

Political Economy of Kenya and the 2022 general election

Karuti Kanyinga

Email: karuti.Kanyinga@uonbi.ac.ke

November 2021

Outline

- Introduction: the country context
- PART 1 - PEA features: what shapes Kenya's politics and development
 - Development challenges: uneven economic growth rate
 - Political power arrangements and conflicts
 - Conflicts and the economy
 - Factors shaping the context: PEA features
- PART 2: Politics and development in Kenya: the formal vs informal institutions
 - The new constitution
 - Devolution of power and resources
 - Challenges of service delivery: agriculture and health
- PART 3: Key drivers of politics in Kenya – elite pacts, bargains and the 2022 elections
 - The key drivers
 - Elite pacts and bargains
 - Possible alliances
- PART 4: The 2022 election scenarios: The timelines and possible disputes
 - A protracted presidential election
 - One off August election
- Part 5: Conclusions - Some thoughts

Introduction: the Country Context

Kenya has been largely stable from the 1960s

- Competitive and fragile multiparty political arrangements
- Regular and periodic elections from 1963 (largely free elections)
- Smooth regime transition from 1963

Strong economy – and regional hub

- Growth rate of about 5 per cent but uneven (drops to under 2 per cent election time)
- Vision 2030 development blueprint in place from 2008/9

Violence features at election time

- Recurrence of election violence from early 1992
- Post-2007 election violence ruptured stability
- undermined growth and development
- Weakened institutions of governance
- BUT there is resilience after violence; new elite pacts emerge to occasion momentum

2010 constitution introduced following the Post-2007 election violence

- the structure of governance and government radically altered
- Tensions between the old and the new continue to constrain implementation
- 2022 election the third under the constitution
- Implementation dividends are evident (devolution) but more could be gained

The presentation seeks to answer the following questions:

- What accounts for this context of Kenya?
 - Cycles of electoral violence alongside resilience?
 - Which key features of Kenya's Political Economy are responsible for this trend?
 - How are these features likely to affect the 2022 election outcome?
- How is the competitive 2022 electoral politics likely to affect development programming/work?
- What is the implication of these dynamics development programming?

PART 1

Kenya: PEA Features

What shapes Kenya's politics and development?

Foundational Factors

- Legacy of the late colonial period
 - Centralization of power: The state inherited at independence to serve executive – the executive/presidency in turn used the state to promote ‘ethnic’ interests of the ruling elites
 - Patronage determined distribution of development resources
 - Imbalances and inequalities in regional development widened and became basis for grievances against the centralized power/ethnic elites

Foundational factors ...2

- Ethnic structure and identify politics
 - Structure of ethnicity became instrumentalized;
 - Ethnic groups mobilized for political organization (parties and power)
 - Those whose elites are in power fear losing out; those out of power vote on basis of hope (our turn to eat become the basis of mobilizing)
 - The 'First Past the Post' (majoritarian system) reinforces the relationship between ethnicity and politics
 - Groups/elites are excluded or included on basis of changing power arrangements
- 5 large groups of almost equal constitute 65% population
 - None can dominate the other
 - They form alliances to compete against one another
 - Alliances break up on basis of changing political interests

2019 Population Census

Ethnic Group	population	% share
Kikuyu	8,148,668.00	17.13
Luhya	6,823,842.00	14.35
Kalenji	6,358,113.00	13.37
Luo	5,066,966.00	10.65
Kamba	4,663,910.00	9.81
Subtotal		65.30
Kenya Somali	2,780,502.00	5.85
Kisii	2,703,235.00	5.68
Miji Kenda	2,488,691.00	5.23
Subtotal		16.76
Meru	1,975,869.00	4.15
Maasai	1,189,522.00	2.50
	42,199,318.00	
Others	5,364,978.00	11.28
Total population	47,564,296.00	

Ethnicity and patronage undermine accountability

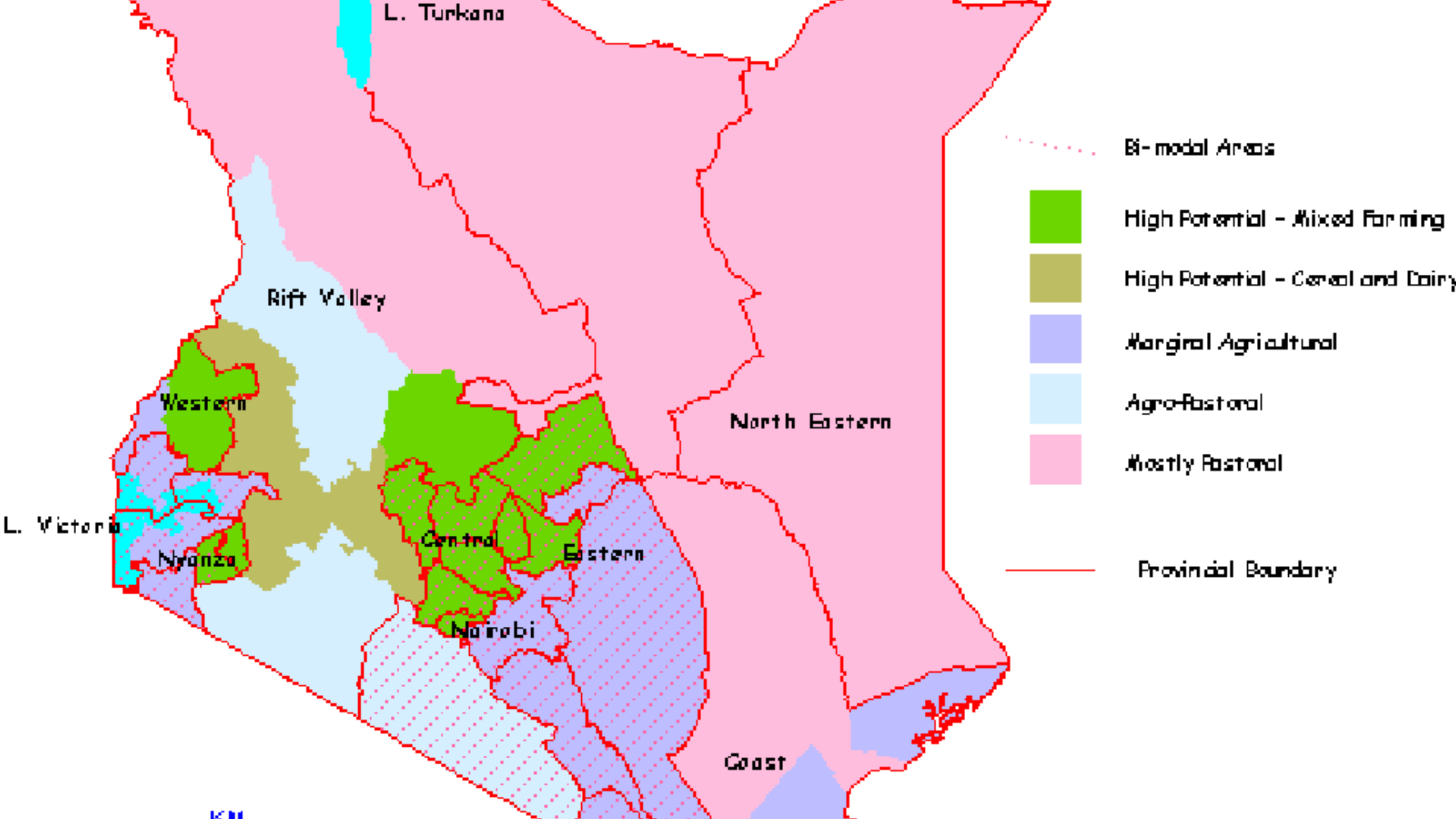
- Weak culture of accountability and high impunity
 - Loyalty of ethnic elites is maintained through patronage (reinforced by ethnicity notable in appointment to public institutions)
 - Corruption increases in tandem with politicization of ethnicity and mobilization of ethnic elites for political support
- Public posts – especially cabinet and principal secretaries - reflect ethnic basis of power arrangements
 - Every new government tends to have more cabinet members from the same community as the president
 - This applies to other senior posts in the executive
 - Appointment in parastatals reflect this pattern with some of them being dominated by staff from the same community
- These public offices provide the resources for patronage

Political considerations determines distribution of public good/patronage

- Ethnicity and patronage provide basis for political considerations in distribution of public resources
 - Political elites are strong to influence distribution and investment benefits across regions
- The “President’s” regions receive disproportionate investments in infrastructure projects e.g. more paved roads, and basic services
 - The regions/districts of public works cabinet ministers benefit too
 - (see Robin Burgess, et al, 2010; Barkan and Chege, 1989; Ngethe and Kanyinga, 1994; Kanyinga, 2016; Kivuva, 2014)

Foundational ...the economy

- A strong economy compared to many in Sub-Saharan Africa
 - A strong private sector and presence of multinational corporations
 - There is significance of crony capitalism
 - Strong linkage between ethnicity, business, and politics
- Agriculture is key to the economy; contributing about 35 % to GDP and at least 56% per cent labour force employed in the sector
 - BUT agriculture is rain-fed; not highly diversified
 - Droughts and climate change challenges impacts the sector and the economy
- Agro-ecological zones link to ethnic regions
 - Agricultural policies are highly politicized and regionalized
 - Ethnic elites mobilize grievances relating to regional agricultural activities; this leads to policy failure



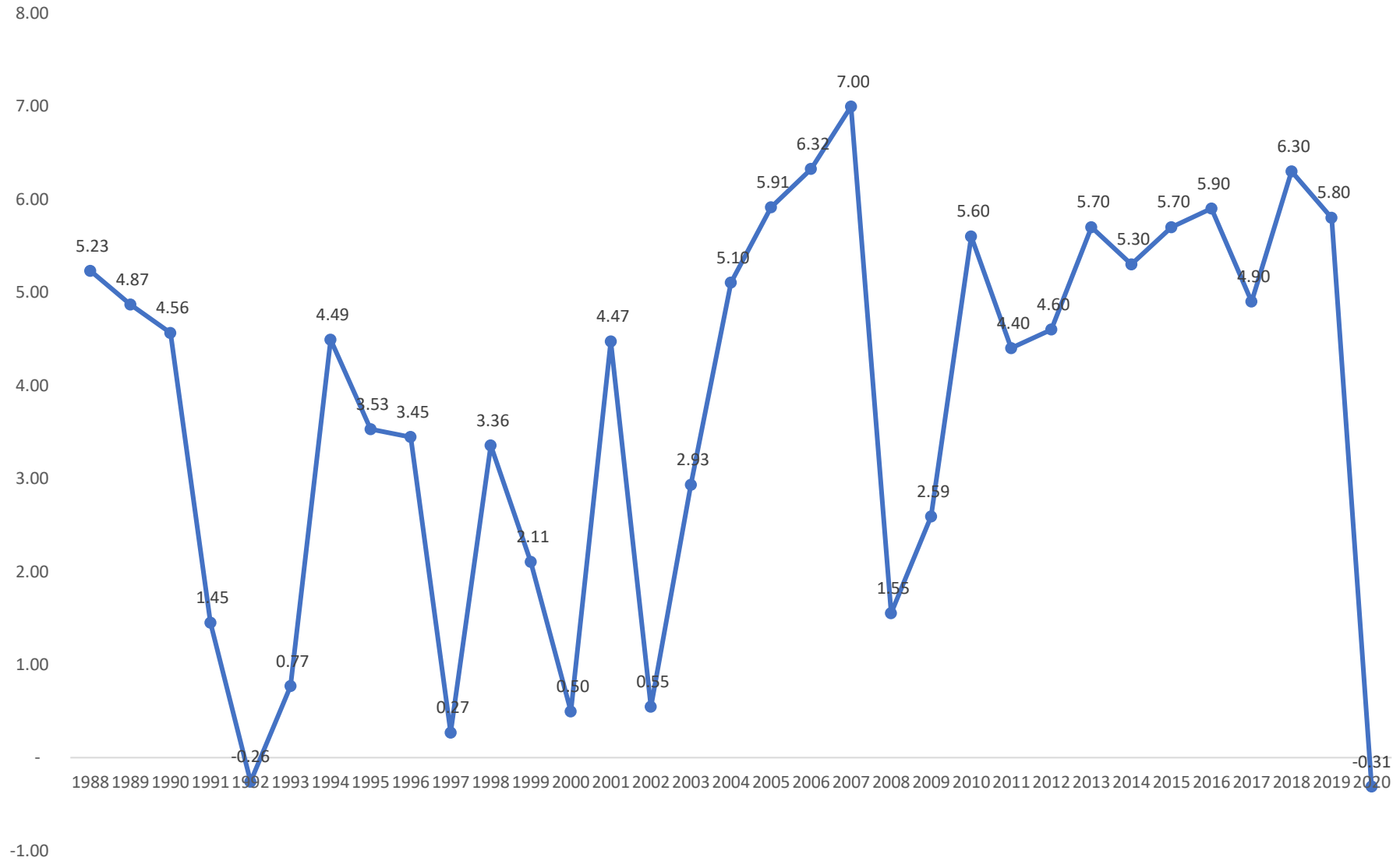
Agro-ecological zone and ethnic identity

Green	High potentia	Mixed farming (coffee, tea, dairy)	Kalenjin, Kikuyu, Meru, kissii Luhya	Central Kenya, Central rift
Light Green	High potential	Cereals and Dairy	Kalenjin	Central Rift
Light Blue	Midium potential	Agro-pastoralist	Masai, Kalenjin Kamba	South Rift Eastern
Purple	Low potential	pastoralism	Masai, Somali, samburu	Northern Kenya

Economy ...2

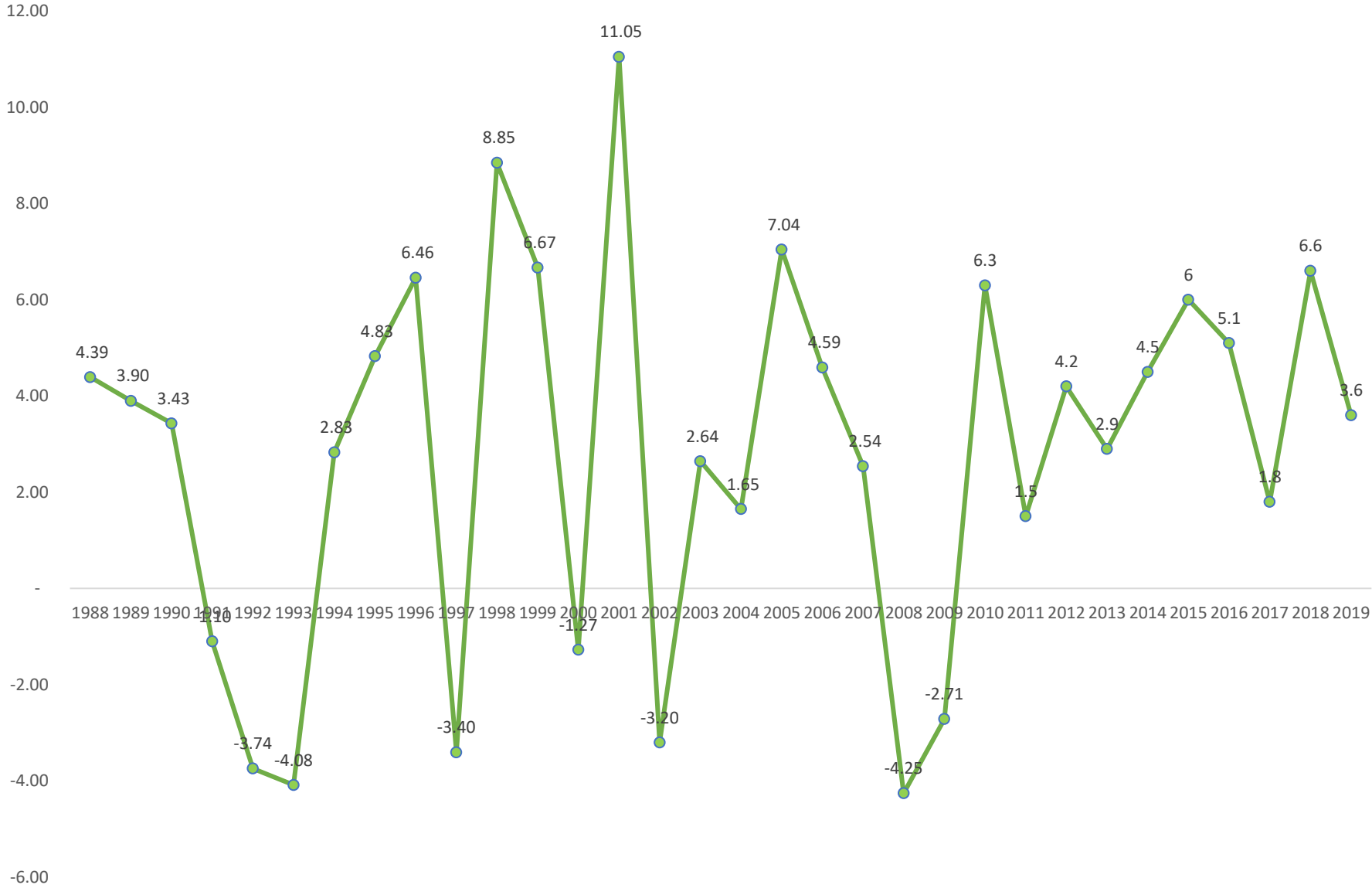
- Politics affects economic growth and agricultural development
 - Election and conflicts tend to slow down agricultural productivity
 - This in turn reduces the pace of economic growth during an election year
- From 2010, devolution has insulated the economy in certain ways but there are still significant signs of reduced productivity
- Covid-19 pandemic has washed the gains made in recent times

GDP growth rate (%) 1988 - 2020



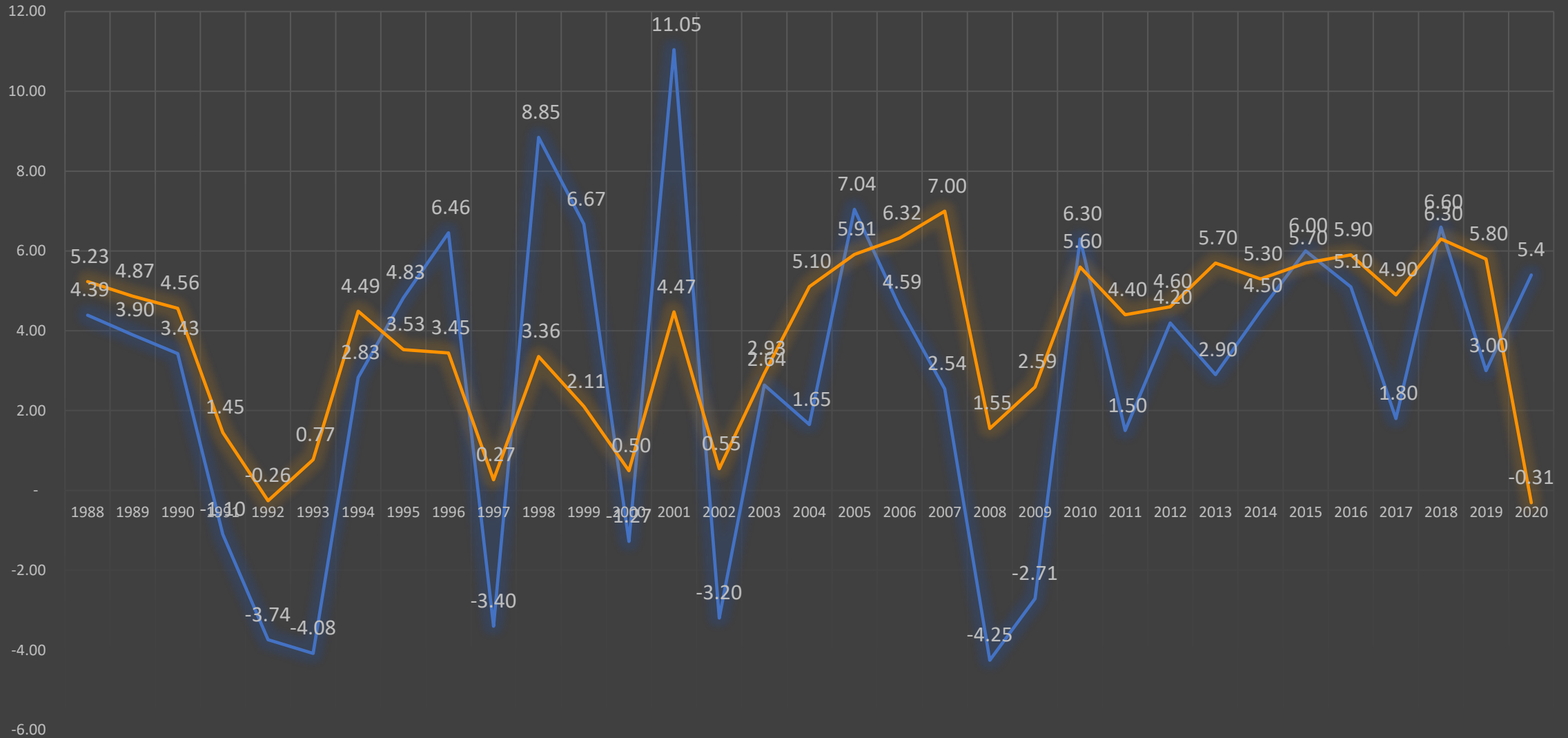
Agriculture growth rate (%)

1988 - 2020



GDP and Agriculture growth rate (%) 1988 - 2020

— Agriculture(growth rate %) — (GDP growth rate %)



summary

- The foundational context comprises features around which many dynamics evolve
- The interlinkage between ethnic based politics, grievances over imbalances in development, and a majoritarian electoral system continually produce new political dimensions
 - Politics of inclusion and exclusion are a characteristic feature of the society
 - This results in electoral violence as elites seek new power arrangements
 - Continuous making and un-making of 'elite pacts' is common – the political system is in a flux
 - There are certain conditions that foster stability
 - Failure to forge 'inclusive pacts' leads to violence

PART 2

Challenges to politics and development

The formal versus informal institutions

The 2010 Constitution and new dynamics

- A dispute over the 2007 presidential elections resulted in unprecedented election violence
- International mediation ended the violence and developed a roadmap for comprehensive reforms including a new constitution
- The 2010 Constitution
 - mark a new beginning and address the long-standing issues
 - introduces devolution of power and resources
 - Reduces powers of the executive by altering the structure of government and governance
 - Builds strong checks and balances through establishment and empowering of new institutions of restraint (OAG, EACC, Ombudsperson/KNCHR etc)
 - Strengthens principles of Separation of Powers and creates/strengthens a independent Judiciary

The constitution altered the structure of power but not the practice of politics

- The Constitution created two levels of government
 - The National and 47 County Governments
- Reduced executive power
 - Distributed power to Constitutional Commissions (Chap 15)
- Strengthened Parliament and the Judiciary
- Provides for 6 elective posts. All 6 elections held the same day
 - President
 - Governor
 - Senate,
 - MP
 - County Women Representative
 - Member of County Assembly (MCAs)

The constitution and devolution

The centerpiece is devolution of power and resources

- Devolved services include health, agriculture, ECD, among others
- Counties get allocation for (equitable share) service delivery by 47 county governments
- This was meant to correct imbalances and protect all groups/regions from marginalization on political considerations
- Resulted in strengthening clientelist drivers of development at the local level (governors are new canters of resources and therefore power)

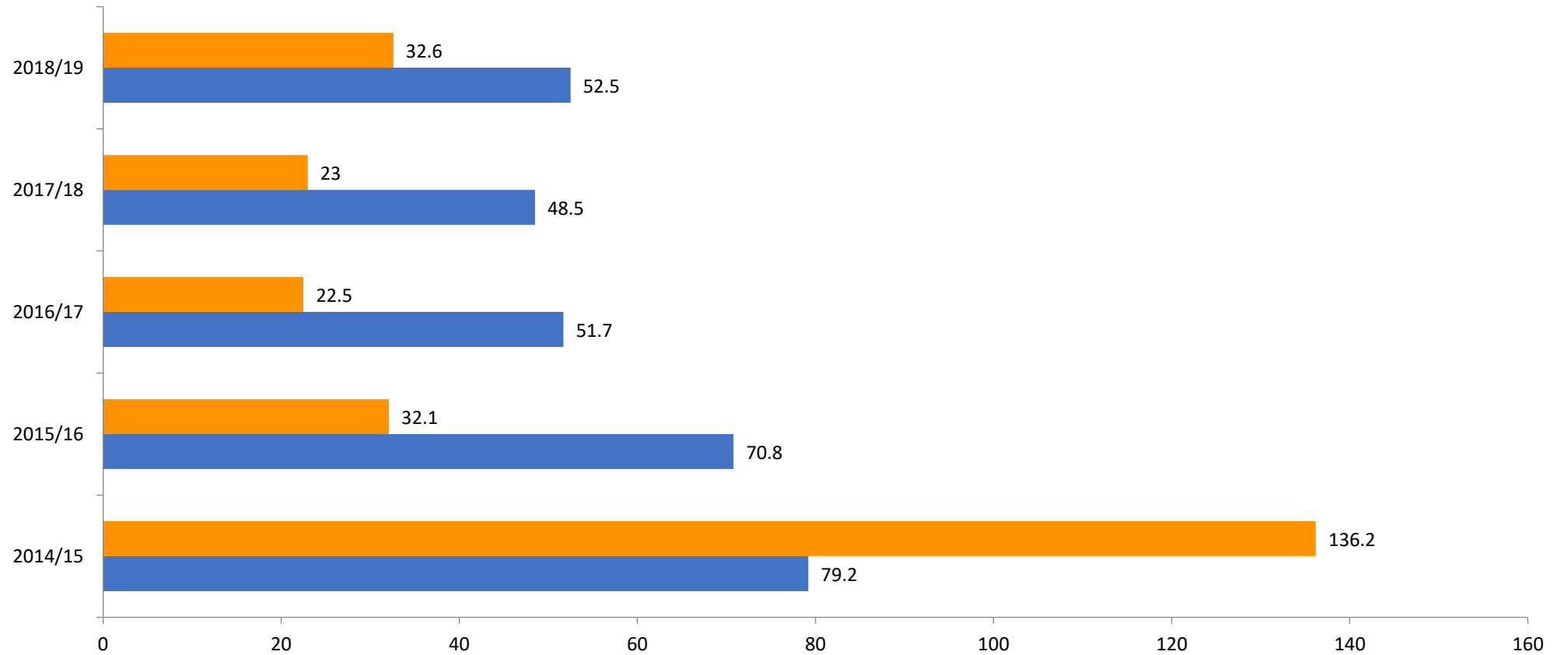
Devolution is the theatre of contestations between the national and the county governments

- Increase in power struggles that threaten service delivery
 - Strikes by health care workers (over four national ones; many localized strikes)
 - Delays in disbursements
- Overlapping mandates
- Unbundling of functions remain a problem
- National government ministries retaining functions and budgets for devolved sectors
- The Senate contesting with the governors and failing to effectively protect devolution

Devolved sectors: what has changed?

- Agricultural sector policy blocked by regional interests and centralist tendencies
 - Different agricultural activities practised by different groups mean diverse political interests
 - Bailouts target those with political power/and vote baskets
 - Large farmers have political influence over making of policies than small holders
 - Some agricultural parastatals tend to be associated with certain groups – owing to history from the colonial period
 - Kalenjins politicians have been at the leadership of the Ministry of Agriculture longer than any other group for the last 20 years
- The National government carries out functions meant for counties
 - This guarantees rents and tends to ‘recentralization’ and control of resources

Total agriculture budget : 2014-2019 (in billions)



	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18	2018/19
Total county agriculture budget	136.2	32.1	22.5	23	32.6
Total National Budget to ARUD	79.2	70.8	51.7	48.5	52.5

Health sector

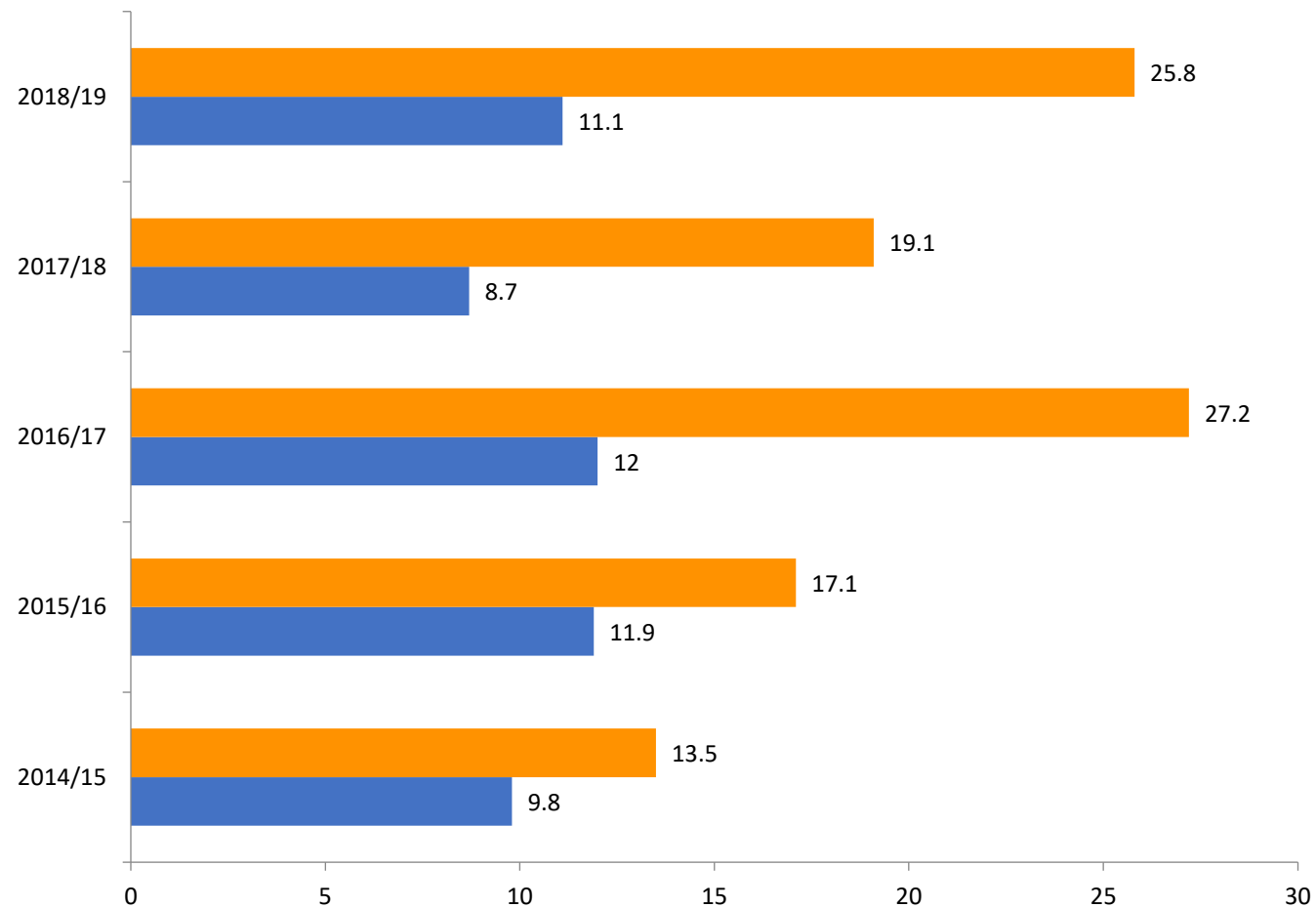
Sector was characterized by imbalances in distribution of facilities

There are conflicts between national and county governments over mandates and resources

- Bureaucrats still interested in centralization
- The sector gains political attention because of rents

Health expenditure (development) - 2014-2019

(Ksh. billions)



	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18	2018/19
■ Total national government health expenditure - development	13.5	17.1	27.2	19.1	25.8
■ Total county governments health expenditure - development	9.8	11.9	12	8.7	11.1

PART 3

Key drivers of politics

Elite pacts, bargains and the 2022 Elections

Elite interests, pacts and bargains drive politics

- Political elites representing the numerically large groups are central in organization of politics and shaping power arrangements
- Informal deals are shaped by self interests but by use of ethnic platforms
- Ethnic elites leverage their influence over their groups to create pacts after or before an election
- The pacts are not stable: balance of power changes after every election
 - Those excluded use their ethnic influence to foster new pacts – to negotiate new pacts

Elite pacts drive patronage politics

- The pacts become the basis of patron-client relations at national and local level
 - The structure of patronage at the national is replicated at the local level
 - County Governors and other senior politicians become the local patrons and the link with national patronage network
- Those in power use state resources to entrench their positions in power
- The driver is desire to accumulate/access to wealth + control of power (to protect wealth)
 - Public institutions become treasury of patronage – they provide resources required to address elite interests and needs
 - Institutions become captive to these interests
 - Those appointed on political considerations are required to agree to terms of these deals – accommodating elite interests and demands.
 - These developments undermine accountability

Kenya is dominated by making and unmaking of elite pacts

- Elite pacts are always changing; none is permanent
 - They break before and/or after every election
 - The new pacts emerge based on elites' calculation of which pact promises better prospects for protecting their interests
- This results in unstable power arrangements
 - Elections become the basis of intense contestation over power



Patronage arising from accessing political power and wealth drives up the cost of elections

- Access to politics has increasingly meant access to power and wealth (access to and use of state resources)
- This has resulted in intense competition during election
 - There is intense competition at all levels
- The presidency is generally viewed as the most important post
 - Governor and MCAs posts follow
 - The National Assembly (MP) is fourth in importance because MPs have access to National Government – Constituency Development Fund (NG-CDF)
 - Senate and Women Representative are not seen as important because they have no resources associated with them

...Costs of politics

- From 2013, the IEBC has been making attempts to implement the Elections Campaign Act 2013
 - Parliament has failed to pass the rules to support the IEBC regulate campaign financing
- The regulations capped the spending for presidential elections at Ksh. 4.5 billion (about USD 45 million)
- Costs for other posts capped on basis of population and area size
- BUT studies show costs are higher than the IEBC figures
 - Senate about \$400,000; Women Rep \$ 230,000; MP \$180,000; MCA \$30,000 (WFD study Cost of politics in Kenya)

High cost of politics undermines accountability and increases corruption

- Those who win election use their offices for 'pay back' and to accumulate more wealth for the next election
 - Crony capitalism is entrenched; they get contracts to supply goods and services to government institutions
- Those who lose, begin to establish new pacts/alliances
 - Whether national or county level, they establish new alliances that promise better prospects for protecting and promoting their interests
 - They establish new networks to access wealth in preparation for the next election

A case of new politics?

Building inclusive politics remain a challenge

- The 50% + 1 compels parties to form ethno-regional alliances
- 'Winner takes all' politics is much in place
- Practice of politics of exclusion from power by those who win

Patronage is still driving politics

- Elites form alliances to outcompete one another

The making and unmaking of elite pacts provides stability

- Inclusion and exclusion on basis of interests underpins the political system

A new political settlement emerged following the 2017 general election

- The president and the former opposition leader began to work together excluding their former allies; the handshake led to Building Bridges Initiative with a promise to bring about comprehensive reforms
- New divisions emerged to shaped the next contests – the 2022 elections

... The 2022 elections: is there new political arrangement?

Kenya's political system is largely stable, but is undermined by 'bargains and counter bargains' between the elites

- Power distributed on ethnic basis
- Self interests drive these bargains (elites use ethnic platforms to drive these interests)

The system becomes 'unstable' when the elites do not keep to the agreements

- These disagreements result in formation and fragmentation of 'elite pacts'
- These in turn lead to formation of new alliances/political parties

Towards the 2022 elections

Towards the 2022 elections ...

At least two main alliances are emerging compete in the 2022 general election.

- The parties that competed against each other in 2017 fragmented and the factions constitute new alliance

The president's Jubilee party has effectively split and lacks the numbers it had in 2013 and the 2017 elections

- The Deputy President leads his own faction constituting around the United Democratic Party
- The President has allied with his former opponent, the former Prime Minister, Riala Odinga, to challenge his Deputy President
- A third grouping comprises allies of the opposition leader: they have formed a new alliance (One Kenya Alliance - OKA) but it is possible they will may break up too

What we are likely to see?

The election is likely to be a 'two-party' contest

A party/alliance by the Deputy President: this comprises many first term MPs in different regions; it does not have regional king makers

A party/alliance by the for Prime Minister together with the President

- This will bring together some of the leaders in OKA – their aim is to form a broad-based coalition with leaders from all regions
- The aim is to ensure different groups feel included

The contest will be won on basis of inclusivity and ability to mobilize voter registration and voter turn out

- The youth vote is critical: they comprise over 60 per cent of the population
- But voter registration has been a challenge

% population share vs % (estimated) registered Voters

2019 Census	% - population share	% - Registered Voters (estimate)
Kikuyu	17.13	21.87
Luhya	14.35	12.00
Kalenji	13.37	12.08
Luo	10.65	10.69
Kamba	9.81	9.02
Kenya Somali	5.85	2.75
Kisii	5.68	4.62
Miji Kenda	5.23	5.50
Meru	4.15	4.83
Maasai	2.50	3.84

The key campaign issues

While the actual campaigns are yet to begin, the two main groupings (as well as the OKA group) are mobilizing support on the following issues

- Unemployment and high cost of living:
- The Deputy President is stressing the importance of 'bottom up' economy
 - empowerment of unemployment youth, those working in informal sector, unskilled workers etc (the hustler narrative)
- The former Prime Minister: 'unity and cohesion' as well as good governance
 - Improving livelihoods through social assistance programmes including cash transfers and social insurance
- OKA is emphasizing the need for economic recovery but are not clear on policy priorities for this

Accountability and fight against impunity – issues of corruption and rule of law – are yet to be prioritized

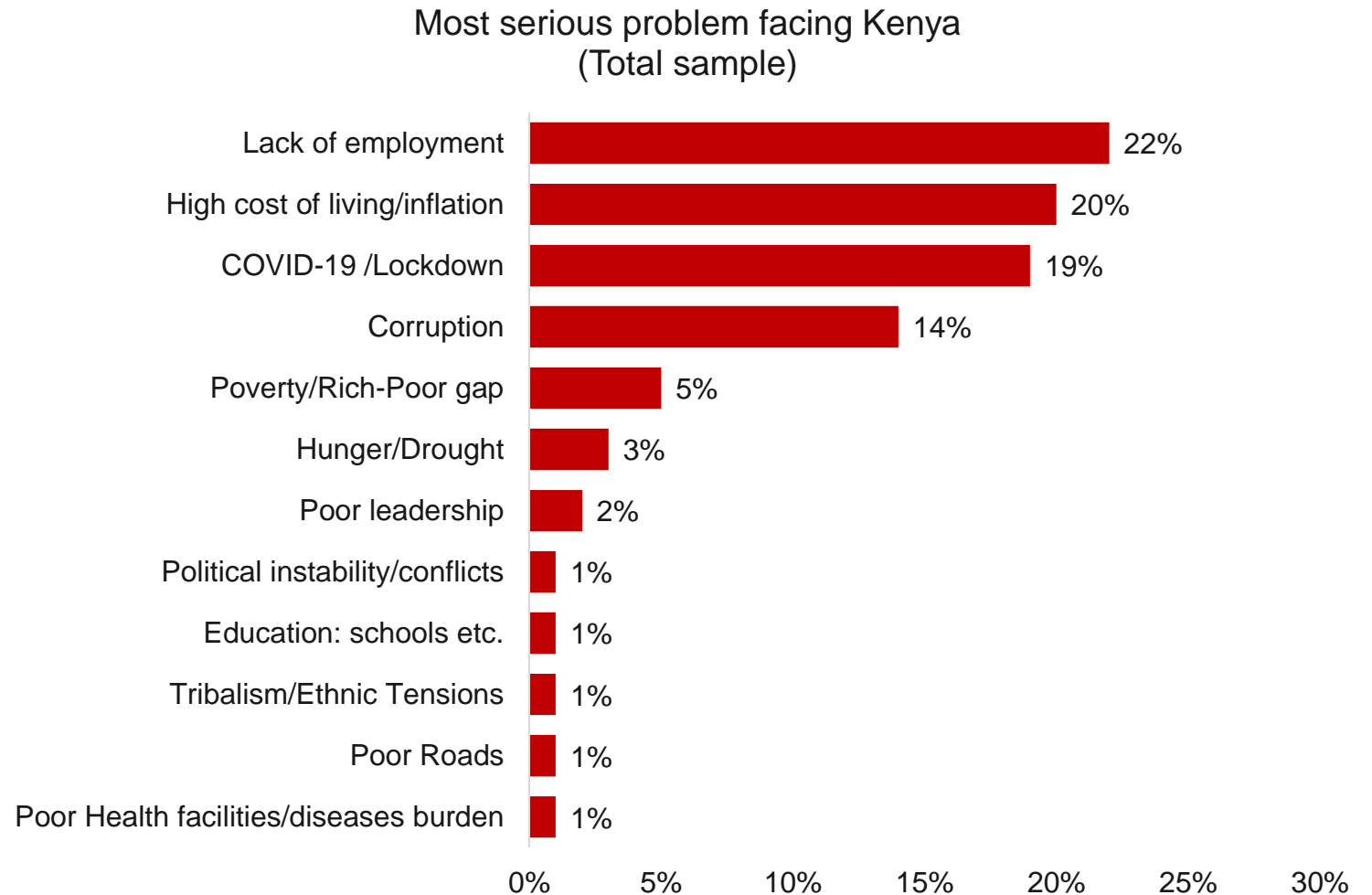
These themes reflect public views too on challenges facing the country

Campaigns...

- This is the first time politicians are organizing on issues around class and inequality
 - The economic issues and living conditions are gaining traction
 - Corruption is not given attention; so are issues of governance in general

Most serious problem facing Kenya (by total sample)

- Unemployment is the most pressing problem in the country. This is followed by high cost of living; and the COVID-19 challenges.
- Four challenges have a bearing on individual wellbeing.
 - Unemployment
 - High cost of living
 - Corruption
 - Poverty
- They imply people have financial challenges

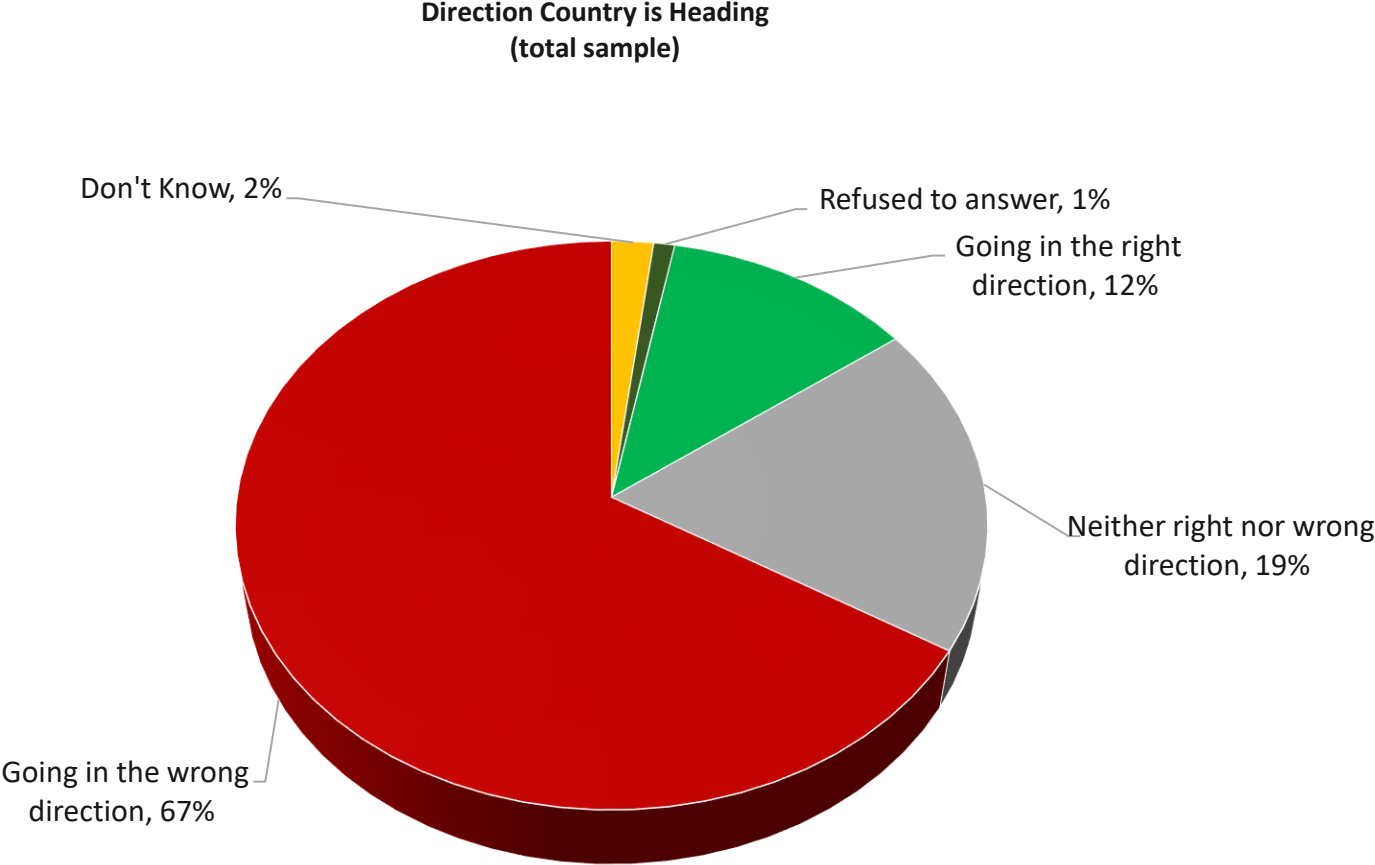


Q1. In your opinion, what is most serious problem facing Kenya today?

Base: All Respondents (n=5,508)

Direction country is heading (by total sample)

- Majority (67%) of the respondents feel that the country is heading in the wrong direction.

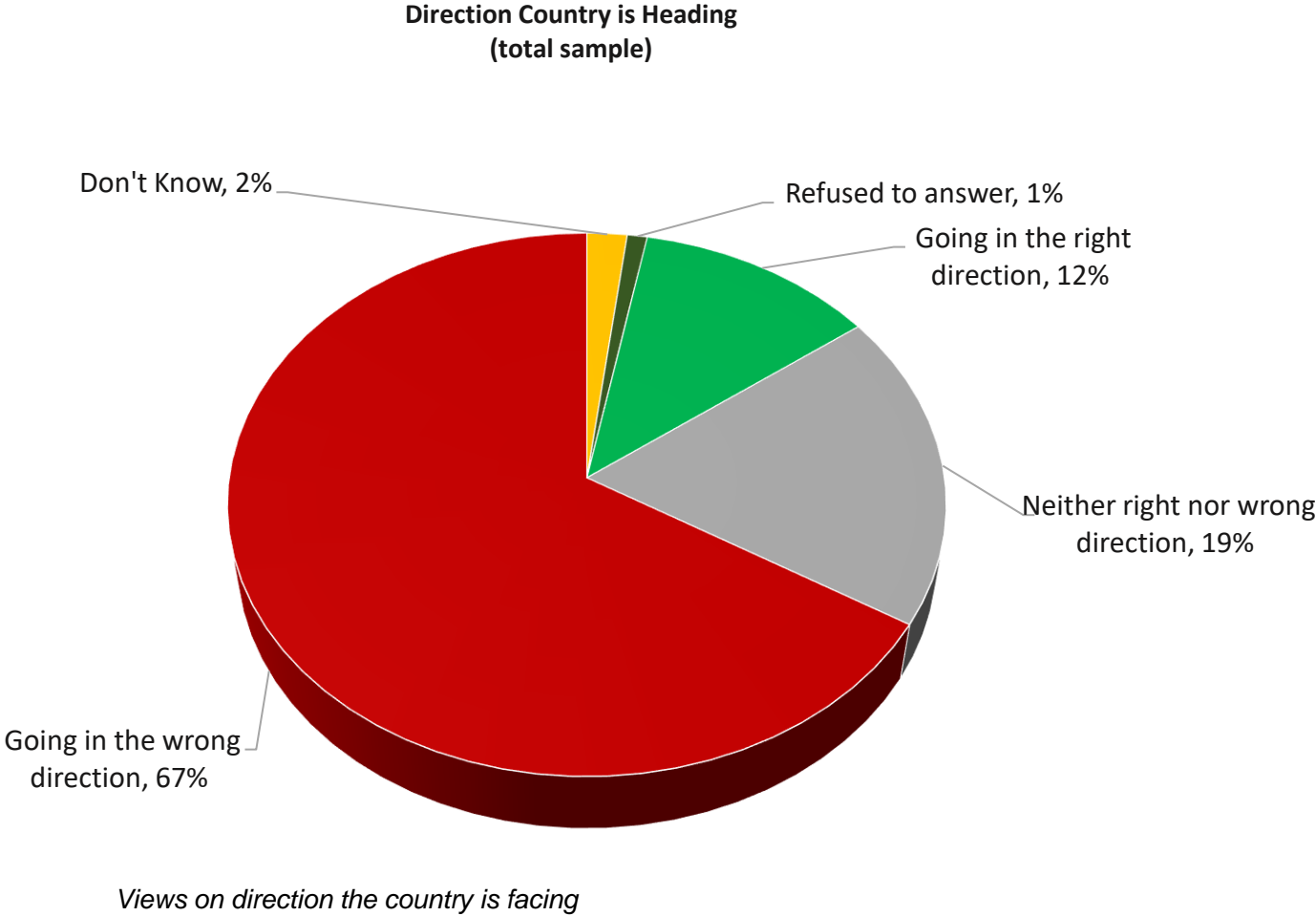


Q2. Let's start with your general view about the current direction of our country. Overall, would you say that the country is going in the wrong direction or going in the right direction?

Base: All Respondents (n=5,508)

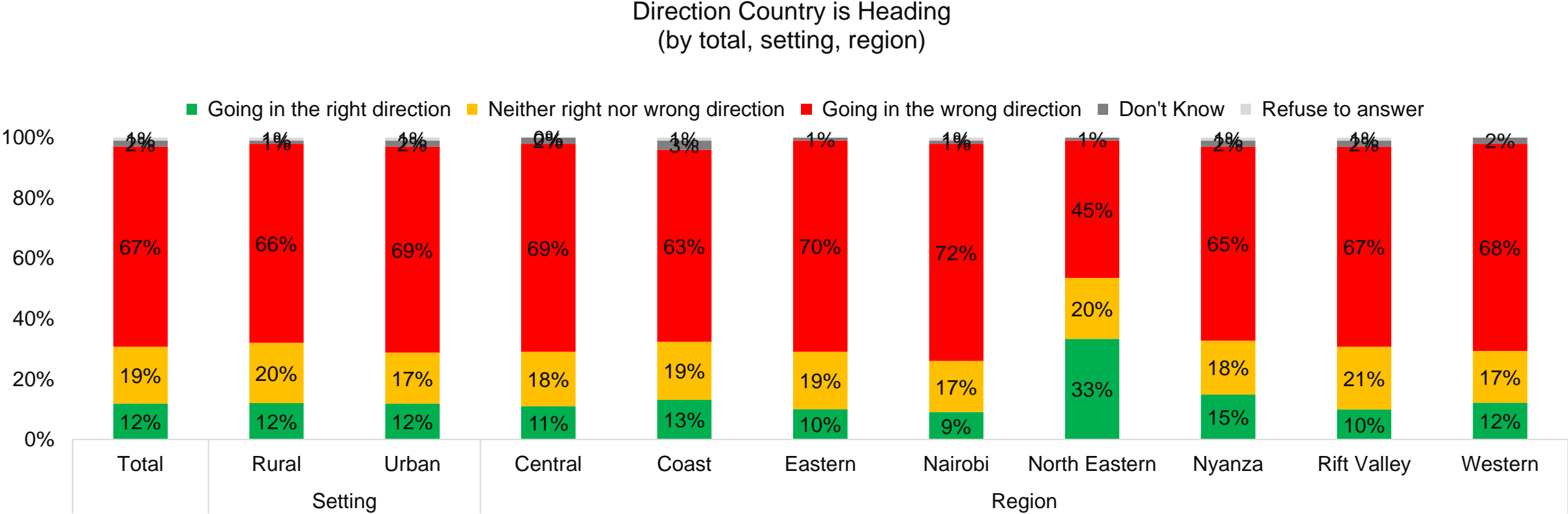
These challenges shape citizens views of the government

- Majority (67%) of the respondents feel that the country is heading in the wrong direction.



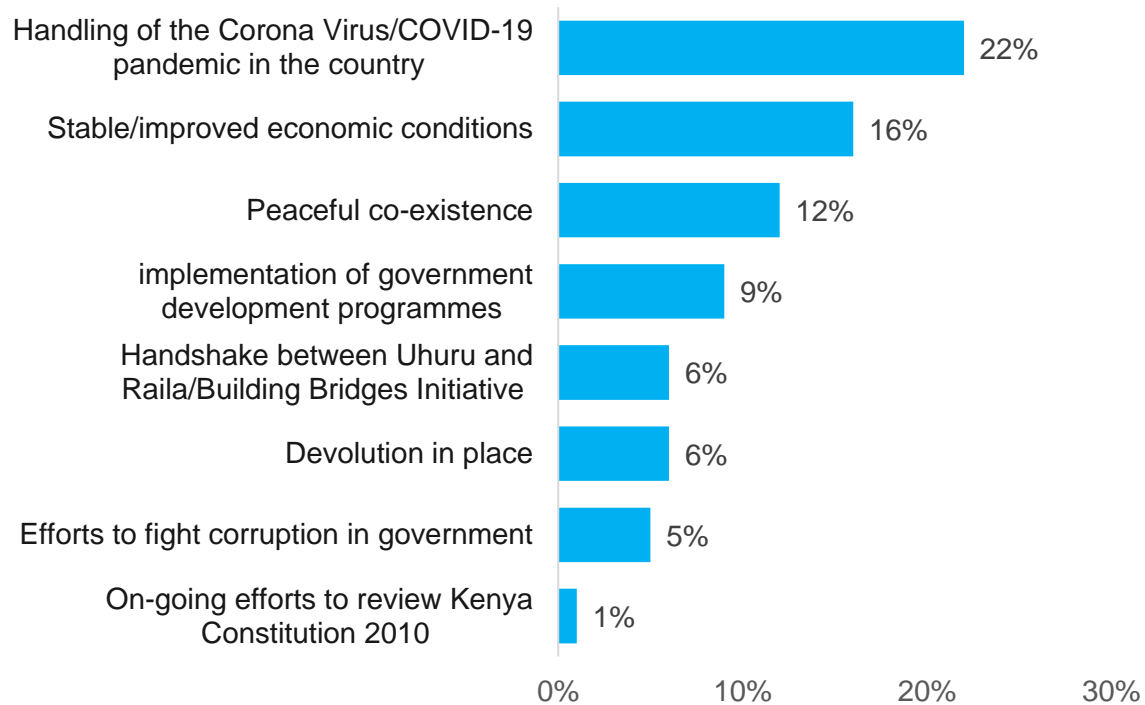
There is less optimism about the direction of the country

- The most pessimistic region is Nairobi, followed by Eastern region.

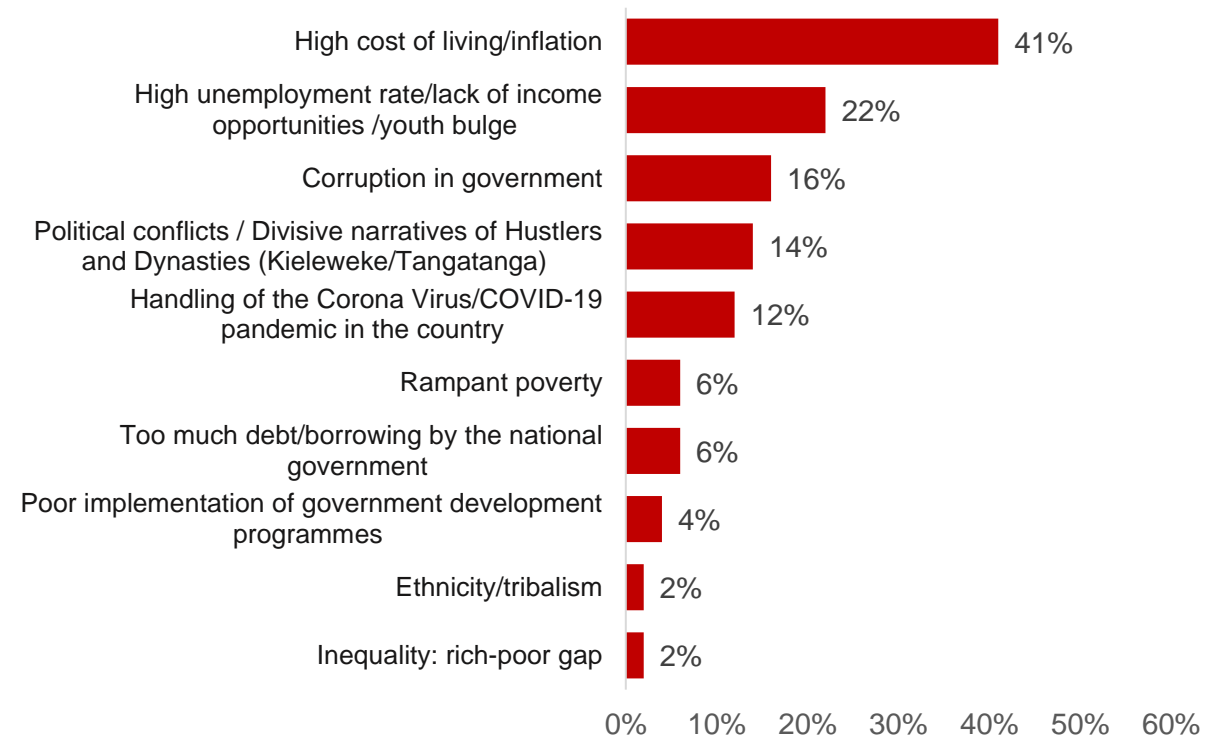


Reason for thoughts on heading in 'right' or 'wrong' direction

Reasons for country heading in the right direction



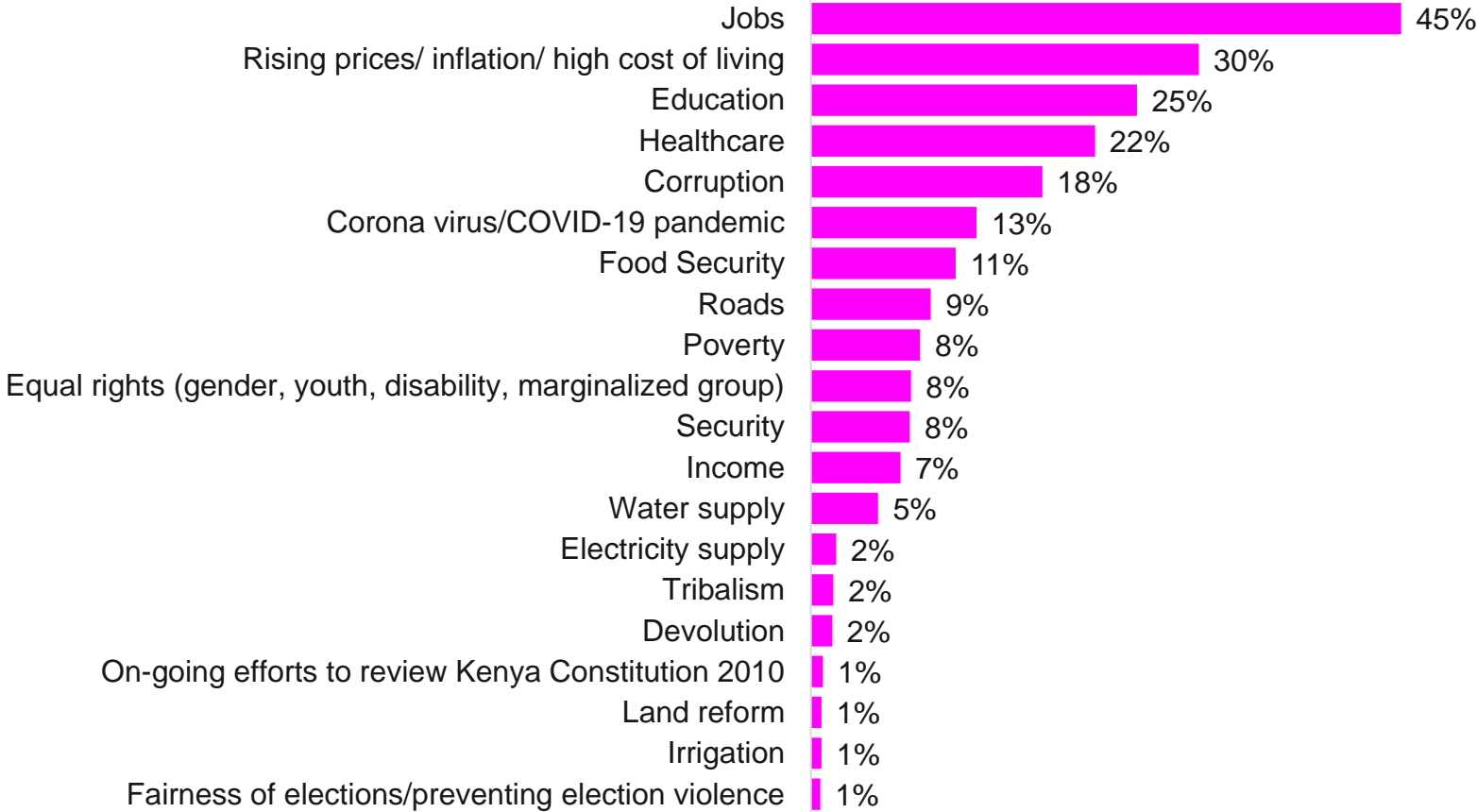
Reasons for country heading in the wrong direction



What the government should priorities

- Job creation is top of the list of what Kenyans want the government to prioritize. This is followed by management of inflation.
- Social services such as education and healthcare are also amongst the top-five recommended priorities for government.

Top issues that national government should deal with (by total sample)



Part IV: Scenarios around the Kenya 2022 elections

A potentially protracted electoral process

The organizing question is polarizing

- The questions for the 2022 election campaigns have become much clearer
 - Youth unemployment
 - The state of the economy and cost of living (these could also tie to public debts)
 - Corruption in government
- The alliances differ in how to address these challenges
 - Addressing the economy first vs getting politics right first
 - Addressing unemployment first vs prevent violent conflict
- Political 'tribalism' or patronage will remain central
 - Already all the alliances are making promises to regions and/or to individual elites

Alliances/parties
of equal size
mean a close
election and
counter claims of
victory

- The campaign issues will be mobilized by political elites
 - Ethno-regional interests will be articulated around these issues
- Alliances that will form are likely to be of equal size
- BUT
 - This will depend on how each alliance mobilizes and which issue dominate.
 - Eg The Deputy President has avoided using 'ethnic kingpins'; he is using the elected MPs who will soon be busy defending their seats
 - The former Prime Minister has the support of the President; he is likely to use ethnic kingpins
- These dynamics will lead to a "Close election" or an election whose margin is thin enough to arouse protracted legal disputes

One party/alliance may dominate parliament and counties but lose the presidency

- There are six election: Presidency, Senate; National Assembly; County governors; County MCAs; County Women Representative
- It is possible also that one alliances may have more MPs and Senators in parliament and NOT win the presidential
 - This could extent to having more elected governors in the counties and MCAs but without the 'presidency at the national level

Legal disputes..

- Legal disputes will be shaped by
 - Perceptions based on numbers
 - How the IEBC conducts the process and the nature of public confidence and trust arising from this
 - How the election technology is employed and utilized - and public confidence in election technology

The Judiciary will be the centerpiece of the election (not the IEBC)

- The court has heard 2 past presidential election disputes
 - Upheld results in 2013
 - Annulled the results in August 2017 and ordered a "fresh poll" in October 2017 (the first of a kind in Africa and fourth in the world to do so)
 - Upheld the October 2017 "fresh poll" results
 - The judiciary is the main actor rather than the IEB – determining the disputes
- The court has internal divisions which have continued to wane over the years
 - Progressive vs conservatives
 - Pro-government vs fence sitters (not critics or radicals but simple none alignment)
 - Young vs the old
 - These divisions mutate and comingle depending on the issue and therefore the court may make a surprising decision

The disputes may take long to end – through the courts – and may proceed to December 2022

- The emerging disputes can be protracted depending on whether there are petitions at every turn
 - Petitions after the first election,
 - Petition on a fresh poll if any,
 - petition on results of the first fresh poll and so on
 - This can end in November 2022 or spill to 2023
- OR there is no outright winner in the first round,
 - Then a fresh poll is conducted
 - Petition on the fresh poll triggers new timelines
 - This can end in December 2022 or spill over to 2023

The possible scenarios

We can have a protracted election

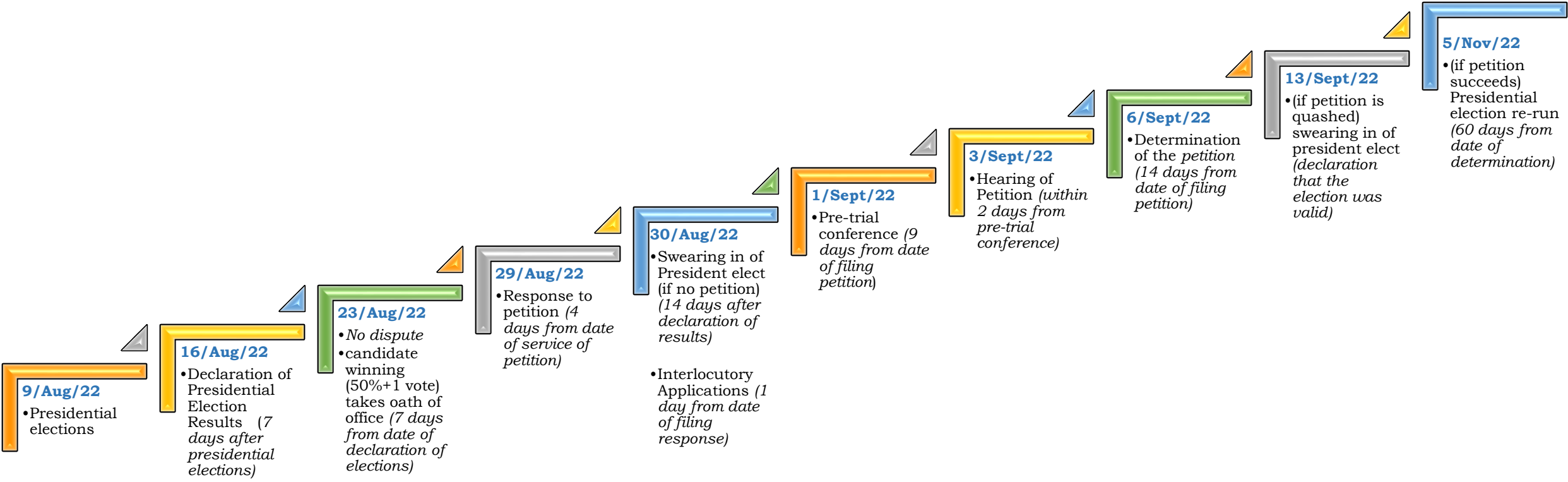
Spill over to November – if the first election is annulled

Spill over to December – if there is a runoff and subsequent petition

The legal requirements

- The Constitution requires the winning candidate to have:
 - 50%+1 vote or more
 - at least 25% of votes cast in each of at least half of the 47 counties (at least 24 counties)
- If no outright winner a fresh poll is held within 30 days
- If there is a petition against the results, the petition must be filled within 7 days
- The Supreme Court must hear and determine the dispute within 14 days
- A fresh poll is held within 60 days

Key dates for the Kenya 2022 Elections



Scenario 1: outright winner on August 9

- On August 9, 2022, election is held
- The candidate wins 50% 1 vote and meets the 24 counties threshold of 25% of the votes
- No dispute is filled at the Supreme Court
- The candidate takes office on August 23, 2022
- This is the best scenario and good for the country and economic performance
 - Growth will not be impacted/slowed
 - Triggers high level of investors confidence in Kenya
- Assumptions
 - All parties are satisfied with the process and the final result
 - There is high level of trust in the IEBC and other institutions
 - The process is transparent, and voters feel the results reflect their 'ballots'

Scenarios 1: outright winner

9/Aug/22

- Presidential elections

16/Aug/22

- Declaration of Presidential Election Results (*7 days after presidential elections*)

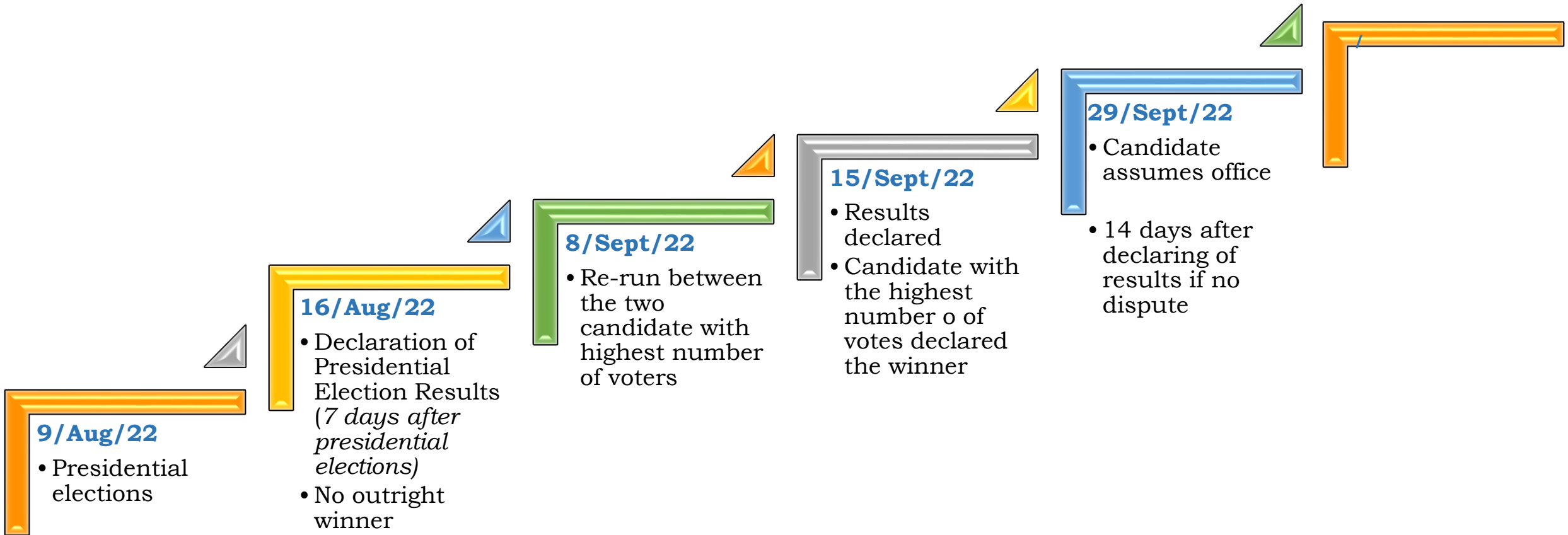
23/Aug/22

- *No dispute*
- candidate winning (50%+1 vote) takes oath of office (*7 days from date of declaration of elections*)

Scenario 2: A runoff election on September 8

- Election is held on August 9
- Results are declared on August 16 BUT no winner
 - no one meets the threshold
- A re-run is conducted on September 8, 2022
- The winning candidate (greatest number of votes) is declared the winner
- The candidate assumes office on September 15, 2022, if there is no dispute
- Assumptions similar to scenario one (happy scenario) obtain
 - The election does not overwhelm the economy – campaigning and tensions do not cause fears that would lead to people away from productive activities

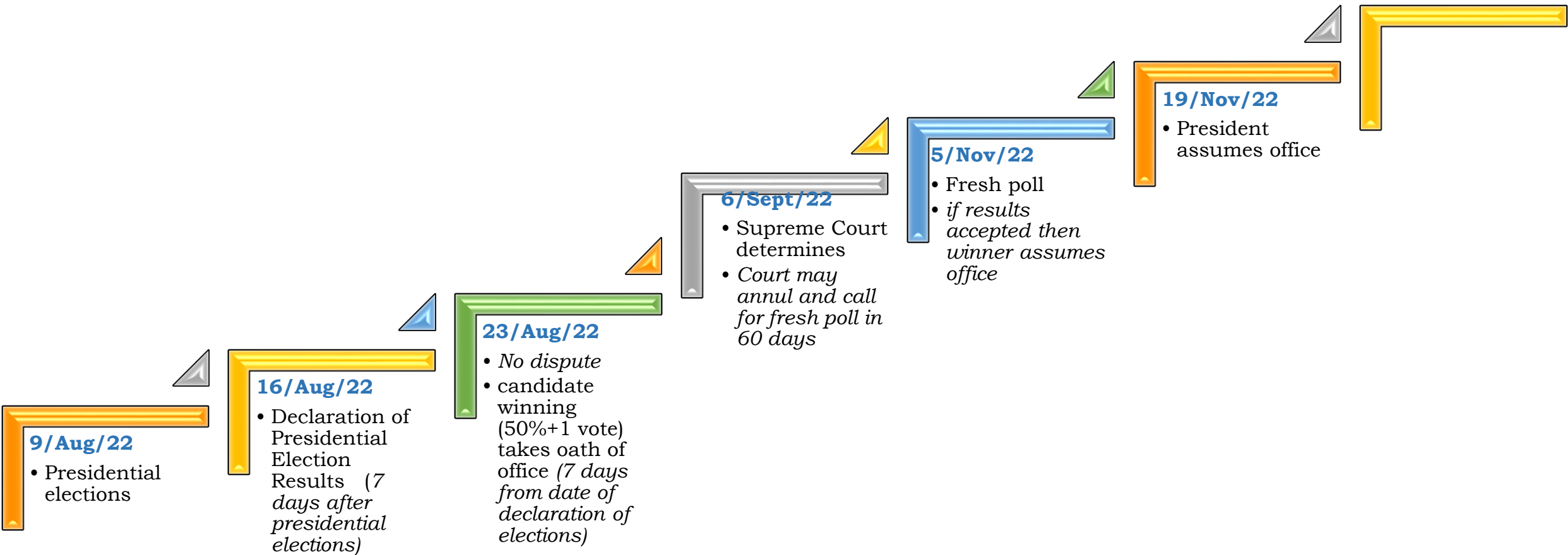
Scenarios 2 – Runoff election September 8



Scenario 3: the first election is annulled and process may conclude in Nov 9 or after

- Election is held on August 9
- Results declared by August 16
- Petition (if any) by August 23
- Supreme Court determines by September 6
 - Supreme Court annuls the election
- Fresh poll by November 5
 - Results by November 12
 - If results accepted, the person takes office November 19
- If there is dispute, then the 7 days paced approach to filling and determining disputes kicks off again.
 - If the fresh poll is annulled, another election is held in 60 days (Fresh poll in another 60 days)

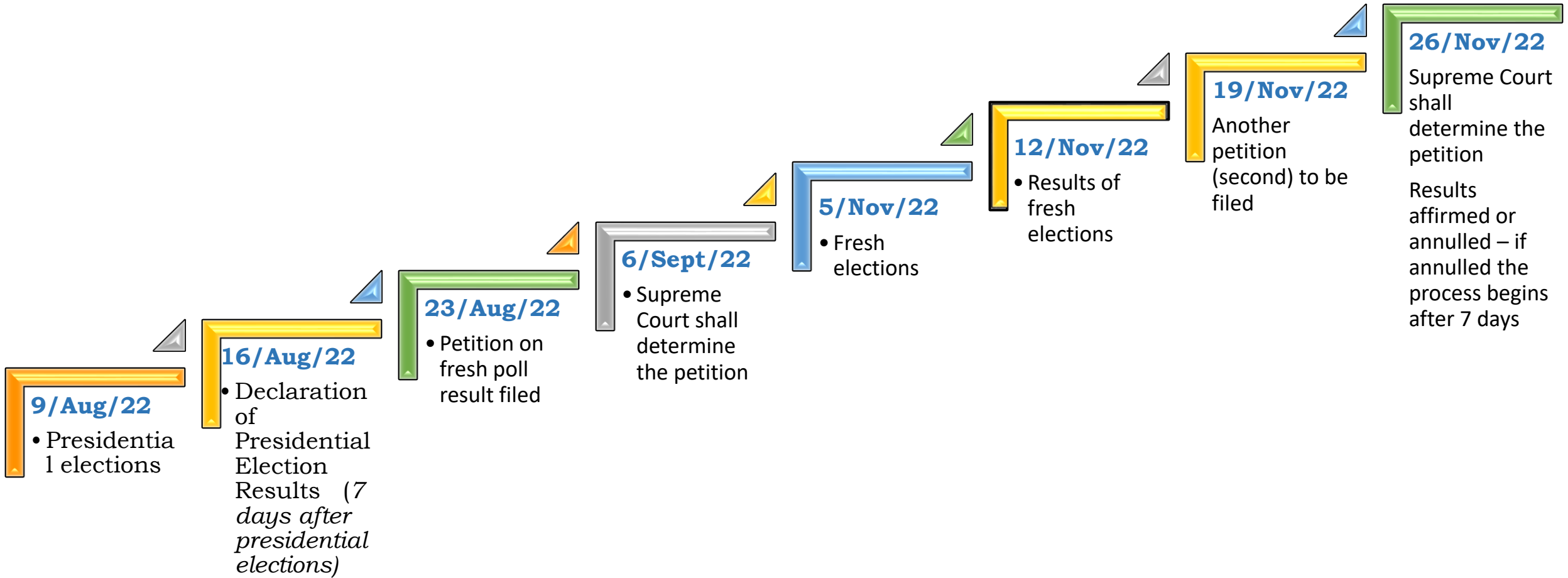
Scenarios 3 – the August 2022 poll is annulled



Scenario 4: Run-off results are challenged in court

- Elections will be held on 9 August 2022.
- Results to be declared on 16 August 2022.
- Petition on fresh poll result filed by 23 August 2022.
- Supreme Court shall determine the petition by 6 September 2022.
- Fresh elections by 5 November 2022.
- Results of fresh elections by 12 November 2022.
- Another petition (second) to be filed by 19 November 2022.
- Supreme Court shall determine the petition by 26 November 2022.
- Results affirmed or Annulled – if annulled the process begins again after every 7 days

Scenario 4: Results of fresh poll (run-off) challenged again



A protracted poll process will have impacts on the economy

- Protracted election process will mean deeper divisions along different lines
 - Ethnic and regional
 - Class divisions will be amplified during the period (the “hustler” vs “dynasty narrative”)
- Emerging conflicts will mean less engagement in productive activities especially in major urban centres
 - Businesses close because of fear of violence
 - Migrants workers in large agricultural areas also migrate away to their communities because of fear of violence
- Those who will have won the lower seats (governors, senators, MPs, and MCAs) will align with their parties/alliances.
 - If there is conflict, they will become the avenues through which conflicts get to the local level

Mitigating the consequence of a protracted process

- The election management/governance institutions will require to play a proactive role during this process to prevent conflicts
- IEBC will require to be prepared to conduct free and credible elections at each phase.
 - The IEBC will require to act in a transparent manner; communicating decisions in a manner that instills public confidence and trust will be critical
- The judiciary will require to arbitrate the disputes in a manner that will instill public confidence in how resolves the conflicts

Electoral preparedness

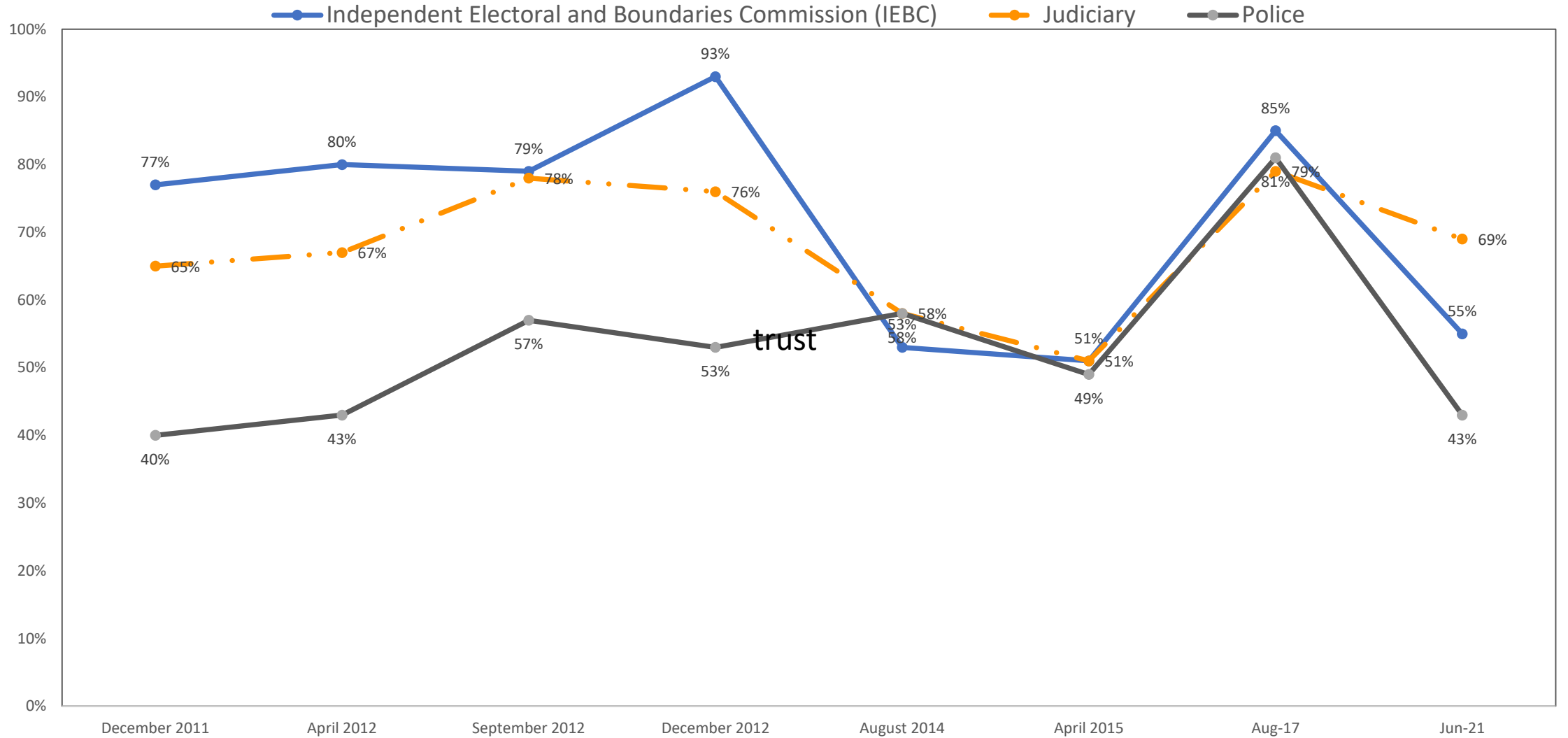


With these scenarios and datelines, is Kenya ready or not ready?

The state of institutions

- Public confidence in key institutions on decline owing to self interests and patronage politics
 - IEBC, Police, Judiciary
- Elites are focusing on public institutions not to reform them but to use them to advance their interests
 - Constitutional commissions staffed with officials loyal to the government
- There are few champions of public policy interests; self interests supersede public interests
 - Self interests are conflated with ethnic interests

Confidence in institutions as we go towards the next general elections



Part 5

Conclusions

Key issues

- The campaign themes remain diverse but there is focus on
 - Unemployment and need for creation of jobs especially through value addition in agriculture; and provision of credits to SMEs and organized informal groups
 - All parties appear to emphasize youth empowerment
- Governance issues are lacking priority
 - Corruption and rule of law; institutions of governance – among others are yet to receive attention
 - Public debts – whether to continue borrowing or not – is mentioned often but not in a systematic manner
- There is focused attention on devolution and service delivery
 - But this is not done in a coherent manner;
 - It is possible that the party manifestoes will emphasize increasing resources for devolved sectors

Final thoughts

- The following areas will form central pillars in all the party manifestoes
 - Unemployment,
 - youth empowerment (skills development and access to credit facilities)
 - social assistance (cash transfers), and health insurance
- Issues of accountability (the fight against corruption) will be divisive and therefore none of the parties will prioritize this
 - The DPs party is weak on this governance while the Prime Minister's party is coherent but does not emphasize the how
 - Public sector reforms are not receiving any mention
- The new few months will be critical
 - It is the period when the parties will develop actual content for their campaigns and policies

End