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Critical assessment of political pillar in Kenya's vision 2030: Emerging perspectives in constitutional reforms, rule of law, electoral processes and public participation in governance

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Abstract
The measure of the world development agenda and its focus is contained in what has come to be known as the United Nation Sustainable Development goals (UN resolution agenda 2030, 2015). In this, the transformative agenda for the whole world is set on firm targets, indicators as well as the wide expectations. All nations are obliged to strive in order to augment the process of achieving the sustainable development goals (SDG), which are the blueprints laid down to realize a better and sustainable future. These goals are meant to propel the whole world towards an overall growth in the social, economic and political sphere. In this regard, every country has been given an opportunity to develop a plan on how to firmly implement the SDG as well as how to monitor its targets through a formative evaluation in order to achieve the required development level by 2030. In Kenya, the process of realizing this commenced by the initiation of Vision 2030 (2009) which was developed in line with the then Millennium Development goals (MDG) which later in 2015, was transited to SDG. Ideally, this was meant to align Kenya's development agenda to the UN development matrix. One of the pillars of the Vision 2030 is the political pillar which focuses on creating political system which is issue based, people centered, and result oriented and accountable to the people. This emphasis was meant to bring about fundamental shift in the political landscape of the county. However, Kenya has remained volatile with little regard to the guiding principles of political pillars. The political orientation and direction in the county is such that the expectation has not been realized. This paper therefore makes a strong attempt to assess the achievements that have been realized in the political pillar since inception of Vision 2030.

Keywords: democracy, electoral process, participation, political pillar, rule of law, vison 2030

Public Interest Statement

This study endeavours to critically examine and evaluate the level of implementation that Kenya has reached in terms of the rule of law; the electoral and political processes, democracy and public participation, transparency and accountability and lastly in terms of public administration and service delivery. Being a Philosophical evaluation, both phenomenological and critical method will be employed in describing, understanding and interpreting various political situations as well as flashing out reasoned judgment regarding democratic governance in Kenya

1.0 Introduction

The paper examines, interrogates and evaluates the progress that has been made in political governance in Kenya. Its aim is specifically to look at the steps that have been taken in implementing the vision 2030 political pillar. It seeks to find whether the purported constitutional reforms strengthening the rule of law, electoral and political process, democratic goals and ideology and public participation in governance have contributed to politics that is issue based, people centered, result oriented and accountable to the public. The paper starts by contextualizing the problem of this study. It goes ahead to present the overall goal of Vision 2030. This is followed by an interrogation and assessment of the achievements that have been made in implementing the strategies and principles of the political pillar. Finally, the paper discusses the hindrances as well as the challenges facing the implementation of vision 2030 political pillar in Kenya. The paper offers a critical assessment before conclusion.

1.1 Problem Statement

The political landscape of Kenyan politics is not only worrying but also scaring and becoming complex. This is happening even in the wake of the blue print provided by the political pillar proposed by vision 2030. This situation calls for urgent assessment and interrogation with a view to strengthen the implementation of the principles and the key strategies contained in the political pillar. It is in this light that this paper endeavours to critically examine and evaluate the level of implementation that Kenya has reached in terms of the rule of law; the electoral and political processes, democracy and public participation, transparency and accountability and lastly in terms of public administration and service delivery. Being a Philosophical evaluation, both phenomenological and critical method will be employed in describing, understanding and interpreting various political situations as well as flashing out reasoned judgment regarding democratic governance in Kenya

1.2 Historical context

Kenya's vision 2030 is a long-term development plan which details strategic long-term objectives and activities that can propel the nation into a globally competitive and prosperous nation. This elaborate plan was initiated by the government of Kenya to spur development in all key sectors of the government with the aim of bringing the nation into a middle -income economy which could impact positively on the quality standard of life to the citizenry. The expected social economic and political development would by 2030 make Kenya to be newly industrializing middle term economy which can compete favorably in the global markets. Vision 2030 was officially launched 2008 after an extensive consultation was made with various stakeholders and partners including; the educationists, the sociologists, the politicians, the technocrats, opinion sharpers and the representatives of communities in Kenya. As it can be witnessed from the intentional naming, this strategic plan was given a time frame upon which the realization of the targets can be achieved. Based on this, the term Vision 2030 was coined which shows that the climax of the program will be the year 2030. Before this, the nation has deliberately involved formative assessment which is being done in regular basis so as to track the development attained by mid -way through medium-term processes to ascertain the progress made so far.

The Vision 2030 sailed on the early stimulus program that had been put in place dubbed 'Economic Recovery for Wealth & Employment Creation' which had been initiated by the government from the year 2002-2006 and had shown impressive results in terms of the bring the economic development a notch higher. The GDP during this period grew from 0.6% in 2002 to 6.1% 2006. This was the best growth the nation has attained since its independence in 1963. With this in place, vision 2030 became a augmenting program aggressively put in place so that it can provide a way to maintain this growth and sustain it although to 2030.

Vision 2030's landmark strategic proposal for the social, economic and political development was made in tandem with the MDG goals (8) which had been developed by the Millennium Summit of the United Nation in the year 2000. This was agreed upon and signed by 189 countries which formed the United Nations member states and at least 22 international organization. The goals included to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, to achieve universal primary education, to promote gender equality and empower women, to reduce child mortality, to improve maternal health, to combat HIV/ AIDS and malaria, to ensure environmental sustainability and finally to develop global partnership for development. The MDG (8) goals has 21 targets which was to be assessed based on the (60) well stipulated indicators. The achievement of this was to be met through the support of G8 which promised fund World Bank, international Monetary fund IMF and the African Development bank (AFDB) to enable poor states to redirect resources to the achievement of MDGs. The MDG goals were to be attained by 2015. Kenya realizing the importance of achieving the targets of MDG went ahead to prioritize the goals in its vision 2030 with nationally modelled measurable, accessible, realistic, and time bound activities and targets.

An assessment that was done by the UN on the success of MDG in 2015 revealed that the intention of this program had bone fruits. The program had impacted positively in the social progression of the people especially in removing extreme poverty rate and hunger as well as maternal health in many countries. However, it was noted that the achievement of the MDGs had been uneven in the sense that some countries had gained more others and there was a need to keep the program on with a greater global focus. Due to this, there was a need to think and focus more on how to build a sustainable world where environmental sustainability, social inclusion and economic development are equally valued. With this pressing global expectation being realized, the UN formed Global Consultation of sustainable development goals. This organization first in 2013 to think on the future of MDGs after 2015. In a conference that took place at Rio in June 2013 dubbed Rio+20 conference, an extensive consultation was made with various key stakeholders and wider world organizations. A process was put in place that saw the development of new set of Sustainable goals which could fit in the MDG were developed so as to continue with the thrust and the momentum created by the MDG. These saw the birth of Sustainable Development Goals. In order to fit into the world development framework and bring sustainable development in the whole world, the SGGs expanded the network of the goals into (17) with an elaborate and extensive target moved from the previous 21 to 169 targets. This was to be tested under 232 well detailed indicators. This has been hailed as extraordinary framework which could lead the creation of a sustainable and inclusive world post-2015 through its multidimensional framework.

1.3 Vision 2030 and its segments

There are three important segments that vision 2030 wanted to achieve in it worked along with in realizing the MDGs nationally. The vision unpacked three segments in order to concentrate and align its development with the world's development goals. The segment gave birth to three pillars of Kenya's Vision 2030. The pillars included the social pillar, the economic pillar and the political pillar.

1.3.1 The economic pillar and its projection

The economic pillar concentrates on how Kenya can strategically achieve economic development by 2030. It brought together the goals of related to economic empowerment from the MDGs and make it nationally so as to improve the economic situation of all regions in the country. This pillar projects that by 2030 the Gross Domestic Growth (GDP) should have attained growth rate of 10%. This can only be achieved if Kenya strategically positions itself globally with a strong competitive market value for its agricultural and industrial products. The sector which supports economic pillar include Agriculture whose aim is to create an innovative and commercially- oriented and modern agricultural sector. Tourism sector which has been the second income earner for the country. In this vision 2030 proposes to improve this sector so that it can make Kenya among the ten long-haul tourism destination. Trade and whole sale which is projected to raise earning to support informal sector so that it can transform itself into a large formal sector which is efficient, multi-tiered and diversified in product range and innovation. Manufacturing sector has also been identified as a key in this pillar. The Vision proposes to create a robust, diversified and a globally competitive sector by restructuring the industrial sectors so as to deal with raw material and support value addition. The business process outsourcing has also been earmarked as key strategic sector to help attain economic development. This sector aim at becoming top off-shoring destination in Africa by showing greater potential in offering employment for youth and young professional to start their career. Lastly financial services have also been identified among the key enabler of this pillar. This is aimed at creating competitive and highly empowered financial sector with a strong culture of saving to support Kenya investments.

1.3.2 The social pillar and its foundation

In the social pillar, the aim is to help Kenya's work toward building a society that is just, cohesive and secure. This is to make the people of Kenya and the communities living there to enjoy equitable social development in a clear and secure environment. Vision 2030 has strategically identified and prioritized 8 key sectors to enable the country attain high level of social empowerment, inclusion and security. These sectors include: education and training where Kenya has intentionally proposed to come with education, training and research that is globally competitive. Secondly the health sector which belong to this sector aims at offering an efficient, integrated and high-quality affordable health care system. The third sector is that which deal with water and sanitation. Kenya is among the countries that experiences water scarcity. This sector is meant to create better ways of taking care of water sources. Find suitable methods of harvesting and conserving clean water and improve sanitation all over the country. Environment needs also to be kept clean, secure and sustainable so that the future generation will have a country that is habitable. The fourth key sector which will help in realizing the social goal is the housing and urbanization. The vision project that by 2030 Kenya will predominantly have human population in urban centers. This vision proposes on ways to plan for high quality urban livelihood. Lastly the gender, youth and vulnerable groups. This sector looks at how they can make Kenya an equitable society where the youth, women and vulnerable groups including the minorities and marginalized can be brought on board in various sectors and participate fully. The foundation of this pillar is in the global goals where MDG emphasized on removing extreme poverty and hunger to promoting gender equality as well as improving health and reducing mortality.

1.3.3 Political Pillar and its Foundation

This is a pillar that touches the most fundamental aspect of country governance. it is the one that relooks at where Kenya is projected to be in terms of political organization, electoral reforms, institutional frameworks and legal and legislative process by 2030. This pillar is fundamental because it is by which all other pillars are organized and can be achieved. This is because if the political organization of a county is wanting, it will always affect the social and economic development of the people. The

measure of democratic values and space of any state is highly dependent on how much the political organization allows the democratic institution to work as well as the working of the rule of law.

This pillar forms the focus of this study. This study seeks to critically interrogate the progress that has been made in this pillar with a view of recommending possible remedy. Right from the onset it is important to note that this pillar has incorporated various goals from the MDG as well as the continued sustainable development goals in order to realize its expected deliverables by 2030. This ideally is to say that the focus of political pillar seeks to realize some of the global goals that are set out by UN for all world. This is important for Kenya because social economic and political development aimed by the Kenyan government must relate to those that are desirable and highly valued by the global world. This is to say that development matrix should aim at the world standard and this are highlighted in the current SDGs which are driving the world to aim high in terms of greater competitiveness and high standard towards the attainment of better and more sustainable future for all people and the world by 2030. The progress of vision 2030 should are interrelated and interwoven with those of SDG projected globally to be realized by 2030. Notwithstanding this, the political pillar despite harnessing the fundamental thrust from SDG goes ahead to identify how the political goals can be implemented in Kenya so as to create a country which has high level of governance with democratic institutions, process, and organizations.

The aim of this pillar is to transform Kenya's political governance system by 2030. The vision 2030 proposes a political transformation centered in an aspiration for politic which is issue based. By this is meant that the political discourse in Kenya should change from what is clan, tribal based, propaganda based, to politics that is issue based. Kenya should emulate western countries where political parties are well entrenched and founded. Western political party membership is based on shared ideology (secular or religious) and interests, and accommodates diverse individual and group interests. (Salih 2003). The politics of Kenya should grow to a level that it coalesces on issues that affect the people living in Kenya. The issue that affects the people should be the cornerstone of political discussion and political persuasion. The issue must be those that affect all the people and therefore demand public interest.

Secondly, the pillar proposes that in order to attain the intended political transformation in Kenya, political persuasion and organization must be people centered. By people centered is meant that the political organization and discourse in Kenya should be tailored towards people's needs, expectation, problems as well as fulfillment of their rights. Politics should pay attention to the needs of the people because it is these needs that should form the basis for development that is intended to be brought through political leaders. It is this basic provision that the people would like to be accorded to them through a leadership that is developmental conscious and driven. According to Rousseau, the government is formed so as to help people fulfill their needs which they could not otherwise fulfill in the state of nature where natural freedom prevailed. They form social contract and initiate a common society which is able to ensure all are protected under the common will and their needs are met. Even Thomas Hobbes identified that the reason for the formation of the society is to move from the state of chaos where everyone was in state of war against all to a state where each one is protected and assured of his needs including private property. People centered has another philosophical dimension that it is the people who should form the mirror upon which political leadership should be assessed. In other words, it is the people whose interest and aspiration the political community should be organized along. Thirdly people centered could mean that the people should participation and be involved in all matters. This ideally is to say that it is the people's voice that should drive the politics of Kenya and not any other voice or will. They should participate in making the constitution and even in amending key areas which are important in the constitution. As well in any policy, act or legislation, people should be involved and allowed to participate in form of stakeholders' involvement. Resource allocation is also one area that people should be involved.

Resource allocation must be guided by parameters that have been accepted by all people and those that all people agree. This is to ensure transparence in the process of the allocation because the people will have been involved to reach the best acceptable method to ensure equity, equality and social justice.

The political pillar also identified that the politics in Kenya must change to be result oriented. In the contemporary society, there is a deliberate move to a result-orientated dimension in almost all aspect of human sector. All sectors have embraced this kind of dimension in that they have prioritized more on the achievement of deliverable or targets. They are not interested with any particular process but the ones that can deliver results. In this case any process that can produce the most desirable outcome is thought to be the best. The political pillar of vision 2030 has greatly emphasized on this, so that they can transform the political atmosphere of the Kenya from mere words, propaganda, rhetoric, innuendos, and wishful thinking to an endeavor that ensures result in a timely manner. This ideally mean that result oriented political transformation should disabuse the traditional public administration model of organization which emphasized about a model where standardized prescribed methods and procedure and could not be changed even if it didn't yield any result. Result oriented is thought to have a high level of accountability. According to D.D Moyniham (2006), result oriented model leads to effectiveness and efficiency in public service delivery and creating of democratic institution that are accountable to the people. The adoption of this model in Kenya aims at producing a paradigm shift in political dispensation in Kenya which will bring about a stable political system which will in turn be a catalyst towards sustainable social and economic development.

The third aspiration that political pillar aims at is to create and mold Kenya's' political organization and structure so that it can be accountable to the people. By this is meant that all political process involving governance, leadership, public administration and public policy must be made to be accountable to the people of Kenya. Information as regards to what is being done, how it is being done and why it is being done should not only be made available to the public but also, the people should have a stake on it. Such processes must be transparent and open to the public scrutiny. All the people must be involved in the process of policy formulation, policy implementation as well as policy evaluation. Accountability is one of the democratic values that assures the citizenry that those charged with public power are also accountable to the people through organs that have been sanctioned by the people. This is particularly true when we talk of sovereignty of the people and the collective decision that emanate from their collective will. Ideally a transformative and progressive political system must be that which allows people to easy and freely access the government. This element forms the basis upon which the social pillar and the economic pillar can gain the required responsiveness to the needs and demands of the people living in the society.

1.4 Critical assessment of achievement of political pillar

Vision 2030 is intended to place Kenya to be globally competitive so that it can appeal in its social economic and political development internationally. As already stated, the social and economic development of a country is dependent greatly on the political stability in the country. This political stability cannot be attained without elaborate political transformation. Vision 2030 proposes to attain a political system which is issue based, people centered, result oriented and finally that which is accountable to the people. In order to achieve this, the following transformation measures were proposed to be done. These proposals were tied with the strategic activities and action plan to be delivered in a specific time frame. What is critical is that all these proposals were to involve cross-sectional of people from all walks of life either directly or by use of their representatives as well as various stakeholder and social organization. This was meant to build a strong ownership as well as commitment of all to the achievement of the proposals. Only 9 years are remaining to the completion of implementation of vision 2030 and critical assessment shows that some proposal on the political

pillars have significantly been achieved while others haven't.

1.4.1 Constitutional reforms

Kenya has undertaken major constitutional reforms. This is particularly true after the promulgation of 2030 Vision in 2008. The main constitutional reform that took place is the overhaul of the old Constitution and the creation of Kenya constitution 2010 which has been described as the most progressive, dynamic, revolutionary and transformative constitution in the world. There are a number of aspects that give this constitution such credit. Among them are, human rights, democratic values, separation of power, judicial review, devolution, participation of the people, and sovereignty of the people. The Kenyan constitution has undergone unwarranted reviews and amendments due to the dominance of the executive and political elite. This is illustrated by the fact that the constitution was amended 28 times from 1963 to 1992, each limiting the freedom of its citizens and widening the power of the executive and political elite (Roberts, 2009). This is contrary to the 2010 Kenyan constitution which limits the powers of the executive. It gives independence to legislature and judiciary. In Chapter Ten Article 160(1) of the 2010 Kenyan constitution says, in the exercise of the judicial authority, the judiciary, as constituted by Article 161, shall not be subject to the control or direction of any person or authority. The constitution reforms have ably dealt the element of impunity by bringing in judicial review of both the legislative and executive arm which is one of the greatest contributions that Kenya's constitution 2010 brought in. Again, it has been evident from the same constitution that separation of power has been entrenched in the constitution. Furthermore, the constitution declares that no member of legislature will at the same time be in the executive. This is meant to guard separation of power so that each arm is left to discharge its duty without interference. If one is a legislature, he cannot at the same time be executive minster because he cannot be making laws and be the ones implementing it. The rights and fundamental freedoms have been incorporated in the constitution so as to protect in such a way that nobody can be denied his rights because they are inalienable and universal to every citizen. Human rights and fundamental freedom have become a measure of human development index. These rights and fundamental freedoms are also emphasized in the UN-UDHR as the cornerstone of social economic and political development of the world. Lastly in the reforms, public participation has been mandatory in all governance issues relating to policy, legislation, laws, and regulations touching people's life. Equality especially: social equality, social justice has been made part of governance indicator and targets to as rope in gender equality, inclusivity and non-discrimination. According (Akech, 2011) even though there is legal reforms and new laws may not necessarily change the situation as expected. They may actually be used to strengthen the hand of power wielder, who often interpret such laws in a manner that enhance their ability to intimidate public servants. This really means that in order to achieve optimally from the constitutional reforms must be accompanied by comprehensive democratization order.

1.4.2 Rule of law

This is one of the goals to be achieved in the political pillar. Pillar projects that by 2030 Kenya will have attained lever of regard and adherence to the rule of law applicable to modern, market based in a human right-respecting society (Visio 2030, 2007). Any country where the rule of law is not respected the democracy of that country is compromised. People living in such countries become incorrigibly to injustice and discrimination. In attaining this aspiration, there should be a legal and institutional framework to guarantees the access to justice, judicial process and the safeguarding and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms which are set up in the constitution. In fulfilling this, all people regardless of their status and position must submit themselves to the constitution. The people should develop a culture where all respect the laws and regulation through upholding decent behavior. The government and all those who hold public offices are supposed to act in accordance to

the law. The question worth asking is how far has this been achieved since the inception of the vision 2030?

In Kenya respect for the rule of law has been a contagious issue. The people recognize the existence of the law, they are fully aware of basic laws which guide them in their external behavior. The law provides guideline on how public power is to be expended. The laws providing for the use of public resources and the procedure to be used but on this area there the country still score poorly. Individual who are in public offices have continued with the older behavior of misappropriation and fraud of public resources. The number of scandals involving misuse, stealing and misappropriation of public funds and resources have increased from 2008 up to 2021. In the corruption index, Kenya is ranked 124th out of 180 countries in the world (Transparence International 2020). Bribery has also taken root despite the enactment of laws to prohibit this unethical act. Research carried out has shown that bribery and nepotism are the most prevalent forms of evils (Ombati, 2020). For instance, the major scandals involving large sums of money have taken place during this period. In 2010 just a year after the vision 2030 was launched, the department of defense uncovered bribery of scandal of 1.6m related to tendering process. In 2012 the ministry of foreign affairs found itself in a scandal involving lack of strategic decision on the case of japan land offer which led Kenya to loss of 1.1billion. In 2017 the us government cut funding health funding due to corruption and the ministry was forced to pay back the money that had got lost. In 2018 the worst scandal took place in key ministries where country lost approximately 13billion to graft deal National youth, Kenya pipeline company, National Cereal and Produce Board (NCPB), National Hospital Insurance Company (NHIF). The same fraud was extended to the land commission where the 3billion was lost involving compensation of Nairobi Mombasa SGR. This was the worst year in terms of non-compliance to constitution of Kenya especially the Public Finance and Disposal Act (PFMA) and Public Procurement PPADA.

In 2019 the auditor general reveled the ministry of land could not account for 20 billion tax payers' money. This was covered but the books of account show this up to date (auditor general report 2018). This same year the scandal involving 2 dams, Arwor and Kimwarer made the country to lose 19 billion. The investigation was completed and the case is in court. All this was happening when KASA had been transformed into EACC with new institutional and legal framework to combat crime. Recently the EACC gave shocking revelation that annually Kenya loses estimated 608 billons to corruption. This is are a step backward attainment of political pillar which promised to steer Kenya to nation where the rule of law which is key in creating democratic society.

The rule of law is not only being disregarded blatantly by those organs that should enforce it. This has been manifested in various ways. Firstly, in 2017 the closing of three TV station because of airing the swearing in of Hon Raila Odinga as the people president after the contested election touched the executive in a wrong way. The court ordered the executive to open the stations as the case was being but the Cabinet secretary in charge of interior security and national coordination refused to comply with the order (Kenya 2018 Human rights report:18)

Secondly, the case of Miguna Miguna, who carried out the illegal swearing in was deported to Canada and his travel documents confiscated. When this matter came up in court for hearing, the court made a ruling that Miguna Miguna be facilitated back to the country and be given all this travel documents (Kenya 2018 Human rights report:19). This court order has not been complied. Several orders have been given related to this matter but none has been complied with up to date. The government has acted in contempt of the court orders a situation that raises fear and concern in regard to whether Kenya has made any deliberate steps and progress in fulfilling this fundamental democratic principle of respecting the rule of law. What aggravates the situation is the way the executive has continuously shown that it is not ready to accept fundamental principle of judicial review. This has been seen severally when members of executive lash at the judiciary after a case has been determined and it has gone against their wish.

Third, after the nullification of the election by the Supreme Court in 2017, the leaders of jubilee party led by the president lashed out against the judiciary. These words were used "Every time we do something, a judge comes out and places an injunction. It can't go on like this…. there is a problem with the judiciary and we must fix it' (Uhuru Kenyatta speech, 2017). This utterances and threats to fix the judiciary has been a subject of discussion in many circles about whether there is really separation of power in the Kenya or judiciary is an extension of executive. Some scholars have argued that the supremacy battle between the executive and the judiciary was reversing the gains that had been made in making Kenya a truly democratic state. Obeying of court order rulings and orders is not only important for the growth of institutions of democracy, but also, a sign that the country is transforming itself into a stable political system with democratic ideals and values.

Fourth, the president of the republic of Kenya once again refused to honor the court ruling delivered on the case which was filed in the high court concerning the delay in appointing and swearing in the 40 judges that had been interviewed and found suitable by the judiciary service commission (JSC). The president delayed the process for 2 years. While the president argued that he had evidence that some of the judges had integrity issues, he didn't not follow the rule of law in declining to appoint them when required him to table evidence to the JSC and go ahead to appoint the commission of enquiry to investigate each judge. Later, the present chose to appoint 34 judges and left 6 of them on the same allegation. Orders obtained from the court compelled the president to appoint all the judges. He didn't honor the orders. Some judges are still discharging their duties in their early position. The question that remains to be answered is how can a government refuse to honor court order given by competent court within its jurisdiction?

1.4.3 Electoral and political processes

This is one of the key changes that the political pillar proposes to be carried out in order for Kenya to attain political transformation by 2030. There have been deliberate reforms in electoral and political processes so as to create genuinely competitive and issue-based politics. The main aim here is to make Kenya a country whose political persuasion is not centered in propaganda, biasness, prejudices, ulterior motives, intimidation, witch-hunting, bad talks, tribal animosity and disenfranchisement of the people. The changes in electoral and political process were to incorporate several aspects. Among them are the deliberate setting and enactment of enabling legal framework introducing laws and regulations governing political parties. This saw the creation of Political Party Act of 2011 which was to streamline political parties and political processes carried out by the parties. It stipulates among other things; the process of registering, conducting, governing, funding and resolution of dispute in the political parties in Kenya. For instance, in order to avoid having ethnically instigated political parties, all parties were to have members as well as leaders who reflect regional and ethnic diversity, gender, and special interest Political act 2011, 7a, b). Members must come from at least 24 counties. The act also regulates the behavior and conduct of both the members and the official of the party.

Election is the process by which people make known their choices through a democratic process. It involves independent body that is usually charged with the responsibility of ensuring that the process is done, transparent, credible, reliable and verifiable. In any mature democracy the wishes of the people can only be expressed through genuine and periodic elections (Carter Center, 2016). In Kenya, electoral process has already been beefed up by the Independent Electoral Boundary Commission (IEBC) to make election transparent, accountable, verifiable and credible. For instance, the constitution of Kenya has declared that every person has a political right (art 38). It goes ahead to declare the democratic principles that should be upheld in the entire electoral system. It states that all citizens have a right to vote. The elected leaders in any public body must not have more than two-third of same gender. There should be fair representation of persons with disabilities. It declares that the universal suffrage based on the aspiration for fair representation and equality to vote in a free and

fair election must be assured (Constitution of Kenya, art. 81a-d). The *Electoral Act 2011* also provides how the registration of voters, election of office bearer of position of president, governor, Member of Parliament, senator and member of county assembly should be carried out. The nomination process is also provided under this act to ensure open and transparent electoral process. In every electoral cycle, the IEBC is required to set regulations and rules to be followed as well as the overall scheduled plan that will guide the election. It is provided that this should be approved by parliament so that they can be used for the subsequent election.

Accordingly, civic education is an important component of electoral process. This is a process by which citizens are instructed, learn and taught about the entire electoral process. According to the Election act 2017, the commission (IEBC) is supposed to establish a mechanism for continuous voter education and come up with a voter education curriculum to be used in all places (Election Act 2011 Revised 2016 Art 40:1&2) This may include the registration as a voter, what is the role of citizen in choosing their leaders, the best qualities of leaders, what qualification is needed for each and every office bearer as well as the process of recalling those leaders who don't perform. Also, the citizens are educated about bad conduct or electoral malpractices that they may be involved as well as electoral good practices. This is important so that the citizens are enabled to make right and proper decisions. Enlighted citizenry is one of the fundamental principles of democracy. According to Transparency International, civic education in Kenya had grown to 60% by 2019. With Covid 19 things have slowed down drastically.

As concerns the laws on non-discrimination during the electoral process, the government has made great improvement in terms of legislating the required regulations and rules to deter any inequality and discrimination. This is especially true in the Political Act 2011 and the Electoral Act 2011. In the Political Party Act 2011, it is provided that there should be no discrimination of women, youth and people with disability in all electoral positions (Political Party Act, 2011: Art 7d). The constitution provides that there should be nomination of interest groups to parliament, senate and well as country assembly. Currently the Kenyan senate has 2 youths and 2 representing disability (Kenya Constitution 2010: art 98). The national assembly has provision to nominate 12 members representing youth, women, disability and marginalized communities. This has boasted the overall provision of equal and equitable opportunities to all persons and communities especially the marginalized and vulnerable categories. Owour (3013) opines that, the objectives of a sound and workable legal framework for elections should encapsulate a number of things. First, it should secure the integrity of the process and provide the mechanisms for fair competition. This is meant to avoid creation of scenario where the group is not level for competition. Second it should set an adequate guarantee of the secrecy during the voting process to enable each and every one to make his choice independently without fear of intimidation (Owuor, 2013). In any credible election these issues need to be fixed in order to anticipate best electoral management practice.

When we look at this key aspect, we realize that even though there has been great improvement in terms of legal and legislative framework as well as putting elaborate civic education, Kenya has not made significant steps in actualizing the legislation and the regulations. To start with, the political parties which are supposed to be vehicles for accelerating democratic process have turned to be the ones obscuring the realization of democracy. The leaders of political parties have remained oblivious of the fact that the parties do not belong to them as they are legitimate entities to support and safeguard people's interest. Weiner, in *African Political Parties* defined a successful political party, as a party that is able to recruit and train its personnel, thereby perpetuating itself as an organization; win support (goodwill, money, votes) from the population; and maintain internal cohesion (Weiner, 1967:7). He saw political parties as an organization that is people centered and that advocated for meaningful engagement and support for the people. Political parties aim at making people to be heard and be involved. This is different in Africa where many political parties are more brief case parties that

have no influence in the social and political life of the people. Many of them surface during election whereby they are paid to issue someone a ticket to use to vie for a political seat. There is no goodwill that such parties get from people. They only surface during election. Admittedly, political parties are supposed to be organization that are permanent and dynamic. Always engaging and supporting their members in attaining political leadership and shaping governance. According to Hague *et alia*, political parties are permanent organisations, which contest elections, usually because they seek to occupy the decisive positions of authority within state (Hague, 1998)

In recent past, it has been realized that the political parties are based on ethnic or linguistic or regional areas. If you look at the parties in Kenya and examine their membership, you will get that many of them belong to a particular community. One can easily notice what community owns which party in Kenya. Political parties have found a way of navigating the Political Party Act 2011. They register people from more than 24 counties as stipulated by the act but those members are from one community who are staying in those counties. Secondly the official of the party, especially the powerful positions are mostly from one community. This is really to say that political parties in Kenya are ethnic oriented, and sometimes they are identifiable to an individual. Kenya has about 78 registered political parties as at 2021 (Registrar of Political Partis, 2021) However, many of them are briefcase parties which are used to help those candidates who have been chased from other political parties due to misconduct or failed to win in the nomination process.

The process of nomination of the candidates of the political parties has always hit headlines every election. This is because the political parties do not carry out party nomination in an open and transparent manner. Some political parties give preference to some candidates which favors them and gives them undue advantage than the rest. This culminates to giving of direct nomination to particular individual. This is common to those who are officials of the party and are considered the owners of the party. In Kenya, this happened in the 2017 when Jubilee party of Kenya and Orange Democratic Party could not carry out proper nomination in its stronghold and this ended up causing division and internal wars in those parties.

It is clear today that multiparty has not cured what it intended to, that is, transforming electoral and political process to become democratic. Instead multipartyism has brought actual and real patronage, nepotism, tribalism, political intimidation and political division and marginalization, lack of individual liberty, social inequality. In Kenya, this is manifested when the big political parties, especially the big two intimidate and suppress the citizens and even make it impossible for citizens to enjoy political freedom. They become channels of suppressing the voices of the people and end up being extremely difficult for the common people to be heard, to determine or play role in political processes.

1.4.4 Democracy and public participation

Democracy is generally a process by which what is being done emanates from the people. Democracy is the theory that emphasizes that common people know what they want and deserve to get is good and commensurate. It is the people driven process that is self-participatory and determined by the same people who are going to consume what is being decided. According to the United Nations General Assembly and Democracy, democracy is a global value based on the freely expressed will of the people to determine their social-economic, political, and cultural systems and their full participation in all aspects of their lives (World summit in September, 2005). In politics, democracy is that process by which everyone is given opportunity to express his views and opinion in matters dealing governance, leadership and public power utilization. At the heart of democracy is the concept that the populace chooses a government through regular, free and fair election. As regards to democracy and public participation, Vision 2030 aims at achieving a people-centered and politically- engaging open society. In order for this to be implemented fully by 2030, the following aspects have been prioritized. First,

there is a deliberate move to put in place the constitutional and legal reforms necessary to devolve and support governance at the grassroots. This is meant to make all people to participate fully in all processes involving governance starting from the making of the legal framework, its implementation and finally in the evaluation of how such impacts the lives of the citizens.

Second, there has been an intentional promotion of open engagement between government and civil society. This is to allow government to receive feedback on their performance and service delivery through various non-governmental groups who interact with the general population on various programs and initiatives. Civil society are known to champion good governance and democracy in the society. They are interested in empowering the populace so as to have knowledge on their rights, duties as well as what they should expect from their governments. They make them have the capacity to engage, participate and constructively determine the political life of the state. Robert M. Fishman, in *How Civil Society Matters in Democritization: setting the boundary of Post-Transition Political Inclusion*, shares the same sentiments when he apportions a strong link between the nature of civil society pressures and mobilization during democratic transition. Any society that has managed to attain a good level of inclusionary new democratic regime will always show it through the normative goal of genuine political equality among citizens O'Donnell & Schmitler, 1990). Ideally civil society's involvement in democratization is done using two major ways. The first one is through social movements where by various social grouping are brought together so as to champion for interest of the people. Second is by the involvement of institutionalized organization reflecting social interests. This will act well especially because of large network of resources which assist in dissemination of information and conscientization of people about their political rights. Both of these help to set the stage for the interaction to take place not only by shaping enduring institutional forms and resource endowments but also by configuring cultural assumptions and practices that affect political community (Fishman, 2019). The major concern of civil society is therefore to create more proactive and dynamic society which is able set both public agenda as well as public policies. This is what vision 2030 contemplates to achieve in terms of democracy and participation.

Admittedly, one of the most important aspects that support democracy is participation of the people or involvement of the people. Public participation is defined as the process of interaction between the government or organization and the people with the aim of making acceptable and better decision. It involves dialogue, listening, debate and analysis as well as implementation of agreed solution. (Public Participation in the Legislative Process, 2017). Public participation therefore is one of the fundamental principles of democracy. Participation creates political stability in societies and makes it to be able to absorb increasing levels of political ownership and acceptability of the new social forces generated by modernization (Randoll, 1988)

Kenya Constitution 2010 hold participation of the public as a vital governance and democratic value and gives strong emphasis on it. It emphasizes that this should take place during the process of legislation of laws and policy which govern the people of Kenya. (Constitution of Kenya 2010, Art 118(1). Also, public participation is emphasized during the national and county resource allocation, budget process making process as well as the evaluation of government performance in various sectors (Constitution of Kenya, 2010 Art. 201,221, 232).

Having said this, it is good to interrogate the level of implementation and transition from paper to actuality in regard to what has been achieved so far in the area of democracy and public participation in Kenya. To start with, democracy in Kenya is still at lowest level. This is because most of the legislations, and operational framework that has been put in place has not been adhered to. For instance, during election, people are not left to express their own democratic decision. Instead, there is a lot of incitement, intimidation, coercing and manipulation of the people to vote in a particular way. As a matter of fact, election is one of the most fundamental principles that show that democracy exist in a state. This is because through election, leaders are able to be chosen based on people's

consent and will. The collective will which is the amalgamation of the individual is realizable through listening to the voice of everyone. All elections that have taken place from 2012 up to date have been marred with violence. According to Democracy index, there are four main factors that must be scored highly in order for democracy index of a country to be high. They include whether national election is free and fair, whether there is security of the votes, whether there is influence of foreign power on government and lastly whether there is a capability of the civil servants to implement policies. Following this analysis, there are three levels of democracy the highest level and most graded is the full democracy, which is followed by flawed democracy and lastly hybrid democracy. A full democracy is attainable when a country guarantees, protects and safeguards the right to free expression of political preference and peaceful competition between different interests and ideas. Kenya has not attained full democracy neither has it reached flawed democracy as per the analysis. Kenya is at the level of hybrid democracy. This is the kind of democracy experienced by nations with regular election but such election is marred by potential frauds, preventing them from attaining s high level of democracy. Here, the government apply negative intimidation and pressure on opposition parties and those associated to them. There is wide spread of corruption that affects almost all aspect of governance. Corruption attacks the foundation of democratic institutions by distorting electoral processes, perverting the rule of law and creating bureaucratic quagmires whose only reason for existing is the soliciting of bribes (Ogwora, 2017). Generally, harassment and lack of Freedom of media is common in such nations experiencing hybrid democracy. Lastly, hybrid level of democracy breeds an underdeveloped political culture, low levels of participation in politics and harbors issues in the functioning of governance. (Democracy index 2019). Larry Diamond, *In Search of Democracy* shares the same sentiments. He contends that democracy must contain four critical elements namely a system of election used to replace government. Second protection of human rights, active participation of citizen in politics and civics and the culture that all laws must apply equally to all citizens (Diamond, 2016).

Human rights are contravened and infringed in Kenya a sign that the nation has not matured in its democracy. For instance, extra judicial killing in the hands of police is happening every now and then as well as unequal application of the law. In particular, political rights and the civil liberties of the people in Kenya has seriously been affected. There has been unlawful and politically motivated killings, forced disappearances, torture, harsh and life-threatening prison conditions, arbitrary arrest and detentions, an inefficient judiciary, arbitrary infringement of citizen's privacy right, censorship and lack of accountability which in most cases are involving violence against women. All these are happening in high scales and this is a manifestation that Kenya is among the nations where human rights have not been fully respected (Kenya 2018 human rights report: 2).

1.4.5 Transparency and accountability

Transparency and accountability are among the values and principles of good governance. By transparency at the level of organization or institution is meant the act of being timely, reliable and relevant in public reporting. This pertains to the overall status, mandate, strategy, activities, financial management, operation and performance of an organization or institution. This is to say that transparency is that process by which official business are conducted in a way that substantive and procedural information is available to and broadly understood by the citizens. Through transparency, the citizens have unfettered access to information on public decisions and the performance (Armstrong, 2005:4) By accountability is meant the process requiring officials and those who seek to influence them to follow established rules defining acceptable procedures and outcomes and to demonstrate that they have followed such procedures (Armstrong, 2005). The principle of accountability has a direct impact on liability of public authority towards the citizens by enabling them to obtain all information relating to their activities. Transparency and accountability have been proposed to be

among the national values and principles of governance in Kenya (Constitution of Kenya 2010, Art 10). They remain key values in achieving a democratic country that is able to be responsive and responsible to needs of the people.

Vision 2030 provides that by 2030 Kenya will have transformed to be transparent, accountable ethical and result- oriented government institution (Vision 2030, 2007). This is achievable not only through the creation of the legal and policy framework, but also by making sure that all people are committed to the realization of such high level of political community. Again, there is a need to deepen the use of citizen as a channel of testing accountability for all that is done which touches on public life of the people. The government has also put some efforts to raise the level of accountability which help to inculcate performance culture in the public service among the public officers and servants. If all people, including the public officers committed themselves to fulfilling the above legal and organization framework, then Kenya will achieve what is contained in the political pillar,

What levels have transparency and accountability reached in Kenya today? Are government institutions and sectors acting in a transparent and accountable manner? What about those who are charged with public power? According to *Transparency International Kenya*, the reason why such social evils like bribery and corruption are thriving in Kenya is because of high degree of opacity in the conduct of public officer and state officer that has the effect of excluding citizens from playing a significant role in demanding transparency and seeking accountability (Transparency International Kenya 2019). In election, transparency has been compromised when the IEBC fails to carry out a credible and reliable election. Transparency is needed at every stage and level during electoral process. This starts from voter registration and voter verification, whereby the exercise should be carried out according to the laid out rules and regulation and in full knowledge of the citizens. There should be unfettered access to the information regarding the votes cast, those counted and transmitted to the tallying centers, and finally the final tally for every elective position. Accountability also comes in handy because the entire process should be carried out under the established rules which define the acceptable procedures and there should be a clear demonstration to that effect. Despite there being proper regulations and legal framework as pertains to the electoral management, there has been gross misconduct and mismanagement of the electoral process from the IEBC. A case in point is when the 2017 election was declared null and void based on court finding that a number of the process did not adhere to the laid down laws, rules and procedures.

In the same context, today both national and county government have had opacity as regards to their operation, strategy and their actions. For instance, when the government mounted curfews due to Covid 19, the citizen where not involved in the process and the implementation brought a lot of repercussions to the general populace. Another case that the government has not been able to act transparently as regards to the famous Eurobond. This is in effect to giving information and right details about it. The same situation exists as pertains to information about the exact amount used in the SGR, the exact debts that the country has with foreign countries, what is owed to World Bank as well as other organization. Despite all these non-disclosures, the common citizens who are at the same time tax payers are the ones who will be affected when it comes to repayment. *Transparency International Kenya* contends that the cause of poor performance in transparency and accountability is that there is lack of political will. The political institutions as well as the political figures fear that if they allow effective transparency and accountability, they will be put into task for their action which are unlawful, irregular and unacceptable. According to Goetz, accountability must involves having responsibility for or reporting to other how you have performed or carried a certain function (Goetz, 2018).

1.4.6 Public administration and service delivery

Public administration can broadly be defined as the process by which the government plans, organizes, directs, coordinates and controls its operation. Public administration is a critical component of the government in that it enables the government to implement the laws and policies that are enacted. It is also important in ensuring that the social economic and political development are able to be met. The aim of public administration is to ensure that social, civil and economic and political rights are met. Public administration also helps in informing the government about the resource utilization as well as budgeting so as to bring development to the communities living in the country. Leonard D White, in *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration*, hold that public administration consists of all those operations having for their purpose the fulfillment or enforcement of public policy (White, 1926). Essentially public administration covers all the three arms of government, that is, parliament, executive and judiciary (Nigro, 1970). Service delivery in all sectors of government is sole aim of establishing a vibrant public administration.

Vision 2030, aims at creating a policy-driven and service focused public institutions. In order to achieve this by 2030, the proposal has been made for the government to establish institutional framework and necessary policies to strengthen public administration. An efficient and effective public administration will always propel a greater performance in its service delivery. Kenya has come up with ways to strengthen service delivery in public service sector. Among them is the new program for performance management whereby there is emphasis on activities and output that meets the goals set by the government in all sectors. This involves performance contracting for all the officers as well as the employee in each sector. Every department and sector is supposed to deliver designated targets by the end of particular period. The targets usually are aligned to particular activities and indicator. This has really improved service delivery. Another important milestone is the introduction of service charter for every institution in Kenya which has reinforced timely and expeditious delivery of services. Every institution is working towards making their service charter realization in their daily operation. This is supposed to be continuously reviewed to better the services.

Critical assessment of the progress on this segment in the political pillar shows that still the culture that had early existed among the people working in public administration sector where they didn't regard performance or result as yard stick for their service delivery still exists. This is happening especially among the elderly staffs and officer. It has become very hard to change into the new norm. They haven't focused strongly on achieving their targets. On this, Vision 2030 categorically states that there is a need to move "from business as usual to business as unusual" (Vision 2030, 2007:163). This is through the changing of work etiquette and behavior from the previous to the current. The current work etiquette requires extra commitment and overwhelming willingness to change things for the betterment of the service. Secondly, many of the sectors in the government has moved to digital whereby services are delivered digitally. This means that they need to have knowledge of information communication technology ICT which has been a challenge.

Lack of commitment has also been witnessed among the public administrators. Vision 2030 has declared commitment as a vital aspect. Without commitment from all stakeholders, this vision will not be achieved nor will it be realized in the social, economic and political pillars. The commitment among those involved in public service has not improved to the level expected. Today we still have public officer and civil servants who are not committed to service delivery. They want to be pushed so as to work. They are not self-driven in their work and often need to be followed up in order to work. Commitment by all will help in expeditious service deliver. In the event this is missing the quality of service becomes meager and compromised. In the ministries especially service ministries like that of land, water, health, education it is common to see staffs who are unenthusiastic and lackadaisical while at work.

Lastly bribery and corruption has increasingly been witnessed in public sector. Bribery and

corruption affect the efficiency and the effectiveness of the working force. Bribery has continued to increase in Kenya. Bribery and Corruption undermines democratic institutions, slows down economic development and contributes to governmental instability (Ogwora, 2017)

Public officers, civil servants as well as state officer has devised unique and sophisticated methods of receiving bribes which makes it very hard to be caught. This has made this practice to be entrenched deeply among the public worker. All these is happening despite the parliament having enacted Bribery and Corruption Act 2016 which attempts to involve private citizens in the fight against bribery and corruption by imposing the obligation on them to report all corruption instances. This is closely supported by Ant-corruption and Economic Crime act 2012 which focuses of making it hard for people to engage in economic crimes emanating from corruption of public resources. In this case, all public servants have a duty to question or even decline to follow instructions which are motivated by improper partisan interest (Lorne, 2008). This happens in a number of ways. For instance, despite the constitution declaring that employment, promotion, opportunities will be done purely on merit, competence and ability the public sector has not adhered to this (Constitution 2010: Art 232). This has ultimately affected the implementation of this strategic goal.

1.4.7 Security, peace building and conflict management

The UN sustainable development goals no. 16 is concerned with implementing peace, justice and strong institutions in the world (UNESCO, 2015). Kenya has mapped and incorporated this goal into vision 2030 second medium term plan MTP objectives so as to ensure that it achieves global development network. Its implementation is important and is directly linked towards achieving both vision 2030 and SDG. According to UN Security Council report, by 2018, 70m people had fled their homes due to war, persecution and conflict. Vision 2030 intends to transform Kenya into a secure country where the security of all persons and property throughout the republic is assured. This is a noble goal in the sense that peace and security is an ingredient of development in all sectors. The social progression, the economic growth and the political transformation cannot be achieved without security and peace.

To achieve this, the government has done the following steps. First, there has been an ongoing initiative to create a strong cooperation between public and private sector. This involves supporting and partnering on security related initiatives. The government has allowed people in communities to build police station and the government post police to ensure the community is secure. In the case of enforcement of the law in the security sector, there has been reforms to ensure that security is tackled form a multi approach. For instance, the creation of IPOA as an independent body which works with police department to ensure security provision is within the law provided (IPOA Act 2012). This has really mainstreamed police sector. However according to the research called out by (Awino, 2018) about the role created by the IPOA based on the IPOA act, the findings showed that the agency had undertaken various activities which are in line with its mandate such as investigation of police conduct, reviewing, monitoring and oversighting the police operations. The use of modern technique of receiving complaints had been put in place. However, the study also found a number of challenges among them being lack of enough budgetary allocation and lack of cooperation with the other agents.

Secondly there is need to widen the scope of security details by including community-based approach. This is an approach where the people in various communities participate directly in their security. Community policing is a model whereby there is an improved communication between the security sector and the community in order to deal with crime. Using the community to address various issues and conflict emanating from them helps in bringing everlasting harmony and transforms the society. In addition, through community policing, the community is empowered to handle issues that may cause conflict and create insecurity. The community supports the police in dealing with crime that is causing disquiet in the community. They support in giving information during investigation

as well as in sporting those who may be out to cause insecurity.

Furthermore, peace building and peace committees have been put in place to support conflict prevention, management and resolution. This is meant to lead people living in the same communities or of different communities to reach reconciliation and settlement in case of conflict.

Lastly, the government has put strategies through various governmental and non-governmental organization to create a culture of respect for the sanctity of life. This has been achieved particularly in terms of creating enabling institutional and legal framework.

1.5 Hindrances to the achievement of political pillar

From the discussion above, one will point out that Kenya has major challenges towards the attainment of vision 2030. It is estimated that by now the realization of vision 2030 could have been attained to 70% as the country moves to the last stretch of the medium-term plan. By now several targets could have been achieved so that the country starts thinking on mechanisms for long term sustainability. In this context, we notice quite disturbing drawbacks in the political transformation. In this political pillar the major challenges affecting the attainment of the goals include:

Sustained bad political culture that has led Kenya to score poorly in terms of political transformation. Kenyan politics is still clouded and clogged with what has come to be known as "bad manners". Politics has not captured the issues that are affecting common man. For instance, very little attention is being given to polarization coming from tribalism or clannism. Most cases the political discourse is revolving around ethnicity. The criteria for choosing a leader has become tribal and ethnic affiliation. Wherever an election is called, you will see political leaders regrouping people into ethnic communities. Sometimes they group ethnic communities which are perceived to have a common sharing agenda or common cultural alignment and persuasion with a view to Balkanizing them. One will galvanize people based on tribal lineage. It is not about personality, competence, or ability of a leader but one's tribe. In the words of Levinson, ethnic solidarity becomes most profound in situations of competition among ethnic groups, with the groups operating as interest groups. Ethnic solidarity is not certain nor constant because it does not exist in all circumstances but only when it comes to political swaying (Levinson 1994). It only happens when there are opportunities for members of a group or a particular community to accrue benefit through identification with their ethnic group.

Even political parties have taken that habit. People join a political party based on who is the leader and which ethnic community does he come from. This is a bad signal and it points towards political immaturity. Hague et al. argues against this and emphasizes that recruitment, interest, aggregation and influencing government are among the major functions parties fulfil in a democratic competitive political system. (1998, p. 131). Kenya's election is just around the corner. This could have offered opportunity to proudly exhibit the political growth and development that the country has attained especially in the political pillar now that the country has only 9 years for 2030 mark. However, as it can be witnessed, various communities have come up with parties that they call the *Esaiga- abagusii, Nyumba- Idisi – Luyhia, Coastalians, Simba- Luo.* These are recent coined words whose meaning has been smuggled to politics to fit a particular political concept. All these are happening alongside the democratization process. However as has been noted by Amundsen, democratization may lead to incentives for corruption, especially in the process of campaigning for election (Amundsen, 1999). This parties are meant to galvanize people in terms of ethnic composition and not anything else. This shows that politics in Kenya has not reached where it can be discoursed in terms of issues, result, ideology, proper representation, delivery, empowerment and accountability. It is simply on the nascent level revolving around tribal thinking, clannism, romanticism, propagandas amplified by a feeling of prejudice, biasness, ulterior motive and black mail.

Secondly corruption is not only killing the social and economic development but also is ruining

the political landscape. Corruption is majorly due to political endogenous. Accordingly, corruption has killed political landscape because it inhibits fair play or justice in terms of processes and procedures. Ogwora, (2017) contends that politician use corrupt political parties to get tickets, bribe their way to get elected and when they are elected, they steal and misappropriate public resources to pay back the money they used all way to the top. Elections are marred by wide range of corruption and bribery. The use of electoral systems that allow compromise and alteration of transmitted votes cast shows how corruption can deeply affect political processes and compromise them for a particular candidate for the exchange of power and money.

Thirdly, disfranchisement of particular groups and communities from voting has also been cited as a major challenge that as impacted negatively towards the attainment. It happens when they are totally prevented from voting or when they are prevented from voting their preferred choice or candidate. This in effect means that people are not allowed to exercise their political right. In this case, they are given ultimatum to vote a given candidate without which they will face untold consequences. This keeps on happening in Kenya especially in the strong holds of ODM party and Jubilee party. In 2017 in some parts of the country you could not be allowed to vote based on your conscience. You had to vote based on what some powerful individual said or dictated.

Fourth, and perhaps the worst among the impediments towards the political transformation is the impunity that has turned to be a culture among top political leaders. By impunity is meant the believe that one cannot be brought to book for his actions. This is because he is regarded to be so influential that he cannot be questioned about his actions. Impunity breeds a feeling that one is exempted from punishment or being reprimanded for his actions. Buenos Aires, observed that impunity is when violators of human rights go unpunished. For him impunity happens in some countries when there is introduction of new amnesty laws; in others, indirectly through a political and legal stalemate that stalls either investigation or prosecution (Aires, 2008). In Kenya, this happened when in 2018 the leader of opposition refused to participate in the re-run after the nullification of the first, and went ahead to swear himself as the people president. This was an act of impunity. He knew that he could not be arrested for doing this because his followers could cause mayhem and make the government unmanageable.

Political parties have abandoned their role of helping in shaping the agenda for political governance and political transformation. In a true democracy, the function of political parties is; first, to endow regimes with legitimacy by providing ideologies, leadership or opportunities for political participation. Second, it is in political parties that people learn what ideologies are best in creating social mobility, economic growth and political empowerment. This is, especially possible through well formulated party manifesto which guide and provide the vision for the party and for the people whom they want to lead. This has not been achieved in Kenya because political parties will brag of their ideologies and a manifesto but which are never followed especially when such party win election. This means that the political parties have a loose ideology and manifesto which are not anchored in a firm philosophy. As Randall (1988) states that political parties act as a medium for political recruitment, thus creating opportunities for upward social mobility. For him, political parties should provide opportunities for the formation of coalitions of powerful political interests to sustain government and have major influences on policies (Randoll 1988). This has not been achieved in Kenya despite the blue prints set out in vision 2030. A case in point is when many political parties came together to support Jubilee party of Kenya. They put together their manifestos and campaigned common platform of change, digitalization of learning, accessible health care, industrialization and food security. After winning election in 2013, they didn't follow the manifesto a sign that they only wanted a coalition so as to have the numbers and win election.

Having said this, it is quick to note that political parties will not transform as long as the majority of Kenyan political parties are still dependent directly or indirectly on public funds. In

Kenya, the party in power is hardly autonomous from governmental influence. This has been the case since independence. Kanu party took power right from independence. The actions and activities of Kanu were not separate from those of government. They were being funded by the government. When NAC-K won in 2002 general election, despite adopting the party manifesto, the running of the party activities was not separate from those of the government. It is difficult to draw the line where the influence of government begins and that of political party ends. The same situation is being replicated in the current government when there is a cabinet secretary in charge of implementation of jubilee manifesto and activities. While this should be an officer from the party, the government has hired a cabinet secretary and sent him to manage jubilee party activities.

Furthermore, the relationship between the parties and government is so blurred that the governing party tends to rely on the state resources to exact patronage and maintain the party dominance suppression. This happens when political parties claim to be the ones in control of state resources and are the ones to determine who should get what. According to Nyong'o, African leaders have a propensity to use state power and institutions to promote their own interests or those of their ethnic groups (Nyong'o, 1993). In this case, if a particular region did not support the party during election, they will be denied resources, development as well as their people will not get jobs in government. This is to say that political parties perceive the control of the state's resources and personnel as a source of elite enrichment. Due to this, politics in Kenya has been turned to be a means to an end devout of public interests through private gains. In Kenya just as in many countries in Africa political parties are sustainable only at the elite level because the elite depends on them to access the resources of the state. (Salih 2003). This has hindered the realization of the fruits of vision 2030.

Conclusion

The vision 2030 is a blue print that offered a map that could have propelled Kenya to a great nation, a nation of great prosperity and development. The intended political transformation that is envisioned by Vison 2030 is meant to bring about a political community that respect and uphold the rule of law; transform the electoral and political processes, gives opportunity to democracy and public participation, create environment that supports transparency and accountability and lastly ensure public administration and service delivery. With this, the political landscape could have transformed into issues based, result oriented and people centred. This discursive paper has shown that despite the steps that have been made, Kenya still lags behind the schedule in terms of realization of this particular dimension in the vision 2030. The paper recommends that all the actors should be fully commitment on the implementation of the strategies provided by Vision 2030.

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