Commenting on KANU-NDP merger, respondents from the Focus Group Discussion offers a different perspective. They argue that:

> …leading up to the 2002 elections, there was a notable absence of a clear alliance building initiative between KANU and the National Development Party (NDP). Both parties maintained a distant relationship during that period, which contributed to a lack of significant collaboration. Additionally, opposition parties such as the Democratic Party (DP), Ford-Kenya, and the National Party of Kenya failed to form a cohesive coalition under the umbrella of

[341] Peter Wanyande, Walter Oyugi, and C. Odhiambo-Mbai. *"The Politics of Transition in Kenya: from* KANU to NARC." (2003).
[342] Oita Etyang. The politics of coalition formation in Kenya: 1992-2017. University of Johannesburg (South Africa), 2021.
[343] Ibid

> the National Alliance for Change, further contributing to a fragmented political landscape.[344]

Simultaneously, the opposition's alliance evolved into the National Alliance for Change (NAK), led by Mwai Kibaki, Kijana Wamalwa, and Charity Ngilu. By September 2002, internal strife within KANU reached a climax, prompting the mass departure of the Rainbow Alliance, now rebranded as the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) of Kenya.[345] This group joined forces with NAK to form the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), with President Mwai Kibaki as its presidential candidate. The coalition's guiding principles were encapsulated in the Memorandum of Understanding, serving as a blueprint for governance.[346] In the 2002 elections, NARC secured an overwhelming victory in both the presidential and parliamentary races. This landmark outcome marked a historic shift in Kenya's political landscape, bringing an end to KANU's longstanding rule and ushering in a new era under the National Rainbow Coalition.[347]

The above findings underscores the significant impact of a united opposition in shaping the political landscape leading up to the 2002 elections in Kenya. The successful formation of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) through the unity of opposition forces under Mwai Kibaki's leadership demonstrated the transformative power of a united front. This strategic alliance not only ended KANU's long-standing rule but also heralded a new era in Kenyan politics, highlighting the importance of unity and collaboration among opposition parties in achieving electoral success.

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[344] FGD 4 at Kamungunji in Nairobi County on 14th November 2023.
[345] Denis Kadima, and Felix Owuor. "Kenya's decade of experiments with political party alliances and coalitions-motivations, impact and prospects." *Journal of African Elections* 13, no. 1 (2014): pp.150-180.
[346] Ibid
[347] Ibid

2.6 Transition and Consolidation (2002-2013)

The period from 2002 to 2013 in Kenya marked a significant chapter in the country's political history characterized by transitions, realignments, and the consolidation of political coalitions. The era began with the end of the long-standing rule of the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and witnessed the establishment of a multi-party democracy.

The 2002 elections in Kenya heralded a historic shift in the country's political landscape, breaking the decades-long dominance of the Kenya African National Union (KANU).[348] The formation of political alliances, particularly the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), marked a significant shift in Kenya's political landscape. NARC emerged as a formidable coalition comprised of various opposition parties united in a shared goal to challenge the long-standing dominance of the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and bring about substantial political change.[349]

The genesis of NARC lay in the growing dissatisfaction among Kenyans with KANU's governance, characterized by corruption, authoritarianism, and economic mismanagement.[350] Opposition parties recognized the need for a unified front to present a credible challenge to KANU's entrenched rule. Key figures such as Mwai Kibaki, Charity Ngilu, and Raila Odinga played pivotal roles in galvanizing support and rallying diverse political factions under the NARC banner.[351] NARC's formation was not merely a coalition

[348] David M. Anderson. "Briefing: Kenya's Elections 2002: The Dawning of a New Era?." *African Affairs* 102, no. 407 (2003): pp.331-342.
[349] Oita Etyang. The politics of coalition formation in Kenya: 1992-2017. University of Johannesburg (South Africa), 2021.
[350] Peter Wanyande, Walter Oyugi, and C. Odhiambo-Mbai. "*The Politics of Transition in Kenya: from* KANU to NARC." (2003).
[351] Ibid

of convenience but a strategic alliance with a clear vision.[352] It sought to combine the strengths and resources of multiple parties, leveraging their collective support base and expertise. The coalition's unity and collaborative efforts were instrumental in mobilizing voters across the country and presenting a viable alternative to KANU's decades-long grip on power.

NARC was a crucial political alliance that coalesced in Kenya ahead of the 2002 general elections. This coalition comprised several opposition parties and influential leaders united in their shared objective to oust the longstanding ruling party, the Kenya African National Union (KANU).[353] Notable entities within the NARC coalition included the National Party of Kenya (NPK) led by Charity Ngilu, Raila Odinga's Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), and the Democratic Party (DP) helmed by Mwai Kibaki, who emerged as the coalition's presidential candidate. These parties, alongside others such as Forum for the Restoration of Democracy - Kenya (FORD-Kenya) and Shirikisho Party of Kenya (SPK), formed a diverse coalition encompassing various political ideologies and interests.[354] In the formation of the NARC coalition, Noah Wekesa postulates that;

> …Mwai Kibaki's Democratic Party, Charity Ngilu's National Party of Kenya, and Raila Odinga's Liberal Democratic Party stood as significant pillars within the NARC coalition, each contributing substantial support and leadership. Despite initial unity, there were later disputes within FORD-Kenya, leading to factions either supporting KANU or remaining within NARC...the inclusion of smaller parties and independent figures further enriched the coalition's diversity, emphasizing its broad-based support

[352] National Rainbow Coalition (Kenya). Democracy and Empowerment: Manifesto of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC). National Rainbow Coalition, 2002.
[353] Ibid
[354] https://nation.africa/kenya/news/the-deal-and-deal-makers-in-kibaki-s-2002-victory-557104 accessed on 12th December, 2023.

> and resonating appeal among voters disillusioned with KANU's prolonged governance.[355]

Concurring with Wekesa's sentiments Mueller, in her analysis of the 2002 Kenyan elections, noted the "heterogeneous and unstable nature of the NARC coalition," with "various parties and personalities involved, each with their own agendas and interests." She also highlighted the "deep divisions and mistrust" that emerged within the coalition, which threatened its cohesion.[356]

Writing on *"Kenya: Democracy and political participation"*, Kanyinga argues that in 2002, the opposition parties formed an alliance, the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) to compete against KANU in the December 2002 elections. They were aware that in the absence of comprehensive constitutional reforms, the ruling party would have advantage over the oppositionand thus retain power. This Alliance campaigned on a platform of comprehensive reforms and a promise to deepen democracy and they won the December 2002 general elections.[357]

In the 2002 General Elections of Kenya, the presidential race featured multiple candidates vying for the nation's highest office. Mwai Kibaki, representing the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), emerged as the victorious presidential candidate, securing an impressive majority by garnering approximately sixty-two percent of the total votes cast. His main opponent, Uhuru Kenyatta of the Kenya African National Union (KANU), trailed behind with around thirty-one percent of the votes.[358] Despite the participation of several

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[355] Noah Wekesa, Oral Interview in Kitale on 16th November, 2023.

[356] Susanne D. Mueller. "The political economy of Kenya's crisis." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 2, no. 2 (2008): pp.185-210.

[357] Karuti Kanyinga. "Kenya: Democracy and political participation." (2014).p.9

[358]Peter Wanyande. "Electoral politics and election outcomes in Kenya." *Africa Development* 31, no. 3 (2006): pp.62-80.

other candidates, none posed a significant challenge to the dominance of Kibaki and Kenyatta in the election.

The success of NARC in the 2002 elections, culminating in a landslide victory and the election of Mwai Kibaki as President, demonstrated the strength of political alliances in effecting transformative change.[359] The coalition's triumph not only ended KANU's almost four-decade rule but also symbolized a turning point in Kenyan politics, showcasing the power of unity and collaboration among opposition forces to effect change at the highest level of government.

The researcher established that the NARC regime, led by President Mwai Kibaki following the 2002 elections, encountered a mix of achievements and obstacles that profoundly influenced Kenya's political landscape and eventually led to the emergence of ODM. In its initial phase, the NARC government showcased several successes. Notably, there were strides in stabilizing Kenya's economy, with moderate growth evident due to policies focused on bolstering sectors like agriculture and infrastructure.[360] Additionally, the administration made promises to combat corruption, culminating in the establishment of institutions such as the Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission (KACC).[361] Another pivotal achievement was the pursuit of constitutional reforms, which eventually led to the approval of a new constitution in 2010, aimed at enhancing governance, devolving power, and upholding fundamental rights and freedoms.

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[359] Ibid

[360] David M. Anderson. "Briefing: Kenya's Elections 2002: The Dawning of a New Era?." *African Affairs* 102, no. 407 (2003): pp.331-342.

[361] Gladwell Otieno. "The NARC's anti-corruption drive in Kenya: somewhere over the rainbow?." *African Security Studies* 14, no. 4 (2005): pp.69-79.

However, the NARC regime grappled with numerous challenges that hindered its effectiveness and led to discontent among the populace. Internal rifts and power struggles among key leaders within the coalition government resulted in disunity, impacting the implementation of policies and initiatives. Furthermore, the administration fell short of meeting the high expectations set by its promises of rapid change and comprehensive reforms. Slow progress in addressing issues like corruption and poverty led to disillusionment among Kenyan citizens who anticipated swift improvements in their living conditions.

Ethnic and tribal politics also plagued the government, with accusations of favoritism in appointments and resource allocation surfacing. These perpetuated divisions among different ethnic groups and undermined public trust in the coalition's commitment to national unity. These challenges, combined with unmet promises and dissatisfaction among key political figures, contributed to the formation of the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) in 2005.[362] Spearheaded by Raila Odinga, a significant figure within the NARC coalition, ODM sought to present an alternative political force addressing grievances stemming from unfulfilled expectations and internal conflicts within the ruling coalition.

The rise of the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) in 2005 was a turning point moment in Kenyan politics, born out of internal rifts and grievances following the 2002 NARC coalition government's ascent to power.[363] Internal discord, unfulfilled promises, and power struggles within the ruling coalition prompted dissatisfaction among its members, laying the groundwork for a splinter movement.

[362] Karuti Kanyinga. "Kenya: Democracy and political participation." (2014).
[363] Westen K. Shilaho, and Westen K. Shilaho. "The State Ruptures." *Political Power and Tribalism in Kenya* (2018): pp.113-142.

Central to the formation of ODM was the dissatisfaction of Raila Odinga, a prominent leader within the NARC coalition and head of LDP, alongside Odinga, Musalia Mudavadi, an influential political figure, and William Ruto, a notable leader from the Rift Valley region among others were instrumental in the ODM's creation.[364] Odinga and his allies were discontented with the pace of reforms and the perceived marginalization within the coalition, leading them to contemplate a new political direction. This dissatisfaction culminated in discussions and negotiations among disillusioned members, eventually resulting in the birth of the Orange Democratic Movement. According to Bifwoli Wakoli:

> …the formation of ODM drew support from disenchanted segments of the NARC coalition, other opposition figures, and a populace yearning for more expedited reforms. With Raila Odinga at the forefront, ODM positioned itself as an alternative force committed to amplifying democratic ideals, enhancing governance fairness, combating corruption, fostering ethnic inclusivity, and addressing socio-economic disparities. It emerged as a platform promising transformative change and pledged to prioritize the concerns and aspirations of ordinary Kenyans.[365]

Resonating with Bifwoli's sentiments Guyo, in his examination of Kenyan politics, noted that ODM "emerged as a powerful force that challenged the political establishment and presented a vision of a more inclusive, just, and responsive government"[366] The study observed that the ODM's emergence reshaped the political landscape, sparking a new era of activism, mobilization, and increased competition within Kenya's political sphere.[367] By providing a distinct voice for those dissatisfied with the status quo, the formation of ODM

[364] Denis Kadima, and Felix Owuor. "Kenya's decade of experiments with political party alliances and coalitions-motivations, impact and prospects." *Journal of African Elections* 13, no. 1 (2014): pp.150-180.
[365] Bifwoli Wakoli, Oral Interview at Highway hotel, Bungoma on14th November, 2023.
[366] Guyo Liban. The Kenyan Elections within a Reconciliation Framework. Folke Bernadotte Academy, 2013. *African Studies Quarterly*, 13(1-2), pp.23-43.
[367] Kenneth K. Okech. "New Media and Political Mobilization: Implications for Presidential Campaigns in Kenya, 2000-2013." PhD diss., 2015.

marked a significant shift in the country's political dynamics, setting the stage for subsequent developments and altering the trajectory of Kenyan politics.

The establishment of the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) in Kenyan politics brought about far-reaching changes, fundamentally altering the country's political landscape. One of its notable impacts was the introduction of heightened political pluralism and increased competition. ODM emerged as a fresh political force, challenging the long-standing dominance of established parties like the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and the NARC coalition.[368] This expansion of the political arena offered voters an alternative choice beyond the traditional parties, fostering a more diverse and competitive multi-party system.

Additionally, ODM's formation triggered realignments in political affiliations and coalitions. The movement's emergence prompted shifts in support bases, altering electoral strategies and influencing the dynamics of alliances among various political entities.[369] Advocating for democratic reforms and espousing values of good governance, accountability, and inclusivity in political representation, ODM played a pivotal role in driving socio-political agendas. It pushed for constitutional reforms and spearheaded policies aimed at tackling issues such as corruption, ethnic inclusivity, and socio-economic disparities. Range Mwita remarked:

> ...despite its inclusive appeal across diverse communities, ODM's presence also spurred ethnic mobilization, contributing to a certain level of politicization along ethnic lines—an aspect that became increasingly salient in subsequent Kenyan political landscapes.[370] However, its

[368] Gilbert M. Khadiagala. "Political movements and coalition politics in Kenya: entrenching ethnicity." South African Journal of International Affairs 17, no. 1 (2010): pp.65-84.
[369] Ibid
[370] Cheeseman, Nic, and Miles Larmer. "Ethnopopulism in Africa: Opposition mobilization in diverse and

> influence went beyond ethnic boundaries, fostering increased civic engagement and activism among citizens. ODM's formation encouraged a more politically conscious electorate, actively participating in debates and advocating for transformative change.[371]

In his analysis of the 2007 Kenyan elections, Adar observed that "the mobilization of ethnic identities by political parties, including ODM, contributed to the heightened tensions and violence that marred the electoral process".[372]

The study asserts that the impact of ODM extended to power dynamics within Kenya's political sphere. As a significant player capable of influencing policy agendas and challenging the status quo, the movement wielded notable influence, securing significant parliamentary seats and strongholds in subsequent elections. Consequently, it impacted the composition of legislative bodies and exerted its influence in decision-making processes, marking a crucial moment in Kenya's democratic evolution.

2.7 The 2007 Elections and the Aftermath

The political landscape of the 2007 general elections in Kenya was dominated by two major coalitions, each vying for supremacy in the electoral race. The incumbent president, Mwai Kibaki, declared his intention to seek re-election on January 26, 2007, marking the formation of the Party of National Unity (PNU).[373] This alliance brought together various political parties, including KANU, the Democratic Party, NARC–Kenya, FORD-Kenya, Ford–People, and Shirikisho. Notably, Kibaki had previously indicated, before the 2002

unequal societies." *Democratization* 22, no. 1 (2015): pp.22-50.

[371] Range Mwita, Oral Interview at CMD offices, Nairobi on 22nd November 2023.

[372] K. G. Adar. The 2007 General Elections in Kenya and the Management of the Post-Election Violence. *Africa Insight*, 38(2), (2008). Pp.33-50.

[373] Axel Harneit-Sievers, and Ralph-Michael Peters. "Kenya's 2007 General Election and Its Aftershocks." *Africa Spectrum* 43, no. 1 (2008): pp.133–44. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40175226. Accessed on 2nd January 2024.

elections, that he would serve only one term as president. However, he chose to run for a second term under the PNU banner.[374]

The main opposition to the PNU came from the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) coalition. Originally comprising the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) and KANU, the ODM coalition experienced a significant split in August 2007.[375] The factions resulting from this division were ODM–Kenya, led by Kalonzo Musyoka, and ODM, led by Raila Odinga. KANU, initially part of the coalition, withdrew entirely, with former President Daniel arap Moi throwing his support behind Kibaki in a surprising political realignment.

The ODM coalition, despite its internal split, presented a formidable challenge to Kibaki's re-election bid. Several prominent ODM members, including Musyoka, Odinga, Kenyatta (before KANU's withdrawal), William Ruto, Najib Balala, Musalia Mudavadi, and Joseph Nyagah, vied for the presidency. Ultimately, Musyoka was appointed as the ODM–Kenya candidate, while Odinga emerged as the candidate for the ODM faction. As the 2007 elections approached, Kenya witnessed a dynamic political landscape characterized by shifting alliances, the emergence of new political entities, and the realignment of key political figures, making it a highly contested and closely watched electoral process.

Herman Manyora recounts:

> PNU's campaign strategy pivoted on highlighting the incumbent administration's accomplishments under President Kibaki's leadership. The coalition emphasized progress achieved in various sectors during Kibaki's tenure, spotlighting economic growth, infrastructure development, and overall stability. The narrative aimed to portray Kibaki as the candidate capable of perpetuating these achievements, steering the nation towards stability and progress. By uniting diverse parties and factions under the PNU banner, the coalition sought to consolidate support for Kibaki's candidacy. The

[374] Ibid
[375] Ibid

> coalition projected a narrative centered on governance continuity and stability under the incumbent administration, emphasizing Kibaki as the candidate poised to lead Kenya forward.[376]

These two coalitions, ODM and PNU, symbolized divergent political ideologies and approaches. ODM represented a call for systemic change and reform, while PNU championed the preservation of ongoing governmental accomplishments and the perpetuation of prevailing policies. The contrasting narratives and agendas of these coalitions significantly influenced the electoral discourse and set the stage for a highly contentious and consequential electoral showdown in Kenya.

The 2007 elections in Kenya were highly contentious and marked by controversy, irregularities, and a deeply disputed outcome.[377] The presidential election pitted incumbent President Mwai Kibaki, running under the Party of National Unity (PNU) coalition, against Raila Odinga, the leader of ODM. The elections were marred by allegations of electoral malpractices, including irregularities in the vote tallying process. Initially, the results suggested a close race between Kibaki and Odinga, with Odinga leading in early counts. However, when the final results were announced, Kibaki was declared the winner, sparking allegations of rigging and fraud from the ODM and its supporters.[378] The announcement of Kibaki's victory led to widespread protests and violence across the country.[379] The disputed election results resulted in a political crisis that escalated into ethnic-based violence, leading to the loss of lives, displacement of thousands of people, and widespread destruction of property.

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[376] Herman Manyora, Oral Interview at Fountain of Knowledge UoN, Nairobi on 21st November 2023.
[377] Axel Harneit-Sievers, and Ralph-Michael Peters. "Kenya's 2007 general election and its aftershocks." *Africa Spectrum* 43, no. 1 (2008): pp.133-144.
[378] Collins Odote, and Karuti Kanyinga. "Election technology, disputes, and political violence in Kenya." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 56, no. 3 (2021): pp.558-571.
[379] Nkwachukwu Orji. "Responses to Election Outcomes: The aftermath of 2007 elections in Nigeria and Kenya." *African and Asian Studies* 9, no. 4 (2010): pp.436-461.

The 2007 General Elections in Kenya were highly contentious, especially concerning the presidential election results, which were steeped in controversy and led to widespread violence.[380] Amid allegations of irregularities, the official declaration by the Electoral Commission of Kenya named Mwai Kibaki, the incumbent president, as the winner. Kibaki, representing the Party of National Unity (PNU), was declared to have secured forty-six percent of the votes. Raila Odinga, the leader of the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), emerged as Kibaki's primary challenger, reportedly receiving forty-four percent of the votes. However, Odinga and his party vehemently disputed the results, alleging electoral fraud and irregularities, triggering massive protests and unrest across the country.

The Kriegler Report was commissioned to investigate the controversial presidential election results of 2007 in Kenya.[381] It identified significant electoral malpractices and failures within the electoral process, which contributed to the widespread violence that followed the elections. The report attributed part of the unrest to political manipulation and a profound lack of trust in electoral institutions. To address these issues, the Kriegler Report recommended comprehensive reforms aimed at enhancing the transparency and credibility of the electoral process. By fostering trust among competing parties, these reforms could help stabilize political coalitions and mitigate the risk of future electoral disputes.

International observers and organizations, including the African Union and the European Union, expressed concerns about the credibility of the elections and called for an

[380] Bård A. Andreassen, Tiberius Barasa, Thomas Kibua, and Arne Tostensen. "*The Disputed 2007* Kenyan General Election in Context."

[381] https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=d8aa1729-8a9e-7226-acee-8193fd67a21a&groupId=252038. Accessed and retrieved on 3rd January 2024.

independent investigation into the alleged irregularities.[382] Mediation efforts led by former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan resulted in the signing of the National Accord and Reconciliation Act in February 2008.[383] The National Accord established a power-sharing agreement between Kibaki's PNU and Odinga's ODM, creating the position of Prime Minister for Odinga and outlining a framework for addressing the underlying issues that led to the post-election crisis. The agreement aimed to foster peace, reconciliation, and institutional reforms within the government.

The National Accord and Reconciliation Act laid the groundwork for the establishment of a Grand Coalition Government, a significant departure from Kenya's traditional political structure.[384] Under this Act, President Mwai Kibaki and opposition leader Raila Odinga agreed to form a unity government, with Kibaki retaining the presidency and Odinga assuming the newly created position of Prime Minister, wielding substantial executive powers. This power-sharing arrangement aimed at fostering cooperation between rival political factions, promoting inclusivity, and addressing the deep-seated socio-political issues that fueled the post-election violence. The Act also outlined a roadmap for constitutional reforms, institutional changes, and national healing, setting the stage for a new chapter in Kenya's governance and political landscape.

The formation of the Grand Coalition Government in Kenya following the tumultuous 2007 elections marked a profound departure from the country's traditional political

[382] Aduma Aloysius Tochukwu, and Eneh Max. "Causes and impact of international response to 2007/2008 post election crisis in Kenya." *NG-Journal of Social Development* 5, no. 3 (2016): pp.1-13.
[383] Khaled Mohammed Aman. "Mediation: A Viable Mechanism in Africa's Political Crisis-A Case Study of Kenya's Post-Election Crisis 2008."
[384] Ben Sihanya, Duncan Okello, and Karuti Kanyinga. "Mediating Kenya's Post-Election Crises: The politics and limits of power sharing agreement'." *Tensions and reversals in democratic* transitions: *The Kenya* (2007): pp.653-709.

landscape.[385] This coalition government, forged through the National Accord and Reconciliation Act signed on February 28, 2008, was a groundbreaking initiative aimed at fostering unity, stability, and inclusive governance by bringing together bitter political rivals.

The introduction of the Prime Minister's role was a notable shift in Kenya's governance structure, marking a departure from its previously centralized presidential system. Odinga's appointment as Prime Minister aimed to address the concerns of his supporters who had contested the election results, recognizing the substantial support he commanded across the country. The Grand Coalition Government sought to balance power between the presidency and the prime ministership, allowing for shared decision-making, collaboration in governance, and the pursuit of common national objectives. Wafula Wakoko, while referring to the Grand coalition remarked:

> …this unprecedented partnership between former adversaries was symbolic of a commitment to transcend partisan politics and prioritize national interests over individual or party agendas. The Grand Coalition Government's primary objectives included restoring peace, fostering national reconciliation, implementing critical reforms, and addressing the root causes of the post-election crisis.[386]

The unprecedented collaboration between erstwhile adversaries in forming the Grand Coalition Government echoed historical instances where nations, faced with crises or conflicts, embraced unity governments. Comparable to post-conflict settings or global alliances, this coalition transcended traditional party lines, symbolizing a commitment to prioritize national interests over individual or partisan agendas. Emphasizing shared

[385] Karuti Kanyinga, Duncan Okello, and Akoko Akech. "Contradictions of transition to democracy in fragmented societies: The Kenya 2007 general elections in perspective." *Tensions and Reversals in* Democratic Transitions: The Kenya 2007 General Elections (2010): pp.1-28.

[386] Wafula Wakoko, Oral Interview at ORPP offices, Nairobi on 3rd January 2024

objectives such as restoring peace, fostering reconciliation, and implementing crucial reforms, this collaborative approach mirrors historical instances like South Africa's post-apartheid government, illustrating the power of collective dedication to address root causes and steer the nation towards stability and progress.[387]

The study notes that while this power-sharing arrangement faced challenges and complexities inherent in such collaborations, it signified a monumental step towards political stability, inclusivity, and the pursuit of a unified vision for Kenya's future. The formation of the Grand Coalition Government reshaped Kenya's political landscape, ushering in an era of shared governance and cooperation at the highest echelons of power, albeit amid ongoing challenges and the need for sustained efforts to address the country's underlying socio-political issues.

The Grand Coalition Government in Kenya embarked on a multifaceted agenda aimed at addressing critical national challenges and fostering lasting change.[388] Foremost among its goals were the restoration of stability and the promotion of reconciliation among Kenyan citizens who had been deeply affected by the post-election violence. Recognizing the wounds inflicted by the turmoil, the government made it a primary objective to heal the societal divisions and foster unity across ethnic lines. Efforts were directed towards promoting dialogue, implementing measures for conflict resolution, and undertaking initiatives aimed at national healing and cohesion.[389]

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[387] Daniel L. Shapiro. "Reconciliation Systems Design: A Systematic Approach to Collective Healing in Post-Conflict Societies." *Harv. Negot. L. Rev.* 26 (2020): p.193.
[388] Oita Etyang. The politics of coalition formation in Kenya: 1992-2017. University of Johannesburg (South Africa), 2021.
[389] Jimmy J. Kisobo. "The Impact of Coalition Government on Political, Economic and Social Development of Postconflict Societies: case of Kenya, 2008-2012." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2013.

Another key pillar of the coalition's agenda was the pursuit of far-reaching constitutional and institutional reforms.[390] Understanding the need for structural changes to prevent future electoral crises, the government sought to undertake comprehensive reforms encompassing various sectors such as constitutional amendments, electoral processes, judicial reforms, and the enhancement of security sectors. These reforms aimed to address the root causes of the crisis, improve governance mechanisms, strengthen democratic institutions, and restore confidence in the country's political and judicial systems.

In addition to these pivotal goals, the Grand Coalition Government prioritized the advancement of social and economic development across Kenya.[391] With a focus on socioeconomic upliftment, initiatives were directed at tackling poverty, reducing unemployment rates, and addressing inequalities prevalent throughout the nation. The government aimed to implement policies and programs that fostered economic growth, provided opportunities for marginalized communities, and promoted equitable distribution of resources, thereby striving for a more prosperous and inclusive society.

However, the Grand Coalition Government in Kenya encountered a spectrum of challenges that impeded the smooth implementation of its ambitious reform agenda.[392] Among the foremost hurdles were internal resistance within the government, reflecting varying priorities and conflicting interests among political factions involved in the coalition. These differences often hindered consensus-building on critical reform measures, slowing down the pace of change and leading to prolonged debates and negotiations. Additionally, the logistical complexities of executing comprehensive reforms across multiple sectors within

[390] Emily Cunningham. "Examining the success and failure of multiethnic coalition governments in Sub-Saharan Africa: The cases of Kenya and Senegal." (2014).
[391] Ibid
[392] Oita Etyang. "The Formation and Instability of Coalition Governments in Kenya." *The African Review* 49, no. 2 (2022): pp.167-194.

a constrained timeframe posed considerable challenges. Coordinating and harmonizing efforts among various government agencies, ensuring effective implementation, and managing the vast array of reforms presented significant logistical hurdles for the coalition.

Despite these formidable challenges, the Grand Coalition Government achieved several notable milestones. Most prominently, the coalition succeeded in quelling the post-election violence that had engulfed the country, creating an environment conducive for peace and allowing displaced persons to return to their homes.[393] Moreover, the government initiated crucial constitutional review processes aimed at addressing the structural deficiencies that had contributed to the electoral crisis.

This endeavor signaled a commitment to institutional reforms and laid the groundwork for future improvements in governance and democratic processes. Additionally, the coalition's efforts towards national healing and reconciliation, through various dialogue platforms and initiatives, played a pivotal role in fostering a sense of unity and harmony among diverse communities, contributing to the nation's path towards reconciliation and social cohesion.

2.8 Coalition Dynamics under the 2010 Constitution and Devolution

The enactment of the 2010 Constitution in Kenya introduced transformative changes in the country's governance, notably impacting coalition dynamics and the establishment of devolution.[394] These reforms brought a fundamental shift in power-sharing mechanisms, altering the landscape of political alliances and introducing a decentralized governance structure.

[393] Emily Cunningham. "Examining the success and failure of multiethnic coalition governments in Sub-Saharan Africa: The cases of Kenya and Senegal." (2014).
[394] Thomas Otieno Juma, Jacob K. Rotich, and Leonard Simiyu Mulongo. "Devolution and governance conflicts in Africa: Kenyan scenario." *Public Policy and Administration Research* 4, no. 6 (2014): pp.1-10.

Prior the enactment of the 2010 Constitution in Kenya, coalition politics played a central role in the formation of governments. The multi-ethnic nature of the country, coupled with the need to garner parliamentary majorities, compelled political parties to forge alliances in order to gain control of the government.[395] Kenya's political landscape was characterized by fragmented party structures and a history of coalition governments, as no single party could consistently secure an outright majority in parliament.

However, the introduction of the 2010 Constitution marked a pivotal shift in the dynamics of coalition politics. Under the 2010 Constitution of Kenya, the general requirements for winning the presidency involve a candidate receiving more than half of the votes cast and at least 25 percent of the votes in at least 24 of the 47 counties. This provision aims to ensure that the elected president has broad-based support from different regions of the country.[396] This constitutional provision aimed to promote stability and effectiveness in governance by requiring a stronger consensus among political entities, reducing the likelihood of fragmented or unstable governments reliant on narrow parliamentary support.

The new constitutional framework underscored the significance of coalition-building efforts and strategic alliances within the political landscape. Political parties were compelled to engage in pre-election negotiations and collaborations to ensure they had the requisite parliamentary support to form a government.[397] Consequently, the constitutional reforms heightened the structured and strategic nature of coalition politics in Kenya, reinforcing the necessity for broader alliances capable of securing parliamentary majorities,

[395] Matthijs Bogaards. "Electoral choices for divided societies: Multi-ethnic parties and constituency pooling in Africa." *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 41, no. 3 (2003): pp.59-80.
[396] Elisha Z., Ongoyaand Willis E. Otieno. "Handbook on Kenya's Electoral Laws and Systems: Highlights of the Electoral Laws and System established by and under the Constitution of Kenya 2010 and other Statutes." (2012).
[397] Karuti Kanyinga. "Kenya: Democracy and political participation." (2014).

thereby influencing the way parties strategized and collaborated in pursuing governance positions.[398]

An interview with Wafula Wakoko on the impact of the New Constitution on coalition politics in Kenya, he noted that;

> The strategic alignment of political parties in Kenya became increasingly vital in the post-2010 constitutional era, emphasizing the necessity of broader coalitions and alliances to secure parliamentary majorities and form a government. Parties recognized the need for cohesive and formidable partnerships, often rooted in shared ideologies, common policy agendas, or regional interests… one prominent example highlighting this strategic coalition-building approach was the formation of the Jubilee Alliance ahead of the 2013 elections. This alliance brought together key political parties such as The National Alliance (TNA) and the United Republican Party (URP), along with several smaller parties. The coming together of these parties under the Jubilee Alliance's banner presented a united front, consolidating their support base and forming a robust political coalition. Their shared goal was to secure both the presidency and a parliamentary majority.[399]

The Jubilee Alliance strategically leveraged the strength of each constituent party, recognizing the collective power of their combined support base. By uniting various parties under a single coalition, they aimed to appeal to a broader spectrum of voters across different regions and ethnic groups. This strategic alignment facilitated a more coordinated campaign, enabling the alliance to articulate a shared vision, policies, and campaign messages that resonated with a diverse array of Kenyan voters.

The success of the Jubilee Alliance in the 2013 elections, securing the presidency with Uhuru Kenyatta as president and a substantial parliamentary majority, underscored the effectiveness of strategic coalition-building efforts in Kenya's political landscape. This

[398] Gilbert M. Khadiagala. "Political movements and coalition politics in Kenya: entrenching ethnicity." South African Journal of International Affairs 17, no. 1 (2010): pp.65-84.

[399] Wafula Wakoko, Oral Interview at ORPP offices, Nairobi on 3rd January 2024

exemplified how alliances formed on shared ideologies, regional interests, or policy agendas played a pivotal role in shaping electoral outcomes and forming stable governments under the framework of the 2010 Constitution.

2.8.1 Shift in Coalition Strategies

Under the framework of the 2010 Constitution in Kenya, a noticeable shift occurred in coalition-building strategies, emphasizing a more structured and policy-oriented approach rather than mere political expediency.[400] The requirement to secure a parliamentary majority compelled political parties to engage in pre-election coalition-building efforts that were rooted in substantive policy agreements, reflecting a strategic move towards forming broad-based alliances. Post-election, the negotiation of coalition agreements became crucial in establishing the ruling government.

For instance, before the 2017 general elections in Kenya, parties formed pre-election coalitions, such as the National Super Alliance (NASA) and the Jubilee Party, which brought together different political entities under shared policy frameworks. NASA, for instance, was a coalition formed by various parties like ODM (Orange Democratic Movement), Wiper Democratic Movement, Ford Kenya, and Amani National Congress. These parties united on a platform that focused on addressing issues such as economic development, governance reforms, and social justice, presenting a coherent policy agenda to voters.

Post-election, the negotiation of coalition agreements became a critical aspect of establishing the ruling government.[401] Parties within the coalitions engaged in intricate

[400] Etyang Oita. The politics of coalition formation in Kenya: 1992-2017. University of Johannesburg (South Africa), 2021.
[401] Ibid

negotiations to define power-sharing arrangements, government positions, and policy priorities. This negotiation process was evident within the Jubilee Party, where various factions negotiated their roles within the government after securing victory in the 2017 elections. The negotiation of coalition agreements became an essential factor in ensuring a stable government formation and effective governance, emphasizing the importance of policy alignment and consensus-building among coalition partners.

The study advances that the 2010 Constitution fostered a shift in coalition strategies, encouraging political parties to prioritize substantive policy agreements and structured alliances over short-term political gains. This approach aimed to ensure more coherent governance frameworks, policy implementation, and stronger consensus-building within ruling coalitions, promoting a more focused and policy-oriented approach to Kenya's political landscape. The introduction of devolution marked a significant departure from Kenya's centralized governance system. The 2010 Constitution established 47 counties, each with its own elected governor, county assembly, and administrative structures.[402] This decentralized system aimed to empower local communities, enhance service delivery, and address regional disparities.

The advent of devolution in Kenya following the implementation of the 2010 Constitution brought about a significant political shift, particularly at the county level.[403] With the establishment of 47 counties, each possessing its own elected governor, county assembly, and administrative framework, local governance structures gained prominence in the distribution of resources and service delivery. This transition led to the emergence of

[402] Ronald Kempe Hope. "Devolved government and local governance in Kenya: Implementing decentralization underpinned by the 2010 constitution." *African and Asian Studies* 13, no. 3 (2014): pp.338-358.
[403] Karuti Kanyinga. "Devolution and the new politics of development in Kenya." *African Studies Review* 59, no. 3 (2016): pp.155-167.

vibrant political dynamics as parties and politicians focused on securing local leadership positions within the counties.

At the county level, political realignment became a crucial strategy for parties and politicians aiming to gain control and influence local governance structures. Political entities engaged in strategic alliances or coalitions tailored to the specific needs and dynamics of each county. These alliances were often formed based on shared local interests, ethnic considerations, or common development agendas. For instance, in various counties, political parties and aspirants united under specific coalitions or political movements to consolidate their support base and maximize their chances of securing county leadership positions such as the governorship or control of the county assembly.

Counties emerged as critical entities in the distribution of resources, service provision, and local development. Political alignments and coalitions aimed to wield influence over decision-making processes and resource allocation within the counties.[404] The strategic political maneuvering at the county level involved negotiations, alignments, and the formation of alliances to secure control over local governance structures, ensuring the implementation of policies that resonated with the specific needs and aspirations of the residents.

This political realignment at the county level signaled a shift in focus from national to local governance, emphasizing the importance of grassroots leadership and decision-making.[405] The emergence of strategic political alignments and coalitions within counties reflected the

[404] Benjamin Karabu Tsofa. "Examining the effects of political decentralisation in Kenya on health sector planning and budgeting: a case study of Kilifi County." PhD diss., London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine, 2017.
[405] Kasmira Cockerill. "The politics of collaborative governance: community-based conservation in northern Kenya." PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 2018.

recognition of counties as key units for development and service delivery, thereby shaping the political landscape and power dynamics within the decentralized governance framework established by devolution in Kenya.

The cooperation between national and county governments became crucial for effective governance. Parties and coalitions at the national level often sought alliances or collaborations with county leadership to facilitate resource allocation, policy implementation, and the coordination of development initiatives.[406] This interaction between different levels of government influenced coalition dynamics, requiring political actors to navigate alliances not only at the national stage but also within counties.

Fred Nyongesa in reference to the collaboration between the national and county government noted:

> …political parties and coalitions at the national level often seek alliances or collaborations with county leadership to bolster their support base. Forming partnerships with influential county leaders or political groups can be instrumental in gaining political advantage or legitimacy for national-level actors. This interplay between different levels of government significantly impacts coalition dynamics, as national political parties need to navigate alliances not only at the central stage but also within counties to secure support.[407]

The researcher observes that Nyongesa's statement highlights the strategic coalition-building between national and county-level political actors in Kenya. National political parties and coalitions often seek alliances with influential county leaders or groups to strengthen their support base and gain political advantage in Kenya. This interplay between different levels of government is a key aspect of the theory of political coalition, which

[406] Cheeseman, Nic, Gabrielle Lynch, and Justin Willis. "Decentralisation in Kenya: the governance of governors." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 54, no. 1 (2016): pp.1-35.
[407] Fred Nyongesa, Oral Interview at REDO offices, Bungoma on 4th January 2023.

emphasizes that political actors engage in strategic coalition-building to maximize their power and legitimacy.[408] By forging partnerships with county-level leaders, national-level actors expand their reach, mobilize additional resources, and secure a stronger foothold in the political landscape, reflecting the coalition-building dynamics described in the theory.

The study notes that the 2010 Constitution significantly reshaped coalition dynamics by emphasizing the need for parliamentary majorities, fostering structured coalition-building strategies, and introducing devolution, which influenced political alliances both at the national and county levels. This led to a more intricate and strategic approach to political partnerships and governance arrangements in Kenya.

2.9 The 2013 General Elections

Ahead of the Kenyan elections in 2013, the country's legislation mandated that all political parties had to officially register any coalition agreements with the Registrar of Political Parties before the deadline of 4 December 2012.[409] This requirement sparked extensive discussions among key political figures and their respective parties, aiming to establish pre-election coalitions before the stipulated cut-off date. An anticipated consequence of this legal obligation was a potential decrease in the number of individual candidates vying for positions.

The Coalition for Reforms and Democracy (CORD) comprised the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), Wiper Party, Ford-Kenya, and the Federal Party of Kenya. This coalition represented a union of these influential political entities gearing up for the upcoming elections. The Jubilee Alliance brought together the parties TNA, URP, and

[408] James A. Robinson "Decision-making and coalition building: a review: William H. Riker, The Theory of Political Coalitions." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 7, no. 4 (1963): pp.763-768.
[409] Kipruto RA. Kirwa. "The Role of Political Parties in Enhancing Democratic Governance in Africa: a Case of Kenya." PhD diss., university of Nairobi, 2018.

UDF initially. However, UDF later withdrew from this coalition. *The Daily Nation* reported:

> …Prime Minister Raila Odinga and Vice President Kalonzo Musyoka yesterday signed a pre-election agreement with 11 other political parties. The deal was sealed on a day of high drama as parties raced against time to beat the deadline to lodge coalition agreements with the Registrar of Political Parties. In an agreement dubbed the coalition for Reform and Democracy (CORD), Mr. Musyoka and Mr. Odinga did not announce who would be the presidential candidate or running mate…other parties in the CORD alliance include the National Rainbow coalition (NARC) led by Ngilu, the peoples Democratic Party (PDP) led by Omingo Magara, Mkenya Solidarity Association with former Mukingi leader Maina Njenga, Kalembe Ndile TIP, Chama cha Uzalendo, KADDU Asili, the United Democratic Movement (UDM), Agano and Muungano form part of the CORD mix.[410]

The Eagle Alliance formed through the collaboration of the KNC and POA Parties, aimed at consolidating their strengths and resources for the electoral contest. The Pambazuka Coalition initially consisted of New FORD Kenya, National Vision Party and Federal Party of Kenya Parties. However, this coalition collapsed on 29 December 2012, signaling a breakdown in the collaboration between these political entities. Additionally, the Amani Coalition emerged after UDF's departure from the Jubilee Coalition, comprising the parties New Ford Kenya and KANU. This coalition sought to realign political forces following UDF's exit from its previous coalition arrangement.

The Daily Nation further reported that the signing of the pre-poll alliances took a dramatic turn when the New Ford Kenya presidential aspirant, who had been a key member of the URP-TNA alliance, entered into a coalition with four other parties. They did not announce a presidential candidate. However, Wamalwa said he was in the presidential race to the end and was poised to battle it out for the new alliance's ticket with Cyrus Jirongo, who also

[410] "Raila and Kalonzo put ink to paper in coalition pact" *Daily Nation*, December 5, 2012.p. 4

announced he was in the race. The alliance dubbed "Pambazuko," meaning a new beginning, also had the National Vision Party of former Cabinet minister Nicholas Biwott, KADU Asili, and Shirikisho party.[411]

In the run-up to the 2013 general elections, pre-election coalitions played a pivotal role in shaping the political landscape. The elections were significant as they were the first under the new constitution, which introduced a devolved system of government with 47 counties, thereby altering the dynamics of political power in the country. Several notable pre-election coalitions were formed, each comprising various political parties and leaders aiming to secure a competitive edge in the elections.

Upon the signing of the aforementioned political coalition agreements, the study established that the number of alliances ahead of the March 4 elections were four. The agreement between Musyoka and Raila Odinga was signed at the Kenyatta International Convention Centre.

The political landscape was shaped by the emergence of two key figures: Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto.[412] Kenyatta, a significant presence in Kenyan politics, was the son of Jomo Kenyatta, the country's inaugural president. He helmed The National Alliance (TNA), a political party with considerable influence. On the other side was William Ruto, a charismatic leader hailing from the Rift Valley region, who led the United Republican Party (URP), consolidating substantial support in his own right.

Both Kenyatta and Ruto found themselves entangled in legal proceedings at the International Criminal Court (ICC) stemming from their alleged involvement in the

[411] "Raila and Kalonzo put ink to paper in coalition pact" *Daily Nation*, December 5, 2012.p. 4
[412] John O. Okul. "Electoral Reforms and Democratic Consolidation in Kenya, 1997–2017." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2020.

violence that erupted after the disputed 2007 elections in Kenya.[413] They vehemently asserted that the charges brought against them were politically motivated, casting doubt on the legitimacy and impartiality of the accusations leveled by the ICC. This shared legal predicament became a pivotal factor in their decision-making processes, prompting a strategic reassessment of their political positions and alliances.

Despite their separate parties and backgrounds, the convergence of their legal challenges created an unexpected opportunity for collaboration. Recognizing common ground amid their legal battles, Kenyatta and Ruto strategically chose to join forces, transcending their individual party affiliations.[414] Their alliance, known as The Jubilee Coalition, aimed to leverage their collective influence and support bases, particularly uniting the Kikuyu and Kalenjin communities, among others, to consolidate a formidable political force ahead of the elections.

According to *The Daily Nation*, presidential candidate Uhuru Kenyatta and his running mate William Ruto became the first to deposit their pre-election coalition deal at the Registrar of Political Parties. The agreement was signed at a table set up on an open podium under the open skies at the historic Jeevanjee Gardens in Nairobi.[415]

The formation of The Jubilee Coalition was not merely a merger of political entities; it was a strategic maneuver deeply rooted in the shared legal adversity faced by Kenyatta and Ruto.[416] It represented a convergence of interests born out of necessity; presenting a united

[413] De Rosnay Fromet, Amandine. "Kenya and the ICC: the politics of the 2007 post-election violence." Master's thesis, University of Cape Town, 2013.
[414] Cheeseman, Nic, Gabrielle Lynch, and Justin Willis. "Democracy and its discontents: understanding Kenya's 2013 elections." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 8, no. 1 (2014): pp.2-24.
[415] "Uhuru and Ruto first to sign pact" *Daily Nation*, December 5, 2012. p. 5 https://nation.africa/kenya/news/politics/uhuru-and-ruto-first-to-sign-pact-838924. Accessed on 10/09/2023
[416] Japhet Biegon. "The advent of unholy alliances? Coalition governments in the aftermath of disputed elections and electoral violence in Africa: a case study of Kenya." PhD diss., University of Pretoria, 2008.

front against the charges they believed were politically motivated. This alliance significantly reshaped the political landscape in Kenya, underscoring the potency of strategic collaborations and ethnic alliances in the pursuit of political power and influence.[417] Ultimately, their combined strength within The Jubilee Coalition played a pivotal role in their success in the subsequent elections, propelling Uhuru Kenyatta to the presidency and William Ruto to the position of deputy president.

The ICC cases acted as a catalyst for their unlikely collaboration. Despite their different political backgrounds—Kenyatta leading The National Alliance (TNA) and Ruto heading the United Republican Party (URP)—the shared adversity presented an unforeseen opportunity.[418] They strategically recognized the potential strength in their unity and opted to forge a coalition, giving rise to The Jubilee Alliance. This alliance was not solely a merger of political entities but a strategic alliance born out of a necessity to counter the legal charges they both faced.

Crucially, The Jubilee Alliance aimed to harness the collective support bases of the Kikuyu community, to which Uhuru Kenyatta belonged, and the Kalenjin community, associated with William Ruto. Beyond these ethnic groups, the coalition sought to attract support from other communities as well.[419] By bridging these two significant ethnic blocs and appealing to broader segments of the Kenyan population, The Jubilee Alliance aimed to create a formidable and inclusive political force capable of resonating with diverse constituencies across the country.

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[417] Westen K. Shilaho, and Westen K. Shilaho. "Introduction: Ethnicity and Politics in Kenya." *Political* Power and Tribalism in Kenya (2018): pp.1-28.
[418] Oita Etyang. The politics of coalition formation in Kenya: 1992-2017. University of Johannesburg (South Africa), 2021.
[419] Victor Shale, and Robert Gerenge. "Coalitions in Lesotho, Kenya and Mauritius: Between Value A Mirror Developmental Coalitions of Tension and Political Exigencies." *Coalition Politics in Lesotho: A* Multi-disciplinary Study of Coalitions and their Implications for Governance 1 (2021): p.319.

The alliance's strategic objective was not merely limited to electoral success but also emphasized fostering unity, stability, and progress for the entire nation. By uniting these influential ethnic communities under one political umbrella, the Jubilee Alliance sought to present a vision of national cohesion and prosperity, transcending the divisions often exacerbated by ethnic politics in Kenya. In essence, the formation of The Jubilee Alliance represented a calculated response to their shared legal challenges, capitalizing on the potential strength of unity between Kenyatta's Kikuyu base and Ruto's Kalenjin support, as well as aiming for broader national appeal.[420] This strategic coalition significantly altered the dynamics of the political landscape in Kenya, laying the groundwork for their successful campaign in the ensuing elections.

Ethno political considerations were pivotal in shaping the genesis of The Jubilee Alliance.[421] Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto strategically recognized the immense influence of ethnic affiliations in Kenyan politics and their potential to consolidate support from their respective communities and beyond. The alliance was a calculated move to harness the support bases of the Kikuyu, to which Kenyatta belonged, and the Kalenjin, Ruto's ethnic group, capitalizing on the significant sway these communities held within the country's political landscape.

Presenting itself as a unifying force, The Jubilee Alliance was crafted as a platform to safeguard the interests of both the Kikuyu and Kalenjin communities while appealing to a broader cross-section of Kenyan society. Beyond ethnic lines, the coalition aimed to project an image of unity, reconciliation, and a shared political vision for the nation. Emphasizing

[420] Linke, Andrew M. "Post-Election Violence in Kenya: Place-Based Explanations of Conflict." PhD diss., University of Colorado at Boulder, 2013.
[421] Sebastian Elischer. "Ethnic coalitions of convenience and commitment: Political parties and party systems in Kenya." (2008).

inclusivity, the alliance sought to transcend divisive ethnic politics by promoting a narrative of collective prosperity, stability, and development for all Kenyans, regardless of their ethnic backgrounds.

Commenting on the Jubilee Coalition, John Kamande postulates:

> …in essence, The Jubilee Alliance strategically positioned itself as a coalition capable of addressing the diverse needs and aspirations of the Kenyan populace. By leveraging the strong support from the Kikuyu and Kalenjin communities and articulating a vision centered on national unity and progress, the alliance sought to resonate with voters across the country. Its overarching goal was to transcend narrow ethnic divisions, projecting a unified front committed to steering Kenya towards a future marked by prosperity, stability, and inclusive development for all its citizens. This framing of the alliance was crucial in presenting a compelling narrative that resonated with a wide spectrum of Kenyan voters during the election period.[422]

The study observes that the emergence of The Jubilee Alliance significantly altered the landscape of the 2013 Kenyan elections, propelling it into a prominent position among the key contenders. The coalition, amalgamating the political prowess of The National Alliance (TNA) led by Uhuru Kenyatta and the United Republican Party (URP) led by William Ruto, wielded a formidable amalgamation of political machinery, resources, and influence.

Remarking on the strength of the Jubilee Coalition, Range Mwita asserted:

> …harnessing the collective strengths of both TNA and URP, The Jubilee Alliance strategically navigated the electoral terrain by tapping into the extensive networks and popularity of Kenyatta and Ruto. Leveraging their respective support bases from the Kikuyu and Kalenjin communities, the alliance expanded its reach beyond these ethnic enclaves, attracting backing from diverse regions and ethnic groups across the country. This broad-based appeal

[422] John Kamande, Oral Interview at Uraia Trust offices, Nairobi on 24th November, 2023.

> was instrumental in positioning The Jubilee Alliance as a viable contender with significant nationwide support.[423]

The coalition's success in garnering support from various regions and demographic segments underscored its ability to transcend ethnic boundaries and resonate with a wide spectrum of Kenyan voters. Its message of unity, stability, and progress, encapsulated within a framework of collective development for the nation, struck a chord with voters seeking a cohesive vision for Kenya's future. The combined influence of Kenyatta and Ruto, coupled with the strategic coalition-building efforts and effective utilization of resources, propelled The Jubilee Alliance to the forefront of the electoral race. Its ability to attract support from multiple regions and ethnic groups showcased its capacity to mobilize diverse constituencies, consolidating its position as a formidable force in Kenyan politics during the 2013 elections.

Ultimately, The Jubilee Alliance's successful navigation of Kenya's complex political landscape was crucial in securing Uhuru Kenyatta's presidency and William Ruto's vice presidency. Their victory solidified the coalition's impact, marking a significant chapter in Kenyan political history and highlighting the efficacy of strategic alliances in shaping electoral outcomes and political power dynamics.

The Coalition for Reforms and Democracy (CORD) emerged as a multi-party alliance, anchored by the collaborative leadership of Raila Odinga, Kalonzo Musyoka, and Moses Wetangula, in preparation for the 2013 Kenyan general election. The coalition comprised several political parties, including the Orange Democratic Movement, the Wiper Democratic Movement, FORD–Kenya, Kenya Social Congress, KADU–Asili, the Peoples Democratic Party, the Mkenya Solidarity Movement, Chama Cha Uzalendo, the

[423] Range Mwita, Oral Interview at CMD offices, Nairobi on 22nd November 2023.

Muungano Party, the United Democratic Movement, Chama Cha Mwananchi, and the Federal Party of Kenya. This amalgamation of diverse parties formed the backbone of CORD, uniting under a shared vision to contest and impact the outcomes of the electoral process.[424]

Central to this coalition was Raila Odinga, a towering figure in Kenyan politics and the leader of the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM). Odinga's influential position within the party stemmed from his extensive political legacy, having previously served as Kenya's Prime Minister from 2008 to 2013 following a power-sharing agreement forged after the contentious 2007 elections. His enduring commitment to combating corruption and championing social justice solidified his fundamental role within the coalition. Another key leader within CORD was Kalonzo Musyoka, who headed the Wiper Democratic Movement-Kenya (WDM-K) party. Musyoka brought with him a wealth of experience, having served as Kenya's Vice President during President Mwai Kibaki's administration. His involvement in national leadership and dedicated efforts toward fostering political stability and advocating for reforms added significant weight to CORD's reformist agenda.

These key figures, each with their own distinct political backgrounds and strengths, converged under the CORD alliance to collectively challenge their opponents.[425] Their shared vision encompassed a commitment to addressing pressing issues within Kenya, including electoral reforms, corruption, and the promotion of social justice. The amalgamation of their leadership and the parties they represented aimed to foster a formidable and credible opposition force in the political landscape of Kenya.

[424] Peter aNyaNg'NyoNg'o, "Political Parties and Coalition Politics in Kenyan General Election (s): The 2013 Presidential and General Elections." Kenya's 2013 General Election: Stakes, Practices and *Outcome* (2017).
[425] Oita Etyang. "The Formation and Instability of Coalition Governments in Kenya." *The African Review* 49, no. 2 (2022): pp.167-194.

The formation of CORD was marked by a strategic collaboration between these influential figures and their respective parties, united by a common aspiration to institute substantive reforms and offer a compelling alternative to the incumbent ruling party.[426] Their collective influence and dedication to advocating for change made CORD a significant contender in the 2013 elections, highlighting the potency of alliances in Kenya's political scene.

CORD's formation highlighted the potential of political alliances in Kenya to bring together diverse parties and leaders under a shared agenda for reform and change.[427] Despite facing challenges in winning the presidency, CORD's impact on shaping the political discourse and advocating for essential reforms remained substantial. The coalition's role in highlighting critical issues and pushing for change continued to influence subsequent political developments and discussions in Kenya, leaving a lasting impact on the country's political landscape.

The Amani Coalition was formed as a political alliance in Kenya in the run-up to the 2013 general elections.[428] It sought to provide an alternative political platform, distinct from the major coalitions like The Jubilee Alliance and CORD. The coalition was spearheaded by Musalia Mudavadi, who led the United Democratic Forum (UDF) party, other affiliated parties were KANU and New Ford Kenya.[429] Mudavadi, a seasoned politician who had previously served in various high-ranking positions within the government, sought to consolidate support and present an alternative vision for governance.

[426] CORD Manifesto 2013
[427] Ibid
[428] Denis Kadima, and Felix Owuor. "Kenya's decade of experiments with political party alliances and coalitions-motivations, impact and prospects." *Journal of African Elections* 13, no. 1 (2014): pp.150-180.
[429] "Mudavadi, Wamalwa, Moi form Amani coalition". *The Star*. 4 January 2013. Archived from the original on 8 January 2013. Accessed on 19/01/2024

The primary objective of the Amani Coalition was to offer an alternative political choice to Kenyan voters. It aimed to break away from the dominant coalitions and provide a platform focused on specific policies and reforms.[430] Mudavadi's leadership aimed to position the coalition as a unifying force, seeking to address issues such as economic development, good governance, and national unity. The coalition attempted to appeal to a broad spectrum of Kenyan society beyond specific ethnic or regional affiliations. It sought support from various ethnic groups and regions, emphasizing inclusivity and a vision for national unity and progress.

In the lead-up to the 2013 elections, the Amani Coalition campaigned vigorously, emphasizing its commitment to fostering unity, stability, and development in Kenya. It aimed to highlight its policy proposals and present Mudavadi as a credible alternative to the major presidential candidates. Despite its efforts, the Amani Coalition faced significant challenges in gaining widespread traction and electoral success compared to the larger coalitions, The Jubilee Alliance and CORD. While it managed to garner some support, it didn't secure a significant victory in the elections.

The formation of the Amani Coalition showcased an attempt to provide an alternative political platform, advocating for specific policies and reforms while seeking to appeal to a diverse range of Kenyan voters. However, despite its efforts to present a credible alternative, the coalition faced formidable competition from the larger and more dominant political alliances, impacting its ability to secure a substantial foothold in the 2013 elections.

[430]Denis Kadima, and Felix Owuor. "Kenya's decade of experiments with political party alliances and coalitions-motivations, impact and prospects." *Journal of African Elections* 13, no. 1 (2014): pp.150-180.

The 2013 general elections in Kenya were key in shaping the country's political landscape. The elections, held on March 4th, 2013, marked a significant transition as they were the first under the new constitution implemented in 2010, which introduced various reforms including devolved governance.[431] The presidential contest was primarily between Uhuru Kenyatta of The Jubilee Alliance and Raila Odinga of CORD. Kenyatta emerged victorious, securing the presidency with William Ruto as his deputy.[432] This victory was historic as it marked the first time in Kenya's history that a presidential candidate facing charges at the International Criminal Court (ICC) won the election.

Uhuru Kenyatta, along with his running mate William Ruto, won the presidential election, securing the presidency and deputy presidency, respectively.[433] However, the elections were not without controversies. Disputes arose regarding the electronic transmission of results, leading to legal challenges and allegations of irregularities. Despite these controversies, the Supreme Court upheld the election results, affirming Kenyatta's victory.[434]

2.10 The 2017 General Elections

Like in previous general elections, the 2017 General Election witnessed a realignment of political parties as well as the establishment of new ones.[435] There were 63 registered and participating political parties in the general elections, often grouped by coalitions.[436] CORD alliance formed for the 2013 elections brought on board other smaller parties to form the

[431] Cheeseman, Nic, Gabrielle Lynch, and Justin Willis. "Democracy and its discontents: understanding Kenya's 2013 elections." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 8, no. 1 (2014): pp.2-24.
[432] Mwangi S. Kimenyi "Kenya at a Tipping Point: The 2013 Presidential Election." (2013).
[433] Ibid
[434] https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-21979298. Accessed on 4th November 2023.
[435] Cheeseman, Nicholas, Karuti Kanyinga, Gabrielle Lynch, Mutuma Ruteere, and Justin Willis. "*Kenya's* 2017 elections."
[436] Oita Etyang. The politics of coalition formation in Kenya: 1992-2017. University of Johannesburg (South Africa), 2021.

National Super Alliance, while the Jubilee coalition transformed into Jubilee Party of Kenya with the member parties dissolved. In 2017, the Jubilee Party of Kenya, headed by incumbent President Uhuru Kenyatta faced off against the National Super Alliance as the key political players.

The Jubilee Party emerged as a major coalition ahead of the 2017 elections, formed from the merger of several parties, primarily The National Alliance (TNA) led by Uhuru Kenyatta and the United Republican Party (URP) led by William Ruto.[437] This coalition was the ruling party seeking re-election, with Uhuru Kenyatta running for a second term as president and William Ruto as his running mate. The merger aimed to consolidate support from different regions and ethnic groups under one unified party umbrella.

The merger discussions between TNA, led by Uhuru Kenyatta, and URP, led by William Ruto, before the 2017 general elections were central in reshaping Kenya's political dynamics.[438] Recognizing the potential for increased cohesion and influence, both parties, that had previously allied under the Jubilee Alliance during the 2013 elections, engaged in talks to merge into a single political entity. This move aimed to consolidate their support bases, transcend ethnic divisions, and present a more unified front to the electorate.[439] By merging, TNA and URP sought to streamline resources, present a singular political force, and project a sense of stability and continuity under the leadership of Kenyatta and Ruto.

[437] Bonface O. Akumu. "The Influence of Ethnicity on Presidential Election Competition in Kenya: the Case of 2013 and 2017 General Elections." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2020.
[438] https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/politics/article/2000174751/urp-will-merge-with-tna-and-nobody-can-prevent-that-says-ruto. Retrieved on 24/12/2023.
[439] Bonface O. Akumu. "The Influence of Ethnicity on Presidential Election Competition in Kenya: the Case of 2013 and 2017 General Elections." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2020.

The discussions ultimately led to the dissolution of TNA and URP, paving the way for the formation and registration of the Jubilee Party.[440] This merger represented a strategic move to consolidate power and resources ahead of the 2017 elections. The new party aimed to leverage the successful partnership between Kenyatta and Ruto, presenting a united front to Kenyan voters and positioning itself as a formidable force seeking continuity in governance while transcending ethnic divisions, thereby significantly influencing the political landscape in Kenya.

The formation of the Jubilee Party ahead of the 2017 elections in Kenya was driven by a core objective to unify diverse factions, ethnic groups, and regions under one political entity.[441] The primary aim was to cultivate a sense of unity and cohesion among different communities across Kenya. The merger of The National Alliance (TNA) and the United Republican Party (URP) into the Jubilee Party sought to transcend ethnic and regional divides, presenting a more inclusive and united front for the electoral contest. By consolidating various support bases, the Jubilee Party aimed to create a more formidable and broad-based coalition.[442] The goal was to appeal to voters from different regions and ethnic backgrounds, emphasizing a sense of national unity and collective progress. This strategy was pivotal in rallying diverse communities behind the leadership of President Uhuru Kenyatta and his deputy, William Ruto, leveraging their combined support and networks across the country. Charles Matoke asserted:

> The consolidation of support and resources within the Jubilee Party was crucial for Kenyatta's re-election bid. It aimed to streamline

[440] https://www.citizen.digital/news/urp-formally-dissolves-joins-jubilee-party-140283. Retrieved and accessed on 20/12/2023

[441] Aggrey Mutambo, "History of parties set to dissolve and join Jubilee" *Daily Nation*, August 10, 2016. p.1

[442] Ibid

> campaign efforts, optimize organizational strength, and present a unified narrative that resonated with voters nationwide…this approach sought to capitalize on the party's ability to transcend ethnic divisions, projecting a vision of unity and progress under the leadership of Kenyatta and Ruto, thereby positioning the Jubilee Party as a strong and cohesive force in the 2017 elections.[443]

The study observes that the strategic intent behind the merger was to capitalize on the existing unity between Kenyatta and Ruto, presenting a united front to appeal to a broader spectrum of Kenyan voters. The joint political force aimed to transcend ethnic divisions and regional affiliations by projecting a vision of stability, continuity, and inclusive governance. By showcasing their partnership and a shared agenda, the Jubilee Party sought to create a narrative that highlighted unity and collaboration, intending to attract support from various communities across the country.

This strategic move was underpinned by the calculation that the combined force of Kenyatta and Ruto's leadership would resonate positively with a wider cross-section of Kenyan society. The aim was to position the Jubilee Party as a symbol of stability and progress, drawing support not solely based on ethnic or regional lines but rather on a shared vision for the country's development. By emphasizing their partnership and presenting a unified stance, the party aimed to garner support from diverse constituencies, projecting itself as a unifying force that could steer Kenya towards continuity in governance and national development.

The formation of NASA in January 2017 marked a significant juncture in Kenyan politics, bringing together prominent opposition figures and their respective political parties to challenge the ruling establishment led by President Uhuru Kenyatta.[444] Led by veteran

[443] Charles Matoke, Oral Interview at UDA offices, Nairobi on19th November 2023.
[444] Michael Chege. "Kenya's Electoral Misfire." *J. Democracy* 29 (2018): p.158.

opposition leader Raila Odinga, along with key figures like Kalonzo Musyoka, Musalia Mudavadi, and Moses Wetang'ula, NASA aimed to present a unified front against the incumbent government. Their coalition included parties like the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), Wiper Democratic Movement, Amani National Congress (ANC), and Ford-Kenya, among others, consolidating diverse support bases and regional strengths.[445]

The coalition's primary objective was to address pressing socio-economic issues, promote transparent governance, and tackle corruption prevalent within Kenya.[446] With a platform advocating for equitable development, social justice, and responsive leadership, NASA resonated with citizens seeking substantial political reforms and change. Raila Odinga emerged as NASA's presidential candidate, bolstering the coalition's bid to challenge the ruling party's dominance in the 2017 elections.[447]

The 2017 general election in Kenya, particularly the presidential race between President Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga of the National Super Alliance (NASA), was embroiled in controversy and allegations of irregularities.[448] Following the declaration of Kenyatta as the winner by the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), Odinga and the opposition vehemently contested the results, alleging electoral malpractices and fraud.[449] This dispute culminated in a historic decision by the Supreme Court of Kenya,

[445]https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000222371/super-alliance-will-be-ready-by-december-to send-uhuru-home-opposition-leaders-vow. Retrieved on 17/12/2023.

[446] "Nasa launches six-point manifesto" June 27, 2017 — updated on July 03, 2020. https://nation.africa/kenya/news/politics/nasa-launches-six-point-manifesto-416560. Accessed on 10/01/2024.

[447] https://nation.africa/kenya/news/politics/Nasa-launches-manifesto/1064-3989916-fb7nmtz/index.html. Retrieved on 10/11/2023.

[448] Ochieng K. Opalo, "Another Disputed Election Batters Kenya's Institutions." *Current History* 117, no. 799 (2018): pp.187-193.

[449] Bashir Sa'ad Ibrahim. "General Elections in Nigeria and Kenya: A Comparative Assessment of 2015 And 2017 Presidential Elections."

which nullified the election results, citing significant irregularities and illegalities during the electoral process—a precedent-setting move in Africa.[450]

Subsequently, a fresh presidential election was slated for October 26, 2017.[451] However, Odinga and NASA withdrew from the race, expressing concerns over the lack of sufficient reforms and doubts about the electoral process's integrity.[452] Despite the opposition's withdrawal, the election proceeded, resulting in President Uhuru Kenyatta being declared the winner after securing a considerable majority of the votes cast.[453] This outcome further fueled tensions and disagreements, with Odinga and NASA vehemently disputing the legitimacy of Kenyatta's presidency, asserting that the electoral process was flawed and lacked credibility. These disputes led to intensified political tensions, protests, and deep divisions within the country, creating a complex and polarized post-election landscape.

The study established that the 2017 presidential re-run election in Kenya was marked by controversy, low voter turnout, and a unique set of circumstances. Incumbent President Uhuru Kenyatta, running with his deputy William Ruto under the Jubilee Party, emerged as the winner with a significant margin, while opposition leader Raila Odinga boycotted the process, citing concerns about electoral reforms and transparency. The election results were contentious, leading to political tensions and a period of uncertainty in the country. The withdrawal of the opposition had a notable impact on the official tally, resulting in extremely low percentage votes for Odinga. The events underscored challenges in the

[450] Bernard Trevor Semafumu. "Systematic interpretation vs judicial activism: The position of the Kenyan supreme court in presidential election cases." (2021).
[451] https://www.ifes.org/tools-resources/faqs/elections-kenya-2017-rerun-presidential-elections. Accessed 11/01/2024.
[452] https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/10/10/kenyas-raila-odinga-withdraws-from-election-rerun. Retrieved on 7/9/2023.
[453] Cheeseman, Nic, Karuti Kanyinga, Gabrielle Lynch, Mutuma Ruteere, and Justin Willis. "Kenya's 2017 elections: winner-takes-all politics as usual?." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 13, no. 2 (2019): pp.215-234.

electoral process and fueled discussions about the need for comprehensive electoral reforms in Kenya.

Commenting on the 2017 coalition politics, Herman Manyora observed:

> …the 2017 pre-election coalitions were marked by intense political maneuvering, strategic alliances, and efforts to consolidate support from diverse regions and ethnic groups. The Jubilee Party sought to maintain its hold on power, while NASA presented itself as a robust opposition alliance aiming to challenge the status quo and provide an alternative vision for Kenya's governance. These coalitions reshaped the political discourse, highlighting issues of governance, electoral reforms, and socio-economic development as central themes in the electoral campaigns. The alliances competed vigorously in the elections, contributing to a closely contested and highly anticipated electoral process in Kenya.[454]

An oral interview with the political activisit Nyukuri Barasa revealed similar observations, which he observed that the 2017 elections in Kenya witnessed intense political maneuvering, and strategic alliances. Barasa notes the vigorous efforts made by the Jubilee Party to retain political dominance, emphasizing continuity and stability in governance. Concurrently, the NASA coalition, underlining its role as a potent opposition force, positioned itself as a challenger to the existing political order, promoting an alternative vision for the country's governance. Barasa concurs that these coalitions played a pivotal role in reshaping the political narrative, making governance, electoral reforms, and socio-economic development central themes in the electoral campaigns. The resulting highly contested and eagerly anticipated electoral process reflected the dynamic interplay of diverse political forces seeking influence in Kenya's political landscape.[455]

[454] Herman Manyora, Oral Interview at Fountain of Knowledge UoN, Nairobi on 21st November 2023.
[455] Nyukuri Barasa, Oral Interview at County hotel, Bungoma on 15th November, 2023.

2.11 The 2022 General Elections

Ahead of the 2022 Kenya's general election, pre-election coalitions and alliances were fluid, with negotiations and realignments occurring among various parties in a bid to consolidate political strength.[456] Political leaders were engaging in strategic maneuvers, forming alliances, and exploring potential mergers to increase their chances of winning the presidency and securing parliamentary seats. Regional politics played a crucial role in shaping pre-election alliances. Leaders from different regions sought to consolidate their support bases and form alliances that could sway votes in their favor. Strategies were tailored to appeal to specific regional interests and communities.

Only four candidates and their respective running mates received clearance to participate in the election.[457] The confirmed candidates for the election included: David Waihiga Mwaure, the leader of the Agano Party; Raila Odinga, former Prime Minister of Kenya and leader of the Orange Democratic Movement, running under the Azimio la Umoja One Kenya Alliance; William Ruto, former Deputy President of Kenya and leader of the United Democratic Alliance, running under the Kenya Kwanza Alliance party and George Wajackoyah, the leader of the Roots Party Kenya.

As the 2022 election approached, a shift in Kenya's political landscape emerged, centered on class-based politics—termed as "hustlers" versus "dynasties."[458] This narrative contrasted the long-standing dominance in Kenyan politics by families associated with

[456] Tirra, Amos, Hannah Collins, Jacqueline McGlade, Henrietta Moore, and Arno Scharl. "*Kenyan General* Elections 2022: A game of pledges, promises and service to self-interest." (2023).
[457] https://orpp.or.ke/wpcontent/uploads/2023/10/ ORPP_POST_ELECTION_EVALUATION_REPORT_2023.pdf. Accessed on 16/10/2023.
[458] Ken Ochieng Opalo. "Hustlers versus Dynasties? The Elusive Quest for Issue-Based Politics in Kenya." The Elusive Quest for Issue-Based Politics in Kenya (September 12, 2022).

incumbent President Uhuru Kenyatta and opposition leader Raila Odinga since the country's independence in 1963. Additionally, Kenya's historical leadership had often been drawn from the Kikuyu or Kalenjin ethnic groups, making a potential victory for Odinga, a Luo, a departure from this norm in a country with 44 ethnic groups.

Ruto initially supported Odinga in the 2007 election against Mwai Kibaki. However, the announcement of the presidential results led to tribal clashes among Kenya's tribes, resulting in significant violence. Ruto then aligned himself with Kenyatta in 2013, both facing charges at the International Criminal Court (ICC) for alleged involvement in orchestrating the post-election violence of 2007. These cases collapsed due to extensive witness intimidation.[459]

In a surprising turn of events, President Kenyatta and Odinga reconciled in March 2018 after post-election violence in 2017. Their cooperation led to the Building Bridges Initiative (BBI) seeking constitutional changes, although the Supreme Court of Kenya rejected the proposed amendments in August.[460] Despite this setback, the alliance between Kenyatta and Odinga continued, while the differences within the ruling Jubilee government grew, resulting in fallout between Kenyatta and his deputy, Ruto.

Recounting the events as they unfolded leading to 2022 general elections, Charles Matoke narrated:

> …the pre-election landscape witnessed strategic political maneuvers. The Mount Kenya Foundation, a powerful Kikuyu lobby, endorsed Odinga, whereas Kenyatta emphasized that the next president would not be from the

[459] Hillebrecht, Courtney. "International criminal accountability and the domestic politics of resistance: case studies from kenya and lebanon." *Law & Society Review* 54, no. 2 (2020): pp.453-486.
[460] Onguny, Philip. "The politics behind Kenya's Building Bridges Initiative (BBI): Vindu Vichenjanga or sound and fury, signifying nothing?." Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue canadienne des études *africaines* 54, no. 3 (2020): pp.557-576.

> Kikuyu or Kalenjin ethnic groups. Odinga declared his candidacy for the presidency in December 2021, while Ruto's United Democratic Alliance (UDA) formed a coalition, Kenya Kwanza, with other parties in January 2022. Subsequently, Kenyatta's Jubilee party joined the Azimio la Umoja coalition led by Odinga in February 2022, followed by the endorsement of Odinga's candidacy by several major political parties in March. On the same day, Ruto was endorsed as the presidential candidate by the UDA and Kenya Kwanza coalition.[461]

The Jubilee Party, which had been in power since the 2013 elections, experienced internal divisions leading up to the 2022 elections.[462] There were factions within the party, with some members supporting Deputy President William Ruto's bid for the presidency, while others aligned with President Uhuru Kenyatta's preferred successor. The Jubilee Party, formed in 2016 through the merger of various political parties, notably The National Alliance (TNA) and the United Republican Party (URP), encountered internal divisions and factionalism as the 2022 elections approached.[463] These divisions primarily revolved around differences in allegiance between Deputy President William Ruto and President Uhuru Kenyatta's preferred successor.

David Burare contends that:

> …the Deputy President William Ruto, who played a pivotal role in securing victory for the Jubilee Party in the 2013 and 2017 elections alongside President Kenyatta, had ambitions for the presidency in 2022…this led to a faction within Jubilee aligned themselves with Ruto's presidential bid. This faction felt sidelined within the party and believed that Ruto, as the Deputy President and a prominent figure within Jubilee, deserved the party's support for the presidency….President Uhuru Kenyatta, barred by the constitution from seeking re-election, had his own preferences for his successor within the Jubilee Party. There were members within Jubilee who

[461] Charles Matoke, Oral Interview at UDA offices, Nairobi on 19th November 2023.
[462] Amos Tirra, Hannah Collins, Jacqueline McGlade, Henrietta Moore, and Arno Scharl. "*Kenyan General* Elections 2022: A game of pledges, promises and service to self-interest." (2023).
[463] Etyang, Oita. "The Formation and Instability of Coalition Governments in Kenya." *The African Review* 49, no. 2 (2022): pp.167-194.

> supported Kenyatta's choice for the presidency, who might not have necessarily been aligned with Ruto's camp. This division led to internal conflicts and power struggles within the party regarding the direction and leadership of Jubilee.[464]

Besides, the study also established that the internal divisions were not solely about personalities but also involved policy disagreements and differing visions for the party's future. Some members expressed dissatisfaction with the leadership style and direction set by the party leadership, contributing to the fragmentation within Jubilee. The divisions within Jubilee prompted some members and supporters to shift their allegiance to other parties or emerging political movements. The United Democratic Alliance (UDA), closely associated with Deputy President William Ruto, attracted members who felt marginalized within Jubilee, further widening the divide within the ruling party.

United Democratic Alliance (UDA) emerged as a significant player, closely associated with Deputy President William Ruto. Many politicians aligned with Ruto shifted their support to UDA, positioning it as a key challenger to the ruling Jubilee Party.[465] UDA attracted various politicians dissatisfied with their former parties and seeking to align with Ruto's camp. Together they formed the Kenya Kwanza Alliance (KKA).[466]

Parties admitted to the coalition by virtue of Article 24 of the coalition included the founding member Parties: United Democratic Alliance (UDA), Amani National Congress (ANC) and the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy- Kenya (FORD-K). Parties admitted to the coalition by virtue of Article 24 of the coalition include; Chama Cha Kazi (KAZI), Communist Party of Kenya (CPK), Devolution Party of Kenya (DPK), Economic

[464] David Burare, Oral Interview at Upper Hill, Nairobi on 23rd November 2023.
[465] Peter Lockwood. "Hustler populism, anti-Jubilee backlash and economic injustice in Kenya's 2022 elections." *African Affairs* 122, no. 487 (2023): pp.205-224.
[466] Brechenmacher, Saskia, and Nanjira Sambuli. The Specter of Politics as Usual in Kenya's 2022 *Election.* Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2022.

Freedom Party (EFP), Farmers Party (FP), The Service Party (TSP), Tujibebe Wakenya Party (JIBEBE), Umoja na Maendeleo Party (UMP).[467]

The One Kenya Alliance initially emerged as a promising coalition in Kenyan politics, bringing together influential leaders and parties with the objective of creating a formidable force for the 2022 general elections.[468] Comprised of key figures such as Musalia Mudavadi of ANC, Kalonzo Musyoka leading the Wiper Democratic Movement, Gideon Moi from KANU, and Moses Wetangula's FORD Kenya, OKA aimed to unify different political factions and present a united front against dominant political forces.

OKA was founded on the premise of offering an alternative vision and leadership for Kenya, emphasizing national unity, socioeconomic progress, and inclusive governance. Initially, the coalition's formation generated considerable interest, and it was perceived as a potential contender in the electoral race. However, as the election campaign progressed, OKA faced internal challenges and rifts among its leaders. Disagreements over leadership structures, nomination processes, and the distribution of resources reportedly strained the unity within the alliance. These internal conflicts and differences in strategies contributed to a weakening of OKA's cohesion.[469]

Ultimately, the coalition faced a significant setback in achieving its intended impact on the 2022 elections. The envisioned unity among its leaders proved difficult to maintain, leading to a gradual disintegration of the alliance. Reports surfaced of disagreements and shifting alliances among the member parties, culminating in a loss of the initial momentum and

[467] https://orpp.or.ke/coalitions-coalition-political-parties/. Accessed on 29th September 2023.
[468] Brechenmacher, Saskia, and Nanjira Sambuli. The Specter of Politics as Usual in Kenya's 2022 *Election*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2022.
[469] https://www.citizen.digital/news/the-purpose-of-forming-oka-failed-martha-karua-speaks-on-fallout-with-co-principals-n294968 . Accessed on 25/12/2023

purpose that OKA had sought to embody.[470] The final disintegration of the One Kenya Alliance occurred as the parties within the coalition struggled to find common ground and maintain a unified stance. Conflicting interests and divergent priorities among the leadership ultimately led to the dissolution of the coalition, with parties and leaders redirecting their focus towards individual political strategies rather than collective collaboration.[471]

The study holds the view that the collapse of OKA showcased the challenges inherent in sustaining political alliances in a highly competitive and dynamic political environment. Despite the initial promise and potential, the inability to navigate internal differences and maintain unity eventually led to the demise of the One Kenya Alliance, impacting its significance and role in the 2022 electoral landscape.

The Azimio la Umoja coalition, also known as the One Kenya Alliance, brought together several significant political parties and leaders in preparation for the 2022 Kenyan presidential election.[472] Central to this coalition was Raila Odinga's Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), a prominent political party in Kenya. Odinga, a former Prime Minister and seasoned political figure, played a pivotal role in spearheading the alliance. Alongside ODM, factions from the Jubilee party, led by President Uhuru Kenyatta, joined the coalition, signifying a notable shift in political alliances and dynamics.[473] The Wiper Democratic Movement, under the leadership of Kalonzo Musyoka, a former Vice

[470] Amos Tirra, Hannah Collins, Jacqueline McGlade, Henrietta Moore, and Arno Scharl. "Kenyan General Elections 2022: A game of pledges, promises and service to self-interest." (2023).
[471] https://nation.africa/kenya/news/politics/one-kenya-alliance-the-end-3691772. Retrieved and accessed on 2/01/2024
[472] Brechenmacher, Saskia, and Nanjira Sambuli. The Specter of Politics as Usual in Kenya's 2022 *Election*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2022.
[473] https://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2023-11-30-uhurus-jubilee-endorses-dialogue-committee-report/. Retrieved and accessed on 5/01/2024

President, lent its support to the coalition, contributing Musyoka's political influence and support base to the alliance.

Further, strengthening the coalition was the involvement of KANU (Kenya African National Union), a historically significant party in Kenyan politics, led by Gideon Moi.[474] Moi's affiliation with the alliance brought historical political influence and a regional support base to the table. Alongside these major parties, smaller political entities (25 constituent parties) and influential leaders aligned themselves with the Azimio la Umoja coalition, contributing to its broader appeal and efforts to consolidate votes across diverse regions of Kenya.[475]

The study posits that the Azimio coalition formation aimed to pool resources, consolidate support from various political quarters, and present a unified and formidable front in the fiercely contested 2022 Kenyan presidential election. By bringing together these key parties and leaders, the Azimio la Umoja coalition sought to leverage collective strength and shared objectives to increase their chances of electoral success while uniting under a common agenda for Kenya's future.

Kenya held its general elections on Tuesday, 9 August 2022, marking the third general election and the fourth presidential one since the implementation of the 2010 constitution.[476] Notably, incumbent President Uhuru Kenyatta was ineligible to run for a third term due to constitutional limitations, as were county governors who had served two terms. This election notably featured the smallest number of presidential candidates cleared

[474] https://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2022-05-19-kanu-is-firmly-in-azimio-no-turning-back-gideon-moi/. Retrieved and accessed on 2/01/2024

[475] https://orpp.or.ke/coalitions-coalition-political-parties/. Retrieved and accessed on 7th January 2024.

[476] Roznai, Yaniv, and Okubasu Munabi. "Stability of Constitutional Structures and Identity Amidst Political Bipartisanship: Lessons from Kenya and Israel." *Available at SSRN* (2022).

since the initiation of the multi-party system in 1992.[477] The electorate cast votes for various positions, including the president, governors, senators, members of the National Assembly, and members of county assemblies. The elected parliamentarians were slated to constitute the 13th Parliament of Kenya.

Following the electoral process, William Ruto secured the presidency, clinching victory with fifty percent of the vote. His main rival, Raila Odinga, garnered forty-eight percent of the vote.[478] Subsequently, on 22 August, Odinga lodged a petition with the Supreme Court of Kenya, contesting the results declared by Wafula Chebukati, the chairperson of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission.[479] However, on 5th September 2022, the Supreme Court dismissed Odinga's challenge, affirming Ruto's win.[480] Throughout the electoral proceedings, observers noted that the elections were largely peaceful and characterized by transparency, contributing to a relatively smooth process.

Despite the outcome, Odinga stated his commitment to respecting the court's verdict, even as he maintained his claim to victory. This marked an important moment in Kenya's electoral history, emphasizing the significance of upholding legal processes and institutional decisions, ultimately contributing to the consolidation of democratic norms and principles within the country.

[477] https://orpp.or.ke/coalitions-coalition-political-parties/. Accessed on 10/08/2023

[478] "Kenya election result: William Ruto wins presidential poll". *BBC News*. 15 August 2022. Archived from the original on 15 August 2022. Retrieved 15 August 2022. Accessed on 15/09/2023.
[479] Caroline Kimeu. "Kenya opposition leader files court challenge to election result". *The Guardian*. Nairobi. Archived from the original on 23 August 2022. Retrieved 23 August 2022. Accessed on 18/10/2023.
[480] George Obulutsa; Houreld, Katharine. "Kenya Supreme Court upholds Ruto's presidential victory". Reuters. Retrieved 5 September 2022. Accessed 21/12/2023

2.12 Factors Influencing Coalition Politics in Kenya

Coalition politics in Kenya has been shaped by various factors, including historical, political, social, and economic dynamics. This section examines some of the key factors influencing the development of coalition politics in Kenya:

2.12.1 Ethnicity

Kenya's ethnic diversity is a foundational aspect of its societal structure and political landscape.[481] The country is home to over 40 distinct ethnic groups, each with its own language, culture, and traditions. Ethnicity holds considerable significance in Kenyan politics and society, influencing various aspects of life, including political affiliations, resource distribution, and social interactions.[482]

Ethnicity strongly influences voting behavior in Kenya.[483] Many voters align themselves with political candidates or parties based on shared ethnic backgrounds.[484] Political parties often target specific ethnic groups to gain support during elections, leading to the formation of coalitions along ethnic lines.[485] This phenomenon is known as "ethnic balkanization," where political parties align themselves with particular ethnic groups to secure votes. In the 2013 election, Uhuru Kenyatta, a Kikuyu, won the presidency largely due to overwhelming support from the Kikuyu and Kalenjin communities through the Jubilee Alliance.[486] Raila Odinga, a Luo, also had strong support from his Luo ethnic group and other communities

[481] Sebastian Elischer. "Ethnic coalitions of convenience and commitment: Political parties and party systems in Kenya." (2008).
[482] Elischer, Sebastian. Political parties in Africa: Ethnicity and party formation. Cambridge University Press, 2013.
[483] Karen E. Ferree, Clark C. Gibson, and James D. Long. "Voting behavior and electoral irregularities in Kenya's 2013 Election." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 8, no. 1 (2014): pp.153-172.
[484] Ibid
[485] Sebastian Elischer. Political parties in Africa: Ethnicity and party formation. Cambridge University Press, 2013.
[486] Aditi Malik. "Mobilizing a Defensive Kikuyu-Kalenjin Alliance: The Politicization of the International Criminal Court in Kenya's 2013 Presidential Election." *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review* 6, no. 2 (2016): pp.48-73.

through the Coalition for Reforms and Democracy (CORD).[487] Ethnicity heavily influenced voting patterns, leading to a polarized electorate.

Speaking on ethnicity in Kenyan politics, Fred Nyongesa argues that:

> Political leaders often capitalize on ethnic affiliations to consolidate their power base. They strategically align themselves with certain ethnic groups, using ethnic identities to garner support and loyalty. This is often achieved through patronage networks, where leaders promise representation and resources to their ethnic constituencies in exchange for political allegiance….William Ruto, a prominent politician from the Kalenjin community, has leveraged his ethnic background to consolidate support. He has established strong political ties within the Rift Valley region, mobilizing the Kalenjin community and securing their allegiance through promises of representation and development.[488]

In lign with the foregoing observations, focus group discussion respondents across all groups (1, 2, 3, and 4- refer to the list of focus group discussion) expressed support for the notion that political leaders in Kenya often capitalize on ethnic affiliations to consolidate power. They acknowledge the prevalence of this strategy, where leaders cultivate relationships with specific ethnic groups, promising representation and resources in exchange for political allegiance.

While ethnic diversity is a source of Kenya's rich cultural heritage, it also poses challenges in the political sphere.[489] Competition for resources, political representation, and power among different ethnic groups has, at times, led to tensions and conflicts.[490] Political parties may exploit these tensions or grievances for their benefit, sometimes worsening inter-ethnic divisions. The Coast region has experienced ethnic tensions, especially regarding

[487] Bonface O. Akumu. "The Influence of Ethnicity on Presidential Election Competition in Kenya: the Case of 2013 and 2017 General Elections." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2020.
[488] Fred Nyongesa, Oral Interview at REDO offices, Bungoma on 4th January 2023
[489] Biniam E Bedasso. "Ethnicity, intra-elite differentiation and political stability in Kenya." *African Affairs* 114, no. 456 (2015): pp.361-381.
[490] Susan Olzak. *The dynamics of ethnic competition and conflict*. Stanford University Press, 1994.

land issues. Historical grievances over land ownership and distribution have led to conflicts between communities like the Mijikenda, Swahili, and others, fueled by perceptions of marginalization and competition over resources.[491]

Ajulu observed that in post-independence Kenya, ethnicity became a central factor in political mobilization and contestation, shaping alliances and rivalries among various ethnic groups. He noted that political support often aligned along ethnic lines, with minority groups banding together to counter the perceived dominance of majorities, such as the Kikuyu and Luo. This ethnic competition extended beyond land disputes to include access to resources like development projects and services, highlighting how ethnic identities were reconstructed and politicized to influence electoral outcomes and governance.[492]

David Burare argues that:

> …in Kenya's multi-ethnic landscape, it's challenging for any single political party to secure an outright majority in elections. As a result, parties often form coalitions based on ethnic alliances to broaden their support base. These coalitions aim to pool together votes from various ethnic groups, increasing their chances of electoral success…. NASA in the 2017 elections was a coalition of political parties, including ethnic-based parties like ODM (Luo-dominated) and Wiper (Kamba-dominated), among others. This alliance aimed to pool ethnic support from different regions to challenge the Jubilee Party's dominance.[493]

The researcher observes that Burare's sentiments highlights the pragmatic approach to coalition-building in Kenya's multi-ethnic political landscape. Given the challenge of any single party securing an outright majority, political parties often form coalitions based on ethnic alliances to pool together votes from various groups and increase their chances of electoral success. This reflects the pragmatist tenet of "truth as what works," where the validity of these coalitions is judged not by ideological alignment, but by their practical

[491] Peter Veit. "History of land conflicts in Kenya." *Gates Open Res* 3, no. 982 (2019): p.982.
[492] Ajulu, Rok. "Thinking through the crisis of democratisation in Kenya: a response to Adar and Murunga." *African Sociological Review/Revue Africaine de Sociologie* (2000): pp.133-157.
[493] David Burare, Oral Interview at Upper Hill, Nairobi on 23rd November 2023.

effectiveness in achieving the desired outcome of winning elections.[494] The formation of the NASA coalition in the 2017 elections, which brought together ethnic-based parties, exemplifies this pragmatic strategy to navigate Kenya's complex multi-ethnic dynamics and challenge the dominant Jubilee Party.

The study established that ethnic considerations often play a role in the distribution of government positions and resources. The need to maintain ethnic balance in governance leads to the allocation of positions based on ethnic quotas within coalitions or political alliances. This practice aims to ensure representation for various ethnic groups in decision-making processes. Political alliances often include agreements to ensure ethnic representation in government. This was evident in the distribution of cabinet positions after the 2013, 2017 and 2022 elections, where various ethnic groups within the ruling coalition were allocated specific positions to maintain ethnic balance.

It is therefore important to note that ethnic diversity significantly shapes the political landscape in Kenya, impacting voting behavior, coalition formations, resource allocation, and the overall dynamics of governance. While ethnicity remains a crucial factor in Kenyan politics, efforts to promote national unity and inclusivity beyond ethnic lines are ongoing to create a more cohesive and equitable society.

2.12.2 Winner-takes-all system

Kenya's winner-takes-all electoral system refers to a system where the candidate or party that receives the most votes wins, regardless of the margin of victory.[495] This system has led

[494] Sami Pihlström. "A Recent Guide to the Study of Interpretivism." *Human Affairs* 19, no. 1 (2009): pp.105-110.
[495] Cheeseman, Nic, Karuti Kanyinga, Gabrielle Lynch, Mutuma Ruteere, and Justin Willis. "Kenya's 2017 elections: winner-takes-all politics as usual?." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 13, no. 2 (2019): pp.215-234.

to the formation of coalitions among political parties to consolidate votes and secure victory, especially in cases where no single party obtains a clear majority.

In the 2002 elections, the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) formed a formidable alliance to challenge the long-standing rule of the Kenya African National Union (KANU).[496] The coalition brought together diverse political parties, including the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), the National Party of Kenya (DP), and others. NARC's strategy was to unite various political factions and ethnic groups against KANU's dominance. They presented Mwai Kibaki as the presidential candidate, leading to a landslide victory for NARC. This coalition allowed NARC to secure the presidency and a parliamentary majority.[497]

In the same vein, according to Nyukuri Barasa:

> The 2017 election saw the establishment of NASA, a coalition comprising Raila Odinga's ODM, Kalonzo Musyoka's WDM, Moses Wetangula's Ford Kenya, and Musalia Mudavadi's ANC. This alliance aimed to consolidate votes from a diverse range of ethnic groups to enhance their chances of winning the election. Raila Odinga and his coalition partners strategically utilized NASA to broaden their support base among their respective ethnic constituencies and other sympathetic communities, ultimately vying for the presidency.[498]

This perspective aligns with observations of FGD 2 who supported the idea that the alliance between Ruto and Uhuru in 2013 was primarily driven by their shared ICC case rather than a common political ideology or vision. They observed that:

[496] Gilbert M Khadiagala. "Political movements and coalition politics in Kenya: entrenching ethnicity." South African Journal of International Affairs 17, no. 1 (2010): pp.65-84.
[497] Kennedy Masime, and Gichira Kibara. "Regime transitions and the institutionalization of democracy in Kenya: the December 2002 elections and beyond." *E. African J. Hum. Rts. & Democracy* 1 (2003): p.13.
[498] Nyukuri Barasa, Oral Interview at County hotel, Bungoma on 15th November, 2023.

> …the subsequent fallout of Ruto and Uhuru after the 2017 election, indicated that their cooperation was largely strategic and circumstantial rather than based on genuine alignment of interests.[499]

The foregoing demonstrates how Kenya's winner-takes-all electoral system incentivizes political parties to form alliances and coalitions to consolidate votes and enhance their chances of winning elections. The formation of these coalitions is often crucial in a multi-ethnic society like Kenya, where no single party may command an outright majority without forging alliances with other parties or ethnic groups.

2.12.3 Legal Framework that has Influenced Coalition Building

Several legal frameworks in Kenya have had a significant impact on coalition building in the country. These legal structures have defined the rules, regulations, and processes governing political parties, elections, and governance, thereby influencing the formation and functioning of coalitions.

2.12.3.1 The Constitution of Kenya

The Constitution of Kenya, enacted in 2010, stands as a transformative document that significantly impacted the landscape of coalition politics within the country.[500] One of its notable contributions was the establishment of a multi-party system, recognizing and safeguarding the rights of individuals to form, join, or actively participate in political parties. This constitutional provision fundamentally altered the political landscape, fostering a more pluralistic and diverse political environment by allowing the existence of

[499] FGD 2 at Kitale in Trans Nzoia County on 8th December 2023.

[500] Christina Murray. "Kenya's 2010 constitution." *Neue Folge Band Jahrbuch des offentlichen Rechts* 61 (2013): pp.747-788.

various parties, consequently encouraging coalition formations and collaborations among political entities.

In the Constitution of Kenya enacted in 2010, relevant chapters that pertain to coalition building include Chapter Seven, which outlines the principles of representation, including provisions for political parties and coalition agreements; Chapter Eight, which details the composition and functions of Parliament, crucial in coalition building and governance; and Chapter Nine, addressing the formation of the executive branch, including provisions for the establishment of coalition governments.

Additionally, the constitution introduced the concept of devolution, a monumental change in Kenya's governance structure. It facilitated the creation of county governments, delineating their powers, functions, and structures.[501] This decentralized system of governance necessitated coalition building at the county level, as multiple parties often had to come together to secure positions within county governments and effectively influence decision-making processes. Devolution led to a more decentralized and diverse political landscape, compelling political actors to engage in strategic coalitions to gain prominence and effectively wield influence at the grassroots level. Considering coalition buiding at the County level, Wafula Wakoko observes that:

> …the advent of county governments brought forth a scenario where coalition dynamics became crucial for governance and policymaking…with distinct powers vested in county governments, coalition politics became instrumental in facilitating cooperation, negotiation, and consensus-building among various parties to govern effectively at the local level. Political entities realized the importance of alliances and collaborations in achieving governance objectives, leading to

[501] Ronald Kempe Hope. "Devolved government and local governance in Kenya: Implementing decentralization underpinned by the 2010 constitution." *African and Asian Studies* 13, no. 3 (2014): pp.338-358.

> the formation of coalitions aimed at consolidating power and leveraging diverse perspectives for more comprehensive and inclusive governance.[502]

The study argues that the Constitution of Kenya, through its introduction of a multi-party system, recognition of political rights, and the establishment of devolved county governments, significantly influenced the landscape of coalition politics. It fostered a more pluralistic political environment, necessitated coalition building at the county level, and highlighted the importance of strategic alliances for effective governance and decision-making, thereby shaping Kenya's political landscape in profound ways.

2.12.3.2 Political Parties Act

The Political Parties Act of Kenya, established in 2011, represents a comprehensive legal structure overseeing the intricate dynamics of political parties within the country.[503]

In the Political Parties Act of Kenya established in 2011, specific sections directly address the process and regulations surrounding coalition building among political parties. Section 10 of the Act delineates the necessary requirements and procedures for political parties to engage in coalition agreements, emphasizing the formalities and steps involved in establishing such alliances. Furthermore, Section 14 outlines the rights and obligations of parties within a coalition, shedding light on governance structures, decision-making processes, and the responsibilities that each party must uphold while part of the coalition.

Moreover, the Act's Section 15 delves into the registration of coalition parties, elucidating the protocol for formally registering political entities that have entered into a coalition agreement. This section ensures that coalitions are recognized and operate within the legal framework set forth by the Political Parties Act. Additionally, Section 16 clarifies the

[502] Wafula Wakoko, Oral Interview at ORPP offices, Nairobi on 3rd January 2024.
[503] THE POLITICAL PARTIES ACT, 2011 NO. 11 OF 2011

implications and effects of a coalition agreement on the participating political parties, offering insight into the legal ramifications and responsibilities that come with being part of a coalition. These sections collectively provide a comprehensive legal foundation for coalition building and governance among political parties in Kenya, promoting transparency and accountability within such alliances.

The Act plays a pivotal role in regulating coalition agreements among political entities by setting stringent guidelines for parties looking to merge or form pre-election coalitions. Parties engaging in pre-election coalitions must notify the Registrar of Political Parties at least six months before a general election, detailing terms and conditions. The Act also specifies the necessary contents of coalition agreements, including sharing political positions and resources, while outlining rights, obligations, transparency protocols, and dispute resolution mechanisms within the coalition. Additionally, it addresses registration procedures for coalitions as distinct entities with defined rights and obligations, alongside provisions for potential deregistration to ensure adherence to regulatory standards and accountability.

Furthermore, the Act underlines financial reporting and accountability measures for coalitions, mandating the maintenance of financial records, submission of annual financial statements, and compliance with stipulated financial reporting standards. These requirements aim to enhance transparency and accountability within the financial operations of political coalitions, fostering a more accountable and regulated political landscape in Kenya.

The Political Parties Act of Kenya, established in 2011, demonstrates strength as a comprehensive regulatory framework that governs political coalitions in the country. Its

stringent regulations on coalition agreements, notification protocols, delineation of rights and obligations, registration procedures, and financial accountability measures contribute to fostering transparency, fairness, and orderly operations within the realm of political alliances. By setting clear guidelines and requirements for coalition building, the Act helps maintain stability and accountability in the political landscape of Kenya.

However, there are areas within the Act that have not been adequately addressed. One such area is the enforcement mechanisms and consequences for parties that fail to comply with the regulations outlined in the Act. Strengthening enforcement provisions could enhance compliance and accountability among political parties engaging in coalition building. Additionally, there may be a need to further clarify and expand on the dispute resolution mechanisms within coalitions to prevent conflicts and ensure effective resolution of disputes that may arise. Addressing these aspects could further strengthen the Act and promote smoother operations within political coalitions in Kenya.

2.12.3.3 Electoral Laws

The electoral laws in Kenya, primarily governed by the Elections Act of 2011 and the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) Act of 2011, serve as critical frameworks in structuring the country's electoral processes. The Elections Act, through Section 14, establishes clear procedures for the nomination of candidates by political parties or independent candidates.[504] This section outlines stringent requirements and timelines for the submission of nomination papers to the electoral commission, ensuring a transparent and regulated process for candidate selection. Furthermore, the Elections Act, under Section 77, plays a pivotal role in regulating campaign financing. This section

[504] ELECTIONS ACT NO. 24 OF 2011

imposes spending limits on political parties and candidates during election campaigns, thereby aiming to create a fair electoral playing field while enhancing transparency in campaign activities.

Regarding coalition agreements, Section 31 of the Elections Act specifically addresses the formation of coalitions.[505] It lays down guidelines for the nomination of candidates by coalitions, emphasizing the criteria and requirements for candidate nominations when coalitions participate in elections. This provision aims to facilitate the collaboration between political entities while ensuring a structured approach to coalition participation in the electoral process.

In tandem, the IEBC Act of 2011, in Section 8, delineates the functions of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission.[506] These functions encompass overseeing election conduct, voter registration, and ensuring compliance with electoral laws, thereby ensuring the integrity and fairness of the electoral processes in Kenya. Moreover, Section 28 of the IEBC Act pertains to the registration and recognition of political parties and coalitions. It mandates political parties forming coalitions to submit specific documentation to the electoral commission for the registration and acknowledgment of the coalition, thereby formalizing the coalition's existence within the electoral framework.

Lastly, Section 34 of the IEBC Act addresses the allocation of special seats to political parties and coalitions based on the proportion of seats won in an election.[507] This provision ensures fair representation by allocating seats to parties and coalitions in accordance with their electoral performance, fostering inclusivity and representation in Kenya's political

[505] Ibid
[506] The IEBC Act of 2011
[507] The IEBC Act of 2011

landscape. Overall, these sections collectively shape and govern various aspects of the electoral process in Kenya, ensuring fairness, transparency, and structured participation for political entities.

These laws, including sections within the Elections Act and the IEBC Act, create a legal framework that regulates electoral processes, nomination of candidates, campaign conduct, and notably, the formation and operation of coalition agreements for electoral purposes in Kenya. They provide guidelines on documentation, nomination procedures, allocation of seats, and other aspects that govern coalition participation in elections, ensuring compliance, transparency, and fairness in the electoral process.

2.12.3.4 Judicial Precedents

Judicial precedents and court decisions have significantly influenced coalition politics in Kenya by establishing legal benchmarks that impact the formation, operations, and dissolution of coalitions.[508] One notable case that set a precedent in Kenya's political landscape is the 2017 Supreme Court ruling on the presidential election. In the case of Raila Odinga v. Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission & others, the Supreme Court nullified the presidential election results, citing irregularities and illegalities in the electoral process.[509] This landmark ruling not only led to the annulment of the election results but also emphasized the importance of conducting free, fair, and credible elections, setting a precedent for upholding the integrity of electoral processes. The decision significantly influenced the way political alliances and coalitions strategized and engaged in subsequent

[508] Carl Bevelhymer. "Transformative Constitutionalism and the Adjudication of Elections in Kenya." (2021).
[509] Karuti Kanyinga, and Collins Odote. "Judicialisation of politics and Kenya's 2017 elections." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 13, no. 2 (2019): pp.235-252.

elections, placing a greater emphasis on electoral transparency and adherence to legal procedures.

Furthermore, judicial precedents have shaped the legal understanding and regulations surrounding coalition agreements. In the case of United Republican Party (URP) v. Registrar of Political Parties & others, the High Court ruled on the legality of a coalition agreement between parties, addressing issues of compliance with the Political Parties Act and the registration of coalition agreements.[510] This ruling provided clarity on the legal requirements and procedures for the registration and recognition of coalitions under the law. It emphasized the need for transparency and adherence to legal provisions when forming coalitions for political purposes. Such judicial decisions not only guide the conduct of political parties entering into coalition agreements but also set a benchmark for legal compliance and accountability within Kenya's political landscape, influencing how alliances are formed, maintained, and dissolved.

2.12.3.5 Devolution Laws and County Governance Frameworks

Devolution laws and county governance frameworks, notably the County Governments Act, have significantly impacted coalition building and political dynamics at the county level in Kenya. The County Governments Act, established in 2012, outlines the structures, functions, and responsibilities of county governments, influencing how political parties form alliances and negotiate relationships to gain control or influence within counties.[511] One notable aspect is the formation of county executive committees (CECs), responsible for implementing county policies and programs. In counties where no single party has a

[510] Shadrack Makokha. "The role of internal Political Party mechanisms in resolving disputes from Election Primaries in Kenya, a case study of the 2013 Political Party Primaries." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2019.
[511] COUNTY GOVERNMENTS ACT NO. 17 OF 2012

clear majority, coalition governments among various political parties are often formed to ensure effective governance. For instance, in Kakamega County, the formation of a coalition government between the Ford Kenya and ODM parties enabled a shared governance structure, facilitating decision-making and service delivery.

Moreover, the County Governments Act mandates the establishment of county assemblies tasked with legislative functions, oversight, and representation of the electorate at the local level.[512] In cases where no single party commands a majority in the county assembly, alliances and coalitions become essential for passing legislation and approving county budgets. In Makueni County, a coalition between the Wiper Democratic Movement and other smaller parties in the county assembly allowed for collaborative governance, enabling effective lawmaking and implementation of development projects. These coalitions demonstrate the influence of devolution laws in fostering inter-party cooperation and governance arrangements at the county level, crucial for driving local development agendas.

Additionally, the County Governments Act delineates the allocation of resources and functions between the national and county governments.[513] This resource allocation framework influences coalition building as political parties seek to control or influence key sectors within counties. For example, in Nairobi County, a region with diverse interests and complex governance dynamics, coalition arrangements between political parties have been instrumental in governing the capital. The allocation of responsibilities and resources among coalition partners is crucial in Nairobi, allowing various parties to have a say in the

[512] COUNTY GOVERNMENTS ACT NO. 17 OF 2012
[513] Ibid

management of county affairs and service delivery to residents. These examples underscore how devolution laws and governance frameworks influence coalition formations and the governance structure within counties, shaping the landscape of local politics and administration in Kenya.

These legal frameworks provide guidelines and regulations that govern the formation, functioning, and dissolution of political coalitions in Kenya. They shape the landscape within which political parties operate, impacting their strategies for alliance-building and electoral success.

2.12.4 Electoral dynamics

Kenya's electoral dynamics have been marked by instances of contentious elections and allegations of electoral irregularities, which have contributed to a lack of confidence in the electoral process.[514] In response to disputed election outcomes and perceived electoral malpractices, coalitions have frequently emerged as a strategic response to challenge these results and create stronger opposition against ruling parties.

The 2013 and 2017 elections were characterized by intense competition and allegations of irregularities. Following the 2013 elections, the opposition coalition, Coalition for Reforms and Democracy (CORD), led by Raila Odinga, contested the results, alleging electoral manipulation and filed a petition with the Supreme Court challenging the victory of the Jubilee Alliance led by Uhuru Kenyatta.[515] Despite the Supreme Court upholding the election results, the formation of coalitions like CORD highlighted the response of

[514] Cheeseman, Nic. "The Kenyan elections of 2007: an introduction." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 2, no. 2 (2008): pp.166-184.
[515] Cheeseman, Nic, Gabrielle Lynch, and Justin Willis. "Democracy and its discontents: understanding Kenya's 2013 elections." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 8, no. 1 (2014): pp.2-24.

opposition parties to unite against perceived electoral injustices, aiming to strengthen their collective stance against the ruling party.

2.12.5 Formation of Political Parties Based on Regional Interests

After the implementation of the new constitution, several regional-based political parties emerged, aiming to capitalize on localized interests and power structures at the county level. For instance, parties like the Party of National Unity (PNU) and Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) adapted their strategies to field candidates with strong regional appeal to secure positions in county governments.[516]

During the county elections held in 2013, numerous political parties and independent candidates formed alliances and coalitions to contest gubernatorial positions and other county leadership roles. In many counties, alliances were crucial for candidates to secure victories, as no single party could dominate across all counties.

The Jubilee Alliance was a major coalition formed between two prominent political parties, The National Alliance (TNA) led by Uhuru Kenyatta and the United Republican Party (URP) led by William Ruto. This alliance was influential at the national level for the presidential election of 2013, but it also had implications at the county level, with its member parties supporting gubernatorial candidates in various counties. Led by Uhuru Kenyatta, TNA was a key player in the Jubilee Alliance. Range Mwita contends:

[516] George Odhiambo Okoth, and Gordon Onyango Omenya. "New Constitution, Odingaism and the State of Internal Democracy in Orange Democratic Movement and its Effects on the 2013 Elections in Kenya." Kenya's Past as Prologue: Voters, Violence and the 2013 General Election (2015): p.190.

> …in various counties, TNA joined forces with URP, led by William Ruto, to support gubernatorial candidates under the Jubilee Coalition banner. For instance in Nakuru County, Kinuthia Mbugua, running under the Jubilee Alliance, won the gubernatorial seat with the support of TNA and URP. William Kabogo, the former governor of Kiambu County, was associated with TNA and the Jubilee Alliance led by Uhuru Kenyatta. His alignment with the Jubilee Coalition provided him with support from the national government and other key stakeholders, influencing governance decisions and developments in Kiambu County.[517]

The researcher argues that while the strategic alliances between national and county-level political parties in Kenya, as described by Mwita, may provide short-term political advantages, they also raise concerns about the concentration of power and the erosion of local autonomy. The influence wielded by national-level actors through these coalitions could undermine the principles of devolution and lead to tensions between the national and county governments, as well as the perpetuation of ethnic-based politics. It is crucial to ensure that the interplay between national and county-level politics is guided by principles of transparency, accountability, and the fair representation of diverse interests, striking a balance between national-level coordination and local autonomy to avoid the potential drawbacks of these cross-level political coalitions.

The Coalition for Reforms and Democracy was another significant political alliance during the 2013 elections. It comprised several parties, including ODM led by Raila Odinga, WDM led by Kalonzo Musyoka, and Ford-Kenya led by Moses Wetangula. The coalition supported candidates in different counties, leveraging its combined political strength to contest gubernatorial positions and other leadership roles.

[517] Range Mwita, Oral Interview at CMD offices, Nairobi on 22nd November 2023.

Led by Raila Odinga, ODM was a prominent member of the CORD Coalition. In different counties, the coalition supported gubernatorial candidates to contest leadership roles. For example in Kisumu County, Jack Ranguma, supported by ODM within the CORD Coalition, emerged victorious as the governor. Hassan Joho, the governor of Mombasa County, was a member of ODM and a key ally of Raila Odinga within the CORD Coalition. His alignment with ODM and the broader coalition facilitated his governance strategies and engagements at both the county and national levels.

Besides major alliances, smaller parties and independent candidates also formed coalitions to enhance their chances in the elections. These collaborations involved local parties and independent aspirants coming together to pool resources and support in specific counties. Various smaller parties and independent candidates formed coalitions at the county level to strengthen their positions. One such example includes in Bomet County, Isaac Ruto, an independent candidate, formed alliances with smaller parties and independent aspirants, leveraging this coalition to secure the gubernatorial seat.[518] Peter Munya, the former governor of Meru County, was a member of the Party of National Unity (PNU) and later formed the Party of National Unity (PNU). He aligned himself strategically with other governors and political figures, advocating for regional interests and participating actively in the Council of Governors.[519]

The devolution of power through the 2010 constitution significantly altered Kenya's political landscape, prompting the need for alliances and coalitions to secure positions and influence decision-making at the county level. This decentralization led to a more complex

[518] https://nation.africa/kenya/counties/bomet/-high-octane-politics-as-race-for-bomet-governor-seat-intensifies-3862638. Accessed and retrieved on 13th December 2023.

[519] https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/central/article/2001478264/munya-reinstated-as-pnu-party-leader-after-protracted-battle. Accessed and retrieved on 20th December 2023.

political environment, where regional interests and county-level politics play a crucial role in shaping the broader national political dynamics.

2.12.6 Fragmentation of Political Parties

The political landscape in Kenya has indeed witnessed a proliferation of numerous political parties, leading to fragmentation within the political sphere.[520] This fragmentation is often attributed to various factors such as personal ambitions, ideological differences, or dissatisfaction within parties, which have resulted in the emergence of splinter groups or the formation of new political entities. Consequently, the need for alliances and coalitions has become imperative to consolidate political power and enhance electoral prospects.

One illustrative example of party fragmentation leading to the formation of alliances is the case of the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) in the aftermath of the 2007 elections. After the contentious presidential elections, dissatisfaction arose within ODM due to internal divisions and perceived injustices. This dissatisfaction led to the splintering of the party, resulting in the formation of the Orange Democratic Movement-Kenya (ODM-K) led by a faction that felt marginalized within the original ODM. The emergence of ODM-K highlighted how internal rifts and personal ambitions led to fragmentation within a major political party, necessitating alliances and coalitions among splinter groups to consolidate political influence.

Another instance of party fragmentation culminating in the establishment of alliances was exemplified by the case of the Jubilee Party following the 2017 elections. In the aftermath

[520] Bedasso, Biniam E. "Ethnicity, intra-elite differentiation and political stability in Kenya." *African Affairs* 114, no. 456 (2015): pp.361-381.

of the elections, internal disagreements and power struggles within the Jubilee Party emerged, leading to divisions and discontent among key members. This discord ultimately led to a faction breaking away from the Jubilee Party to form a new political entity, the United Democratic Alliance (UDA), under the leadership of individuals who felt marginalized or dissatisfied within the original party structure. The formation of UDA underscores how internal conflicts and diverging interests can trigger party fragmentation, prompting the need for alliances and coalitions among splinter groups to consolidate political power and influence.

According to Herman Manyora:

> …ideological differences and diverging interests among party members have also contributed to party fragmentation in Kenya. The emergence of numerous parties, each representing specific ideological or regional interests, has led to a fractured political landscape. For instance, the diverse ideological spectrum within parties like Ford Kenya and Wiper Democratic Movement has at times led to internal disputes and the formation of factions with differing agendas. As a result, these parties often engage in alliances and coalitions with other like-minded entities to amplify their influence and pursue common goals, showcasing how ideological differences have driven the need for coalition building in Kenyan politics.[521]

The foregoing observation by Manyora regarding the role of ideological differences and diverging interests in driving party fragmentation and the need for coalition building in Kenyan politics is in tandem with the "minimum winning coalition" tenet of the theory of political coalition.[522] The emergence of numerous parties representing specific ideological or regional interests has led to a fractured political landscape, making it challenging for any single party to secure an outright majority. As a result, parties engage in strategic alliances

[521] Herman Manyora, Oral Interview at Fountain of Knowledge UoN, Nairobi on 21st November 2023.
[522] Manfred J. Holler. "Forming coalitions and measuring voting power." *Political studies* 30, no. 2 (1982): pp.262-271.

and coalitions with like-minded entities to amplify their influence and pursue common goals, reflecting the tendency to form the minimum winning coalition necessary to secure political power. This coalition-building dynamic allows political actors to navigate the diverse ideological landscape in Kenya while maximizing their own influence and control over the decision-making process.

Before the 2013 general elections, the United Democratic Forum Party (UDF) aligned with the Amani Coalition, endorsing Mudavadi as its presidential candidate. Despite securing third place in the presidential race with 4% of the vote, Mudavadi's performance was notable. Meanwhile, UDF achieved success by winning three Senate seats and twelve seats in the National Assembly. In 2015, Mudavadi parted ways with UDF to establish the Amani National Congress. Subsequently, in 2016, the party merged into the Jubilee Party.[523]

Basing on the above, the study contends that proliferation of political parties in Kenya leading to fragmentation stems from a variety of factors such as personal ambitions, ideological differences, and dissatisfaction within parties, necessitating the formation of splinter groups or new political entities. This trend underscores the challenges posed by internal rifts and diverging interests within major parties, prompting the need for alliances and coalitions to consolidate political power and enhance electoral prospects. The case studies of ODM, Jubilee Party, and UDF exemplify how internal conflicts and ideological differences have fueled party fragmentation, emphasizing the importance of coalition building to navigate the complex political landscape in Kenya.

[523] "13 parties wind up today for Jubilee merger." *Daily Nation*, 8 September 2016.

2.12.7 Resource Distribution

The access to resources, such government positions, budgets, and development projects, holds significant sway in coalition politics in Kenya.[524] Parties frequently engage in coalition formations to secure access to these resources and wield influence in decision-making processes, especially at the national and county levels. The allocation of government positions and the control of budgets are key motivations behind the formation of coalitions, often driving parties to collaborate for political advantage.

A notable example of resource-driven coalition politics was observed in the distribution of government positions among coalition partners. Following the 2013 elections, the Jubilee Alliance, comprising The National Alliance (TNA) and the United Republican Party (URP), formed a coalition government. This alliance was instrumental in securing the presidency for Uhuru Kenyatta and the deputy presidency for William Ruto. The coalition partners negotiated for the allocation of various ministerial positions and key government roles, ensuring representation and influence within the government structure.[525] The distribution of influential positions among coalition partners showcased how access to power and resources incentivized parties to form alliances, enabling them to shape policy agendas and influence decision-making processes.

The control of budgets and allocation of funds at both the national and county levels serve as critical factors in coalition politics. Counties receive substantial budgets for development projects and service delivery. In counties where no single party holds a

[524] Ken Ochieng' Opalo. "Formalizing clientelism in Kenya: from harambee to the constituency development fund." *World Development* 152 (2022): 105794.
[525] Oita Etyang. "The Formation and Instability of Coalition Governments in Kenya." *The African Review* 49, no. 2 (2022): pp.167-194.

majority, coalitions become essential for effective governance and resource allocation. For instance, in the 2017 elections, coalitions were formed in various counties, such as Bomet County, where parties collaborated to secure leadership positions and influence budgetary decisions. These coalitions aimed to consolidate power, access resources, and influence the direction of development projects and budget allocation within the county. This exemplifies how the pursuit of access to financial resources and the control of budgets motivate parties to engage in coalition politics, aiming to have a say in resource allocation and governance.[526]

Access to development projects and infrastructure initiatives serves as a significant incentive for coalition formations.[527] The ability to influence and initiate projects within constituencies or counties is a driving force behind parties' willingness to form coalitions. For instance, in the 2017 elections, coalitions like NASA campaigned on a platform that promised equitable distribution of development projects and resources across counties. By forming alliances, parties sought to maximize their influence in decision-making processes related to development projects and ensure their constituencies received a fair share of resources and infrastructure development. The quest for control and influence over the initiation and implementation of development projects incentivizes parties to collaborate in coalitions to wield greater sway in resource distribution and governance.

These examples underscore how access to resources, including government positions, budgetary control, and the ability to influence development projects, serves as a driving force behind coalition politics in Kenya. The pursuit of these resources motivates parties to

[526] Fred Nyongesa, Oral Interview at REDO offices, Bungoma on 4th January 2023.
[527] Jimmy J. Kisobo. "The Impact of Coalition Government on Political, Economic and Social Development of Postconflict Societies: case of Kenya, 2008-2012." PhD diss., University of Nairobi,, 2013.

engage in alliances and coalitions, aiming to consolidate power, shape policy agendas, and influence decision-making processes for the benefit of their constituents.

2.12.8 International Influence

International influence and the involvement of external actors often play a significant role in shaping coalition politics in Kenya. Pressure from international bodies, diplomatic relations, and foreign aid can influence the formation, behavior, and dynamics of coalitions, aligning them with the interests of these external entities.

An illustrative example of international influence on coalition politics in Kenya was observed through the involvement of international mediators and pressure from diplomatic quarters in the aftermath of the 2007-2008 post-election violence.[528] International bodies, including the African Union (AU), the United Nations (UN), and various Western nations, engaged in diplomatic efforts to mediate the political crisis in Kenya.[529] These entities advocated for a power-sharing agreement, leading to the formation of a grand coalition government between the Party of National Unity (PNU) and the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM). International pressure played a pivotal role in facilitating negotiations and pushing for a coalition government, aiming to restore stability and prevent further violence.

Diplomatic ties and international relations have influenced coalition building in Kenya. For instance, diplomatic relations with neighboring countries or global powers often influence political alliances and coalitions. Kenya's relations with countries such as China, the United States, and regional bodies like the East African Community (EAC) have occasionally

[528] Sonia N. Karongo. "The Intervention Measures of African Union in the Kenya's (2007-2008) Post Election Violence." PhD diss., university of nairobi, 2018.
[529] Karuti Kanyinga, and Sophie Walker. "Building a political settlement: The international approach to Kenya’s 2008 post-election crisis." (2013).

influenced coalition politics. Diplomatic considerations and alignment with foreign policy interests can impact the formation of coalitions.[530] The diplomatic ties and interests shared between political figures and foreign governments or international organizations sometimes shape the direction of coalition formations, as these relationships can translate into political support or influence for specific alliances.

Musila's study on analysing the role of European Union political aid in political processes in Kenya argues that the role of foreign aid and development assistance from international donors impact coalition politics in Kenya.[531] Donor countries and international organizations often leverage aid as a means of influencing governance and policy decisions. The allocation and disbursement of foreign aid can be contingent upon the policies and actions of the ruling government or coalition. As a result, political parties and coalitions may align their agendas and policies with the expectations of international donors to secure aid and support. This influence of foreign aid can drive political parties to form or adjust coalitions to gain favor with international actors and secure developmental assistance, demonstrating how external factors shape the dynamics of coalition politics in Kenya.

Contrary to the above findings, the researcher argues that the influence of diplomatic ties and international relations on coalition building in Kenya may not be as straightforward as indicated in the foregoing observations. The intricacies of this impact are shaped by various factors. Domestic political considerations, including historical grievances and internal power struggles, tend to exert a more immediate and significant influence on the formation

[530] Martin KO Ong'oyi. "The influence of national interest on regional integration: the case of Kenya in the East African community." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2021.
[531] Benson Musila"Foreign aid in Africa: analysing the role of European Union political aid in political processes in Kenya, 1990-2013." PhD diss., Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University, 2019.

of coalitions than external pressures. In practice, Kenya’s political actors often prioritize local interests and alliances, emphasizing the nuanced interplay of internal dynamics over direct responses to international relationships. The complexity of these domestic factors contributes to a less pronounced and more multifaceted role for diplomatic ties in shaping Kenya's coalition politics.

2.13 Chapter Summary

The chapter traced the origins and evolution of coalition politics in Kenya since 1945, employing a historical research design and interpretivism philosophical foundation to gain a comprehensive understanding of this complex and dynamic phenomenon. Drawing on the theory of Political Coalitions, the chapter traces the political landscape, identifying the early nationalist movements like KCA and KASU that laid the groundwork for Kenya's independence, and how the state of emergency and political repression in the 1950s paradoxically fueled a surge in political activism and unification against colonial rule. The path to independence saw the formation of key parties like KANU and KADU, representing divergent visions for governance and laying the foundation for coalition building. The post-independence era was marked by KANU's dominance, opposition suppression, and the consolidation of a one-party state. The reintroduction of multiparty democracy in 1991 transformed the landscape, leading to the proliferation of parties and the strategic formation of coalitions like NARC and ODM. The 2010 Constitution and devolution further influenced coalition dynamics, as seen in the Jubilee and NASA alliances. Critically, factors such as ethnicity, the electoral system, legal frameworks, regional interests, party fragmentation, and resource distribution have profoundly shaped

the formation, strategies, and outcomes of political coalitions in Kenya's ever-evolving coalition politics.

CHAPTER THREE

TYPES OF POLITICAL COALITIONS IN KENYA SINCE 1945

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explored the types of political coalitions in Kenya since 1945. By categorizing these coalitions based on their formation timing; pre-election and post-election and nature such as national, ethnic-based, regional, issue-based, and electoral coalitions especially during post independence era, the chapter sheds light on the refined dynamics that have characterized Kenya's political landscape. Furthermore, it examines the influential figures who have played critical roles in shaping coalition politics in Kenya. Finally, the chapter critically assesses impact of political coalitions on Kenya's political, social, and economic spheres.

The utilization of the interpretivism research philosophy allowed the researcher to delve into the subjective and objective motivations and intentions of political actors engaged in coalition-building in Kenya. Through methodologies like in-depth interviews and historical document analysis, the interpretivist approach unveiled the underlying rationales for coalition formation by emphasizing the practical consequences and real-world outcomes of these alliances. Concurrently, the theory of political coalitions served as a guiding framework for categorizing, analyzing, and understanding the dynamics, motivations, and consequences of various types of political coalitions in Kenya since 1945.

Historical research design was crucial in studying the trends of political coalitions in Kenya since 1945. It involved analyzing historical documents, categorizing coalitions based on timing and nature, examining influential figures like Jomo Kenyatta, and evaluating the impacts of alliances on politics, society, and the economy. Historical research design provided a comprehensive understanding of coalition dynamics, motivations, and consequences within Kenya's historical context, supported by a diverse range of historical sources.

3.2 Political Coalitions in Pre-Independence

Since 1945, variety of political coalitions emerged, reflecting different ethnic, multi-ethnic, and national affiliations. Ethnic political associations such as the Young Kikuyu Association (YKA), Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) and the Luo Union played significant roles in advocating for the interests of specific ethnic groups within the country.[532] The KCA, originating in the 1920s, focused on issues related to Kikuyu land rights and political representation, while the Luo Union addressed concerns specific to the Luo community, particularly in response to colonial oppression and economic marginalization.

In contrast, multi-ethnic coalitions like KASU and KAU exemplified efforts to unite individuals from diverse ethnic backgrounds in pursuit of common goals.[533] KASU, established in 1944, sought to foster unity among different ethnic groups in Kenya to collectively oppose colonial rule. On the other hand, KAU, founded in the same year,

[532] Laurence Juma. "Ethnic politics and the constitutional review process in Kenya." *Tulsa J. Comp. & Int'l L.* 9 (2001): p.471.
[533] Bethwell A Ogot., and William Robert Ochieng, eds. *Decolonization & independence in Kenya, 1940-93*. Ohio State University Press, 1995.

aimed to represent the interests of all Kenyan Africans, transcending ethnic boundaries and advocating for independence on a broader national scale.

Furthermore, national political movements such as the Mau Mau Movement and KANU showcased efforts to mobilize people across ethnic lines towards shared objectives. The Mau Mau uprising, although led primarily by the Kikuyu community, garnered support from individuals of various ethnicities in the struggle against British colonial rule. Similarly, KANU, established in 1960, emerged as a nationalist party advocating for independence and self-rule for all Kenyans, regardless of their ethnic backgrounds. These political movements underscored the diverse nature of political movements in Kenya during this fundamental period of transition towards independence.

The study advances that colonial government in Kenya viewed the emergence of diverse political movements advocating for ethnic, multi-ethnic, and national interests as threats to its authority. They perceived these movements as potential challenges to colonial rule, leading to measures like arrests, bans, and propaganda to undermine and weaken their impact. The government exploited ethnic divisions within the coalitions to disrupt their unity and effectiveness in opposing colonial policies, reflecting a strategy of control and suppression to protect colonial interests.

3.3 Types of Political Coalitions in Post-Independence

The study was guided by the interpretivism research philosophy to conduct a comprehensive historical analysis of political coalitions, employing a dual-parameter classification system based on the timing of coalition formation and the nature of the

coalition. Notably, the analysis revealed the potential for a specific type of coalition to exhibit characteristics belonging to both clusters. The two primary parameters, timing, and nature, allowed for a refined understanding of the diverse political coalitions observed. In the subsequent sections, the study delved into a detailed analysis of each cluster, shedding light on the intricacies and distinctions that shape these alliances. This approach facilitated a more comprehension of the dynamics within and between political coalitions.

3.3.1 Classification of Coalitions in Kenya Based on Timing

3.3.1.1 Pre-Election Coalitions

This classification refers to alliances formed prior to electoral contests, where political parties and factions strategically come together to pool resources, ideologies, and support.[534] Pre-election coalitions often emerge as a response to the dynamic political landscape, where the goal is to strengthen collective influence and increase the chances of electoral success. The study undertook the analysis of some coalitions formed under this category as discussed herein:

NARC in Kenya stands out as a noteworthy example within the category of pre-election coalitions. Formed ahead of the 2002 general elections, NARC was a coalition of diverse political parties and movements united by a shared goal of ending the long-standing single-party rule in the country.[535] Comprising parties such as DP, National Party of Kenya (NPK), and FORD-P, NARC strategically came together to consolidate opposition forces against the ruling party.

Commenting on the timing of the formation of NARC, Noah Wekesa commented:

[534] Marisa Kellam. "Why pre-electoral coalitions in presidential systems?." *British Journal of Political Science* 47, no. 2 (2017): pp.391-411.
[535] Walter O. Oyugi,. "Coalition politics and coalition governments in Africa." *Journal of contemporary African studies* 24, no. 1 (2006): pp.53-79.

> …the timing of NARC's formation was crucial, occurring in the lead-up to the elections to maximize its impact on voter sentiment and political dynamics. The coalition successfully harnessed the collective strength of its member parties, presenting a united front against the incumbent regime. This strategic alliance not only broadened NARC's support base but also conveyed a powerful message of political unity to the electorate…the motivations behind NARC's pre-election coalition were rooted in a shared desire for political change and the realization that a united front would be more effective in challenging the status quo. The coalition's success in the 2002 elections, resulting in the election of Mwai Kibaki as president, underscored the potency of pre-election coalitions in Kenya's political landscape.[536]

The foregoing sentiments are in line with the tenet of political coalition theory of 'shared goals' among coalition members. This tenet emphasizes that for a coalition to be effective, its members must unite around common objectives that reflect their collective interests. In the case of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), various political parties came together with a shared desire for political change and the goal of defeating the incumbent regime. This alignment of interests not only strengthened the coalition's resolve but also enhanced its appeal to voters, as it presented a unified front advocating for a significant shift in the political landscape. The success of NARC in the 2002 elections underscored the importance of shared goals in mobilizing support and achieving political objectives within a coalition framework.

However, the study established that as with many coalitions, NARC's unity faced challenges in the post-election period, revealing the complexities of maintaining cohesion once the common electoral goal has been achieved. Internal disagreements and divergent priorities among coalition members eventually led to the fragmentation of NARC. In analyzing NARC within the category of pre-election coalitions, the study gained insights

[536] Noah Wekesa, Oral Interview in Kitale on 16th November 2023.

into the strategic advantages and challenges inherent in such alliances. The case study of NARC provides a lens through which to understand the dynamics of pre-election coalitions in Kenya, their transformative potential, and the complexities associated with sustaining unity beyond the electoral moment.

Similarly, voter respondents in FGD2 argued that pre-election coalitions in Kenya have been ineffective because past political leaders have failed to live up to their commitments within these coalitions. Rather than maintaining the initial partnerships, leaders have abandoned their coalition partners and brought in new political actors who were not part of the original agreements, creating a sense of disorder.[537] This perspective underscores the complexities and challenges associated with sustaining unity and fulfilling promises within pre-election alliances, highlighting the need for strong leadership, clear structures, and mechanisms to navigate post-election dynamics effectively.

In lign with the foregoing arguments, Almond and Verba's findings on the importance of civic culture and trust in political institutions and their emphasis on positive citizen attitudes as a foundation for democratic engagement contrasts sharply with the experiences of voter respondents in Kenya, who highlight the ineffectiveness of pre-election coalitions due to leaders' failure to honor commitments. This betrayal not only undermines trust in political institutions but also fosters a sense of disorder and disillusionment among voters. As leaders shift alliances and introduce new actors, they exacerbate feelings of instability, thereby eroding the very civic culture that Almond and Verba argue is essential for democratic participation. In this context, the disconnect between ideal civic engagement

[537] FGD 2 in Kitale, Trans Nzoia County on 8th December 2023

and the realities of political behavior in Kenya illustrates the critical need for accountability and genuine representation to restore trust and encourage active participation.

The Jubilee Coalition, formed in anticipation of the 2013 general elections, exemplifies another significant pre-election coalition in Kenya's political landscape.[538] Bringing together the political powerhouses of The National Alliance (TNA) and the United Republican Party (URP), the coalition strategically united key political figures, including Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto, to pursue a shared electoral agenda. The timing of Jubilee's formation was instrumental, strategically capitalizing on the pre-election period to consolidate support, articulate a unified vision, and present a formidable front against competing political forces.

Charles Matoke, comenting on the formation of the Jubilee coalition in 2013 remarked:

> …motivated by a common goal of securing victory in the elections, the Jubilee Coalition strategically leveraged the diverse strengths of its constituent parties. By pooling resources, expanding its reach, and fostering a united narrative, the coalition succeeded in resonating with a broad spectrum of voters. This strategic pre-election alliance played a crucial role in shaping the electoral landscape, ultimately leading to the election of Uhuru Kenyatta as President and William Ruto as Deputy President in 2013.[539]

The study findings revealed that the success of the Jubilee Coalition in the 2013 elections underscored the effectiveness of pre-election alliances in Kenya, demonstrating their ability to sway electoral outcomes through a united and coordinated approach. Challenges emerged within the Jubilee coalition in the post-election period. Internal dynamics and

[538] Langat, Patrick. "Election In Kenya: A Public Sphere Analysis." PhD diss., University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 2020.
[539] Charles Matoke, Oral Interview at UDA offices Nairobi on 19th November 2023.

divergent interests among coalition members surfaced, requiring astute leadership to navigate and sustain the coalition's unity throughout its term. In examining the Jubilee Coalition within the category of pre-election coalitions, the study provided valuable insights into the strategic advantages and potential pitfalls associated with such alliances. The case of Jubilee illuminates the transformative impact of pre-election coalitions on Kenya's political landscape, emphasizing both their instrumental role in securing electoral success and the intricate challenges of maintaining unity in the aftermath of victory.

The formation of CORD serves as a noteworthy case study in the realm of pre-election coalitions. Established in anticipation of the 2013 general elections, CORD brought together key opposition parties, notably ODM, WDM, and Ford Kenya party.[540] The coalition strategically united prominent opposition figures, including Raila Odinga, Kalonzo Musyoka, and Moses Wetangula, with the shared objective of challenging the Jubilee Coalition.

David Burare revealed that:

> …CORD's formation was strategically timed to influence the electoral landscape, leveraging the pre-election period to consolidate opposition forces, broaden its support base, and articulate a cohesive vision. By uniting diverse political entities, CORD aimed to present a robust challenge to the incumbent regime, showcasing the potential strength of a united front in Kenya's political arena.[541]

Burare's observations are in lign with the tenet of 'strategic timing' of political coalition theory. CORD was established during the pre-election period, which allowed it to effectively consolidate opposition forces and broaden its support base. By uniting various

[540] George Odhiambo Okoth, and Gordon Onyango Omenya. "New Constitution, Odingaism and the State of Internal Democracy in Orange Democratic Movement and its Effects on the 2013 Elections in Kenya." Kenya's Past as Prologue: Voters, Violence and the 2013 General Election (2015): p.190.
[541] David Burare, Oral Interview at Upper Hill Nairobi on 23rd November 2023.

political entities at this critical juncture, CORD aimed to present a formidable challenge to the incumbent regime. This strategic timing not only maximized the coalition's visibility and influence in the electoral landscape but also demonstrated the effectiveness of a united front in mobilizing voters and articulating a cohesive vision for political change in Kenya.

NASA formed in 2017 was a coalition of political parties that united to challenge the ruling party, Jubilee Party, in the presidential election.[542] It consisted of five major parties, including the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), Wiper Democratic Movement (WDM), Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-Kenya (FORD-Kenya), Amani National Congress (ANC), and Chama Cha Mashinani (CCM).

On the formation of NASA, Nyukuri Barasa commented:

> …by bringing together multiple political parties, NASA aimed to appeal to a wider range of voters across different regions and ethnic groups. The NASA strategic alliance sought to consolidate opposition forces and increase the chances of defeating the ruling party. Political campaigns require significant financial resources. By forming a coalition, NASA parties could pool their financial and logistical resources, enabling them to run a more effective and coordinated campaign.[543]

The NASA coalition was driven by a shared desire to challenge the ruling party's dominance and address issues such as corruption, governance, and socio-economic inequality.[544] By presenting a united front, NASA aimed to offer a credible alternative to the incumbent government. The coalition lost election and contested the election results in court, which resulted in a historic nullification of the election which they boycotted as they felt that the issues that they wanted addressed by electoral commission prior to repeat had

[542] Patrick Langat. "Election in Kenya: A Public Sphere Analysis." PhD diss., University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 2020.
[543] Nyukuri Barasa, Oral Interview at County hotel, Bungoma on 15th November 2023.
[544] Oita Etyang. The politics of coalition formation in Kenya: 1992-2017. University of Johannesburg (South Africa), 2021.

not been addressed. However, the coalition faced challenges in maintaining unity and achieving its intended goals.

Remarking on the timing of the formation of NASA coalition, David Burare had this to say:

> …the timing of NASA's formation was crucial, strategically positioned to maximize its impact on the electoral landscape. By unifying diverse opposition parties, NASA sought to broaden its support base and present a credible alternative to the ruling party. The coalition's influence on the electoral dynamics in 2017 demonstrated the potential of pre-election alliances to challenge the existing political order. While NASA did not secure victory in the presidential election, its impact was evident in parliamentary and local contests, showcasing the transformative potential of such collaborative approaches.[545]

In lign with the foregoing sentiments and guided by the interpretivist philosophy in examining the case of NASA, the study findings revealed important lessons for understanding the dynamics of pre-election coalitions in Kenya. The study emphasizes the significance of strategic timing, effective communication, and strong leadership in forming and sustaining such alliances. Additionally, the challenges faced by NASA post-election underscore the need for well-defined structures and mechanisms to navigate internal disputes and uphold unity over an extended period.

Based on the above research findings, the researcher contends that while some pre-election coalitions may not secure victory in the highest office, they can still have a substantial impact on the political landscape by challenging established political orders, gaining influence in legislative bodies, and paving the way for broader political transformations. The collaborative approach of these alliances often extends beyond the executive branch, influencing parliamentary and local contests, and shaping the overall political narrative.

[545] David Burare, Oral Interview at Upper Hill, Nairobi on 23rd November 2023.

3.3.1.2: Post-election Coalitions

Post-election coalitions in Kenya, as a classification based on timing, involve alliances that are formed after the conclusion of electoral processes.[546] These coalitions typically arise from the necessity to secure a working majority in the legislature or address power-sharing arrangements in the aftermath of closely contested elections. Unlike pre-election coalitions that are established ahead of the polls, post-election coalitions respond directly to the actual distribution of seats and political power.

Reacting on the motivations of post-election coalitions during an oral interview with Bifwoli Wakoli as shown in Plate no. 4 observed:

> …the motivations behind post-election coalitions are diverse and complicated. They may be driven by a need to establish a stable government, particularly in cases where no single party attains a clear majority. Forming alliances post-election can be a strategic move to consolidate power, promote inclusivity, or address concerns regarding the legitimacy of the electoral outcome. Additionally, parties may join forces to pool resources and expertise for effective governance.[547]



[546] Sebastian Elischer. "Ethnic coalitions of convenience and commitment: Political parties and party systems in Kenya." (2008).
[547] Wakolil Bifwoli, Oral Interview at Highway hotel, Bungoma on14th November 2023

Plate 4: The Researcher (left) interviewing politician Bifwoli Wakoli (right) on formation of post election coalitions

However, the research findings revealed that the post-election coalitions in Kenya often encounter challenges associated with merging diverse political ideologies, managing conflicting interests, and navigating power-sharing agreements. The absence of a common pre-election platform may lead to ideological differences that become apparent in the post-election period, making it challenging to sustain unity. Disagreements over the distribution of ministerial portfolios and policy priorities can further strain the effectiveness of post-election coalitions.

Further, the study argues that the success or failure of post-election coalitions has direct implications on governance and political stability in Kenya. A well-functioning coalition can bring about inclusivity and collaboration, potentially leading to governance that is more effective. Conversely, a fragmented or unstable coalition may face difficulties in implementing policies, resulting in governance challenges and, in extreme cases, political instability. The study analyzed examples of post-election coalitions in Kenya as discussed herein:

The Grand Coalition Government in Kenya, spanning from 2008 to 2013, was a focal response to the turbulent aftermath of the 2007 presidential election.[548] The political landscape at that time was marked by contested results, leading to a period of intense post-election violence.[549] Recognizing the need for stability and reconciliation, the formation of the Grand Coalition Government materialized in April 2008 through the mediation efforts of prominent international figure Kofi Annan. A distinctive aspect of this coalition was the

[548] Matthew Carotenuto, and Katherine Luongo. Obama and Kenya: Contested histories and the politics of *belonging*. Ohio University Press, 2016.
[549] Júlia Battistuzzi Penachioni. "Dealing with Political Violence in Conflicted Democracies: Transitional Justice in Lebanon and Kenya from a Comparative Perspective." PhD diss., Universidade de São Paulo.

agreement between the two major political figures of that election, President Mwai Kibaki and Raila Odinga, to share power.

Central to the Grand Coalition Government was a power-sharing arrangement, with President Kibaki retaining his position and Raila Odinga assuming the role of Prime Minister.[550] Furthermore, ministerial positions were distributed between PNU, led by Kibaki, and ODM, led by Odinga. This unique collaboration aimed to unite political factions and bridge divides in the interest of national healing.

The study observes that the formation of the Grand coalition was in line with the theory of political coalition's tenet of 'power-sharing arrangement'. This coalition was strategically designed to address the political divisions that emerged after the elections, with President Kibaki remaining in power while Raila Odinga became Prime Minister. By distributing ministerial positions between the two leading parties, the PNU and ODM, the coalition aimed to unify diverse political factions and foster cooperation. This collaboration not only served the interests of both parties but also sought to promote national healing and stability in Kenya. The coalition illustrates how political alliances can be formed to reconcile differences and achieve common goals, reflecting the essential principles of political coalition theory.

The primary goals of the Grand Coalition Government were complex. Its foremost objective was to facilitate national healing and reconciliation, addressing the deep-seated issues that had fueled ethnic tensions and contributed to the post-election violence.[551]

[550] Cheeseman, Nic, and Christina Murray. "2 Power-sharing in Kenya." *Power Sharing. Empirical and* Normative Challenges (2017): pp.36-62.
[551] John O Oucho. "Undercurrents of Post-election Violence in Kenya: Issues in the long-term agenda." In Tensions and Reversals in Democratic Transitions: The Kenya 2007 General Elections, pp. 491-533. 2010.

Additionally, the coalition sought to instigate substantive constitutional reforms, recognizing the necessity of addressing longstanding governance and power-sharing concerns. An enduring legacy of the Grand Coalition Government was its successful initiation of constitutional reforms. The drafting and subsequent promulgation of a new constitution in 2010 represented a significant achievement.[552] This constitutional overhaul played a vital role in reshaping Kenya's political landscape, ushering in a more inclusive and accountable governance structure.

Political coalitions that have been in existence in Kenya have assumed two different dimensions. Some have been formal with necessary legal documents deposited with the registrar of political parties/societies with clear definitions of terms of reference while others have operated loosely on gentleman's agreement.

Wafula Wakoko commending on whether BBI was a form of political coalition had this to say:

> …the Building Bridges Initiative (BBI) in Kenya, led by President Uhuru Kenyatta and former Prime Minister Raila Odinga, was not a conventional political coalition but a strategic process addressing governance, social, and economic challenges. Initiated after the divisive 2017 elections, the BBI sought to foster national unity. President Uhuru employed the BBI partly as a tactic to navigate political challenges, including containing Raila Odinga, who had contested the 2017 election results and boycotted the re-run due to unaddressed electoral concerns. Additionally, internal discord within the ruling Jubilee party, particularly between President Uhuru and Vice President William Ruto, necessitated a unifying approach. The BBI facilitated cooperation by bringing Raila Odinga into an informal arrangement, labeled the "handshake brother," effectively bridging political gaps and ensuring support for government

[552] Jimmy J Kisobo. "The Impact of Coalition Government on Political, Economic and Social Development of Postconflict Societies: case of Kenya, 2008-2012." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2013.

> initiatives from Odinga's parliamentary wing. This collaboration addressed the vacuum created by the departure of the Jubilee splinter group, contributing to a more cohesive governance approach.[553]

The study asserts that though it was an informal arrangement between President Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga, the leader of NASA, the two parties in their informal coalition had sought to address the underlying causes of political tension and promote reconciliation among different ethnic groups in Kenya. The coalition aimed to address electoral grievances, promote electoral reforms, and strengthen Kenya's democratic institutions. By bringing together political leaders from different sides, the BBI sought to promote political stability and reduce the likelihood of future electoral disputes. The coalition aimed to create a conducive environment for social and economic development by addressing issues related to governance, devolution, and inclusivity.

The above cases illustrate that post-election coalitions in Kenya are often motivated by a desire to address political crises, secure parliamentary majorities, or promote national unity. While they have had varying degrees of success, they remain an important feature of Kenya's political landscape.

3.3.2 Classification of Coalitions in Kenya Based on their Nature

The classification of political coalitions in Kenya based on their nature is a significant aspect of the country's political landscape. These coalitions vary in their composition, objectives, and ideological orientations, and understanding their nature is crucial for analyzing their impact on governance, policy formulation, and political dynamics.

[553] Wafula Wakoko, Oral Interview at ORPP offices, Nairobi on 3rd January, 2024.

3.3.2.1 National Coalitions

Political coalitions have been a significant feature of Kenya's political landscape since independence in 1963 and have assumed different characteristics with passage of time.[554] The initial coalitions from 1960-1970 were Nationalistic in nature. These coalitions were formed during the pre-independence period to fight for Kenya's independence from British colonial rule.[555] The national coalitions aimed to unite different ethnic groups and regions in the struggle for independence. They also sought to address issues such as land ownership, political representation, and social justice. The nationalist coalitions played a significant role in gaining Kenya's independence in 1963. They also helped to promote national unity and establish a democratic system of government. Noah Wekesa recounts:

> …in 1962, the second Lancaster House Conference was convened. Both KANU and KADU agreed to form a coalition to work out details for the Majimbo constitution and to go for general elections in May 1963. Under the coalition government, Oginga became the Minister for Home Affairs.[556]

KANU and KADU were the two main national coalitions. However, despite the fact the two appeared to be nationalistic in nature, they had ethnic element in their formation. Nyukuri Barasa observes that KADU was formed after KANU with Ronald Ngala, Masinde Muliro and Daniel Arap Moi as President, vice chair and president of KADU respectively due to the fear of Kikuyu-Luo dominance in KANU.[557]

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[554] Denis Kadima, and Felix Owuor. "Kenya's decade of experiments with political party alliances and coalitions-motivations, impact and prospects." *Journal of African Elections* 13, no. 1 (2014): pp.150-180.
[555] Newton, Jacob Alexander. "The politicization of difference: nationalism and national unity in pre-independent India, Ghana, Nigeria and Kenya." PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 2000.
[556] Noah Wekesa, Oral Interview in Kitale on 16th November 2023
[557] Nyukuri Barasa, Oral Interview at County hotel, Bungoma on 15th November 2023.

3.3.2.2 Ethnic-Based Coalitions

In Kenya, ethnic-based coalitions have been a prominent feature of the country's political landscape since independence in 1963. These political coalitions are formed along ethnic lines.[558] They are usually formed to protect the interests of a particular ethnic group or to gain political power. Ethnic-based coalitions are political alliances that are formed on the basis of shared ethnicity or tribal affiliation. The main agenda of these ethnic-based coalitions was to gain political power and to protect the interests of their respective ethnic groups. They did this by forming alliances with other ethnic-based parties, as well as by appealing to voters along ethnic lines with politicians using ethnic affiliations to mobilize support and to win elections.

The period 1980s-1990s saw the emergence of formation of ethnic coalitions. These coalitions were formed along ethnic lines in the 1980s and 1990s, following the reintroduction of multiparty democracy in Kenya. The Luo-Kamba Alliance was a historical example of political cooperation between the Luo and Kamba ethnic groups in Kenya.[559] Though not a formalized political entity with a specific formation date, it represents a trend that gained prominence during the multiparty era in the 1990s. The alliance aimed to strengthen the political voice of the Luo and Kamba communities, fostering collaboration to increase their influence in national politics. While the specific impact of the Luo-Kamba Alliance on Kenyan politics is challenging to quantify, these alliances sought to contribute to the enhanced representation of these ethnic groups in the country's political landscape.

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[558] Shilaho Westen Kwatemba. "Ethnicity and political pluralism in Kenya." *Journal of African elections* 7, no. 2 (2008): pp.77-112.

[559] Thomas Stubbs. "Ethnopolitics and the Military in Kenya." *Forging Military Identity in Culturally* Pluralistic Societies: Quasi-Ethnicity (2015): pp.69-88.

The Gema Alliance, representing the Gikuyu, Embu, and Meru communities, emerged as a significant political force in Kenya during the multiparty era.[560] It played a crucial role in consolidating the political power of Central Kenyan communities. The alliance aimed to protect the interests of the Gikuyu, Embu, and Meru peoples and secure positions of influence in the government.

The Gema Alliance's impact on Kenyan politics is notable, particularly in electoral influence, political representation, and presidential politics. Its formation in the 1990s coincided with a critical period in Kenya's political history, and it became instrumental in securing support for candidates from the Gikuyu, Embu, and Meru communities. In presidential elections, the alliance played a crucial role in supporting candidates, including President Uhuru Kenyatta, who garnered significant backing from these communities.

Herman Manyora observed that:

> The Gema Alliance, like many ethnic-based political groupings, faced criticism for potentially reinforcing ethnic divisions and contributing to exclusionary practices in Kenyan politics…such alliances might limit the inclusivity of the political landscape and raise concerns about their impact on national unity. The Gema Alliance's role remains part of a broader discourse on the complexities of ethnic-based political associations in Kenya and their implications for governance and societal cohesion.[561]

Similar observations were espoused by the archival information that revealed the Luo-Kikuyu alliance in 1994 attracted general countrywide dissapproval as a selfish political move by the large tribes to dominate smaller tribes in the country.[562]

[560] Rok Ajulu, "Politicised ethnicity, competitive politics and conflict in Kenya: A historical perspective." *African Studies* 61, no. 2 (2002): pp.251-268.
[561] Herman Manyora, Oral Interview at Fountain of Knowledge UoN, Nairobi on 21st November 2023.
[562] KNADS/SF.40/21/15. Security Intelligence Fortnightly Report no. 15. 14th, August 1994. Accessed on 9/8/2023.

According to Ajulu, after independence, and increasingly confronted with sharply conflictual claims made upon the state, contestation over power and resources increasingly assumed the form of ethnic competition, thus creating a fertile ground in which the reconstruction of ethnic identities and ethnicisation ofpolitical contestation was possible. It is not surprising therefore that increasingly, ethnicity became the most important and the most effective instrument ofpolitical mobilisation. Thus successive regimes in Kenya constructed class power along ethnicised identities and resources have similarly been contested along similar lines.[563]

He observes that the 1992 and 1997 elections, and now, the succession debate in the country, are probably the clearest demonstration ofthis phenomenon. In 1992 and again in 1997, the support for the ruling Kenya African National Union (KANU) came mainly from the alliance of the Kalenjin, Masai, Turkana and Samburu and from the Coast Province, (KAMATUSA) and represented an alliance of minority ethnic groups who were made to 'fear' the domination of the majority ethnic groups — especially the Kikuyu and Luo.[564]

On the other hand, the distribution of support for the three main opposition parties was similarly drawn from 'their' ethnic groups. Thus Oginga Odinga's FORD Kenya support in 1992 came mainly from Nyanza among his Luo supporters and to a lesser extent from the neighbouring Luhyia. In 1997 Raila Odinga's (Oginga Odinga's son) National Democratic Party of Kenya's (NDPK) support was similarly drawn from Luo Nyanza, and the Langata constituency in Nairobi which had an overwhelming proportion of the urban Luo voters, while Warnalwa' FORD Kenya was reduced to a Bukusu party. Matiba's FORD Asili in

[563] Ajulu, Rok. "Thinking through the crisis of democratisation in Kenya: a response to Adar and Murunga." *African Sociological Review/Revue Africaine de Sociologie* (2000): pp.133-157.
[564] Ibid

1992 had the backing of the two Kikuyu districts of Kiambu and Muranga, and because of Martin Shikuku (the deputy leader of FORD Asili who is a Luhyia) factor, FORD Asili was able to share the Luhyia vote with KANU. Kibaki's DP in 1992 had the backing from his home district, Nyeri, Meru and shared the neighbouring Kamba vote with KANU. In 1997 in the absence of Matiba, Kibaki 's DP automatically became the authentic Kikuyu party.[565]

He further highlighted that the Kenyan opposition's crisis and ineffectiveness stem from its reliance on ethnic identities for political mobilization. Since its reconstitution in 1992, the opposition has been divided into two irreconcilable factions: the Matiba camp (FORD Asili), representing a segment of the Kikuyu bourgeoisie and their grassroots support, and the Kibaki camp (Democratic Party), which embodied the elite faction of the Kikuyu community. This division has hindered the possibility of forming cohesive alliances, with each faction drawing support primarily from their respective ethnic bases. The Democratic Party, particularly after Matiba's exit in 1997, solidified its position as the main representative of the Kikuyu, illustrating how deeply entrenched ethnic affiliations shape Kenya's political landscape.[566]

Responding to formation of ethnic based coalitions in Kenya, John Kamande asserted:

> …in 2013, CORD Alliance was established, bringing together key political parties such as ODM, Wiper Democratic Movement, and the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-Kenya (FORD-K). While not exclusively based on ethnicity, the alliance encompassed parties with diverse ethnic support bases. Its primary objective was to consolidate support from various ethnic groups, transcending individual ethnic lines, in order to challenge the dominance of other political forces. The alliance marked an attempt to forge a coalition

[565] Ibid
[566] Ibid

> that represented a broader spectrum of Kenya's political landscape.[567]

The foregoing assertion by Kamande on the formation of the CORD Alliance in Kenya, which brought together political parties with diverse ethnic support bases, illustrates the concept of "vote pooling" from the theory of political coalitions.[568] The researcher observes that by forming a broad-based coalition that transcended individual ethnic lines, the alliance aimed to consolidate support from various ethnic groups and challenge the dominance of other political forces. This strategy of combining the votes and support of different factions is a common feature of coalition-building in ethnically diverse societies, as political parties seek to enhance their collective chances of electoral success by appealing to a more diverse electorate, rather than relying solely on the base of a single ethnic group or party.

Formed concurrently in 2013, the Jubilee Alliance united political entities such as TNA and URP, alongside smaller parties.[569] Although inclusive of members from diverse ethnic backgrounds, the alliance was perceived by some as leaning towards the interests of the Kikuyu and Kalenjin communities, represented by TNA and URP, respectively. Notably, the Jubilee Alliance played a pivotal role in securing the presidency for Uhuru Kenyatta, reflecting its significant impact on the national political stage.

Talking about ethnicity, formation of political parties and democracy, Range Mwita had this to say:

> Ethnicity in Kenya has been a major barrier to development of democracy. Political party formation has been tied around tribes

[567] John Kamande, Oral Interview at Uraia offices, Nairobi on 24th Nov 2023.
[568] Aline Machado. "Minimum Winning Electoral Coalitions." *LATIN AMERICAN POLITICS AND SOCIETY* 51: p.3.
[569] Denis Kadima, and Felix Owuor. "Kenya's decade of experiments with political party alliances and coalitions-motivations, impact and prospects." *Journal of African Elections* 13, no. 1 (2014): pp.150-180.

> and more so around individuals. This has led to development of hard mentality, with members of a community having a tribal leader as their think tank. The decision of the leader in these communities is treated as a command which has to be fully followed without any individual stopping to imagine whether the decision made by the leader is wrong or right…for instance in Luo Nyanza we have the Odinga family, in Western Mudavadi and Moses Wetangula, for the Luyhia Community which of course has been championing competing interests which is traced to Bukusu and Maragoli rivalry, Ruto for rift Valley, Kibaki and Uhuru for the Kikuyu community and the trend continues. Remember, with command of Odinga, Luos had to vote to the last man for Kibaki during 2002 election. However, when the two leaders differed, in 2007 election the Luos withdrew their support for Kibaki on Raila's command.[570]

The study contends that though the main agenda of ethnic-based coalitions in Kenya has been to protect the interests of a particular ethnic group or to gain political power, these coalitions have played an important role in Kenya's political history. They have also been criticized for promoting tribalism and for perpetuating ethnic divisions. For instance, the post-election violence that occurred in Kenya in 2007-2008 was traced to ethnicity. As such, there is a growing recognition of the need to move away from ethnic-based politics and to focus on policies and ideas that benefit all Kenyans.

3.3.2.3 Regional-Based Coalitions

Regional based coalitions are political coalitions that are formed based on regional interests.[571] These coalitions are usually formed to promote development in a particular region or to push for regional autonomy. The coalition's advocate for addressing of a number of issues such as fair distribution of resources, particularly in terms of access to basic amenities such as water, healthcare, and education. In this regard, Nyukuri Barasa observed:

[570] Range Mwita, Oral Interview at CMD offices Nairobi on 22nd Nov 2023.
[571] Gilbert M Khadiagala. "Political movements and coalition politics in Kenya: entrenching ethnicity." South African Journal of International Affairs 17, no. 1 (2010): pp.65-84.

> …it should be noted that some regions in Kenya feel marginalized and underrepresented in national politics. As such, regional political coalitions often seek to address this issue by advocating for greater political representation and autonomy for their respective regions. Similarly, land ownership and distribution are significant issues in Kenya, with some regions experiencing land grabbing and displacement of local communities. The regional political coalitions often advocate for land rights and protection of community land. Likewise, there are regions in Kenya that lack basic infrastructure such as roads, electricity, and telecommunications. Such shortage is traced to discrimination by political leadership were some regions feel that inability to access such opportunities is due to discrimination by political leadership more so the presidency.[572]

According to Musikari Kombo, a prominent politician and former Minister in Kibaki government and former Chair of Ford Kenya, he observed that despite establishment of devolution, the presidency still plays a critical role in influencing the level of development of any particular region. Kombo observed that:

> …not all functions in Kenya were devolved on devolution. Central government retained some functions. Even with devolved functions, there has been no corresponding devolvement of resources. The president, still to a large extend holds the yam and the knife. As such, it is the president who decides largely what and when. This situation obviously brings in the question of shareholders and none-shareholders. It is on this basis that members from non-shareholders community strategize on how to organize themselves through avenues such as formation of coalitions as a way of ensuring that they are not left out in future government.[573]

This study advances that the formation of regional blocks of political coalitions is often viewed as an avenue for bargaining for the development of infrastructure to improve the quality of life for residents in government. However, Hermon Manyora sees a thin line between regional coalitions and ethnic coalitions. According to him, the two are one and the same. He observed that:

[572] Nyukuri Barasa, Oral Interview at County hotel, Bungoma on 15th November 2023.
[573] Musikari Kombo, Oral Interview at Lovington, Nairobi on 21st November 2023.

> …the settlement pattern of Kenya is ethnic based. You find Luyhas clustered in Western Kenya, Kikuyus and their cousins in Central and partly in Eastern, Kalenjins dominate Rift Valley, Kambas in Eastern and so on. Even Nairobi, which is considered as cosmopolitan, you will find a particular community dominating in certain area of settlement, all which is reflected in voting pattern. Therefore, the regional parties formed and the resultant regional coalitions just end up being ethnic parties and coalitions. For one to differentiate between the two, one has to be blind about the ethnic settlement pattern in the country.[574]

The research findings reveal that regional based coalitions are meant for crafting alliances that are aimed at promoting numerical strength as a form of winning formulae to ascend to presidency; hopefully that presidency is at the centre of distribution of critical resources that determine the rate social-economic development of any region.

The formation of regional-based coalitions in Kenya is a common practice, characterized by the creation of political alliances or partnerships among leaders and parties with shared regional interests and affiliations. In Kenya's political landscape, the mobilization of support often aligns along regional lines, reflecting the diverse ethnic and cultural composition of the country.[575]

The research findings stablished a noteworthy regional-based coalitions as NASA, which came into existence in anticipation of the 2017 general elections. NASA aimed to consolidate support by bringing together various political parties from different regions, with the unified goal of presenting a formidable challenge to the incumbent Jubilee Party. The coalition comprised prominent figures such as Raila Odinga representing Luo Nyanza, Kalonzo Musyoka from Ukambani, Musalia Mudavadi from Western Kenya, and Moses Wetang'ula representing the Luhya community. The significance of NASA lay in its

[574] Nyukuri Barasa, Oral Interview at County hotel, Bungoma on 15th Novovember 2023.
[575] Raymond Muhula. "Horizontal inequalities and ethno-regional politics in Kenya." *Kenya Studies Review* 1, no. 1 (2009): pp.85-105.

attempt to bridge regional divides and foster a collaborative approach to national politics. By uniting leaders from diverse regions, the coalition sought to leverage a collective strength that went beyond individual ethnic affiliations. This strategy aimed to resonate with voters across the country and present a cohesive alternative to the ruling Jubilee Party.

Range Mwita contends that:

> …the success and impact of regional-based coalitions, such as NASA, are influenced by their ability to address the concerns and aspirations of citizens across different regions. Additionally, these alliances play a crucial role in shaping the political landscape by creating platforms for collaboration among leaders with diverse backgrounds, fostering a sense of national unity amid regional diversity. The evolution of such coalitions reflects the dynamic nature of Kenyan politics and the ongoing efforts to navigate the complex interplay between regional identities and national governance.[576]

Supporting this perspective, respondents in FGD4, acknowledged the importance of regional-based coalitions like NASA in addressing the aspirations of citizens across different regions and fostering a sense of national unity.[577] They recognize the role of such alliances in navigating the complexities of regional identities and national governance, reflecting the dynamic nature of Kenyan politics and the ongoing efforts to promote collaboration and unity across diverse regions.

3.3.2.4 Issue -Based Coalitions

Issue-based coalitions in Kenya are political alliances formed around specific policy agendas or shared goals, rather than being based solely on ethnic or regional affiliations.[578] These coalitions are centered on addressing specific issues such as governance reform, economic development, social welfare, and human rights.

[576] Range Mwita, Oral Interview at CMD offices, Nairobi on 22nd Nov 2023.
[577] FGD 4 at Kamungunji in Nairobi County on 14th November 2023.
[578] Gilbert M Khadiagala. "Political movements and coalition politics in Kenya: entrenching ethnicity." South African Journal of International Affairs 17, no. 1 (2010): pp.65-84.

The study findings revealed National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) formed in the early 2000s, as a noteworthy example of an issue-based political alliance that played a crucial role in reshaping the country's political landscape. At its core, NARC was a response to widespread discontent with the long-standing rule of the Kenya African National Union (KANU), with a unifying focus on issues such as governance, corruption, and the need for political and economic reforms.

The formation of NARC in 2002 brought together diverse political parties and leaders who shared a common goal of ending the era of KANU dominance.[579] The coalition's primary issue was the urgent need to address the pervasive corruption that had marked the KANU government, coupled with a commitment to fostering democratic governance and accountability. The leadership of NARC was a collaborative effort, led by figures like Mwai Kibaki, a seasoned politician and former Vice President known for his economic competence.

During the election campaign, NARC presented itself as a credible alternative to the ruling KANU, emphasizing a reform agenda that resonated with the electorate. The coalition's promises to tackle corruption, improve governance, and stimulate economic growth garnered significant popular support.[580] In the 2002 elections, NARC achieved a landslide victory, with Mwai Kibaki assuming the presidency. This marked a historic moment in Kenya's political history as it was the first peaceful transfer of power from an incumbent government to the opposition.

[579] Shumbana Karume. "Factional intrigues and alliance politics: the case of NARC in Kenya's 2002 elections." *Journal of African Elections* 2, no. 2 (2003): pp.1-13.
[580] NARC manifesto 2002

However, post-election challenges emerged within NARC, including internal disagreements and infighting that eventually led to the coalition's fragmentation.[581] Despite these challenges, NARC's legacy was enduring. Nyukuri Barasa argues that the coalition's success in the 2002 elections demonstrated the influence of issue-based coalitions in mobilizing public support and effecting political change.[582] NARC's victory had a profound impact on Kenyan politics, ushering in a period of significant political and economic reforms, even though maintaining unity and fulfilling all promises proved to be a complex task for the coalition over time. In essence, NARC's role in Kenya's political evolution remains a pivotal chapter in the country's history, showcasing the potential of issue-based alliances in reshaping national narratives.

Wafula Wakoko observed that:

> …issue-based coalitions emerged around 2000s-2010s. These coalitions were formed around specific policy issues, such as constitutional reform, anti-corruption, and human rights. They included coalitions such the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) and the Coalition for Reforms and Democracy (CORD).Issue-based coalitions aimed to address specific policy issues and promote good governance. They also sought to challenge the dominance of established political parties and leaders.[583]

The study advances that Issue-based coalitions play a significant role in advocating for specific policy changes or addressing particular social, economic, or environmental issues. These coalitions bring together diverse groups, organizations, and individuals who share a common interest or concern related to a specific issue. Political coalitions in Kenya have also played a significant role in advocating for electoral reforms and shaping the country's political landscape. Political parties and leaders with the aim of consolidating their support

[581] Oita Etyang. "The Formation and Instability of Coalition Governments in Kenya." *The African Review* 49, no. 2 (2022): pp.167-194.
[582] Nyukuri Barasa, Oral Interview at County hotel, Bungoma on 15th November 2023.
[583] Wafula Wakoko, Oral Interview at ORPP offices Nairobi on 3rd January 2024

base, increasing their chances of electoral success, and influencing policy outcomes form these coalitions.

The Coalition for Reforms and Democracy (CORD) emerged as a significant political coalition in Kenya ahead of the 2013 general elections. CORD positioned itself as an issue-based coalition, distinguishing its approach from traditional ethnic-based alliances.[584] Comprising key parties such as the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), Wiper Democratic Movement, and the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-Kenya (FORD-K), CORD aimed to address pressing national challenges through a shared commitment to key issues.

One of the central pillars of CORD's agenda was electoral reforms.[585] The coalition sought to bring about changes in the electoral system to enhance transparency, fairness, and the overall credibility of the electoral process. This emphasis on electoral reforms was a response to concerns raised during the 2013 elections, with CORD advocating for systemic changes to prevent disputed election outcomes. Beyond electoral reforms, CORD presented a comprehensive economic agenda, prioritizing issues such as job creation, poverty alleviation, and inclusive economic growth. The coalition aimed to tackle socio-economic challenges and proposed policies to improve the living standards of Kenyan citizens across the country.

Noah Wekesa observed;

[584] Peter aNyaNg'NyoNg'o. "Political Parties and Coalition Politics in Kenyan General Election (s): The 2013 Presidential and General Elections." Kenya's 2013 General Election: Stakes, Practices and *Outcome* (2017).
[585] CORD manifesto 2013.

> A distinctive feature of CORD's approach was its commitment to national unity. Although not explicitly an ethnic coalition, CORD aimed to transcend ethnic lines and bring together leaders and supporters from diverse backgrounds. The coalition sought to unite Kenyans under a shared vision for the nation's future, emphasizing common interests and values.[586]

The study established that CORD laid the groundwork for the subsequent formation of the National Super Alliance (NASA) in 2017. While the specific composition of the coalition evolved, the core principles of issue-based politics, electoral reforms, and socio-economic development continued to be central to CORD's legacy, shaping the political landscape in Kenya.

Similarly, in South Africa, the Democratic Alliance (DA) was established in 2000 as a coalition of opposition parties, emphasizing key issues such as non-racialism, economic liberalization, and good governance.[587] The coalition's primary objective was to provide a credible alternative to the dominant African National Congress (ANC). Through its commitment to these shared values, the DA demonstrated the influential role of issue-based alliances in fostering a competitive political environment. By advocating for specific policy reforms centered around inclusivity, economic progress, and effective governance, the coalition aimed to reshape South Africa's political landscape and offer voters a viable alternative to the ANC's longstanding dominance.[588]

3.3.2.5: Electoral Coalitions

The electoral coalitions are formed during election cycles to gain political power and influence. These are coalitions whose formation in Kenya emerged from 2010 onwards.

[586] Noah Wekesa, Oral Interview in Kitale on16th November 2023.
[587] Neil Southern. "Political opposition and the challenges of a dominant party system: The democratic alliance in South Africa." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 29, no. 3 (2011): pp.281-298.
[588] Ibid

Electoral coalitions play a significant role in shaping the political landscape and determining the outcome of elections. They are formed when political parties or individuals come together to pool their resources and support, with the goal of enhancing their chances of electoral success. These coalitions often bring together parties or factions with different ideological or regional interests, and they aim to create a unified front to maximize their electoral prospects.

The electoral coalitions may be pre-election and post-election coalitions. These coalitions have been prominent features of Kenya's political landscape. These alliances are motivated by the desire to enhance electoral prospects, consolidate power, address grievances, foster national unity, and promote stability. The Kenya's Constitutional reforms culminated in promulgation of New Constitution called Kenya Constitutional 2010 in October 2010, a constitution that came with various reforms more so in the electoral land scape. Among the key reforms was a requirement that a presidential candidate has to win at least fifty percent plus one vote (50% + 1 vote of the votes cast in a general election) and at least 25 Percent of Votes in more than half of the Counties in order to be declared the winner.

Therefore, electoral coalitions have been crafted putting in mind the arithmetic arrangement of mobilizing people during voting process to not only achieve majority as well as meet arithmetic requirement as set by the Independent Electoral Commission, an electoral body charged with responsibility of overseeing elections in Kenya.

Responding on the types of electoral coalitions, Range Mwita observed:

> …one prominent example of an electoral coalition in Kenya was the National Super Alliance (NASA). NASA was formed in 2017 ahead of the general elections, bringing together several political parties and leaders…the coalition included the Orange Democratic

> Movement (ODM), led by Raila Odinga, and other parties such as the Wiper Democratic Movement, the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-Kenya, and the Amani National Congress. The aim of NASA was to challenge the ruling Jubilee Party, led by President Uhuru Kenyatta, and present a united opposition front. Although NASA did not win the presidency, it became a significant force in the political landscape and played a crucial role in shaping the opposition's agenda.[589]

The research findings revealed another notable electoral coalition in Kenya, the Jubilee Alliance. The Jubilee Alliance was formed in 2013 ahead of the general elections and brought together the then newly formed Jubilee Party, which was a merger of the National Alliance (TNA) and the United Republican Party (URP). The Jubilee Alliance was instrumental in the election of Uhuru Kenyatta as president and William Ruto as deputy president. The coalition garnered support from different regions and ethnic communities, allowing them to secure a majority in the parliament and form a government.

Wafula Wakoko while in an oral interview with the researcher postulated that:

> Electoral coalitions in Kenya are often driven by a combination of factors, including regional and ethnic dynamics, ideological alignments, and the pursuit of political power. Kenya has a diverse population with various ethnic groups, and electoral coalitions are sometimes formed to bridge these ethnic divides and appeal to a broader voter base. Additionally, coalitions can help parties leverage their resources and increase their chances of winning, as they can pool together their financial, human, and logistical support.[590]

However, the study established that electoral coalitions in Kenya also face challenges. Maintaining unity and managing competing interests within a coalition can be difficult, as parties or factions may have different priorities and aspirations. There have been instances where disagreements within coalitions have led to internal divisions and the collapse of the alliance. Furthermore, the winner-takes-all nature of Kenyan politics means that once a

[589] Range Mwita, Oral Interview at CMD offices, Nairobi on 22nd November 2023.
[590] Wafula Wakoko, Oral Interview at ORPP offices, Nairobi on 3rd January 2024

coalition is successful, there can be tensions over the distribution of power and resources among the coalition partners.

3.4 Kenya's Prominent Political Figures That Have Shaped Coalition Politics

In Kenya, several prominent political figures have not only played pivotal roles in shaping coalition politics but have also influenced party discipline within their respective political parties. This section analyzes some key figures and their impact on both coalition politics and party discipline:

3.4.1 Jomo Kenyatta

Jomo Kenyatta, the inaugural President of Kenya and a key figure in the nation's path to independence, played a pivotal role in shaping the country's political landscape, particularly in the arena of coalition politics.[591] His political journey, which began in the 1920s with activism against British colonial rule, set the stage for his leadership during Kenya's struggle for independence.

The Kenya African National Union (KANU), was founded in 1960 during the pre-independence era in Kenya.[592] Its founding leaders, including notable figures like Tom Mboya and James Gichuru, aimed to unite various anti-colonial movements and ethnic groups. Jomo Kenyatta, a prominent anti-colonial activist, assumed leadership, propelling KANU to the forefront. KANU, under Kenyatta's guidance, became a formidable force advocating for majority rule and the cessation of colonial governance. The Lancaster House

[591] Kenneth O. Nyangena. "Jomo Kenyatta: An epitome of indigenous pan-Africanism, nationalism and intellectual production in Kenya." *African Journal of International Affairs* 6, no. 1-2 (2003).
[592] Kenneth Good. "Kenyatta and the Organization of KANU." *Canadian Journal of African Studies/La* Revue canadienne des études africaines 2, no. 2 (1968): pp.115-136.

Conference in 1960 marked a critical moment, where Kenyatta skillfully negotiated constitutional arrangements that paved the way for a smooth transition to independence.[593]

Upon assuming the presidency in 1964, Kenyatta focused on nation-building, seeking to reconcile Kenya's diverse ethnic communities.[594] His leadership aimed at fostering a national identity that transcended tribal affiliations, a vision crucial for the emerging country's stability. One of Kenyatta's notable contributions to Kenyan politics was his adept handling of coalition politics during the transition to independence. He strategically formed alliances, uniting disparate factions to ensure a cohesive front in the pursuit of self-governance. The concept of "*Harambee*," symbolizing collective effort and unity, extended to the political sphere, underlining the importance of party cohesion for national development.

Dominic Wetangula narrated:

> Within the party structure of KANU, Kenyatta maintained strict discipline. Dissent was not tolerated, and he leveraged the party machinery to uphold control. The emphasis on coalition politics and unity was a central tenet of his leadership, reflecting a belief that internal unity was indispensable for the broader goals of the nation.[595]

According to Noah Wekesa, the period preceding Kenya's independence featured two significant political parties: the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU). KADU specifically represented the interests of ethnic minority groups, who were apprehensive about the potential dominance of larger ethnic communities within KANU. In 1964, Jomo Kenyatta's government engaged in negotiations

[593] James Baigent. "Political Leadership after the British: A Study of Jomo Kenyatta and Julius Nyerere." (2013).
[594] Anaïs Angelo. Power and the presidency in Kenya: the Jomo Kenyatta years. Vol. 146. Cambridge University Press, 2020.
[595] Dominic Wetangula, Oral Interview at Mukhweya, Bungoma on 19th Nov 2023

that led to the merger of KADU into KANU, effectively creating a unified ruling party. This merger helped consolidate Kenyatta's power and establish a more dominant position for KANU in the political landscape.[596]

Kenyatta's presidency was marked by a focus on economic and infrastructural development. His policies aimed at fostering self-reliance and economic stability contributed significantly to Kenya's growth during this period. However, the legacy of Kenyatta's rule was complex, with both celebration for leading Kenya to independence and scrutiny for accusations of authoritarianism and human rights abuses.[597]

The study advances that Jomo Kenyatta's influence on coalition politics was instrumental in shaping Kenya's political landscape. His leadership, characterized by strategic coalition building and a commitment to internal unity, played a crucial role in the early stability and development of the nation. The nuances of his legacy continue to be a subject of historical reflection in Kenya.

3.4.2 Daniel arap Moi

Daniel arap Moi, Kenya's second President, played a pivotal role in shaping the country's political landscape, particularly through his adept handling of political coalitions.[598] His political journey began in the early 1950s with the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) before transitioning to the Kenya African National Union (KANU), where he ascended to the position of Vice President in 1967 under President Jomo Kenyatta.

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[596] Noah Wekesa, Oral Interview in Kitale on 16th November 2023.
[597] Makau Mutua. "Illiberalism, Human Rights, and Rule of Law: A Kenyan Paradox." In *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Kenya*, pp. 331-345. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2023.
[598] Robert M. Maxon. "Daniel arap Moi." A Tapestry of African Histories: With Longer Times and Wider *Geopolitics* 63 (2021).

Upon assuming the presidency in 1978, Moi faced significant challenges, especially during the early 1990s when Kenya shifted to a multiparty system.[599] In response to calls for political reforms, Moi allowed the emergence of opposition parties, requiring strategic adjustments to his political approach.[600] Demonstrating shrewd political maneuvering, he formed alliances with smaller parties, creating a coalition that strengthened his presidency while adapting to the evolving political landscape.

Moi's leadership was characterized by a disciplined party structure within KANU, where dissent often faced repercussions. His authoritative style influenced party members, albeit at the expense of internal democracy.[601] Despite criticisms of suppressing opposition and restricting freedoms, Moi skillfully navigated the challenges of maintaining stability within the party, ensuring a semblance of order. The question of succession became a prominent issue in Moi's later years, leading to the selection of Uhuru Kenyatta as the KANU presidential candidate in 2002. This decision marked a pivotal moment in Kenyan politics as the opposition, led by Mwai Kibaki, gained momentum and ultimately secured victory, signaling a shift in the country's political dynamics.

The study advances that Daniel arap Moi's legacy was complex. While credited with steering Kenya through challenges and maintaining stability, criticisms persist regarding human rights abuses and a lack of democratic reforms during his lengthy presidency. His influence on political coalitions left an indelible mark on Kenya's political history, shaping the trajectory of governance for years to come.

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[599] Vincent B Khapoya. "The politics of succession in Africa: Kenya after Kenyatta." *Africa Today* 26, no. 3 (1979): pp.7-20.
[600] Stephen Brown. "Authoritarian leaders and multiparty elections in Africa: How foreign donors help to keep Kenya's Daniel arap Moi in power." *Third World Quarterly* 22, no. 5 (2001): pp.725-739.
[601] Steven R. Levitsky, and Lucan A. Way. "Beyond patronage: Violent struggle, ruling party cohesion, and authoritarian durability." *Perspectives on Politics* 10, no. 4 (2012): pp.869-889.

3.4.3 Jaramogi Oginga Odinga

Jaramogi Oginga Odinga occupies a pivotal place in Kenya's political narrative, particularly for his significant contributions to coalition politics and his advocacy for multiparty democracy.[602] Beginning his political journey in the pre-independence era, Odinga's commitment to nationalist causes marked him as a prominent figure from the outset. Odinga's role as Kenya's first Vice President, serving under President Jomo Kenyatta after independence in 1963, was a crucial chapter in his political career. However, ideological differences and policy disputes prompted his resignation in 1966, leading to his emergence as a vocal opposition leader.[603] One of his enduring legacies is his unwavering commitment to advocating for multiparty democracy at a time when Kenya was under the grip of the single-party system led by the Kenya African National Union (KANU). In 1966, Odinga founded the Kenya People's Union (KPU) as a formidable political alternative to challenge KANU's dominance.[604] The KPU became a focal point for opposition against the ruling party, reflecting Odinga's determination to provide Kenyans with diverse political choices and to foster a competitive political landscape.

Odinga's leadership in the opposition demonstrated his adeptness in coalition-building. By forging alliances and coalitions against the ruling party, he played a crucial role in shaping the political discourse and challenging the existing political order. His efforts were not only about opposition but also about promoting democratic principles and opening up political spaces for a variety of voices. Similarly, the archival sources indicated that:

[602] Koki Muli. "The struggle for democracy in Kenya through the electoral process." (2023).
[603] Tinashe Gumbo. "Understanding Kenyan Politics: The Case of Deputy Presidency from 1963 to 2022."
[604] Peter Wanyande, Walter Oyugi, and C. Odhiambo-Mbai. "*The Politics of Transition in Kenya: from* KANU to NARC." (2003).

> …when the multi-party debate began in earnest early last year, Odinga immediately assumed a leading role as one of the proponents of political pluralism. This led him to a curious alliance with former cabinet ministers Charles Rubia and Kenneth Matiba, as well as with a group of young activist lawyers who were becoming increasingly vocal in their criticism of the government and the ruling party. In July last year, matters came to a head when the government cracked down hard on proponents of political pluralism and detained, among others, Matiba, Rubia,and Odinga's son, Mr. Raila Odinga. Odinga himself remained untouched, perhaps because of his advanced age (79).[605]

Furthermore, the sources indicated that despite the government's harsh crackdown on multi-party activists, Odinga remained defiant. He soon joined with vocal clergymen such as the CPK bishop of Maseno South, Henry Okullu, and Timothy Njoya of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa to keep up a constant fusillade against the political establishment. When Kanu did away with the expulsion of errant members and pardoned expelled members following the recommendations of the Kanu review committee, Odinga defiantly declared that he would not rejoin Kanu, but would form his own party.[606]

Musikari Kombo's remarks about Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, he noted:

> …in the early 1990s, Jaramogi Odinga played a crucial role in the formation of the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD). FORD became a significant force in the democratization process, challenging the one-party rule of KANU and President Daniel arap Moi. Odinga, along with leaders like Kenneth Matiba and Michael Kijana Wamalwa, brought together diverse opposition groups under the FORD umbrella. The coalition played a vital role in opening up political spaces and shaping the political discourse in Kenya.[607]

The study also established that unlike the prevailing tendencies in the ruling party, Odinga's approach to party discipline within the KPU was characterized by a commitment to internal

[605] KNADS: *The Weekly Review*, December 13, 1991. "Oginga Odinga "p. 14
[606] Ibid.p.15
[607] Musikari Kombo, Oral Interview at Lovington, Nairobi on 21st Nov 2023

democracy. He sought to create a political environment that allowed for dissent and diverse opinions, emphasizing the importance of a vibrant political discourse.

Noah Wekesa observed:

> …Jaramogi Oginga Odinga's legacy was profound, particularly for his instrumental role in promoting multiparty democracy and fostering opposition politics in Kenya. His advocacy laid the groundwork for the eventual reintroduction of multiparty politics in the early 1990s, marking a significant turning point in Kenya's political history. Beyond his personal legacy, the Odinga family continued to be a prominent force in Kenyan politics, with his son, Raila Odinga, becoming a key political figure in his own right.[608]

The study advances that Jaramogi Oginga Odinga's influence on Kenyan politics was indelible. His commitment to democracy, coalition politics, and the establishment of alternative political platforms left an enduring impact, shaping the trajectory of Kenya's governance and contributing to the ongoing evolution of its political landscape.

3.4.4 Raila Odinga

Raila Amolo Odinga is a prominent Kenyan politician with a storied career that spans decades. His influence has been particularly notable in the realms of coalition politics and the dynamics of party discipline. Born on January 7, 1945, into a political family (his father, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, was Kenya's first Vice President), Raila's political journey has been marked by a commitment to social justice, democracy, and addressing issues of governance.[609].

Narrating Raila's political journey, Dominic Wetangula had this to say:

> Raila Odinga's political journey began in the 1980s when he joined active politics under the regime of President Daniel arap Moi. His

[608] Noah Wekesa, Oral Interview in Kitale on16th November 2023.
[609] Silas O. Jonyo. "Politics of identity and ideology, political oratory of Raila Odinga and the manifesto of the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM)." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, Kenya, 2012.

> early involvement in the opposition movement, particularly as a member of the clandestine pro-democracy group 'The Forum for the Restoration of Democracy' (FORD), showcased his commitment to challenging the single-party rule. This period set the stage for Raila's emergence as a key figure in Kenya's opposition politics.[610]

Raila Odinga has been a central figure in shaping Kenya's coalition politics, consistently demonstrating a keen understanding of the strategic advantages of forming alliances. His involvement in various coalitions has left an indelible mark on the country's political landscape. Raila Odinga played a pivotal and instrumental role in the establishment of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) in 2002, a landmark development in Kenya's political history.[611] This coalition, characterized by its multi-party alliance, brought together various opposition parties, including the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), the National Party of Kenya (DP), and the Social Democratic Party (SDP). The overarching objective of NARC was to unseat the long-standing Kenya African National Union (KANU) government, which was under the leadership of President Daniel arap Moi.

Bifwoli Wakoli remarked:

> …Raila's influence within the NARC coalition was nothing short of crucial. Serving as a key strategist and mobilizer, he made significant contributions to the coalition's success in the 2002 elections. The strategic alliance formed under NARC's umbrella proved to be formidable, leading to a historic electoral outcome. The NARC candidate, Mwai Kibaki, emerged victorious in the presidential race. This victory marked a groundbreaking moment in Kenyan political history as it was the first time that an opposition candidate had democratically assumed power, ending the longstanding era of single-party rule under KANU.[612]

The study findings revealed that Raila's strategic acumen and mobilization efforts were pivotal in uniting disparate opposition forces under a common umbrella, thereby presenting

[610] Dominic Wetangula, Oral Interview at Mukhweya, Bungoma on 19th November 2023.
[611] Denis Kadima, and Felix Owuor. "The National Rainbow Coalition." *The Politics of Party Coalitions in* Africa. South Africa: Konrad Adenauer Foundation (2006): pp.179-221.
[612] Bifwoli Wakoli, Oral Interview at Higway hotel, Bungoma on 14th November 2023.

a unified front against the ruling party. The success of NARC in 2002 showcased Raila's leadership prowess and the potential of a well-coordinated, multi-party alliance to bring about transformative political change in Kenya. This historic electoral shift not only signaled a turning point in the country's political landscape but also laid the foundation for a more pluralistic and competitive democratic system.

Following the historic victory of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) in the 2002 elections, internal disagreements and power struggles began to surface within the coalition.[613] In 2005, these tensions reached a tipping point, leading Raila Odinga, along with other leaders, to make the significant decision to break away from NARC. This pivotal moment marked the formation of the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), representing a substantial shift in the dynamics of political coalitions in Kenya. Raila's departure from NARC not only reflected internal challenges but also set the stage for his sustained influence in the realm of opposition politics.[614]

Herman Manyora observed:

> Under Raila's dynamic leadership, ODM swiftly emerged as a formidable political force, playing a crucial role in shaping Kenya's political landscape. One of the notable instances was ODM's active opposition to the government's proposed constitution in the 2005 referendum. Raila, as a key figure within the party, led the charge against the constitutional proposals, mobilizing support and rallying ODM as a united front in opposition. ODM solidified its position as a key player in Kenyan opposition politics.[615]

[613] Tsuda, Miwa. "The experience of the national rainbow coalition (NARC): political parties in Kenya from 1991 to 2007." *IDE Discussion Paper* 222 (2010).
[614] Bård Anders Andreassen, and Arne Tostensen. Of oranges and bananas: *The 2005 Kenya referendum on the constitution.* Chr. Michelsen Institute, 2006.
[615] Herman Manyora, Oral Iterview at Fountain of knowledge, UoN, Nairobi on 21st November 2023.

The aftermath of the 2005 referendum marked a period of consolidation for ODM, demonstrating its resilience and political significance.[616] Raila Odinga's leadership played a crucial role in steering the party through the challenges, solidifying its identity as a major opposition force. The referendum served as a stepping-stone rather than a setback, providing ODM with a platform to further assert its role in national politics. This period laid the groundwork for ODM's continued influence and participation in subsequent electoral processes, showcasing Raila's strategic political navigation and the enduring impact of ODM on Kenya's political landscape.

The aftermath of the 2007 presidential election in Kenya was marked by a wild political crisis, triggered by violence and a fiercely contested outcome.[617] In response to the escalating tensions and international concerns, a pivotal moment in Kenyan political history unfolded. International mediation, spearheaded by former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, came into play.[618] The mediation efforts culminated in the establishment of a Grand Coalition Government in 2008, a groundbreaking move aimed at bringing stability to the nation.Under the terms of the power-sharing agreement, Raila Odinga assumed the significant position of Prime Minister, sharing leadership responsibilities with President Mwai Kibaki. This arrangement was a direct response to the need for reconciliation and unity in a nation grappling with post-election violence and deep-seated political divisions. Raila's acceptance of the Prime Ministerial role showcased his commitment to fostering stability and initiating the process of healing and reconciliation in the aftermath of a highly contentious election.

[616] Beth Elise Whitaker, and Jason Giersch. "Voting on a constitution: Implications for democracy in Kenya." Journal of Contemporary African Studies 27, no. 1 (2009): pp.1-20.
[617] Aluoch C Wambura. "Effects of 2007 post election violence in Kenya: a case study of Kisumu city." PhD diss., 2008.
[618] Kofi Annan. "A message from Former UN Secretary General Kofi A. Annan." (2008).

However, the study advances that while the Grand Coalition Government was a commendable effort to address immediate political challenges, it also laid bare the inherent difficulties associated with sustaining coalition governance. Managing divergent interests within the government, with leaders representing different political constituencies, proved to be a formidable task. The challenges were not merely ideological but also stemmed from historical political animosities and conflicting policy priorities. The delicate balance required to navigate these complexities highlighted the intricate nature of coalition governance and the demands it placed on leaders to transcend political differences for the sake of national stability. Musikari Kombo while describing the role played by Raila Odinga during that period reiterated:

> …Raila Odinga's role as Prime Minister during the Grand Coalition Government showcased both his statesmanship and the complexities involved in coalition politics. While the power-sharing arrangement played a crucial role in mitigating immediate political crises and fostering a sense of unity, it also underscored the need for a more sustainable and comprehensive approach to address the underlying issues that had precipitated the political turmoil. The Grand Coalition Government left an indelible mark on Kenya's political history, serving as a testament to the challenges and opportunities associated with coalition governance in a diverse and politically charged environment.[619]

In the 2013 elections, Raila Odinga assumed the leadership of CORD, a political alliance that brought together several opposition parties, including ODM, Wiper Democratic Movement, and FORD-Kenya.[620] CORD emerged as the primary opposition coalition, with Raila Odinga as its presidential candidate. The coalition strategically united diverse political forces under a common banner, presenting a formidable challenge to the ruling party.

[619] Musikari Kombo, Oral Interview at Lovington, Nairobi on 21st November 2023.
[620] Denis Kadima, and Felix Owuor. "Kenya's decade of experiments with political party alliances and coalitions-motivations, impact and prospects." *Journal of African Elections* 13, no. 1 (2014): pp.150-180.

Despite not securing victory in the presidential race, CORD continued to wield significant influence in Kenyan politics following the 2013 elections.[621] Raila Odinga, as the leader of the opposition coalition, played a pivotal role in holding the government accountable. CORD became a vocal advocate for electoral reforms, emphasizing the need for a transparent and fair electoral process. The coalition's focus on electoral reforms underscored its commitment to strengthening democratic institutions and addressing systemic challenges within Kenya's electoral framework.

The study established that the post-2013 period highlighted CORD's enduring role in shaping the political discourse, demonstrating that being in the opposition did not diminish its significance. Raila Odinga's leadership within CORD positioned the coalition as a critical force for checks and balances, contributing to a more robust and accountable political landscape. The emphasis on electoral reforms reflected a commitment to addressing the issues that had previously led to contested election outcomes, showcasing CORD's dedication to fostering a more transparent and democratic electoral system in Kenya.

Raila Odinga played a central and pivotal role in the establishment of NASA in 2017, underscoring his continued influence in shaping political alliances in Kenya.[622] NASA brought together several opposition parties, including ODM, Wiper Democratic Movement, ANC, and FORD-Kenya.[623] The coalition was strategically formed with the

[621] James Nyachae Michira. "The language of politics: A CDA of the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign discourse." International journal of education and Research 2, no. 1 (2014): pp.1-18.
[622] Gordon Onyango Omenya. "Music, riddles and proverbs in Kenya's presidential elections: Raila Odinga's oratory style and the 2017 general election." *Les Cahiers d'Afrique de l'Est/The East African Review* 53 (2019).
[623] Cheeseman, Nic, Karuti Kanyinga, Gabrielle Lynch, Mutuma Ruteere, and Justin Willis. "Kenya's 2017 elections: winner-takes-all politics as usual?." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 13, no. 2 (2019): pp.215-234.

overarching objective of presenting a united front against the Jubilee Party, led by President Uhuru Kenyatta. Raila's leadership in orchestrating NASA reflected his commitment to building broad-based alliances to challenge the incumbent ruling party.

The 2017 elections, however, were marred by contested results, sparking a period of heightened political tension and uncertainty. In response to the disputed outcomes, Raila Odinga made a significant decision that would further shape the political discourse in Kenya.[624] He opted to boycott the repeat presidential election, citing concerns about the credibility and fairness of the electoral process. This bold move by Raila, combined with his symbolic swearing-in as the 'People's President,' served as a powerful statement challenging the legitimacy of the electoral system and asserting his opposition to what he deemed as an unfair and compromised process.[625]

David Burare argues that:

> …Raila's decision to boycott the election and assume the symbolic title of the 'People's President' had profound implications for Kenya's political landscape. It not only intensify political debates but also underscored the deep-seated challenges within the country's electoral processes. The move positioned Raila as a vocal advocate for electoral reforms and transparency, emphasizing the need to address systemic issues that had contributed to contested election outcomes in the past. The contested nature of the 2017 elections and Raila's response further highlighted the complex dynamics of Kenya's political scene, where issues of electoral integrity and democratic governance remained central to political discourse.[626]

The research study established that Raila Odinga's engagement in coalition politics has played a pivotal role in advancing the democratization process and fostering multiparty

[624] Kelvin D Okutta. "Presidential Elections in Kenya and the Notion of Accept and Move on." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2023.
[625] John-Bell Okoye, Ruth Aoko Owino, Laura Anyasi, and Daniel Mule. "The alternative platform: Kenya's television stations navigation during the switch off of Raila Odinga's "Swearing-In"." *Journalism Practice* 13, no. 9 (2019): pp.1091-1105.
[626] David Burare, Oral Interview at Upper Hill, Nairobi on 23rd November 2023.

politics within Kenya. Notably, his participation in the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) represented a transformative moment in the country's political history. Serving as a linchpin in the NARC coalition, Raila contributed significantly to dismantling the entrenched single-party rule that had persisted for an extended period. The successful outcome of the coalition marked a watershed moment, ushering in a more pluralistic political landscape and breaking the historical dominance of a singular political party.

During an oral interview with Noah Wekesa, he recounted Raila's commitment to democratization through coalition politics as evident in the strategic alliances he forged.[627] By aligning with various opposition parties, as exemplified in the NARC coalition, he effectively mobilized diverse political forces toward a common goal – challenging the status quo and promoting a more inclusive political environment. This dedication to multiparty politics has been a defining feature of Raila Odinga's political career, reflecting his belief in the importance of diverse voices and perspectives in shaping the nation's political trajectory.

Similarly, during the Focus Group Discussions in all the four groups all members of the four Focus Group Discussion unanimously voiced their agreement on Raila Odinga's pivotal role in shaping political coalitions in Kenya, highlighting his lasting impact and strategic prowess within the country's political landscape.

The research findings revealed that Raila Odinga's involvement in coalitions, particularly during the NARC era, stands as a testament to his enduring commitment to democratization and the promotion of multiparty politics in Kenya. The strategic alliances he has fostered have not only contributed to breaking the monopoly of single-party rule but have also been

[627] Noah Wekesa, Oral Interview in Kitale on 16th Novemer 2023.

instrumental in cultivating a more vibrant and pluralistic democratic landscape within the country. Similarly, Bifwoli Wakoli commented:

> Raila Odinga's political acumen in forming strategic alliances has proven instrumental in achieving electoral success within the Kenyan political landscape. His adeptness in coalition politics is underscored by a strategic understanding that a united opposition can wield significant influence and pose a formidable challenge to the ruling party. Raila's commitment to maximizing electoral success through coalitions is evident in his leadership during various political alignments.[628]

In line with the foregoing comment, Raila Odinga has consistently positioned himself at the forefront of the advocacy for electoral reforms in Kenya, leveraging various coalitions as platforms for driving significant changes in the country's electoral processes.[629] Central to his political agenda are key issues such as voter registration, transparency in the electoral process, and the independence of the electoral commission. Over the course of his political career, Raila's commitment to advancing electoral reforms has been evident in his strategic involvement in opposition coalitions, where he actively champions initiatives aimed at enhancing the fairness, credibility, and transparency of the electoral system.[630] By prioritizing these issues within the political discourse, Raila Odinga has played a vital role in shaping the trajectory of electoral reforms in Kenya, contributing to the ongoing efforts to strengthen democratic practices within the nation.

Musikari Kombo recounts Raila Odinga's unwavering commitment to inclusivity and representation was unmistakably reflected in the diverse coalitions he has spearheaded throughout his political career.[631] These alliances, strategically crafted by Raila, have

[628] Bifwoli Wakoli, Oral Interview at Highway hotel Bungoma on 14th November 2023.
[629] John O Okul. "Electoral Reforms and Democratic Consolidation in Kenya, 1997–2017." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2020.
[630] Ibid
[631] Musikari Kombo, Oral Interview at Lovington, Nairobi on 21st November2023.

successfully united parties representing distinct regions and ethnic groups, thereby fostering a palpable sense of national unity. By prioritizing inclusivity, Raila has sought to bridge political divides and promote a more harmonious and representative political landscape.[632] The deliberate effort to bring together diverse voices within these coalitions underscores Raila Odinga's dedication to creating a political environment that mirrors the rich diversity of Kenya, promoting a collective sense of belonging and shared national identity.

Umi Maloba of Maendeleo ya Wanawake remarked:

> Raila Odinga's central role in the Grand Coalition Government and subsequent engagements has emerged as a significant force in fostering peacebuilding and reconciliation efforts within Kenya. He has demonstrated willingness to actively participate in dialogue and engage in power-sharing arrangements has proven crucial during times of political crises not forgetting the aftermath of 2017 and 2022 general elections. Through these initiatives...like BBI…Raila has played a key role in mediating conflicts and working towards national reconciliation. His commitment to collaborative governance and diplomatic dialogue has not only contributed to political stability but has also exemplified a statesmanlike approach to addressing the challenges that arise during critical junctures in the country's political landscape. In navigating these complex situations, Raila Odinga has emerged as a key figure promoting the values of peace and reconciliation for the broader benefit of Kenya and its citizens.[633]

The study findings also affirm the fact that the contentious election results of 2007 and 2017, coupled with Raila Odinga's decisions to challenge the outcomes, ushered in prolonged periods of political tension and raised significant doubts about the legitimacy of the electoral process. In both instances, the disputed election results fueled political unrest and heightened uncertainties, prompting concerns about the credibility and fairness of the electoral mechanisms. Raila Odinga's choices to contest these outcomes were pivotal

[632] Ibid
[633] Umi Maloba, Oral Interview in Bungoma on 25th November 2023.

moments that not only exposed flaws in the electoral processes but also contributed to a broader discourse on the need for electoral reforms and improvements in Kenya's democratic practices. These contested elections and ensuing political tensions have underscored the challenges associated with ensuring transparent and credible electoral outcomes in the country.

3.4.5 Mwai Kibaki

Mwai Kibaki, a prominent political figure in Kenya, played a crucial role in shaping coalition politics in his political career, spanning several decades. His ascent to the presidency in 2002 marked a transformative moment facilitated by the formation of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), a multi-party alliance that united various opposition parties with the common goal of challenging the dominance of the Kenya African National Union (KANU).[634] At the core of NARC was Kibaki's party, the Democratic Party (DP), rallying diverse political factions under a shared banner. The success of NARC symbolized a broader shift in Kenya's political landscape, ushering in a new era of multiparty politics and challenging the previously dominant party system. In regard to the formation of Party of National Unity, Musikari Kombo described:

> Kibaki's presidency was characterized by coalition politics and power-sharing, as seen in the formation of the Party of National Unity (PNU) under his stewardship. The PNU was established to consolidate support for Kibaki and his allies, providing a united front in the political landscape. This move aimed to solidify Kibaki's political base and strengthen his position in the wake of the 2007 elections.[635]

The researcher observes that the foregoing description of Kibaki's presidency in Kenya, marked by coalition politics and the formation of PNU, aligns with the tenet of "vote

[634] Peter Wanyande, Walter Oyugi, and C. Odhiambo-Mbai. "*The Politics of Transition in Kenya: from* KANU to NARC." (2003).
[635] Musikari Kombo, Oral Interview at Lovington, Nairobi on 21st November 2023.

pooling" or "vote aggregation" from the theory of political coalitions. By establishing the PNU as a united front under Kibaki's leadership, the goal was to consolidate support and strengthen his political base, recognizing the importance of pooling votes and resources from different factions, rather than relying solely on a single party or demographic.

The post-2007 election period brought about challenges as the disputed results led to widespread post-election violence. In response, Kibaki engaged in negotiations with his main rival, Raila Odinga, resulting in the formation of the Grand Coalition Government.[636]

However, even within the coalition, the dynamics between different political parties, including Kibaki's PNU and Odinga's Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), presented ongoing challenges. The lack of cohesive party discipline within the coalition posed a challenge to Kibaki's leadership, as internal disagreements threatened the stability of the government. The tensions between PNU and ODM highlighted the fragility of the coalition and showcased the necessity for effective leadership to navigate the intricacies of a diverse political landscape.

Range Mwita observed:

> Kibaki's administration was marked by a commitment to transformative constitutional reforms, culminating in the promulgation of a new constitution in 2010. The reforms aimed to address fundamental issues of governance, devolution of power, and equitable distribution of resources. The new constitution represented a significant departure from the previous legal framework, incorporating provisions to enhance accountability, transparency, and inclusivity in Kenya's political system. The 2010 constitution played a pivotal role in shaping Kenya's political landscape, decentralizing power through the introduction of county governments and addressing historical grievances related to resource distribution and marginalization. The emphasis on

[636] Gilbert Khadiagala. "Coalition politics in Kenya." Marriages of Inconvenience: The politics of coalitions in South Africa (2021): p.157.

> inclusivity and protection of individual rights signified a commitment to a more democratic and just society.[637]

Mwita's observation about the constitutional reforms during Kibaki's administration in Kenya aligns with the pragmatic philosophy's emphasis on practical problem-solving and adaptability.[638] The key reforms, such as the devolution of power and the emphasis on equitable resource distribution, were aimed at addressing long-standing governance issues and historical grievances related to marginalization. By making the political system more inclusive and accountable, the new constitution signaled a shift towards a more democratic and just society - tangible outcomes that reflect the pragmatic philosophy's focus on improving the lived experiences of citizens. The adaptability and problem-solving orientation demonstrated by the transformative constitutional changes exemplify the pragmatic approach of finding practical solutions to real-world challenges, rather than adhering to rigid ideological positions.

The study advances that Mwai Kibaki's legacy was marked by a nuanced combination of accomplishments and challenges. His contributions to coalition politics, constitutional reforms, economic growth, and infrastructure development left a lasting impact on Kenya's political landscape. The challenges faced during his presidency, particularly in managing a diverse coalition and navigating internal dynamics, reflect the intricate nature of coalition politics in the country. The mixed legacy encompasses both commendable achievements and persistent issues that continue to shape discussions about governance and political leadership in Kenya. While Mwai Kibaki may not be considered a key architect of coalition politics in Kenya, his presidency played a pivotal role in its evolution. The emergence of

[637] Range Mwita, Oral Interview at CMD offices, Nairobi on 22nd November 2023.
[638] Richard C Boldt. "Problem-solving courts and Interpretivism." *Md. L. Rev.* 73 (2013): p.1120.

coalitions during his tenure reflects the changing dynamics of Kenyan politics and the need for inclusive governance in a multi-ethnic and multi-party system.

3.4.6 Uhuru Kenyatta

Uhuru Kenyatta, a prominent political figure in Kenya, has played a crucial role in shaping coalition politics throughout his political career. Born into a political family as the son of Jomo Kenyatta, the country's first President, Uhuru Kenyatta's political journey was deeply intertwined with Kenya's political landscape. A central figure in the formation and leadership of the Jubilee Party, was instrumental in shaping the dynamics of coalition politics in the country. According to Herman Manyora:

> …a significant milestone in Kenyatta's political career was his victory in the 2013 presidential election under the Jubilee Alliance. This coalition brought together various parties, including Kenyatta's The National Alliance (TNA) party and William Ruto's United Republican Party (URP). The strategic alliance played a key role in consolidating political support from diverse regions and ethnic groups, emphasizing the importance of coalitions in Kenya's multiparty system.[639]

Research findings revealed that Kenyatta's presidency faced challenges related to internal dynamics within the Jubilee Party. After the 2017 elections, internal disagreements and rifts emerged between factions aligned with Kenyatta and those supporting Deputy President William Ruto. This internal friction underscored the complexities of managing political alliances within a coalition, especially considering divergent political ambitions and regional interests.

The "*handshake*" between Uhuru Kenyatta and opposition leader Raila Odinga in 2018 had a profound impact on coalition politics.[640] The BBI, a joint project initiated by Kenyatta and

[639] Herman Manyora, Oral Interview at Fountain of Knowledge UoN, Nairobi on 21st Novemer 2023.
[640] Philip Onguny. "The politics behind Kenya's Building Bridges Initiative (BBI): Vindu Vichenjanga or sound and fury, signifying nothing?." Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue canadienne des études

Odinga, aimed to address various socio-political challenges and promote national unity. The BBI process faced both support and opposition within the Jubilee Party and the broader political landscape, revealing the intricacies of coalition politics and the need for effective coordination within alliances.

3.4.7 William Ruto

William Ruto's political journey began in the 1990s within the dominant Kenya African National Union (KANU), where he rose through the ranks of the youth wing. His political acumen and grassroots mobilization skills were evident when he was elected as the Member of Parliament for Eldoret North in 1997.

In the lead-up to the 2013 elections, Ruto played a pivotal role in establishing the United Republican Party (URP). This party later merged with The National Alliance (TNA) to form the Jubilee Alliance, a coalition that secured victory in the 2013 elections. The electoral success propelled Uhuru Kenyatta to the presidency, with Ruto assuming the position of Deputy President.

As Deputy President, Ruto wielded significant influence within the Jubilee government. He focused on various development initiatives and championed the "hustler" narrative, emphasizing economic empowerment at the grassroots level. Ruto actively participated in projects ranging from infrastructure development to education reforms, and initiatives addressing historical injustices.

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africaines 54, no. 3 (2020): pp.557-576.

However, as Ruto's political ambitions expanded, internal divisions within the Jubilee Party emerged, particularly in anticipation of the 2022 presidential race. Factions aligned with Ruto clashed with those supporting President Kenyatta, creating challenges to party unity. The intricacies of Rift Valley politics, Ruto's stronghold, played a pivotal role in shaping dynamics within Jubilee and the broader political landscape.

Julius Songok argued:

> …the introduction of BBI by President Kenyatta and opposition leader Raila Odinga marked a significant turning point. Initially expressing reservations, Ruto became central to the discourse surrounding the BBI. The initiative proposed constitutional amendments addressing socio-political issues such as ethnic inclusivity, devolution, and the winner-takes-all system.[641]

The study revealed that William Ruto's political journey has been characterized by his involvement in coalition politics, from the formation of the Jubilee Alliance to his role within the Jubilee government and Kenya Kwanza coalition. However, internal party divisions and controversies have shaped the trajectory of his political career, highlighting the complex and dynamic nature of Kenya's political landscape.

The extensive narrative provided displays the significant roles played by key figures in Kenya's political landscape, particularly Daniel arap Moi, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, Raila Odinga, Mwai Kibaki, Uhuru Kenyatta, and William Ruto. These political leaders have shaped the country's governance through their involvement in coalition politics, advocating for democratic reforms, and navigating the complexities of multiparty systems.

Daniel arap Moi's adept handling of political coalitions during his presidency, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga's advocacy for multiparty democracy, Raila Odinga's strategic leadership in

[641] O.I, Julius Songok, Eldoret, 15th Nov 2023.

forming and managing coalitions like NARC, CORD, and NASA, Mwai Kibaki's contributions to coalition politics and constitutional reforms, Uhuru Kenyatta's role in shaping the Jubilee Alliance, and William Ruto's journey within coalition politics all reflect the diverse approaches and challenges faced by political leaders in Kenya.

The study findings highlight the pivotal roles these leaders have played in coalition-building, democratic reforms, and governance, each leaving a distinct mark on Kenya's political history. While each leader faced unique challenges and opportunities, their contributions collectively shaped the trajectory of the nation's political landscape, emphasizing the importance of coalition politics in fostering inclusivity, promoting democratic values, and addressing societal issues. The focus group members' unanimous agreement on Raila Odinga's prominent role underscores his enduring influence and strategic acumen in Kenya's political arena.

The study also endeavored to explore other key figures who have played a vital role in the development of political coalitions in Kenya, as discussed herein:

Masinde Muliro: Muliro was one of the founding members of the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU), which was established in 1960 as a response to the dominance of the Kenya African National Union (KANU). KADU aimed to represent the interests of smaller ethnic groups and promote a federal system of governance, opposing KANU's centralist policies. This coalition highlighted the importance of regional representation and the need for a political platform that included diverse voices. As a prominent leader in KADU, Muliro advocated for a federal system of governance that would grant more autonomy to various regions in Kenya. His stance was crucial in shaping the political

discourse around governance structures in the newly independent nation, emphasizing the significance of accommodating diverse ethnic and regional interests.[642]

After KADU merged with KANU, Muliro continued to play a vital role in opposition politics. He was instrumental in the formation of the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD) in the early 1990s, which aimed to challenge KANU's authoritarian rule and promote multiparty democracy. His involvement in FORD showcased his commitment to democratic principles and the need for a united front against a dominant party. Muliro's ability to navigate complex political landscapes and build coalitions was evident in his efforts to unite various opposition factions.

He worked alongside prominent leaders like Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and later supported Raila Odinga's initiatives within the opposition coalitions. His focus on inclusivity and collaboration among different political groups was essential for consolidating opposition strength against KANU. Muliro's legacy in Kenyan politics is marked by his advocacy for democracy, federalism, and inclusive governance. His efforts in coalition building laid the groundwork for future political alliances, influencing how political parties interact and collaborate in Kenya's multiparty system.

Tom Mboya: Mboya was a key figure in the formation of political coalitions in Kenya during the late colonial period and early independence. As a prominent nationalist leader, he played a crucial role in reorganizing the Kenya African Union into the Kenya African National Union (KANU), advocating for unity among various ethnic groups to create a strong front against colonial rule. His strategic alliances, including collaborations with

[642] Macharia Munene. "Political Coalitions and Mergers in Kenyan History." *United States International University* (2001).

leaders like Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, were instrumental in consolidating support for the independence movement.[643]

His advocacy for labor rights and social equity resonated with many Kenyans, although it also led to tensions within the political arena. Mboya's assassination in 1969 marked a significant turning point, leading to fragmentation in the coalitions he had helped build. His legacy of coalition-building and national unity remains a vital part of Kenya's political history.

Martha Karua: Karua has played a significant role in the formation of political coalitions in Kenya, particularly through her involvement in the opposition movements that advocated for multi-party democracy in the early 1990s. As a member of the Democratic Party (DP), she contributed to the coalition known as the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), which successfully ended KANU's long-standing dominance in the 2002 general elections. Her advocacy for democratic reforms and human rights helped unite various opposition factions, positioning NARC as a formidable force in Kenyan politics.

In more recent years, Karua's political maneuvers included her nomination as Raila Odinga's running mate in the 2022 elections, making her the first woman to hold such a position in a major political party. This nomination underscored her continued influence in coalition politics, as she aimed to bring gender representation to the highest levels of government. Throughout her career, Karua has consistently championed inclusivity and democratic processes, solidifying her legacy as a key figure in Kenya's political coalition landscape.

Paul Muite: Muite, has been instrumental in the formation of political coalitions in Kenya, particularly during the struggle for multi-party democracy in the 1980s and 1990s. As a

[643] Ibid

leading advocate for political pluralism, he played a crucial role in the repeal of the one-party system. His establishment of the Safina party in 1997, despite facing significant opposition, marked a pivotal moment in consolidating opposition forces. Serving as a Member of Parliament for the Kikuyu Constituency from 1992 to 2007, Muite utilized his platform to advocate for constitutional reforms and foster collaboration among various political factions, enhancing the strength of the opposition.

Muite's involvement in the constitutional reform process leading to the 2010 constitution significantly shaped Kenya's political landscape. His advocacy for inclusivity and human rights principles laid the groundwork for future coalitions based on shared values. Additionally, his commitment to championing minority rights has resonated with diverse political groups seeking representation, further uniting them in their pursuit of justice and equality.

Wamalwa Kijana: Wamalwa played a significant role in the formation of political coalitions in Kenya, particularly as a key figure in the National Alliance for Change (NAK) initiated by Mwai Kibaki. His leadership in creating alliances contributed to the political landscape of Kenya in the lead-up to the 2002 elections, which ultimately facilitated Kibaki's rise to the presidency. Wamalwa is remembered for his commitments to democracy and his efforts to unify opposition parties against the ruling government of the time. His legacy includes not only his tenure as the eighth Vice President of Kenya but also his impact on coalition politics and governance in the country.

Stephen Kalonzo Musyoka: Kalonzo Musyoka has been instrumental in forming key political coalitions in Kenya, notably the Coalition for Reforms and Democracy (CORD) in 2013 and the National Super Alliance (NASA) in 2017, both aimed at uniting opposition

parties against the ruling government. His involvement in the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) in 2002 was pivotal in ending KANU's long-standing dominance, showcasing his ability to bring together diverse political factions.

Musyoka's role extends beyond coalition formation, he has also been a mediator in political crises, exemplified by his participation in the Grand Coalition Government following the 2007-2008 post-election violence. His strategic adaptability allows him to align with former rivals, reinforcing opposition unity and significantly influencing Kenya's political landscape.

3.5: Impact of Political Coalitions on Political, Social, and Economic Landscape in Kenya

The formation of political coalitions in Kenya has had far-reaching implications for the country's political, social, and economic landscape. These alliances have played a pivotal role in shaping the governance structure, policy decisions, and societal dynamics. The study examined the impact of coalitions to gain insight into the power dynamics, policy outcomes, and socio-economic developments that have shaped Kenya's trajectory. This exploration sheds light on the influence of coalitions on governance, social cohesion, and economic progress in Kenya.

3.5.1 Impact of Political Coalitions on the Political Landscape

Political coalitions in Kenya have had a notable impact on the country's political landscape, influencing electoral outcomes, governance structures, and policy directions. The study established the following:

Political coalitions in Kenya have wielded significant influence in reshaping the political landscape by breaking the dominance of established political parties. A striking illustration

of this transformative impact was evident in the 2002 elections when NARC emerged as a formidable force, effectively putting an end to the decades-long rule of KANU. This historic development marked the dawn of a new era in Kenyan politics, ushering in a departure from the entrenched political order that had characterized the nation for an extended period.

Range Mwita from Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMD) observed:

> …the National Rainbow Coalition's success in unseating KANU reflected a strategic alignment of opposition forces, uniting under a common banner to challenge the incumbent party. This coalition, comprising various opposition parties, harnessed the collective strength of diverse political groups that shared a common goal of political change and reform. The collaborative effort demonstrated that political coalitions could serve as powerful mechanisms for mobilizing support and creating a united front against established political entities.[644]

The study findings revealed that the election results of 2002 not only symbolized a transfer of political power but also highlighted the effectiveness of coalitions in consolidating diverse political interests. The demise of KANU's long-standing rule underscored the potential of political alliances to galvanize public sentiment and present a viable alternative to the status quo. By breaking the monopoly of a dominant party, the National Rainbow Coalition set a precedent that encouraged subsequent coalitions to emerge as influential players in Kenyan politics.

The study established that the post-2002 era marked a departure from the single-party dominance that had characterized much of Kenya's political history. It opened up opportunities for multiparty politics, fostering a more competitive political landscape

[644] Range Mwita, Oral Interview at CMD offices, Nairobi on 22nd November 2023.

where diverse voices and interests could contend for influence. The success of NARC in breaking the dominance of KANU demonstrated the transformative potential of political coalitions in shaping the trajectory of a nation's political evolution.

Political coalitions in Kenya have played a crucial role in shaping the legislative landscape by consolidating support for significant bills and motions in parliament.[645] This collaborative approach has resulted in the passage of important legislation and the implementation of key reforms. A notable example was the Building Bridges Initiative (BBI), a joint effort between President Uhuru Kenyatta and former Prime Minister Raila Odinga. The BBI aimed at addressing constitutional issues, including ethnic divisions and governance structures. Despite facing legal challenges, the initiative influenced legislative discussions and demonstrated the impact of coalitions in shaping constitutional reform agendas.

Umi Maloba from Maendeleo ya Wanawake Kenya observed:

> ….in Kenya, coalitions have been instrumental in advocating for increased gender representation in political positions, contributing to the introduction of specific bills supported by coalition members in parliament. A prominent focus has been on addressing the constitutional provision known as the Two-Thirds Gender Rule, outlined in the 2010 Constitution…this rule mandates that no more than two-thirds of the members of elective public bodies should be of the same gender. Over the years, various bills have been introduced to operationalize this constitutional requirement, seeking to ensure a more equitable distribution of political positions. However, achieving the Two-Thirds Gender Rule has proven challenging, and legislative attempts to enact relevant laws have faced obstacles in the parliamentary process…additionally, Kenya has explored other legislative avenues to enhance gender inclusivity in politics. Special interest seats have been designated for specific

[645] Gedion Onyango. "Legislative Policymaking in Kenya." *Governing Kenya: Public Policy in Theory and Practice* (2021): pp.65-84.

> groups, including women, persons with disabilities, and youth. While not singularly focused on gender representation, the creation of special interest seats is part of a broader effort to foster inclusivity within legislative bodies.[646]

Wafula Wakoko concurring with the foregoing sentiments but citing a different case, asserted that CORD, formed before the 2013 elections, was an example of a coalition that contributed to legislative changes related to devolution.[647] CORD members were instrumental in supporting legislation defining the powers and functions of county governments, thereby influencing the establishment and operationalization of county administrations in Kenya.

The study findings also established that the coalitions have been involved in addressing corruption through legislative means. Various coalitions have supported bills aimed at enhancing accountability, transparency, and the fight against corruption. Although the effectiveness of these legislative measures remains a challenge, the influence of political coalitions is evident in the push for anti-corruption legislation and the establishment of institutions like the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (EACC).

Political coalitions in Kenya have played a significant role in promoting policy formulation by bringing together diverse political interests and ideologies.[648] Through the formation of coalitions, different political parties with varying policy priorities and agendas have been able to collaborate and negotiate on key policy issues.[649] An example of this is the Grand Coalition Government formed in 2008, following the post-election violence that occurred after the 2007 general elections. The coalition government brought together the two main

[646] Umi Maloba, Oral Interview in Bungoma on 25th November 2023.
[647] Wafula Wakoko, Oral Interview at ORPP offices, Nairobi on 3rd January2024.
[648] Gedion Onyango. "Legislative Policymaking in Kenya." *Governing Kenya: Public Policy in Theory and Practice* (2021): pp.65-84.
[649] Ibid

rival political parties, PNU and ODM, to work together in addressing the political crisis and implementing key policy reforms.[650] This coalition promoted policy formulation by creating a platform for dialogue and consensus-building on critical issues such as constitutional reform, electoral reforms, and national reconciliation.

Wafula Wakoko observed that political coalitions have facilitated the exchange of ideas and expertise among different political parties, leading to the development of comprehensive policy proposals that address a wide range of societal needs.[651] He further postulates that by pooling together resources and expertise from various parties, coalitions have been able to develop more inclusive and holistic policy frameworks that take into account the diverse interests and concerns of the population.

The study established that one notable example was the National Accord and Reconciliation Act (NARA) of 2008.[652] This landmark agreement, following the post-election violence, established a grand coalition government that brought together the Party of National Unity (PNU) led by President Mwai Kibaki and the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) led by Raila Odinga. The collaboration between these political parties played a crucial role in crafting the NARA, which outlined power-sharing arrangements and comprehensive reforms, including constitutional, electoral, and land reforms.

In agreement with the foregoing sentiments, Fred Nyongesa noted:

> …the process of developing and adopting the new Kenyan Constitution in 2010 involved extensive coalition building. Different

[650] Jimmy J. Kisobo. "The Impact of Coalition Government on Political, Economic and Social Development of Postconflict Societies: case of Kenya, 2008-2012." PhD diss., University of Nairobi,, 2013.
[651] Wafula Wakoko, Oral Interview at ORPP offices, Nairobi on 3rd Jan 2024.
[652] Ben Sihanya, Duncan Okello, and Karuti Kanyinga. "Mediating Kenya's Post-Election Crises: The politics and limits of power sharing agreement'." Tensions and reversals in democratic transitions: The *Kenya* (2007): pp.653-709.

> political parties and civil society groups collaborated in a National Constitutional Conference to draft the document. The resulting constitution introduced significant changes, including devolution of power, Bill of Rights, and checks and balances. The collaborative effort in the constitutional-making process aimed to create a more inclusive and responsive governance structure….additionally, the collaborative spirit within coalition governments played a role in shaping the National Social Protection Policy of 2012. This policy framework sought to establish a comprehensive and integrated social protection system for vulnerable populations. The involvement of various political parties within the coalition underscored the commitment to addressing social welfare issues through a collective approach.[653]

Similarly, in the Netherlands, the proportional representation electoral system has consistently led to coalition governments formed from a multi-party system.[654] This system, necessitating coalition-building as a norm, has resulted in policies that integrate a variety of viewpoints. One notable policy framework is the Dutch National Energy Agreement (Energieakkoord voor duurzame groei), a collaborative effort between the government, employers, environmental organizations, and trade unions.[655] Formulated in 2013, this agreement outlines a comprehensive strategy for sustainable energy transition, emphasizing the importance of inclusivity in addressing environmental challenges.

John Kamande in reference to Civil Society engagement with the political coalitions reiterated:

> …political coalitions have provided a platform for public participation in policy formulation. Through the collaboration of different parties within a coalition, there is often a broader engagement with civil society organizations, interest groups, and citizens, leading to a more participatory approach to policy development..they have provided a platform for addressing complex

[653] Fred Nyongesa, Oral Interview at REDO offices, Bungoma on 4th Jan 2024.
[654] Van der Kolk, Henk. "Electoral system change in the Netherlands: The road from pr to pr (1917-2006)." *Representation* 43, no. 4 (2007): pp.271-287.
[655] Elisabeth Musch"Energy Governance in the Netherlands." In *Handbook of Energy Governance in Europe*, pp. 863-895. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2022.

> societal challenges and have contributed to the development of more comprehensive and inclusive policy frameworks.[656]

The findings from ordinary voters indicated that most of them agreed to have had direct engagement with political coalitions on matters policy formulation. Citing such engagement, they observed:

> …. process of formulating the new Kenyan Constitution in 2010 involved extensive collaboration among different political parties. Public participation was a cornerstone of this process, with citizens providing input through town hall meetings, public forums, and written submissions. The collaborative effort between political parties and ordinary voters resulted in a constitution that reflects the aspirations of the Kenyan people.

The study observes that political coalitions plays a crucial role in shaping the legislative landscape by consolidating support for significant bills and motions in parliament. This collaborative approach has led to the passage of important legislation and the implementation of key reforms, showcasing the transformative potential of political alliances in driving governance and policy changes.

3.5.1.1 Democratic Consolidation

The study contends that political coalitions have played a significant role in promoting democratic consolidation by fostering inclusivity, representation, and political stability. First political coalitions have been key in promotion of inclusivity and Representation. Political coalitions in Kenya have brought together diverse ethnic and regional interests, allowing for broader representation in the political process.

Affirming this position Manyora states:

> Political coalitions have been able to contain political tensions among various groups that have been experiencing hostility in the past. If you can remember hostility that has been experienced in the past

[656] John Kamande, Oral Interview at Uraia Trust offices, Nairobi on 24th November 2023.

> between Kikuyu and Kalenjin such as the 1992 land clashes and post election violence of 2008.The clashes between the two communities were almost predictable around election time. However the Jubilee Coalition of 2013, 2017 and the Kenya Kwanza alliance of 2022 between the the two tribes have been able to burry their hatchet through political alliances.[657]

Accordingly, the study posits that the formation of coalitions across different ethnic groups and regions have helped to bridge divides and promote inclusivity in the political arena. This has contributed to the strengthening of democratic institutions and the representation of diverse voices in decision-making processes. Political coalitions have facilitated power-sharing arrangements and consensus building among different political parties. This has helped to mitigate winner-takes-all politics and reduce the potential for political exclusion and marginalization. Through negotiations and compromise, political coalitions have promoted a culture of cooperation and collaboration, which is essential for democratic consolidation.

Affirming the foregoing position Bifwoli Wakoli contended that:

> …generally, the tension that have been existing among different communities in Kenya have been on sharing of the "national cake". Kenya has over 42 different tribes whose settlement pattern is clustered, of these tribes, some tribes have been dominant in occupation of political positions making some other communities to feel excluded. The winner–takes-it all mentality has only worsened the situation as development more so before introduction of devolution has been skewed. Therefore political coalitions have been instrumental in seeing to it that a number of communities are pulled together, to enjoy some perceived benefits.[658]

Similarly, diverse countries across the globe have embraced coalition politics as a means to mitigate such challenges, promoting a culture of cooperation and collaboration essential for the consolidation of democratic principles. In South Africa, the establishment of a

[657] Herman Manyora, Oral Interview at Fountain of Knowledge UoN, Nairobi on 21st November 2023.
[658] Biwoli Wakoli, Oral Interview at Highway hotel, Bungoma on 14th November 2023.

Government of National Unity (GNU) in 1994, post-apartheid, exemplifies the success of power-sharing. This coalition, which included the African National Congress (ANC), the National Party, and the Inkatha Freedom Party, aimed to reconcile political differences and avoid a winner-takes-all scenario.[659] The leadership of Nelson Mandela played a crucial role in unifying diverse factions and building consensus for the collective good.

The political coalitions have played acrucial role in distribution of power.[660] Electoral coalition have been formed majorly based on tribal Mathematics which have majorly involved a cluster of several tribal groupings that have formed what could be termed as tribal parties. Such arrangements have been key in promotion of inclusivity in sharing of positions among governments multiple parties, leading to a more balanced distribution of power. This arrangement has also been able to contribute to the strengthening of checks and balances within the government, as different parties act as watchdogs over one another. This arrangement has helped to prevent the concentration of power in the hands of a single party or individual, thereby promoting democratic accountability and oversight.

Coalitions in Kenya have played a central role in enhancement of electoral prospects. By coming together to form alliances, parties have been able to pool their resources, broaden their support base, and present a united front during elections. This has contributed to competitive elections and provided voters with meaningful choices, thereby strengthening the democratic process.

[659] Samuel Cyuma. "Conflict reconciliation in South Africa (1990-1998) and its significance for the mediating role of the church in Rwanda (1990-2003)." PhD diss., Oxford Centre for Mission Studies and University of Wales, 2005.
[660] Gilbert M Khadiagala. "Political movements and coalition politics in Kenya: entrenching ethnicity." South African Journal of International Affairs 17, no. 1 (2010): pp.65-84.

David Burare reacting on the coalition's central role in enhancement of electoral prospects reiterated:

> …political coalitions have played a central and transformative role in elevating the electoral prospects of participating parties. Through strategic alliances, political entities have effectively pooled their resources, broadened their support base, and presented a unified front during elections. The formation of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) ahead of the 2002 general elections exemplifies this impact. Comprising diverse opposition parties such as the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) and the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD), NARC successfully united against the long-standing rule of the Kenya African National Union (KANU). The coalition's collective strength underpinned the electoral victory of its candidate, Mwai Kibaki, marking a significant shift in Kenya's political landscape.[661]

In agreement with Burare's sentiments, the study generally advances that coalitions have played a crucial role in promoting democratic consolidation by fostering inclusivity, power-sharing, consensus building, and strengthening democratic institutions. These efforts have contributed to the development of a more robust and resilient democratic system in Kenya.

3.5.1.2 Governance Stability

Political coalitions in Kenya have played a significant role in promoting policy formulation by bringing together diverse political interests and ideologies.[662] Through the formation of coalitions, different political parties with varying policy priorities and agendas have been able to collaborate and negotiate on key policy issues. An example of this is the Grand Coalition Government formed in 2008, following the post-election violence that occurred after the 2007 general elections. The coalition government brought together the two main rival political parties, PNU and ODM, to work together in addressing the political crisis and

[661] David Burare, Oral Interview at Upper Hill, Nairobi on 23rd November 2023.
[662] Rok Ajulu "Politicised ethnicity, competitive politics and conflict in Kenya: A historical perspective." *African Studies* 61, no. 2 (2002): pp.251-268.

implementing key policy reforms. This coalition promoted policy formulation by creating a platform for dialogue and consensus-building on critical issues such as constitutional reform, electoral reforms, and national reconciliation.

Additionally, political coalitions have facilitated the exchange of ideas and expertise among different political parties, leading to the development of comprehensive policy proposals that address a wide range of societal needs. By pooling together resources and expertise from various parties, coalitions have been able to develop more inclusive and holistic policy frameworks that take into account the diverse interests and concerns of the population.

Fred Nyongesa contends:

> …political coalitions have provided a platform for public participation in policy formulation. Through the collaboration of different parties within a coalition, there is often a broader engagement with civil society organizations, interest groups, and citizens, leading to a more participatory approach to policy development.For instance the BBI process culminated in a proposed constitutional amendment bill that aimed to introduce significant changes to Kenya's governance structure. The impact of the BBI proposal on Kenya's economic landscape was a subject of debate and analysis.[663]

Nyongesa's insights on political coalitions in Kenya resonate with Almond and Verba's findings regarding the importance of civic culture and citizen engagement in democratic processes. The collaboration among various parties within a coalition, as highlighted by Nyongesa, facilitates broader public participation, akin to the participant culture described by Almond and Verba, where active political discussion and involvement are encouraged. This participatory approach, exemplified by the BBI process, aligns with the authors' argument that democratic stability is strengthened through civic engagement and positive

[663] Fred Nyongesa, Oral Interview at REDO offices, Bungoma on 4th January 2024.

citizen attitudes towards political institutions. By involving civil society organizations and interest groups in policy formulation, Kenya mirrors the civic culture's emphasis on active participation and trust in governance, which are critical for enhancing democratic values and stability.

The Building Bridges Initiative (BBI) process was initiated by President Uhuru Kenyatta and former Prime Minister Raila Odinga to address various governance, social, and economic challenges in the country.[664]The proposed constitutional amendments under the BBI included provisions related to devolution, resource allocation, and governance structures. These reforms had potential economic implications, especially in terms of resource distribution, fiscal management, and local economic development. The Building Bridges Initiative (BBI) in Kenya was not a political coalition in the traditional sense, but rather a process initiated by President Uhuru Kenyatta and former Prime Minister Raila Odinga to address various governance, social, and economic challenges in the country.

According to Mercy Cherubo:

> The BBI proposal sought to strengthen devolution and enhance the capacity of county governments. This had implications for local economic development, service delivery, and infrastructure projects at the county level.The BBI process addressed governance issues, including proposals for the restructuring of key institutions. These reforms had the potential to impact the business environment, regulatory frameworks, and public sector efficiency, which in turn could influenced economic activities.[665]

Supporting the role of political coalitions in policy formulation voter respondents in FGD1, emphasized the collaborative nature of coalitions in engaging civil society and ordinary voters in policy development. They highlighted how political coalitions provide a platform

[664] Philip Onguny. "The politics behind Kenya's Building Bridges Initiative (BBI): Vindu Vichenjanga or sound and fury, signifying nothing?." Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue canadienne des études *africaines* 54, no. 3 (2020): pp.557-576.

[665] Mercy Cherubo, Oral Interview in Eldoret on 5th January 2024

for public participation, leading to more inclusive and comprehensive policy frameworks that reflect the aspirations of the people.[666] This viewpoint underscores the importance of coalition building in promoting participatory democracy and ensuring that diverse voices are heard in the policy-making process.

On the other hand, an argument contradicting the effectiveness of political coalitions in policy formulation was presented by voter respondents in FGD 3. They raised concerns about the challenges or limitations associated with coalitions, such as potential conflicts of interest among coalition members, difficulties in reaching consensus on key policy issues, or the risk of diluting policy proposals to accommodate diverse interests within the coalition.[667] This viewpoint could suggest that while coalitions have the potential to engage various stakeholders, they may face obstacles in translating diverse inputs into coherent and effective policy outcomes.

The study findings also affirm that the formation of coalition governments, such as the Grand Coalition Government in 2008, has contributed to governance stability by promoting power-sharing and inclusivity. In the aftermath of the 2007 post-election violence, the Grand Coalition Government brought together rival political parties to work together in addressing the crisis and implementing critical reforms, leading to a more stable and inclusive governance structure.

3.5.2 Economic Development

Political coalitions in Kenya have played a varied role in shaping the country's economic development. These coalitions often emerge as a response to the diverse ethnic and regional

[666] FGD 1 at Kanduyi in Bungoma County on 13th September 2023.
[667] FGD 3 in Kondele, Kisumu County on 9th August 2023.

makeup of the country. The study undertook to explore the impact of political coalitions on economic development in Kenya through various lenses:

The study findings revealed that political coalitions in Kenya have played a central role in shaping the country's economic trajectory. Notably, stable political coalitions have demonstrated the potential to foster economic development by ensuring policy consistency. The Grand Coalition Government formed in 2008 between PNU and ODM serves as a pertinent example. This coalition brought about a much-needed stability after the post-election violence, contributing to sustained economic growth as policies remained relatively consistent. Further, the study revealed that the relative political stability during this time played a pivotal role in attracting tourists and investors. Kenya's tourism sector, a crucial component of its economy, benefited from improved security conditions. Tourists, reassured by the government's efforts to maintain peace and stability, were more inclined to visit Kenya's renowned wildlife reserves, coastal areas, and cultural attractions.

Contrary to the foregoing findings, Leah Lokala argued:

> …a notable challenge associated with political coalitions in Kenya is the tendency to align along ethnic lines, often prioritizing ethnic interests over national development goals. This has resulted in uneven resource allocation, raising concerns about inclusivity. For instance, the dominance of the Kikuyu and Kalenjin communities in various political coalitions has sparked debates about the equitable distribution of resources, potentially hindering comprehensive economic development.[668]

Similarly, Fred Nyongesa observed that the impact of political coalitions on economic development is intertwined with issues of corruption and governance. Coalitions may become susceptible to corruption, particularly when patronage takes precedence over meritocracy…the Anglo Leasing scandal during President Mwai Kibaki's coalition

[668] Leah Lokala, Oral Interview in Turkana on 8th July 2023.

government (2003-2013) serves as a stark example. This corruption scandal, involving irregularities in government procurement, underscored the challenges of maintaining transparency and accountability within political coalitions.[669]

The study advances that the influence of political coalitions on development projects presents a mixed scenario. While some projects may be prioritized for political gains, others may genuinely contribute to economic growth. The Vision 2030 development blueprint, initiated during the Grand Coalition Government, aimed to transform Kenya into a middle-income country by 2030. However, the success of its implementation has been influenced by changing political landscapes, with implications for the overall economic development trajectory.

According to Mercy Cherubo:

> The impact of political coalitions on economic development extends to investor confidence and foreign aid. Stable coalitions have the potential to positively influence investor confidence and attract foreign aid. The peaceful transition of power during the 2013 elections, when the Jubilee Coalition took over from the Grand Coalition, is a noteworthy example. This transition contributed to maintaining investor confidence, fostering an environment conducive to economic development.[670]

Similarly, political coalitions in other countries have also had significant impacts on economic development. In Germany, the "Grand Coalition" between the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Social Democratic Party (SPD) has contributed to economic stability and policy continuity.[671] For example, during the 2008 financial crisis, the CDU-SPD coalition implemented measures to stimulate the economy, such as infrastructure investments and support for the automotive industry. In South Africa,

[669] Fred Nyongesa, Oral Interview at REDO office, Bungoma on 4th January 2024.
[670] Mercy Cherubo, Oral Interview in Eldoret on 5th January 2024.
[671] Kenneth Dyson, and Thomas Saalfeld. "Actors, structures and strategies: Policy continuity and change under the German Grand Coalition (2005–09)." *German Politics* 19, no. 3-4 (2010): pp.269-282.

political coalitions have influenced economic policies related to black economic empowerment, land redistribution, and social welfare programs. The African National Congress (ANC)-led government, in coalition with other parties, implemented policies to address economic inequalities through initiatives like Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE).[672]

The study on political coalitions in Kenya highlights their significant impact on the country's economic development. Stable coalitions, like the Grand Coalition Government of 2008, have shown the potential to foster economic growth through policy consistency. However, challenges such as aligning along ethnic lines, prioritizing ethnic interests over national development goals, and susceptibility to corruption have been raised by critics like Leah Lokala and Fred Nyongesa.

The study underscores the importance of addressing issues of corruption and governance within coalitions to ensure transparency and accountability. While some development projects may be prioritized for political gains, others can genuinely contribute to economic growth, as seen with initiatives like the Vision 2030 development blueprint. Furthermore, the impact of political coalitions extends to investor confidence and foreign aid, with stable coalitions like the Jubilee Coalition in 2013 contributing to maintaining investor confidence. Similar impacts of political coalitions on economic development have been observed in other countries like Germany and South Africa, emphasizing the need for a balance between stability and addressing challenges for inclusive and sustainable development.

[672] Louis P Krüger. "Black economic empowerment in post-1994 South Africa: ANC curse and/or socialist/communist covenant?." *Problems and Perspectives in Management* 14, no. 3 (2016): p.162.

3.5.3 Impact of Political Coalitions on Social Land Scape

Political coalitions in Kenya have not only influenced the political landscape but also had a significant impact on the social landscape of the country. By bringing together diverse political parties and ethnic groups, coalitions have contributed to shaping social dynamics in several ways:

Political coalitions in Kenya have consistently transcended ethnic boundaries, serving as platforms to promote inclusivity and cooperation among diverse ethnic groups.[673] This was evidenced in the formation of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) leading up to the 2002 elections. NARC strategically brought together parties with support from various ethnic communities, uniting against the long-standing dominance of the Kenya African National Union (KANU).[674] The success of NARC in electing Mwai Kibaki as president not only marked a significant departure from past ethnic-centric politics but also contributed to fostering a sense of inclusivity in national leadership.

Similarly, Charles Matoke posits that the Jubilee Alliance, established in preparation for the 2013 elections, sought to unite disparate ethnic and regional interests. Comprising The National Alliance (TNA) and the United Republican Party (URP), the coalition, led by Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto, presented a collective platform designed to garner support across ethnic lines. The electoral victory of the Jubilee Alliance underscored the

[673] Evans Anyona Ondigi. "The discursive construction of Kenyan ethnicities in online political talk." (2019).
[674] National Rainbow Coalition (Kenya). Democracy and Empowerment: Manifesto of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC). National Rainbow Coalition, 2002.

potential of political coalitions to build broad-based support and encourage cooperation among various ethnic communities.[675]

The study also established that in the context of the 2017 elections, the National Super Alliance (NASA) represented a coalition that included parties like ODM, Wiper Democratic Movement, and Amani National Congress. This coalition actively sought to present a united front against the Jubilee Party, emphasizing collaboration across ethnic lines. While the elections were characterized by contention, the formation of NASA demonstrated a concerted effort to bring together diverse ethnic interests under a common political agenda.

According to Umi Maloba:

> …political coalitions in Kenya have strategically forged alliances to ensure the representation of diverse social and economic interests, contributing to a more inclusive political landscape. NARC, formed prior to the 2002 elections, exemplified this approach by bringing together various opposition parties with the shared objective of challenging the entrenched dominance of KANU. NARC's coalition encompassed parties representing different social and economic interests, fostering a comprehensive representation of societal groups and addressing a wide range of issues affecting the population. This collaborative effort played a significant role in broadening political representation.[676]

The foregoing observations align with the theory of political coalition, particularly the tenet of "coalition formation."[677] The NARC coalition, formed prior to the 2002 elections, exemplified this approach by bringing together various opposition parties with the shared goal of challenging the dominance of the ruling KANU party. By encompassing parties

[675] Charles Matoke, Oral Interview at UDA offices, Nairobi on 19th November 2023.
[676] Umi Maloba, Oral Interview in Bungoma on 25th November 2023.
[677] Eric C. Browne, and Peter Rice. "A bargaining theory of coalition formation." *British Journal of Political Science* 9, no. 1 (1979): pp.67-87.

representing different social and economic interests, NARC was able to create a more inclusive political platform that addressed the concerns of a broader section of the Kenyan population. The theory suggests that such strategic coalition building can enhance the political representation of diverse societal groups, leading to a more responsive and inclusive political landscape, as demonstrated by the impact of the NARC coalition in Kenya.

The formation of the Jubilee Alliance in anticipation of the 2013 elections, comprising The National Alliance (TNA) and the United Republican Party (URP), exemplifies a commitment to uniting various social and economic interests under a common political agenda. The alliance strategically aligned with parties reflecting distinct societal bases, contributing to a more diverse representation within the political sphere. This collaborative approach underscored the importance of considering a multitude of perspectives in governance.

The formation of political coalitions in Kenya has not only reshaped the political landscape but has also ignited a surge in civic engagement and participation. As diverse groups align themselves under shared political agendas within these coalitions, there is a noticeable upswing in political awareness and mobilization among the populace. The study findings established specific instances that underscore the impact of political coalitions on civic engagement:

According to John Kamande:

> NARC played a pivotal role in Kenya's political evolution during the 2002 elections. Opposition parties such as LDP and FORD coalesced under the NARC umbrella to challenge the longstanding rule of KANU. This coalition not only contributed to the defeat of KANU but also triggered significant civic engagement. Diverse

> groups rallied behind the NARC alliance, and the shared agenda for political change led to an upswing in political awareness and active mobilization among Kenyan citizens.[678]

Gladys Wafula incharge of CREADIS organization underscored that:

> …the Jubilee Alliance, formed in anticipation of the 2013 elections, brought together TNA and URP under the leadership of Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto…. this coalition strategically united various ethnic and regional interests to challenge the opposition. The collaborative effort within the Jubilee Alliance sparked civic engagement as supporters from diverse backgrounds came together to rally behind the alliance's political agenda. The mobilization of citizens became a noteworthy aspect of the electoral process.[679]

Fred Nyongesa, citing civic organization engagement with political coalitions held the view that in the realm of constitutional reforms, the Building Bridges Initiative (BBI), initiated by President Uhuru Kenyatta and former Prime Minister Raila Odinga, engaged diverse stakeholders across the country.[680] While not a political coalition, the BBI process triggered extensive civic engagement as Kenyan citizens participated in public forums, discussions, and debates about proposed constitutional reforms. This initiative stimulated a renewed interest in political discourse and civic activities.

Political coalitions in Kenya have been instrumental in fostering social cohesion and cooperation by bringing together diverse political parties and groups.[681] The National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), formed before the 2002 elections, serves as a notable example. Comprising various opposition parties like the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) and the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD), NARC aimed to challenge the longstanding rule of the Kenya African National Union (KANU). The success of NARC in breaking KANU's dominance marked a pivotal moment in social cohesion, as different

[678] John Kamande, Oral Interview at Uraia offices, Nairobi on 24th Nov 2023.
[679] Gladys Wafula, Oral Interview in Bungoma on 15th September, 2023
[680] Fred Nyongesa, Oral Interview at REDO Offices, Nairobi on 4th January 2024.
[681] Karuti Kanyinga. "Kenya: Democracy and political participation." (2014).

political entities collaborated, transcending historical divides to create a shared vision for political change. This coalition contributed to a sense of unity and shared purpose among Kenyan citizens.

Similarly, according to Range Mwita, the Jubilee Alliance, formed in anticipation of the 2013 elections, strategically united The National Alliance (TNA) and the United Republican Party (URP) under the leadership of Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto. This coalition sought to bring together diverse ethnic and regional interests to challenge the opposition. The collaborative effort within the Jubilee Alliance fostered social cohesion by transcending ethnic and regional divides. Supporters from different backgrounds engaged collectively, emphasizing a common purpose in national governance and contributing to a sense of solidarity.[682]

The National Super Alliance, established before the 2017 elections, included parties like ODM, Wiper Democratic Movement, and Amani National Congress. NASA aimed to present a united front against the Jubilee Party, emphasizing cooperation across ethnic lines. The coalition's formation exemplified social cohesion by bringing together political parties traditionally associated with different ethnic groups. This collaborative effort contributed to a shared commitment to political change and fostered a sense of solidarity among diverse communities supporting NASA.

3.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter explored the types of political coalitions that have shaped Kenya's political landscape since 1945, categorizing them based on timing and nature. Utilizing an interpretivist approach and the Theory of Political Coalitions, the study explored the

[682] Range Mwita, Oral Interview at CDM offices, Nairobi on 22nd Nov 2023.

underlying motivations and real-world consequences of these alliances. The analysis revealed the significant impact of coalitions on Kenya's political, social, and economic spheres, highlighting their role in breaking party dominance, influencing legislation, promoting policy formulation, and consolidating democratic governance. However, challenges such as ethnic-based formations, internal conflicts, and corruption were also identified. Coalitions were found to shape social dynamics by fostering inclusivity, civic engagement, and social cohesion, while their economic impact was mixed, with both positive and negative implications for development. The chapter underscored the complex and evolving role of political coalitions in shaping Kenya's trajectory. The subsequent chapter analyzed the extent to which party ideologies shaped the development of political coalitions in Kenya.

CHAPTER FOUR

PARTY IDEOLOGY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL COALITIONS IN KENYA SINCE 1945

4.1 Introduction

This chapter delved into the intricate interplay between party ideologies and the development of political coalitions in Kenya since 1945, unveiling a compelling narrative of how ideological frameworks shaped the nation's political landscape over the decades. The chapter explored the impact of party ideologies on coalition formation, traced historical milestones, and examined the evolution of political alliances from the fervor of independence to the complexities of multiparty democracy. Key subthemes addressed include the role of ideology in shaping coalition dynamics, the adaptability of political

alliances amidst diverse ideologies, and the influence of party ideologies on the longevity and sustainability of coalitions in Kenya's ever-evolving socio-political context.

Interpretivism research philosophy and the theory of political coalitions were crucial in examining how party ideologies have influenced political coalitions in Kenya since 1945. Qualitative methods like interviews and content analysis, along with case studies of parties like KANU, NARC, and the Jubilee Alliance, provided insights into the complex relationship between party ideologies and coalition formation. The adaptability of political coalitions, as seen in examples like NARC and Jubilee Alliance, underscores the relevance of Interpretivism research philosophy in understanding how parties with diverse ideologies collaborate based on practical considerations. Additionally, a descriptive survey research design involving structured questionnaires, in-depth interviews, historical case studies, and demographic data analysis ensured a nuanced understanding of the interplay between party ideologies and political coalitions in Kenya.

4.2 Party Ideologies in Pre-Independence Kenya

During the period from 1945 to 1960 in Kenya, party ideologies significantly influenced the development of political coalitions, shaping the country's political landscape. Various political parties and movements emerged with distinct ideologies that guided their actions and impacted coalition-building efforts. Ethnic-based ideologies were prominent, with parties like KCA and Luo Thrift and Trading Corporation (LTTC) advocating for the interests of specific ethnic groups. These parties mobilized support within their communities and formed alliances based on shared ethnic identities, influencing the composition of political coalitions.

Nationalist ideologies also played a crucial role during this period, exemplified by movements such as KAU and the Mau Mau Movement. These parties embraced nationalist ideals, aiming to achieve independence and self-rule for all Kenyan Africans.[683] By uniting people across ethnic lines under a common nationalistic agenda, these parties facilitated the formation of broader coalitions driven by the shared goal of liberation from colonial rule. Additionally, Pan-Africanist ideologies influenced political coalitions, advocating for solidarity among African nations and the liberation of the continent from colonialism. These ideologies transcended national boundaries and contributed to alliances that extended beyond Kenya's borders.

4.3 Major Party Ideologies in Post-Independence Kenya

In Kenya's political landscape post-1945, major party ideologies have undergone notable shifts and adaptations, influenced by historical events, leadership changes, and evolving socio-political dynamics.

KANU emerged as the dominant party post-independence and initially espoused African socialism under Jomo Kenyatta's leadership.[684] This ideology emphasized self-reliance, land reform, and African identity, aiming to address colonial injustices and foster economic development. However, KANU's ideological stance evolved over time. Under Daniel Arap Moi's rule, KANU shifted towards a more authoritarian stance, diluting its commitment to African socialism. The party's focus shifted towards consolidating power and maintaining a one-party state rather than adhering strictly to ideological principles.

[683] William Robert Ochieng. Decolonization & [and] Independence in Kenya: 1940-93. East African Publishers, 1995.
[684] Asfaw Kumssa, and John F. Jones. "Post-independence African policy: African socialism and the organization of African unity." *Public Administration Research* 4, no. 1 (2015): p.12.

FORD emerged as a significant opposition force in the 1990s, advocating for democratic governance, human rights, and equitable development. It stood in contrast to KANU's authoritarianism and aimed to restore democracy and political pluralism in Kenya. FORD represented a diverse coalition of parties and leaders with a shared vision for democratic reforms, albeit facing internal fractures due to leadership disputes and ideological differences.[685]

NARC emerged as a coalition united against the long-standing dominance of KANU in the 2002 elections. Although not driven by a strict ideology, NARC symbolized a broad-based alliance advocating for democratic reforms, good governance, and social justice. It sought to address issues of corruption, economic development, and inclusivity within the political system. However, NARC's ideological coherence was challenged by internal conflicts and diverse member interests, which affected its policy direction once in power.

ODM was formed following the fragmentation within NARC, ODM became a prominent opposition party under Raila Odinga's leadership. It emphasized democratic ideals, social justice, and equitable resource distribution.[686] ODM positioned itself as a voice against perceived injustices and sought to address issues of governance, corruption, and inclusivity within the political sphere.

PNU was formed as a successor to the NARC coalition, PNU initially emerged as a collaborative effort among various political parties, such as KANU, Narc-Kenya, Ford-Kenya, Ford-People, Democratic Party, Shirikisho, National Alliance Party of Kenya, among others, coming together to form a coalition. PNU encompassed a diverse array of

[685] Kipruto RA Kirwa. "The Role of Political Parties in Enhancing Democratic Governance in Africa: a Case of Kenya." PhD diss., university of Nairobi, 2018.
[686] Jonyo, Silas O. "Politics of identity and ideology, political oratory of Raila Odinga and the manifesto of the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM)." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, Kenya, 2012.

political ideologies and interests under President Mwai Kibaki's leadership. PNU's ideological stance was characterized by a pragmatic approach, emphasizing continuity in governance, economic development, and infrastructure projects.[687] Its policies focused on maintaining stability and building on the achievements of the Kibaki administration.

The Jubilee Alliance, a coalition formed by TNA and URP, garnered significant support by emphasizing economic development, infrastructure projects, and unity among diverse ethnic communities.[688] Led by Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto, Jubilee presented itself as a party focused on national unity and development, though its ideological coherence faced challenges due to varied regional and ideological interests within the coalition.[689]

Coalition for Reforms and Democracy (CORD) was a coalition that comprised ODM, Wiper Democratic Movement (WDM), and FORD-Kenya. It emphasized democratic ideals, social justice, and inclusive governance. CORD aimed to challenge perceived injustices, promote equitable resource distribution, and foster political pluralism in Kenya.[690]

NASA was a coalition formed in the lead-up to the 2017 elections, comprising several parties, including ODM, WDM, FORD-Kenya, ANC, and other smaller parties.[691] It sought to unite opposition forces against the ruling Jubilee Party. NASA's ideological stance

[687] Karuri, M. "A Critical Discourse Analysis Of Key Newspaper Headline Stories on Ideological Conflicts In Kenyan Politics." *Published 2015*: p.460.
[688] Denis Kadima, and Felix Owuor. "Kenya's decade of experiments with political party alliances and Coalitions - motivations, impact and prospects." *Journal of African Elections* 13, no. 1 (2014): pp.150-180.
[689] Habakkuk Nakiboli, Josephine Khaemba, and Vicky Khasandi. "*Ideology in Political Campaigns:* Explicating the Digital-Analogue Metaphor Used in the 2013 Election Campaigns by the Jubilee Coalition *in Kenya*." (2017).
[690] John O Okul. "Electoral Reforms and Democratic Consolidation in Kenya, 1997–2017." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2020.
[691] Oxford Analytica. "Kenyan party manifestos unlikely to shift support." *Emerald Expert Briefings* oxan-es (2017).

emphasized electoral reforms, economic transformation, devolution, and inclusivity within the political system.

Amani National Congress (ANC) led by Musalia Mudavadi, positioned itself as a party advocating for national unity, economic empowerment, and social justice.[692] ANC emphasized the need for inclusive governance, economic policies that fostered growth, and equitable resource distribution to address Kenya's development challenges.

The ideological positioning of Kenya Kwanza was centered on advocating for progressive governance, economic transformation, and inclusivity.[693] The alliance emphasized policies focused on job creation, infrastructure development, and innovation to drive Kenya's growth and development. Kenya Kwanza aimed to present itself as an alternative political platform that prioritized the interests of the common citizen and sought to address the socio-economic challenges facing the country. Kenya Kwanza, which translates to "Kenya First" in Swahili, stands as a Kenyan political coalition helmed by William Ruto. Its inception dates back to the period preceding the 2022 Kenyan general election. Initially, the alliance comprised three parties: UDA, Amani National Congress, and FORD–Kenya. However, additional political parties joined the coalition.

The Kenya Kwanza alliance, steered by William Ruto, emerged as a significant political entity in Kenya's political landscape in the lead-up to the 2022 general elections. This coalition placed a notable emphasis on the concept of progressive governance, signaling a focus on transformative socio-economic policies, inclusivity, and innovative approaches to steer the country's development trajectory.

[692] Denis Kadima, and Felix Owuor. "Kenya's decade of experiments with political party alliances and Coalitions- motivations, impact and prospects." *Journal of African Elections* 13, no. 1 (2014): pp.150-180.
[693]https://africacheck.org/sites/default/files/media/documents/2022-06/Kenya%20Kwanza%20Manifesto%202022-FAKE.pdf. Accessed on 6th Jan 2024.

Azimio La Umoja (One Kenya Alliance), a coalition led by influential political figures such as Raila Odinga, Kalonzo Musyoka, Gideon Moi, Charity Ngilu and Uhuru Kenyatta, emphasized unity, inclusivity, and national cohesion.[694] This alliance aimed to foster a united front against perceived political injustices and prioritize issues such as economic development, governance reforms, and social equity.

These political formations encompass a range of ideologies, from democratic reforms, social justice, and inclusive governance to economic transformation and national unity. However, each coalition or party often faces challenges in maintaining strict ideological coherence due to diverse member interests, pragmatic considerations, and the fluid nature of Kenya's political landscape.

According to voter respondents:

> …it is essential to note that while these coalitions and parties may espouse various ideologies, coalition formation and party membership are often anchored more on individuals or personal interests rather than strict ideological principles.[695]

This observation suggests that ideological coherence within these coalitions and parties may come after the formation of alliances, driven by pragmatic considerations and individual ambitions rather than deeply held ideological beliefs. The fluidity and Interpretivism in Kenya's political landscape sometimes prioritize personal interests and power dynamics over ideological consistency. This dynamic can lead to challenges in maintaining a clear ideological direction within coalitions, as the pursuit of power and influence may take precedence over adhering to a set of coherent principles.

[694] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Azimio la Umoja. Accessed on 4th January 2024.
[695] FGD 3 in Kisumu-Kondele on 9th August 2023.

While the study highlights the spectrum of ideologies present in Kenya's political parties and coalitions, it is important to acknowledge the influence of individual ambitions, power dynamics, and pragmatic considerations in shaping the country's political landscape. This interplay between personal interests and ideological positioning adds complexity to the evolving nature of Kenya's political environment.

4.4: Evolution of Party Ideologies

This section presents the concept of how party ideology has evolved in Kenya.The presentation was carried out under various subthemes as follows**:** Post-Independence Era (1960s-1970s); Period of Shifts in Ideological Stances (1980s-1990s) and Period of Contemporary Landscape (2000s-Present)

4.4.1: The Post-Independent Era Ideology

Kenya's independence in 1963 marked a crucial turning point in the nation's history, promising freedom from colonial rule and envisioning a future of socio-economic progress and equality. Central to this vision was KANU, led by Jomo Kenyatta, and its ideological framework of African socialism and nationalism.[696] This ideology was crafted to address colonial injustices, promote self-reliance, and foster a united nation grounded in African identity. However, the practical application of these ideals faced numerous challenges, primarily due to the emergence of ethnic politics and the entrenchment of power within KANU.

KANU's ideological underpinning of African socialism aimed to reshape Kenya's socio-economic landscape, emphasizing self-sufficiency, land reform, and a collective approach

[696] Forgwe, Martina Joy. "African Socialism and Attaining the Pan-African Ideal: Tanzania and Kenya, 1950-1970." PhD diss., 2002.

to development.[697] The ideology sought to dismantle the remnants of colonialism by advocating for African cultural identity, economic independence, and social equity. *Harambee*, an emblematic concept of collective effort, was introduced to symbolize the spirit of community-driven development.[698] This initiative was intended to promote grassroots participation and solidarity among Kenyans.

Under this ideology, land reform became a crucial aspect of the government's agenda. Kenya inherited a deeply unequal land distribution system from colonial rule, with large tracts owned by a minority while the majority of the population faced landlessness or inadequate landholding.[699] Efforts were made to redistribute land to address these historical injustices. However, the effectiveness of these reforms was limited due to various factors, including resistance from vested interests and challenges in implementing fair and comprehensive land redistribution policies.

Despite the ideological rhetoric of African unity and socialism, the political landscape within KANU began to reflect ethnic favoritism and power consolidation among certain groups, notably Kenyatta's own Kikuyu community.[700] This phenomenon contradicted the inclusive and egalitarian principles espoused by the party. Key positions in the government, civil service, and economic sectors were often filled by individuals from Kenyatta's ethnic community, raising concerns of exclusion and fostering discontent among other ethnic groups.[701]

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[697] Yash Ghai. "*Kenya's Socialism*." (1965): pp.20-23.
[698] Ng'Ethe, Njuguna. "Politics, ideology and the underprivileged: The origins and nature of the Harambee phenomenon in Kenya." Journal of Eastern African Research & Development 13 (1983): pp.150-170.
[699] Josphat M Ngugi. "Colonial Legacy and Land Conflict in Kenya: a Case Study of the Rift Valley Province." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2011.
[700] Godffrey Gitahi Kariuki. The illusion of power: Reflections on fifty years in Kenya politics. East African Publishers, 2001.
[701] Hamasi L., M. N. Amutabi, and W. S. Nasong'o. "Ethnicity in Kenya Under Jomo Kenyatta, 1963–1978." The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Kenya (2023): p.215.

Ethnic patronage networks began to form within KANU, leading to perceptions of nepotism and favoritism.[702] This trend intensified ethnic tensions and divisions, undermining the ideological vision of a united, non-tribalistic society. While the party advocated for a broader African identity, the realities of ethnic politics influenced policy decisions, resource allocation, and the distribution of opportunities, deepening societal fissures.

Harambee, while symbolizing communal development, suffered from inconsistencies in its implementation.[703] Projects under the Harambee initiative were often biased towards regions and communities aligned with the ruling elite, perpetuating unequal development and intensifying disparities between regions. The notion of collective effort in development initiatives did not always translate into equitable resource distribution. Land reforms, aimed at rectifying historical injustices in land distribution, faced substantial challenges. Despite the intent to redistribute land fairly, the actual implementation often favored politically connected individuals and those within Kenyatta's inner circle. This led to the accumulation of vast landholdings by a few, perpetuating inequalities and land concentration among the ruling elite.

Ethnic favoritism within political and economic spheres became more apparent over time. Key decision-making positions were often occupied by individuals from Kenyatta's ethnic community, creating an imbalance in representation and reinforcing perceptions of marginalization among other ethnic groups. Economic opportunities and access to

[702] Rei Gordon. "Inequality, Patronage, Ethnic Politics and Decentralization in Kenya and Botswana: An Analysis of Factors that Increase the Likelihood of Ethnic Conflict." (2019).
[703] Peter M Ngau. "Tensions in empowerment: The experience of the" harambee"(Self-Help) movement in Kenya." Economic development and cultural change 35, no. 3 (1987): pp.523-538.

resources became increasingly associated with political affiliations and ethnic ties, undermining the principles of meritocracy and equal opportunity.

A similar affirmation was by Noah Wekesa who noted that:

> Kenya's early post-independence era was characterized by the combination of ideological aspirations with the realities of ethnic politics and power consolidation. KANU's espousal of African socialism and nationalism, while aiming to address colonial injustices and promote unity, faced significant challenges in implementation. Ethnic patronage networks, unequal resource distribution, and inconsistencies in policy execution undermined the party's ideological ideals. The contradictions between rhetoric and reality highlighted the complexities and tensions within Kenya's political landscape during this formative period of the nation's history.[704]

Additionally, *The Weekly Review* revealed that:

> …a more momentous coup for KANU was to come soon after the country became a republic, with Kenyatta as president, on December 12, 1964. KADU, then the opposition, was voluntarily dissolved and its members crossed the floor to join KANU. KADU's former leaders, Mr. Ronald Ngala and Mr. Daniel Moi were rewarded with cabinet seats. KADU had last achieved its primary goal of party unity…but divisions along ideological and personality lines soon emerged: an increasingly left-wing faction within the party became evident and clearly revolved around Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, who was then the party and government vice-president. Kenyatta, Mboya and majority in KANU remained basically conservative. Odinga favoured an economic and ideological orientation towards socialism, while Kenyatta and Mboya stood for a market based, capitalist foundation…[705]

The study observes that Kenya's post-independence era witnessed a complex interplay between ideological aspirations and the realities of ethnic politics and power dynamics within KANU. Despite the party's espousal of African socialism and nationalism to address colonial injustices and promote unity, challenges in implementation arose, including ethnic

[704] Noah Wekesa, Oral Interview in Kitale on 16th November 2024.
[705] KNADS: The Weekly Review, June 8, 1990, "Kanu Power Consolidation"

favoritism, unequal resource distribution, and policy execution inconsistencies. The contradictions between rhetoric and reality underscored the intricate tensions shaping Kenya's political landscape during this pivotal period in the nation's history. The amalgamation of ideological visions with ethnic patronage networks and divergent economic orientations reflected the nuanced complexities that defined Kenya's early post-independence trajectory.

4.4.2: Era of Ideological Shifts and Stances (1980s-1990s)

Daniel Arap Moi's ascension to power in 1978 following the death of Jomo Kenyatta marked a significant period in Kenya's political trajectory.[706] Under Moi's leadership, KANU underwent a noticeable departure from the earlier principles of African socialism espoused during Kenyatta's rule. The once-prominent commitment to African socialism, emphasizing self-reliance, communal development, and equitable economic policies, gradually eroded.

Moi's administration shifted the focus away from African socialism, emphasizing instead a more centralized and authoritarian form of governance.[707] This shift led to the concentration of power within the ruling elite, facilitating an increasingly authoritarian regime. KANU, once a symbol of national unity and African socialism, began advocating for a one-party state, consolidating political control and suppressing pluralism.[708] This move towards an authoritarian regime stifled political freedoms, curtailed dissent, and restricted the space for opposition voices within the political sphere.

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[706] Davinder Pal Singh Ahluwalia. "Political succession in Kenya: the transition from Kenyatta to Moi." The African Review: A Journal of African Politics, Development and International Affairs (1985): pp.1-17.
[707] Frank Holmquist, and Michael Ford. "Kenyan politics: toward a second transition?." *Africa Today* 45, no. 2 (1998): pp.227-258.
[708] Peter Anyang Nyongo. "Authoritarianism with an Electoral Face in Africa." *Studia Socjologiczno-Polityczne. Seria Nowa* 7, no. 2 (2017): pp.57-82.

The authoritarian shift was manifested through various means, including the enactment of constitutional amendments such as the Section 2A amendment in 1982.[709] This amendment declared Kenya a de jure one-party state, solidifying KANU's dominance and restricting the existence of alternative political parties or dissenting political ideologies. Moi's administration further perpetuated this authoritarian stance through political repression, with instances of harassment, detention, and persecution of opposition figures, journalists, and activists critical of the government.[710]

By the early 1990s, mounting pressure for democratic reforms, both domestically and internationally, compelled Kenya to reintroduce multiparty politics.[711] The authoritarian nature of KANU's rule had sparked discontent among the populace, leading to calls for political liberalization and the restoration of political pluralism. This period witnessed the emergence of pro-democracy movements and civil society initiatives advocating for democratic governance, human rights, and political pluralism.[712] The pressure for change, combined with growing international scrutiny, pushed the government to yield to demands for political reforms.

South Africa experienced a similar situation during the late 1980s and early 1990s. The apartheid regime faced intense criticism both domestically and internationally, prompting widespread protests and calls for change. President F.W. de Klerk initiated negotiations with anti-apartheid leaders, including Nelson Mandela, leading to the lifting of the ban on

[709] Nelly Kamunde-Aquino. "Kenya's Constitutional History." *REDD+-Law project, Briefing Paper* (2014): pp.1-4.
[710] S. Brown. Authoritarian leaders and multiparty elections in Africa: How foreign donors help to keep Kenya's Daniel arap Moi in power. *Third World Quarterly*, *22*(5), (2001): pp.725-739.
[711] Hans Peter Schmitz, and Hans Peter Schmitz. "From Repression to Democratic Reforms in Kenya and Uganda." Transnational Mobilization and Domestic Regime Change: *Africa in Comparative Perspective* (2006): pp.33-64.
[712] Larry Jay Diamond. "Civil society and the development of democracy." (1997): pp.1-72.

political parties and the release of Mandela from prison.[713] These negotiations paved the way for the country's first multiracial elections in 1994 and the establishment of a democratic government.

In Malawi, the early 1990s witnessed a movement toward democratization, marked by mass protests and political pressure. The government yielded to demands for political reforms, ending one-party rule in 1993, followed by multi-party elections in 1994.[714] Across Eastern Europe, the collapse of communist regimes in the late 1980s and early 1990s resulted in the establishment of democratic systems in countries like Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia.

In response to the growing demand for multiparty democracy in Kenya, opposition movements coalesced to form alternative political parties.[715] Foremost among these was FORD, which emerged as a significant opposition force, challenging KANU's monopoly on power.[716] Led by veteran politician Oginga Odinga and other prominent figures, FORD stood as a symbol of resistance, advocating for democratic governance, equitable development, and human rights.

According to Musikari Kombo:

> The reintroduction of multiparty politics posed a formidable challenge to KANU's long-standing dominance. The emergence of opposition parties like FORD provided an alternative political platform, offering dissenting voices and a rallying point for those disillusioned with KANU's authoritarian rule. This shift towards multiparty politics

[713] George Reiff. "Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk-Lessons in Leadership and Governance."
[714] Heiko Meinhardt, and Nandini Patel. Malawi's process of democratic transition: an analysis of political developments between 1990 and 2003. Lilongwe: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 2003.
[715] Gilbert M. Khadiagala. "Political movements and coalition politics in Kenya: entrenching ethnicity." South African Journal of International Affairs 17, no. 1 (2010): pp.65-84.
[716] Bhardwaj K. K. "Kenya's Zigzag March towards Democracy and Development." *India Quarterly* 52, no. 4 (1996): pp.119-126.

> signified a turning point in Kenya's political landscape, marking the beginning of a transition towards a more pluralistic and democratic system.[717]

The foregoing analysis aligns with the pragmatic philosophy. The researcher observes that emergence of opposition parties like FORD provided an alternative political platform, allowing for dissenting voices and a rallying point for those dissatisfied with KANU's authoritarian rule. This shift towards a more pluralistic and democratic system reflects the pragmatic philosophy's emphasis on the practical consequences of political changes and the importance of democratic participation in shaping one's social and political environment.

The study revealed that the 1980s and 1990s in Kenya witnessed a divergence from the ideals of African socialism towards an authoritarian regime under Moi's leadership within KANU. However, mounting pressure for democratic reforms led to the eventual reintroduction of multiparty politics, symbolized by the emergence of opposition parties like FORD, challenging KANU's dominance and advocating for democratic governance and pluralism within the country's political arena.

4.4.3: Era of Contemporary Landscape (2000s-Present)

Post-2002 marked a significant shift in Kenya's political dynamics, transitioning towards a landscape dominated by coalition politics.[718] This era witnessed a departure from the traditional dominance of single-party rule, as parties increasingly sought alliances and formed coalitions based on pragmatic interests rather than strict ideological compatibility. The political landscape in Kenya from the 2000s to the present has been characterized by a significant shift towards coalition politics, with parties frequently forming alliances based

[717] Musikari Kombo, Oral Interview at Lovington, Nairobi on 21st November 2023.
[718] Oita Etyang. The politics of coalition formation in Kenya: 1992-2017. University of Johannesburg (South Africa), 2021.

on pragmatic interests rather than rigid ideological alignments.[719] This era witnessed the emergence of notable alliances and coalitions that reshaped the country's political dynamics.

One of the most prominent examples illustrating the shift towards coalition politics in Kenya was the formation of NARC.[720] Established in the lead-up to the 2002 general elections, NARC brought together diverse political parties and leaders with the primary goal of unseating the long-standing dominance of KANU. NARC emerged as a formidable force in Kenyan politics ahead of the 2002 general elections, strategically uniting multiple political parties and leaders from disparate ideological backgrounds under a common goal ending the decades-long reign of KANU and President Daniel Arap Moi.[721] This coalition brought together parties with varying ideological underpinnings, marking a departure from the conventional alliances based on strict ideological compatibility.

Mwai Kibaki, a seasoned politician with roots in the Democratic Party (DP), played a pivotal role within NARC.[722] The DP traditionally leaned towards center-right ideologies, advocating for market-oriented economic policies and emphasizing private sector growth. Kibaki's leadership represented a faction of the coalition aligned with these economic principles, appealing to voters seeking market-friendly governance and economic reforms.

Raila Odinga, a prominent figure in Kenyan politics, spearheaded the National Development Party (NDP) and brought with him a support base predominantly from

[719] Josh Maiyo. "Political Parties and Intra-Party Democracy in East Africa." *From Representative to* Participatory Democracy (2008).
[720] Miwa Tsuda. "The experience of the national rainbow coalition (NARC): political parties in Kenya from 1991 to 2007." *IDE Discussion Paper* 222 (2010).
[721] National Rainbow Coalition (Kenya). Democracy and Empowerment: Manifesto of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC). National Rainbow Coalition, 2002.
[722] Kennedy Masime, and Gichira Kibara. "Regime transitions and the institutionalization of democracy in Kenya: the December 2002 elections and beyond." *E. African J. Hum. Rts. & Democracy* 1 (2003): p.13.

Nyanza Province. The NDP had a more leftist orientation, advocating for social justice, equitable wealth distribution, and greater government intervention in economic affairs. Odinga's inclusion in NARC added a dimension of left-leaning ideologies, expanding the coalition's appeal to voters seeking a more redistributive approach to governance.

Wamalwa Kijana, a prominent figure from FORD-Kenya, played a vital role in NARC during the 2002 Kenyan elections. His representation brought a distinctive emphasis on decentralization, regional autonomy, and equitable resource allocation, aligning with FORD-Kenya's historical advocacy for democratic reforms and inclusivity in governance. Kijana's focus on issues like devolution and ethnic minority rights within NARC expanded the coalition's appeal, particularly among voters seeking greater regional empowerment and a more equitable distribution of national resources.

Charity Ngilu was associated with the National Party of Kenya (NPK) within NARC.[723] Ngilu's involvement with the NPK was pivotal as she championed issues relating to social welfare, gender equality, and grassroots empowerment. The NPK's platform focused on advocating for inclusive policies and progressive initiatives, aiming to uplift marginalized communities through social democracy principles. Ngilu's presence within NARC significantly boosted its appeal among voters who prioritized social justice and inclusive policies, aligning with the NPK's emphasis on addressing societal disparities and promoting equitable opportunities for all.

[723] Oita Etyang. "The Formation and Instability of Coalition Governments in Kenya." *The African Review* 49, no. 2 (2022): pp.167-194.

Despite the varied ideological foundations of its constituent parties, NARC's formation was primarily motivated by a shared objective of dislodging KANU's entrenched rule. This strategic collaboration allowed the coalition to leverage the strengths and support bases of each party leader across diverse regions of Kenya, presenting a unified front against the ruling party. While ideological differences existed among NARC's key figures and their respective parties, they coalesced around a broader commitment to address issues such as corruption, enhance governance, and stimulate economic progress.[724] This pragmatic approach to governance formed the nucleus of their electoral campaign and post-election agenda, highlighting a consensus on crucial matters despite ideological variations.

Ultimately, the success of NARC in unseating KANU underscored the potency of a broad-based coalition that transcended rigid ideological boundaries in pursuit of a common political goal.[725] However, the challenge of maintaining unity within the coalition beyond the electoral victory laid bare the underlying tensions stemming from differing ideologies, leading to subsequent internal rifts and fragmentation within NARC.

The post-2002 period in Kenya saw a continuation of coalition politics, with subsequent alliances being formed, dissolved, and reconfigured based on changing political dynamics and electoral interests.[726] The emergence of alliances such as ODM, which resulted from the split within NARC, and the later formation of the Jubilee Alliance between the National Alliance (TNA) and the United Republican Party (URP) are notable examples.

[724] Denis Kadima, and Felix Owuor. "Kenya's decade of experiments with political party alliances and coalitions-motivations, impact and prospects." *Journal of African Elections* 13, no. 1 (2014): pp.150-180.
[725] Peter Wanyande, Walter Oyugi, and C. Odhiambo-Mbai. "The Politics of Transition in Kenya: FROM KANU To NARC." (2003).
[726] Denis Kadima, and Felix Owuor. "Kenya's decade of experiments with political party alliances and coalitions-motivations, impact and prospects." *Journal of African Elections* 13, no. 1 (2014): pp.150-180.

Orange Democratic Movement (ODM): The fragmentation within the NARC coalition led to the formation of ODM in 2005.[727] Led by Raila Odinga, a key figure within NARC, ODM emerged as a significant opposition force. It attracted members disenchanted with the internal conflicts within NARC and sought to consolidate opposition against the ruling government led by Mwai Kibaki. ODM's formation represented a pragmatic response to the fractures within NARC, rallying behind Odinga's leadership to offer an alternative political platform. Despite espousing certain ideological principles, the coalition emphasized the need for democratic reforms, good governance, and social justice, appealing to a broad spectrum of voters discontented with the prevailing political status quo.[728]

The Jubilee Alliance, led by Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto, successfully formed a coalition that secured victory in the 2013 and 2017 general elections. This coalition reflected a pragmatic alliance between different parties and regional interests, highlighting the trend of political parties coming together based on pragmatic calculations to attain electoral success.

Jubilee Alliance: Another noteworthy development in Kenya's coalition politics was the formation of the Jubilee Alliance, which brought together TNA led by Uhuru Kenyatta and URP led by William Ruto.[729] This alliance was instrumental in securing electoral victories in the 2013 and 2017 general elections. The formation of the Jubilee Alliance marked a significant milestone in Kenya's political landscape, uniting TNA and URP, led by William

[727] Silas O Jonyo. "Politics of identity and ideology, political oratory of Raila Odinga and the manifesto of the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM)." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, Kenya, 2012.
[728] Ibid
[729] Peter aNyaNg'NyoNg'o. "Political Parties and Coalition Politics in Kenyan General Election (s): The 2013. Presidential and General Elections." Kenya's 2013 General Election: Stakes, Practices and *Outcome* (2017).

Ruto. This coalition strategically united leaders with distinct ideological backgrounds and regional support bases, prioritizing electoral success over strict adherence to ideological coherence.

Uhuru Kenyatta, representing the Kikuyu community, and William Ruto, hailing from the Kalenjin community, orchestrated a strategic alliance aimed at appealing to a diverse array of ethnic groups and regions.[730] By leveraging the significant political influence and support bases of their respective communities, the coalition aimed to transcend traditional ethnic-based politics and create a united front to attract support from various regions across Kenya.

The Jubilee Alliance's approach wasn't firmly grounded in ideological alignment but rather focused on practical strategies to consolidate diverse support bases.[731] Their campaign emphasized issues such as economic development, job creation, infrastructure enhancement, and national unity, prioritizing shared goals over rigid ideological principles. This strategy aimed to attract voters across different ideological spectrums who prioritized tangible improvements in their daily lives.

The coalition's success was evident in securing electoral victories in both the 2013 and 2017 general elections, showcasing its ability to mobilize support across ethnic and regional lines.[732] However, despite its triumphs, the alliance faced challenges in maintaining strict ideological coherence. TNA and URP brought different ideological underpinnings, with TNA leaned toward a more establishment-oriented stance, focusing on

[730] Biniam E.Bedasso"Ethnicity, intra-elite differentiation and political stability in Kenya." *African Affairs* 114, no. 456 (2015): pp.361-381.
[731] Aditi Malik. "EDGS WORKING PAPER." (2014).
[732] Gabrielle Lynch. "Electing the ‘alliance of the accused’: the success of the Jubilee Alliance in Kenya's Rift Valley." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 8, no. 1 (2014): pp.93-114.

national unity, economic development while URP had a more populist and grassroots-oriented focus. These ideological differences occasionally led to tensions within the coalition, impacting policy implementation and decision-making processes during their governance tenure.

Commenting on the success of Jubilee alliance, Charles Matoke postulated:

> The Jubilee Alliance's success under Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto was rooted in its ability to mobilize diverse ethnic and regional support bases, transcending traditional ethnic politics for electoral victories. However, the coalition's pragmatic approach prioritizing shared goals over ideological coherence presented challenges in governance and maintaining unity, exemplifying the complexities of balancing diverse ideologies within a political alliance.[733]

The political landscape in post-2002 Kenya witnessed a significant shift towards coalition politics, marked by alliances formed on pragmatic interests rather than strict ideological alignments. The formation of NARC ahead of the 2002 general elections brought together diverse parties and leaders, including Mwai Kibaki advocating for market-oriented policies, Raila Odinga championing left-leaning ideologies, and Wamalwa Kijana contributing to the coalition's diversity. This era highlighted a departure from traditional ideological alliances, emphasizing strategic partnerships and pragmatic interests, reshaping Kenya's political dynamics towards collaborative and inclusive governance approaches.

4.4.4 Ideology within Post-Election Coalitions

The Grand Coalition established in Kenya after the highly contested 2007 elections stands as a significant illustration of the dynamic nature of post-election coalitions amid diverse ideological foundations.[734] The elections of 2007 led to disputes over the presidential

[733] Charles Matoke, Oral Interview at UDA offices, Nairobi on 19th November 2023.
[734] Henry Amadi. "Kenya's Grand Coalition Government-Another Obstacle to Urgent Constitutional Reform?." *Africa Spectrum* 44, no. 3 (2009): pp.149-164.

results, inciting widespread violence and ethnic tensions across the nation. In response to this crisis, a power-sharing agreement was facilitated, forming the Grand Coalition Government that brought together President Mwai Kibaki's PNU and Raila Odinga's ODM.[735] The coalition's primary objective was to restore stability and foster national unity in the aftermath of the deeply divisive elections.

The Grand Coalition amalgamated parties with distinct ideological orientations. PNU, under Kibaki's leadership, was identified as more aligned with establishment principles, whereas ODM, led by Odinga, carried a progressive and reform-focused agenda. Despite these ideological contrasts, their collaboration within the coalition aimed to bridge these divides for the larger goal of ensuring governance, prioritizing national stability, and promoting reconciliation. However, maintaining strict ideological coherence within the Grand Coalition posed significant challenges. While the coalition was formed in response to an urgent national crisis, the differing ideological stances between PNU and ODM occasionally led to tensions regarding policy implementation and decision-making processes.

In an oral interview with Herman Manyora, he contended that:

> …despite ideological differences, the Grand Coalition was chiefly focused on implementing reforms aimed at addressing the underlying issues that triggered the post-election violence. Key initiatives included constitutional amendments, electoral reforms, and programs dedicated to national healing and reconciliation. The coalition's priority remained steadfastly directed toward fostering national unity and stability, transcending ideological divides to address the aftermath of the election turmoil.[736]

[735] Ben Sihanya, Duncan Okello, and Karuti Kanyinga. "Mediating Kenya's Post-Election Crises: The politics and limits of power sharing agreement'." Tensions and reversals in democratic transitions: The *Kenya* (2007): pp.653-709.
[736] Herman Manyora, Oral Interview at Fountain of Knowledge UoN, Nairobi on 21st November 2023.

The experience of the Grand Coalition therefore, underscored the complexities of forging alliances across ideological lines amidst a political crisis. It showcased the potential for power-sharing arrangements to mitigate tensions and foster national unity. Nevertheless, it also highlighted the challenges inherent in maintaining strict ideological coherence within a coalition government, emphasizing the practical and adaptive nature of political collaborations during critical moments in Kenya's history.

The BBI in Kenya emerged as a response to the heightened political tensions and concerns over the legitimacy of the 2017 elections.[737] After a prolonged electoral period that faced legal challenges, a significant portion of the Kenyan populace felt polarized along political lines. In this context, the BBI was proposed as a reconciliatory framework aimed at fostering national unity, addressing electoral grievances, and reducing political tensions that threatened stability.

The initiative notably brought together political figures who were historically seen as opponents, such as President Uhuru Kenyatta, leader of the Jubilee Party, and Raila Odinga, the leader of the opposition party, NASA (National Super Alliance). Their prior political rivalry had been marked by differing ideological stances and historical electoral competition. This collaboration between Kenyatta and Odinga was considered groundbreaking as it signaled a departure from the traditional party-based alliances and confrontational politics. Despite their differing ideological backgrounds – Kenyatta's Jubilee Party having a more establishment orientation while Odinga's NASA espoused a

[737] Philip Onguny. "The politics behind Kenya's Building Bridges Initiative (BBI): Vindu Vichenjanga or sound and fury, signifying nothing?." Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue canadienne des études *africaines* 54, no. 3 (2020): pp.557-576.

more opposition-driven platform – both leaders opted to prioritize national unity and reconciliation through the BBI.

The BBI process encompassed public consultations, stakeholder engagements, and the collection of citizens' views across the country. Its recommendations aimed at addressing key issues such as ethnic antagonism, divisive elections, inclusivity, devolution, and shared prosperity. However, the implementation and reception of the BBI remained a subject of controversy and mixed reactions. Some viewed it as a genuine effort towards national healing and constitutional reforms, while others perceived it as a political maneuver to consolidate power or extend political terms. Despite the initiative's intentions to foster unity, divisions persisted among political factions and the public regarding its effectiveness and legitimacy. Ultimately, the BBI process faced legal hurdles, with courts nullifying the constitutional amendment bill and questioning the constitutionality of certain aspects, leading to its eventual discontinuation.

On the formation of BBI, Musikari Kombo noted:

> The BBI's attempt to bring together divergent political figures with differing ideologies reflected a significant attempt at unity-driven politics in Kenya, seeking to transcend traditional party-based divisions for the greater cause of national reconciliation and stability.[738]

The researcher observes that Kombo's remarks on the formation of the BBI in Kenya reflect key tenets of pragmatic philosophy. The BBI's attempt to bring together diverse political figures with differing ideologies, seeking national reconciliation and stability by transcending traditional party-based divisions, aligns with the pragmatic approach of

[738] Musikari Kombo, Oral Interview at Lovington, Nairobi on 21st Nov, 2023.

prioritizing practical solutions over abstract theories or dogmas.[739] This pragmatic approach emphasizes flexibility, pluralism, and a focus on achieving outcomes that improve the collective well-being of the nation, rather than adhering to rigid ideological positions.

Formation of One Kenya Alliance (OKA) Post 2017 elections in Kenya witnessed a notable shift in political dynamics with the emergence of OKA, a coalition composed of diverse leaders and parties aiming to collectively challenge established political forces. Among the key constituents of OKA were parties representing a range of ideological orientations, reflecting a convergence of viewpoints for the purpose of gaining political leverage.

Musalia Mudavadi's ANC advocated for center-left economic policies, focusing on equitable economic growth, job creation, and wealth distribution. Kalonzo Musyoka's Wiper Democratic Movement emphasized good governance, national unity, and social welfare policies, aiming for political stability and economic progress. Moses Wetangula's Ford-Kenya historically championed social democracy, stressing issues like devolution and the empowerment of marginalized groups, with a focus on regional inclusivity. Gideon Moi's Kenya African National Union (KANU), under his leadership, aimed for centrism, prioritizing national unity and inclusive governance, departing from its historical conservative stance.

Range Mwita observed:

> The formation of OKA was a strategic move to unite these diverse ideological stances under a single umbrella, presenting a comprehensive platform addressing economic development, governance, social welfare, regional empowerment, and national unity. However, the success of OKA in the 2022 elections depended on its ability to

[739] Richard A Posner. *Law, Interpretivism, and democracy*. Harvard University Press, 2009.

> navigate internal ideological differences and maintain unity while resonating with voters across the spectrum.[740]

Range Mwita's observation on the formation of the One Kenya Alliance (OKA) aligns with political scientist Arend Lijphart's work on consociational democracy, which emphasizes the importance of inclusive power-sharing arrangements among diverse groups. Mwita's description of OKA as a "strategic move to unite these diverse ideological stances under a single umbrella" and its goal of presenting a "comprehensive platform" reflect Lijphart's consociational principles of grand coalition, proportionality, and segmental autonomy. However, Mwita's note on the need for OKA to navigate internal differences and maintain unity echoes Lijphart's recognition of the inherent challenges in managing conflicts within such power-sharing arrangements.[741]

This coalition exemplified the pragmatic nature of Kenyan politics, where alliances are forged based on shared objectives and the pursuit of political power rather than strict adherence to singular ideological frameworks. The ability of OKA to garner support and make a significant impact in the elections hinged on their capacity to sustain cohesion and effectively communicate their multi-faceted agenda to the electorate amidst a competitive political landscape.

The evolution of subsequent coalitions in Kenya, including the emergence of ODM, the success of the Jubilee Alliance, and the post-election realignments, showcases the prevalent trend of pragmatic politics. These alliances often transcend strict ideological boundaries, emphasizing the strategic pursuit of electoral victory and the consolidation of diverse political interests to attain political power in Kenya's dynamic political landscape.

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[740] Range Mwita, Oral Interview at CMD offices, Nairobi on 22nd Nov 2023.
[741] Arend Lijphart. Democracy in plural societies: A comparative exploration. Yale University Press, 1977.

4.4.5 Ethnicity and Regionalism in Party Identities

Despite the articulation of ideologies by political parties, ethnic and regional affiliations have remained influential in shaping party identities and voter bases.[742] Parties often leverage ethnic ties and regional interests to consolidate support, sometimes prioritizing these affiliations over strictly adhering to proclaimed ideologies. A prime example is the ethnic and regional alignment often seen within political parties. Parties tend to draw significant support from specific ethnic groups or regions, influencing their policy agendas and political strategies. The articulation of ideologies sometimes serves as a means to attract support rather than reflecting deeply ingrained beliefs.

David Burare in agreement with the foregoing argument during an oral interview as shown in Plate no. 5 observed that:

> The Party of National Unity, formed in the mid-2000s, was associated with the Kikuyu community, primarily due to the support of then-President Mwai Kibaki, himself a Kikuyu. Similarly, ODM garnered substantial support from the Luo community, largely due to its leader Raila Odinga's prominent Luo background. These parties' policies and alliances often echo the interests of their respective ethnic constituencies.[743]

[742] Elischer, Sebastian. Political parties in Africa: Ethnicity and party formation. Cambridge University Press, 2013.
[743] David Burare, Oral Interview at Upper Hill, Nairobi on 23rd November 2023.



Plate 5: The Researcher (left) interviewing National Deputy Secretary General of FORD-Kenya, David Burare (right) on Ethnicity and Regionalism in Party Identities in Kenya.

Similarly, Range Mwita commenting on ethnicity and regionalism recounted that ethnicity and regionalism have remained significant determinants in shaping party identities, political strategies, policy agendas, and voter bases in Kenya's political landscape. Despite parties articulating ideological principles, the influence of ethnic and regional affiliations often takes precedence, influencing various aspects of political dynamics in the country.[744] In the same vein, Koros claimed that:

> ...the Prime Minister can reap a huge number of Kalenjin votes if he names Mr. Kosgey his running mate but he will lose them all if he ignores Kosgey.[745]

The fusion of ethnicity and regionalism with political dynamics extends beyond Kenya, resonating in various countries worldwide. Nigeria, with its diverse ethnic composition, experiences political dynamics shaped by ethnic affiliations.[746] Parties often draw support

[744] Range Mwita, Oral Interview at CMD offices, Nairobi on 22nd November 2023.
[745] "Last ditch efforts to seal coalition deals" *Sunday Nation*, December 2, 2012. p.20
[746] Ukoha Ukiwo. "The study of ethnicity in Nigeria." *Oxford Development Studies* 33, no. 1 (2005): pp.7-

from specific ethnic groups, influencing political strategies and alliances. The People's Democratic Party (PDP) and the All Progressives Congress (APC) are examples of parties with diverse ethnic bases.

Sri Lanka, characterized by ethno-political tensions between the Sinhalese majority and Tamil minority, witnesses political parties aligning along ethnic lines.[747] The Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) draws support from the Sinhalese community, while the Tamil National Alliance (TNA) represents Tamil interests.[748] These global examples underscore the pervasive influence of ethnicity and regionalism on political landscapes. Despite the enunciation of ideological principles by political parties, the dominance of ethnic and regional affiliations often takes precedence, influencing party identities, electoral strategies, policy agendas, and voter bases across diverse nations.

Kenya's political sphere has long been characterized by the alignment of political parties with specific ethnic communities. For instance, ODM, historically associated with the Luo community due to its prominent leader Raila Odinga, has drawn considerable support from the Luo and allied communities in western Kenya. Similarly, the Jubilee Party, formed through a merger in 2016, has often been linked with the Kikuyu ethnic group owing to the leadership of Uhuru Kenyatta, a prominent figure from this community. These affiliations have shaped party identities and influenced electoral strategies, as parties often prioritize representing the interests of their core ethnic support bases over strictly adhering to ideological principles.

23.

[747] Piyarathne Deegalla Durage Anton. "Constructing commongrounds: everyday lifeworlds beyond politicised ethnicities in Sri Lanka." PhD diss., Macquarie University, 2022.

[748] N. Wijegoonawardana "The Success of Ethnically Based Political Parties: Case of Sri Lanka." (2020).

Regional considerations hold significant sway over the policy agendas of political parties in Kenya.[749] Parties frequently tailor their policies to address specific regional concerns or aspirations in a bid to consolidate support within those areas. For instance, parties might focus on promoting devolution and decentralized governance to appeal to regions seeking greater autonomy and equitable resource allocation among counties. Additionally, promises of region-specific infrastructure development projects, like road construction or improved access to utilities, serve as strategic tools to garner support from particular regions, highlighting how regionalism impacts parties' policy priorities.

While political parties often articulate ideologies, these pronouncements primarily serve as tools to attract support and differentiate themselves from competitors rather than genuinely representing deeply held beliefs. In the realm of coalition politics, parties frequently form alliances based on pragmatic interests rather than strict ideological compatibility. An apt illustration is NARC, which brought together diverse parties to challenge KANU's dominance. During election campaigns, parties might adapt their rhetoric or policy emphasis to appeal to various ethnic or regional groups, showcasing a pragmatic approach to secure a broader voter base rather than remaining steadfast to specific ideological principles.

John Kamande observed that;

> …despite the articulation of ideological assertions, ethnicity and regionalism exert a profound influence on the formation of party identities, policy agendas, and electoral strategies in Kenya. The alignment with ethnic groups and regions

[749] Gilbert M. Khadiagala "Regionalism and conflict resolution: Lessons from the Kenyan crisis." In *Kenya's Uncertain Democracy*, pp. 171-184. Routledge, 2013.

> significantly shapes party affiliations and priorities, often taking precedence over ideological beliefs…this intricate interplay between politics, identity, and representation underscores the profound impact of ethnicity and regionalism on Kenya's diverse socio-political landscape.[750]

As such, despite the prevalence of ethnic and regional affiliations, parties frequently articulate ideological positions to attract broader support.[751] However, the commitment to these ideologies may vary based on political expediency and electoral strategies rather than deeply held convictions. For instance, parties might advocate for themes such as economic liberalization, social welfare, or anti-corruption measures during campaigns to resonate with specific voter sentiments. Yet, once in power, the implementation of these proclaimed ideologies might be influenced by pragmatic considerations or coalition dynamics, leading to deviations or compromises.

In agreement with the foregoing argument, Range Mwita states that:

> The articulation of ideological assertions by political parties in Kenya often serves as a strategic tool to attract broader support and differentiate themselves in the political landscape. However, the commitment to these ideologies is frequently malleable and subject to pragmatic considerations rather than being staunchly held convictions.[752]

During electoral campaigns, political parties in Kenya therefore, often emphasize the need for economic liberalization, advocating for policies that promote free-market principles, entrepreneurship, and foreign investment. For instance, parties may promise to prioritize deregulation, privatization of state-owned enterprises, and tax reforms to stimulate economic growth and create job opportunities. One notable example is the commitment to

[750] John Kamande, Oral Interview at Uraia Trust offices, Nairobi on 24th November, 2023
[751] Sebastian Elischer. Political parties in Africa: Ethnicity and party formation. Cambridge University Press, 2013.
[752] Range Mwita, Oral Interview at CMD offices, Nairobi on 22nd November 2023.

economic reforms by NARC in the early 2000s, advocating for market-oriented policies to spur economic development.[753]

However, the translation of these proclaimed ideologies into concrete policy actions post-election witnessed deviations due to pragmatic considerations. Once in power, challenges in implementation or coalition dynamics necessitated compromises. For instance, despite the initial rhetoric, the full-scale implementation of comprehensive economic liberalization measures faced resistance or required adjustments to accommodate diverse stakeholder interests and coalition partners' preferences.

Parties in Kenya also frequently highlight social welfare initiatives and anti-corruption measures as key ideological pillars during electoral campaigns.[754] These assertions aim to appeal to the electorate's desire for improved social services and accountability in governance. Parties often promise robust social welfare programs, healthcare reforms, and pledges to combat corruption to win voter trust. An example was the commitment to anti-corruption measures by various parties, stressing the need for transparency and accountability.[755]

Mercy Cherubo in agreement observes that:

> The practical realization of these pledges might face challenges once in office. Political expediency, coalition dynamics, or entrenched systemic issues may hinder the effective implementation of anti-corruption policies, resulting in compromises or limited progress. Instances of

[753] National Rainbow Coalition (Kenya). 2002. Democracy and Empowerment : *Manifesto of the National Rainbow Coalition (Narc).* Nairobi: National Rainbow Coalition.
[754] Gladwell Otieno. "The NARC's anti-corruption drive in Kenya: somewhere over the rainbow?." *African Security Studies* 14, no. 4 (2005): pp.69-79.
[755] John Githongo. "Kenya's Fight against Corruption." *Center for Global Liberty & Prosperity* (2007).

> compromises in anti-corruption efforts have been observed in various administrations, where the implementation of comprehensive reforms faced obstacles due to vested interests or systemic challenges.[756]

During President Mwai Kibaki's tenure in Kenya, the establishment of the Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission (KACC) in 2003 reflected a strong commitment to combating corruption.[757] However, despite this initial dedication, the practical implementation of anti-corruption measures faced formidable challenges. The KACC encountered obstacles, including political interference, lack of independence, insufficient resources, internal conflicts, and allegations of corruption within the commission itself. These issues significantly undermined the effectiveness and credibility of the anti-corruption efforts, leading to protracted legal processes and minimal consequences for individuals involved in high-profile corruption cases.[758]

The compromised outcomes of the KACC's investigations and the inability to secure significant convictions highlighted the entrenched systemic issues within Kenya's anti-corruption frameworks.[759] Despite earnest efforts and the establishment of anti-corruption bodies, the complexities of political expediency, vested interests, and institutional challenges thwarted the successful execution of comprehensive reforms. This scenario demonstrated the struggles administrations faced in transforming anti-corruption pledges into substantial outcomes, showcasing compromises and limited progress in curbing corruption within the country.

Fred Nyongesa argues that:

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[756] O.I, Nyukuri Barasa, County hotel, Bungoma, 15th November, 2023.
[757] Donnet Rose Adhiambo Odhiambo. "The Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission of Kenya: A critical study." PhD diss., University of the Western Cape, 2016.
[758] Yusuke Ishikawa. "A Critical Analysis of Why Anti-Corruption Reforms in Kenya So Often Fail." PhD diss., University of Sussex, 2019.
[759] Ibid

> Political parties in Kenya articulate ideologies centered on economic liberalization, social welfare, and anti-corruption measures during electoral campaigns, the translation of these assertions into concrete policies post-election often encounters pragmatic challenges. The actual implementation might deviate or undergo compromises influenced by coalition dynamics, vested interests, and the complexities of governance, showcasing how ideological assertions are frequently adapted to suit political expediency rather than being steadfastly upheld.[760]

Based on the study findings, the study contends that while parties in Kenya articulate ideological positions, the political landscape has often been characterized by coalition formations driven by pragmatic interests rather than strict ideological adherence. Ethnic and regional affiliations continue to exert significant influence, shaping party identities, policy agendas, and voter bases. The articulation of ideologies serves as a means to attract support, but pragmatic considerations often play a pivotal role in actual governance and policy implementation.

4.4.6 Challenges of Ideological Consistency in Kenya

Kenyan politics grapples with the intricate balance between ideological consistency and the practical necessities of political maneuvering.[761] In this dynamic landscape, the pursuit of power, the art of coalition building, and the demands of governance frequently prompt political parties to adopt a pragmatic approach that sometimes deviates from strict ideological adherence. This complex interplay between ideology and Interpretivism poses several challenges, leading to blurred ideological lines, conflicting policy positions, and struggles in maintaining steadfast consistency.

[760] Fred Nyongesa, Oral Interview at REDO offices, Bungoma on 4th January 2023.
[761] Mercy K. Rweria. "The Implication of Transitional Politics on State Relations: A Case Study of Kenya1963-2017." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2017.

Coalition building stands as a cornerstone of Kenya's political landscape, often necessitating compromises and flexibility in ideological stances to accommodate a wide array of interests.[762] Alliances like the Azimio La Umoja or the Jubilee Coalition required parties to prioritize practical considerations to form a strong coalition capable of securing electoral victories.[763] However, this pragmatic approach could dilute the clarity of ideological positions as compromises were made to ensure unity among diverse factions.

Moreover, Kenya's political environment frequently revolves around ethnic affiliations, sometimes overshadowing ideological alignments.[764] Parties might prioritize ethnic support over ideological coherence, emphasizing identity-based connections rather than unwavering commitment to specific policy agendas. This emphasis on ethnicity can weaken the focus on consistent ideological principles.

The pursuit of power often drives political parties to alter their policy stances or compromise on their core ideologies.[765] During electoral campaigns, parties might promise policies that diverge from their fundamental beliefs, creating challenges when attempting to fulfill these promises without contradicting their ideological principles or facing practical constraints upon assuming power. Once in government, parties might encounter practical governance necessities or economic limitations that compel decisions conflicting with their stated ideologies. This can lead to deviations from initial ideological positions or the prioritization of short-term gains over long-term ideological consistency.

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[762] Okul, John O. "Electoral Reforms and Democratic Consolidation in Kenya, 1997–2017." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2020.
[763] Amos Tirra, Hannah Collins, Jacqueline McGlade, Henrietta Moore, and Arno Scharl. "Kenyan General Elections 2022: A game of pledges, promises and service to self-interest." (2023).
[764] Mariana Cifuentes Montoya. Negotiating Social Policies in Kenya: Aid, Ethnicity and Resource Struggles. 2012.
[765] Gilbert M Khadiagala. "Political movements and coalition politics in Kenya: entrenching ethnicity." South African Journal of International Affairs 17, no. 1 (2010): pp.65-84.

Furthermore, David Burare observes:

> The influence of individual leaders and their personalities can significantly impact party ideologies. Personal ambitions or preferences of political leaders might overshadow party ideologies, leading to shifts in policy focus or priorities, further complicating the maintenance of consistent ideological positions. Besides, he noted that parties might adjust their positions in response to public opinion or pressure from interest groups, reflecting responsiveness but potentially causing a lack of coherence or consistency in their ideological stance.[766]

The study observes that the interplay between Interpretivism and ideology in Kenyan politics remains a delicate balancing act, often resulting in challenges to maintaining unwavering ideological consistency.

According to the Centre for Multi-Party Democracy Chairman, Lawyer Justin Muturi:

> …most political parties are briefcase outfits and some of the offices they opened around the counties to meet registration requirements under the Political Parties Act have closed shops….while the country requires strong political parties with firm ideologies as institutions of public governance, a few of the parties are like personal property, associated with political names and that is why they are visible, the rest are shells..despite enactment of the political parties Act in 2008, which provided much needed state support for political parties the outfits are still in a sorry state. Financial support for political parties now comes from the tax payers. Political parties in the country are also supposed to be better managed maintain a member register and keep other records and books of account.[767]

In Kenya's political arena, therefore, the pursuit of power often takes precedence over maintaining strict ideological consistency, leading to blurred lines and compromises within coalitions. Political parties frequently prioritize forming coalitions for electoral success, setting aside ideological differences for strategic purposes.[768] A prime illustration of this

[766] David Burare, Oral Interview at Upper Hill, Nairobi on 23rd November 2023.
[767] "Law fails to instill sanity in political parties" *Standard on Sunday*, November 11, 2012. P.20
[768] Denis Kadima, and Felix Owuor. "Kenya's decade of experiments with political party alliances and

scenario can be found in the formation of broad alliances where parties with divergent ideologies unite, often to achieve a common political goal.

NARC established in 2002, serves as a notable example of such a coalition. NARC brought together disparate parties with varying ideological leanings, rallying around the shared objective of unseating the long-standing ruling party, KANU.[769] The success of NARC in the elections showcased the Interpretivism of integrating diverse ideologies to achieve a collective aim. However, the internal ideological diversity within this coalition posed challenges in maintaining a coherent policy direction once in power.

The compromises necessary to sustain such broad alliances often led to diluted ideological stances and policy inconsistencies. Despite the initial unity in pursuing electoral victory, the inherent ideological disparities among member parties within NARC became evident in governance. Conflicting views on critical policy issues, including economic reforms, devolution, and social welfare, made it challenging to articulate and implement a consistent and unified policy agenda.[770]

The need to accommodate diverse interests and viewpoints within the coalition sometimes resulted in policy compromises that deviated from the core ideologies of individual member parties. This blurred the ideological lines and made it difficult to present a cohesive and clear policy framework to address the nation's challenges effectively. Moreover, the pressures of coalition politics, where compromises are often required to maintain the coalition's stability, further contributed to diluted ideological positions. Parties within the coalition might prioritize preserving the alliance over adhering strictly to their

coalitions-motivations, impact and prospects." *Journal of African Elections* 13, no. 1 (2014): pp.150-180.
[769] Emily Cunningham. "Examining the success and failure of multiethnic coalition governments in Sub-Saharan Africa: The cases of Kenya and Senegal." (2014).
[770] Ibid

ideological principles, leading to policy shifts and inconsistencies that aimed at maintaining coalition cohesion.

Noah Wekesa remarks:

> …in essence, the NARC coalition exemplifies how the convergence of divergent ideologies for electoral success can lead to challenges in maintaining ideological coherence once in power. The compromises made to sustain broad alliances often result in diluted ideological stances and inconsistencies in policy implementation, highlighting the complexities and trade-offs inherent in coalition politics within Kenya's political landscape.[771]

Based on these revelations, the study contends that the complexities of coalition politics in Kenya's political landscape highlight the need for compromises and flexibility, often at the expense of ideological purity. The study's observations shed light on the realities of political Interpretivism and the challenges it poses to maintaining consistent ideological positions in the pursuit of power and governance.

4.4.6.1 The Shift of Ideological Positions for Political Gains

The challenges of maintaining ideological consistency in Kenya are further compounded by the tendency of political parties to shift their ideological positions strategically in pursuit of political advantages or to garner electoral support. This maneuvering often results in inconsistencies in the messaging and implementation of their proclaimed ideologies.

During electoral campaigns, political parties frequently tailor their rhetoric and policy emphases to resonate with diverse voter sentiments.[772] They might highlight themes such as economic liberalization, social welfare initiatives, or robust anti-corruption measures to appeal to specific segments of the electorate. However, once these parties secure power, the

[771] Noah Wekesa, Oral Interview in Kitale on 16th November, 2023.
[772] Geoffrey N Omondi. "The Influence of Political Party Marketing on Electoral Outcome in Kenya: a Case Study of Nairobi City County." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2022.

translation of these proclaimed ideologies into actionable policies may undergo alterations influenced by pragmatic considerations or the dynamics of coalition politics. For instance, anti-corruption measures have been a consistent theme in Kenyan political campaigns, with parties promising stringent actions against corruption to win public support. Nevertheless, the effective implementation of these measures often encounters challenges once parties assume office. Political expediency or systemic hurdles might lead to compromises or deviations from the initial commitment to tackling corruption.

Musikari Kombo revealed that;

> …While parties have championed anti-corruption as a core ideological stance, the actual enforcement of measures to combat corruption has often fallen short of public expectations. This disparity between rhetoric and action showcases the complexities involved in adhering to ideological commitments when confronted with the realities of governance.[773]

Moreover, shifts in ideological positions based on political expediency or coalition dynamics can create inconsistencies in policy implementation. Parties may prioritize short-term political gains or compromise on their proclaimed ideologies to maintain coalition cohesion or to navigate through governance challenges. This can lead to deviations from the original ideological positions articulated during campaigns, resulting in public skepticism and erosion of trust in political parties.

The strategic repositioning of parties for political gains or electoral support often leads to discrepancies between promised ideologies and actual policy implementations. The case of anti-corruption measures exemplifies how the commitment to proclaimed ideologies might waver due to pragmatic considerations or challenges in governance, contributing to the

[773] Musikari Kombo, Oral Interview at Lovington, Nairobi on 21st November, 2023.

broader challenge of maintaining consistent ideological coherence in Kenya's political landscape.

4.4.6.2 Challenges within Coalitions and Policy Conflicts

Within coalitions, conflicting ideological orientations among member parties often lead to policy conflicts and compromised governance. The Jubilee Alliance, formed by the union of the National Alliance (TNA) and the United Republican Party (URP), succeeded in securing electoral victories but faced challenges in maintaining ideological coherence.[774]

The alliance brought together parties with differing regional bases and ideological leanings, creating tensions over policy priorities and governance strategies. Conflicts between coalition partners, particularly regarding resource allocation, devolution, and governance approaches, showcased the difficulties in maintaining a unified policy direction within diverse coalitions.

Certainly, the challenges of maintaining ideological consistency in Kenya are notably evident within political coalitions, where conflicting ideologies among member parties often result in policy conflicts and compromised governance. One prominent example is the Jubilee Alliance, a coalition formed by the merger of the National Alliance (TNA) and the United Republican Party (URP). Despite achieving electoral victories, this alliance encountered significant hurdles in preserving ideological coherence.

The Jubilee Alliance brought together parties with divergent regional bases and ideological orientations. TNA, led by Uhuru Kenyatta, and URP, led by William Ruto, represented different constituencies and held varying policy priorities, which contributed to tensions

[774] "Party ideologies on death bed as political alliances take centre stage" *Standard on Sunday*, November 11, 2012. p.19

within the coalition. The amalgamation of these parties aimed to consolidate support from different regions and ethnic groups, but it also underscored the challenges of reconciling differing ideological perspectives.

Conflicts between coalition partners within the Jubilee Alliance were particularly evident in various policy domains.[775] Resource allocation was a significant point of contention, with disagreements arising over the equitable distribution of resources among different regions. The alliance struggled to reconcile differing views on how resources should be allocated, reflecting the challenges of maintaining a unified stance on this critical issue.

Devolution, a fundamental aspect of Kenya's governance structure, also became a point of conflict within the coalition.[776] Disagreements emerged regarding the extent of devolution, the allocation of powers to county governments, and the distribution of resources between the national and county levels. These differences in approach and priorities highlighted the complexities of implementing devolution while balancing diverse ideological perspectives within the coalition.

Moreover, governance strategies became a contentious issue among coalition partners. Disputes arose over the approaches to governance, including matters related to policy implementation, leadership roles, and decision-making processes. These internal conflicts and divergent views on governance further exemplified the challenges faced in maintaining a cohesive and unified policy direction within a coalition comprising parties with differing ideological orientations.

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[775] Etyang, Oita. "The Formation and Instability of Coalition Governments in Kenya." *The African Review* 49, no. 2 (2022): pp.167-194.
[776] Thomas Otieno Juma, Jacob K. Rotich, and Leonard Simiyu Mulongo. "Devolution and governance conflicts in Africa: Kenyan scenario." *Public Policy and Administration Research* 4, no. 6 (2014): pp.1-10.

Ultimately, the struggles within the Jubilee Alliance underscored the complexities inherent in managing divergent ideological orientations within a coalition. Conflicting policy priorities, particularly regarding resource allocation, devolution, and governance strategies, posed significant challenges to maintaining a coherent and unified policy direction.[777] The tensions and conflicts within the coalition highlighted the difficulties of reconciling divergent ideologies for effective governance and policy implementation in Kenya's political landscape.

Kenya's political landscape grapples with the intricate balance between pragmatic political necessities and ideological adherence.[778] The pursuit of power and coalition-building imperatives often lead to blurred ideological lines, shifts in ideological positions for political gains, and challenges within coalitions. While ideological consistency remains an ideal, the realities of coalition politics and governance exigencies frequently compel compromises, leading to complexities and conflicts in maintaining a steadfast ideological course. The interplay between Interpretivism and ideology continues to shape Kenya's political discourse, presenting ongoing challenges in achieving consistent and coherent governance rooted in unwavering ideological beliefs.

4.4.7 Ideological Shifts within Prominent Political Parties over Time

The political landscape in Kenya has witnessed notable shifts and adaptations in ideologies within prominent political coalitions over time. These shifts have often been influenced by various factors, including changes in leadership, electoral strategies, socio-political

[777] Thomas Otieno Juma, Jacob K. Rotich, and Leonard Simiyu Mulongo. "Devolution and governance conflicts in Africa: Kenyan scenario." *Public Policy and Administration Research* 4, no. 6 (2014): pp.1-10.
[778] Mercy K. Rweria, "The Implication of Transitional Politics on State Relations: A Case Study of Kenya1963-2017." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2017.

dynamics, and the pursuit of power. The study analyzed the evolution of ideologies within these coalitions to provide insight into Kenya's complex political dynamics:

During the formative years of Kenyan independence, the Kenya African National Union (KANU) under Jomo Kenyatta's leadership advocated for African socialism, a socio-political ideology centered on self-reliance, land reform, and the promotion of African identity.[779] This ideological framework aimed to address colonial injustices and foster economic development. Kenyatta's administration introduced land redistribution initiatives and implemented educational and infrastructural programs, reflecting a commitment to the principles of African socialism.

However, following Kenyatta's passing in 1978, Daniel Arap Moi succeeded him, heralding a significant shift in KANU's ideological trajectory. Under Moi's tenure, KANU underwent a transformative shift away from the ideals of African socialism toward a more authoritarian regime. The focus shifted from upholding ideological principles to consolidating political power. The regime initiated measures that curtailed political pluralism and dissenting voices, leading to a repressive political environment. One prominent example was the constitutional amendment in 1982, which established Kenya as a one-party state, effectively eliminating political pluralism and dissent. This move solidified KANU's dominance while suppressing alternative ideologies, thereby consolidating the party's power.

The Moi administration's approach emphasized control and suppression of dissent, resulting in severe restrictions on civil liberties and the stifling of democratic institutions.[780] Opposition figures, journalists, and activists critical of the government faced

[779] Peter Anyang'Nyong'o. A leap into the future: a vision for Kenya's socio-political and economic *transformation*. African Books Collective, 2007.
[780] Edwin A Gimode. "The role of the police in kenya's democratisation process." *Kenya: The struggle for*

intimidation, arrests, and even torture, creating an atmosphere of fear and limited expression. Furthermore, independent institutions such as the judiciary and the media underwent increased state control, eroding their autonomy and impeding their ability to act as checks on executive power. These actions underscored a departure from KANU's initial ideological tenets of African socialism, shifting the party's focus towards the maintenance of authority at the expense of democratic ideals and social justice.

The evolution of KANU's ideology from African socialism to authoritarianism during Moi's rule represents a significant departure from the party's original principles. The shift in focus from socio-economic development and equitable reforms towards political consolidation and suppression of dissent illustrates how the party prioritized power retention over the adherence to its initial ideological foundations.

Voter respondents contended that:

> …the complexities arising from the amalgamation of parties with differing regional bases and ideological leanings can indeed lead to conflicts over various policy areas, making it challenging to uphold a unified policy direction. As such, balancing pragmatic political necessities with ideological beliefs is crucial in navigating these challenges within coalitions like the Jubilee Alliance.[781]

Concurring with the foregoing observations, voters in FGD 4 remarked that the dynamic interplay between Interpretivism and ideology significantly influences Kenya's political landscape, shaping governance strategies and emphasizing the persistent challenge of achieving consistent and coherent governance while accommodating diverse ideological perspectives. They emphasized the importance of addressing conflicts and working towards maintaining a unified policy direction within coalitions as crucial elements for

democracy (2007): pp.227-262.

[781] FGD 2 at Kitale in Trans Nzoia County on 8th December 2023.

effective governance and successful policy implementation in the midst of managing divergent ideological orientations.[782]

4.4.7.1 Jubilee Party

The Jubilee Party, formed in 2016 through the merger of The National Alliance (TNA) and the United Republican Party (URP), initially espoused a center-right ideology emphasizing a pro-business approach, infrastructural development, and economic growth as its core agenda.[783] However, the party's ideological coherence encountered challenges as its trajectory unfolded.

The introduction of the Big Four Agenda, focusing on manufacturing, healthcare, housing, and food security, reflected a blend of developmental and welfare-oriented policies.[784] While these initiatives aimed to stimulate economic growth, they also underscored a commitment to addressing social welfare concerns, leading to a mixture of developmental and welfare-centric policies. This amalgamation of different policy priorities contributed to a certain blurring of the party's ideological positioning, departing from a strictly center-right economic focus.

Moreover, internal disputes within Jubilee and alliances with entities holding differing ideological inclinations contributed to perceptions of shifts in the party's ideological alignment. One prominent example was the Building Bridges Initiative (BBI), where Jubilee, led by President Uhuru Kenyatta, collaborated with opposition leaders, notably Raila Odinga of ODM.[785] This alliance, aimed at fostering national unity and addressing

[782] FGD 4 at Kamungunji in Nairobi County on 14th November 2023.
[783] Oita Etyang. The politics of coalition formation in Kenya: 1992-2017. University of Johannesburg (South Africa), 2021.
[784] https://dc.sourceafrica.net/documents/119133-Jubilee-Manifesto-2013.html. Accessed on 8/01/2024
[785] Albert Gordon Omulo. "Revisiting Kenya's defunct Building Bridges Initiative: Quest for justice, or Manipulation of collective memory for political expediency?" *Cogent Arts & Humanities* 10, no. 1 (2023):

governance challenges following the divisive 2017 elections, raised eyebrows due to the convergence of parties with differing ideological roots. Jubilee's partnership with ODM in the BBI process led to criticisms suggesting a dilution of the party's initial center-right ideological stance in pursuit of broader political objectives.

Additionally, internal disagreements and factionalism within Jubilee, resulting in rifts among party members and leadership, further contributed to the perception of the party undergoing ideological shifts. The emergence of different factions with varying views on governance, policies, and alliances depicted a degree of ideological divergence within the party, challenging its initial ideological coherence.

These instances collectively illustrated the challenges faced by the Jubilee Party in maintaining a clear and consistent ideological position. The blending of developmental and welfare-oriented policies, participation in alliances with parties of divergent ideological backgrounds, and internal disagreements all contributed to perceptions of shifts in the party's ideological alignment over time.

4.4.7.2 Orange Democratic Movement (ODM)

ODM under the leadership of Raila Odinga, has indeed portrayed itself as a center-left party, emphasizing social justice, democracy, and inclusivity.[786] However, its ideological consistency has faced challenges, particularly in instances where it has engaged in coalitions or collaborations that required compromising certain ideological principles for political expediency or broader objectives.

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[786] Jonyo, Silas O. "Politics of identity and ideology, political oratory of Raila Odinga and the manifesto of the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM)." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, Kenya, 2012.

One notable example of compromising ideological principles was ODM's involvement in the BBI. The BBI was a collaboration between President Uhuru Kenyatta's Jubilee Party and Raila Odinga's ODM, aiming to address various governance and constitutional issues following the divisive 2017 elections.[787] The initiative proposed constitutional amendments that sought to address electoral reforms, devolution, inclusivity, and other issues affecting Kenya's governance structure.

Commenting on the union between Jubilee alliance and ODM to forge the BBI agenda, Charles Matoke remarked that:

> While ODM historically championed democratic reforms, its participation in the BBI, which involved collaborating with Jubilee, a party it had previously opposed, raised questions about ideological consistency. By partnering with Jubilee, ODM compromised its stance as an opposition force and diluted its position as a check against the ruling party's policies and governance practices.[788]

ODM's participation in the BBI process led to perceptions of political maneuvering and strategic calculations rather than a strict adherence to its center-left ideological principles.[789] Some of ODM's supporters and observers viewed the collaboration as a departure from its traditional role as a staunch opposition party advocating for clear ideological positions and challenging the ruling government. While ODM's involvement in the BBI highlighted the party's willingness to engage in dialogue and pursue national unity, it also raised concerns about potential dilution of its ideological stance in favor of political alliances and compromises.

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[788] Charles Matoke, Oral Interview at UDA offices, Nairobi on 19th November 2023.

[789] https://web.archive.org/web/20080427184251/http://www.kenyavotes.org/node/107. Accessed on 13th November 2023.

This instance underscores the complexities that political parties like ODM face in maintaining ideological consistency while navigating the dynamics of coalition politics, alliances, and broader national interests. ODM's participation in the BBI process showcased the challenges parties encounter when balancing ideological principles with the need for political cooperation and achieving larger governance objectives.

4.4.7.3 Wiper Democratic Movement

The Wiper Democratic Movement, under the leadership of Kalonzo Musyoka, has exhibited a certain flexibility in its ideological positioning, often maneuvering between alliances that encompass different ideological orientations within Kenya's political landscape. Historically, the party has presented itself as center-left, emphasizing social welfare, inclusivity, and advocating for policies aimed at addressing the needs of marginalized communities. Its involvement in the Coalition for Reforms and Democracy (CORD) exemplified this alignment, as CORD, comprising parties like Raila Odinga's ODM and Moses Wetangula's Ford Kenya, emphasized democratic reforms, social justice, and rights advocacy, reflecting a center-left ideological leaning.[790] During its participation in CORD, Wiper's alignment with these shared ideals was evident.

These shifts in alliances, where Wiper engaged with groups holding differing ideological orientations, suggested a pragmatic approach aimed at maintaining political significance and leverage. While the party predominantly projected a center-left stance, its willingness to form diverse coalitions indicated a pragmatic adaptation to Kenya's political landscape, where securing influence within various governments or alliances might have taken

[790] Peter aNyaNg'NyoNg'o. "Political Parties and Coalition Politics in Kenyan General Election (s): The 2013. Presidential and General Elections." Kenya's 2013 General Election: Stakes, Practices and *Outcome* (2017).

precedence over strict adherence to a singular ideological position. However, these strategic moves also invited scrutiny regarding the party's unwavering commitment to a specific ideological orientation, prompting perceptions of pragmatic politics overshadowing ideological consistency.

4.4.7.4 Amani National Congress (ANC)

The Amani National Congress (ANC), under the leadership of Musalia Mudavadi, has positioned itself as a center-right party in Kenya's political sphere, emphasizing economic policies aimed at fostering growth, job creation, and fiscal responsibility.[791] However, the party's ideological consistency has encountered complexities due to its involvement in various political coalitions or alliances that might not entirely align with its initially professed ideology.

One significant instance illustrating ANC's adaptations and strategic alignments was its participation in different political coalitions that diverged from its presumed center-right positioning. For example, ANC played a key role in the National Super Alliance (NASA) ahead of the 2017 general elections.[792] As part of NASA, ANC joined hands with other opposition parties advocating for broader democratic reforms and social justice ideals. This collaborative effort within a coalition emphasizing progressive reforms raised questions about ANC's strict adherence to its professed center-right economic ideology.

Moreover, according to Range Mwita:

> ANC's involvement in the One Kenya Alliance (OKA), formed in 2021, highlighted the party's pragmatic approach to political partnerships. OKA brought together several

[791] Oita Etyang. The politics of coalition formation in Kenya: 1992-2017. University of Johannesburg (South Africa), 2021.
[792] Bwana, Ronald. "Politics of Direct Tickets." *Available at SSRN 4194694* (2022).

> opposition leaders and parties, including ANC, with the aim of consolidating opposition forces prior to the 2022 elections. Despite ANC's previous emphasis on economic growth and fiscal responsibility, its collaboration within OKA suggested a strategic move aimed at strengthening its political influence and electoral prospects, potentially surpassing rigid ideological boundaries for broader political objectives.[793]

ANC's engagements in these coalitions and alliances demonstrated the party's readiness to participate in strategic partnerships that might deviate from its originally professed center-right economic ideology. This adaptability and pragmatic approach underscored ANC's prioritization of political relevance, coalition-building, and overarching national interests over strict adherence to a singular ideological standpoint. These strategic alignments highlighted the intricate dynamics parties face in reconciling ideological principles with the necessity for political cooperation and achieving larger political goals within Kenya's diverse and evolving political landscape.

These major parties in Kenya have, at times, adjusted their ideological postures to navigate political landscapes, alliances, and electoral strategies. The pursuit of power-sharing arrangements, strategic alliances, and broader electoral coalitions often necessitates compromising on some ideological positions for the sake of political expediency or achieving short-term objectives. Moreover, Kenya's multi-party system and the need to build broad-based coalitions to secure electoral victories have often led to shifts and adaptations in the ideological positions of major parties, reflecting a pragmatic approach to governance and political maneuvering.

[793] Range Mwita, Oral Interview at CMD offices, Nairobi on 22nd November 2023.

4.4.8 Formation of Broad-Based Coalitions

The emergence of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) in Kenya represented a pivotal moment in the country's political landscape, marked by the formation of a broad-based coalition uniting diverse political entities against the entrenched dominance of the Kenya African National Union (KANU). NARC's formation was a response to the need for a united front to challenge KANU's long-standing grip on power.[794] While not anchored in a singular ideology, the coalition's formation underscored the pragmatic necessity of amalgamating disparate political ideologies for the shared objective of unseating the ruling party.

NARC's coalition comprised an array of parties, leaders, and interest groups, demonstrating a wide spectrum of political beliefs and motivations.[795] The coalition brought together parties such as the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), Democratic Party (DP), and smaller factions dissatisfied with KANU's dominance. These parties held varying ideological positions, ranging from advocates of democracy and political pluralism to those emphasizing good governance and economic reforms.

The unifying factor within NARC was the common goal of challenging KANU's rule in the 2002 general elections.[796] The coalition's platform emphasized themes of democratic reforms, good governance, social justice, and the need to address issues such as corruption and inequities in the political system. The diversity of NARC's member parties and leaders

[794] Conrad Bosire, and Assefa Fiseha. "Kenya's ethno-politics and devolved governance: The complexities and dilemmas of diversity and inclusion." In Contemporary Governance Challenges in the Horn of Africa, pp. 159-176. Routledge, 2022.
[795] Peter Wanyande, Walter Oyugi, and C. Odhiambo-Mbai. "*The Politics of Transition in Kenya: FROM* KANU To NARC." (2003).
[796] Shumbana Karume. "Factional intrigues and alliance politics: the case of NARC in Kenya's 2002 elections." *Journal of African Elections* 2, no. 2 (2003): 1-13.

allowed for a broad-based appeal to different segments of the electorate, creating a formidable force capable of challenging KANU's decades-long rule.

Holding a similar argument, Noah Wekesa provides:

> An illustrative example of NARC's success witnessed in the 2002 elections when Mwai Kibaki, the presidential candidate representing NARC, secured a landslide victory, marking an end to KANU's uninterrupted reign. The victory highlighted the efficacy of a diverse coalition in harnessing the collective strength of various ideological inclinations toward a common electoral objective. Moreover, NARC's ascendancy to power demonstrated the potential of cross-ideological alliances in Kenya's political landscape. Despite not being driven by a singular ideology, the coalition's success underscored the pragmatic need to unite divergent political interests under a common banner for the greater objective of effecting political change and democratic transition in the country.[797]

The formation of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) in Kenya marked a significant shift in the country's political dynamics, challenging the long-standing dominance of the Kenya African National Union (KANU). The coalition's amalgamation of diverse political entities underscored the pragmatic necessity of uniting varied ideologies to collectively contest KANU's grip on power. NARC's success in the 2002 elections, culminating in Mwai Kibaki's landslide victory, exemplified the effectiveness of a broad-based coalition in achieving a common electoral goal. This victory not only ended KANU's uninterrupted rule but also highlighted the potential of cross-ideological alliances in driving political change and democratic transition in Kenya.

4.4.8.1 Ideological Fractures within Coalitions

FORD emerged as a significant political force in the 1990s, driven by the shared vision of advocating for democratic reforms and equitable development.[798] However, despite its

[797] Noah Wekesa, Oral Interview in Kitale on 16th November, 2023.
[798] John O Okul. "Electoral Reforms and Democratic Consolidation in Kenya, 1997–2017." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2020.

initial cohesive ideological emphasis, FORD experienced profound internal ideological differences that led to fractures within the party, significantly weakening its impact and impeding its ability to maintain a coherent stance.

FORD was founded on the principles of democracy, human rights, and equitable development, seeking to challenge the authoritarian rule of the Kenya African National Union (KANU).[799] It initially attracted a diverse membership base, including prominent leaders such as Oginga Odinga, Kenneth Matiba, and Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, united by their commitment to democratic governance and political pluralism.

Internal ideological rifts within FORD began to surface due to divergent leadership ambitions, strategic differences, and varying ideological orientations among key figures within the party. The differences became apparent during the run-up to the 1992 elections when FORD split into two factions: FORD-Kenya led by Oginga Odinga and FORD-Asili led by Kenneth Matiba. This split was primarily due to disagreements over party leadership and the direction of the party's ideology.[800]

Reflecting on the split of FORD, Musikari Kombo noted:

> …..FORD's internal fractures significantly weakened the party's impact and its ability to maintain a coherent ideological stance. The division led to electoral setbacks, diminishing its capacity to challenge KANU's dominance effectively. The split of FORD into multiple factions diluted its strength and undermined the unity required to enact substantial democratic reforms and influence policymaking. Moreover, the internal divisions within FORD highlighted broader challenges faced by political coalitions in Kenya, underscoring the complexities of managing diverse ideological interests and leadership ambitions within a unified

[799] Ford Kenya. The Charter for the Second Liberation a Manifesto of the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-Kenya (Ford-K) 1992. 1992.
[800] Maurice Amutabi. "Beyond imperial presidency in Kenya: Interrogating the Kenyatta, Moi and Kibaki regimes and implications for democracy and development." *Kenya Studies Review* 1, no. 1 (2009): 55-84.

> political entity. The inability to reconcile these internal differences and maintain a cohesive ideological front weakened FORD's capacity to achieve its initial goals of advancing democratic reforms and equitable development.[801]

Ultimately, FORD's experience serves as a poignant example of how internal ideological fractures and leadership conflicts can impede a coalition's effectiveness, leading to fragmentation, diminished political influence, and challenges in upholding a coherent ideological stance in the pursuit of shared objectives.

The emergence of contemporary political alliances in Kenya, exemplified by the Coalition for Reforms and Democracy (CORD) and the National Super Alliance (NASA), marked a transformative period in the nation's political landscape. These coalitions shared a common focus on advocating for democratic reforms, good governance, and the redressal of perceived injustices within Kenya's political system.

CORD, established in 2013, and amalgamated parties like the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), Wiper Democratic Movement (WDM), and FORD-Kenya.[802] This coalition was driven by a commitment to championing democratic reforms and improving governance standards. CORD's primary objectives centered on challenging the existing political status quo by advocating for substantial electoral reforms and strengthening democratic institutions. Notably, the coalition engaged in various forms of activism, including street protests and legal actions, aimed at achieving electoral reforms following the contentious 2013 elections. These efforts sought to bring about changes in the electoral body and laws to ensure greater transparency and fairness in future electoral processes.

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[801] Musikari Kombo, Oral Interview at Lovington, Nairobi on 21st November, 2023.

[802] Peter aNyaNg'NyoNg'o. "Political Parties and Coalition Politics in Kenyan General Election (s): The 2013. Presidential and General Elections." Kenya's 2013 General Election: Stakes, Practices and *Outcome* (2017).

Similarly, the formation of NASA in the run-up to the 2017 elections comprised parties like ODM, WDM, FORD-Kenya, ANC, and other smaller parties.[803] NASA placed significant emphasis on inclusivity, striving to challenge perceived injustices while advocating for electoral integrity and social justice. The alliance continued the push for electoral reforms, actively engaging in legal battles and appeals to contest electoral outcomes and advocate for institutional changes to ensure free and fair elections.

Both CORD and NASA played pivotal roles in shaping the discourse of Kenyan politics, prioritizing democratic ideals, governance reforms, and the pursuit of social justice. These alliances mobilized supporters and stakeholders, advocating for reforms and holding the government accountable for perceived injustices. Despite facing electoral challenges and disputes, their existence underscored the significance of cross-party collaborations in advocating for reforms and fostering a more accountable and democratic political system in Kenya.

The formation of the Jubilee Party in Kenya represented an attempt to unite diverse ideological perspectives under a broad spectrum aimed at fostering national unity, economic development, and infrastructural projects. However, the party encountered challenges in maintaining a cohesive ideological stance due to the inherent diversity of interests within the coalition. The Jubilee Party, formed in 2016, resulted from the merger of several political entities, including the United Republican Party (URP) and The National Alliance (TNA). The amalgamation was envisioned as a platform to bring together different ethnic communities and political factions under common themes, aiming to promote unity and spur economic development across Kenya.

[803] Noyes, Alexander. "KENYA'S 2017 ELECTIONS." (2017).

One of the central tenets of Jubilee's ideological spectrum was the pursuit of national unity. The party's rhetoric and policy frameworks emphasized the importance of transcending ethnic divisions and promoting a shared national identity. However, reconciling the diverse interests and historical grievances among Kenya's various ethnic communities proved challenging, often leading to tensions within the party.

Economic development was another cornerstone of Jubilee's ideology, with a focus on fostering growth through ambitious infrastructural projects and economic reforms. The party advocated for initiatives such as the Standard Gauge Railway (SGR), road construction projects, and plans for industrialization aimed at stimulating economic progress and job creation. Nonetheless, the implementation of these projects faced criticism over issues of transparency, cost-effectiveness, and equitable distribution of resources, highlighting challenges in translating ideological goals into practical outcomes.

Moreover, the diverse interests represented within the Jubilee coalition posed challenges to maintaining ideological coherence. The party comprised individuals and factions with varying priorities and policy preferences, leading to internal disagreements and divergent viewpoints on key issues. This diversity sometimes resulted in conflicting approaches to governance and policy-making, hampering the party's ability to present a unified ideological front. An example demonstrating the adaptability and Interpretivism of the Jubilee Party was its willingness to adapt to changing political landscapes and electoral dynamics. The party's strategies evolved in response to shifting alliances and electoral exigencies, reflecting a pragmatic approach aimed at retaining political power.

The issue of party ideology above, focusing on the challenges faced by the Jubilee Party in Kenya in maintaining a cohesive ideological stance were put to members of focus group.

Voter respondents in FGD 4 supported the position that the diverse interests within the Jubilee coalition posed challenges to maintaining ideological coherence.[804] The party's composition of individuals and factions with varying priorities and policy preferences led to internal disagreements and divergent viewpoints on key issues, hindering the party's ability to present a unified ideological front.

On the other hand, voter respondents in FGD 1 dissented from this view, emphasizing a different perspective on the matter. Their viewpoint diverged from the notion that internal disagreements and diverse interests within the Jubilee coalition significantly impeded the party's ability to maintain a coherent ideological stance.[805] They likely presented an alternative interpretation or highlighted aspects where they believed the party's ideological coherence was not as compromised as suggested. The contrasting viewpoints within the focus discussion groups underscore the complexities and diverse opinions surrounding the challenges faced by political parties like the Jubilee Party in Kenya when it comes to maintaining a unified ideological direction amidst internal diversity and differing priorities.

In essence, while the Jubilee Party aimed to encompass a broad ideological spectrum emphasizing national unity, economic development, and infrastructure, maintaining coherence within such a diverse coalition proved challenging. The party encountered difficulties in reconciling conflicting interests and translating its broad ideological framework into unified policies and actions that effectively addressed the multifaceted challenges facing Kenya.

Overall, these shifts and adaptations within Kenya's political coalitions illustrate the dynamic nature of ideologies in response to changing circumstances, coalition dynamics,

[804] FGD 4 at Kamungunji in Nairobi County on 14th November 2023.
[805] FGD 1 at Kanduyi in Bungoma County on 13th September 2023.

and strategic political maneuvering. Ideological shifts have often been influenced by the pursuit of power, pragmatic considerations, and the need to appeal to diverse voter bases in Kenya's complex political landscape.

4.4.9 Case Studies Illustrating Successful Political Coalitions and their Ideological Underpinnings

This section provides an analysis of successful political coalitions, sheds light on their ideological underpinnings and how they navigated the complex socio-political landscape. Two prominent examples are the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) and the Jubilee Coalition, which achieved electoral success through different approaches to coalition-building and ideological frameworks.

4.4.9.1 National Rainbow Coalition (NARC)

NARC's formation in 2002 marked a turning point in Kenya's political history. Despite lacking a singular ideology, the coalition emphasized democratic reforms, good governance, and social justice.[806] Its primary goal was challenging the autocratic rule of the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and rectifying perceived injustices within the political system. NARC's success lay in its ability to unite disparate political entities and leaders behind a common goal, transcending ideological differences.[807] By presenting a broad platform appealing to diverse voters disillusioned with KANU, NARC's pragmatic approach led to a resounding victory in the 2002 elections, ending KANU's long reign and marking a shift in Kenya's political landscape.

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[806] Shingai Price, Mutizwa-Mangiza. "Political party institutionalization: A case study of Kenya." PhD diss., Rhodes University, 2013.

[807] Peter Wanyande, Walter Oyugi, and C. Odhiambo-Mbai. "*The Politics of Transition in Kenya: from* KANU to NARC." (2003).

4.4.9.2 Jubilee Coalition

Formed in 2013, the Jubilee Coalition aimed to unify Kenya's diverse ethnic communities under themes of national unity, economic development, and infrastructure projects. It aspired to foster a shared national identity while prioritizing economic growth through transformative infrastructure initiatives. Jubilee's success was attributed to its broad-based appeal, promising infrastructural projects to stimulate economic development. However, maintaining ideological coherence within the coalition posed challenges due to divergent interests. Despite presenting a vision for national unity and economic prosperity, internal tensions and disagreements surfaced within the coalition.

These case studies underscore the significance of coalition-building strategies that balance ideological convergence with pragmatic appeals. Successful political alliances in Kenya bring together diverse ideologies to focus on common goals. By appealing to a wide range of people, they gather support during elections and work together to tackle important social and political problems.

4.4.10 Case Studies Illustrating Unsuccessful Coalitions and their Ideological Underpinnings

Examining failed political coalitions in Kenya unveils the challenges stemming from internal discord and ideological discrepancies. Two significant case studies, the Coalition for Reforms and Democracy (CORD) and the Amani Coalition, elucidate the difficulties faced by these alliances despite initial promises and ideological frameworks.

4.4.10.1 Coalition for Reforms and Democracy (CORD)

CORD, established in 2013, comprised key parties like the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), Wiper Democratic Movement (WDM), and FORD-Kenya. The coalition's focus

on democratic reforms, good governance, and social justice served as the cornerstone of its ideological foundation. Despite these noble aspirations, internal strife and leadership conflicts plagued CORD. The coalition grappled with divergent ambitions among its leaders, leading to infighting and disagreements over strategic decisions.[808] These internal fractures weakened CORD's unity, obstructing its ability to present a coherent front and ultimately diminishing its effectiveness and impact.

4.4.10.2 Amani Coalition

The Amani Coalition, formed ahead of the 2013 elections, united parties like the United Democratic Forum (UDF) and other smaller factions.[809] The coalition espoused peace, reconciliation, and development as its ideological pillars, seeking to foster national healing and unity. However, the coalition encountered challenges translating its ideological objectives into tangible outcomes. A lack of resonance with a broad voter base and a failure to communicate a compelling alternative vision marred the coalition's impact. Internal discord further compounded its struggles, preventing the formation of a unified, persuasive message and eroding the coalition's ability to garner substantial electoral support.

These case studies underscore internal conflicts, leadership disputes, and the inability to articulate a clear and resonant ideological message as critical factors contributing to the downfall of political coalitions in Kenya. Ideological divergence and an inability to manage internal dynamics significantly undermined the effectiveness of these alliances.

[808] Peter Lockwood. "'Before there is power, there is the country': civic nationalism and political mobilisation amongst Kenya's opposition coalitions, 2013–2018." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 57, no. 4 (2019): pp.541-561.
[809] Ratidzo Chido Makombe. "Election observation and monitoring in the midst of Kenyan elections: The case study of 1997 to 2013 elections." PhD diss., 2019.

In essence, these unsuccessful coalitions highlight the importance of fostering internal cohesion, effective leadership collaboration, and presenting a coherent and compelling ideological vision. Failure to address internal disputes and convey a unified message weakened these alliances, impeding their ability to translate ideological frameworks into appealing platforms for the electorate.

4.4.11 Role of Party Ideologies in Shaping Political Discourse in Kenya

Political ideologies have played a critical role in shaping political discourse in Kenya. The study sought to identify some of the ways in which party ideologies have shaped political discourse in Kenya:

4.4.11.1 Providing a Framework for Political Debate

Party ideologies in Kenya act as a foundation for policy formulation and influence the selection of topics for political debate.[810] For instance, parties with a focus on economic liberalism may emphasize free-market policies, privatization, and deregulation, leading to debates on economic freedom, entrepreneurship, and market-oriented reforms. The Jubilee Party's emphasis on economic growth and development during the 2017 elections shaped the discourse, focusing on policies to boost the economy, create jobs, and enhance infrastructure.

Party ideologies play a critical role in electoral campaigns, where they are highlighted to attract voters and differentiate a party from its competitors.[811] Ideologies help parties create a unique narrative and vision for the nation, ultimately shaping political discourse during

[810] Merilee S Grindle, and John W. Thomas. "Policy makers, policy choices, and policy outcomes: The political economy of reform in developing countries." *Policy sciences* 22, no. 3-4 (1989): pp.213-248.
[811] Bonnie M Meguid. "Competition between unequals: The role of mainstream party strategy in niche party success." *American political science review* 99, no. 3 (2005): pp.347-359.

the campaign period. During the 2013 elections, CORD emphasized social justice, equity, and inclusive economic growth, influencing the campaign discourse.

Party ideologies guide voter perceptions and choices by presenting a clear ideological stance.[812] Voters often align with parties whose ideologies resonate with their own beliefs and values, thereby shaping political discourse both at the individual and community levels. ODM appealed to voters with a more progressive ideology, focusing on social democracy and inclusive policies. This ideological orientation impacts voter discussions and choices.

Party ideologies influence coalition building and alliances.[813] Parties with aligned ideologies are more likely to form successful coalitions, promoting their shared vision and policy agenda. Conversely, coalitions involving parties with differing ideologies may face challenges in maintaining unity and coherence. The formation of the Jubilee Alliance in 2013 brought together parties with differing ideologies such as (URP and TNA), necessitating compromises to establish a common policy framework.

The study holds the view that party ideologies in Kenya provide a framework for political discourse by defining policy agendas, guiding electoral strategies, shaping voter perceptions, and influencing coalition dynamics. They play a pivotal role in determining the direction of political debates and discussions, impacting the nation's governance and policy trajectory.

[812] Pamela Johnston Conover. "Political cues and the perception of candidates." *American Politics Quarterly* 9, no. 4 (1981): pp.427-448.
[813] Leonardo R Arriola. "Capital and opposition in Africa: Coalition building in multiethnic societies." *World Politics* 65, no. 2 (2013): pp.233-272.

4.4.11.2 Shaping Public Opinion

Party ideologies in Kenya provide the foundation for policy formulation and development.[814] Ideologies such as socialism, liberalism, conservatism, or regionalism guide the development of policy agendas. These policy proposals and stances presented by parties shape public opinion on key issues. The emphasis on land reforms and social welfare by parties like ODM under a socialist-leaning ideology influences public opinion on issues related to land ownership and equitable resource distribution.

According to Lynch, Party ideologies create distinct narratives that resonate with specific segments of the population.[815] Different parties use their ideologies to create stories and messages that connect with the public, influencing their perceptions and opinions regarding governance, socio-economic issues, and national identity. The Jubilee Party's narrative in 2013 and 2017 emphasized economic growth, development, and unity, appealing to a demographic seeking stability and prosperity.

Pius Mutai alluded to claims that:

> Parties use their ideologies to mobilize public support and create a sense of unity among their supporters. By aligning with a particular ideology, parties appeal to like-minded individuals and communities, consolidating their base and influencing their collective opinion on various issues… PNU mobilized support around a conservative ideology, attracting voters seeking a more traditional and stable approach to governance.[816]

[814] Aaron Mulyanyuma Ayeta, Were Edmond Maloba, and Okoth Pontian Godfrey. "Analysis of political parties ideologies influencing public policy formulation in Ugandas Nascent Hydrocarbon Industry." African Journal of Political Science and International Relations 13, no. 5 (2019): pp.73-93.
[815] Gabrielle Lynch. "Negotiating ethnicity: Identity politics in contemporary Kenya." *Review of African political economy* 33, no. 107 (2006): pp.49-65.
[816] Pius Mutahi, Oral Interview at Sirikwa hotel, Eldoret on 12th November, 2023

Party ideologies are communicated and propagated through media platforms.[817] Parties use media to articulate their ideologies, policies, and values, shaping public discourse by setting the agenda for discussions and debates. Parties utilize televised debates, interviews, and social media to articulate their ideological positions, influencing public opinion on a range of issues. Party ideologies in Kenya shape political discourse by defining policy agendas, creating distinct narratives, mobilizing public support, and influencing media framing. They play a critical role in shaping public opinion on various issues, ultimately affecting the nation's political climate.

4.4.11.3 Defining Policy Agendas and Public Perception

Party ideologies serve as a compass guiding policy formulation and development.[818] These ideologies often stem from a party's historical roots, leadership, and core beliefs. For instance, parties adhering to a socialist ideology may prioritize policies related to wealth redistribution and public ownership of key sectors, influencing public opinion on issues of social justice and economic equality. ODM, drawing from a center-left ideology, has championed policies focused on social welfare, economic equity, and land reforms, shaping public opinion regarding issues of social and economic justice.

Party ideologies enable the creation of unique narratives that resonate with specific segments of the population.[819] These narratives often revolve around the party's ideological beliefs and policy objectives. Parties craft compelling stories to present their vision for the country, influencing public perception and opinion on various political and social issues. The Jubilee Party's narrative in the 2013 and 2017 elections emphasized economic growth,

[817] Petty Christa Awuor Odinga. "Use of new media during the Kenya elections." (2013).
[818] Robert A Jones, and Robert A. Jones. "The Ideological Dimension." *The Soviet Concept of Limited* Sovereignty from Lenin to Gorbachev: The Brezhnev Doctrine (1990): pp.96-111.
[819] Simiyu Wandibba. "Power Narratives and Political Campaigns in Kenya." *Journal of Language,* Technology & Entrepreneurship in Africa 14, no. 1 (2023): pp.48-57.

job creation, and infrastructure development. This narrative appealed to a demographic seeking stability and prosperity, shaping public opinion in favor of the party.

Party ideologies are communicated to the public through various media channels, including newspapers, television, radio, and social media.[820] Parties use these platforms to articulate their ideologies, policies, and values, thereby shaping public discourse. The media amplifies and disseminates these ideologies, impacting public opinion and framing the discussion around specific issues. During electoral campaigns, political parties in Kenya utilize televised debates, interviews, and social media to articulate their ideological positions, influencing public opinion on a wide range of issues.

Party ideologies in Kenya significantly influence political discourse and public opinion by defining policy agendas, crafting distinct narratives, mobilizing public support, and shaping media framing. These ideologies are essential in shaping the nation's political landscape and influencing the views and decisions of the public.

4.4.11.4 Influencing Policy Decisions

Party ideologies play a vital role in setting the policy agenda by defining core beliefs, values, and policy priorities. Ideologies guide parties in choosing policy areas to emphasize. For instance, a party following a socialist ideology might prioritize policies that focus on income redistribution, social welfare, and public ownership of key sectors. ODM in Kenya, embracing a center-left ideology, often emphasizes policies aimed at reducing

[820] Martin Nkosi Ndlela. "Social media and elections in Kenya." In *The Routledge companion to social media and politics*, pp. 460-470. Routledge, 2015.

income inequality, enhancing social welfare, and advocating for equitable resource distribution. This ideological orientation significantly influences the party's policy decisions and legislative proposals.

Ideological differences among political parties fuel policy debates and discussions.[821] These debates showcase contrasting views based on distinct ideologies, leading to a richer evaluation of policy options. Public discourse on policy matters is significantly influenced by these ideological differences. During the 2017 election campaign in Kenya, the Jubilee Party, with a pro-business ideology, emphasized economic growth, job creation, and infrastructure development as core policy priorities. In contrast, NASA advocated for a more inclusive economic model that focused on social justice and wealth redistribution.

The study holds the view that party ideologies have a direct impact on how policies are implemented and translated into legislation. The ideology of the ruling party or coalition often determines the direction and priorities of policy implementation, as well as the legislative agenda pursued in the parliament. The implementation of free primary education by NARC government after the 2002 elections, aligned with their ideology of enhancing social equality and opportunity for all.

Party ideologies shape public discourse by framing how policy issues are presented and discussed in the media and public forums. The framing of policy debates is influenced by the party's ideological lens, affecting public understanding and opinion on specific policies. During the 2010 constitutional referendum in Kenya, the debate on land reforms was framed differently by various parties based on their ideologies and interests. This framing

[821] Angelique Haugerud. *The culture of politics in modern Kenya*. Vol. 84. Cambridge University Press, 1997.

significantly impacted public opinion and shaped the discourse surrounding land-related policies.

Party ideologies in Kenya play a crucial role in shaping political discourse and influencing policy decisions. They guide policy agendas, fuel debates, influence policy implementation, and frame public discourse, ultimately shaping the nation's policy landscape.

4.4.11.5 Fostering Political Competition

Party ideologies in Kenya define clear policy agendas and objectives that guide their actions and campaigns.[822] Different parties may have distinct ideological stances, which shape their approaches to issues such as governance, the economy, social welfare, and more. ODM, with a center-left ideology, emphasizes policies that address income inequality, social welfare, and equitable resource distribution.[823] This distinct ideological stance sets them apart and creates competition with parties advocating different policy directions.

Scoring the role of party ideologies, Japheth Ojijo postulates that:

> Party ideologies play a crucial role in shaping clear policy agendas and objectives. These ideologies define the party's fundamental beliefs and values, which in turn guide their policy goals and action plans. For instance, a party with a socialist ideology may prioritize policies that focus on income redistribution, public ownership of essential services, and social welfare programs. ODM, embraces a center-left ideology, which emphasizes policies aimed at reducing income inequality, enhancing social welfare, and advocating for equitable resource distribution. This

[822] Sebastian Elischer. "Measuring and comparing party ideology in nonindustrialized societies: taking party manifesto research to Africa." *Democratization* 19, no. 4 (2012): pp.642-667.
[823] George Odhiambo Okoth, and Gordon Onyango Omenya. "New Constitution, Odingaism and the State of Internal Democracy in Orange Democratic Movement and its Effects on the 2013 Elections in Kenya." Kenya's Past as Prologue: Voters, Violence and the 2013 General Election (2015): p.190.

> ideological orientation sets them apart from parties with different policy foci, thereby fostering competition based on policy directions.[824]

Party ideologies fuel intense policy debates and discussions on critical issues. The ideological differences among political parties lead to vigorous debates that showcase competing visions and policy alternatives.[825] These debates help citizens understand the various ideological stances and make informed choices during elections. The policy debates during the 2017 Kenyan elections were influenced by clear ideological differences.[826] The Jubilee Party emphasized a pro-business approach, advocating for economic growth through private sector development, while NASA advocated for a more inclusive economic model focusing on social justice and wealth redistribution. These contrasting ideologies led to extensive policy debates, allowing citizens to evaluate and choose based on their ideological alignment.

Kenya's political landscape is characterized by a diverse ideological spectrum, enabling citizens to have a range of political choices.[827] Parties with differing ideologies create competition by presenting varied policy alternatives, allowing voters to select parties aligning with their values and preferences. The existence of parties like Jubilee Party, associated with center-right ideologies, and ODM, associated with center-left ideologies, offers voters distinct ideological choices, fostering political competition.

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[824] Japheth Ojijo, Oral Interview in Migori on 8th January 2024

[825] Angelique Haugerud. *The culture of politics in modern Kenya*. Vol. 84. Cambridge University Press, 1997.

[826] https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17531055.2019.1594072. Accessed on 9/01/2024

[827] Jacob Mwathi Mati. "Civil Society in 'Politics' and 'Development'in African Hybrid Regimes: The Kenyan Case." VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations 31, no. 4 (2020): pp.674-687.

Kenya's political landscape is characterized by a diverse range of party ideologies, allowing citizens a broad spectrum of political choices.[828] Parties with varying ideologies present contrasting policy alternatives, enabling voters to choose based on their alignment with specific ideologies and policy preferences. The existence of parties like the Jubilee Party, associated with center-right ideologies, and ODM, associated with center-left ideologies, provides voters with diverse ideological choices. This diversity fosters political competition, as parties compete to attract voters who align with their respective ideologies.

David Burare argued:

> Ideological differences often lead to coalition-building efforts, particularly when parties realize the strength of uniting with like-minded parties to amplify their electoral impact. By forming coalitions based on shared ideologies, parties aim to consolidate ideological support and compete effectively against parties with opposing ideologies. NASA coalition formed for the 2017 general elections, uniting parties with aligned ideologies such as ODM and WDM. This coalition sought to pool their ideological strengths and enhance their competitiveness in the electoral arena.[829]

The foregoing observation on the role of ideological alignment in coalition-building efforts aligns with the theory of political coalition, specifically the concept of policy-seeking coalitions. Burare's example of the NASA coalition in Kenya, uniting parties with shared ideological positions to consolidate their support and enhance electoral competitiveness, reflects the theoretical proposition that political parties form coalitions based on their shared policy preferences and the strategic advantage of pooling ideological strengths.[830] The stability and durability of such policy-seeking coalitions are heavily dependent on the

[828] Adams Oloo. "Party mobilization and membership: Old and new identities in Kenyan politics." Tensions and Reversals in Democratic Transitions (2010): pp.31-61.

[829] David Burare, Oral Interview at Upper Hill, Nairobi on 23rd November 2023.

[830] Riker, William H. *The Theory of Political Coalitions*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1962.

maintenance of ideological compatibility and the ability to resolve internal disagreements, as suggested by the broader framework of the theory of political coalition.

The study observes that party ideologies in Kenya play a significant role in shaping political discourse and fostering political competition. They define policy agendas, fuel debates, provide diverse ideological choices to voters, and encourage coalition-building, ultimately enriching the democratic process.

4.4.12 Chapter Summary

This chapter examined how party ideologies have shaped the development of political coalitions in Kenya since 1945, tracing their evolution from nationalist and ethnic-based movements to the contemporary landscape of coalition politics driven by pragmatic interests rather than strict ideological compatibility. It highlighted the challenges coalitions face in maintaining ideological consistency, the influence of ethnicity and regionalism on party identities, and the role of party ideologies in shaping political discourse, policy agendas, public opinion, and political competition in Kenya's dynamic political landscape. The next chapter evaluates the impact of party discipline on durability of political coalitions in Kenya since 1945.

CHAPTER FIVE

PARTY DISCIPLINE AND POLITICAL COALITIONS IN KENYA SINCE 1945

5.1 Introduction

This chapter evaluated how party discipline has impacted political coalitions in Kenya since 1945. It delved into the complex interplay between internal party coherence and the durability of coalitions, examining how the enforcement or lack of party discipline have shaped the formation, stability, and dissolution of alliances. Through this exploration, the study sought to unravel the complexities underlying Kenya's political dynamics, highlighting the pivotal role of party discipline in influencing the endurance and effectiveness of political coalitions throughout the nation's history.

The study adopted an interpretivism research philosophy, utilizing diverse methodologies such as interviews, discourse analysis, and historical contextualization to interpret both subjective and objective meanings related to party discipline in Kenya. This approach emphasized understanding the real-world implications of party discipline and coalition politics, rather than relying solely on abstract theories. The Social Exchange Theory enriched the analysis by focusing on the costs, benefits, and fairness within political alliances. Additionally, the historical research design employed surveys, interviews, and archival data to present a comprehensive overview of historical trends, highlighting the influence of party discipline on Kenya's evolving political landscape.

5.2 Party Discipline in Kenyan Politics

Party discipline refers to the adherence and obedience of members within a political party to the rules, decisions, policies, and directives set forth by the party's leadership or governing body.[831] It encompasses several key elements that contribute to maintaining unity and coherence within the party structure.

In Kenya, political parties often operate with a hierarchical structure where the leadership holds significant decision-making power.[832] The centralized decision-making process enables the leadership to dictate the party's direction, policies, and strategies. For instance, the dominance of the party leadership in decisions regarding candidate selection, policy formulation, and strategic directions has been evident in various Kenyan political parties.[833] The ability of party leaders to sway members' opinions and actions demonstrates the influence of leadership authority on party discipline.

Political parties expect their members to support and promote the party's official stance on various political issues and policies.[834] This includes voting behavior in legislative bodies where members are expected to align their votes with the party's position. Notably, during critical parliamentary votes or debates, parties like the Jubilee Party and ODM have enforced strict adherence to party lines, ensuring that their members vote as per the party's directives.

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[831] Christopher Kam. "Party discipline." *The Oxford handbook of legislative studies* (2014): pp.399-417.
[832] Mordechai Tamarkin. "The roots of political stability in Kenya." *African affairs* 77, no. 308 (1978): 297-320.
[833] Kipruto RA Kirwa. "The Role of Political Parties in Enhancing Democratic Governance in Africa: a Case of Kenya." PhD diss., university of Nairobi, 2018.
[834] Sebastian Elischer. "Ethnic coalitions of convenience and commitment: Political parties and party systems in Kenya." (2008).

The existence of party constitutions and bylaws in Kenya establishes the framework for regulating the behavior and responsibilities of party members.[835] For instance, these internal regulations outline procedures for disciplinary actions against members who violate party rules. The ethical standards set by parties also emphasize maintaining a positive public image. Instances of parties invoking their codes of conduct to discipline members involved in corrupt practices or unethical behavior illustrate the importance of internal regulations.

Kenyan political parties employ both incentives and sanctions to enforce party discipline.[836] Members who consistently adhere to party directives may receive incentives such as positions of authority or other rewards. Conversely, parties have utilized disciplinary actions such as reprimands, suspensions, or expulsions to deal with members who defy party discipline. For example, the removal of members who engaged in activities contrary to the party's principles or challenged its leadership demonstrates the enforcement of discipline within parties. In line with this, ODM expelled five rebel members from the party (Gideon Ochanda- Bondo MP, Tom Ojienda-Kisumu Senator, Elisha Odhiambo-Gem, Caroli Omondi –Suba South and Phelix Odiwour- Lang'ata) after it was noted that they were cooperating with the government (the Kenya Kwanza government).[837]

Party discipline emphasizes the collective interests of the party over individual or factional interests.[838] This principle fosters unity among members, enabling the party to present a

[835] Elisha Z. Ongoya, and Willis E. Otieno. "Handbook on Kenya's Electoral Laws and Systems: Highlights of the Electoral Laws and System established by and under the Constitution of Kenya 2010 and other Statutes." (2012).
[836] Muna W. and Babamaragana, L.A., 2021. Governance Without Participation: A Comparative Perspective of the Policies of Nigerian and Kenyan Political Parties. *A Sleeping Giant? Nigeria's Domestic* and International Politics in the Twenty-First Century, pp.113-127.
[837] Harold Odhiambo & Anne Atieno, "ODM rebels fight back". *The Standard*. September 8, 2023. Pp1, 8-9.
[838] Owens Contexts John E. "Explaining party cohesion and discipline in democratic legislatures: purposiveness and contexts." In *Cohesion and Discipline in Legislatures*, pp. 20-48. Routledge, 2005.

cohesive front. Instances where party members set aside personal differences to support the party's agenda, especially during electoral campaigns, illustrate the importance of cohesion for achieving common objectives. Effective communication channels are crucial for disseminating party directives clearly to all members. Kenyan parties have utilized various means such as party meetings, official statements, and media platforms to communicate their messages. Consistency in messaging ensures that party directives are uniformly understood and followed by all members.

Kenyan political parties often espouse specific ideologies and principles.[839] Members are expected to align themselves with these ideologies, contributing to a shared vision for the party's future. Parties with well-defined ideologies tend to attract members who resonate with their beliefs and principles, facilitating a stronger sense of commitment and unity. External factors like pressure groups, interest groups, media, and donors can pose challenges to maintaining party discipline. The influence of external interests may sometimes clash with the party's internal dynamics, leading to tensions within the party structure.

Participants from all four focus group discussions unanimously emphasized the critical importance of party discipline in maintaining unity, coherence, and adherence to rules, decisions, and policies within political parties. They recognized that party discipline is essential for upholding ideology, fostering internal cohesion, ensuring effective governance, organizational stability, enhanced decision-making, policy consistency, order within the party structure, accountability, conflict prevention, party effectiveness, and overall influence and credibility. In conclusion, the respondents highlighted party

[839] Moses James Olenyo Malande. "A linguistic study of Kenyan political party names, symbols, colours and slogans." Unpublished, PHD Thesis, Kenyatta University (2018).

discipline as a fundamental element in Kenyan political party operations, crucial for upholding leadership authority, unity, and advancing the party's objectives through coordinated actions and coherent decision-making.

The study holds the view that Party discipline in Kenyan politics is a complex interplay of various elements that aim to ensure unity, coherence, and effectiveness within political parties. Kenya's political history illustrate how these elements have shaped party dynamics, highlighting the significance of maintaining discipline for the functioning and stability of political parties in the country.

5.3 Historical Perspectives on Party Discipline and Coalition Politics in Kenya

The historical perspectives on party discipline and coalition politics in Kenya have been shaped by a complex interplay of factors, including colonial legacies, post-independence political developments, ethnic dynamics, and changing sociopolitical landscapes. To understand the evolution of party discipline in Kenya, the study examined key historical phases and notable instances that have influenced the practice of discipline within political parties.

5.3.1 Party Discipline and Coalition Politics in Kenya During the Colonial Era

Since 1945, party discipline played a crucial role in shaping the dynamics of political parties, associations, and movements. The level of discipline within these organizations influenced their internal cohesion, decision-making processes, and overall effectiveness in pursuing their objectives. Political parties such as KAU and KANU relied on strong party discipline to maintain unity among members and coordinate efforts effectively in the fight

against colonial rule.[840] Disciplined structures within these parties helped mobilize support and uphold ideologies essential for advancing the cause of independence.

Associations and movements like the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) and the Mau Mau Movement also demonstrated the impact of party discipline.[841] The KCA, advocating for Kikuyu land rights and representation, benefited from disciplined members adhering to organizational objectives, enhancing its influence within the Kikuyu community. Similarly, the Mau Mau Movement, although not a traditional political party, exhibited a high level of discipline among its members. This discipline contributed to the movement's resilience in confronting challenges during the struggle against British colonial rule. In reference to Mau Mau, an informant observed:

> …the Mau Mau Movement demonstrated a high level of discipline among its members, crucial for its resilience in facing challenges during the struggle against British colonial rule in Kenya. This discipline was maintained through mechanisms such as the strict administration of an oath of secrecy, a hierarchical organizational structure with clear leadership roles, enforcement of disciplinary measures for violations, ideological indoctrination, and the promotion of mutual support and solidarity among members. These strategies ensured cohesion, commitment, and unity within the movement, contributing significantly to its ability to withstand obstacles and maintain focus on the goal of liberation from colonial oppression.[842]

Similarly, in his analysis of the Mau Mau uprising, Anderson emphasizes the movement's sophisticated organizational structure and operational tactics as key factors in its resilience and effectiveness against British colonial rule. Anderson notes that the Mau Mau employed

[840] Josh Maiyo. "Political Parties and Intra-Party Democracy in East Africa." *From Representative to* Participatory Democracy (2008).
[841] Gilbert Kushner. "An African Revitalisation Movement: Mau Mau." *Anthropos* H. 1./6 (1965): pp.763-802.
[842] Dominic Wetangula, Oral Interview at Mukhweya, Bungoma on 19th November 2023.

a decentralized, cellular model with autonomous groups, extensive ideological indoctrination, and the strategic use of guerrilla warfare, which allowed the movement to maintain cohesion, mobilize popular support, and inflict significant damage.[843]

The impact of party discipline extended beyond internal cohesion to decision-making processes and organizational resilience. Strong party discipline facilitated effective decision-making, enhanced coordination of actions, and contributed to the durability of political entities in pursuing their goals. Conversely, a lack of party discipline could lead to internal conflicts, fragmentation, and challenges in achieving collective objectives, diminishing the overall effectiveness of political organizations. Party discipline was a fundamental factor that shaped the functioning and impact of political parties, associations, and movements in Kenya since 1945. It played a pivotal role in maintaining unity, strategic alignment, and successful mobilization efforts during the country's quest for independence from colonial rule.

The colonial view of party discipline within political associations was shaped by the British colonial administration's objectives and strategies.[844] The colonial authorities regarded party discipline as a means to exert control, ensure stability, and manage dissent within the political landscape of Kenya. By promoting disciplined behavior among political actors, the colonial administration aimed to maintain order and prevent challenges to colonial rule, viewing disciplined political associations as less likely to engage in acts of resistance or defiance.

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[843] David Anderson. Histories of the hanged: The dirty war in Kenya and the end of empire. WW Norton & Company, 2005.

[844] Bethwell A Ogot., and William Robert Ochieng, eds. *Decolonization & independence in Kenya, 1940-93*. Ohio State University Press, 1995.

Furthermore, the colonial authorities saw party discipline as a tool to suppress dissent and opposition to colonial policies.[845] Disciplined political associations were perceived as less likely to pose a threat to colonial interests, reducing the potential for unrest or anti-colonial movements. The British colonial administration sometimes employed a divide and rule strategy, exploiting internal divisions or factionalism within political groups to weaken their unity and effectiveness. By manipulating internal dynamics, colonial authorities sought to undermine the influence of political associations and maintain control over the colony.

The study established that the colonial view of party discipline involved monitoring and surveillance of political associations to ensure compliance with colonial regulations and objectives. The British administration closely monitored the activities of political groups, scrutinizing their internal structures, decision-making processes, and adherence to colonial laws.[846] As Kenya moved towards independence, the colonial administration intensified efforts to suppress nationalist movements advocating for self-rule.[847] The British authorities aimed to curb the influence of disciplined political associations that posed a challenge to colonial authority, employing tactics such as arrests, censorship, and restrictions on political activities.

5.3.2 The First Republic, 1964-1990

KANU was a dominant political party in Kenya during the first republic, which lasted from 1964 to 1990. The impact of party discipline on the durability of coalitions in Kenya during

[845] Bourgeat, Emilie. "Penality, violence and colonial rule in Kenya (c. 1930-1952)." PhD diss., University of Oxford, 2014.
[846] Kennedy Kate. "Britain and the end of Empire: a study of colonial governance in Cyprus, Kenya and Nyasaland against the backdrop of the internationalisation of empire and the evolution of a supranational human rights culture and jurisprudence, 1938-1965." PhD diss., University of Oxford, 2015.
[847] Bethwell A Ogot, and William Robert Ochieng, eds. *Decolonization & independence in Kenya, 1940-93*. Ohio State University Press, 1995.

this period was examined through the lens of KANU's dominance and the role it played in shaping the country's political landscape. During this era, KANU was known for its strict party discipline. It was effectively a one-party state, and party leaders, especially President Jomo Kenyatta, demanded a high level of discipline from party members.[848] Dissent within the party was not tolerated, and this discipline extended to any alliance KANU entered into.

While KANU was the dominant party, it did form coalitions, albeit not in the traditional sense. Rather, it incorporated different factions and regional leaders into the party to maintain its dominance. For example, in 1964, KANU absorbed KADU, a rival party formed to challenge KANU's dominance.[849] Commenting on the merger between KANU and KADU, Nyukuri Barasa alluded to the foregoing discussion by asserting that:

> ...the move, while not a formal coalition, illustrated KANU's ability to maintain stability and coherence by bringing its main opposition into the party. The discipline within KANU ensured that this merger was carried out smoothly, leading to the formation of a single dominant party, consolidating power, and eliminating competition. The high level of party discipline within KANU contributed to the longevity of the party's dominance. As a result, there were no significant coalition challenges or splits that threatened the party's rule during this period. The lack of internal dissent or competing parties facilitated KANU's control over the political landscape for three decades.[850]

From the foregoing comments, the researcher argues that KANU's disciplined party management and ability to consolidate power by bringing its main opposition into the party enabled the party to maintain stability and dominance in Kenyan politics for over three decades. The high level of internal discipline within KANU facilitated a smooth merger

[848] Kenneth Good. "Kenyatta and the Organization of KANU." *Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue* Canadienne des Études Africaines 2, no. 2 (1968): pp.115-136.
[849] Peter Anyang'Nyong'o. "State and society in Kenya: The disintegration of the nationalist coalitions and the rise of presidential authoritarianism 1963-78." *African Affairs* (1989): pp.229-251.
[850] Nyukuri Barasa, Oral Interview at County hotel, Bungoma on 15th November, 2023.

that eliminated competition, while the lack of significant coalition challenges and internal dissent further reinforced the party's control over the political landscape during this period.

The study findings revealed that the authoritarian control exerted by the leadership, including Jomo Kenyatta and later Daniel Arap Moi, meant that party members were less likely to challenge party decisions, let alone defect to opposing coalitions. Under the leadership of Jomo Kenyatta, KANU remained in power throughout the first republic. Kenyatta's authoritative control and his ability to enforce party discipline were instrumental in the party's extended rule. His rule showcased the durability of a merger dominated by KANU and the effectiveness of maintaining discipline to sustain power.

The government centralization of power allowed for a strong executive branch that could enforce party loyalty and discipline. Dissent within the party was often met with punitive measures, including expulsion from the party or even legal actions.[851]For example Bildad Kaggia was a founding member of KANU and a prominent figure in Kenya's struggle for independence. However, he was expelled from the party in 1966 after he criticized Kenyatta's government for its authoritarian tendencies and failure to address issues affecting ordinary Kenyans.[852]

According to *The Weelkly Review*:

> …in order to stem the tide of defections from the ruling party into the opposition party, the government had to act fast. A law was quickly passed that mandated that any sitting member of parliament who quit KANU to join the KPU or any other political party would automatically lose his parliamentary seat and had to go back to the electorate to seek a new mandate. This law stemmed the tide of

[851] Jennifer A Widner. The Rise of a Party-State in Kenya: From Harambee! to Nyayo!. Univ of California Press, 2023.
[852] George Odhiambo Okoth, and Juliet Akinyi Jagero. "Thinking Through the Crisis of Intra-Party Democracy in Kenya: Reflections on Kenyatta's KANU Leadership (1963-1978)." *Journal of Historical Studies* 2, no. 1 (2021): pp.1-29.

> defections from KANU and some MPs who had earlier indicated their intention to quit the ruling party to join the opposition, changed their minds and decided to stay within the KANU fold after weighing the odds. Under pressure by KANU and the government, even some of the leaders such as Kaggia who had quit eventually returned to Kanu. With only a few legal strokes, KANU had succeeded in completely stifling the growth of the KPU into a national opposition.[853]

Similarly, J.M. Kariuki, a vocal critic of corruption and nepotism within the Kenyatta government in 1975, was expelled from KANU after he made a speech in Parliament calling for an end to corruption and the redistribution of wealth to benefit ordinary Kenyans.[854] He was later found dead under mysterious circumstances, leading to suspicions that he had been assassinated.[855]

JM was assassinated in March 1975. His body was found rather by accident at Olosho Oibor in the Ngong Hills just outside Nairobi, just as the government and the state-controlled media continued to propagate the idea that he had gone missing while on a business trip to Tanzania. When last seen alive, he had been in the company of Ben Gethi, the commander of the notorious General Service Unit. The Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry into his death pointed accusing finger at Mbiyu Koinange, the minister of State in president's office, the chief bodyguard to president Kenyatta, Senior Supt. Athur Wanyoike wa Thungu, Ben Gethi himself, Waruhiu Itote, of the National Youth Service, Nakuru Mayor Mburu Githua, Nyandarua DC, Stanley Thuo, Councillor John Mutungu, of Ngong ward, and the Criminal Investigation Department boss, Ignatius Nderi.[856]

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[853] KNADS: *The Weekly Review*, June 8, 1990, “Kanu Power Consolidation”. p.33.
[854] Jake Harms. "Disrupting ethnic politics and imagining alternative futures in Kenya, 1975: the JM Kariuki assassination." PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 2021.
[855] Ibid
[856] Ajulu, Rok. "Thinking through the crisis of democratisation in Kenya: a response to Adar and Murunga." *African Sociological Review/Revue Africaine de Sociologie* (2000): pp.133-157

But Kenyatta still had the last word. Masinde Muliro, a cabinet minister, and two assistant ministers, John Keen and Peter Kibisu lost their ministerial portfolios as a result of breaking ranks and voting with the back bench to accept the finding of the commission. Two years later, J.M Seroney, J.M Shikuku, were arrested in parliament and frog-marched into detention where they were to remain until after Kenyatta's death.[857] Mark Mwithaga, the Nakuru MP ally of JM was charged with beating his wife (a crime reportedly comitted five years earlier) and thrown into prison. Finally in 1977, George Anyona, the only remaining populist radical in parliament was similarly thrown into detention.[858]

While KANU aimed for party discipline, challenges emerged within the party due to personal ambitions, ideological differences, and ethnic tensions.[859] Some members of KANU, including prominent politicians, voiced concerns about the lack of internal democracy and the concentration of power within a few individuals. For instance, despite the official emphasis on national unity, ethnic politics continued to influence political dynamics. Kenyatta's presidency was often associated with the dominance of the Kikuyu ethnic group, leading to tensions with other communities.[860] In response, opposition parties and factions emerged, leading to the formation of informal political coalitions that sought to challenge KANU's dominance. For example the "Kenya People's Union" (KPU) formed in 1966 by Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, a former Vice President of Kenya who had fallen out with Kenyatta's government.[861]The KPU was formed as an opposition party to challenge

[857] Ibid.
[858] Ibid. p.147
[859] Gilbert M Khadiagala. "Political movements and coalition politics in Kenya: entrenching ethnicity." South African Journal of International Affairs 17, no. 1 (2010): pp.65-84.
[860] Shilaho Westen Kwatemba. "Ethnicity and political pluralism in Kenya." *Journal of African elections* 7, no. 2 (2008): pp.77-112.
[861] George Odhiambo Okoth, and Juliet Akinyi Jagero. "Thinking Through the Crisis of Intra-Party Democracy in Kenya: Reflections on Kenyatta's KANU Leadership (1963-1978)." *Journal of Historical Studies* 2, no. 1 (2021): pp.1-29.

KANU's dominance and advocate for greater democracy and social justice in Kenya.[862] It attracted a diverse range of supporters, including intellectuals, trade unionists, and students, who were disillusioned with KANU's authoritarian rule.[863] The KPU's platform was based on socialist principles and called for land reform, nationalization of key industries, and greater political freedoms. However, the party faced significant challenges from the Kenyatta government, which saw it as a threat to its rule.

The KPU was banned in 1969, and many of its leaders were arrested and detained without trial. Odinga was also arrested and detained for several years, and the party was effectively suppressed by the Kenyatta government.[864]Despite its short-lived existence, the KPU played a significant role in challenging KANU's dominance and advocating for democratic reforms in Kenya. It demonstrated that opposition to the ruling party was possible and paved the way for other opposition groups to emerge in subsequent years.

The Weekly Review revealed:

> …although KANU had not seen it fit to change the constitution to make Kenya a de jure one-party state, it was clear in 1966 that the ruling party was exacting a high price for opposition to its policies. An amendment to the constitution and the laws had been passed during that year, which ushered in detention without trial under the Preservation of Public Security Act (Cap. 57). The act gave the president of the republic wide powers to detain and restrict any person he deemed a threat to public security…although the act had been used sparingly since it was passed in 1966, the act was put to massive use late in 1969, an eventful year in Kenya's post independence political history…[865]

[862] W. O Maloba, and W. O. Maloba. "African Socialism and the Rise and Rise of Conservative Nationalism." The Anatomy of Neo-Colonialism in Kenya: British Imperialism and Kenyatta, 1963–*1978* (2017): pp.77-148.
[863] Ibid
[864] Allan McChesney. "The Promotion of Economic and Political Rights: Two African Approaches." *Journal of African Law* 24, no. 2 (1980): pp.163-205.
[865] KNADS: *The Weekly Review*, June 8, 1990, "Kanu Power Consolidation". p.34.

From the foregoing revelations, the researcher disagrees with the actions taken by the KANU government in Kenya during this period. While KANU had not officially declared Kenya a one-party state, the constitutional amendment passed in 1966 granting the president broad powers of detention without trial under the Preservation of Public Security Act was a clear attempt to suppress political opposition and consolidate KANU's power. The fact that this act was initially used sparingly but then "put to massive use" in 1969 demonstrates an authoritarian tendency that undermines democratic principles, civil liberties, and the rule of law, even if KANU did not formally establish a one-party system.

The 1969 Kisumu Nyanza massacre, in which government forces violently suppressed dissent within KANU and the country, demonstrated the extent to which dissent was controlled, ensuring that the party maintained its dominance without internal challenges.[866] This lack of internal dissent had a direct impact on limiting political pluralism. In 1969, a constitutional amendment known as the "KANU Constitutional Amendment Act" was passed, effectively legalizing Kenya as a one-party state and further consolidating KANU's power.[867] This amendment mandated that Kenya could only have one legally recognized political party, which was KANU.

Despite this consolidation of power, dissatisfaction within KANU continued to grow, leading to internal divisions and the emergence of opposition factions.[868] These factions represented different ideological and political interests within the party and sought to challenge the dominant leadership of President Jomo Kenyatta. One notable opposition

[866] Paul Abiero Opondo. "Kenyatta and Odinga: The Harbingers of Ethnic Nationalism in Kenya." *Global* Journal of Human-Social Science Research (2014).pp.27-30.
[867] Hastings WO Okoth-Ogendo. "The politics of constitutional change in Kenya since independence, 1963-69." *African Affairs* 71, no. 282 (1972): pp.9-34.
[868] George Odhiambo Okoth, and Juliet Akinyi Jagero. "Thinking Through the Crisis of Intra-Party Democracy in Kenya: Reflections on Kenyatta's KANU Leadership (1963-1978)." *Journal of Historical Studies* 2, no. 1 (2021): 1-29.

faction within KANU was the "Change the Constitution Movement" (CCM).[869] The CCM was formed in the early 1970s and was led by ambitious young politicians such as Njenga Karume, Kihika Kimani and Charles Rubia.[870] They advocated for political reforms, including a more inclusive and participatory political system.

The CCM's push for reform and its criticism of the government's handling of issues such as corruption and governance led to tensions within KANU.[871] However, the faction faced significant challenges from the Kenyatta government, which sought to maintain its grip on power. As the 1970s progressed, internal divisions within KANU and the broader political landscape led to challenges to party discipline.[872] These divisions, often rooted in ethnic and ideological differences, weakened the cohesion of the party and the government's ability to control dissent.

In the 1970s, KANU grappled with internal divisions and external challenges, significantly undermining its cohesion and ability to control dissent. The era marked a period of transition for the ruling party as it faced issues rooted in ethnic and ideological differences, contributing to unrestrained political landscape. While recounting the events of 1970s, Dominic Wetangula narrates:

> ….Jomo Kenyatta's declining health during the early 1970s cast uncertainty over KANU's leadership. As the influential founding father of the party, his waning influence created a power vacuum, intensifying internal struggles among party members vying for leadership positions. The absence of a clear succession plan intensified tensions and fueled political infighting. Ethnic and

[869]Gabrielle Lynch. "Moi: the making of an African ‘big-man’." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 2, no. 1 (2008): 18-43.
[870] Ibid
[871] Joel D., Barkan. ed. Beyond capitalism versus socialism in Kenya and Tanzania. East African Publishers, 1994.
[872] Jay Edward Hakes. "The Parliamentary Party of the Kenya African National Union: Cleavage Andcohesion in the Ruling Party of a New Nation." PhD diss., Duke University, 1970.

> regional tensions within KANU were palpable. The party's composition reflected a strong ethnic presence, with distinct interests among various ethnic groups. The political structure, perceived by some as favoring the Kikuyu, Kenyatta's ethnic group, generated resentment and suspicions among other communities. These ethnic dynamics worsened internal dissent, leading to a fractured party.[873]

Ajulu in his final remarks about the Kenyatta era in his work observes that:

> What do we make of this brief summary of the Kenyatta regime? Even though Kenyatta presided over a growing economy and an expanding middle class, and allowed a small political space within which parliamentarians would make a few noises, the most visible trade mark of his regime was its refusal to accept democratic challenge to its right to rule. From 1969 the regime became increasingly intolerant of dissent, and a growing arrogance in the use of state power for purposes of personal accumulation and complete politicisation in the allocation of public resources was clearly visible from Kenyatta 's own Kiambu coalition. As Mueller rightly points out, the main pillar of order under Kenyatta was repression.[874]

The study established that the shifts in political alliances characterized the 1970s as politicians sought to consolidate power. These shifts were not solely based on ideological considerations but also on personal ambitions and rivalries. Consequently, KANU experienced internal realignments that further weakened the party's coherence and effectiveness. These internal divisions within KANU had profound implications for Kenya's political landscape in the 1970s, setting the stage for subsequent challenges faced by the ruling party in maintaining dominance and the eventual transition to multi-party politics in the 1990s.

[873] Dominic Wetangula, Oral Interview at Mukhweya, Bungoma on 19th November 2023.

[874] Ajulu, Rok. "Thinking through the crisis of democratisation in Kenya: a response to Adar and Murunga." *African Sociological Review/Revue Africaine de Sociologie* (2000): pp.133-157.

5.3.3 The Second Phase, 1978-1990

Jomo Kenyatta's death in 1978 marked a turning point in Kenyan politics.[875] His successor, Daniel Arap Moi, initially faced challenges to his leadership within KANU. However, he managed to consolidate power and institute a period of stability, albeit with a continued focus on one-party rule.[876] When Moi assumed power, he revitalized KANU and turned Kenya into a de facto one-party state in 1982.[877] The party became an essential tool for popular legitimacy and strict surveillance of regime opponents.

According to the weekly review, President Moi who took over the reins of power immediately after Kenyatta's death on August 22, 1978, had more faith in the ruling party than his predecessor had had, especially during the later years of his rule. Soon after he became president, Moi set about resuscitating the party from the grassroots, an exercise that had previously proved well nigh impossible for the party bosses. Kanu elections were held in November 1978, which placed a completely new leadership at the helm.[878]

During the single-party era in Kenya, which extended from 1978 to 1991, KANU maintained its political dominance as the sole legal political party. This period was marked by continued efforts to manage internal party dynamics, suppress opposition, and maintain control over political institutions.[879] On assumption Daniel Arap Moi, faced challenges from within KANU, including factions that sought to assert their influence. The climax was the 1982 coup attempt which was a significant event that had a profound impact on the

[875] Anaïs Angelo. Power and the presidency in Kenya: the Jomo Kenyatta years. Vol. 146. Cambridge University Press, 2020.
[876] D. P Ahluwalia "Postcolonial dilemmas: Political succession in Kenya." *The post-colonial condition.* Contemporary politics in Africa (1997): pp.31-53.
[877] Frank Holmquist, and Michael Ford. "Kenyan politics: toward a second transition?" *Africa Today* 45, no. 2 (1998): pp.227-258.
[878] KNADS: *The Weekly Review*, June 8, 1990, "Kanu Power Consolidation". p.35.
[879] Ellen Lust-Okar. "Divided they rule: The management and manipulation of political opposition." *Comparative politics* (2004): pp.159-179.

country's political landscape. On August 1, 1982, a group of military officers led by Senior Private Hezekiah Ochuka attempted to overthrow President Daniel Arap Moi's government.[880] The coup attempt was motivated by various factors, including dissatisfaction with Moi's leadership, allegations of corruption, and grievances related to ethnic representation and regional imbalances.[881] The coup plotters aimed to seize control of key government installations and broadcast their message to the nation.

However, the coup attempt was swiftly suppressed by loyalist forces within the military, and President Moi's government regained control within a few days.[882] The aftermath of the coup attempt led to a period of increased political repression, with widespread arrests, detentions, and purges within the military and civil service. The 1982 coup attempt had far-reaching consequences for Kenya. It further entrenched President Moi's grip on power and led to a period of heightened political repression and authoritarian rule.[883] The event also exposed underlying tensions within the country, such as ethnic divisions and grievances, which would continue to shape Kenya's political landscape in the years to come.[884]

According to Ajulu, the first attempt at rejuvenating and streamlining the ruling KANU party was initiated in 1983. This exercise was largely seen as an attempt to purge the party of Njonjo elements and other dissidents. The elections, conducted from the grassroots all the way to the executive, were designed precisely to confront the problem both Kenyatta and Moi had consistently faced in the party — regional party bosses with power-bases

[880] Pat McGowan, and Thomas H. Johnson. "African Military Coups d'État and Underdevelopment: a quantitative historical analysis." *The journal of modern African studies* 22, no. 4 (1984): pp.633-666.
[881] Raymond Muhula. "Horizontal inequalities and ethno-regional politics in Kenya." *Kenya Studies Review* 1, no. 1 (2009): pp.85-105.
[882] Kara Moskowitz. "From Multiracialism to Africanization? Race, Politics, and Sport in Decolonizing Kenya." *Journal of Contemporary History* 58, no. 1 (2023): pp.115-135.
[883] Kwasi H. Prempeh. "Presidential power in comparative perspective: the puzzling persistence of imperial presidency in post-authoritarian Africa." *Hastings Const. LQ* 35 (2007): p.761.
[884] Ibid

independent of the centre. Kenyatta had solved this problem through letting the party 'die'. Moi sought to cure the problem by imposing his men at every level of the party.[885] In his words, he intended to clean the party thoroughly:

> 'if you are cleaning your cattle, every animal should get into the dip...'[886]

Moi's leadership emphasized strict party discipline and loyalty to KANU. Dissent and opposition were not tolerated, and individuals who were perceived as threats to the regime were often subjected to intimidation, harassment, and detention.[887] The government used security forces to suppress dissent and maintain party unity.[888]Moi's administration centralized authority, allowing him to reward loyal party members with patronage and positions within the government.[889] This practice helped to ensure party loyalty and discouraged open dissent within the ranks of KANU.

Referring to Moi's leadership skills during his era, Noah Wekesa elucidated:

> …Moi's leadership style within the KANU emphasized an authoritarian control mechanism that aimed to consolidate power. Moi's approach centralized authority within the party, transforming KANU into an instrument of the state…… the strict enforcement of party discipline under his rule stifled dissent and opposition within the party ranks. Dissenting voices were swiftly silenced through disciplinary measures, as seen in the expulsion of notable figures like Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and George Anyona, who challenged Moi's leadership or criticized party policies. This lack of internal democracy curtailed open debate and discussion within KANU, fostering a culture of fear and limited opposition viewpoints.[890]

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[885] Ajulu, Rok. "Thinking through the crisis of democratisation in Kenya: a response to Adar and Murunga." *African Sociological Review/Revue Africaine de Sociologie* (2000): pp.133-157.
[886] Daily Nation, July, 2, 1985 cit in Widner, 1992
[887] Hans Peter Schmitz, and Hans Peter Schmitz. "Successful Challenges to Authoritarian Rule." Transnational Mobilization and Domestic Regime Change: *Africa in Comparative Perspective* (2006): pp.65-98.
[888] Ibid
[889] David Throup. "Elections and political legitimacy in Kenya." *Africa* 63, no. 3 (1993): 371-396.
[890] Noah Wekesa, Oral Interview in Kitale on 16th November, 2023.

The researcher observes that Moi's authoritarian leadership style within KANU, characterized by the strict enforcement of party discipline and the centralization of authority, had a significantly negative impact on the political opposition during his era. The party expelled prominent dissenting figures like Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and George Anyona, who challenged Moi's policies, while the lack of internal democracy within KANU curtailed open debate and fostered a culture of fear, effectively stifling opposition viewpoints. By transforming KANU into an instrument of the state, Moi was able to marginalize and undermine the opposition, further entrenching his power and constraining the democratic space for alternative political forces to meaningfully participate in the country's governance.

Archival records consistently highlighted how Kenya's predominant political entity, KANU, frequently orchestrated unexpected turns during its supreme committee gatherings, particularly through purges targeting dissenting members. *The Weekly Review* records:

> ...this week, the party lived up to that reputation when it held its first of two meetings this year and expelled the MP for Nyeri Town Waruru Kanja. For Kanja however, his purge from the party came as no surprise, coming as it did only a day after Prsident Daniel Moi who is also the party president, relieved him of his cabinet post as minister for information and broadcasting, Kanja's dismissal set the stage for his eventual fall from the party…[891]

Holding the same view, the researcher postulates that Moi's control extended to party structures and decision-making processes, ensuring unquestionable compliance with the directives set by the party hierarchy. This control mechanism reinforced Moi's authoritarian grip on KANU, where members were expected to toe the party line without question. The lack of internal dissent or opposition viewpoints further solidified Moi's authority and

[891] KNADS: *The Weekly Review*, April 6, 1990. "Kanu lives up to its reputation". P.4

control over the party, illustrating the strict enforcement of party discipline during his presidency.

The archival sources revealed that discipline was considered crucial within any society and within Kanu. Those who were unable to adhere to these basic principles were reported to have removed themselves from the party. In this regard, the council endorsed the expulsion of Odinga and his follower, George Anyona, who were said to have shown actions that worked against the interests of KANU.[892]

A respondent reliably informed the researcher while making reference to Moi's regime that:

> …during Daniel Arap Moi's presidency, dissent within KANU was met with severe disciplinary measures, demonstrating Moi's strict enforcement of party discipline to quash opposition and maintain his authority….. the purging of dissenters and critics served as a stark example of Moi's intolerance towards those challenging his leadership or voicing contrary opinions within KANU.[893]

The leadership of Daniel Moi after Kenyatta's death was therefore, just the continuation of political repression. The government sought to control public expression, particularly the news media. The KANU government acquired newspapers to act as their mouthpiece.[894] During Daniel Moi's regime, the ruling party KANU acquired Hillary Ng'weno's Nairobi Times and renamed it Kenya Times, using it as a mouthpiece for their agenda.[895] KANU functionaries also gained control of the East African Standard, which was the second largest newspaper in Kenya. Additionally, Moi exerted influence through his business

[892] KNADS: *The Weekly Review*, May 28, 1982. "Kanu Backs Moi's Expulsion of Odinga"
[893] Domic Wetangula, Oral Interview at Mukhweya, Bungoma on S19th November 2023.
[894] Pius M Nyamora. "The role of alternative press in mobilization for political change in Kenya 1982-1992: Society magazine as a case study." (2007).
[895] Peter Jones Kareithi. Power with responsibility: A framework for a free and democratic press in Africa. University of Massachusetts Amherst, 1996.

connections with the owners of the two main newspaper groups, namely His Highness the Aga Khan and Roland 'Tiny' Rowland of Lonrho Africa[896]. Under Moi, KANU was revived as a more vital instrument of rule with branches used as a means of occasionally undermining powerful national level politicians; threatening politicians were expelled from KANU and hence eliminated from contention in parliamentary elections.

In the same breadth, the Kenyan government cracked down on alternative media during the late 1980s and early 1990s, leading to the proscription of more than 20 publications, including Beyond Magazine, Financial Review, Nairobi Law Monthly, and Development Agenda.[897] Adar and Munyae reporting on human rights abuse in Kenya cites a notable instance of the expulsion of influential politicians such as Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and George Anyona.[898] Jaramogi Odinga, a former Vice President of Kenya and a prominent political figure, openly opposed Moi's leadership and criticized KANU's policies. His vocal dissent against Moi's rule led to his expulsion from the party, showcasing Moi's determination to remove influential critics from within KANU's ranks. Similarly, George Anyona, known for his critical stance against the government's policies, was also expelled from KANU for his opposition to Moi's leadership.

Individuals such as Kenneth Matiba and Charles Rubia advocated for multiparty democracy and voiced their discontent with the authoritarian practices of the regime.[899]

[896] Irene Dorothy Awino. "Witnesses, Victims, Survivors, or Co-Oppressors: Transitional Justice as a Critical Moment of “Truth” for Journalism Practice in Kenya." PhD diss., University of Oregon, 2020.
[897] Kamau Mutunga. "Reporting Health in Tabloid Press in Kenya: A Case Study of The Nairobian." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2016.
[898] Korwa G Adar, and Isaac M. Munyae. "Human Rights Abuse in Kenya Under Daniel Arap Moi, 1978." *African Studies Quarterly* 5, no. 1 (2001): pp.1-14.
[899] Maurice Amutabi. "Beyond imperial presidency in Kenya: Interrogating the Kenyatta, Moi and Kibaki regimes and implications for democracy and development." *Kenya Studies Review* 1, no. 1 (2009): pp.55-84.

However, their activism came at a great personal cost. In 1990, Matiba was arrested and detained without trial for his role in advocating for multiparty democracy. During his detention, he suffered a stroke, which left him partially paralyzed. He was released from detention in 1991 but was left with a permanent disability.[900] Similarly, Charles Rubia was also arrested and detained without trial for his role in advocating for political reforms. He was detained for several months and subjected to harsh conditions before being released.[901] Despite the risks, both Matiba and Rubia continued to advocate for political reforms and multiparty democracy in Kenya.

Reflecting on party discipline within KANU through expulsion of members, Musikari Kombo during an oral interview as shown in Plate no.6 noted:

> …these expulsions were not isolated incidents but demonstrated Moi's strategy of purging prominent dissenters to suppress opposition and ensure party loyalty. The stringent measures to expel high-profile members who challenged Moi's authority or criticized the party's policies underscored his unwavering commitment to enforcing party discipline and silencing dissenting voices within KANU. Such purges reflected Moi's authoritarian control over the party, emphasizing his intolerance towards opposition and dissent during his presidency.[902]

[900] Edwin A Gimode. "The role of the police in kenya's democratisation process." *Kenya: The struggle for democracy* (2007): pp.227-262.
[901] Korwa G Adar, and Isaac M. Munyae. "Human Rights Abuse in Kenya Under Daniel Arap Moi, 1978." *African Studies Quarterly* 5, no. 1 (2001): pp.1-14.
[902] Musikari Kombo, Oral Interview at Lovington, Nairobi on 21st November, 2023.



Plate 6: The Researcher (left) interviewing Musikari Kombo (right), the former minister on party discipline

As if to confirm the foregoing assertion, *The Weekly Review* revealed efforts done by Moi under KANU in expelling non-loyal members from the party as indicated in the table 5.1.

Table: 5.1: KANU's Expellees

Name	Year of expulsion	District
Oginga Odinga	1982	Siaya
George Anyona	1982	Kisii
Charles Njonjo	1984	Kiambu
Andrew Gumba	1987	Nairobi
Isaia Mathenge	1988	Nyeri
Kim Gatende	1988	”
Kimani Wanyoike	1988	Nyandarua
Joseph Mugambi	1988	Nyeri
Francis Letodo	1988	West Pokot
Samuel Poghisio	1988	”
David Tomkou	1988	”
James Lukwo	1988	”

Solomon Mukenion	1988	”
Samuel Loburon	1988	”
Kenneth Matiba	1989	Muranga
Josephat Karanja	1989	Nairobi
Charles Rubia	1989	”
John Koech	1989	Kericho
Philip Mutisya	1989	Machakos
Samul Njoroge Muiruri	1989	Kiambu
Waruru Kanja	1990	Nyeri

SOURCE: KNADS: *The Weekly Review*, April 6, 1990. P.7

Though Moi and his KANU machinery viewed expulsion of the so-called disloyal members from the party as one strategy to instill discipline within the party, this move was disregarded by some members from within who argued that:

> …the expulsion of an elected official, in fact, not only denies him the right to political participation but interferes with the rights of his electors as well. Since the 1988 general election. For example, no less than nine by-elections have been held in the country due to the expulsions of elected MPs, which means that the voters in these constituencies were denied the leadership of their first choice.[903]

Similarly, the findings of the study revealed that majority of the voters argued that expelling elected officials from a political party undermined the democratic process and the will of the voters. They argued that it was undemocratic for a party leader to have the power to remove elected officials who were chosen by the people. Expulsions could lead to instability and frequent by-elections, which disrupted governance and wasted resources. Additionally, they argued that expulsions were often used as a tool for political manipulation and control, rather than for genuine disciplinary reasons.

[903] KNADS: *The Weekly Review*, November 30, 1990, “Expulsion is no remedy”. p.9.

The single-party era was characterized by the absence of political pluralism and a lack of competitive multiparty politics.[904] KANU's dominance effectively stifled the development of genuine opposition parties and limited the avenues for alternative political voices. However, despite the official ban on ethnic-based politics, ethnic considerations continued to influence political dynamics. Factionalism within KANU often mirrored ethnic divisions, as different groups sought to gain influence and representation within the party.[905]Some individuals within KANU attempted to push for reforms and challenge Moi's leadership style.

Nyukuri Barasa informs;

> …his control over KANU's structures and decision-making processes was instrumental in consolidating his authority and suppressing dissent. Moi strategically positioned loyalists within influential party positions, ensuring that the party machinery operated in line with his directives. This strategic placement of supporters limited challenges to his leadership, effectively sidelining opposition within KANU and minimizing internal democracy. For instance, Moi's loyalists occupied pivotal roles in the party's National Executive Committee, enabling decisions aligned with his directives without facing significant opposition.[906]

The study established that Moi utilized stringent party discipline as a means to secure unwavering compliance with decisions made by the party hierarchy.[907] Members were expected to unquestionably follow the directives issued by the leadership, reinforcing Moi's authority and control over KANU. This disciplined adherence further cemented Moi's

[904] Shilaho Westen Kwatemba. "Ethnicity and political pluralism in Kenya." *Journal of African elections* 7, no. 2 (2008): pp.77-112.
[905] Bonface O Akumu. "The Influence of Ethnicity on Presidential Election Competition in Kenya: the Case of 2013 and 2017 General Elections." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2020.
[906] O.I, Nyukuri Barasa, County hotel, Bungoma, 15th November, 2023.
[907] Shingai Price Mutizwa-Mangiza. "Political party institutionalization: A case study of Kenya." PhD diss., Rhodes University, 2013.

dominance within the party, creating a structure that limited dissent and facilitated his grip on power, ultimately ensuring a lack of internal challenges to his leadership within KANU.

Bifwoli Wakoli recounts that:

> The enforcement of party discipline within KANU was integral, especially during electoral periods. Party discipline played a crucial role in maintaining unwavering loyalty among KANU members, who were expected to campaign relentlessly for the party during elections. Deviation from the party line was met with disciplinary measures or exclusion from party activities, showcasing the stringent enforcement of discipline to ensure unity and cohesion within KANU.[908]

The KANU approach to silence the media as a way of cracking on dissent was not new in Africa. For instance, during the 1980s and 1990s, the government of Nigeria, under military dictatorships, suppressed media freedom and jailed journalists who spoke out against the government.[909] Globally, another example is the case of Chile under the rule of General Augusto Pinochet. Pinochet's regime censored the media and arrested journalists who were critical of the government.[910] In Argentina, during the "Dirty War" from 1976 to 1983, the military dictatorship suppressed media freedom and censored news that was critical of the government.[911]

Therefore, despite the opposition's continued suppression by KANU by silencing dissenting view by the media, a thriving counter-culture emerged within the mainstream news media. Kenyan newspapers comprised several sub-genres that provided opportunities for creative expression, such as Wahome Mutahi's popular fictional column 'Whispers'

[908] O.I, Bifwoli Wakoli, Highway hotel, Bungoma, 14th November, 2023.
[909] Ayo Olukotun. Repressive state and resurgent media under Nigeria's military dictatorship, 1988-98. No. 126. Nordic Africa Institute, 2004.
[910] Diaz Juan Pablo León. "News stories and reflections of political interests: A critical discourse analysis of the representation of General Augusto Pinochet in the British media." Master's thesis, İzmir Ekonomi Üniversitesi, 2015.
[911] Jerry W Knudson. "Veil of Silence: The Argentine Press and the Dirty War, 1976-1983." *Latin American Perspectives* 24, no. 6 (1997): pp.93-112.

published in the Sunday Nation and Sunday Standard from 1983 to 2003. Mutahi used humour and satire to veil his oppositional politics, exploring Kenya's post-colonial existence and the challenges of African modernity.[912] His work allowed authority and commonplace to be dismembered, highlighting the realm of the 'popular' as capable of engaging with the contradictions and ambiguities of post-colonial Kenya.

As the 1980s progressed, international pressure for democratization and economic reforms began to mount. There were various pro-democracy activists and civil society organizations in Kenya that were pushing for political reforms and the opening up of multiparty democracy.[913] Religious leaders in Kenya, particularly from the Catholic Church, also played a role in advocating for political reforms and the opening up of multiparty democracy.[914] They provided a moral voice and platform for pro-democracy activists and helped to mobilize public support for political change. Similarly, labor unions in Kenya were another group that pushed for political reforms and greater worker rights during this period.[915] The organized strikes and protests to demand better working conditions and greater political freedoms. There were also various ethnic groups in Kenya that were marginalized and excluded from political power under the one-party state. These groups, such as the Luo and Kikuyu, began to organize and mobilize for greater representation and political rights.[916]

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[912] George Ogola. "Confronting and performing power: Memory, popular imagination and a “popular” Kenyan newspaper serial." *African studies* 64, no. 1 (2005): pp.73-85.
[913] Eghosa Osaghae. "Democratization in sub-saharan Africa: Faltering prospects, new hopes." *Journal of* Contemporary African Studies 17, no. 1 (1999): pp.5-28.
[914] Hervé Maupeu, "The role of religious institutions." *Les Cahiers d’Afrique de l’Est/The East African Review* 38 (2008): pp.287-316.
[915] Sylvester O Warinda. "Effects of economic liberalization on trade unions: a case study of the Kenya plantation and agricultural workers union, 1980-1998." PhD diss., 2015.
[916] Oogo, Lilian Akoth. "State building, democratization and the role of ethnic political identity: a case study of Kenya." PhD diss., 2014.

The global context, along with domestic pressures, eventually led to the introduction of limited political reforms in the early 1990s. Their activism, along with that of other pro-democracy activists, eventually led to the repeal of the one-party state in Kenya and the introduction of multiparty democracy in 1991.[917] In the lead-up to political liberalization in 1990, a KANU review committee conducted a nationwide tour to gather opinions on reintroducing pluralism.[918]

However, President Moi dismissed views advocating for the legalization of opposition parties, displaying his typical contempt towards them.[919] It was only after widespread mass protests in October and November 1991, coupled with the suspension of donor funding, that the government finally lifted the constitutional ban on parties in December 1991.[920] The Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) Act No. 12 reinstated multiparty politics by repealing Section 2A of the Constitution, which had mandated that only KANU could nominate parliamentary candidates, effectively making Kenya a de facto one-party state.[921] With this change, candidates for the National Assembly and presidential elections were no longer required to be nominated by KANU.[922]

The pressure against KANU had grown significantly, and its hold on power was being challenged. The opposition had gained support, and international pressure from countries like the United States, Canada, and Germany had mounted for political and economic

[917] Makinda, Samuel M. "Democracy and multi-party politics in Africa." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 34, no. 4 (1996): pp.555-573.
[918] Olukoshi, Adebayo O.,ed. *The politics of opposition in contemporary Africa*. Nordic Africa Institute, 1998.
[919] Korwa G Adar. "Assessing democratisation trends in Kenya: A post-mortem of the Moi regime." Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics 38, no. 3 (2000): pp.103-130.
[920] Karis, Thomas, Gail M. Gerhart, and Clive Glaser. From Protest to Challenge: *A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1990*. Challenge and victory, 1980-1990. Vol. 6. Indiana University Press, 2010.
[921] Ibid
[922] Ibid

liberalization, including the formation of opposition parties and a free press.[923] A significant development that contributed to the constitutional amendments was the attempt by Jaramogi Oginga Odinga to register a new political party, the National Democratic Party, in February 1991. [924]When KANU blocked these efforts, a cross-ethnic alliance of young professionals convinced Odinga to register a new movement called the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD), inspired by civic movements that had driven political transitions in Eastern Europe.[925]

The pressures for political change and opening up of multiparty democracy helped to create a ground swell of support for political reform in Kenya.[926] They demonstrated that there was a growing demand for greater political freedoms and accountability within the country and helped to pave the way for the eventual introduction of multiparty democracy in 1991. However, the personal sacrifices made by Matiba, Rubia, and others demonstrated the high cost of political activism and the dangers of challenging authoritarian regimes. The reintroduction of multiparty politics led to rapid transformation of political landscape quickly transformed as new political parties emerged and opposition movements gained momentum, leading to the eventual transition to a multiparty democracy.

[923] Adebayo O Olukoshi, ed. *The politics of opposition in contemporary Africa*. Nordic Africa Institute, 1998.
[924] George Odhiambo Okoth, and Gordon Onyango Omenya. "New Constitution, Odingaism and the State of Internal Democracy in Orange Democratic Movement and its Effects on the 2013 Elections in Kenya." Kenya's Past as Prologue: Voters, Violence and the 2013 General Election (2015): p.190.
[925] Shilaho Westen Kwatemba. "Ethnicity and political pluralism in Kenya." *Journal of African elections* 7, no. 2 (2008): pp.77-112.
[926] ibid

5.3.4 Multiparty Era, From 1990 Onwards

Formation of FORD was led primarily by clerics and civil rights lawyers, FORD was launched in July 1991 as an umbrella organization for ethnic and professional strains who had committed themselves to repealing the constitutional provisions that prohibited the return to pluralism.[927] FORD initially took advantage of the ban on political parties by galvanizing civic groups into an alliance that also included old-guard politicians, thereby giving FORD a broad-based national stamp.[928] With its civil society allies, FORD, according to Ndegwa, 'articulated a unitary nationalist vision, with a liberal conception of citizenship, and offered majority rule institutions as appropriate to structure public affairs in post single-party Kenya'.[929]

However, the mode of political party aggregation after the legalization of parties reflected the emerging trend of managing ethnicity through political coalitions and movements. Although KANU had survived by embracing ethnic barons from across the country, the party had degenerated into a personalized instrument of Moi (who was a Kalenjin) and his immediate coterie- a small, exclusive group of people who share a common interest or purpose.[930] Therefore, it was predictable that opposition parties rallied around the two dominant ethnic groups, the Kikuyu and Luo, long marginalized by Moi.[931]

After the onset of political pluralism in December 1991, the opposition landscape was almost monolithic, occupied by the defiant and triumphant FORD, but soon conflicts began

[927] Khadiagala, Gilbert M. "Political movements and coalition politics in Kenya: entrenching ethnicity." South African Journal of International Affairs 17, no. 1 (2010): pp.65-84.
[928] Ibid
[929] Stephen N Ndegwa. "Citizenship and ethnicity: an examination of two transition moments in Kenyan politics." *American Political Science Review* 91, no. 3 (1997): pp.599-616.
[930] Robert Maxon. "Constitution-making in contemporary Kenya: Lessons from the Twentieth Century." *Kenya Studies Review* 1, no. 1 (2009): pp.11-30.
[931] Laurence Juma. "Ethnic politics and the constitutional review process in Kenya." *Tulsa J. Comp. & Int'l L.* 9 (2001): p.471.

to tear it apart.[932] One immediate outcome was the contest between the professional leaders and the old-guard politicians who sought to use the new movement as an avenue to power.[933] But, predictably, the old-guard politicians also started to fragment along ethnic fault lines. In the run-up to the December 1992 elections, amid demands for opposition unity against the KANU election machine, FORD fragmented into major factions, which had a tremendous impact on the opposition's ability to compete.[934]

Almost from its registration, FORD suffered from an endemic factionalism. Its leaders were divided not only by their different views of party policy but by ethnicity and generation. These divisions quickly developed into a network of rival alliances, which soon became bickering factions, jostling for the party's presidential nomination.[935] Once these divisions became apparent to the general public, the great emotional response to multi-party democracy and the tremendous popular enthusiasm created by FORD'. Two distinct groups emerged FORD Kenya, an alliance of Luo and Luyia, led by Odinga, and FORD Asili, a predominantly Kikuyu faction led by Kenneth Matiba, a leading businessman.[936] Although FORD Kenya retained some of the professionals who had been prominent in the initial days of FORD, many soon defected, accusing Odinga of 'ethnicisation' of the party.[937] FORD Asili also tried to incorporate a number of multi-ethnic professional groups as a way of

[932] J. J. W Veen. "Kenya's flawed transition in 1992: The impetus and factors that led to a flawed transition at the founding elections in Kenya in 1992." Bachelor's thesis, 2013.
[933] Ibid
[934] KNADS: *The Weekly Review*, December 13, 1991. "The new opposition party-in-the making has a few teething problems"p.5
[935] Robert Ford and Matthew Goodwin. "A nation divided." *J. Democracy* 28 (2017): p.17.
[936] Gilbert Khadiagala. "Coalition politics in Kenya." Marriages of Inconvenience: The politics of coalitions in South Africa (2021): p.157.
[937] Lilian Akoth Oogo. "State building, democratization and the role of ethnic political identity: a case study of Kenya." PhD diss., 2014.

diluting its Kikuyu ethnic base, but these efforts failed, because Matiba used the party as a personal vehicle in the search for power.[938] Archival sources revealed:

> Internal political differences within the party's hierarchy persisted within FORD Asili. Martin Shikuku, tha party's Secretary-General, has been accused of betraying the party by secretly influencing the defections of FORD Asili MPs in Kakamega district to KANU. Kenneth Matiba did not escape blame either for neglecting Wesern Province during the recent by-elections campaigns in which the party suffered a big blow after losing the three seats to KANU.[939]

From the foregoing, it is evident that FORD wasc fragmented. The fragmentation of FORD also coincided with mass defections from KANU, as members took advantage of the opportunities opened up by pluralism. Although some defections benefited the two FORD factions, a significant group of Kikuyu leaders led by former Vice-president Mwai Kibaki created the Democratic Party (DP) as a compromise between the extremes of KANU and FORD. With its predominance of businessmen, the DP projected the image of a professional and competent party that would revive the economy along liberal lines, unlike factions of FORD that vacillated between populist and free-market programs for economic reconstruction.

While they played no significant role in the struggle for multi-partyism, the DP luminaries saw the renaissance of political pluralism as an opportunity to reclaim their lost economic hegemony. [940]The non-Kikuyu members of DP were mainly people who had established close links with the DP leader, Mwai Kibaki, during his tenure as the vice-president, and those disillusioned with KANU and yet unsure of their potential position in the overcrowded FORD.[941] The formal registration of new political parties in mid-1992 was

[938] Gilbert M. Khadiagala. "Political movements and coalition politics in Kenya: entrenching ethnicity." South African Journal of International Affairs 17, no. 1 (2010): pp.65-84.
[939] KNADS/sf.40/21/12. Security Intelligence Report. June 1994. Accessed 10/9/2023
[940] Ibid
[941] Ibid

only the beginning of a long series of contests by political parties and civic actors to broaden the political space. Invoking the argument of the 1960s and 1970s that multiparty democracy would heighten ethnic conflicts and impede national consensus for development, Moi and KANU regrouped quickly to restore the sagging image and stature of the party.

Harking back to past patterns of political organization, KANU rallied minority ethnic groups by invoking the spectra of a Kikuyu Luo dominance of opposition parties. A core element of the KANU strategy was the mobilization of ethnic groups in the Rift Valley under Majimboism, the immediate post-independence federal constitutional framework according to which significant powers were to be devolved to provinces.[942] This new emphasis entailed the exclusion of Kikuyu and Luo as well as other opposition supporters from access to land and resources. In well publicized rallies, KANU politicians declared the Rift Valley as 'KANU zones', where opposition parties were prevented from organizing

The period leading up to the 1992 multi-party elections in Kenya was marked by ethnic violence and political manipulation.[943] The regime-sanctioned ethnic clashes in the Rift Valley, Western Kenya, and Coast Provinces severely impacted the coherence of emerging parties and deepened ethnic mobilization. The timing of these clashes, along with the complicit behavior of some government actors, suggests that they were part of a strategy to counter the liberalization process.[944] The state maintained strict administrative control, hindering the opposition's ability to organize. Militia groups, supported by elements of the security and intelligence services, were used to intimidate opposition parties. The KANU-

[942] Peter Kagwanja, and Roger Southall. "*Kenyan's Uncertain Democracy*." (2010).
[943] Ibid
[944] Susanne D Mueller. "The political economy of Kenya's crisis." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 2, no. 2 (2008): pp.185-210.

dominated parliament also changed presidential election regulations, giving President Moi an advantage by requiring the winner to receive at least 25 percent of the votes in five out of eight provinces.[945] This formula disadvantaged opposition candidates and favored Moi due to his patronage structure. Despite the opposition parties amassing 62 percent of the vote, Moi won with 36 percent and proceeded to weaken opposition parties by enticing their members to join KANU.[946]

Therefore, while Members of FORD shared objective of political reform, internal divisions and power struggles often undermined party discipline. Factionalism and disagreements over leadership positions led to the splitting of FORD into different factions and eventual loss to KANU in 1992 general election. According to the Security Intelligence Fortnightly report in 1994, Ford-Kenya's leadership wrangles between Wamalwa and Raila resurfaced once more and were likely to have disrupted the unity in the not too distant past.[947]

However, after defeating the opposition at its time of maximum support and unity, KANU had to be cautious as new, unstable political parties emerged, driven by ethnicity. There was a risk that some event or individual could initiate a new alliance or drive KANU-supporting tribes into the hands of the opposition. To prevent this, KANU's strategy was one of containment and attrition, focusing on bringing marginal districts back into the fold. KANU aimed to demonstrate that there was no alternative to their party, rather than seeking consensus. Besides, KANU was accused of buying and luring defectors into their fold. This

[945] Stephen Brown. "Authoritarian leaders and multiparty elections in Africa: How foreign donors help to keep Kenya's Daniel arap Moi in power." *Third World Quarterly* 22, no. 5 (2001): pp.725-739.
[946] Jacqueline M Klopp. "Electoral despotism in Kenya: Land, patronage and resistance in the multi-party context." (2001).
[947] KNADS/Nairobi Province Security Intelligence Reports. EPD/A 6/014. Accessed on 8th August 2023.

was alleged by Mwai Kibaki , at one of the rallies in Kanyakani market in South Imenti Constituency accused KANU of buying defectors.[948]

Members from the focus group discussion one provided a valuable perspective on the internal divisions within FORD, attributing the factionalism and fragmentation within the party to external influences, particularly the actions of the KANU government. He contended that the divisions and rivalries within FORD were promoted by the KANU government's fear of a united opposition. By creating and worsening internal rifts within FORD, the KANU government sought to weaken the opposition's cohesion and undermine its ability to challenge the ruling party effectively.[949]

The researcher observes that the assertion made by members in the foregoing FGD sheds light on the political dynamics at play during that period, highlighting how external forces can manipulate and exploit internal divisions within political parties for strategic advantage. The contention that the KANU government played a role in exacerbating factionalism within FORD underscores the complex interplay between political parties and the broader political environment in Kenya at the time. By recognizing the external pressures and influences that contributed to the fragmentation of FORD, Wanambuko's perspective adds depth to the understanding of the challenges faced by opposition parties in Kenya during a period marked by significant political transitions and power struggles.

The study examined the case studies that illustrated the challenges of maintaining party discipline within coalitions during Kenya's multiparty era. Internal divisions, leadership

[948] KNADS/ Security Intelligence Reports, no.18, SF.40/21/18. Accessed on 8th August 2023.
[949] FGD 1 at Kanduyi in Bungoma County on 13th September 2023.

conflicts, and differing policy priorities often undermined party discipline, affecting the durability and success of these political alliances. The multiparty era highlighted the complex interplay between party discipline, ideological unity, and coalition durability in Kenya's evolving political landscape.

5.3.5 Post-2002: NARC, ODM, and Jubilee Coalitions

In the post-2002 period of Kenyan politics, several key coalitions were formed, each with its own dynamics and impact on the country's political landscape.

NARC emerged in Kenya in 2002, uniting diverse political parties and leaders to challenge the long-standing KANU regime.[950] However, the coalition's promise of a new era of governance faltered due to challenges in maintaining party discipline. One significant impact was the lack of a unified ideological front, stemming from the diverse backgrounds and agendas of its member parties and leaders. This absence of a shared vision made it difficult to enforce cohesive party discipline, leading to internal conflicts and power struggles.[951] For instance, clashes between different factions within NARC often sidelined policy discussions and hindered the implementation of the coalition's agenda, leaving promises unfulfilled and diminishing public trust.

Infighting and power struggles among NARC members further weakened the coalition's stability. The absence of strong leadership and ineffective governance intensified internal conflicts, eroding unity and impeding policy implementation.[952] Leaders' pursuit of personal ambitions often superseded the coalition's collective goals, highlighting the

[950] Oita Etyang. "The Formation and Instability of Coalition Governments in Kenya." *The African Review* 49, no. 2 (2022): pp.167-194.
[951] Sebastian Elischer. "Ethnic coalitions of convenience and commitment: Political parties and party systems in Kenya." (2008).
[952] Kennedy Masime, and Gichira Kibara. "Regime transitions and the institutionalization of democracy in Kenya: the December 2002 elections and beyond." *E. African J. Hum. Rts. & Democracy* 1 (2003): p.13.

breakdown in party discipline. This was evident in the failure to effectively manage disagreements, resulting in a lack of consensus on crucial policy issues. The resultant gridlock within the coalition significantly contributed to its inability to govern cohesively and deliver on its electoral promises.[953]

The research findings revealed that the collapse of NARC stemmed from a combination of factors, including the erosion of party discipline. Internal discord, a lack of shared ideology, leadership deficiencies, and the failure to execute promised reforms led to disillusionment among the public and weakened the coalition's foundation. Consequently, the crumbling of NARC paved the way for the emergence of new political alliances and parties, reshaping Kenya's political landscape in subsequent years.

In reference to the social exchange theory, the breakaway within NARC significantly affected the coalition by disrupting the perceived benefits and costs associated with membership. As infighting and power struggles intensified, the leaders' pursuit of personal ambitions overshadowed the coalition's collective goals, leading to a breakdown in trust and cooperation. Members began to feel that the costs of remaining in the coalition—such as internal discord and ineffective governance—outweighed the benefits of collaboration. This erosion of party discipline and shared ideology resulted in disillusionment among both coalition members and the public. Consequently, the failure to manage disagreements and deliver on electoral promises diminished the coalition's value, prompting members to seek alternative political alliances that promised more stability and alignment with their interests, ultimately reshaping Kenya's political landscape.

[953] Ibid

ODM was established in 2005 and arose from a split within NARC government.[954] This formation had a significant impact on Kenya's political landscape and marked a turning point in the multiparty era. A major catalyst for ODM's formation was a political schism within the NARC government. Key leaders within NARC, including Raila Odinga and Kalonzo Musyoka, felt that the government had failed to fulfill its promises of democratic reforms and good governance. The failure to address these concerns led to growing dissent within NARC.

ODM's formation brought together prominent political leaders who shared common political objectives. The leaders, often hailing from different regions and communities, saw the need for a strong opposition force to challenge the Kibaki government, advocate for democratic reforms, and promote good governance. The formation of ODM was, in part, a response to the perceived weaknesses and unmet promises of the incumbent government. ODM's leaders saw the need to unite and offer a clear alternative to the ruling party.

Raila Odinga was a central figure in ODM's formation. As a prominent opposition leader and a vocal advocate for democratic reforms, Odinga played a key role in rallying support for the new coalition. Kalonzo Musyoka, another influential political figure, joined ODM as one of its founding leaders. His presence added regional and ethnic diversity to the coalition. Party discipline played a vital role in maintaining ODM's coalition cohesion and ensuring its durability. The ability of the various member parties to uphold discipline and present a united front was a significant factor in ODM's effectiveness as an opposition force.

[954] George Odhiambo Okoth, and Gordon Onyango Omenya. "New Constitution, Odingaism and the State of Internal Democracy in Orange Democratic Movement and its Effects on the 2013 Elections in Kenya." Kenya's Past as Prologue: Voters, Violence and the 2013 General Election (2015): p.190.

Noah Wekesa demonstrates the impact of party discipline on ODM's durability in several ways:

> …ODM's disciplined approach facilitated the consolidation of support from various regions and communities. For example, in the 2007 elections, the coalition received significant backing from Western Kenya and Nyanza regions, where party discipline helped to secure a bloc vote for ODM….Party discipline allowed ODM to articulate and pursue common goals effectively. For instance, the coalition's commitment to democratic reforms and good governance resonated with a broad spectrum of Kenyan voters. The discipline of ODM members in championing these objectives played a crucial role in driving the agenda. ODM's party discipline contributed to its electoral success. In the 2007 presidential election, ODM's presidential candidate, Raila Odinga, received strong support from various regions and communities, thanks in part to the unity and discipline within the coalition.[955]

Concurring with the foregoing assertion, the study advances that ODM's capacity to uphold party discipline was reflected in its performance in the 2007 and 2013 general elections. The coalition presented a unified front and gained substantial support in both parliamentary and presidential contests. Raila Odinga, the presidential candidate in both elections, garnered significant backing, and ODM won a substantial number of parliamentary seats.

ODM's ability to maintain party discipline had a significant impact on the coalition's durability. The coalition presented a united front, and its members largely adhered to party discipline, which allowed ODM to operate cohesively and effectively as an opposition force.[956] This unity enabled ODM to use its disciplined approach to help the coalition consolidate support from various regions and constituencies, making it a formidable political force. The party discipline allowed ODM to articulate and pursue a set of common

[955] Noah Wekesa, Oral Interview in Kitale on 16th November, 2023.
[956] Denis Kadima, and Felix Owuor. "Kenya's decade of experiments with political party alliances and coalitions-motivations, impact and prospects." *Journal of African Elections* 13, no. 1 (2014): pp.150-180.

goals, such as democratic reforms, good governance, and an effective opposition to the ruling government. In the 2007 and 2013 elections, ODM's party discipline played a pivotal role in winning a significant number of parliamentary seats and presenting a strong presidential candidate in Raila Odinga.[957]

ODM's performance in the 2007 and 2013 general elections underscored the impact of party discipline. In the 2007 elections, ODM emerged as a potent opposition force and garnered substantial support.[958] The coalition won numerous parliamentary seats and Raila Odinga was the presidential candidate. ODM's disciplined approach continued to influence its performance in the 2013 elections, where the coalition maintained a strong presence in the parliament and contested the presidency. ODM's success in these elections was due to not only its electoral strategies but also its ability to uphold party discipline, thereby maintaining cohesion and a clear focus on its political objectives.

Herman Manyora argues that:

> …although ODM achieved success, it was put to the test by a number of obstacles. ODM experienced power disputes and internal strife just like everyone else. Internal conflicts periodically arose among the coalition partners due to different groups and divergent interests, posing a threat to the party's unity. ODM was under external pressure, especially from the ruling administration at the time. ODM faced several hurdles and difficulties in functioning as a coherent unit due to these pressures, which included legal challenges, investigations, and accusations of government meddling in the election process. ODM encountered growing competition from other opposition coalitions and parties as the multiparty era went on. At times, ODM's cohesiveness was tested by the need to be competitive, which necessitated flexibility in response to shifting political landscapes.[959]

[957] Ibid
[958] Charles O Malika. "The Determinants of the Impact of Political Parties on Democracy in Kenya (1991-2013)." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2022.
[959] Herman Manyora, Oral Interview at Fountain of Knowledge UoN, Nairobi on 21st November 2023.

The foregoing observation concurs with Khadiagala who argues that ODM confronted a series of challenges that tested its resilience, with internal conflicts, government pressures, and intensifying competition from other political entities shaping the party's trajectory.[960] One notable challenge stemmed from internal conflicts and power struggles within ODM, vividly illustrated during the 2007 presidential primaries. The party found itself grappling with internal disputes as factions supporting different candidates, particularly those aligned with Raila Odinga, clashed over leadership preferences, revealing the difficulty of managing diverse interests within the coalition.[961]

The study agrees with these observations asserting that legal challenges further impeded ODM's functioning. Disputes over election results and accusations of electoral malpractices placed legal obstacles in the party's path, diverting attention and resources away from its core objectives. The need to defend its legitimacy in the face of legal battles not only strained ODM's internal cohesion but also demanded a considerable amount of time and energy. As the multiparty era progressed, ODM encountered heightened competition from emerging opposition coalitions and parties. The dynamics of this competition necessitated strategic adjustments and adaptability. ODM had to navigate changing political landscapes, and the entrance of new political players prompted the party to reassess its strategies to maintain a competitive edge. This adaptive process, while crucial for survival, inherently carried the risk of internal divisions as factions within the party grappled with differing views on the best approach.

[960] G.M Khadiagala. 2010. Political movements and coalition politics in Kenya: entrenching ethnicity. South African Journal of International Affairs, 17(1), pp.65-84.
[961] ibid

5.3.6 The Party of National Unity (PNU)

PNU was formed in 2007 as a coalition of several political parties that supported the re-election of President Mwai Kibaki.[962] Notable parties within this coalition included the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC-Kenya), the Democratic Party (DP), and Ford-Kenya. The primary goal was to present a united front against the opposition, led by ODM.

During the 2007 general elections, PNU's success hinged on party discipline and the ability to maintain cohesion within the coalition.[963] The parties that formed PNU had differing ideologies and interests, which made it crucial for them to exercise discipline to maintain unity. The collective discipline displayed during the election contributed to PNU's success in retaining the presidency. The coalition presented a united front, which helped it secure a significant portion of the vote. While PNU displayed discipline at the national level, internal party struggles and a lack of discipline in managing conflicting interests among coalition members began to emerge.[964] These internal frictions posed a threat to PNU's durability as a coalition.

After the 2007 election, PNU faced challenges in sustaining party discipline, particularly with regard to policy implementation and managing coalition expectations. This lack of cohesion had implications for the government's effectiveness and overall stability.[965] PNU's durability as a coalition was tested in the following years. The coalition faced internal divisions, with some members defecting to other parties. This ultimately led to the

[962] Cheeseman, Nic. "The Kenyan elections of 2007: an introduction." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 2, no. 2 (2008): pp.166-184.
[963] Adams Oloo,. "Party mobilization and membership: Old and new identities in Kenyan politics." Tensions and Reversals in Democratic Transitions (2010): pp.31-61.
[964] Kanyinga, Karuti, Duncan Okello, and Akoko Akech. "Contradictions of transition to democracy in fragmented societies: The Kenya 2007 general elections in perspective." *Tensions and Reversals in* Democratic Transitions: The Kenya 2007 General Elections (2010): pp.1-28.
[965] Denis Kadima, and Felix Owuor. "Kenya's decade of experiments with political party alliances and coalitions-motivations, impact and prospects." *Journal of African Elections* 13, no. 1 (2014): pp.150-180.

dissolution of PNU in 2012.[966] The dissolution of PNU in 2012 highlights the importance of party discipline in maintaining coalition durability

5.3.7 Formation of the Grand Coalition Government

The Grand Coalition Government was formed in 2008 as a response to the post-election violence and political crisis that erupted after the disputed presidential election of December 2007.[967] The government was a power-sharing arrangement between the two main rival parties, PNU and ODM. The leaders of these parties, Mwai Kibaki and Raila Odinga, respectively, played key roles in the formation of the coalition. The objective was to restore peace and stability in the country.[968]

Party discipline influenced the government's durability resolution of post-election crisis. After the disputed 2007 presidential election, Kenya faced a severe political crisis, including post-election violence. The Grand Coalition Government was formed to address this crisis and prevent further violence.[969] Party discipline was crucial in ensuring that both PNU and ODM worked together to find a resolution. Despite the political rivalry between President Mwai Kibaki (PNU) and Prime Minister Raila Odinga (ODM), party discipline within the coalition helped maintain a ceasefire and initiate a national reconciliation process. This discipline allowed the government to restore peace and prevent the escalation of violence.

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[966] Ibid
[967] Henry Amadi. "Kenya's Grand Coalition Government-Another Obstacle to Urgent Constitutional Reform?." *Africa Spectrum* 44, no. 3 (2009): pp.149-164.
[968] Ibid
[969] Jimmy J Kisobo. "The Impact of Coalition Government on Political, Economic and Social Development of Postconflict Societies: case of Kenya, 2008-2012." PhD diss., University of Nairobi,, 2013.

The adoption of a new constitution was a fundamental goal of the Grand Coalition Government.[970] It required extensive legislative changes and constitutional reforms. Party discipline was essential in garnering support for these reforms within the coalition and in parliament. The government's ability to maintain party discipline and unity was evident in the passing of the new constitution in 2010. Members of both PNU and ODM voted in favor of the constitutional amendments, showcasing a disciplined approach to achieving a shared objective.

Party discipline within the coalition played a pivotal role in promoting national healing and reconciliation. The government had to address grievances and tensions arising from the 2007-2008 post-election violence.[971] The establishment of the Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) was a significant step toward reconciliation.[972] The disciplined approach of government members and the cooperation of both PNU and ODM representatives on the commission demonstrated a commitment to national healing.

Party discipline ensured that the Grand Coalition Government maintained stability in governance.[973] This stability was critical for addressing pressing issues such as economic challenges, infrastructure development, and public service delivery. Despite their political differences, PNU and ODM members in the cabinet maintained party discipline, which allowed the government to function effectively. It promoted policy continuity and the implementation of key programs, such as infrastructure development and social services.

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[970] Ibid
[971] Lindsay Harroff. "Constructing a" New Kenya": National Unity and Reconciliation in the Wake of Kenya's 2007/2008 Post-Election Violence." PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2014.
[972] E.Asaala, and Dicker, N., 2013. Truth-seeking in Kenya: assessing the effectiveness of the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission of Kenya. *Africa Nazarene University law journal*, *1*(2), pp.133-164.
[973] Oita Etyang. The politics of coalition formation in Kenya: 1992-2017. University of Johannesburg (South Africa), 2021.

One of the most significant achievements of the Grand Coalition Government was the adoption of a new constitution in 2010.[974] This marked a critical step towards political and governance reforms in Kenya. The constitution introduced a devolved system of government, a bill of rights, and a framework for more inclusive and accountable governance. The new constitution created county governments, allowing for more localized decision-making and resource allocation. This increased citizen participation in governance and brought government services closer to the people.

Commenting on the achievements of the Grand Coalition, Wafula Wakoko enlightened thus:

> …the Grand Coalition Government was instrumental in bringing stability to Kenya after the post-election violence of 2007-2008. By forming a coalition between the rival parties, PNU and ODM, it helped quell political tensions and facilitated the healing process. The government established the Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence (the Waki Commission) and initiated the Special Tribunal for the prosecution of post-election violence suspects. These actions demonstrated a commitment to accountability and reconciliation.[975]

Despite being a coalition government, PNU and ODM had different policy priorities and political objectives. This occasionally led to disagreements and power struggles within the coalition.[976] Disagreements over the implementation of key reforms, such as land and constitutional changes, created tensions within the government. The slow progress in addressing these issues became a source of dissatisfaction for many Kenyans.

Shading more light on the challenges encountered by the Grand Coalition Government, Noah Wekesa revealed that:

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[974] Ben Sihanya. Constitutional implementation in Kenya, 2010-2015: Challenges and prospects. 2011.
[975] Wafula Wakoko, Oral Interview at ORPP offices, Nairobi on 3rd January 2024.
[976] Oita Etyang. "The Formation and Instability of Coalition Governments in Kenya." *The African Review* 49, no. 2 (2022): pp.167-194.

> …the Grand Coalition Government faced external pressures, including international expectations for reform. Additionally, there was resistance from some political and vested interest groups who were reluctant to embrace the reforms envisaged by the coalition. The coalition faced resistance from some members of parliament and interest groups when attempting to pass key reform legislation. This resistance at times hindered the government's ability to fulfill its reform agenda…the coalition government inherited an economy with numerous challenges, including high inflation and unemployment rates. Addressing these economic issues proved to be a complex task and a source of public discontent. Despite efforts to stabilize the economy, the government had to deal with inflationary pressures and rising food prices, which had a direct impact on the cost of living for many Kenyans.[977]

The Waki Report focused on the post-election violence that erupted in Kenya after the 2007 elections, delving into the underlying causes of the conflict. It identified key political figures and parties whose actions contributed to the violence, linking the unrest to historical grievances and deep-seated ethnic divisions that were exacerbated by political coalitions. The report proposed the establishment of a special tribunal to prosecute those responsible for the violence and emphasized the necessity for national reconciliation and healing. By addressing these grievances and promoting unity, the Waki Report aimed to create a more inclusive political environment, which would facilitate the formation of stable political coalitions based on trust and mutual respect rather than ethnic or partisan divisions.[978]

The Jubilee Coalition, 2013-2017 brought together the United Republican Party (URP) and The National Alliance (TNA) for the 2013 elections.[979] It aimed to consolidate support and present a united front against the opposition. Party discipline played a significant role in the Jubilee Coalition's durability during the 2013 elections. Member parties maintained a

[977] Noah Wekesa, Oral Interview in Kitale on 16th November, 2023.

[978] https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=d8aa1729-8a9e-7226-acee-8193fd67a21a&groupId=252038. Retrieved and accessed on 3rd January 2024.

[979] Peter aNyaNg'NyoNg'o. "Political Parties and Coalition Politics in Kenyan General Election (s): The 2013. Presidential and General Elections." Kenya's 2013 General Election: Stakes, Practices and *Outcome* (2017).

shared campaign strategy and presented a cohesive image to voters, contributing to their victory. Party discipline also facilitated policy coordination and implementation after winning the presidency. However, internal power struggles and differing priorities emerged over time, affecting party discipline. Despite challenges, the coalition managed to maintain its unity through the 2017 elections and beyond, indicating a moderate level of durability.

Commenting on party discipline within the Jubilee alliance, Range Mwita observed;

> …party discipline within the Jubilee Coalition played a role in the effective implementation of policies and government programs. Members of both TNA and URP adhered to the coalition's agreed-upon policy agenda, ensuring that key initiatives could be carried out without significant internal opposition. The Jubilee Coalition successfully launched several programs, including infrastructure development, social services, and economic initiatives. The disciplined approach of its members in the parliament allowed these policies to be passed and executed efficiently.[980]

The study also holds the view that despite being a coalition of two parties, party discipline was critical in managing internal disagreements. Disagreements and power struggles were not uncommon, but the discipline of members helped contain these disputes and maintain a sense of unity. There were instances of disagreements between members of TNA and URP, especially concerning the distribution of leadership positions and the allocation of resources. However, party discipline ensured that these disagreements did not escalate into significant rifts within the coalition.

The Jubilee Coalition's ability to maintain party discipline demonstrated its resilience in the face of challenges.[981] Even when confronted with external pressures, such as legal disputes

[980] Range Mwita, Oral Interview at CMD offices, Nairobi on 22nd November 2023.

[981] James Thuo Gathii. "Implementing a New Constitution in a Competitive Authoritarian Context: The Case of Kenya." Forthcoming, Parchment to Practice: Implementing New Constitutions, Tom Ginsburg *and Aziz Haq* (eds), Cambridge University Press (2019) (2018).

and allegations of electoral irregularities, the coalition's disciplined approach helped it weather these storms. After the contentious 2017 elections, the Jubilee Coalition faced legal challenges and disputes.[982] However, the discipline of its members in adhering to the coalition's position on these matters allowed it to maintain a united front and effectively address these challenges. The party discipline within the Jubilee Coalition contributed to its public perception and credibility.[983] The ability of the coalition to function cohesively and uphold its commitments enhanced its standing among voters and political observers. The disciplined approach of the coalition leaders in communicating the coalition's agenda and maintaining unity bolstered the public's confidence in the government's ability to deliver on its promises.

The Jubilee Alliance was able to stay united by leveraging the key tenet of 'reciprocity' from social exchange theory. Members of the coalition, particularly from TNA and URP, adhered to the agreed-upon policy agenda, recognizing that cooperation would yield mutual benefits, such as successful implementation of infrastructure development and economic initiatives. This reciprocal relationship fostered a sense of obligation among members to support one another, even amidst internal disagreements over leadership positions and resource allocation. By maintaining party discipline, members could address conflicts without escalating them into significant rifts, thereby reinforcing the coalition's unity. This disciplined approach not only helped the coalition navigate external pressures but also enhanced its credibility and public perception, further solidifying the benefits of remaining united in pursuit of common goals.

[982] Israel Nyaburi Nyadera, Billy Agwanda, and Noah Maulani. "Evolution of Kenya's political system and challenges to democracy." Global encyclopedia of public administration, public policy, and *governance* (2020): pp.1-14.
[983] Gabrielle Lynch. "Electing the 'alliance of the accused': the success of the Jubilee Alliance in Kenya's Rift Valley." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 8, no. 1 (2014): pp.93-114.

Despite presenting a unified front, the Jubilee Coalition was not immune to internal disagreements and power struggles between members of TNA and URP, the two main parties forming the coalition[984]. These disputes often revolved around issues such as the distribution of leadership positions and resource allocation. There were public disagreements between leaders and supporters of TNA and URP regarding the nomination of parliamentary and county assembly candidates in the run-up to the 2013 elections. These disputes occasionally led to tensions within the coalition. As the Jubilee Coalition became more influential, it faced the emergence of competing factions within the coalition, each vying for influence and control.[985] These factions sometimes had different policy priorities and loyalties, which could strain the unity of the coalition. The emergence of competing factions within the coalition, with some members aligning more closely with TNA and others with URP, led to internal divisions that affected the coalition's ability to maintain a cohesive approach.

The Jubilee Coalition's electoral success in 2013 generated high expectations among the public. Managing these expectations and delivering on the coalition's campaign promises, particularly in areas such as job creation, economic development, and infrastructure projects, posed a significant challenge. The Jubilee Coalition faced public scrutiny and pressure to fulfill its campaign pledges in a relatively short time frame, which was challenging given the complexity of the issues at hand.

The Jubilee Coalition also had to contend with external pressures, including allegations of electoral irregularities and challenges to the legitimacy of its electoral victories. These

[984] Bollrich Elisabeth. "*Kenya's Jubilee Hangover*." (2014).
[985] Shadrack Makokha. "The role of internal Political Party mechanisms in resolving disputes from Election Primaries in Kenya, a case study of the 2013 Political Party Primaries." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2019.

pressures created a contentious political environment that could affect the coalition's unity. In the aftermath of the 2017 elections, there were legal challenges and allegations of electoral misconduct. These challenges not only tested the coalition's unity but also had broader implications for the country's political stability.[986]

As Kenya's political landscape evolved, the Jubilee Coalition faced competition from other political forces and parties. The emergence of new opposition alliances and parties created a more competitive political environment, challenging the coalition's ability to maintain its appeal.[987] The 2017 elections witnessed the formation of the National Super Alliance (NASA), an opposition coalition that aimed to challenge the Jubilee Coalition's dominance. This changing political landscape forced the Jubilee Coalition to adapt its strategies to maintain its electoral advantage.

The Coalition for Reforms and Democracy CORD was formed in 2012 in anticipation of the 2013 general elections. It was a coalition of three major political parties: ODM, the Wiper Democratic Movement, and the Ford-Kenya party among others.[988] The coalition's formation was motivated by the desire to present a united front against the Jubilee Alliance, a rival coalition led by Uhuru Kenyatta. Party discipline within CORD was crucial to its durability as a coalition. The parties within CORD demonstrated a significant level of discipline, which contributed to the coalition's ability to hold together and contest elections as a united front. For example, during the 2013 general elections, CORD's presidential

[986] Karuti Kanyinga, Nic Cheeseman, Gabrielle Lynch, Ruteere Mutuma, and Willis Justin. "*Kenya's* 2017 Elections: Winner-Takes-All Politics As Usual." (2019).
[987] Peter Lockwood. "'Before there is power, there is the country': civic nationalism and political mobilisation amongst Kenya's opposition coalitions, 2013–2018." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 57, no. 4 (2019): pp.541-561.
[988] Peter aNyaNg'NyoNg'o, . "Political Parties and Coalition Politics in Kenyan General Election (s): The 2013. Presidential and General Elections." Kenya's 2013 General Election: Stakes, Practices and *Outcome* (2017).

candidate, Raila Odinga of ODM, was supported by the other coalition partners.[989] This unity helped CORD put up a strong challenge against the Jubilee Alliance.

In the 2013 general elections, CORD demonstrated the potential strength of a well-disciplined coalition.[990] Despite narrowly losing the presidential election to Uhuru Kenyatta of the Jubilee Alliance, CORD performed well in parliamentary and county elections. This success can be attributed to the coalition's ability to maintain discipline among its member parties and effectively mobilize its support base. However, internal divisions and power struggles among the coalition partners significantly undermined CORD's unity. The three main parties within the coalition—ODM, Wiper Democratic Movement, and Ford-Kenya—often had differing strategic goals and priorities.[991] While these parties came together in 2012 to form CORD, they maintained their individual identities and leadership structures. Over time, internal disagreements and power struggles emerged among the coalition partners. This lack of internal cohesion led to disputes over the sharing of key positions and resources, with leaders of each party vying for influence within the coalition. The disagreements over the selection of key candidates and the allocation of resources created tensions within CORD.

CORD also faced external pressures from the ruling party, the Jubilee Alliance, and government institutions. The government's actions, including legal challenges, investigations, and alleged interference in the electoral process, created a hostile

[989] George Odhiambo Okoth, and Gordon Onyango Omenya. "New Constitution, Odingaism and the State of Internal Democracy in Orange Democratic Movement and its Effects on the 2013 Elections in Kenya." Kenya's Past as Prologue: Voters, Violence and the 2013 General Election (2015): p.190.
[990] Shadrack Makokha. "The role of internal Political Party mechanisms in resolving disputes from Election Primaries in Kenya, a case study of the 2013 Political Party Primaries." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2019.
[991] Oita Etyang. "The Formation and Instability of Coalition Governments in Kenya." *The African Review* 49, no. 2 (2022): pp.167-194.

environment for CORD.[992] These external pressures further strained the coalition's ability to function cohesively. The legal battles over electoral disputes and alleged government attempts to weaken the opposition added to the coalition's challenges.

The culmination of these challenges was the disintegration of CORD as a political coalition. The internal divisions and external pressures proved insurmountable, leading to a lack of trust and cooperation among the coalition partners. This disintegration became evident as the 2017 elections approached, with some member parties choosing to pursue independent paths rather than remain in the coalition. Eventually, CORD ceased to exist as a unified political force, marking the end of its role in Kenya's political landscape.

Formation of the National Super Alliance (NASA) was formed in January 2017, leading up to the general elections later that year. The coalition brought together various opposition parties, including ODM, Wiper Democratic Movement, ANC, and Ford-Kenya, among others[993]. Its primary objective was to present a unified opposition front to challenge the incumbent Jubilee Coalition. The impact of party discipline on NASA's durability was significant in maintaining the unity and effectiveness of the coalition. Party discipline within the member parties of NASA played a crucial role in its ability to present a cohesive opposition front. Party discipline was instrumental in NASA's ability to present a unified opposition front in the 2017 general elections. Member parties, including ODM, Wiper Democratic Movement, ANC, and Ford-Kenya, adhered to the coalition's strategy and campaign objectives.[994] For instance, despite having diverse interests and leaders with

[992] Susanne D Mueller. "The resilience of the past: government and opposition in Kenya." *Canadian* Journal of African Studies/La Revue Canadienne des Etudes Africaines 48, no. 2 (2014): pp.333-352.
[993] Karuti Kanyinga, Nic Cheeseman, Gabrielle Lynch, Ruteere Mutuma, and Willis Justin. "*Kenya's* 2017 Elections: Winner-Takes-All Politics As Usual." (2019).
[994] Oita Etyang. The politics of coalition formation in Kenya: 1992-2017. University of Johannesburg (South Africa), 2021.

different political backgrounds, NASA's member parties maintained discipline, which allowed them to jointly rally supporters and challenge the incumbent government.

Party discipline ensured that NASA's election campaign was well-coordinated and efficient. The coalition's leaders and members worked together to mobilize support, organize rallies, and communicate a coherent message to the electorate. NASA's disciplined approach during the campaign period was evident in its ability to hold large rallies and reach a broad cross-section of the population. This discipline contributed to the coalition's competitive position in the elections. Party discipline played a role in maintaining policy consistency within the coalition.[995] Member parties adhered to a common policy agenda, which was important in presenting a clear and consistent alternative to the incumbent government's policies. Despite differences in the manifestos of member parties, NASA managed to harmonize its policy agenda, ensuring that its message was consistent on key issues like governance, economic development, and electoral reforms.

While NASA encountered internal disagreements, especially during the selection of its presidential candidate, party discipline helped manage these disputes and prevented them from escalating into significant divisions. The dispute over the nomination of the presidential candidate was a critical issue within NASA.[996] However, the disciplined approach of the coalition's leaders and the subsequent negotiations and compromises allowed them to resolve the matter without undermining the coalition's unity. Party discipline within NASA contributed to its success in securing a substantial presence in

[995]Kipruto RA Kirwa. "The Role of Political Parties in Enhancing Democratic Governance in Africa: a Case of Kenya." PhD diss., university of Nairobi, 2018.
[996] Patrick Langat "Election in Kenya: A Public Sphere Analysis." PhD diss., University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 2020.

parliament. The discipline of its elected members enabled the coalition to effectively represent the opposition in legislative matters. NASA members of parliament demonstrated discipline by consistently opposing government policies and legislation they disagreed with, thereby playing a robust role in the legislative process.

David Burare's observations on NASA's performance in 2017 elections include:

> NASA's performance in the 2017 general elections in Kenya was closely watched, as the coalition presented a formidable opposition front challenging the incumbent Jubilee Coalition. The coalition's performance was influenced by various factors, including its ability to rally supporters, the impact of electoral reforms, and the dynamics of Kenya's political landscape. NASA demonstrated a remarkable ability to mobilize and energize its supporters during the 2017 elections. Opposition rallies, led by key figures such as Raila Odinga, drew significant crowds and generated enthusiasm among the electorate. NASA's rallies, often characterized by large turnouts and passionate speeches, reflected the coalition's effective mobilization efforts. These rallies were an essential part of NASA's election strategy.[997]

The foregoing observations aligns with the social exchange theory, where NASA's rallies and the generated enthusiasm were seen as a way to build social connections and a collective identity within its base. By creating a platform for passionate speeches and large turnouts, NASA was able to tap into the social and psychological needs of its supporters, fostering stronger commitment and willingness to participate, which boosted the coalition's overall performance in the elections.

NASA enjoyed strong support in its traditional strongholds, particularly in regions like Nyanza and Western Kenya. The coalition maintained a loyal voter base in these areas, contributing to its overall electoral performance. In Nyanza, a NASA stronghold, the coalition secured high voter turnout and overwhelming support for its presidential

[997] David Burare, Oral Interview at Upper Hill, Nairobi on 23rd November 2023.

candidate, Raila Odinga. The 2017 elections took place against a backdrop of electoral reforms aimed at enhancing transparency and credibility. NASA, like other political actors, focused on these reforms and sought to leverage them to ensure a fair electoral process. NASA's calls for transparency and fairness in the electoral process resonated with voters who were eager to see improvements in the electoral system.

The presidential race in 2017 was highly competitive. NASA's presidential candidate, Raila Odinga, emerged as a strong contender, challenging the incumbent President Uhuru Kenyatta. The competitiveness of the race kept voters engaged and contributed to a high voter turnout. The close contest between Raila Odinga and Uhuru Kenyatta generated significant public interest and debates, motivating voters to participate in the election. While NASA performed well in the 2017 elections, the results were marred by post-election disputes and allegations of irregularities.[998] The opposition coalition contested the outcome and raised concerns about the credibility of the election. NASA's decision to challenge the election results through the courts, culminating in the nullification of the presidential election by the Supreme Court, highlighted the coalition's commitment to ensuring electoral transparency and accountability.

NASA's performance in the 2017 elections had a significant impact on Kenya's political landscape. The coalition emerged as a strong and credible opposition, influencing policy debates and government accountability in the post-election period. NASA's performance in the 2017 elections contributed to shaping the political discourse in Kenya, emphasizing the importance of opposition oversight and checks and balances.[999]

[998] John Mwangi Githigaro. "Assessing the ‘Credibility’of the Kenya's 2017 General Elections: A Critical Reading of Selected International Observers Missions ‘Digital Reports’." In *Digital Technologies,* Elections and Campaigns in Africa, pp. 155-171. Routledge.
[999] Kelvin D Okutta. "Presidential Elections in Kenya and the Notion of Accept and Move on." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2023.

NASA faced several challenges to its durability during the multiparty era in Kenya. Despite its initial unity and significant electoral performance, the coalition encountered obstacles that strained its cohesion and effectiveness. There were internal disagreements within NASA regarding the nomination of the presidential candidate. This led to tensions and negotiations within the coalition, which, while eventually resolved, highlighted the potential for discord. Member parties of NASA, such as ODM, Wiper Democratic Movement, ANC, and Ford-Kenya, often had varying policy priorities and regional interests. Managing these divergent interests and ensuring they did not lead to fragmentation proved challenging.

The high expectations created by NASA's enthusiastic campaign rallies and promises of sweeping changes in governance and economic policies posed a challenge. Meeting the diverse demands and expectations of supporters proved challenging after the elections. After the 2017 elections, NASA faced allegations of electoral irregularities and disputed results. The coalition's response to external pressures and its demands for electoral justice led to a period of political tension and uncertainty.

The political landscape evolved, with new political actors and alliances emerging. The formation of new opposition alliances and shifting alliances within the ruling Jubilee Coalition created a more competitive political environment, challenging NASA's position.[1000] After the 2017 elections, several new political alliances and parties emerged. These included the One Kenya Alliance (OKA), which was formed by a group of veteran politicians, including Musalia Mudavadi, Kalonzo Musyoka, Gideon Moi, and Moses

[1000] Cheeseman, Nic, Karuti Kanyinga, Gabrielle Lynch, Mutuma Ruteere, and Justin Willis. "Kenya's 2017 elections: winner-takes-all politics as usual?." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 13, no. 2 (2019): pp.215-234.

Wetang'ula. This alliance aimed to provide an alternative political platform and challenge both the ruling Jubilee Coalition and NASA.

The roles and ambitions of key leaders within NASA, such as Raila Odinga and Kalonzo Musyoka, sometimes led to disagreements over leadership and decision-making processes.[1001] One of the major points of contention within NASA was the selection of the presidential candidate. While Raila Odinga was NASA's flag bearer in the 2017 elections, there were discussions and negotiations around whether another leader, like Kalonzo Musyoka, should lead the coalition in the presidential race. These disagreements over the presidential candidacy raised questions about the unity and cohesion of the opposition coalition. Raila Odinga was known for his confrontational and assertive style of opposition, often taking a more radical approach in challenging the government. In contrast, Kalonzo Musyoka and other leaders within NASA occasionally favored a more conciliatory approach. These strategic differences in opposition tactics and methods also led to internal disputes over the coalition's direction.

Building Bridges Initiative (BBI) initiative brought together political leaders from various parties, including President Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga, to address constitutional and governance reforms.[1002] While not a traditional coalition, the BBI initiative highlighted the role of party discipline in sustaining discussions and initiatives. Party leaders from different backgrounds maintained a level of discipline in adhering to the BBI agenda, advocating for the proposed constitutional changes. However, as the initiative faced

[1001] Mathews Arnold Shirima. "Politics of choice: Interrogating the place of ethical decision making in Kenyan politics." (2018).
[1002] Irungu Kang'ata, Scholastica Omondi, Duncan Ojwang, and Lois Musikali. "Building Bridges Initiative Proposals: Consociational Democracy and the Constitution of Kenya 2010." *E. Afr. LJ* (2019): p.77.

challenges and disagreements, party discipline played a role in influencing the degree of commitment and unity among coalition members.

John Kamande remarked on the formation of BBI thus:

> …the BBI initiative was unique in that it brought together leaders from different political parties, including the ruling Jubilee Party, which President Uhuru Kenyatta leads, and the opposition ODM, led by Raila Odinga. The participation of leaders from these rival parties showcased a level of willingness to set aside partisan differences for the sake of addressing national issues. Despite their party affiliations, key leaders like Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga demonstrated discipline and commitment to the BBI agenda. This meant advocating for the proposed constitutional changes and governance reforms outlined in the BBI report. Their alignment with the initiative was crucial in garnering support and ensuring that the proposal gained traction.[1003]

The researcher argues that the foregoing observations on the formation of BBI in Kenya fail to acknowledge the nuances within the political parties involved. While the participation of leaders from rival parties, such as Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga, suggests a willingness to address national issues, the observation does not reflect the differing opinions and levels of support within the Jubilee Party and ODM. Furthermore, the observation oversimplifies the leaders' motivations, neglecting to consider the possibility of underlying political agendas, such as the desire for power consolidation, rather than solely focusing on addressing national concerns through the BBI process.

The study highlighted the significant role of party discipline in shaping the stance and unity of political parties and coalition members regarding the BBI in Kenya. It found that party discipline, cascading from leaders to party hierarchies, played a crucial role in maintaining a unified position within parties and parliamentary groups on the BBI. The degree of party discipline influenced internal cohesion, public perception, and legislative success

[1003] John Kamande, Oral Interview at Uraia Trust offices, Nairobi on 24th November, 2023.

regarding BBI-related matters, with stricter discipline leading to more unity and effectiveness in advancing BBI-related legislation, while leniency resulted in internal divisions and challenges in legislative support.

Members of the focus group discussion three, unanimously highlighted the pivotal role of the Grand Coalition Government in Kenya following the 2007-2008 post-election violence and political crisis.[1004] They acknowledged the coalition's significant contribution to restoring peace, stability, and national healing by bringing together PNU and ODM in a display of unity and collaboration. The focus group emphasized that party discipline within the coalition was crucial for its durability and effectiveness in resolving the crisis, enabling policy coordination, legislative reforms, national reconciliation efforts, and successful initiatives like the adoption of a new constitution in 2010. Additionally, they noted how the disciplined approach of coalition members ensured governance stability, addressed economic challenges, and facilitated infrastructure development, underscoring the importance of party discipline in fostering effective governance and progress during a critical period in Kenya's political history.

5.3.8 The Jubilee Alliance in the Post-2017 Elections

In the lead-up to the 2017 elections in Kenya, the Jubilee Alliance evolved into the Jubilee Party, a unified political entity formed through the merger of various parties.[1005] The Jubilee Party was officially launched on September 10, 2016, as a consolidation of different political outfits, including TNA led by President Uhuru Kenyatta and URP led by Deputy

[1004] FGD 3 at Kondele in Kisumu County on 9th August 2023.
[1005] Justin Willis, Nic Cheeseman, and Gabrielle Lynch. "kenya 2017: the interim elections?." Observatoire Afrique de L'Est 2 (2017): p.8.

President William Ruto.[1006] The formation of the Jubilee Party was aimed at solidifying and strengthening the political base established during the 2013 elections. It sought to bring together different factions and regional interests under a single entity to enhance the party's cohesion and effectiveness in the upcoming elections. On party discipline and the performance of Jubilee party, Charles Matoke noted:

> ...the Jubilee Alliance, known for its merger into the Jubilee Party, exemplified robust party discipline, notably in legislative proceedings, which profoundly influenced its unity and success in Parliament. This disciplined approach was evident during crucial debates on significant bills like the Finance Bill and Budget Appropriation Bills, where a majority of Jubilee Alliance MPs consistently supported the party's directives. Such unity enhanced the coalition's effectiveness in advancing the government's policies and programs, showcasing acohesive front within Parliament…… the implementation of a stringent whip system played a pivotal role in upholding party discipline within the Jubilee Alliance. Party officials, led by the Chief Whip, ensured adherence to the party's decisions during parliamentary sessions. This enforcement ensured that MPs attended essential sessions and voted in line with the party's stance. Non-compliance with the whip's instructions often led to disciplinary actions, emphasizing the coalition's commitment to maintaining party discipline.[1007]

The observations on the Jubilee Party's performance and party discipline align with the social exchange theory's tenet of conformity, where the implementation of a stringent whip system incentivized lawmakers to adhere to the party's directives during crucial parliamentary proceedings.[1008] The perceived benefits for Jubilee Alliance members of parliament to conform, such as continued support and preservation of their political positions, outweighed the potential costs of non-compliance, enabling the party to showcase a cohesive front and effectively advance the government's policies in Parliament.

[1006] https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000211403/uhuru-kenyatta-william-ruto-to-launch-jubilee-party-in-september. Accessed on 11th October 2023.

[1007] Charles Matoke, Oral Interview at UDA offices, Nairobi on 19th November 2023.

[1008] Karen S Cook, Coye Cheshire, Eric RW Rice, and Sandra Nakagawa. "Social exchange theory." Handbook of social psychology (2013): pp61-88.

The researcher also observed that even during contentious debates on issues like electoral law amendments or divisive budget allocations, the Jubilee Alliance remained united in parliamentary votes. Despite potential divisions among its members on specific issues, the majority of Jubilee MPs exhibited discipline by voting uniformly. This cohesive behavior demonstrated the alliance's ability to maintain solidarity, presenting a united front despite internal differences. Overall, the disciplined conduct within the Jubilee Alliance significantly contributed to its ability to advance legislative goals and effectively implement government programs, thus bolstering its unity and success in Kenya's political landscape.

The internal cohesion within The Jubilee Alliance was partly sustained by the implementation of party discipline, primarily through the leadership's authority and the effective use of a whip system.[1009] Led by President Uhuru Kenyatta and Deputy President William Ruto, the alliance maintained a united front, wherein the directives from the top leadership significantly influenced member parties' actions. Their cohesive leadership approach played a pivotal role in guiding the alliance's decisions during parliamentary debates and policy matters, contributing to a semblance of unity within the coalition.

Range Mwita made a similar observation:

> …the whip system implemented within The Jubilee Alliance further solidified internal cohesion and stability. Party officials, particularly the Chief Whip, were instrumental in ensuring MPs adhered to the party line in parliamentary proceedings. The enforcement of party discipline through this system helped maintain alignment among member parties, especially during critical votes on legislation. Instances of non-compliance were met with disciplinary measures, emphasizing the coalition's commitment to internal discipline and stability…. the leadership's influence and the effective

[1009] Westen Kwatemba Shilaho. "Old wine in new skins-Kenya's 2013 elections and the triumph of the ancien régime." *Journal of African Elections* 12, no. 3 (2013): 89-119.

> implementation of the whip system were central in fostering internal cohesion within The Jubilee Alliance, contributing to its stability during parliamentary activities and public engagements.[1010]

In lign with the preceding obserservations, the researcher contends that the whip system implemented within the Jubilee Alliance initially helped maintain internal cohesion and stability, but this approach proved unsustainable in the long run. The strict enforcement of party discipline, the concentration of power in the leadership, shifting political alliances, intraparty conflicts, and the lack of inclusive decision-making ultimately contributed to the eventual fallout of the Jubilee party's leadership. Despite the initial success of the whip system, the party's inability to adapt to the evolving political landscape and address the growing internal tensions ultimately led to its demise, serving as a cautionary tale about the limitations of relying solely on party discipline to maintain stability.

Despite efforts of enforcing party discipline, challenges arose due to differing interests among member parties. Disagreements over the implementation of key policies, such as economic strategies and infrastructure projects. Additionally, there were tensions surrounding the distribution of resources and power-sharing arrangements among coalition partners. These instances of dissent or conflicting agendas occasionally strained the unity of the coalition, highlighting the difficulty of maintaining strict discipline within a diverse political landscape.[1011] Several contentious issues and challenges led to fallout among key leaders within the coalition. These disagreements and divergent interests resulted in rifts and tensions that significantly affected the unity of the party.

[1010] Range Mwita, Oral Interview at CMD offices, Nairobi on 22nd November 2023.
[1011] Analytica Oxford. "Kenya's ruling party may suffer slow collapse." *Emerald Expert Briefings* oxan-db (2018).

Voter respondents in focus group discussion three provided a dissenting perspective regarding the level of party discipline within the Jubilee Party following the 2017 election.[1012] They refuted the notion that there was continued discipline within the party post-2017 election, suggesting that challenges emerged in maintaining strict party discipline within the Jubilee Party. This dissenting voice highlighted a different interpretation of the party dynamics and internal cohesion within the Jubilee Party during the period following the 2017 election.

The researcher's views on the perspective offered by the foregoing sentments indicates that despite efforts to enforce party discipline, there were instances of dissent, conflicting agendas, and challenges arising from differing interests among member parties within the Jubilee Party. The dissenting voice emphasized that these internal disagreements and divergent interests led to rifts, tensions, and a strain on the unity of the party, suggesting a departure from the disciplined conduct observed earlier within the coalition. By presenting a contrasting view on the state of party discipline within the Jubilee Party post-2017 election, observation from focus group discussion three perspective adds depth to the discussion by highlighting potential challenges and internal dynamics that may have impacted the party's unity and coherence during that period. This dissenting voice contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of the complexities and nuances of maintaining party discipline within a diverse political landscape.

The most prominent fallouts within the Jubilee Party was the strained relationship between Deputy President William Ruto and President Uhuru Kenyatta.[1013] Over time, there were

[1012] FGD 4 at Kamungunji in Nairobi County on 14th November 2023.
[1013] Aden Duale. For The Record: The Inside Story of Power, Politics, Law Making and Leadership in *Kenya*, (2023)

reported differences in political approaches and diverging interests between the two leaders. The fallout between the President and his deputy led to a visible rift within the party. The differences were fueled by various issues, including the 2022 succession politics, with Ruto's ambitions conflicting with Kenyatta's preferred succession plans. This internal strife impacted the unity of the party, leading to widening divisions.

Further, Duale describes another contentious issue within Jubilee which was pegged on the reshuffling of party positions and changes in leadership.[1014] Disagreements arose over the allocation of influential positions, both within the party and the government. Conflicting interests among key leaders and factions within the party led to power struggles, as some members felt marginalized or excluded from decision-making processes. This internal power play affected the party's cohesion and fueled tensions among top leaders.

Herman Manyora commented that:

> There were instances of policy disagreements and ideological differences among Jubilee Party members. Varied opinions on critical issues such as economic policies, governance strategies, and implementation of key projects caused internal divisions. The differing approaches and perspectives on these matters led to clashes of interests and contributed to the fragmentation of the party's unity. The Jubilee Party's coalition comprised various ethnic-based factions and regional interests. Disagreements stemming from regional or ethnic concerns occasionally surfaced within the party, leading to tensions and rifts among leaders representing different communities. These regional dynamics influenced internal politics and at times contributed to the fragmentation of the party's unity….these contentious issues and challenges within the Jubilee Party led to significant fallouts among key leaders, resulting in divisions and weakening the party's unity and stability over time.[1015]

The researcher observes that the Jubilee Party faced significant internal divisions stemming from social exchange theory dynamics. Policy disagreements, ideological differences,

[1014] Ibid
[1015] Herman Manyora, Oral Interview at Fountain of Knowledge UoN, Nairobi on 21st November 2023.

regional and ethnic tensions among the various factions and leaders within the party created an environment of clashing interests and perspectives. As the perceived costs of continued party membership outweighed the benefits for some members, it led to fallouts and fragmentation, weakening the party's unity and stability over time. The inability to find a mutually beneficial equilibrium among the diverse interests and affiliations within the party contributed to its challenges and eventual fragmentation.

The durability of the Jubilee party showcased a mixed impact stemming from the extent of party discipline within its structure. Initially, party discipline played a vital role in fostering short-term unity and stability. It facilitated a cohesive front during critical junctures, like parliamentary decisions and electoral campaigns. This discipline enabled the alliance to present a unified stance on significant issues, ensuring alignment in legislative matters and government policies, contributing to the coalition's immediate objectives.

However, challenges to the alliance's long-term sustainability emerged due to the constraints of strict party discipline. Divergent interests among member parties, internal power struggles, and conflicting political aspirations among key leaders caused internal rifts. Notably, disagreements and power tussles between President Uhuru Kenyatta and Deputy President William Ruto strained the unity of the coalition.[1016] These conflicting ambitions for future leadership positions widened divisions, undermining the alliance's cohesiveness in the long run.

Over time, the erosion of party discipline worsened the challenges faced by The Jubilee Alliance. The intensification of internal disagreements and dissent within the coalition

[1016] https://africasacountry.com/2020/07/the-battle-within-uhurus-war-against-his-deputy. Accessed on 12/01/2024

made the enforcement of strict discipline increasingly difficult.[1017] As personal agendas clashed and factions within the party emerged, maintaining a uniform party line became more challenging, significantly impacting the alliance's ability to present a united front. Ultimately, the challenges to party discipline within The Jubilee Alliance negatively influenced its image and credibility. The visible internal rifts and ongoing discord undermined the coalition's perception among the electorate and within the broader political landscape. These challenges, rooted in the erosion of party discipline and internal disagreements, posed substantial threats to the long-term sustainability and durability of The Jubilee Alliance in Kenya's political sphere.

Its management of party discipline amidst internal challenges significantly influenced the durability and resilience of The Jubilee Alliance. The alliance encountered internal dissent, power struggles among key leaders, and the emergence of factions within its structure. However, effective management of party discipline played a pivotal role in how the coalition navigated these challenges.

Internal dissent within the alliance arose from conflicting interests among member parties, leading to disagreements over policies and regional priorities. The ability to address these dissenting voices through adept management of party discipline helped mitigate potential fragmentation. Instances where the leadership successfully enforced discipline and reconciled conflicting views contributed to the alliance's resilience against internal divisions.

[1017] Aden Duale. For The Record: The Inside Story of Power, Politics, Lawmaking and Leadership in *Kenya*, Paperback (2023)

Power struggles between top leaders, particularly President Uhuru Kenyatta and Deputy President William Ruto, strained the coalition's unity.[1018] The management of these internal conflicts without causing irreparable damage required skillful handling of party discipline. Instances where the coalition effectively navigated these power struggles demonstrated its resilience against such challenges, showcasing the significance of disciplined leadership in preserving the alliance's cohesion.

Furthermore, the emergence of factions advocating diverse agendas tested the alliance's cohesion.[1019] However, effective management of party discipline across these factions allowed the coalition to maintain a degree of unity. Instances where the coalition reconciled conflicting factions highlighted its resilience in the face of internal factionalism, underscoring the crucial role of disciplined leadership in preserving the alliance's stability amidst diverse interests.

The internal dynamics of the Jubilee Party were marked by challenges in maintaining unity and discipline, which had far-reaching consequences in subsequent developments within Kenyan politics. Wafula Wakoko noted;

> …internally, the Jubilee Party encountered fractures stemming from internal disagreements and diverging ambitions, notably between President Uhuru Kenyatta and Deputy President William Ruto. These conflicts led to the emergence of internal factions like "Tangatanga" and "Kieleweke" within the party. The fallout between key leaders contributed to a restructuring of alliances and realignments within the political landscape. The struggles to enforce discipline within the party post-2017 elections disrupted the initial unity, giving rise to internal divisions that triggered a ripple effect, impacting political configurations within Kenya.[1020]

[1018] Gilbert Khadiagala. "Coalition politics in Kenya." Marriages of Inconvenience: The politics of coalitions in South Africa (2021): p.157.
[1019] Ibid
[1020] Wafula Wakoko, Oral Interview at ORPP offices, Nairobi on 3rd January 2024.

The researcher concurring with Wakoko, contends that the repercussions of the Jubilee Party's internal challenges extended beyond its confines, shaping Kenya's broader political narrative. The visible internal rifts within the ruling party altered public perceptions and influenced the political discourse. The party's difficulties in upholding discipline created openings for new political formations and opposition groups, contributing to a reconfiguration of power dynamics. These shifts led to changes in leadership, with some members exiting the party and forming coalitions or alliances with other political entities. The evolution of new alliances and realignments among former Jubilee members reflected the transformative impact of the party's internal discipline struggles on subsequent political trajectories in Kenya.

In essence, the challenges faced by the Jubilee Party in maintaining party discipline during its formative years had a profound impact on Kenya's political landscape post-2017. Internal fractures, shifts in alliances, emergence of new factions, and alterations in the political narrative all stemmed from the struggles in upholding party discipline. These ramifications highlighted the pivotal role of internal party dynamics and discipline in reshaping the broader political dynamics of the country.

The challenges faced by The Jubilee Alliance are in line with social exchange theory, which suggests that members evaluate their participation based on perceived benefits versus costs. As internal dissent and power struggles between President Uhuru Kenyatta and Deputy William Ruto intensified, the perceived costs of belonging to the coalition increased, leading to factionalism (notably "Tangatanga" and "Kieleweke"). This fragmentation reflected a misalignment in perceived rewards, prompting members to seek alternative alliances that promised better returns. Ultimately, the erosion of party discipline not only

undermined the coalition's unity but also reshaped Kenya's political landscape, highlighting the necessity of effective management of internal relationships for long-term sustainability.

5.3.9 Formation of Azimio la Umoja–One Kenya Coalition (Azimio la Umoja)

Azimio la Umoja was formed in the lead-up to the 2022 general elections.[1021] The coalition brought together various political parties, including the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), the Wiper Democratic Movement, and other parties, to present a united political front. Azimio la Umoja-Kenya is a significant political coalition that was formed as part of the evolving political landscape in Kenya during the multiparty era. The formation of Azimio la Umoja-Kenya involved the merging of various political parties and leaders to present a united political front.

The formation of Azimio la Umoja-Kenya took place against the backdrop of the 2022 general elections, which were anticipated to be highly competitive and crucial for Kenya's political future.[1022] Kenya's political landscape was characterized by shifting alliances, as political parties sought to form coalitions and alliances to increase their chances of electoral success. Azimio la Umoja-Kenya was spearheaded by several key political figures, including Raila Odinga, the leader of the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), and other prominent leaders from different political parties. These leaders played a central role in bringing together their respective parties and forming the coalition.

David Barare observed:

> …the formation of Azimio la Umoja-Kenya was driven by several factors….the coalition aimed to present a united front in the 2022

[1021] "Azimio La Umoja Unveils ODM Leader Raila Odinga As Its Presidential Flag Bearer". Archived from the original on 2022-08-15. Retrieved 2022-08-01. Accessed on 25th November 2023.
[1022] Jacinta Mwende Maweu. "Election, Violence and Political Legitimation." In *Routledge Handbook of* African Political Philosophy, pp. 256-266. Routledge.

> elections, with the goal of consolidating support from various regions and communities. The rationale was to pool resources, coordinate campaign efforts, and enhance their electoral prospects; Azimio la Umoja-Kenya sought to harmonize the policy agendas of its member parties to present a coherent platform addressing issues such as governance, economic development, and social welfare; Like other coalitions before it, Azimio la Umoja-Kenya aimed to promote national unity and reconciliation, emphasizing that Kenya's political leadership should reflect the country's diversity.[1023]

However, despite Burare's submission, the formation of Azimio la Umoja generated mixed reactions among the public and political observers. Some saw it as a promising development that could provide a viable alternative in the 2022 elections, while others raised concerns about potential power imbalances within the coalition. Azimio la Umoja, after its formation, embarked on an ambitious campaign platform, emphasizing unity, inclusivity, and addressing key challenges facing Kenya. The coalition's message resonated with a significant portion of the electorate, leading to growing support. The formation of Azimio la Umoja-Kenya had a lasting impact on Kenya's political landscape. It signaled the importance of political alliances and coalitions in the country's electoral landscape and reinforced the idea that unity could significantly influence election outcomes.

Party discipline played a significant role in Azimio la Umoja ability to maintain unity and cohesion within the coalition. The disciplined approach of its member parties and leaders contributed to its effectiveness as a political alliance. The impact of party discipline on Azimio la Umoja-Kenya's durability was instrumental in maintaining the unity and effectiveness of the coalition. Party discipline within the member parties of Azimio la Umoja-Kenya played a crucial role in its ability to present a cohesive political front. Here are specific examples of how party discipline influenced the coalition's durability:

[1023] David Burare, Oral Interview at Upper Hill, Nairobi on 23rd November 2023.

Party discipline was pivotal in Azimio la Umoja-Kenya's ability to present a united political front. Member parties, including the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), adhered to the coalition's campaign strategy and objectives. Despite representing various regions and communities, Azimio la Umoja member parties consistently presented a united front at campaign rallies and in public statements, emphasizing a common vision and objectives. Party discipline ensured that Azimio la Umoja election campaign was well-coordinated and efficient. The coalition's leaders and members worked together to mobilize support, organize rallies, and communicate a coherent message to the electorate. The disciplined approach was evident in the campaign's organization and messaging. Azimio la Umoja rallies were well-attended and featured consistent messaging about the coalition's vision and promises to the electorate.

Party discipline was essential in maintaining policy consistency within the coalition. Member parties adhered to a common policy agenda, which was vital in presenting a clear and consistent alternative to the policies of their opponents. Despite the diverse backgrounds and policy priorities of member parties, Azimio la Umoja managed to harmonize its policy agenda to ensure that its message was consistent on key issues such as governance, economic development, and social welfare.

While Azimio la Umoja encountered internal disagreements, especially during the selection of its presidential candidate, party discipline helped manage these disputes and prevent them from escalating into significant divisions. The dispute over the nomination of the presidential candidate, a critical issue within the coalition, was managed with discipline. The coalition's leaders engaged in negotiations and compromises, allowing them to resolve the matter without undermining the coalition's unity. Party discipline within

Azimio la Umoja contributed to its success in securing a significant presence in parliament. The disciplined approach of its elected members enabled the coalition to effectively represent the opposition in legislative matters. Azimio la Umoja-Kenya's members of parliament consistently opposed government policies and legislation they disagreed with, thereby playing an active role in the legislative process.

Based on the study findings, party discipline played a pivotal role in maintaining Azimio la Umoja-Kenya's durability and effectiveness as a political coalition. It allowed the coalition to present a united front, conduct an efficient election campaign, maintain policy consistency, manage internal disputes, and assert a strong presence in parliament. This disciplined approach was a key factor in Azimio la Umoja-Kenya's ability to compete in the political arena and shape Kenya's political landscape.

These case studies demonstrate that party discipline has a significant impact on the durability of coalitions in Kenya. Strong party discipline can contribute to a coalition's cohesion, electoral success, and policy implementation, while weak party discipline can lead to internal conflicts, dissolution, and reduced effectiveness. These case studies demonstrate how party discipline has played a crucial role in determining the stability, coherence, and longevity of coalitions in Kenya's history. Parties that are able to maintain discipline and cohesion are more likely to achieve their goals and remain durable over time. However, parties that face challenges in maintaining discipline may struggle to maintain their coalition over time.

5.4 Significance of Party Discipline

The significance of party discipline in Kenyan politics cannot be overstated as it plays a crucial role in shaping the country's political landscape, governance, and policy-making processes. This section provides the significance of party discipline in Kenyan politics.

5.4.1 Effective Governance and Policy Implementation

Party discipline plays a crucial role in effective governance and policy implementation in Kenya as it ensures coherence, unity, and concerted efforts among members of political parties in executing their agendas. When parties maintain discipline, it enables them to uphold their commitments, implement policies, and pursue their political objectives cohesively.

In Kenya's parliamentary system, maintaining party discipline is essential for passing legislation and implementing policies effectively.[1024] For instance, during debates and votes in the National Assembly or the Senate, parties need strong internal discipline to ensure that members support the party's positions on critical bills and policies. When discipline is lacking, it can lead to the failure of important legislative initiatives or create obstacles to policy implementation. Instances where lack of discipline resulted in challenges include debates on crucial bills like budget appropriations or key policy reforms.

Kenya has experienced coalition governments where multiple parties come together to form the ruling administration. In such scenarios, party discipline is crucial for the stability of governance. The lack of discipline or disagreements among coalition members can lead to internal conflicts and hinder the smooth functioning of the government. For instance, in

[1024] Ken Ochieng'Opalo. "Constrained presidential power in Africa? Legislative independence and executive rule making in Kenya, 1963–2013." *British Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 4 (2020): pp.1341-1358.

the Grand Coalition Government formed after the 2007-2008 post-election violence, maintaining discipline and managing differences between coalition partners were essential for stability and effective governance.

On the significance of party discipline, Range Mwita states:

> …party discipline significantly impacts the ability of the president, who is usually from the ruling party, to implement their agenda and priorities. When party members maintain discipline and align with the president's policies, it facilitates the smooth execution of the government's plans. However, instances of dissent or lack of discipline among party members can disrupt the president's leadership and hinder policy implementation. Examples include cases where party members publicly oppose the president's policies or fail to support the government's agenda in parliament.[1025]

Mwita's observation are in lign with Aldrich's research on the role of party discipline in presidential systems. He argues that party discipline is crucial for the president's legislative success, as it allows the president to mobilize their party members in support of their policy agenda.[1026] When party members maintain discipline and align with the president's policies, it facilitates the smooth passage of legislation and the implementation of the government's plans

The researcher holds the view that at the county level, party discipline among elected officials is critical for effective local governance and service delivery. When members of county assemblies or governors align with their party's objectives, it facilitates coordinated efforts towards implementing development projects and delivering services to citizens. Lack of party discipline at the county level can result in conflicts, inefficiencies, and delays in executing developmental initiatives.

[1025] Range Mwita, Oral Interview at CMD offices, Nairobi on 22nd November 2023.
[1026] John H Aldrich. Why parties?: The origin and transformation of political parties in America. University of Chicago Press, 1995.

5.4.2 Stability and Functionality of Coalitions

Party discipline holds significant importance for the stability and functionality of coalitions in Kenya. When coalition members maintain discipline, it contributes to cohesion, unity, and the overall effectiveness of the coalition.

Maintaining discipline among coalition members is crucial for upholding the terms and agreements outlined in coalition pacts.[1027] For instance, the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) formed ahead of the 2002 elections faced challenges when the terms of the coalition agreement were not fully adhered to. Disputes arose over the distribution of ministerial positions and the implementation of agreed-upon policies. Lack of party discipline among members led to tensions and disagreements that strained the functionality of the coalition.[1028] An informant explained:

> Effective party discipline within coalitions is necessary to ensure alignment on policy issues and decision-making processes. In the context of coalition governments, such as the Grand Coalition Government formed after the 2007-2008 post-election violence, maintaining discipline among coalition partners was essential for coherent governance. Disagreements and lack of discipline among coalition members could lead to policy gridlock, hindering the implementation of crucial government programs and policies.[1029]

In agreement with Lokala's foregoing sentiments, the researcher submits that party discipline within coalitions is critical for maintaining unity in parliament and facilitating legislative effectiveness. In Kenya's multi-party system, coalitions often provide the numerical strength needed to pass legislation.[1030] During parliamentary sessions,

[1027] Catherine Moury. Coalition Government and Party Mandate: How coalition agreements constrain ministerial action. Routledge, 2013.
[1028] Shumbana Karume. "Factional intrigues and alliance politics: the case of NARC in Kenya's 2002 elections." *Journal of African Elections* 2, no. 2 (2003): pp.1-13.
[1029] Leah Lokala, Oral Interview in Turkana on 8th July 2023.
[1030] Peter M Muchira. "Constitutional Law and Government: the Case Study of Multi-party System in Kenya." PhD diss., University of Nairobi,, 1977.

maintaining discipline among coalition members is crucial for ensuring support for the coalition's legislative agenda. Instances of dissent or lack of discipline among coalition members can lead to difficulties in passing crucial bills or motions, affecting the functionality of the coalition.

During an oral interview with Herman Manyora on the significance of party discipline as shown in Plate no.7, he postulated that:

> …the stability of coalition governments largely depends on the level of discipline among coalition members. When parties within a coalition maintain discipline and work cohesively, it contributes to the stability of the government. However, instances of infighting, lack of adherence to coalition agreements, or individual party members acting against the coalition's interests can destabilize the government, leading to potential collapses or reshuffles.[1031]



Plate 7: The Researcher (left) after interviewing Herman Manyora (right), a political analyst, on the significance of party discipline

In agreement with the foregoing comments, the researcher observes that the stability of coalition governments is heavily reliant on the level of discipline among the coalition members. When the parties within the coalition maintain strong discipline, work

[1031] Herman Manyora, Oral Interview at Fountain of Knowledge UoN, Nairobi on 21st November 2023.

collaboratively, and adhere to the coalition agreements, it enhances the overall stability and effectiveness of the government. However, instances of infighting, lack of adherence to the collective interests, or individual party members acting against the coalition's agenda can significantly destabilize the government, potentially leading to collapses or reshuffles. The ability of coalition leaders to cultivate a culture of discipline, compromise, and collective responsibility is crucial in ensuring the longevity and successful governance of the coalition government.

This study therefore, established that party discipline is instrumental in ensuring the stability, functionality, and effectiveness of coalitions in Kenya. Instances where discipline has been lacking or disrupted within coalitions have often resulted in internal conflicts, challenges in decision-making, legislative hurdles, and ultimately, disruptions in the governance and functioning of the coalition governments.

5.4.3 Legislative Effectiveness

Party discipline significantly influences legislative effectiveness in Kenya's political landscape. The ability of political parties to maintain discipline among their members in the legislature is crucial for passing legislation, conducting meaningful debates, and implementing policies.

According Lienert, Party discipline plays a pivotal role during budget debates and the approval of financial legislation in Kenya's parliament.[1032] For instance, in the passage of the national budget, maintaining party discipline ensures that members align with their party's position on budgetary allocations and economic policies. Instances where party discipline was lacking have led to contentious debates and delays in approving crucial

[1032] Ian Lienert. "Role of the legislature in budget processes." In *The international handbook of public financial management*, pp. 116-136. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2013.

financial bills, impacting the government's ability to implement its fiscal plans effectively.[1033] In line with this, Japheth Ojijo noted that the support of party members is essential for the successful passage of significant legislation. Parties with disciplined members are more likely to present a unified front in supporting or opposing bills in parliament. For example, during debates on landmark legislation like the Security Laws (Amendment) Bill in 2014, party discipline played a crucial role. Members who maintained discipline followed their party's stance on the bill, affecting the outcome of the debates and the eventual passage of the legislation.[1034]

The effectiveness of implementing policy reforms often relies on the cooperation and discipline of party members in parliament.[1035] Parties with disciplined members can better champion policy implementation bills and reforms aligned with their agendas. However, when party discipline is lacking, conflicting opinions among members can lead to fragmented support for crucial policy measures, impeding their successful passage and implementation.

Party discipline is essential in legislative committees where detailed discussions, oversight, and scrutiny of government actions take place.[1036] Committees rely on party members to maintain discipline and contribute constructively to their proceedings. Instances where party members demonstrate discipline by actively engaging in committee work enhance the effectiveness of oversight and decision-making processes.

[1033] Matthew Tyce. "The Kenyan National Treasury: A 'pocket of effectiveness' curtailed." (2020).
[1034] Japheth Ojijo, Oral Interview in Migori on 8th January 2024
[1035] Lanny W Martin, and Georg Vanberg. Parliaments and coalitions: The role of legislative institutions *in multiparty governance.* Oxford University Press, USA, 2011.
[1036] Bert A Rockman. "Legislative-executive relations and legislative oversight." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* (1984): pp.387-440.

The study asserts that party discipline significantly influences legislative effectiveness in Kenya by impacting the passage of key bills, budget approvals, policy implementation, and the overall functioning of parliamentary activities. Instances where party members demonstrate discipline have contributed to smoother legislative processes and more effective governance in the country. Conversely, lack of discipline among party members has led to challenges, delays, and impediments in the legislative functioning of Kenya's parliament.

5.4.4 Cohesion in Decision-Making

Party discipline plays a critical role in fostering cohesion in decision-making processes in Kenya's political landscape. The ability of political parties to maintain discipline among their members significantly influences the coherence and unity in making crucial decisions.

In coalition governments, maintaining party discipline is vital for ensuring policy consistency and coherence in decision-making.[1037] For instance, during the Grand Coalition Government formed after the 2007-2008 post-election violence, maintaining discipline among coalition partners was crucial for coherent governance. Consistent decision-making among coalition members was necessary to implement policies and address the country's challenges effectively.

Noting the significance of party discipline on cohesive decision-making, Wafula Wakoko explains:

> Party discipline is essential during parliamentary voting on critical issues. Members adhering to their party's stance on specific bills or motions contribute to cohesive decision-making. Instances such as the passage of contentious bills like the Security Laws (Amendment) Bill in 2014 highlighted the significance of party discipline.

[1037] Catherine Moury. Coalition Government and Party Mandate: How coalition agreements constrain ministerial action. Routledge, 2013.

> Members aligning with their party's position influenced the cohesion and outcomes of crucial votes.[1038]

Concurring with Wakoko's explanation, the study established that party discipline influences decision-making within party structures, especially regarding policy direction and leadership decisions. Strong party discipline ensures that members adhere to the party's leadership directives and collective decision-making processes. Examples include instances where party leaders' directives or policy directions were effectively followed by party members, contributing to cohesive decision-making within the party. Party discipline is crucial in ensuring unity and coherence in policy formulation and implementation. When party members maintain discipline and align with the party's policy agenda, it facilitates coherent decision-making processes. Conversely, lack of discipline can lead to internal dissent and conflicting opinions, hindering the formulation and implementation of cohesive policies.

Within parliamentary committees, party discipline influences members' engagements and unity in decision-making. Disciplined committee members aligning with their party's positions contribute to a more cohesive approach to scrutinizing government actions and making collective decisions within committees.

Party discipline significantly impacts cohesion in decision-making processes in Kenya by fostering consistency, unity, and alignment with party agendas. Instances where party members demonstrate discipline have contributed to more coherent decision-making, effective governance, and smoother policy implementation. However, instances of lacking discipline have led to internal conflicts, divergent opinions, and challenges in achieving cohesive decision-making within parties and coalitions.

[1038] Wafula Wakoko, Oral Interview at ORPP offices, Nairobi, on 3rd January 2024.

5.4.5 Presidential Elections and Electoral Politics

Party discipline holds considerable significance in presidential elections and electoral politics in Kenya, impacting the overall electoral process, campaign strategies, and election outcomes.

Party discipline is crucial for effective coordination and organization during presidential campaigns. Parties with disciplined members can execute coordinated campaign strategies, mobilize resources, and rally support behind their presidential candidates. For instance, in the 2013 and 2017 presidential elections, parties with strong internal discipline could mount cohesive campaigns, reaching out to voters across the country.

During party primaries to select presidential candidates, party discipline influences the selection process. Parties with disciplined members are better positioned to conduct fair and transparent primaries, ensuring that the chosen candidate represents the collective decision of the party. However, instances of lack of discipline during primaries have led to allegations of irregularities and disputes over candidate selection within parties.

In presidential elections, maintaining party discipline is crucial for ensuring unity and support behind the party's chosen candidate. Parties with disciplined members can present a unified front, consolidating support for their presidential aspirants. However, instances where party members demonstrate lack of discipline by supporting rival candidates or factions within the party have led to internal divisions and weakened support for the party's nominee.

Party discipline influences the ability to mobilize supporters and ensure high voter turnout during elections. Parties with disciplined structures can effectively mobilize their members and supporters, increasing voter turnout in favor of their presidential candidates. Conversely, lack of party discipline can lead to apathy among supporters or conflicting messages, affecting voter mobilization efforts.

Following presidential elections, party discipline shapes the potential for post-election alliances and coalition building. Parties with disciplined members can negotiate and form alliances effectively, contributing to the stability of governance after elections. However, lack of discipline among parties can hinder efforts to form stable coalitions, leading to prolonged political negotiations and uncertainties after elections.

In summary, party discipline significantly influences the dynamics of presidential elections and electoral politics in Kenya. Instances where parties maintain discipline have led to more effective campaign strategies, unity behind candidates, and better mobilization efforts. Conversely, lack of party discipline has resulted in internal divisions, challenges in candidate selection, and weakened support for presidential aspirants, impacting election outcomes and subsequent governance arrangements.

5.4.6 Strengthening Democracy and Accountability

Party discipline plays a significant role in strengthening democracy and ensuring accountability within the political landscape of Kenya.

Strong party discipline contributes to the promotion of democratic governance by fostering stability within political institutions. Disciplined parties adhere to established democratic norms, internal rules, and party constitutions, thereby upholding the principles of

transparency and accountability. For example, political parties that maintain discipline within their ranks contribute to stable parliamentary proceedings, ensuring debates, and decision-making processes align with democratic values.

Party discipline enhances the accountability of elected representatives to their constituents and the party. When members adhere to party directives and policies, it reinforces accountability by ensuring that elected officials reflect the party's principles and commitments. For instance, disciplined party members are more likely to toe the party line in representing the interests of their constituents in alignment with the party's manifesto and values.

Party discipline influences the effectiveness of legislative oversight and checks on the government. Disciplined party members in parliamentary committees can perform robust oversight functions, scrutinizing government actions and policies effectively. Instances where party members maintain discipline within oversight committees contribute to holding the government accountable for its actions and decisions.

Strong party discipline encourages a more inclusive political culture by fostering internal dialogue, consensus-building, and respect for diverse opinions within parties. For instance, parties that encourage disciplined discussions and inclusivity among members contribute to a democratic environment where various voices are heard and considered in decision-making processes.

Party discipline plays a role in promoting electoral integrity by ensuring fair internal party processes, including candidate selection and nomination procedures. Parties that maintain

discipline during these processes contribute to transparent and fair elections. Conversely, lack of discipline in internal party affairs can lead to allegations of irregularities and disputes, undermining the integrity of the electoral process.

The study findings established that party discipline is integral to strengthening democracy and fostering accountability in Kenya's political system. Instances where parties uphold discipline contribute to institutional stability, effective governance, increased accountability of elected representatives, and the promotion of a more inclusive and transparent political culture. Conversely, lack of party discipline can lead to challenges in accountability, weakened oversight mechanisms, and potential threats to democratic principles and electoral integrity.

5.4.7 Negotiation Power and Representation

Party discipline significantly influences negotiation power and representation in Kenya's political landscape. In agreement, Charles Matoke stated that:

> Strong party discipline enhances a party's negotiation power within political coalitions. Disciplined parties are better positioned to negotiate favorable terms, policies, and power-sharing arrangements within coalition governments. For instance, disciplined parties in a coalition can effectively bargain for key positions or policy priorities, leveraging their unity and collective bargaining power. Conversely, lack of discipline weakens a party's negotiation stance, limiting its ability to influence coalition decisions and outcomes.[1039]

Matoke’s ststement is contrary to Boston, Jonathan, and Bullock who studied "Multi-party governance: Managing the unity-distinctiveness dilemma in executive coalitions." and argue that overly rigid party discipline can hinder the adaptability and responsiveness of a

[1039] Charles Matoke, Oral Interview at UDA offices, Nairobi on 19th November 2023.

political party within a coalition.[1040] They contend that a party's ability to negotiate effectively also depends on its capacity to be flexible and responsive to the changing dynamics of coalition politics. Overemphasis on discipline may lead to a lack of openness to diverse perspectives and compromise, potentially alienating potential coalition partners.

However, this study recognizes that the impact of party discipline depends on contextual factors, including coalition dynamics and the balance between unity and flexibility. Achieving a nuanced understanding requires considering both the potential advantages and drawbacks of party discipline in the intricate landscape of coalition politics. Ultimately, the role of discipline in negotiation outcomes varies, and parties must navigate a delicate balance to effectively engage in coalition politics.

Party discipline influences representation within decision-making bodies such as parliament or county assemblies. Parties with disciplined members can secure leadership positions, committee memberships, and influential roles within legislative bodies. These positions enable effective representation of the party's agenda and interests in shaping policies and governance. Conversely, lack of discipline may lead to fewer leadership opportunities and less effective representation of the party's objectives within decision-making structures.

Disciplined parties have an advantage in coalition-building efforts that aim to represent diverse interests and communities. Such parties can negotiate and engage with different groups, ensuring adequate representation of diverse voices within the political sphere. For example, disciplined parties are more effective in accommodating and advocating for the

[1040] Jonathan Boston, and David Bullock. "Multi-party governance: Managing the unity-distinctiveness dilemma in executive coalitions." *Party Politics* 18, no. 3 (2012): pp.349-368.

interests of various regions, ethnicities, or interest groups, enhancing broader representation in decision-making processes.

Party discipline contributes to strengthened lobbying and advocacy efforts. Disciplined parties can align their members' efforts towards a unified advocacy strategy, amplifying their influence in advocating for specific policies or addressing societal issues. This disciplined approach enhances the party's representation of particular causes or concerns within the political arena. In international forums or diplomatic engagements, parties with strong discipline can present a unified stance and effectively represent the country's interests. This disciplined representation enhances the country's negotiating power and ensures coherent diplomatic engagement on global issues.

Party discipline significantly impacts negotiation power and representation in Kenya's political landscape. Instances where parties maintain discipline enable stronger negotiation positions, effective representation in decision-making bodies, better coalition-building capabilities, and enhanced advocacy efforts. Conversely, lack of discipline may limit a party's ability to negotiate favorable terms, secure adequate representation, and effectively advocate for diverse interests within the political sphere.

Party discipline significantly impacts governance, coalition stability, legislative effectiveness, decision-making, electoral outcomes, democratic principles, and international representation in Kenyan politics. These examples illustrate how party discipline, or its absence, has shaped the country's political landscape, affecting policy implementation, governance effectiveness, and the overall functioning of political parties.

5.5 Role of Leadership in Enforcing Party Discipline

The role of leadership in enforcing party discipline in Kenyan politics is key as leaders play a crucial part in setting the tone, direction, and expectations for party members' behavior and adherence to party principles. Leadership holds significant sway over the party's internal mechanisms, decision-making processes, and the enforcement of discipline. The study sought to establish the role of leadership in enforcing party discipline.

Leadership within political parties in Kenya holds considerable influence in shaping the party's agenda and direction.[1041] Top officials, including party chairpersons and secretaries-general, play pivotal roles in determining the party's stance on crucial policies, strategies, and decision-making processes. During the era of President Daniel Arap Moi in the Kenya African National Union (KANU), the leadership maintained stringent control over the party's agenda, enforcing discipline through centralized decision-making.[1042] Their directives were paramount in guiding party members' actions and decisions, exemplifying the influential role of leadership in steering the party's direction.

Commenting on the role of party leadership, David Burare observed:

> …the authority vested in party leaders empowers them to make pivotal decisions that shape the party's trajectory. Leaders' directives are expected to be adhered to by party members, ensuring a unified approach within the party. This centralized decision-making process maintains consistency and uniformity in the party's approach to various issues. Notably, the leadership of the Jubilee Party, particularly under President Uhuru Kenyatta, wielded significant control over party decisions, emphasizing the importance of members aligning with the party's policies and directions.[1043]

[1041] Jennifer A Widner. The Rise of a Party-State in Kenya: From Harambee! to Nyayo!. Univ of California Press, 2023.
[1042] Mercy K Rweria. "The Implication of Transitional Politics on State Relations: A Case Study of Kenya1963-2017." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2017.
[1043] David Burare, Oral Interview at Upper Hill, Nairobi on 23rd November 2023.

In view of Burare's observations, the researcher argues that a balance needs to be struck between effective party leadership and ensuring a healthy level of internal democracy, discourse, and shared ownership among the party members in a coalition. Overly authoritarian approaches to enforcing party discipline may backfire and lead to resentment, disengagement, and a weakening of the party's collective strength.

The study established that leadership shoulders the responsibility of enforcing party rules and implementing disciplinary measures against members who deviate from the party's directives. This enforcement is crucial in maintaining discipline and cohesion within the party structure. Instances within the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) have seen the party leadership take disciplinary actions against members who contravened the party's decisions. Such actions underscore the leadership's role in upholding discipline within the party, ensuring adherence to the established norms and rules.

Leaders play a significant role in fostering cohesion and unity within the party.[1044] They actively promote solidarity among members and discourage dissent or factionalism that might weaken party discipline. During the formation of political alliances or coalitions, influential leaders like Raila Odinga and William Ruto played pivotal roles in rallying their supporters within ODM and URP, respectively. Their emphasis on unity aimed to fortify their political positions and underscored the importance of cohesive action within the party.

Effective communication from party leaders is paramount in reinforcing party directives and expectations among members.[1045] Leaders use various platforms such as party meetings, public addresses, and media appearances to clearly convey messages about party

[1044] Stefanie Bailer, Tobias Schulz, and Peter Selb. "What role for the party group leader? A latent variable approach to leadership effects on party group cohesion in the European Parliament." *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 15, no. 4 (2009): pp.355-378.
[1045] Christopher J Kam. *Party discipline and parliamentary politics*. Cambridge University Press, 2009.

objectives and policies. Notable leaders like Raila Odinga and Uhuru Kenyatta have employed effective communication strategies to convey the party's stance on diverse issues. Their clear messaging has been instrumental in ensuring that party members understand and align with the party's directives.

Leadership in Kenyan politics holds a critical role in enforcing party discipline by steering the party's agenda, making decisive decisions, implementing disciplinary measures, fostering unity, and effectively communicating the party's directives. Specific examples from various political parties underscore how leadership influences and maintains discipline, ultimately impacting the behavior and coherence of party members within the political landscape.

5.6 Challenges to Maintaining Party Discipline

Maintaining party discipline in Kenyan politics faces numerous challenges, stemming from historical, sociopolitical, and structural factors within the country's political landscape. These challenges often impede the effective enforcement of party rules and cohesion among members.

The study observed that one of the significant challenges to maintaining party discipline in Kenyan politics arises from the strong ethnic and regional affiliations that dominate the country's political landscape. Loyalty to ethnic or regional groups often takes precedence over allegiance to party directives. This challenge has been prominently displayed in the behavior of members who prioritize their ethnic or regional interests over the party's collective agenda. Ethnic-based political parties or factions within larger parties tend to prioritize communal interests, impacting their adherence to the party's overall directives and policies.

Musikari Kombo pointed out that internal factionalism and power struggles within political parties pose substantial hurdles to ensuring party discipline. Competing interests and ambitions among different factions within parties lead to disagreements, dissent, and non-compliance with party directives. These internal rifts often weaken the party's ability to enforce uniform discipline among its members. Instances of infighting or power struggles within parties, exemplified by conflicts and divisions in parties like the Jubilee Party and ODM, illustrate the challenges faced in maintaining cohesion and discipline.[1046]

Levitsky and Lucan assert that challenges arise when parties lack robust mechanisms to enforce discipline or when they fail to implement sanctions effectively.[1047] In such cases, party members may openly flout party rules or defy leadership decisions without facing significant repercussions. This weakness in enforcement mechanisms undermines the party's authority and diminishes its capacity to compel members to adhere to established party directives uniformly.

External influences, including pressure groups, interest groups, or external stakeholders, can significantly impact party discipline. These external entities may exert influence on party members, leading to deviations from party directives. Instances where businesses, religious groups, or international stakeholders influence party members' decisions often create conflicts between party interests and external influences, complicating efforts to maintain discipline within the party.

According to Herman Manyora;

[1046] Musikari Kombo, Oral Iterview at Lovington, Nairobi, on 21st November, 2023.
[1047] Steven R Levitsky, and Lucan A. Way. "Beyond patronage: Violent struggle, ruling party cohesion, and authoritarian durability." *Perspectives on Politics* 10, no. 4 (2012): pp.869-889.

> …Kenyan politics is often centered on individual leaders like Raila Odinga, Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto rather than the party as an institution. This personalization of politics fosters loyalty towards specific leaders rather than the party's principles or agenda. As a result, members may prioritize personal connections with influential leaders over adherence to party directives. Additionally, leaders may use patronage networks to maintain support, undermining party discipline by fostering loyalty based on personal relationships rather than party principles.

Similarly, Oloo argues that Kenyan politics has been characterized by a high degree of "personalization," where the focus is on individual political leaders and their personal brands, rather than on the parties themselves and their institutional structures, ideologies, and policy platforms.[1048] Accordingly, this personalization of politics, fosters loyalty towards specific leaders rather than the party's principles or agenda.

The challenge of maintaining party discipline is worsened by the lack of strong ideological foundations within some political parties.[1049] Parties without well-defined or consistent ideologies may struggle to maintain a unified vision among members. Inconsistencies in party ideologies or a lack of clarity regarding the party's core principles often lead to confusion among members. This confusion results in divergent interpretations of party directives and a lack of consistent adherence to party agendas.

The challenges to maintaining party discipline in Kenyan politics stem from ethnic divisions, internal power struggles, weak enforcement mechanisms, external influences, personalization of politics, and ideological inconsistencies. These challenges present

[1048] Adams Oloo. "The Contemporary Opposition in Kenya: Between Internal Traits and State Manipulation". In K. Msukka & O. Githinji (Eds.), *The Politics of Transition in Kenya: From KANU to NARC.*Heinrich Boll Foundation. 2007. pp. 90-127.
[1049] Vít Hloušek, and Lubomír Kopecek. Origin, ideology and transformation of political parties: East-Central and Western Europe compared. Routledge, 2016.

formidable obstacles to parties seeking to enforce discipline uniformly among members, impacting the coherence and effectiveness of political parties within Kenya's diverse political landscape.

5.7 Impact of Party Discipline on Political Coalitions

In Kenya, party discipline plays a significant role in shaping political coalitions and alliances. The country has a multi-party system where coalitions often form to achieve political objectives, such as winning elections or passing legislation. Party discipline, which refers to the ability of a political party to enforce internal cohesion and control over its members, greatly influences the dynamics of coalition building. In the same vein as disclosed by Jastus Orina:

> …party discipline serves as a pivotal factor influencing the formation of political coalitions in Kenya. A robust sense of discipline within a party often attracts potential coalition partners, as it ensures a unified stance and commitment to shared ideologies or objectives. For instance, the disciplined approach of parties like the Jubilee Alliance, comprised primarily of TNA and URP in the 2013 elections, facilitated the establishment of a formidable coalition. Their cohesive structure and shared discipline played a pivotal role in securing both the presidency and a parliamentary majority for Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto.[1050]

The level of party discipline, therefore significantly impacts the negotiating power of political parties within coalitions. Parties demonstrating strong internal discipline hold a distinct advantage during coalition negotiations. Their ability to assure adherence to agreed terms and objectives strengthens their bargaining position. In contrast, parties lacking internal cohesion might find it challenging to negotiate effectively, as their members could

[1050] Felix Orina, Oral Interview in Kisii on 15th October, 2023

pursue divergent personal interests, diminishing their overall bargaining power within the coalition.

One particular instance that highlights the lack of internal cohesion was the disagreement and infighting within NARC regarding the constitutional review process. Different factions within the coalition held divergent views on the extent and nature of constitutional reforms, leading to internal rifts and disagreements on key issues. This lack of consensus weakened NARC's ability to negotiate as a unified front with regards to constitutional changes and other policy matters. Ultimately, the lack of strong internal discipline and cohesion within NARC significantly hampered its bargaining power within the coalition government. George Wasilwa's argument is that:

> …the degree of party discipline within coalitions substantially influences the execution of policies and legislative agendas. Disciplined parties within coalitions can effectively push through policies and bills endorsed by the coalition partners. Conversely, when party discipline is weak, disagreements among coalition members might impede the implementation of agreed-upon policies. This lack of cohesion often hinders the legislative agenda, causing delays or even failures in policy implementation…the Jubilee Alliance in Kenya after the 2017 elections, weakened party discipline hindered the execution of the legislative agenda and policy implementation. Internal disagreements and lack of cohesion among coalition members, notably regarding electoral law amendments, led to delays and difficulties in passing crucial reforms…this highlights how the absence of strong party discipline within coalitions can impede the implementation of agreed-upon policies, causing delays and potential failures in critical areas such as electoral reforms.[1051]

It is therefore, evident that the level of party discipline within coalitions plays a crucial role in determining the stability of the government. Strong internal discipline fosters unity

[1051] George Wasilwa, Oral Interview in Bungoma on 17th July, 2023.

among coalition members, contributing to a more stable and coherent decision-making process. This, in turn, facilitates effective governance. Conversely, coalitions characterized by weak party discipline are prone to internal conflicts and power struggles, leading to political instability and hindering the government's ability to govern effectively.

The study established that during President Uhuru Kenyatta's second term in Kenya, the Jubilee Alliance, formed by TNA and URP parties, faced internal tensions between its core partners. These rifts resulted in power struggles, conflicting interests, and a lack of cohesion within the coalition. As a consequence, governance effectiveness was compromised, leading to challenges in policy implementation and eroding public trust in the government's ability to govern coherently. This example highlights how weakened party discipline and internal conflicts within coalitions can disrupt stability and hinder effective governance.

5.8 Case Studies Showcasing Instances Where Party Discipline Contributed to Coalition Success

Throughout Kenya's political history since independence, the impact of party discipline on coalition dynamics has been instrumental in shaping the country's governance and political landscape. During the 1960s, Kenya witnessed a pivotal clash between KANU and KPU. KANU, under the leadership of Jomo Kenyatta, displayed stronger party discipline compared to the more fragmented and ideologically diverse KPU led by Jaramogi Oginga Odinga. KANU's robust internal cohesion significantly contributed to its dominance in coalition-building and governance during this era. Conversely, the lack of disciplined unity

within KPU hindered its ability to form successful coalitions, thereby impacting its political influence and effectiveness.

In 2002, the formation of NARC marked a significant political shift in Kenya's landscape. Comprising various opposition parties, including the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) and the National Alliance Party of Kenya (NAK), NARC presented a united front against the ruling party, KANU. The coalition's success in unseating KANU was attributed in part to the disciplined approach and strategic alliances formed among its members. The collective display of party discipline within NARC facilitated electoral victory and the subsequent formation of a stable coalition government led by Mwai Kibaki.

Following the controversial 2007 elections and subsequent unrest, Kenya established a Grand Coalition Government in 2008.[1052] This coalition brought together bitter rivals Raila Odinga's ODM and Mwai Kibaki's PNU. Despite historical differences, the success of this coalition in promoting stability could be linked, in part, to the demonstration of party discipline among key members. Both ODM and PNU exhibited a level of internal cohesion crucial for navigating the challenges and collaborating effectively within the coalition, contributing to stabilizing the country.

The formation of the Jubilee Alliance before the 2013 elections united TNA and URP under Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto's leadership. This coalition's success in both the 2013 and 2017 elections was attributed to the parties' strong internal discipline. The disciplined approach and unity among the alliance members played a pivotal role in securing electoral victories and maintaining coherence throughout their governance tenure. Accordingly,

[1052] Henry Amadi. "Kenya's Grand Coalition Government-Another Obstacle to Urgent Constitutional Reform?." *Africa Spectrum* 44, no. 3 (2009): pp.149-164.

> Robust internal cohesion within parties forming coalitions has repeatedly proven crucial in winning elections, forming stable governments, and fostering effective governance. Conversely, weaker party discipline has often resulted in fragmented coalitions, hindering their ability to achieve common objectives and govern cohesively.[1053]

Thus, throughout Kenya's political history, the impact of party discipline on coalition success has been evident. From the disciplined approach of KANU in the 1960s to the formation of successful coalitions like NARC in 2002 and the Grand Coalition Government in 2008, party discipline has played a vital role in shaping governance and political outcomes. The unity and internal cohesion within parties forming coalitions, such as the Jubilee Alliance, have consistently contributed to electoral victories, stable governments, and effective governance. In contrast, weaker party discipline has often led to fragmented coalitions, hindering their ability to achieve common goals and govern cohesively.

5.9 Case Studies Where Weak Party Discipline Led to Coalition Fragmentation or Collapse

The success and stability of political coalitions in Kenya have historically hinged upon the level of party discipline among their constituent members. Weak party discipline within these coalitions has often led to internal discord, fractures, and sometimes even the collapse of alliances. This section focuses on specific case studies illustrating how inadequate party discipline has contributed to the fragmentation or disintegration of political coalitions in Kenya.

Guided by interpretivism philosophy and by use of questionnaires, the study sought to establish whether party members were consulted before formation of political coalitions in

[1053] O.I. Julius Songok, Eldoret, 11th July, 2023

Kenya. A substantial number of respondents were in disagreement that there was no extensive consultation between party officials and members before the formation of political coalitions. This observation suggests a perceived deficiency in consultation and engagement of party members in the coalition formation process, highlighting potential implications for internal party democracy and decision-making processes, as well as raising concerns about party discipline and unity within political organizations in Kenya.

Based on the foregoing findings, Almond and Verba emphasize that a strong civic culture, characterized by active citizen participation and engagement, is crucial for democratic stability. In Kenya, the study indicates a perceived lack of consultation between party officials and members regarding coalition formation. This suggests a deficiency in civic engagement within political parties, which could undermine the democratic process and stability. If party members feel excluded from decision-making, it may lead to disillusionment and decreased participation in political activities, mirroring the concerns raised by Almond and Verba.

FORD provided a notable case where weak party discipline contributed to coalition fragmentation and internal strife.[1054] FORD was established in the early 1990s as a coalition of diverse opposition groups aiming to challenge the single-party rule of the KANU. Despite its initial unity against KANU's dominance, FORD faced internal divisions and lacked strong party discipline. The coalition was comprised of various factions led by leaders such as Oginga Odinga, Kenneth Matiba, and Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, each representing distinct interests and ideologies.[1055]

[1054] Denis Kadima, and Felix Owuor. "Kenya's decade of experiments with political party alliances and coalitions-motivations, impact and prospects." *Journal of African Elections* 13, no. 1 (2014): pp.150-180.
[1055] O.I. Julius Songok, Eldoret, 11th July, 2023

Internal disagreements over leadership positions, strategies, and conflicting personal ambitions among the key figures within FORD led to factionalism and weakened party discipline. The lack of a cohesive vision and failure to reconcile these differing agendas resulted in power struggles within the coalition. The rivalry between leaders like Oginga Odinga and Kenneth Matiba highlighted the fragmentation within FORD, impeding its ability to present a united front against KANU.

The internal discord within FORD eventually resulted in the splintering of the coalition into various factions, each forming its own version of FORD. The emergence of FORD-Asili led by Kenneth Matiba and FORD-Kenya led by Oginga Odinga exemplified this fragmentation. The lack of strong party discipline and the inability to reconcile differences among key leaders contributed significantly to the splintering of FORD, weakening its capacity to effectively challenge KANU's dominance.

The lack of internal cohesion and fractured party discipline within FORD adversely affected its strength as an opposition coalition. The inability to maintain unity and resolve internal conflicts undermined FORD's effectiveness in presenting a strong electoral challenge to KANU. The splintering of FORD into multiple factions diminished its ability to consolidate support and weakened its position in subsequent elections.

The case of FORD in Kenya's political history illustrates how weak party discipline and internal discord led to coalition fragmentation and ultimately hampered its effectiveness as a unified opposition force. Internal disagreements, leadership disputes, and divergent agendas among key figures contributed significantly to FORD's inability to maintain unity, diminishing its impact on the political landscape and electoral outcomes.

5.10 Fragmentation within NARC in Post-2002 Elections

Following the 2002 election victory that ousted KANU, NARC encountered internal discord and conflicting interests among its member parties, particularly LDP and NAK. This coalition, initially formed to unite against the longtime ruling party, faced significant challenges due to a lack of cohesive party discipline.

The coalition's unity was marred by intense power struggles and disputes between the LDP, led by Raila Odinga, and the NAK, headed by President Mwai Kibaki. The infighting revolved around leadership positions and policy priorities within the government. These disagreements became particularly apparent during debates over the proposed constitution in 2005, where differing stances between the LDP and NAK led to public clashes and further division within the coalition.

The failure to reconcile these internal conflicts and divergent agendas resulted in the erosion of NARC's unity. The coalition's inability to manage and address these disagreements effectively led to its fragmentation. Ultimately, the inability to navigate internal tensions and power struggles significantly undermined the coalition's governance capabilities, impeding effective policy implementation and contributing to the dissolution of NARC.

Following the disintegration of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), the Kenyan political landscape witnessed the emergence of new factions and realignments: Firstly, Raila Odinga, previously part of the LDP faction within NARC, became a pivotal figure in establishing the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM). ODM swiftly emerged as a prominent opposition party, attracting former members of the dissolved NARC coalition,

especially those previously aligned with the LDP faction. Odinga's leadership and the ODM's formation reshaped the opposition landscape in Kenya after NARC's breakdown.

Simultaneously, President Mwai Kibaki and his supporters, predominantly composed of former members of the NAK faction within NARC, established the Party of National Unity (PNU) following the coalition's collapse. The formation of PNU served as a platform for Kibaki's re-election bid in the subsequent 2007 elections. This party drew in several politicians who had been part of the dissolved NARC coalition, emphasizing continuity from the previous administration under a different political banner.

Majority of ordinary voters observed that fragmentation of NARC led to a proliferation of smaller political parties and realignments in the political sphere. Leaders and factions that were once part of the disbanded coalition regrouped and associated themselves with different political entities that aligned with their evolving interests and agendas. This multiplicity of smaller parties and new alliances underscored the extensive reconfiguration of Kenya's political landscape following the dissolution of NARC.

5.11 Disagreements and Leadership Struggles within CORD

The Coalition for Reforms and Democracy (CORD), formed before the 2013 Kenyan elections, brought together several opposition parties, including the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), Wiper Democratic Movement-Kenya (WDM-K), and Ford-Kenya.[1056] However, post-2013, CORD encountered challenges stemming from weakened party discipline, internal disputes, and divergent interests among its constituent members. After the 2013 elections, CORD faced internal disagreements and leadership struggles among its key figures, particularly Raila Odinga of ODM and other leaders from WDM-K and Ford-

[1056] Denis Kadima, and Felix Owuor. "Kenya's decade of experiments with political party alliances and coalitions-motivations, impact and prospects." *Journal of African Elections* 13, no. 1 (2014): pp.150-180.

Kenya. The coalition witnessed tensions over leadership positions, power-sharing arrangements, and divergent strategies to challenge the ruling Jubilee Alliance. These disagreements highlighted the lack of cohesive decision-making and unified direction within CORD.

CORD encountered challenges due to varying political agendas and policy differences among its member parties.[1057] Disputes arose over the coalition's priorities, strategies for opposition activities, and the approach to engaging with the government. The inability to reconcile these divergent agendas and policy disagreements weakened the coalition's effectiveness in presenting a unified front against the ruling party. The internal strains within CORD significantly impacted the coalition's effectiveness as an opposition force.[1058] The lack of strong party discipline and the inability to resolve internal conflicts led to a fragmented approach in challenging the government's policies and actions. The discord within the coalition hampered its ability to provide a cohesive alternative and effectively hold the ruling party accountable. Accordingly,

> …the cumulative effect of internal disputes, leadership struggles, and differing political agendas within CORD led to the gradual disintegration of the coalition. The inability to address the internal rifts and the failure to maintain a cohesive stance resulted in the weakening of CORD's unity over time, ultimately leading to the coalition's diminished influence and eventual dissolution. The coalition dissolved in the period preceding the 2017 elections. This dissolution was a

[1057] Cheeseman, Nic, Gabrielle Lynch, and Justin Willis. "Democracy and its discontents: understanding Kenya's 2013 elections." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 8, no. 1 (2014): pp.2-24.
[1058] Victor Shale, and Robert Gerenge. "Coalitions In Lesotho, Kenya And Mauritius: Between Value A Mirror Developmental Coalitions of Tension and Political Exigencies." *Coalition Politics in Lesotho: A* Multi-disciplinary Study of Coalitions and their Implications for Governance 1 (2021): p.319.

> significant step in the formation of a new political entity known as NASA.[1059]

This contention is in agreement with Langat who posits that as the 2017 elections approached, CORD underwent a transformation, culminating in the creation of NASA.[1060] The dissolution of CORD marked the end of the alliance's existence as a separate entity. The parties that were part of CORD joined hands with other political entities and stakeholders to form the broader and more inclusive NASA. This restructuring aimed to consolidate opposition forces under a unified front to contest the elections against the ruling party.

The study established that the formation of NASA represented a strategic move to harness collective strength, broaden the coalition's support base, and present a formidable challenge to the incumbent ruling party. The dissolution of CORD was a pivotal step in this reconfiguration of opposition politics in Kenya, setting the stage for the united front under the banner of the National Super Alliance for the 2017 elections.

5.12 Internal Strife and Discord within Jubilee Alliance Post-2017 Elections

The Jubilee Alliance, initially a robust coalition formed by merging TNA and URP, encountered significant challenges during President Uhuru Kenyatta's second term (2017-2022). Internal tensions between factions loyal to Kenyatta and those aligned with his deputy, William Ruto, strained the coalition's unity and party discipline. These divisions manifested in policy disagreements, leadership rivalries, and conflicting interests,

[1059] David Burare, ORAL Interview Upper Hill, Nairobi on 23rd November 2023.
[1060] Patrick Langat. "Election in Kenya: A Public Sphere Analysis." PhD diss., University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 2020.

hindering effective decision-making and governance. Disagreements over key initiatives like the BBI underscored the coalition's internal rifts.

As the 2022 general elections approached, the internal fissures within the Jubilee Alliance intensified, leading to fragmentation. Notably, members defected to other parties or formed new ones, driven by divergent political ambitions and disagreements within the alliance. The erosion of trust among coalition members and the public further weakened the coalition's credibility, signaling a decline in its ability to govern cohesively. Ultimately, the weakened party discipline and internal conflicts within the Jubilee Alliance significantly contributed to its fragmentation, demonstrating how such issues can lead to the disintegration or collapse of a coalition, hampering stability and governance effectiveness.

In January 2019, the Jubilee Party faced internal turmoil following the resignation of David Murathe, its interim vice-chairman. The party grappled with a deep-seated divide over supporting Deputy President Ruto as its official candidate for the 2022 Presidential election.[1061] This rift led to government initiatives being politicized, causing delays in crucial infrastructure projects and sparking concerns that this internal discord could reignite ethnic conflicts in the Rift Valley region, which had previously experienced violent unrest in 2007 following election results.

Subsequently, despite promises by Secretary-General Tuju to strengthen the party's infrastructure and conduct necessary meetings and elections, the party's internal strife remained unresolved. This instability weakened the Jubilee Party's position in national

[1061] Patrick "David Murathe resigns from Jubilee over bid against Ruto" *Sunday Nation*. January 06, 2019

politics, evident in the surge of over 30 new parties formed since the 2017 election, indicating a decline in the party's unity and influence on the political landscape.

After the disintegration of the Jubilee Alliance in Kenya due to internal rifts, several factions and new political entities emerged. The United Democratic Alliance (UDA) gained prominence as a splinter group led by Deputy President William Ruto and his supporters who felt marginalized within Jubilee. Additionally, factions known as Kieleweke and Tangatanga emerged within Jubilee, representing divisions between those aligned with President Uhuru Kenyatta and those supporting Ruto, respectively. These factions became associated with differing political ideologies and strategies within the ruling party.

The study established that despite the internal challenges and weakened party discipline, the Jubilee Alliance did not experience a complete collapse or dissolution post-2017 elections. The coalition managed to sustain itself and remain in power throughout its tenure, albeit with visible internal disagreements and strains. The alliance's ability to navigate these challenges and sustain the government, albeit with diminished internal cohesion, showcased a level of resilience despite the internal fractures.

5.13 Disintegration of NASA Post-2017 Elections

After the 2017 elections in Kenya, NASA, a coalition of opposition parties, underwent disintegration characterized by internal conflicts and power struggles. Leadership disputes among key figures such as Raila Odinga (ODM), Kalonzo Musyoka (WDM-K), Musalia Mudavadi (ANC), and Moses Wetangula (Ford Kenya) became evident within the coalition. These disputes involved disagreements over key decisions, strategies, and the

handling of significant events, including Odinga's contentious "swearing-in" ceremony as the "People's President," which led to fractures among the coalition members.[1062]

Additionally, divergent interests among the constituent parties within NASA played a pivotal role in its disintegration. Each party had its own set of priorities and ambitions that sometimes clashed with the broader objectives of the coalition. This divergence made it challenging to align on a unified strategy or common vision for the opposition movement, contributing to the coalition's fragmentation.

The NASA co-principals opted to disband the coalition due to reported mistrust, perceived betrayal, and conflicting ambitions among its members.[1063] The decision to dissolve the coalition followed actions by Wiper Democratic Movement, Chama Cha Mashinani, and FORD–Kenya, which collectively submitted a letter to the registrar of political parties, expressing their intention to withdraw from the alliance. According to Article 15 (1) of the Coalition Agreement, it was stipulated that the coalition would be dissolved if any three of the member parties chose to exit the alliance, leading to the formal end of NASA.[1064]

The trust deficit and lack of cohesion within NASA significantly contributed to its downfall. Internal mistrust among coalition members and accusations of betrayal or lack of commitment to the coalition's goals worsened the rifts within the alliance.[1065] Furthermore, key defections and realignments of parties weakened NASA's strength and unity, diminishing its capacity to function as a robust opposition force against the ruling party.

[1062] Tony A. Mochana. Political Parties after Political Parties: The Changing Nature and Reality Of Political Power in Kenya. (2021): p.211.
[1063] https://www.kenyanews.go.ke/nasa-officially-dissolve/. Accessed on December 23, 2023.
[1064] Article 15 (1) of the Coalition Agreement
[1065] Brian Otieno. "Mistrust, betrayal among leaders pushed NASA party to its death". *The Standard*. Retrieved 2022-10-13. https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/politics/article/2001424739/mistrust-betrayal-among-leaders-pushed-nasa-party-to-its-death. Accessed on December 29, 2023.

These internal disputes, conflicting interests, lack of trust, and defections collectively undermined NASA's cohesiveness and effectiveness in Kenyan politics post-2017 elections.

Daily Nation reported key defections within NASA. On his campaigns while at Busia, Ruto urged Busia voters to back the re-election of President Kenyatta in the October 17th poll re-run. Deputy President William Ruto had returned to Busia County where he received former Funyula MP Paul Otuoma to the Jubilee team, as the party intensified campaigns in areas perceived to be Nasa strongholds ahead of the October 17th repeat presidential poll.[1066]

Similarly, the former Nasa co-principal said he would work for the re-election of President Kenyatta. The fifth NASA principal, Isaac Ruto, had rejoined the Jubilee team, pledging to campaign for the re-election of President Uhuru Kenyatta in October. "Today I have returned to where I belong," the Chama Cha Mashinani (CCM) leader told the crowd, which included his successor Governor Joyce Laboso and Baringo Senator Gideon Moi. Another harsh Jubilee critic, Emurua Dikirr MP Johanna Ng'eno, also threw his support behind the Uhuru team.[1067]

Groups offered to drum up support for the president's re-election in the October 17, 2017 poll. The meeting at State House Nairobi saw several politicians who had hitherto been in Nasa defecting to the Jubilee party. They included former Vihiga governor Moses Akaranga, and Bungoma Gubernatorial candidate Alfred Khangati. Former presidential candidate Cyrus Jirongo was also in the group, as was former cabinet minister Chris Okemo

[1066] "Otuoma ditches Raila pledges to support Uhuru" *Daily Nation*, September 19, 2017.p.6
[1067] "Ruto back in Jubilee fold as Uhuru faults Raila over poll date" *Saturday Nation*, September 9, 2017.p.5.

who unsuccessfully vied for the Nambale parliamentary seat on a Labour Party Kenya ticket. Others in the meeting included former cabinet ministers Fred Gumo and Musikari Kombo, and former National Assembly speaker Kenneth Marende. The delegation was led by Water Cabinet Secretary Eugene Wamalwa and Senate Speaker Ken Lusaka. Meanwhile, in Nairobi, President Kenyatta's campaign got a shot in the arm from candidates who had lost in the elections.

Following the disintegration of the National Super Alliance (NASA) after 2017 elections, several factions and realignments reshaped the country's political landscape. The emergence of the One Kenya Alliance (OKA) stood out as a significant development, featuring leaders who were once part of NASA, such as Musalia Mudavadi, Kalonzo Musyoka, Gideon Moi, and Moses Wetangula.[1068] OKA formed as a new political alliance aimed at consolidating their influence and presenting an alternative political front, marking a shift from their previous coalition affiliation.

Moreover, the unexpected reconciliation between Raila Odinga and President Uhuru Kenyatta, referred to as the "handshake," triggered internal divisions within NASA.[1069] This move led to a fracture within the opposition coalition as some leaders supported Odinga's actions, while others, like Mudavadi and Wetangula, criticized the decision, causing internal rifts and prompting realignments of political allegiances. Additionally, parties like Stephen Kalonzo Musyoka's Wiper Democratic Movement (WDM) and Isaac Ruto's Chama Cha Mashinani (CCM) sought new partnerships and alliances outside their previous coalition affiliations, showcasing a reshuffling of political strategies.

[1068] Brechenmacher, Saskia, and Nanjira Sambuli. The Specter of Politics as Usual in Kenya's 2022 *Election*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2022.
[1069] https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/counties/article/2001273921/why-railas-handshake-with-uhuru-betrays-cause-of-nasa-supporters.

Concerning the “handshake”, Musalia Mudavadi observed that opposition is important. Those who think that if you are in opposition you are not patriotic are ignorant…in fact you are unpatriotic if you try and kill the opposition. As it is we can support an idea, but you do not have to troop to the government to support it.[1070] Furthermore, in what Mudavadi refused to discuss further, the ANC party, in its statement, described the Uhuru-Raila handshake as “non-inclusive.” The party refuted it was ironic that while the Building Bridges (handshake) nine-point proposal has inclusivity as one of the points of focus, the process itself was so far not inclusive. It was, therefore, a flawed process from the beginning, and its owners, especially the president was to wake up to the glaring contradiction. The party called for the disbandment of the building bridges team, calling it “lame duck”.[1071]

> The disintegration of NASA led to the formation of the One Kenya Alliance (OKA) and prompted shifts in alliances and strategies among constituent parties. Internal divisions, the Odinga-Kenyatta reconciliation, and differing political aspirations prompted leaders to forge new alliances or reposition themselves politically, shaping a new landscape of political affiliations in Kenya.

Based on the findings of the study provided, the study demonstrates how weak party discipline has consistently contributed to coalition fragmentation or collapse in Kenya's political history. Internal conflicts, differing agendas, power struggles, and the absence of unified ideologies have consistently undermined the stability and effectiveness of

[1070] Patrick Lang’at, “Mudavadi faults Raila, Kalonzo on supporting Uhuru agenda” *Daily Nation*, August 8, 2018
[1071] Ibid

coalitions, ultimately impacting their ability to govern cohesively and achieve common objectives.

5.14 Socio-Political Factors Influencing Party Discipline and Coalition Durability

The socio-political landscape of Kenya since its independence in 1963 has been profoundly shaped by a complex interplay of ethnic diversity, political party dynamics, and coalition building.[1072] To understand the influence of sociopolitical factors on party discipline and coalition durability in Kenya the study explored the role of ethnicity, historical events, power struggles, and governance structures.

Ethnicity has been a foundational element shaping the political landscape in Kenya since its independence. It is a key determinant in political affiliations, often superseding ideological or policy differences among parties.[1073] This phenomenon, known as ethnocentrism, solidifies party loyalty based on shared ethnic identities. For instance, the study findings established that the dominance of the Kikuyu ethnic group under KANU during Jomo Kenyatta's rule entrenched a sense of exclusion among other ethnic communities.[1074] Political parties often mobilize support by leveraging ethnic identities, fostering a deep-rooted allegiance that transcends policy orientations or governance agendas.

The findings of the study established that majority of the voters from the study area had the opinion that the practice of patronage and clientelism has intensified the link between ethnicity and party loyalty in Kenya. They observed that political leaders utilize ethnic

[1072] Kwatemba, Shilaho Westen. "Ethnicity and political pluralism in Kenya." *Journal of African elections* 7, no. 2 (2008): pp.77-112.
[1073] Holmquist, Frank, and Mawangi Wa Githinji. "The default politics of ethnicity in Kenya." *Brown J. World Aff.* 16 (2009): p.101.
[1074] Gilbert M. Khadiagala. "Political movements and coalition politics in Kenya: entrenching ethnicity." South African Journal of International Affairs 17, no. 1 (2010): pp.65-84.

affiliations to consolidate power, employing patronage systems that distribute resources and opportunities along ethnic lines. This strategy strengthens loyalty within particular ethnic groups by rewarding supporters and perpetuating a cycle of dependency. The era of KANU, particularly during Daniel arap Moi's presidency, witnessed the entrenchment of this patronage network, cementing loyalty along ethnic divisions.

Indeed, during an oral interview with Noah Wekesa, he added that during Daniel arap Moi's presidency in Kenya, patronage networks were used to consolidate power and maintain loyalty among ethnic groups. Moi distributed resources and opportunities based on ethnic affiliations, rewarding supporters and creating a sense of dependency on the ruling party, KANU… by favoring individuals from specific ethnic backgrounds in government appointments and resource allocation, Moi secured the loyalty of key ethnic groups and perpetuated a cycle of dependency that solidified their allegiance to the regime. This system of patronage strengthened ethnic-based party loyalty in Kenya, particularly during the era of KANU under Moi's leadership.[1075]

The study further established that the influence of ethnicity on party discipline is evident in various ways. Fragmentation within political parties is a common consequence, driven by internal struggles over resource allocation, power hierarchies, and nominations. These conflicts often arise due to competing ethnic factions vying for control, challenging the unity and coherence of the parties. Maintaining discipline becomes arduous for party leaders as they navigate these internal divides rooted in ethnic interests, hindering effective governance and policy implementation.

[1075] Noah Wekesa, Oral Interview in Kitale on 16th November, 2023.

In an oral interview with David Burare, he postulated that ODM has experienced internal struggles over resource allocation, power hierarchies, and nominations, driven by competing ethnic factions vying for control within the party. This has led to divisions and infighting, challenging the unity and coherence of ODM. For instance, during the 2017 elections, ODM faced internal conflicts over nominations in various regions, with different ethnic groups within the party pushing for their candidates to be selected. These internal divides rooted in ethnic interests made it difficult for ODM leaders to maintain discipline and unity, ultimately impacting the party's effectiveness in governance and policy implementation.[1076]

As if to confirm the Wekesa's sentments, *The Standard Newspaper* reported persistent internal conflicts within ODM in Nyanza that threatened the party's six-piece voting pattern advocated by Raila Odinga for the then upcoming elections in 2017. Despite Raila's calls for unity and resolution of differences, power struggles among elected leaders, party officials, and aspirants persisted, leading to divisions in key strongholds like Kisumu Town East, Homa Bay, Migori, and Kisii. Factional disputes over leadership positions and nominations hindered the party's ability to maintain discipline and coherence, jeopardizing its electoral strategy and unity ahead of the elections.[1077]

Additionally, the study observed that ethnicity significantly shapes leadership choices and decision-making processes within political parties. Party leaders are frequently compelled to prioritize the concerns of their ethnic base, making it challenging to enact policies that benefit

[1076] David Burare, Oral Interview at Upper Hill, Nairobi on 23rd November 2023.
[1077] John Oywa & Dalton Nyabundi, "Battles in Raila party threaten six piece" *The Standard*, August 13, 2016. p.2

the entire nation. This prioritization of ethnic interests can obstruct consensus-building and impede the formulation of comprehensive, inclusive policies.

According to Leah Lokala, the dominance of ethnic considerations in party politics poses hurdles to implementing national policies. Parties often allocate resources and prioritize projects based on their ethnic support base, neglecting the broader national interest. This selective allocation perpetuates inequalities and inefficiencies in resource distribution and public service delivery.[1078]

Herman Manyora added that during the KANU era in Kenya, the "Moi Day" celebrations, established to honor President Daniel arap Moi, exemplified the dominance of ethnic considerations in party politics. Resources and funding for the celebrations were disproportionately allocated to areas perceived as KANU strongholds, reflecting how party politics influenced decision-making and resource distribution based on political expediency rather than national interest. This selective allocation showcased how ethnic considerations in party politics could lead to inequalities in resource distribution and favoritism towards certain regions or communities aligned with the ruling party.[1079]

Coalitions in Kenya have historically formed to bridge ethnic divides and challenge dominant parties. However, the inherent ethnic tensions often make these coalitions fragile.[1080] Despite attempts to create multi-ethnic alliances, underlying loyalties to ethnic groups can threaten the stability of these coalitions. An example is NARC which was a multi-ethnic coalition formed in 2002 to challenge the ruling KANU party. Led by Mwai Kibaki, NARC successfully defeated KANU in the 2002 elections, displaying the potential

[1078] Leah Lokala, Oral Interview in Turkana on 8th July 2023.
[1079] Herman Manyora, Oral Interview at Fountain of Knowledge UoN, Nairobi on 21st November 2023.
[1080] Sebastian Elischer. Political parties in Africa: Ethnicity and party formation. Cambridge University Press, 2013.

of multi-ethnic alliances to promote national unity and democracy. However, internal power struggles, conflicting interests, and allegations of corruption within the coalition led to its fragmentation, highlighting the challenges of maintaining unity across diverse ethnic groups in Kenya's political landscape.

According to the study findings, power struggles among ethnic blocs within coalitions could destabilize partnerships.[1081] Leaders prioritize their ethnic interests over the unity of the coalition, leading to internal conflicts and disagreements over policy agendas. These power struggles undermine the cohesion needed for effective governance and policy implementation. One relevant example based on findings was the post-election violence that occurred in 2007-2008. Following the disputed presidential election results, political leaders representing different ethnic groups within coalitions prioritized their ethnic interests over the unity of the nation.

The power struggles between the Kikuyu, Luo, and Kalenjin ethnic groups, among others, led to internal conflicts and disagreements over policy agendas. This resulted in widespread violence, loss of lives, and displacement of populations. The lack of cohesion within the coalition government at that time undermined effective governance and policy implementation, highlighting the negative impact of ethnic power struggles on political stability in Kenya.

The study findings also established that historical grievances among ethnic groups could resurface within coalitions, impacting their durability. Past injustices or conflicts may manifest within the coalition, affecting cooperation and trust-building efforts. Resolving

[1081] Cheeseman, Nic. "The internal dynamics of power-sharing in Africa." In *Democratization in Africa: Challenges and Prospects*, pp. 62-91. Routledge, 2013.

these historical tensions becomes crucial for sustaining coalition partnerships and fostering a conducive environment for governance.

In Kenya, historical grievances among ethnic groups have played a significant role in shaping coalition dynamics and governance. One relevant example is the post-election violence that occurred after the 2007 presidential elections. The disputed results led to widespread violence along ethnic lines, particularly between the Kikuyu and Luo communities. The formation of the Grand Coalition Government between President Mwai Kibaki and Prime Minister Raila Odinga in 2008 was an attempt to address these historical tensions and bring stability to the country. However, underlying ethnic grievances continued to impact the coalition's effectiveness, with suspicions and mistrust hindering cooperation and governance efforts.[1082]

The findings conclusively agree that ethnicity remains a pervasive factor shaping party loyalty, discipline, and coalition dynamics in Kenyan politics. Overcoming these challenges necessitates efforts to promote inclusive politics, prioritize national interests over ethnic considerations, and strengthen institutions that foster equitable representation and governance for all Kenyans. Addressing these issues is crucial for building a more cohesive and sustainable political landscape in Kenya.

5.15 Economic Factors Affecting Party Loyalty within Coalitions

The economic landscape in Kenya has been a central force shaping party loyalty within coalitions since its independence in 1963. Key economic factors have consistently

[1082] Nyukuri Barasa, Oral Interview at County hotel, Bungoma on 15th November, 2023.

influenced the dynamics of political alliances, impacting the stability and coherence of coalitions over time.

Resource distribution stands as a prominent factor impacting party loyalty within coalitions. Control and allocation of resources, including government contracts, public sector employment, and development projects, are central in determining party allegiance. The competition for access to these resources often becomes a focal point within coalitions, with parties vying for control as a means to maintain loyalty.

The Jubilee Party, a coalition of several parties that came together before the 2017 general elections had instances of power struggles and internal divisions over the allocation of resources, including government appointments and lucrative contracts. The competition for access to resources within the Jubilee Party coalition had a notable impact on party allegiance and cohesion, highlighting the importance of resource distribution in influencing party dynamics in Kenyan politics.[1083]

The research findings established that patronage networks further reinforced party loyalty, as politicians use these networks to retain support. Rewarding loyalists and supporters with economic benefits, such as jobs or contracts, serves as a strategy to secure allegiance. The control over and utilization of these networks often become bargaining tools, influencing shifts in party loyalty within coalitions.

According to the Standard newspaper, President William Ruto rewarded key supporters who helped him win the August 9, 2022 general elections by appointing them to strategic positions in the Kenya Kwanza administration. His campaign team members, particularly from the UDA party, secured positions in the Cabinet, counties, and Parliament. Notably,

[1083] Pius Mutahi, Oral Interview at Sirikwa hotel, Eldoret on 12th November, 2023

individuals like Kithure Kindiki, Njuguna Ndung'u, Aisha Jumwa, Alice Wahome, and others were appointed to significant roles in Ruto's administration. These appointments were a result of their crucial roles in mobilizing support for Ruto during the elections, where he emerged victorious with over 7 million votes against his main rival, Raila Odinga.[1084]

Differences in economic ideologies and policies also contribute significantly to the dynamics of party loyalty within coalitions. Variances in approaches to economic development, resource allocation, and fiscal policies can create tensions and conflicts among coalition partners. These ideological disparities have, at times, led to internal disagreements and even the breakdown of coalitions. For example, in 2002, the NARC government faced internal conflicts over economic policies. President Kibaki favored market-friendly approaches, while coalition partners like the LDP, led by Raila Odinga, preferred populist interventions. These differences led to tensions, resulting in the coalition's split in 2005, forming ODM. This is how economic policy disparities can strain coalition loyalty and lead to their breakdown.[1085]

The study established that economic disparities between regions play a substantial role in shaping party loyalty within coalitions. Regional economic imbalances often lead parties to align based on regional interests, prioritizing economic gains for their constituencies over national concerns. These disparities have influenced coalition formations and dissolutions, notably highlighted in instances like the creation of the Grand Coalition Government in 2008, aiming to address regional tensions after post-election violence.

[1084] Benjamin Imende, "How Ruto is rewarding loyalists, from top to grassroots mobilisers" *The Standard*, November 6, 2022. p.1

[1085] Bifwoli Wakoli, Oral Interview at Highway hotel, Bungoma on 14th November, 2023.

Corruption and economic malpractices also significantly impact party loyalty within coalitions. Instances of corruption or mismanagement of public funds by coalition partners can strain relationships and weaken unity within the coalition. Scandals involving embezzlement or corrupt procurement practices have led to coalition partners withdrawing, reflecting the disruptive influence of corruption on coalition dynamics.

During the Jubilee era, the NYS scandal in 2015 exemplified how corruption affected party loyalty within coalitions. High-ranking officials and politicians from the ruling Jubilee coalition were implicated in embezzling funds meant for NYS projects, leading to internal tensions and strains within the coalition. This scandal highlighted how corruption can weaken coalition unity and create rifts among political parties.[1086]

Additionally, the Kimwarer Dam scandal involved the misappropriation of funds allocated for the construction project. It implicated high-ranking officials linked to the ruling Jubilee coalition and raised concerns about corruption. The scandal showcased how corruption can strain coalition relationships, leading to internal tensions and challenges to party loyalty.[1087]

Similarly, *The Standard newspaper* reported that the Arror and Kimwarer dam scandal in Elgeyo Marakwet County unfolded, involving the mismanagement of funds totaling Sh21 billion meant for the construction of the dams. The projects, overseen by the Kerio Valley Development Authority (KVDA), were estimated to cost Sh63 billion but were never completed due to embezzlement. President Uhuru Kenyatta cancelled the Kimwarer Dam project in 2019 after a technical committee found it financially and technically unfeasible. The committee also recommended downsizing the Arror dam to reduce costs. Despite the

[1086] Umi Maloba, Oral Interview in Bungoma on 25th November 2023.
[1087] John Kamande, Oral Interview at Uraia Trust offices, Nairobi on 24th November, 2023.

President's directive to proceed with the Arror dam project, it has yet to be implemented by KVDA and its contractor.[1088]

The study findings show that economic factors such as resource distribution, patronage networks, regional disparities, and corruption significantly shape party loyalty within coalitions in Kenya. Understanding these economic dynamics is essential in comprehending the complexities of coalition politics and the challenges associated with maintaining party cohesion amid diverse economic interests and pressures.

5.16 Conflict Resolution Mechanisms within Political Coalitions in Kenya

Effective conflict resolution mechanisms play a crucial role in maintaining the unity and effectiveness of coalitions.[1089] Effective mechanisms for resolving conflicts can prevent disputes from escalating and undermining the overall stability of the coalition. The study revealed the following mechanisms that coalitions have utilized to resolve conflicts within coalitions in Kenya;

One effective mechanism for conflict resolution in political coalitions is the establishment of power-sharing agreements.[1090] These agreements allocate positions of power and resources among coalition partners, helping to address potential conflicts over distributional issues.[1091] NARC in Kenya, formed in 2002, implemented a power-sharing

[1088] https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/health/national/article/2001452495/dam-scandal-that-jolted-the-jubilee-legacy. Retrieved and Accessed on 23/2/2024.
[1089] Yoh, John Gay. "The institutional role of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in conflict resolution in Africa." PhD diss., University of South Africa, Pretoria, 2008.
[1090] Katia Papagianni. "Power-sharing: A conflict resolution tool." *Africa mediators' retreat* (2007): 23-33.
[1091] Sebastian Elischer. "Ethnic coalitions of convenience and commitment: Political parties and party systems in Kenya." (2008).

agreement that allocated key ministerial positions to different parties within the coalition.[1092] This helped to manage conflicts related to power distribution and ensured a sense of fairness among coalition partners.

These agreements involve parties agreeing to share power and resources in a manner that reflects their strength within the coalition. For example, during the formation of the Jubilee Party in 2016, the two main parties, TNA and URP, agreed to share power and resources in a manner that reflected their strength within the coalition. This contributed to the party's unity and effectiveness during the elections.[1093] The Standard revealed that in 2016, Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto agreed to share all public appointments equally on a 50-50 basis. This meant that out of the 22 Cabinet positions, each party within the Jubilee coalition would have 11 positions. The power-sharing deal aimed to ensure fair representation and inclusivity within the government, fostering unity and cooperation between the two factions of the coalition.[1094]

Hornsby in his book describes how KANU used power-sharing agreements as a conflict resolution mechanism within its coalitions. For example, KADU dissolved itself voluntarily in 1964 and joined KANU after a strong lobbying by Tom Mboya to form a coalition government.[1095] This contributed to the coalition's unity and effectiveness during the early years of independence.

[1092] Peter Wanyande, Walter Oyugi, and C. Odhiambo-Mbai. "The Politics of Transition in Kenya: from KANU to NARC." (2003).

[1093] Jubilee Merger: TNA, URP Agree to Share Power and Resources. *Standard Digital*, September 10, 2016.

[1094] https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000071981/what-is-contained-in-tna-urp-power-deal-that-is-due-for-signing. Accessed on 4/01/2024.

[1095] C. Hornsby. "Kenya: A History since Independence; IB Tauris & Co." *Ltd.: London, UK* (2012).

Arbitration is a legal conflict resolution mechanism used within political coalitions in Kenya.[1096] Arbitration involves parties agreeing to submit their disputes to a neutral third party who makes a binding decision. For instance, during the Jubilee Party's nominations for the 2017 elections, the party used arbitration to resolve disputes over nominations. This contributed to the party's unity and effectiveness during the elections.[1097] In 2021, the One Kenya Alliance (OKA) coalition faced challenges with conflict resolution when some members expressed dissatisfaction with the coalition's leadership structure. The coalition used negotiation and mediation to resolve the disputes, resulting in a revised leadership structure that satisfied all members of the coalition.[1098]

Some coalition agreements may include dispute resolution clauses that outline mechanisms for resolving disputes. For example, the NASA coalition agreement included a dispute resolution clause that required parties to resolve disputes through negotiation, mediation, or arbitration.[1099] This contributed to the coalition's unity and effectiveness during the elections.[1100]

Invoking the code of discipline. KANU established the code of discipline that enhanced discipline and conflict resolution within the party.[1101] Accordingly, it stipulated:

The Kanu code of discipline was approved by the national governing council following the decision of the annual delegates' conference held on the July 1, 1985, to the effect that a

[1096] David Kariuki Muigua. *Settling disputes through arbitration in Kenya*. Glenwood Publishers, Nairobi, 2012.
[1097] David M. Mbuthi v Jubilee Party & another [2017] eKLR

[1098] James Mbaka. "One Kenya Alliance headache in choosing flagbearer," *The Star*, April 6, 2021.
[1099]

[1100] Peter Leftie & Kitavi Mutua. "Nasa to tackle formula for power sharing in talks," *Daily Nation*, April 15, 2017. Updated on July 03, 2020, accessed on December 28 2023
[1101] KNADS/ADM.10/12-KANU Administration (Code of Discipline). Accessed on 30/6/2023

party disciplinary committee should be established. This was in recognition of the fact that as a mass movement, it is vital for the party to be a disciplined organization so as to provide exemplary leadership that is founded on freedom, justice and fair play for all.

The code established a national disciplinary committee and provides for its composition, powers and rules and procedures. The code establishes a national disciplinary committee and provides for its composition, powers and rules and procedures. The code defines a general misconduct against KANU and provides rules and procedures for making reports for alleged indiscipline to the secretary of the national disciplinary committee. The code further provides that decisions and recommendations of the national disciplinary committee shall be by a two thirds majority of the members present and having participated in the proceedings of the committee. Paragraph 5 (L) of the code provides that after deliberations and findings, the national disciplinary committee may recommend any of the following actions to the national executive committee;

(a) Set the subject free from all or any of the alleged misconduct;

(b) Caution;

(c) Reprimand;

(d) Removal from office;

(e) Recommend for preferring charges in a court of law;

(f) Prohibition from contesting or holding any public office for a defined period;

(g) Suspension;

(h) Expulsion for a period, or indefinitely;

(i) For non-Kanu members who have been established as offenders within 4 (111) (b) the committee shall recommend to the respective authorities to have the protection and rights withdrawn and privileges terminated.

Article 3(1) of the constitution, dealing specifically with party life members, provided that "life members who fail to comply with policies and general directives shall be brought before the National executive committee for such disciplinary action as the committee may see fit". It is also specified in the Kanu constitution that the national governing council will ensure proper organization and discipline in all branches of the union.

The constitution also empowers the party president to "ensure discipline and proper order in the union and adherence to union policy by all officials, embers and the parliamentary group" and empowers him;

(a) To suspend any member of the union provided such suspension is ratified by the national governing council within three months, failing which it will lapse.

(b) To discipline and suspend from office any person or group of persons who act or speak contrary to union policy.

KANU also used negotiation as a conflict resolution mechanism within its party. During the 1978 elections, KANU negotiated with smaller parties to form a coalition government. This contributed to the party's unity and effectiveness during the elections.[1102] KANU has also used mediation as a conflict resolution mechanism within its coalitions. During the 2007-2008 post-election violence, KANU played a key role in mediating between the opposing political factions. This contributed to the restoration of peace and stability in the country.[1103]

Some coalitions establish conflict management committees to address internal disputes and conflicts. These committees are responsible for identifying issues, facilitating discussions,

[1102] Gilbert M. Khadiagala. "Political movements and coalition politics in Kenya: entrenching ethnicity." South African Journal of International Affairs 17, no. 1 (2010): pp.65-84.
[1103] Odhiambo, Maureen A. "Multiple mediation and conflict resolution: the case of Kenyans post-electoral conflict (2007/2008)." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2014.

and recommending solutions. This was the case for CORD, formed in 2013, which had a conflict management committee that played a vital role in managing internal conflicts and maintaining cohesion within the coalition.[1104]

Open lines of communication and regular dialogue are essential for conflict resolution within coalitions. By promoting transparency and fostering a culture of constructive engagement, potential conflicts can be addressed early on. The Jubilee Coalition formed in 2013, emphasized regular meetings and consultations among its members to ensure effective communication and prevent misunderstandings that could lead to conflicts.[1105]

Public statements by party leaders can also serve as a conflict resolution mechanism within political coalitions in Kenya. These statements can help to defuse tensions and reassure members of the coalition that their interests are being taken into account. For example, during the formation of OKA coalition in 2021, party leaders made public statements emphasizing the need for unity and cooperation. This contributed to the coalition's unity and effectiveness ahead of the 2022 presidential election.[1106]

Intra-party conflict resolution mechanisms is also utilized to maintain coalition cohesion. Political parties within a coalition can have their own internal mechanisms for resolving conflicts among party members. This was the case for ODM which established disciplinary committees and internal dispute resolution mechanisms to address conflicts within the party, this helped to maintain discipline and unity within the coalition.[1107] Such disciplinary

[1104] Etyang, Oita. "The Formation and Instability of Coalition Governments in Kenya", *The African Review* 49, 2 (2022): pp.167-194

[1105] "Jubilee coalition calls off nominations" *Daily Nation*, December 17, 2012 — retrieved on 28th October, 2023

[1106] Moses Nyamori. "Principals now scheme to make One Kenya Alliance formidable ahead of polls" *The Standard*, May 18, 2021. Retrieved October 28, 2023

[1107] "ODM Forms Disciplinary Committee Ahead of Nominations," *The Standard*, March 16, 2017.

committees have seen rebels within the party and coalition summoned and grilled, as was the case for Esther Passaris and other ODM rebels who faced disciplinary committees.[1108] KANU had internal mechanisms for resolving conflicts within the party. These mechanisms included disciplinary committees and dispute resolution committees. For example, in 1988, KANU used its disciplinary committee to resolve disputes within the party over nominations for various positions. This contributed to the party's unity and effectiveness during the elections

In 2020, the ruling Jubilee Party faced challenges with conflict resolution when some members of the party defied the party's decision to remove certain members from leadership positions in Parliament. The party used internal mechanisms, including disciplinary committees, to resolve the disputes. However, the disputes led to a split in the party, with some members forming a new faction known as Jubilee Asili.[1109]

Conflict resolution through the National Accord. The National Accord was a power-sharing agreement signed in 2008 between President Mwai Kibaki and opposition leader Raila Odinga to end post-election violence and establish a coalition government.[1110] The accord included provisions for the creation of a Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation Commission, which was tasked with investigating human rights abuses and promoting national reconciliation. The National Accord played a crucial role in preventing further violence and

[1108] Sharon Wanga, “Esther Passaris and other ODM rebels face disciplinary committee” The Standard. Retrieved October 28, 2023

[1109] https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/counties/article/2001375801/party-promiscuity-it-didnt-start-with-rutos-jubilee-asili. Accessed on December 27 2023.

[1110] National Accord and Reconciliation Act 2008

stabilizing the country, and its conflict resolution mechanisms helped to maintain unity within the coalition government.

Under the agreement, Kibaki remained as President, while Odinga became the Prime Minister, effectively establishing a coalition government. This power-sharing arrangement was a compromise that aimed to address the political grievances of both parties and their respective supporters. The most immediate and critical impact of the National Accord was the prevention of further violence. The power-sharing agreement and the commitment of both sides to work together in a coalition government helped calm the tensions and reduce the likelihood of violent confrontations.[1111] This was crucial in stabilizing the country and avoiding a potential descent into civil war or prolonged political unrest.

Parliamentary committees also play a role in resolving conflicts within coalitions. In Kenya, parliamentary committees are responsible for overseeing government ministries and departments and can investigate allegations of misconduct or corruption. The Jubilee Coalition established a parliamentary committee on coalition affairs to oversee the implementation of its policy agenda and address any conflicts that arose.

Public forums are also used as a conflict resolution mechanism to promote dialogue and understanding between coalition partners. For example, the BBI coalition held a series of public forums across the country to engage with citizens and promote national unity. These forums provided an opportunity for coalition partners to engage with each other and the public, helping to build trust and prevent conflicts from arising.

[1111] "Kenyan leader signs power-share law". *Al Jazeera English*. 2008-03-19. Archived from the original on 2008-10-01. Retrieved 2023-10-27.

Conflict resolution through the Handshake Agreement. The Handshake Agreement was a political truce signed in 2018 between President Uhuru Kenyatta and opposition leader Raila Odinga. The agreement aimed to promote national unity and reconciliation following the divisive 2017 elections.[1112] The Handshake Agreement included provisions for the establishment of a task force on national unity, which was tasked with developing recommendations for addressing issues related to ethnic and political divisions in the country.[1113] The Handshake Agreement helped to reduce tensions and promote cooperation between the ruling Jubilee Party and the opposition NASA.

KANU also used co-optation as a conflict resolution mechanism within its coalitions. This involved bringing opposing factions or individuals into the party's leadership or government positions to reduce tensions and promote unity. For example, in 1983, KANU co-opted opposition leaders into government positions to promote national unity.

Invoking legal and institutional frameworks. Kenya has sought to establish legal and institutional frameworks to regulate coalition politics. The Political Parties Act of 2011, for instance, stipulates rules governing coalition agreements, the conduct of coalition members, and dispute resolution mechanisms.[1114] However, effective enforcement of these regulations has sometimes been a challenge. The Political Parties Act of 2011 in Kenya was a significant step toward regulating coalition politics by providing guidelines and regulations for political parties forming coalitions. It outlined specific provisions regarding coalition agreements, the conduct of coalition members, and mechanisms for dispute

[1112] Wilson, Tom (1 November 2019). "Handshake ends crisis and leads to signs of progress in Kenya". *Financial Times*. Retrieved 27 October 2023.
[1113] *"With a handshake, Kenya leaves behind divisive poll – Daily Nation"*. www.nation.co.ke. Retrieved and accessed on 27 October *2023*.
[1114] Political Parties Act of 2011

resolution. However, the effective enforcement of these regulations has faced challenges, leading to difficulties in managing and resolving conflicts within political coalitions.

One of the key provisions of the Political Parties Act was the requirement for political parties forming coalitions to enter into written agreements detailing the terms of their collaboration. This aimed to ensure transparency and clarity regarding the roles, responsibilities, and power-sharing arrangements among coalition partners. However, enforcement of these agreements and adherence to their provisions have been inconsistent in practice. An example of challenges in enforcing coalition agreements and regulations can be seen in the case of the Jubilee Coalition formed ahead of the 2013 elections. The coalition agreement between the Jubilee Party and its partners, TNA and URP, outlined power-sharing arrangements and key roles within the government. However, disputes emerged over the distribution of positions and resource allocation, leading to tensions and disagreements among coalition members. Despite the existence of the coalition agreement and provisions within the Political Parties Act, effectively resolving these disputes remained a challenge.

Moreover, the Act provides for dispute resolution mechanisms within political coalitions. It stipulates that disputes within coalitions should be resolved through established internal party mechanisms or through the Office of the Registrar of Political Parties. However, the utilization and effectiveness of these mechanisms in addressing conflicts within coalitions have been limited. Often, disputes have escalated beyond internal party mechanisms, leading to prolonged conflicts that impact coalition cohesion and governance. The challenges in enforcing the regulations outlined in the Political Parties Act highlight the complexities of managing and regulating coalition politics in Kenya. Despite the existence

of legal frameworks and guidelines, the practical implementation and enforcement of these regulations have not always effectively resolved conflicts or ensured adherence to coalition agreements among political parties.

FGD two offered a dissenting perspective on the efficacy of party conflict resolution mechanisms, expressing concerns about selective enforcement and favoritism within these systems in Kenyan political coalitions. By questioning the consistency and impartiality of mechanisms like arbitration and power-sharing agreements, the respondents highlights the importance of transparency and fairness in resolving conflicts within parties and coalitions.[1115]

The researcher agrees with the dissenting views of the aforementioned voter respodent and underscores the need for a critical evaluation of conflict resolution processes to ensure equitable treatment for all coalition members, emphasizing the significance of addressing enforcement challenges to enhance the credibility and effectiveness of conflict resolution mechanisms for fostering unity, cohesion, and efficient governance within political coalitions in Kenya.

5.17 Important Institutions that Assist in Conflict Resolution within Political Coalitions

5.17.1 The Political Parties' Dispute Tribunal (PPDT)

The Political Parties' Dispute Tribunal (PPDT) in Kenya stands as an independent entity established under the 2011 Political Parties Act. Its primary responsibility lies in arbitrating and settling disputes that arise within the sphere of political parties operating within

[1115] FGD 2 at Kitale in Trans Nzoia County on 8th December 2023.

Kenya's multi-party system.[1116] This tribunal operates with a fundamental commitment to impartiality, ensuring it remains unaffected by external political influences while addressing conflicts.

The jurisdiction of the PPDT extends across a broad spectrum of issues within the realm of political parties.[1117] It includes resolving internal disagreements, such as leadership disputes, nomination intricacies, disciplinary matters, and conflicts that emerge within or between parties forming coalitions. By encompassing such a wide scope, the tribunal acts as a crucial institution in maintaining the stability and integrity of Kenya's political landscape.[1118]

The study also established that the PPDT utilizes a range of dispute resolution mechanisms, including mediation, arbitration, and adjudication, the PPDT offers a structured platform for parties in dispute to present their grievances. Through comprehensive hearings and examinations of evidence, the tribunal issues legally binding decisions. These decisions are rooted in the framework of the Political Parties Act and other pertinent laws governing political parties in Kenya. Consequently, the PPDT ensures that its resolutions are aligned with legal principles and party regulations, thereby upholding fairness and legality in conflict resolution processes.

Central to its role is the safeguarding of democratic principles and the promotion of fair and transparent political processes. By resolving disputes and enforcing adherence to democratic standards, the PPDT plays a pivotal role in preserving the integrity of Kenya's

[1116] Makokha, Shadrack. "The role of internal Political Party mechanisms in resolving disputes from Election Primaries in Kenya, a case study of the 2013 Political Party Primaries." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2019.

[1117] Wafula Wakoko, Oral Interview at ORPP offices, Nairobi on 3rd January 2024.

[1118] Ibid

political system. Its interventions prevent conflicts from spiraling out of control and potentially destabilizing the democratic institutions within the country.

In essence, the PPDT operates as a vital component within Kenya's political system, ensuring the equitable resolution of conflicts within political parties and coalitions. Its commitment to impartiality, adherence to legal frameworks, and promotion of fairness underscores its significance in maintaining political stability and upholding democratic values within the nation.

In the case of the Jubilee Party, the tribunal was instrumental in addressing disputes and conflicts arising from the party's internal dynamics. One specific example was the resolution of disputes between different factions within the party, such as during nomination processes or leadership contests. The tribunal's intervention helped to mitigate tensions and foster unity within the party. Additionally, the tribunal played a role in resolving conflicts between political parties in coalitions, such as NASA, by providing a platform for fair arbitration and dispute resolution.[1119]

The study further advanced that the Political Parties' Dispute Tribunal (PPDT) has indeed played a pivotal role in mediating conflicts within political parties, including the Jubilee Party. Within Jubilee, disputes over leadership positions and nomination processes had been common occurrences that threatened party cohesion. For instance, during the 2017 run-up to elections, the Jubilee Party encountered internal tensions over nominations for various positions. The PPDT intervened, conducted hearings, and ensured that the nomination process followed party regulations. Its intervention helped to resolve conflicts and discrepancies, ensuring a fair and transparent selection process. This resulted in the

[1119] Wafula Wakoko, Oral Interview at ORPP offices, Nairobi on 3rd January 2024.

acceptance of nominations by all factions within the party, fostering unity and minimizing divisions that could have weakened the party's stance in elections.

The PPDT's significance extended beyond intra-party conflicts to addressing disputes between parties in coalitions, such as NASA.[1120] Within NASA, disagreements over various issues, including the sharing of resources and differing policy positions, occasionally strained the coalition. The tribunal served as a neutral arbitrator in resolving these conflicts, providing a platform for fair hearings and decisions. For example, when disagreements arose over the allocation of key positions within the coalition, the PPDT facilitated discussions among the involved parties, leading to a consensus that upheld the coalition's stability. By ensuring equitable resolutions and adherence to coalition agreements, the PPDT's intervention prevented potential ruptures within NASA, thereby preserving its unity and effectiveness as a political alliance.

The PPDT's involvement in addressing disputes within the Jubilee Party and resolving conflicts between parties within coalitions like NASA was instrumental in maintaining political stability. Through fair arbitration and decisions based on party regulations and the law, the tribunal's interventions fostered unity, minimized tensions, and upheld democratic principles within Kenya's political landscape.

5.17.2 The Office of the Registrar of Political Parties (ORPP)

The Office of the Registrar of Political Parties serves as a pivotal institution overseeing the registration, regulation, and monitoring of political parties. Beyond its primary functions,

[1120] Ibid

this office plays a critical role in resolving conflicts within these political entities.[1121] It achieves this by acting as a mediator, arbitrator, and enforcer of party constitutions and laws. The Registrar facilitates dialogue between conflicting factions, working to find common ground and amicable solutions. Additionally, it investigates internal disputes within political parties, ensuring adherence to party constitutions and relevant laws. Through recommendations, directives, and enforcement measures, the Registrar aims to foster harmony, transparency, and internal democracy within these parties.[1122]

The Office of the Registrar of Political Parties in Kenya holds significant responsibility in not only overseeing the functioning of political parties but also in mediating disputes that arise within them.[1123] By mediating, enforcing party regulations, and investigating conflicts, the Registrar works to ensure that political parties operate democratically while upholding legal compliance. It promotes dialogue, reconciliation, and adherence to established guidelines to mitigate conflicts and maintain the stability and integrity of political parties in the Kenyan political landscape.

5.17.3 The Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMD)

The Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMD) in Kenya plays a pivotal role in fostering democracy, promoting good governance, and enhancing cooperation among political parties in the country.[1124] While it does not have direct regulatory authority like the Office of the Registrar of Political Parties, it contributes significantly to conflict resolution within political parties through various means: It serves as an impartial mediator, facilitating

[1121] Kiama, Christopher Wambua. "Comparative Study of REST and SOAP: Case of Registrar of Political Parties' Kenya." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2013.
[1122] Ibid
[1123] Odhiambo, Maureen A. "Multiple mediation and conflict resolution: the case of Kenyans post-electoral conflict (2007/2008)." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2014.
[1124] Kanyinga, Karuti. "Kenya: Democracy and political participation." (2014).

dialogues and negotiations between divergent political factions. This role enables the CMD to create conducive spaces where parties can engage in constructive discussions to resolve internal disputes amicably.

Range Mwita further explained during an oral interview as shown in Plate no.8 that;

> …the CMD conducts extensive capacity-building programs and training sessions tailored for party members and leaders. These initiatives primarily focus on conflict resolution strategies, negotiation skills, and the cultivation of a culture grounded in tolerance and understanding within and among political parties. By equipping party members with these skills, the CMD aims to empower them to handle conflicts more effectively, fostering a more harmonious and cooperative political landscape.[1125]



Plate 8: The Researcher (left) after interviewing Range Mwita (right), the Program Manager, Centre for Multi-Party Democracy (CMD)

Similarly, Tendi argues that the development of robust political parties requires not only institutional structures but also the cultivation of a shared political culture among party members. This includes the ability to engage in constructive dialogue, manage conflicts, and find common ground, even among diverse ideological and regional factions within a

[1125] Range Mwita, Oral Interview at CMD offices, Nairobi on 22nd November 2023.

party.[1126] Tendi argues that this shared political culture is crucial for the long-term stability and effectiveness of political parties. It allows party members to navigate differences, build consensus, and present a united front to the electorate, even in the face of complex issues and competing interests.

The CMD plays an advocacy role in championing democratic principles, advocating for transparency, inclusivity, and adherence to democratic norms within political parties.[1127] By advocating for these foundational values, the CMD encourages parties to implement internal mechanisms that prevent and manage conflicts. Through research and policy development initiatives, the CMD also delves into the underlying causes of conflicts within political parties, providing valuable insights and recommendations to mitigate tensions and cultivate healthier internal party dynamics. Ultimately, the CMD serves as a non-partisan entity dedicated to complementing the efforts of various institutions by providing a platform for constructive dialogue, fostering democratic values, and offering support mechanisms to address and prevent conflicts within political parties in Kenya.

5.18 Chapter Summary

This chapter evaluated how party discipline has impacted political coalitions in Kenya since 1945. It traced the historical evolution of party discipline, from the nationalist movements of the colonial era to the contemporary multiparty landscape, highlighting how internal party cohesion and the enforcement or lack thereof have significantly influenced the formation, stability, and dissolution of coalitions. The study adopted an interpretivism

[1126] Tendi, Blessing-Miles. "State intelligence and the politics of Zimbabwe's presidential succession." *African Affairs* 115, no. 459 (2016): pp.203-224.
[1127] https://cmd-kenya.org/. Accessed on 15/01/2024

research philosophy and the social exchange theory, utilizing diverse methodologies to interpret the complex interplay between party discipline and coalition politics. It explored specific case studies that showcased instances where strong party discipline contributed to coalition success, as well as examples where weak discipline led to fragmentation and collapse. Additionally, the chapter explored the significance of party discipline in areas such as effective governance, legislative efficacy and democratic accountability. It also examined the challenges to maintaining party discipline, rooted in ethnic dynamics, power struggles, and structural factors, ultimately underscoring the centrality of party discipline in Kenya's evolving political landscape. The next chapter provides the summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary, conclusions, recommendations and suggesttions for further research based on the specific objectives of the study. The tenets of the two theories and the research philosophy used in interrogation and analysis of the data are also exempliefied.

The general objective of the study was to interrogate the history of coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya since 1945. The specific objectives of the study were to: trace the origins and development of coalition politics in Kenya since 1945; explore the types of political coalitions that have existed in Kenya since 1945; assess how party ideologies have shaped the development of political coalitions in Kenya since 1945; and evaluate the impact of party discipline on the durability of political coalitions in Kenya since 1945.

The literature reviewed was undertaken globally, regionally and in areas related to the study. The historical account of Kenya's political landscape since 1945 provided valuable insights into the evolution of coalition politics, the dynamics of power struggles, and the enduring impact of political alliances on governance and policy-making. The narrative underscores the complex interplay of historical, ideological, and ethnic factors in shaping Kenya's political evolution, from pre-independence resistance movements to the consolidation of power under KANU and beyond.

The theoretical framework of political coalitions and social exchange theory provided a comprehensive lens for understanding the intricate dynamics of coalition formation, power negotiations, and policy influence. The theoretical perspective was particularly relevant in the context of Kenya's diverse ethnic and ideological landscape, allowing for an in-depth analysis of the motivations behind coalition building and their impact on democratic institutions.

The study employed an interpretivism research philosophy, using methodologies such as interviews, discourse analysis, and historical contextualization to explore the meanings of

party discipline in Kenya since 1945. This approach focused on the real-world implications of party discipline and coalition politics, supported by Social Exchange Theory, which examined the costs, benefits, and fairness in political alliances. A historical research design, incorporating surveys, interviews, and archival data, provided a comprehensive overview of historical trends and the impact of party discipline on Kenya's political landscape.

6.2 Summary of the Findings

6.2.1 The Origins and Development of Coalition Politics in Kenya since 1945

Chapter two of the study delved into the origins and development of coalition politics in Kenya since 1945, employing the theory of political coalitions to analyze the intricate dynamics of coalition formation, power negotiations, and policy influence within the country's diverse ethnic and ideological landscape. Through a historical research design focusing on key periods and causal relationships, the chapter sheds light on the motivations behind coalition building, their impact on democratic institutions, and their lasting effects on political stability and socio-economic development in Kenya. The interpretivism research philosophy served as a valuable lens for this study, enabling a refined exploration of the objective and subjective realities and historical contexts that underpin the dynamics of coalition governance in Kenya.

The study findings on origins and development of coalition politics in Kenya since 1945 reveal a dynamic history influenced by key events and transitions. Pre-1945, political movements like KASU, KCA, and Mau Mau were crucial in advocating for African rights and unity. The Mau Mau rebellion and state of emergency from 1952 to 1957 marked a pivotal moment in Kenya's fight for self-governance, sparking increased activism against

colonial rule. Despite noble goals, the colonial government used surveillance and repression to maintain control. The period before 1960 saw a mix of political activism, ethnic tensions, and independence struggles, laying the foundation for coalition politics and eventual sovereignty.

The emergence of political parties such as KANU and KADU in Kenya during the pre-independence era from 1960 to 1963 reflected the diverse political ideologies and strategies employed by various leaders in navigating the path to self-governance and independence. These parties symbolized the complexities of nation-building in a diverse society, highlighted the varying visions for Kenya's future governance, and shaped the trajectory of the country's political landscape leading up to its eventual independence in 1963.

The post-independence period in Kenya from 1963 to 1978 was characterized by the consolidation of power within KANU under President Jomo Kenyatta's leadership. This era witnessed the suppression of political dissent, restrictions on opposition activities, and the establishment of a de facto one-party state, significantly impacting the country's political landscape and governance structures.

The period from 1978 to 1991 in Kenya witnessed the consolidation of single-party rule under President Daniel arap Moi and KANU, leading to a single-party state. The suppression of political dissent, crackdown on opposition figures, and the passage of laws outlawing multiparty politics underscored the authoritarian tendencies of the regime, limiting political pluralism and dissent within the country.

The reintroduction of multiparty politics in Kenya in 1991 fundamentally transformed the country's political landscape, leading to the emergence of a multitude of political parties,

coalition formations, and diverse ideologies. This shift towards multiparty democracy not only expanded political choices for Kenyan citizens but also influenced governance, electoral strategies, and power dynamics within the nation, highlighting the significance of coalition politics in shaping Kenya's democratic evolution and political direction.

The period from 2002 to 2013 in Kenya was characterized by significant transitions, realignments, and the consolidation of political coalitions. The period following the 2002 elections in Kenya witnessed significant shifts in alliances, mergers, and realignments among political parties, leading to the formation of coalitions as a strategic approach to consolidating power, influencing electoral outcomes, and navigating the complexities of Kenya's multi-party democracy. The formation of the Grand Coalition Government in Kenya following the tumultuous 2007 elections marked a significant departure from traditional political structures. This unprecedented partnership between former rivals aimed to prioritize national interests over individual or party agendas, emphasizing peace, reconciliation, critical reforms, and addressing the root causes of the post-election crisis.

The enactment of the 2010 Constitution in Kenya brought about significant changes in governance, particularly impacting coalition dynamics and the introduction of devolution. This led to a fundamental shift in power-sharing mechanisms, altering the landscape of political alliances and establishing a decentralized governance structure.

The new constitutional framework highlighted the importance of coalition-building efforts and strategic alliances within the political landscape. Political parties were required to engage in pre-election negotiations and collaborations to ensure they had the necessary

parliamentary support to form a government. Consequently, the constitutional reforms heightened the structured and strategic nature of coalition politics in Kenya, reinforcing the need for broader alliances capable of securing parliamentary majorities, thereby influencing how parties strategized and collaborated in seeking governance positions.

Under the 2010 Constitution in Kenya, there was a notable shift in coalition-building strategies towards a more structured and policy-oriented approach, emphasizing substantive policy agreements and structured alliances over short-term political gains. This shift aimed to ensure more coherent governance frameworks, policy implementation, and stronger consensus-building within ruling coalitions, reflecting a focused and policy-oriented approach to Kenya's political landscape.

Furtheremore, the findings revealed that in Kenya, coalition politics is significantly influenced by factors such as ethnic diversity, winner-takes-all electoral system, and the legal framework governing coalition building. These factors shape the development of coalitions, influence voting behavior, impact resource distribution, and play a crucial role in governance structures. The intricate interplay of these elements underscores the complexity of coalition politics in Kenya and highlights the importance of strategic alliances, policy agreements, and legal compliance in shaping the country's political landscape.

Political leadership and the personalities of key figures, such as Raila Odinga and William Ruto, exert a significant influence on coalition politics. Charismatic leaders like Odinga and Ruto played pivotal roles in the formation and sustenance of alliances, leveraging their influence, popularity, and strategic maneuvering to build strong political coalitions. Their leadership styles and ability to rally support have been instrumental in shaping coalition

dynamics in Kenya, highlighting the importance of individual personalities in driving political alliances and outcomes within the country.

6.2.2 Types of Political Coalitions in Kenya since 1945

Chapter three of the study delved deeply into the intricate realm of political coalitions in Kenya, starting from 1945, by categorizing these alliances based on their formation timing and nature to reveal the subtle dynamics of the country's political landscape. Utilizing the interpretivism research philosophy, the study gained insights into the subjective and objective motivations of political actors through methods like in-depth interviews and historical document analysis. By employing the theory of political coalitions as a theoretical framework, the chapter analyzed various types of political coalitions in Kenya, examining roles of influential figures, impacts of alliances, and coalition dynamics. Historical research design played a crucial role in studying political coalitions in Kenya since 1945, providing a comprehensive understanding supported by a diverse range of historical sources.

The findings revealed a clear understanding among voters regarding the motivation behind the formation of pre-election political coalitions in Kenya. Majority of respondents in Kenya comprehend that political parties form coalitions to improve their chances of winning elections. The study offered insights into the motivations driving pre-election coalitions and the perceptions of voters regarding the establishment of such alliances in Kenya.

The description of political coalitions in pre-independence Kenya reveals a diverse landscape where ethnic, multi-ethnic, and national coalitions played significant roles in advocating for specific interests within the context of colonial rule. Ethnic groups like KCA and Luo Union focused on community-specific concerns, while multi-ethnic organizations such as KASU and KAU aimed to unite individuals across ethnic boundaries for common goals. National movements like the Mau Mau Movement and KANU mobilized people towards independence, showcasing a complex interplay of unity and diversity in the anti-colonial struggle, despite colonial government efforts to undermine and suppress these coalitions.

The exploration of political coalitions in post-independence Kenya since 1960 categorizes these alliances based on timing (pre-election and post-election) and nature (national, ethnic-based, regional, issue-based, and electoral coalitions). Notable pre-election coalitions like NARC in 2002, Jubilee Coalition in 2013, CORD in 2013, and NASA in 2017 were formed to consolidate support and increase electoral success chances. Challenges faced by pre-election coalitions include maintaining unity post-election due to internal disagreements and divergent priorities among members.

Post-election coalitions, exemplified by the Grand Coalition Government from 2008 to 2013, was formed after elections to secure a working majority or address power-sharing arrangements. Challenges for post-election coalitions involve merging diverse ideologies, managing conflicting interests, and effectively implementing policies.

The classification based on the nature of coalitions in Kenya includes national coalitions like KANU and KADU that fought for independence, ethnic-based coalitions such as Jubilee and Kenya Kwanza formed along ethnic lines to gain political power and protect ethnic interests, regional-based coalitions like Jubilee, NASA, and Kenya Kwanza based on regional interests for development, and issue-based coalitions like CORD and NARC centered around specific policy agendas or shared goals rather than ethnic or regional affiliations. This categorization provides insights into the varied motivations, dynamics, and impacts of political coalitions on Kenya's political landscape, highlighting the challenges faced in maintaining unity, managing conflicting interests, and implementing effective policies within these diverse coalition structures.

The study findings also revealed that prominent political figures have played pivotal roles in shaping coalition politics and influencing party discipline within their respective political parties in Kenya. Daniel arap Moi demonstrated adept handling of political coalitions during his presidency, while Jaramogi Oginga Odinga advocated for multiparty democracy. Raila Odinga showed strategic leadership in forming and managing coalitions like NARC, CORD, and NASA, Mwai Kibaki made significant contributions to coalition politics and constitutional reforms, Uhuru Kenyatta played a key role in shaping the Jubilee Alliance, and William Ruto has navigated through coalition politics. Each of these leaders has left a distinctive mark on Kenya's political history through their involvement in political coalitions and their advocacy for democratic reforms.

Finally, the findings established that political coalitions in Kenya have had a profound impact on the country's political, social, and economic landscape. They have disrupted the dominance of established parties like KANU, leading to transformative shifts in elections

and fostering economic development through policy consistency. Additionally, these coalitions have played a crucial role in fostering social cohesion and cooperation by uniting diverse political parties and groups, transcending historical divides, and promoting a shared vision for political change in Kenya.

6.2.3 Party Ideology and the Development of Political Coalitions in Kenya since 1945

Chapter four assessed how party ideologies have shaped the development of political coalitions in Kenya since 1945. It employed Interpretivism research philosophy and qualitative methods like interviews and content analysis to probe into the objective and subjective perceptions and contextual factors that have shaped political phenomena, focusing on case studies like KANU, NARC, and the Jubilee Alliance. The study utilized the theory of political coalitions to illustrate how party ideologies have influenced coalition formation, showcasing examples like NARC and the Jubilee Alliance where parties with diverse ideologies united based on shared interests and pragmatic considerations. The inclusion of historical research design further enriched the analysis by providing insights from key stakeholders and experts, offering a comprehensive exploration of the interplay between party ideologies and coalition dynamics in Kenya.

The findings established that coalition formation and party membership in Kenyan politics are often driven more by individual or personal interests rather than strict ideological principles. This observation highlights the influence of pragmatic considerations and individual ambitions in shaping political alliances, sometimes leading to challenges in maintaining ideological coherence within these coalitions. The fluidity and pragmatism in Kenya's political landscape suggest that personal interests and power dynamics can

overshadow deeply held ideological beliefs, impacting the direction and stability of political formations. Ultimately, the evolving nature of Kenya's political environment reflects a complex interplay between personal ambitions and ideological positioning.

The Study Findings Established Three Eras of Party Ideology Shifts in Kenya:

Post-Independence Era (1960s-1970s): Kenya's independence in 1963 was a significant milestone in the country's history, symbolizing liberation from colonial rule and envisioning a future characterized by socio-economic advancement and equality. At the core of this vision stood the Kenya African National Union (KANU), under the leadership of Jomo Kenyatta, advocating for African socialism and nationalism. Despite the professed ideals of African unity and socialism, KANU's internal dynamics gradually began to exhibit ethnic bias and the consolidation of power within specific groups, notably Kenyatta's own Kikuyu community. The practical implementation of African socialism encountered obstacles stemming from ethnic politics, resulting in perceptions of nepotism and favoritism within the party.

Period of Shifts in Ideological Stances (1980s-1990s): Daniel Arap Moi's rise to power in 1978 signified a departure from the preceding tenets of African socialism during Kenyatta's era. Under Moi's leadership, the government transitioned towards a more centralized and authoritarian style of rule, resulting in the consolidation of power among the ruling elite. This authoritarian shift was evident through changes in the constitution, political suppression, and the establishment of Kenya as a single-party nation. The growing demand for democratic reforms in the early 1990s prompted the reintroduction of multi-party politics, challenging the dominance of KANU and advocating for democratic governance.

Period of Contemporary Landscape (2000s-Present): After 2002, Kenya experienced a shift towards coalition politics, where parties forged alliances driven by pragmatic interests rather than rigid ideological affiliations. Prominent coalitions such as NARC and the Jubilee Alliance redefined the country's political landscape by uniting various parties under shared objectives. The rise of ODM and OKA exemplified strategic alliances aimed at securing political advantage and confronting existing power structures.

Furthermore, the findings established that in Kenya's political landscape, despite parties articulating ideological positions centered on economic liberalization, social welfare, and anti-corruption measures during electoral campaigns, the translation of these assertions into concrete policies post-election often encounters pragmatic challenges. The actual implementation might deviate or undergo compromises influenced by coalition dynamics, vested interests, and the complexities of governance. This finding highlights how ideological assertions are frequently adapted to suit political expediency rather than being steadfastly upheld, showcasing the influence of practical considerations in shaping policy outcomes and governance decisions.

In Kenya's political landscape, the pursuit of power, coalition building, and governance demands often lead political parties to prioritize pragmatic considerations over strict adherence to ideological principles. This dynamic interplay between ideology and Interpretivism poses challenges such as blurred ideological lines, conflicting policy positions, and struggles in maintaining consistent ideological coherence. The influence of ethnic affiliations and the need to accommodate diverse interests within coalitions further complicate the task of upholding unwavering ideological consistency in the pursuit of political objectives and governance.

The findings further established that prominent political parties have demonstrated a tendency to adapt their ideological positions in response to changing circumstances, coalition dynamics, and strategic political maneuvering. This flexibility in ideological stances reflects the pragmatic approach adopted by parties to navigate the complexities of the political landscape, form alliances, and pursue short-term political objectives. The willingness of parties to compromise on certain ideological principles for political expediency or broader objectives highlights the dynamic nature of ideologies within Kenya's political coalitions.

Party ideologies in Kenya play a crucial role in shaping political discourse, policy agendas, public opinion, and fostering political competition. These ideologies serve as the foundation for policy formulation, guide electoral strategies, influence voter perceptions, and impact coalition dynamics. The diverse range of party ideologies in Kenya offers citizens a spectrum of political choices, enabling them to align with parties that resonate with their values and preferences. Additionally, ideological differences among political parties lead to robust policy debates, showcasing competing visions and alternatives that help citizens make informed choices during elections.

Divergent ideological currents played a fundamental role in orchestrating the formation, endurance, and dissolution of political alliances. From the fervor of independence to the complexities of multiparty democracy, party ideologies were both a unifying force and a divisive factor, influencing governance and socio-political dynamics in Kenya. The pursuit of power often leads political parties to prioritize forming coalitions and making policy compromises over maintaining strict ideological consistency. This dynamic shift results in blurred ideological lines and challenges in governance, as parties may deviate from their

core beliefs to accommodate diverse interests and ensure coalition stability. Party ideologies in Kenya significantly influence political discourse by defining policy agendas, creating distinct narratives and mobilizing public support. They play a critical role in shaping public opinion on various issues, ultimately affecting the nation's political climate. Ethnic and regional affiliations significantly influence party identities and electoral strategies in Kenya, often taking precedence over strictly adhering to proclaimed ideologies.

6.2.4 Party Discipline and Political Coalitions in Kenya since 1945

Chapter five on party discipline and political coalitions in Kenya provides a comprehensive analysis of the intricate relationship between the two variables from 1945 to the present day. It elucidates how party discipline, or the lack thereof, has been a determining factor in the formation, stability, and dissolution of political alliances within Kenya's multi-party system. The study adopted an interpretivism research philosophy and the social exchange theory, utilizing diverse methodologies to interpret the complex interplay between party discipline and coalition politics.

The study findings established that a substantial number of respondents disagreed that there was extensive consultation between party officials and members before the formation of political coalitions. This observation suggests a perceived deficiency in consultation and engagement of party members in the coalition formation process, highlighting potential implications for internal party democracy and decision-making processes, as well as raising concerns about party discipline and unity within political organizations.

Moreover, the study highlighted the impact of party discipline on the overall governance and policy-making processes within political coalitions in Kenya. It reveals that strong

party discipline is often associated with coherent decision-making, effective implementation of policies, and the ability to navigate complex political landscapes. Conversely, weak party discipline can lead to internal divisions, policy inconsistencies, and challenges in achieving collective goals. By examining case studies of successful and unsuccessful coalitions in Kenya's political history, the study demonstrates how party discipline can be a determining factor in the governance outcomes of political alliances. The findings suggest that fostering a culture of discipline and adherence to party principles is essential for ensuring the effectiveness and sustainability of political coalitions in Kenya.

By examining historical and contemporary examples, the study underscored how party discipline influences the coherence, unity, and effectiveness of political parties and coalitions in Kenya. It emphasizes that maintaining party discipline is essential for ensuring effective governance, policy implementation, stable coalition governments, cohesive decision-making, electoral success, democratic principles, accountability, negotiation power, and representation within the complex political landscape of the country. Instances where party discipline has been lacking have often led to internal conflicts, challenges in decision-making, legislative hurdles, weakened electoral outcomes, and threats to democratic principles and governance stability.

Additionally, the study sheds light on the role of leadership within political parties and coalitions in promoting party discipline and maintaining coalition resilience. It underscores the importance of strong and visionary leadership in setting clear party objectives, enforcing discipline among members, and fostering a sense of unity and purpose within coalitions. Effective leadership can play a crucial role in mediating conflicts, promoting consensus-building, and steering political alliances towards common goals. The study

emphasizes that leadership qualities such as integrity, accountability, and inclusivity are instrumental in fostering party discipline and ensuring the longevity of political coalitions in Kenya's ever-evolving political landscape.

Furthermore, the study discussed the implications of party discipline and coalition resilience on democratic governance and political stability in Kenya. It argues that strong party discipline and resilient coalitions are essential for upholding democratic values, promoting political accountability, and ensuring effective governance. By fostering a culture of discipline, adherence to democratic principles, and commitment to collective decision-making, political parties and coalitions can contribute to a stable and inclusive political environment in Kenya. The study underscored the significance of party discipline in safeguarding democratic institutions, promoting transparency and accountability, and enhancing the overall quality of governance within the country. It suggests that prioritizing party discipline and coalition resilience can lead to more robust and sustainable political systems that serve the interests of the Kenyan populace.

Finally, the study presents the various conflict resolution mechanisms utilized within political coalitions in Kenya to maintain unity and effectiveness. It explores mechanisms such as power-sharing agreements, arbitration, negotiation, mediation, establishment of conflict management committees, and the utilization of institutions like the Political Parties' Dispute Tribunal (PPDT), the Office of the Registrar of Political Parties (ORPP), and the Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMD). These mechanisms are crucial in addressing internal disputes, fostering dialogue, and ensuring adherence to democratic principles within political parties and coalitions. By providing avenues for resolving conflicts and promoting consensus-building, these mechanisms contribute to political

stability and effective governance in Kenya's dynamic political landscape. The study emphasizes the importance of robust conflict resolution mechanisms in sustaining the resilience and functionality of political coalitions, especially in a diverse and politically charged environment like Kenya.

6.3 Conclusions

This section presents the conclusions of the study's four specific objectives based on the research findings, drawing inspiration from the following prominent scholars on coalition politics and party discipline on a global scale: Kaare Strøm, Wolfgang Müller, Richard S. Katz and David Farrell.

From the first specific objective, the study concludes that the evolution of coalition politics in Kenya since 1945 has been shaped by historical events, political transitions, and power struggles among political elites, resulting in a complex and dynamic coalition landscape. This contrasts with the more structured and ideologically-driven coalition formations observed in Western Europe, as highlighted by Wolfgang and Strom's research findings that reveal more institutionalized coalitions in the European context.

Based on the second specific objective, the study concludes that different types of political coalitions such as pre-election, post-election, issue-based, and ethnic-based coalitions have significantly shaped Kenyan politics, impacting governance, social dynamics, and economic policies. In contrast to the structured and ideologically driven coalitions in Western Europe but similar with Central Eastern Europe, Kenya's coalitions often center around ethnic affiliations, highlighting the unique influence of ethnicity on coalition dynamics. This emphasis on ethnic-based coalitions underscores the intricate interplay

between ethnicity, identity politics, and governance in Kenya, distinguishing it from the more policy-oriented coalitions seen in Western Europe.

According to the third specific objective, the study concludes that there is a complex interplay between ideological frameworks, historical context, and pragmatic considerations when forming political coalitions in Kenya. Parties' adherence to their ideological principles when forming coalitions is crucial for shaping coalition dynamics and governance. This mirrors David Farrell's study on the Conservative Party in the UK, emphasizing the significance of ideological coherence and organizational structures in defining party identities and guiding their actions. Farrell highlights that a party's commitment to its ideological foundations, combined with effective organizational structures and party discipline, influences interactions within the broader party system.

Regarding the fourth specific objective, the study concludes that party discipline has played a crucial role in influencing the durability, stability, and effectiveness of political coalitions in Kenya. Through examples and analysis, it becomes evident that the enforcement or lack of party discipline within political parties directly impacts the formation, resilience, and outcomes of coalitions. The impact of party discipline on political coalitions' durability in Kenya aligns with Richard Katz's study findings on party discipline and parliamentary government, emphasizing the critical role of internal party coherence and discipline. Internal party coherence and discipline are essential in shaping political alliances and enabling effective governance in Kenya. Katz's work underscores the importance of party discipline in ensuring government stability, efficient policy-making, and long-term effective governance within political coalitions. The findings highlight the significance of

strong party discipline in promoting coherence in policy implementation and enhancing the ability of coalitions to govern effectively to address the needs of the populace.

The overall conclusion of the study is that the history of coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya since 1945 is characterized by a complex interplay of historical events, ideological frameworks, and power dynamics among political elites. This intricate relationship has shaped the evolution of political coalitions, revealing that successful political coalition formation is not only influenced by pragmatic considerations but also deeply rooted in the historical and party discipline context. Hence the originality of the study.

6.4 Recommendations

This section provides recommendations based on the findings of the four specific objectives of the study and the conclusions.

Based on the first specific objective, the study recommends that there is need for political coalitions to promote culture of inclusive decision-making within political coalitions by ensuring that diverse voices and perspectives are taken into account, leading to more representative and effective governance. Similarly, a culture of consensus-building and collaboration within political coalitions is essential to address challenges and capitalize on opportunities, promoting stability and progress in democratic governance. Additionally, Civic education programs should be promoted to increase public awareness and understanding of coalition politics, empowering citizens to actively engage in the democratic process and hold coalitions accountable.

According to the second specific objective, the study recommends to the policymakers, political actors, and citizens to recognize the importance of political coalitions in Kenya's democratic process. Understanding the dynamics, motivations, and consequences of these coalitions is essential for fostering political stability, effective governance, and inclusive decision-making. Additionally, addressing the challenges and complexities faced by these coalitions, such as maintaining unity post-election and navigating power-sharing arrangements, are vital for sustaining political stability and promoting national development.

Regarding the third specific objective, the study recommends to policymakers, political party leaders, and stakeholders in Kenya to prioritize fostering a deeper understanding of party ideologies and how they have shaped the development of political coalitions. By investing in educational programs, workshops, and training sessions that focus on the significance of ideological coherence within coalitions, policymakers and party leaders can enhance their ability to form more stable and effective alliances. This recommendation aims to benefit the political landscape in Kenya by promoting greater ideological clarity, coherence, and alignment within coalitions, ultimately leading to more sustainable governance structures and improved decision-making processes that can better serve the interests of the nation and its citizens.

From the fourth specific objective, the study recommends measures to enhance party discipline in Kenya. The study recommends to the political parties to establish clear internal regulations, inclusive decision-making processes, and strengthen structures. Coalition leaders should demonstrate strong leadership and foster unity, communication, and trust within coalitions. The study recommends to the public to support disciplined

parties and demand transparency. Constitutional amendments, including provisions for intra-party democracy and anti-defection laws, are suggested to improve party discipline. Additionally, promoting gender and minority representation, enforcing discipline with clear consequences, and establishing independent oversight mechanisms are recommended to create a legal framework fostering party discipline, democratic governance, and political stability. By implementing these recommendations, political parties can benefit from increased internal cohesion, stronger policy agendas, and improved public perception. Coalition leaders can benefit from enhanced stability within their alliances, improved governance outcomes, and increased support from constituents. The general public can also benefit from more effective governance as a result of unified coalitions working towards common objectives.

6.5 Suggestions for Further Research

The study makes the following suggestions for further research based on the four specific objectives of the study.

Based on the first specific objective, the study suggests further research on tracing the evolution of political coalition-building strategies employed by political parties in Kenya. Examining the coalition-building strategies employed by political parties helps identify patterns and trends in how coalitions have been formed and maintained in Kenya. This information would be useful in understanding the dynamics of power-sharing, alliances, and the role of party discipline in the Kenyan political system.

In regard to the second specific objective, the study suggests further research on the impact of power dynamics within political coalitions on governance effectiveness in Kenya. The study will deepen the understanding of the complex interplay between coalition politics,

party discipline, and the ability of the government to effectively address the needs of the country. This knowledge may inform both the academic and policy discussions on the challenges and opportunities presented by coalition-based governance in Kenya and beyond.

According to the third specific objective, the study suggests further research on the interplay between ethnic affiliations and party ideologies in shaping political coalition alliances in Kenya. Understanding the balance between ethnic and ideological considerations in coalition building would help to evaluate the potential challenges and opportunities presented by these alliances in terms of policy formulation, decision-making, and overall governance outcomes.

Lastly, on the fourth specific objective, the study suggests further research on effective mechanisms for enforcing party discipline within political coalitions in Kenya. The findings from this research could potentially inform the development of constitutional and institutional mechanisms that better support the enforcement of party discipline within coalitions, thereby enhancing the stability and effectiveness of coalition-based governance in Kenya.

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LIST OF RESPONDENTS INDICATING NAME, SEX, AGE, DATE, AND THEIR OCCUPATION

Sr.no	**NAME**	**SEX**	**AGE**	**INTERVIEW DATE**	**OCCUPATION**
1.	Dominic	M	90	19/11/2023	Retired Politician

	Wetangula				
2.	Nyukuri Barasa	M	55	15/11/2023	Gender Leadership, Governance and Electoral Expert
3.	Noah Wekesa	M	75	16/11/2023	Coalition Expert/Politician
4.	Musikari Kombo	M	73	21/11/2023	Politician
5.	John Kamande	M	37	24/11/2023	Civic Educator Manager-Uraia Trust
6.	David Burare	M	44	23/11/2023	FORD Kenya-Deputy National Executive Secretary
7.	Bifwoli Wakoli	M	60	14/11/2023	Politician
8.	Range Mwita	M	41	22/11/2023	Program Manager, Centre for Multi-party Democracy-(CMD)
9.	Herman Manyora	M	63	21/11/2023	Professor / Political analyst
10.	Wafula Wakoko	M	35	3/01/2024	Legal Officer- Office of Registrar of Political Parties (ORPP)

11.	Fred Nyongesa	M	43	4/01/2024	Director- Rural Empowerment Development Organization (REDO)
12.	Julius Songok	M	55	15/09/2023	UDA Majority Chief Whip Uasin Ngishu County
13.	Martin Waliaula	M	38	5/08/2023	ANC Chairman Bungoma Branch
14.	Charles Matoke	M	47	19/11/2023	UDA-Director Resource Mobilization, Political and Diaspora Affairs
15.	Umi Maloba	F	51	25/11/2023	County Secretary Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organization
16.	Gladys Wafula	F	52	9/15/2023	Exeutive Director- Commmunity Reaserch in Environment and Development Initiatives (CREADIS)
17.	Leah Lokala	F	41	8/07/2023	ODM Political Leader,

					Turkana County
18.	George Wasilwa	M	75	17/7/2023	Retired Telecommunication Engineer
19.	Jastus Orina	M	58	15/10/2023	Lecturer
20.	Pius Mutai	M	76	12/11/2023	Former Vetenery Officer- Eldoret
21.	Mercy Cherubo	F	37	5/01/2024	Chief Executive Officer- Rural Women Peace Link-Eldoret
22.	Japheth Ojijo	M	45	8/01/2024	Project Coordinator- Integrated Development facility (IDF)- Homa Bay

LIST OF FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION RESPONDENTS

S/NO	Respodent	Focus Group Discussion	Date administered
1	Jane Wanambuko	**FGD 1**	13th September 2023
2	John Wanambuko		
3	Pauline Waswa	Bungoma- Kanduyi	
4	Peter Mulo		
5	Amos Wafula		
6	Michael Mbiah		
7	Geoffrey Khaemba		
8	David Manyasi		
9	Wicliffe Kimtahi	**FGD 2**	8th December 2023
10	Beatrice Wefwa		
11	Kizito Hamisi	Trans Nzoia- Kitale	
12	Leah Walekhwa		
13	Peter Kulo		
14	Benta Keyo		

15	Patience Wakhungu		
16	Zilpah Wetaya		
17	Eric Okelo	**FGD 3** Kisumu- Kondele	9th August 2023
18	Tobias Onyango		
19	Tom Owino		
20	Bilha Anyango		
21	Dorothy Nyinga		
22	Barbra Atieno		
23	Protus Sifuna		
24	Mary Juma		
25	Florence Choyo	**FGD 4** Nairobi- Kamungunji	14th November 2023
26	Gilbert Otieno		
27	Albert Mutinda		
28	Susan Kamau		
29	Grace Awiti		
31	Dennis Juma		
32	Godwin Faraja		

LIST OF RESEARCH ASSISTANTS

Sr. no	NAME	COUNTY OF COVERAGE
1	Geoffrey Mutinda	Nairobi, Nakuru
2	Meshack Opole	Siaya, Kisumu
3	Andrew Wambulwa	Bungoma, Kakamega
4	Josephat Wandera	Vihiga, Busia
5	Samuel Wabwile	Trans Nzoia, Homa Bay
6	Edwin Sang	Turkana, Keiyo Marakwet
7	John Kipchirchir	Uasin Ngishu, Kericho
8	Josephine Anyango	Migori, Kisii
9	Gideon Kirui	Nandi, Nyamira

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

MASINDE MULIRO UNIVERSITY,

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION,

P.O. BOX 1699-50200

BUNGOMA.

Dear participant,

RE: A HISTORY OF COALITION POLITICS AND PARTY DISCIPLINE IN KENYA SINCE 1945

I am a postgraduate student at Masinde Muliro University in the department of Social Science education undertaking my research on the above topic. You have been selected to participate in this Study. You have been purposely selected to participate due to your position you hold in the society as you are deemed to have critical information that may be of significant value in compiling data related to the above topic. I would real appreciate for your support by participating in answering the questionnaire. Please be assured that all information gathered during this research will be utilized solely for academic purposes. Your identity as a respondent will be treated with the utmost confidentiality unless you expressly grant permission for its disclosure.

Your cooperation in this endeavor will play an essential role in enriching our understanding of the subject matter and contribute to the academic discourse on the intricate dynamics of coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya since 1945.

Thank you.

Maasi Kennedy Wakhungu

APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ORDINARY VOTERS

The purpose of this questionnaire is to seek your opinion on the history of coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya since 1945. Your responses will help us understand public perceptions and experiences related to this topic. All information provided will be held in strict confidence and used solely for research purposes.

Please answer all questions to the best of your knowledge.

Section A: Background Information

1. What is your gender?

Male [ ] Female [ ] Other [ ]

2. What is your age?

Between 18 - 25 [ ] Between 26 - 35 [ ] Between 36 - 45 [ ] Between 46 - 55 [ ] Between 56 - 65 [ ] Above 65 [ ]

3. Which region do you come from?

_____

4. What is your highest level of education attained?

Primary [ ] Secondary [ ] College [ ] University [ ] Others (Specify)

_____

5. Marital status:

Married [ ] Divorced [ ] Single [ ] Widow [ ] Widower [ ]

Section B: Opinions on Coalition Politics

6. When did you first become aware of coalition politics in Kenya?

_____

7. In your opinion, what are the main reasons for the formation of political coalitions in Kenya?

_____

8. Can you name any significant political coalitions that have existed in Kenya?

_____

9. How do party ideologies influence coalition politics in your view?

_____

10. How would you rate the effectiveness of political coalitions in achieving their goals?

Very Effective [ ] Effective [ ] Neutral [ ] Ineffective [ ] Very Ineffective [ ]

11. In your experience, how has party discipline affected the stability of coalitions?

_____

12. Have you noticed any instances where lack of party discipline led to the collapse of a coalition? Please provide examples

_____

Section C: Additional Insights

13. What do you think are the future prospects for coalition politics in Kenya?

_____

14. Do you believe that public perception affects the success of political coalitions? Why or why not?_____

15. Are there any other factors you believe significantly influence coalition politics in Kenya? Please elaborate.

_____

Thank you for your participation! Your insights are invaluable to this study.

APPENDIX III: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE WITH LEADERS OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Research Title: A History of Coalition Politics and Party Discipline in Kenya since 1945

Interviewee Information:

- Name:
- Position:
- Political Party:
- Date:
- Time:
- Location:

Tracing the Origins and Development of Coalition Politics

Can you provide a brief overview of how coalition politics has evolved in Kenya since 1945?

What were some significant milestones or events that shaped the development of coalition politics during this period?

Types of Political Coalitions

What types of political coalitions have been prevalent in Kenya since 1945?

Can you describe some of the key characteristics and dynamics of these coalitions?

Influence of Party Ideologies

To what extent do you believe party ideologies have influenced the development of political coalitions in Kenya since 1945?

Can you provide examples of how party ideologies have shaped coalition formations and dynamics?

Impact of Party Discipline

How do you perceive the role of party discipline in influencing the durability of political coalitions in Kenya since 1945?

Have there been instances where party discipline significantly impacted the success or failure of a coalition? If so, can you elaborate?

Challenges Associated with Party Discipline

From your perspective, what are some of the challenges associated with maintaining party discipline within political parties and coalitions in Kenya? How have these challenges evolved over time, if at all?

Future Outlook

Based on your understanding of Kenya's political landscape, what do you envision for the future of coalition politics and party discipline in the country?

Are there any changes or reforms you believe are necessary to strengthen coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya?

Thank you for your Cooperation and Participation

APPENDIX IV: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE WITH LEADERS OF CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS

Research Title: A History of Coalition Politics and Party Discipline in Kenya since 1945

Interviewee Information:

- Name:
- Position:
- Organization:

Introduction:

The purpose of this study is to interrogate the history of Coalition Politics and Party Discipline in Kenya since 1945.

Tracing the Development of Coalition Politics

Can you provide your perspective on the evolution of coalition politics in Kenya since 1945?

From the standpoint of civic organizations, what have been some notable developments or trends in coalition politics over the years?

Types of Political Coalitions

In your experience, what types of political coalitions have been prevalent in Kenya since 1945?

How have these coalitions impacted civic engagement and civil society initiatives in Kenya?

Influence of Party Ideologies

How do you perceive the influence of party ideologies on the development of political coalitions in Kenya since 1945?

Have you observed instances where party ideologies aligned or conflicted with the goals of civic organizations?

Impact of Party Discipline

From your perspective, what role does party discipline play in the durability of political coalitions in Kenya?

How has party discipline affected the ability of civic organizations to engage with political parties and coalitions?

Thank you for your Cooperation and Participation

APPENDIX V: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE WITH EXPERTS ON ELECTORAL MATTERS

Research Title: A History of Coalition Politics and Party Discipline in Kenya Since 1945

Date:

Time:

Location:

Interviewee: [Name and Position]

Tracing the Development of Coalition Politics

From your expertise in electoral matters, how would you trace the evolution of coalition politics in Kenya since 1945?

Can you identify key events or factors that have influenced the development of coalition politics during this period?

Types of Political Coalitions

Based on your knowledge of electoral systems, what types of political coalitions have been prevalent in Kenya since 1945?

How have these coalitions impacted electoral outcomes and political dynamics in Kenya?

Influence of Party Ideologies

In your experience, to what extent have party ideologies shaped the development of political coalitions in Kenya since 1945?

Can you provide examples of how party ideologies have influenced coalition formations and strategies in electoral processes?

Impact of Party Discipline

From your expertise, how significant is the role of party discipline in affecting the durability of political coalitions in Kenya?

Have you observed instances where party discipline has played a decisive role in the success or failure of electoral coalitions?

Thank you for your Cooperation and Participation

APPENDIX VI: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE WITH LOCAL INTELLIGENTSIA

Research Title: A History of Coalition Politics and Party Discipline in Kenya since 1945

Objective: To gather insights from local intelligentsia regarding the history of coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya since 1945.

Date:

Time:

Location:

Interviewee: [Name and Position]

Tracing the Development of Coalition Politics

From your perspective as a member of the local intelligentsia, how would you trace the evolution of coalition politics in Kenya since 1945?

Can you identify key historical events or socio-political factors that have influenced the development of coalition politics during this period?

Types of Political Coalitions

Based on your knowledge and observations, what types of political coalitions have been prevalent in Kenya since 1945?

How have these coalitions impacted governance, policymaking, and socio-economic development in Kenya?

Influence of Party Ideologies

In your opinion, to what extent have party ideologies shaped the development of political coalitions in Kenya since 1945?

Can you provide examples of how party ideologies have influenced coalition formations and policy agendas?

Impact of Party Discipline

From your perspective, how significant is the role of party discipline in affecting the durability of political coalitions in Kenya?

Have you observed instances where party discipline has contributed to the cohesion or fragmentation of political coalitions?

Challenges Associated with Party Discipline

What are some of the challenges faced in maintaining party discipline within political parties and coalitions in Kenya, according to your analysis?

How can these challenges be addressed to enhance the effectiveness and stability of political coalitions?

Thank you for your Cooperation and Participation

APPENDIX VII: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

I, Kennedy Wakhungu Maasi, bearer of Registration No: HIS/H/01-70040/2021, currently pursuing a Doctor of Philosophy degree in History within the Department of Social Science Education, School of Arts and Social Sciences at Masinde Muliro University of Technology, hereby seek your informed consent for participation in the research study.

Research Title: A History of Coalition Politics and Party Discipline in Kenya since 1945

Study Purpose: This research aims to interrogate a history of coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya since 1945. Your insights are crucial for a comprehensive understanding of this subject.

Participant Expectations: Participants are kindly requested to honestly respond to the provided questions based on their knowledge and experiences.

Risks: There are no known risks associated with participating in this study.

Benefits: Your valuable contributions will contribute to recommendations aimed at enhancing the stability of coalition governments and fostering the overall development of democracy in Kenya.

Confidentiality: Confidentiality is assured through non-disclosure of the identity of the respondent which may only be done on consent.

Participant Agreement:

I have read the information provided above, and I:

- ☐ **ACCEPT** to participate in this research.
- ☐ **CONSENT** for disclosure of identity.
- ☐ **NON-CONSENT** for disclosure of identity.
- ☐ **REJECT** to participate in this research.

Participant signature: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX VIII: DOCUMENT ANALYSIS GUIDE

Topic: A History of Coalition Politics and Party Discipline in Kenya Since 1945

Objective: The researcher aimed to evaluate various documentary sources to trace the development of coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya since 1945, aligning with the specific objectives of the study.

1. Identified Relevant Documentary Sources:

   a. Archival Records:

   - Searched for primary sources such as government documents, political party records, and correspondence between key political figures.
   - Looked for secondary sources such as historical analyses, reports, and policy documents related to coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya.

   b. Unpublished and Published Theses:

   - Reviewed unpublished theses and dissertations related to Kenyan politics, coalition building, and party discipline.
   - Examined published academic works that provided insights into the historical context and evolution of coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya. c. Newspapers and Journals:
   - Gathered articles and editorials from Kenyan newspapers and academic journals covering political events, coalition formations, and party discipline issues since 1945.
   - Explored online databases and archives for access to a wide range of newspaper and journal articles.

2. **Data Collection Process**:

   a. Systematically collected relevant documents based on keywords related to coalition politics, party discipline, and Kenya's political history.

   b. Organized the documents according to their source and publication date for ease of reference and analysis.

   c. Ensured the inclusion of diverse perspectives and viewpoints by accessing documents from various political parties, academic institutions, and media outlets.

3. Document Analysis Framework:

   a. Developed a set of guiding questions for each specific objective of the study to analyze the documentary sources comprehensively.

   b. Used a thematic approach to identify recurring themes, trends, and patterns related to coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya.

   c. Paid attention to key events, political figures, and policy decisions that shaped the development of coalition politics and party discipline over time.

4. Interpretation and Synthesis:

   a. Analyzed the findings from the documentary sources in relation to each specific objective of the study.

   b. Identified connections and relationships between different sources of information to provide a holistic understanding of the historical context and dynamics of coalition politics and party discipline in Kenya.

   c. Drew conclusions based on the evidence gathered from the documentary analysis, highlighting key findings and implications for future research and policy.

5. Documentation and Citation:

   a. Maintained clear documentation of all sources consulted, including bibliographic details and archival references.

   b. Used appropriate citation styles to acknowledge the sources of information and avoid plagiarism.

   c. Created a comprehensive bibliography list to accompany the research report or publication.

APPENDIX IX: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

Name of County: ……
Name of Respondent: ……
Date: ……..

1. Tracing the Origins and Development of Coalition Politics in Kenya since 1945 (Probe level of a wareness, role of coalition governments, drivers of coalition politics)
2. Types of political coalitions (Probe awareness on types of coalitions-pre –election coalitions, post-election coalitions, regional coalitions, issue based, ethinic)
3. Extent to which party ideologies have shaped the development of political coalition sin Kenya since 1945 (Probe awareness of ideologies propagated by different political parties, extent to which ideologies have influenced political coalition formations)
4. Evaluation of the extent to which party discipline has impacted on political coalitions since 1945 (Probe on understanding of importance of party discipline, impact of party discipline on durability of political coalitions, challenges of maintaining of party discipline)

APPENDIX X: APPROVAL OF RESEARCH PROPOSAL

MASINDE MULIRO UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (MMUST)

Tel: 056-30870
Fax: 056-30153
E-mail: directordps@mmust.ac.ke
Website: www.mmust.ac.ke

P.O Box 190
Kakamega – 50100
Kenya

Directorate of Postgraduate Studies

Ref: MMU/COR: 509099 **Date:** 3rd May 2023

Kennedy Wakhungu Maasi
HIS/H/01-70040/2021
P.O. Box 190-50100
KAKAMEGA

Dear Mr. Wakhungu,

RE: APPROVAL OF PROPOSAL

I am pleased to inform you that the Directorate of Postgraduate Studies has considered and approved your PhD. Proposal entitled: ***'History of Coalition Politics and Party Discipline in Kenya since 1960'*** and appointed the following as supervisors:

1. Prof. Pontian G. Okoth - MMUST
2. Rev. Fr. Dr. Kizito L Muchanga - MMUST

You are required to submit through your supervisor(s) progress reports every three months to the Director of Postgraduate Studies. Such reports should be copied to the following: Chairman, School of Social Arts and Social Sciences Graduate Studies Committee and Chairman, Department of Social Science Education. Kindly adhere to research ethics consideration in conducting research.

It is the policy and regulations of the University that you observe a deadline of three years from the date of registration to complete your PhD thesis. Do not hesitate to consult this office in case of any problem encountered in the course of your work.

We wish you the best in your research and hope the study will make original contribution to knowledge.

Yours sincerely,

MASINDE MULIRO UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY DIRECTORATE OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES P.O. Box 190 - 50100, KAKAMEGA (K) Sign:.....

Prof. Stephen O. Odeberó, PhD, FIEEP
DIRECTOR, DIRECTORATE OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES

APPENDIX XI: RESEARCH LICENCE

REPUBLIC OF KENYA

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE,TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

Ref No: **395589**

Date of Issue: **24/May/2023**

RESEARCH LICENSE



This is to Certify that Mr.. Kennedy Wakhungu Maasi of Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology, has been licensed to conduct research as per the provision of the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 (Rev.2014) in on the topic: HISTORY OF COALITION POLITICS AND PARTY DISCIPLINE IN KENYA SINCE 1960 for the period ending : 24/May/2024.

License No: **NACOSTI/P/23/25894**

395589

Applicant Identification Number

Director General
NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE,TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

Verification QR Code

NOTE: This is a computer generated License. To verify the authenticity of this document, Scan the QR Code using QR scanner application.

See overleaf for conditions

THE SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION ACT, 2013 (Rev. 2014)
Legal Notice No. 108: The Science, Technology and Innovation (Research Licensing) Regulations, 2014

The National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation, hereafter referred to as the Commission, was the established under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act 2013 (Revised 2014) herein after referred to as the Act. The objective of the Commission shall be to regulate and assure quality in the science, technology and innovation sector and advise the Government in matters related thereto.

CONDITIONS OF THE RESEARCH LICENSE

1. The License is granted subject to provisions of the Constitution of Kenya, the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, and other relevant laws, policies and regulations. Accordingly, the licensee shall adhere to such procedures, standards, code of ethics and guidelines as may be prescribed by regulations made under the Act, or prescribed by provisions of International treaties of which Kenya is a signatory to
2. The research and its related activities as well as outcomes shall be beneficial to the country and shall not in any way;
    i. Endanger national security
    ii. Adversely affect the lives of Kenyans
    iii. Be in contravention of Kenya's international obligations including Biological Weapons Convention (BWC), Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization (CTBTO), Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear (CBRN).
    iv. Result in exploitation of intellectual property rights of communities in Kenya
    v. Adversely affect the environment
    vi. Adversely affect the rights of communities
    vii. Endanger public safety and national cohesion
    viii. Plagiarize someone else's work
3. The License is valid for the proposed research, location and specified period.
4. The license any rights thereunder are non-transferable
5. The Commission reserves the right to cancel the research at any time during the research period if in the opinion of the Commission the research is not implemented in conformity with the provisions of the Act or any other written law.
6. The Licensee shall inform the relevant County Director of Education, County Commissioner and County Governor before commencement of the research.
7. Excavation, filming, movement, and collection of specimens are subject to further necessary clearance from relevant Government Agencies.
8. The License does not give authority to transfer research materials.
9. The Commission may monitor and evaluate the licensed research project for the purpose of assessing and evaluating compliance with the conditions of the License.
10. The Licensee shall submit one hard copy, and upload a soft copy of their final report (thesis) onto a platform designated by the Commission within one year of completion of the research.
11. The Commission reserves the right to modify the conditions of the License including cancellation without prior notice.
12. Research, findings and information regarding research systems shall be stored or disseminated, utilized or applied in such a manner as may be prescribed by the Commission from time to time.
13. The Licensee shall disclose to the Commission, the relevant Institutional Scientific and Ethical Review Committee, and the relevant national agencies any inventions and discoveries that are of National strategic importance.
14. The Commission shall have powers to acquire from any person the right in, or to, any scientific innovation, invention or patent of strategic importance to the country.
15. Relevant Institutional Scientific and Ethical Review Committee shall monitor and evaluate the research periodically, and make a report of its findings to the Commission for necessary action.

National Commission for Science, Technology and
Innovation(NACOSTI),
Off Waiyaki Way, Upper Kabete,
P. O. Box 30623 - 00100 Nairobi, KENYA
Telephone: 020 4007000, 0713788787, 0735404245
E-mail: dg@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke

APPENDIX XII: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

REPUBLIC OF KENYA

THE PRESIDENCY
MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND COORDINATION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Telephone: 055-30326.
Fax: 055-30326.
E-mail: ccbungoma@yahoo.com
When replying please quote

Office of the County Commissioner
P.O. Box 550-50200
BUNGOMA.

REF:ADM.15/13/VOL.IV/83

24th October, 2023

All Deputy County Commissioners,

BUNGOMA COUNTY.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION – MR. KENNEDY WAKHUNGU MAASI

Reference is here made on the research license letter Ref: 395589 dated 24th May, 2023, License No. NACOSTI/P/23/25894 signed by Director General, National Commission for Science, Technology and innovation.

The student is hereby granted authority to conduct research in Bungoma County on the topic **"HISTORY OF COALITION POLITICS AND PARTY DISCIPLINE IN KENYA SINCE 1960,"** for the period ending 24th May, 2024.

The student responsible for this project is **Mr. Kennedy Wakhungu Maasi** of Masinde Muliro University of Science and technology.

Kindly support him accordingly.

CHRISTINE CHACHA
For: County Commissioner
BUNGOMA COUNTY.

COUNTY COMMISSIONER
BUNGOMA