

UNIVERSITY OF ELDORET  
SCHOOL OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT  
DEPARTMENT OF QUANTITATIVE SKILLS AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES  
SHUM 211: STATE, SOCIETY AND DEVELOPMENT

**Course Objectives**

By the end of the course unit the learners should be able to:-

- i) Explain the role of the state in the development process*
- ii) Discuss the socio-political problems of resource distribution in the process of development*
- iii) Appreciate the linkage between social stratification, external resources and national development*

**COURSE OUTLINE**

<b>Week</b>	<b>Topic</b>	<b>Sub Topic</b>
<b>Week One-Two</b>	<b>TOPIC ONE: Introduction and Theories of state formation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Defining of state/elements of a state</li> <li>◆ Theories of State formation and organization</li> </ul>
<b>Week Three-Four</b>	<b>TOPIC TWO: State, Government and Democracy</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Types and Characteristics of Governments</li> <li>◆ How state influences development</li> <li>◆ Theory and practice of democracy</li> </ul>
<b>Week Five</b>	<b>TOPIC THREE: Power and Resource Distribution</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Definition of society</li> <li>◆ Instrument of Power</li> <li>◆ Types of Power</li> <li>◆ Tribalism, Ethnicity, their effects on development</li> <li>◆ Origin and Practice of Kleptocratic African regime</li> </ul>
<b>Week Six</b>	<b>TOPIC FOUR: Ethics and Governance</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Integrity, Ethics and Governance</li> <li>◆ National, Values, Integration and Cohesion</li> </ul>
<b>Week Seven</b>	<b>C.A.T</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Continuous Assessment Tests</li> </ul>
<b>Week Eight</b>	<b>TOPIC FIVE: State and Social Stratification</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Definition of Society</li> <li>◆ Types and Characteristics of Society</li> <li>◆ Social Stratification and</li> </ul>

		<b>Challenges to Nation Building</b> ♦ Features of Social Stratifications
<b>Week Nine-Ten</b>	<b>TOPIC SIX: Nation and Nationalism</b>	♦ Definition of nation ♦ Characteristics of a nation ♦ Nationalism and its origins ♦ Characteristics and dimensions of nationalism ♦ Nationalism and State formation ♦ Role of Nationalism in National Development
<b>Week Eleven-twelve</b>	<b>TOPIC SEVEN: State in the International Environment</b>	<b>Foreign Aid and the State</b> ♦ Role of External Trade in Development ♦ State and Neo-colonialism ♦ Meaning and Dimensions of Globalization ♦ The State and Globalization ♦ Effects of Globalization on Development
<b>Week Thirteen-Fourteen</b>	<b>EXAMS</b>	♦ Revision and Sitting the Final Examination

- **Teaching / Learning Methodologies**-Lectures and tutorials, Group discussion, Demonstration, Individual assignments, Case studies of critical and scientific reading, writing and listening

- **Instructional Materials and Equipment**-Text books, Lecture notes

- **Course Assessment**-Examination - **70%**; Continuous Assessment Test (CATS) - **20%**; Assignments - **10%**; Total - **100%**

Recommended Text Books

- BethwelOgot, Ethnicity, Nationalism and Democracy in Africa (DT31. E84)
- Mimbi Paul, (2009) The Sources of Effective Leadership. Nairobi: Strathmore University Press
- Ng"ang"aWanguhu, (2006) Kenya's Ethnic Communities: Foundation of the Nation. Kenya: Gatundu Publisher
- Equality Team (2008) Cohesion and Integration Priorities 2008 –2011, Leeds Council City Leeds. [www.leeds.gov.uk](http://www.leeds.gov.uk)
- Samper David E., "Love, Peace, and Unity: Romantic Nationalism and the Role of Oral Literature in Kenya's Secondary Schools," Folklore Forum 28/1 (1997)

- Government of Kenya, (2008) The National Cohesion and Integration Act 2008. Nairobi: Government Printer
- Sobania Neal, (2003) ,Culture and Customs of Kenya. London: Greenwood Press
- Maathai Wangari, (2009) The Challenge for Africa: A New Vision London: Heinemann
- P. Ndegwa and Mureithi R.H, Development Options for Africa, (1981), Oxford University Press, Nairobi; Chapter 14
- Edmond Were & Maurice Amutabi, Nationalism and Democracy for People Centered Development in Africa, Moi University Press, Eldoret, 2000
- Todaro, M.P., Economics of Development, Revised Edition, Universal Bookstall, New Delhi, 1992.

## **IRD 200 – STATE, SOCIETY AND DEVELOPMENT.**

### **INTRODUCTION**

- The purpose of this course is to enable one gain deep understanding of the terms state, society, and government; how they came about and their impact on development
- State and society are two most important concepts that emerge in any discussion of liberty.
- However it is not often clear what any given person means by those terms.
- Part of the confusion stems from the fact the definitions can shift dramatically depending upon the theoretical approach of the speaker.
- Generally it is agreed that there is a distinction to be drawn between state and society.

### **Definition of State**

The word “state” in contemporary parlance often means the “Westphalia State”, in reference to the Peace of Westphalia of 1648 and is used most often in political Science. There are many definitions of the word “State” and the following two are some of the important ones:

#### **i) Max Weber’s definition.**

To him, “a state is a human community that (Successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory. This definition is important because it points out that the state is the ultimate depository of power in society which Mirrors Hobbes argument that once instituted, the Leviathan (the state) will prevent violent death.

#### **ii) Franz Oppenheimer’s definition.**

“The state refers to the summation of privileges and dominating positions, which are brought into being by an extra economic power”. In this definition therefore a state is equivalent to the apparatus of rule, and can be understood as consisting of a group (or groups) of individuals who work according to certain rules within a particular institutional framework.

From these two strands of thought, a state can be defined as “an organized political community, occupying a territory and possessing internal and external sovereignty, which successfully claims the monopoly of the use of force”

### **Synonyms of “state”**

Apart from the usage already mentioned the term state might also be used in the following instances:

- To describe sub national territorial divisions within a federal system as in the case of U.S.A and Nigeria.
- In common speech, the terms country, nation and State are casually used as synonyms but in a more strict usage they are distinguished.

- **Country** is the geographical area.
- **Nation** designates people
- Sometimes state is used to mean government.

### **Elements of state:**

Legally in the modern world a state can be defined as an entity, which has the following characteristics: population, government, territory and sovereignty (monopoly of force within a territory).

### **Population**

Each state has citizens whose number may vary from one state to the other. For example China has more than 1 Billion people while Seychelles has 40,000 people. Population of such states are not necessary homogeneous for they could be multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-racial. However some are homogenous and are referred to as "Nation states" (e.g. Somalia).

### **Territory**

There can be no state without a territory of its own. The territory of a state includes land, air and water. It has a maritime jurisdiction extending 3 to 200 miles to the sea. The territorial authority of state also extends to ships on high seas under its flag as well as its embassies in foreign lands. There is no fixed size of a territory to qualify to be a state. A state's territory could be as small as that of a city e.g. Vatican and Singapore; or as big as a whole continent e.g. Australia and U.S.A etc. the territory could be geographically scattered in an Archipelago of Islands- Japan, Indonesia etc or in far flung lands and territories such as British Falklands islands. The territorial integrity of a state is guaranteed under the United Nation's Charter and therefore cannot be violated through external aggression.

### **Government.**

Government is the institution through which the state exercises its power over a territory. It is the agency through which the state manages the behaviour of the people within its borders. The government may be monarchical, aristocratic Oligarchical, democratic or dictatorial – but if there is no government, then anarchy is the outcome (look at Somalia).

### **Sovereignty.**

Sovereignty refers to the capacity of the ruling class to make and implement decisions, which are of interest to it. It is a reflection of the power of the ruling class not only with respect to the other classes within the domestic environment but also with regard to ruling classes of other states within the International Community. Hence politically therefore, there is no absolute sovereignty e.g. A country may have a higher sovereignty than another depending on whether this capacity is higher or lower than in the country of comparison.

### **Principal distinctions between State, Government and Society.**

## **1. State and Society**

State and Society may be distinguished on the following grounds:-

- i) In terms of time, society is prior to the state. It means that society came into being much earlier than the state. Family and community are the oldest social institutions. Even the hunters, the fruit gatherers and the root diggers had their society, but the state as we know came much later.
- ii) State is just a part of society. The term society implies relations and associations of all kinds. These social relations have diverse forms in the religious, cultural, political and economic setups. State is just one of these.
- iii) The two may also be distinguished in respect of their functions. The society performs a multiplicity of functions in order to meet manifold requirements of man. The state on the other hand performs only one role – making and enforcing a legal order so that citizens may lead a life of peace, security and honour.
- iv) The most important point of distinction between state and society is that the state possesses the attribute of sovereignty, whereby it may compel and coerce others by the use of force. The society has no such force and whatever force it has it appears is in the form of moral persuasion.

## **2. State and Government.**

Though state and Government are identified when we study them in concrete or practical terms, the two may be distinguished on a theoretical plane on these grounds.

- i) The state is a bigger entity that includes all citizens of a country, but the government is a smaller unit that covers only those who are employed to perform its functions. The state is compared to a company in its entirety, while the government is compared to the company's board of directors.
- ii) The state is an abstract idea, whereas the government has its existence in a concrete form. The government may in a broad sense include all persons in the legislature, executive and the judiciary. In a narrower sense however, it may mean the administrators of the country sitting at the top level of a political structure.
- iii) The power of the state is original and primary, but the authority of the government is delegated and derivative. The power of the state is absolute on account of being a sovereign entity; the provisions of the constitution limit the authority of the government.
- iv) The state is a relatively permanent institution. It survives until its sovereign power is destroyed by the invasion of some other state. Governments in the other hand come and go. Office holders or ruling parties may be changed or even the type of government may change, but the state remains.
- v) The membership of a state is compulsory and citizens have no choice but to be members of their state by birth, on the other hand one may choose not to be a member of the government: One may choose to be a member of opposition party or a guerilla army fighting to oust existing government.

### **3. State and Nation**

Though the modern state is in a technical sense a nation – state, a line of distinction may be drawn between a nation and a state.

1) A nation is a group of people bound together by the sentiments of nationality. As such it has spiritual existence. The binding force may draw sustenance from the commonness of race, religion, language, culture, history and geography. But the state is a political entity constituted by the four elements: population, territory, government & sovereignty.

2) While most of the states are nation-states many others may be described as multi-nation states. The former USSR, former Yugoslavia were multi-national states. Most of the African states are multi-national states.

3) But the most important distinction is that while the state is sovereign and coercive association, the nation is just a group of people bound by ties of sentiments. For instance the Kurds of Iraq, Iran, and Turkey are a nation; they do not have a state of their own. The Zulus of South Africa are a nation complete with a King but do not have a separate state of their own.

### **ORIGIN AND HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE (THEORIES OF STATE FORMATION).**

Historically, when political thinkers have attempted to discover the essential nature of “the state” and whether it has legitimacy, they have looked to the origins of that institution for answers. The theories espoused indirectly point out at the justification of the state.

#### **1. Divine Origin Theory**

This is the oldest and earliest theory on the subject of origin as well as political authority. The entire world’s major religious treat authority as a creation of god. Christians, Jews, Hindus and Muslims subscribe to the view that the origin of political authority has a divine sanction. African communities have similar theories.

In the Old Testament of the Bible, God created the state (Hebrew Nation) to fulfill His will. According to St. Augustine & other church Fathers, the state is a remedy for sin. The reason for this according to them is that the state is a moral community – a group of persons who are governed under the same laws. It is out of this that they were convinced that unless the state was for ethical purpose, it was no more. Such a state without moral ties according to St. Augustine is a “Highway robbery on a large scale”. Furthermore, the state is seen as a corporate body whose membership is a common possession of all its citizens and it exists to supply its members with the advantages of mutual and just government.

In the New Testament, Paul in Romans 13:1-7 enjoins Christians to render obedience to the powers that be because they are ordained by God. Throughout the middle ages the view prevailed that the pope, was the Vicar of Christ on earth, and as such his word was gospel truth. In this way, the distinction between the state and religion

was blurred. The king became a divine nominee invested with all powers and only accountable to the creator for all his acts of commission and omission. In Ancient Egypt the king was the son of the sun –God “isis” and to the people of Japan the Emperor is still regarded as the son of their sun-god “Nippon”.

### **Merits of the Theory**

1. The theory explains a historical reality where in most cases authority is seen as having divine origin. Even in African societies, some people from certain families are bestowed with leadership because it is thought that the divine is behind the appointment.
2. It can also explain the presence of some modern states that can be regarded as espousing a theoretic system of governance e.g. Iran; as well as the middle ages Europe where the distinction between state and religion was blurred.
3. The ideas of St. Augustine and other church fathers can explain why there is a crisis in the modern state in Africa. For instance, insecurity in Northern Kenya characterized by cattle rustling is as a result of citizens not respecting the laws of the state. The same ideas can also explain why there is corruption, unequal development and distribution of resources. This echoes the words of St. Augustine that without the state being of moral ties “it is a highway robbery on a large scale”.
4. The theory also explains a scenario in the past when men obeyed authorities in circumstances when they were not ready to govern themselves.

### **Criticism of Divine theory in modern society.**

Some scholars have labeled the following criticism to the theory;

- i) It is superstitions and is not appealing to the modern times with advancement in new learning and enlightenment. The modern man and woman prefer to think that a leader must achieve his/her position but not get it by ascription.
- ii) The current generation is not ready to accept the fallacy that they have no part in the creation of their political organization, or that God prefers a monarchical system alone or that their ruler is not accountable to them for acts of omission or commission.
- iii) It blurs the boundary between state and religion and this can be dangerous as is revealed in the middle Ages where inquisition and intolerance thrived.
- iv) This theory is a reactionary (sees current social order as needing replacement by an earlier system) and cannot be appreciated by the people in the present age.

## **II. Genetic/Naturalistic Theory**

This is based on sociological or group dynamics. Here the argument is that the state is an eventual extension of the family. In these ideas the first group of collective human life is the family or the household, the last is the state. Aristotle was the first to profound this theory. To him, a state is a kind of community. He defines a community as a union of unlike persons who because of their differences are able to satisfy their needs through the exchange of goods and services. He understands the state as the highest level of development of communities because of the equality of membership in it. In this theory, a society of many families forms a village under a



king. Association of many villages on the other hand constituted a state which was an end in itself and a perfection of government because of equality of citizens.

On his part Sir Henry Maine in tracing the evolution of family to a state viewed a family as consisting of a male, his wife and his children. But other families kept breaking out of this family, still practicing the same tradition. It is from these breakaway families from an original one that a clan or tribe came into being. And it is from the tribe that the state emerged. This demonstrates that "from the earlier patriarchal family emerged the warrior ruler judge and as political societies increased in size and complexity, political headship and leadership were asserted and recognized as a significant form of social control.

### **Merits**

1. Can explain the presence of such political societies as nation – state e.g. Somali Republic that can be said to have originated from a common ancestor.
2. From Aristotle's ideas the state is one where differences in the citizenry lead to diverse goods in the state to satisfy the needs of citizens. This mirrors the idea that division of labour is crucial and this fact is a reality in modern Africa and industrial societies in general.
3. This theory also helps explain why states carry out national integration so that cultural differences do not imperil the co-existence of its citizens. In this sense national integration is a form of social control.

### **Criticism**

- 1). It cannot explain multi-ethnic and multiracial states e.g. South Africa.
- 2). It stands on social rather than political hypothesis i.e. does not recognize or espouse the view that states have emerged from the need of some human beings to conquer and dominate others.

### **III. The Conquest/Force Theory of the State.**

This depends on the assumption that the state is fundamentally the result of forcible subjection through continuous warfare among political groups. It depends on the premise that "justice is the interest of the stronger" and "might is right", war begot the king". It relies on the premise that man is a creature of lust for power that prompts him to display the might of his muscle and drag others into his subjection. From ancient times, the tradition has been that the strong has dominated the weak e.g. the male in the family, the chief in the tribe, the king in the state etc.

Among the political thinkers to propagate this theory, Jenks notes that "historically, it means the government is the outcome of human aggression, that the beginning of the state are to be sought in the capture of the feeble tribes and generally speaking in the self seeking domination acquired by superior physical force. The progressive growth from tribe to Kingdom and from Kingdom to empire is but a continuation of the same.

### **Merits**

- 1) The theory makes sense since most of African states have their origin in European conquests and colonization.
- 2). Before colonialism, some African societies can be said to have been involved in conquests for state building. Examples are the Nandi, the Wanga Kingdom etc.

#### **Demerits**

- 1) Does not envisage a scenario that conquests could be generated from within the state.

#### **IV. Marxist Theory.**

This theory claims that the state emerged due to the internal warfare within the society. The theory postulates that there was no state in the most primitive stage of social life as there was an egalitarian existence and hence no contending classes. The origin of state is traced to the invention of Agriculture and creation of private property when the dominant class came into being by being the owner of the means of production.

Since the owners of the means of production accumulated their capital through exploitation of workers, they needed some authority to protect their interest. Thus the state is not something that is introduced from outside as advocated by conquest theorists; rather is a society's internal development.

The views are advanced by various Marxists writers: Karl Marx, Fredrick Engel's, Gramsci and Lenin. All held that since the state is an instrument of oppression used by the dominant classes to oppress the class that does not own the means of production the state has germs of its own destruction. They envisage the state as withering away with the resolution of class antagonism when the proletariat seizes power. So strong was this view among communists that they thought the whole world would be converted to communism to create classless society.

#### **Merit**

1. Inequality in many countries in the developing world confirms the Marxist ideas on the origin of the state.
2. In many developing countries there are conflicts challenging those in power. A good case is in Latin American where the poor have become activists to wrench off power from those in authority. In Kenya, the aggrieved group like the Mau Ogiek further confirms the validity of this theory.
3. In many developing countries there is the presence of mass unemployment and this could mirror Marxist ideas of the state allowing the owners of the means of production to supplant and exploit labour.

#### **Demerit**

1. The state in the modern society has not weakened but has been strengthened.
2. Does not explain a scenario most often seen where a state is as a result of external conquests.

## **VII Social Contract Theory**

This is based on the idea that the authority of the ruler is based on some kind of agreement between him and his subjects. A clear cut and elaborate expression of this theory was furnished by the trinity of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke of England in the 17<sup>th</sup> and Jean Jacques Rousseau of France in the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Using different illustrations, they arrived at the conclusion that the state was preceded with a period without authority of any kind or what they termed “a state of nature”. The state of nature is terminated by a covenant whereby the people surrendered their natural rights into civil by the action of political authority instituted by them. The starting point of this social contrast theory is therefore a hypothetical state of nature.

### **a) Thomas Hobbes**

According to Hobbes, this state of nature is a blank page without society, state and government. It is a pre-social as well as a pre-political condition in which there is no peace, no collective life, no order, no science, no learning, no commerce, no navigation, no culture, no industry, no property, no arts, no letters, but all warfare and continual fear of violent death. Since there is war of all against all, man is the enemy of man. The life of man, under this condition was “solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short”.

To remedy this situation the individuals, agree to give up some of their liberties to another man or the sovereign or king or to an assembly of men. In this manner society, state and government are established. Hobbes was trying to justify the rule of King Charles in his book, - The Leviathan. He argued further that since the state acts on behalf of the citizens, resistance against the state is illogical because that amounts to the resistance against oneself and is as a matter of fact an attempt to revert back to the state of nature.

He was also of the view that if there is a bad law of the sovereign/government then the citizens are not the ones to judge it as such – judgment was to be done by God. Besides, he argued that religions and the church are subordinate to the state. To the Christian who felt that the government’s commands violated the law of God, he insisted that if such a person could not obey the sovereign he must go to Christ in martyrdom.

### **Merit**

1. Convincingly explains the need of state to bring order. Without a state or a functional one life is unpredictable as it is seen in Somalia, or post-election violence in 2008 in Kenya,
2. The modern state has proscriptions – mores that focus on disapproved behaviour e.g. laws that prohibit assault, theft, rape, murder and incest.

- The state also has prescriptions – mores that focus on approved behaviour - include, that parent provide support for their children, one must honour one's business contract etc.
- 3. Hobbes argues that the citizens are obliged to obey the law of the sovereign to prevent anarchy and this is mandatory for a peaceful social order.

### **Demerits**

- 1) The argument that resistance against the sovereign is to revert to anarchy is farfetched. This is because the resistance could be for a better social order e.g. agitation for multi-party politics in Kenya.
- 2) The argument that the laws of the state cannot be unjust is false. This is because some laws in the state can be unjust. Good example is the law of apartheid in pre-black African National Congress (ANC) rule in South Africa or the laws that supported Single party rule in Kenya.
- 3) The argument that it is not for the citizen to judge a bad law is misplaced in the current circumstances of a vibrant civil culture where citizen groups exert pressure to have a bad law changed.
- 4) His argument that the sovereign should disregard religions if need be is a dangerous idea that has made some leaders in Africa disregard counsel from religious leaders. Moreover it can lead to intolerance particular to religious minorities.
- 5) Critics have dismissed such hypothesis of origin as being absurd and impossible. A primitive people, without even a society could not have suddenly woken up and formed a complex social contract such as that talked of by Hobbes.

### **b. John Locke**

Locke starts with a state of nature which is pre-political but not pre-social. Individuals living in this state have society in the form of peaceful collective life and enjoy three natural rights relating to life, liberty and property. Society also has equality where each has enough of what he needs and not more than another.

However; man's degenerate nature, meant that this state of bliss was not going to last long because of absence of authority to executive laws and an impartial judge to give and endorse just decisions. In order to escape from this ill condition and gain security and certainty, man saw the need to enter into a contract and create a civil society or commonwealth.

Locke supposes the making of two contracts. One establishes the civil society where man surrenders not all his natural rights but the right to interpret and execute the laws of nature. The other contract is that of establishing a sovereign who will rule with the consent of the ruled. The king enters into this contract with the community and not with an individual. The community retains the right to remove the sovereign if he fails to defend their natural rights. In his work "Treatise of Civil government". Locke argued that the people would obey the Monarch, keep the law, pay taxes etc

that the monarch decrees on the other hand the Monarch should protect their lives, their liberties and property. Thomas Jefferson used Locke's theory when he drafted the declaration of independence.

## **MERITS**

The views of Locke are relevant to political societies in the following ways:

- 1) The laws of many democratic societies are products of constitutions which are sanctioned by the citizens.
- 2) Lack of absolute monarchies in most African countries at least justifies Locke's theory.
- 3) Democratic governments at least espouse separations of powers between the legislature, executive and judiciary as pointed by John Locke.
- 4) He pointed out that citizens had not irrevocably transferred powers to the sovereign. This mirrors the modern world where there are periodic elections to remove non performing leaders.

## **Demerits**

1. His theory is not convincing from the point of history since man has always lived under some authority.
2. The making of laws in some African countries is a tricky affair where the powerful seek to have their way.
3. In the day to day running of government in most African countries the executive rules the other arms of government.
4. Some countries in Africa cannot be said to have resulted from contract but rather deceit and coercion.

## **c) Jean Jacques Rousseau**

Rousseau draws a rosy picture of the state of nature in which man is neither moral, nor immoral but amoral, a "noble savage" leading a life of "idyllic happiness and primitive simplicity". With the rise of civilization and the institution of private property, however, Rousseau notes, this condition could not last for long. The reason is that the presence of private property created a sense of jealousy and struggle which replaced the condition of pristine self-sufficiency and happiness. To deal with this bad state, the people made a contract according to whose terms A,B,C,D,E (individuals) etc surrendered their natural rights to the collective whole created by the union of  $A + B + C + D + E$  e.t.c.

Like the men of Hobbes, they surrendered all, but unlike them, they put their persons and powers under the supreme direction of the general will. Rousseau says that "since each gives himself up to all, actually there is little that he gives up in fact, the individual acquires the same right that is given up. Man thus not only gains the equivalent of what is lost, but also acquires greater power to preserve what is left.

Thus what man loses by the social contract is his natural liberty; what he gains is civil liberty and the ownership of all that he possesses. Rousseau further adds that

direct democracy is achieved since sovereignty lies with the people and they exercise it in the name of the general will or good of all.

### **Importance of the social Contract Theory**

1. The idea of popular sovereignty and representative government: Through the social contract theory is speculative, deductive and imaginative, its real value cannot be denied. It did displace the theory of divine origin that had become a powerful instrument in the defense of kingly despotism. It thus provided a powerful instrument for combating irresponsible rulers and justification for resistance against tyranny. Out of it, the idea of popular sovereignty came out finally in the form of the representative government.

2. Removal of bad rulers: from the ideas of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau, the idea that the governors rule with the consent of the governed and that the governed have the inherent and primary right to remove their rulers whenever they become destructive of their aspirations, gained importance in a world that was hitherto reeling under absolute monarchies.

3. Inspired the American and French revolutions: The American and French revolutions were inspired by these ideas and the emergence of the American constitution after the Philadelphia convention was the first manifestation of a "contract" between the governed and the governor.

4. Enforcing Performance: it also explains the reason as to why modern industrial societies are putting in place other control and monitoring mechanisms to ensure efficient and effective public service delivery. A good case in Kenya is the introduction of performance contract in the public sector. For instance, a District Commissioner may sign a contract to end cattle rustling, which translates into improvement of security.

5. Combating corruption: The contract theory has also equipped the citizens and their representatives like the media, civil society, faith based organizations, to pressure those in authority to keep the corrupt out of the system we see this happen in western European countries and other developed states.

## **TOPIC TWO: STATE GOVERNMENT AND DEMOCRACY**

### A modern typology of political systems

The most common modern classification in western political science consists of the distinctions between the following types of state

- (i) liberal- democratic
- (ii) Totalitarian- Democratic
- (iii) Autocratic

## **The Liberal- democratic state**

The liberal- democratic system is supposed to possess the characteristics as outlined below:

(i) Popular participation and ultimate control over government by citizens

- This is supposed to be ensured by more than one political party competing for political power
- Regular elections based on universal franchise to determine which party should run the government.

(ii) Presence of pressure groups-This is meant to ensure further popular participation. Examples of pressure groups include trade unions and other voluntary associations which are free to operate and attempt to influence government.

(iii) Recognition of civil liberties-The freedom to form voluntary associations is defended by the recognition of civil liberties such as freedom of speech, association and religion as well as freedom from arbitrary arrests. The mass media is also free from government control and can criticize the government from various ideological view points.

(iv) Separations of powers-The powers of the central government ( or executive is limited and regulated by the law and by the separation of powers between the executive the legislative (the law making body which should be a representative body) and the judiciary which should be independent.

(v) Limited political control over social and economic spheres

Many aspects of social and economic activity are regarded as beyond the jurisdiction of government control. This implies that government should not regulate such social matters as where a citizen should live, how many children he (and his wife) should have; what religion he should profess, or how and where he earns a legitimate living.

In the sphere of the economy the government should maintain only a supervisory role over its operation and leave most decisions to the workings of a free market.

(vi) Liberal democracies are ruled by civilians who compete with each other for political power in an open and non- violent manner. The members of the armed forces participate in politics only as private citizens or else as pressure groups alongside many other pressure groups in society.

## **The Totalitarian State**

Apart from its provision for popular participation (through a single mass party), a totalitarian system is quite different (indeed the opposite) of a liberal-democratic system. The characteristics of a totalitarian state are as discussed below;

(i) Regulation of all aspects of individual and social life

All aspects of individual and social life are considered to be the political concern of the government and fit for regulation. The economy in particular is centrally directed and managed rather than being left to individual initiative or market forces.

(ii) One dominant political party

One party is politically and legally dominant. All legitimate political activity is channeled through this party, which is normally highly centralized, and the party provides the only institutionalized basis for competition, recruitment and opposition.

(iii) Official ideology

There is an official ideology (normally either Marxist-Leninism or fascism) which is upheld by the ruling single party and which, in theory regulate all governmental decisions and political activity within the system.

(iv) The judiciary and the Mass media are rigidly controlled by the government, and the latter case, are expected to "indoctrinate" the people to the official ideology. Civil Liberties as defined in Liberal democracies are seriously curtailed.

(iv) Terror is used, where necessary, to enforce obedience and suppress anticommunism.

### **The Autocratic State.**

- i) Does not allow mass political participation-The first and most important characteristic of this is that it does not encourage, or even allow, mass political participation through either a political party or voluntary associations/pressure groups. There might be a ruling party and even trade unions, but these are likely to be facades rather than genuine channels for participation or communication and are importantly used as instruments of control.
- ii) Lack of effective ideology-There is not an effectively articulated or communicated ideology. Many autocratic regimes lay great stress on nationalism, but in a vague and generally rather ineffectual way.
- iii) Resort to open force-In the absence of an effective mass party or communicated ideology, many autocracies regimes has more need to resort to open force and coercion in order to enforce political obedience.
- iv) Political power is less institutionalized (by comparison with an effective totalitarian or liberal – democratic system, and the basis for rule is found in either a traditional, political elite or in a new modernizing elite, the latter often being drawn in large part from the armed forces.
- v) Rule is arbitrary and often highly personalized with little respect for law or legal rights.

### **HOW STATE INFLUENCES DEVELOPMENT**

The problems of least developed countries are of such a magnitude that they cannot be left to the free working of the economic forces. In the early development where private enterprise is not fully developed, the government has a critical role to play. Areas that states intervene to spur up development include the following:

#### **(1) Changes in institutional framework**

Institutions refer to habitual practices in society. It is to a system of ideas, beliefs, attitudes and values that govern behaviour in everyday life in all the basic systems in



society namely, the political, the educational, the family and religious amongst others. Economic development can take place faster if there is rapid change in social attitudes and values entrenched in these societal institutions. For instance in Kenya the state has been trying to eradicate FGM because the practice is seen to be retrogressive since it has prevented the girl child from pursuing education.

## **(2) Social and economic overheads**

Social and economic overheads are large service investments which are beyond the means of private entrepreneurs and so the government must invest in them. Examples of these are railways, roads, electricity hospitals, educational institutions e.t.c. Social and economic overhead costs are important because they facilitate connectivity and hence make it conducive for investors to locate investments in certain places that would have been by- passed.

## **(3) Enactment of fiscal policy**

Fiscal policy focuses on government taxation and expenditure. This public sector activity is crucial for macro- economic stability and hence provides a conducive environment for development. Taxation in developing countries has traditionally had two purposes.

First tax concession (special consideration/exemption) and similar fiscal incentives have been thought of as a means of stimulating private enterprise. Such concessions and incentives have been offered to foreign private investors to induce them to locate their enterprises in the less developed countries such as incentives may indeed increase the inflow of private foreign resources although the overall benefits of such special treatment of foreign firms are subject to debate.

The second purpose of taxation-the mobilization of financial resources to finance public expenditures is by far the most important. Whatever the prevailing political or economic ideology of the less developed country, its economic and social progress depends largely on its government's ability to generate sufficient revenues to finance an expanding program of essential non- revenue yielding public services- health, education, transport etc and other components of economic and social infrastructure.

## **(4) Enactment of Development Blueprint**

A blueprint refers to a document whose principles guide the development process into the future. A good example of this is the Kenya's vision 2030. The document seeks to guide the Kenyan nation to be a prosperous middle income country by 2030. The blue print details three core areas to be concentrated on: political, social and economic. On the political sector, the country expects to create a participatory and accountable political system that meets the aspiration of all citizens. On social pillar, the country expects to narrow the gap between the rich and poor. On the economic pillar the state expects to tap the potential of all economic sectors –pastoralism included.

## **(5) Social development**

Social development refers to a type of development that creates harmony in the long run between the citizens of a country. This can be achieved through.

(i) Bridging vertical distances-Vertical distances refer to social distance between members of different classes (income groups) in society. Any society that seeks to have sustainable development must not create extreme income inequality in the country, since this may generate social conflict between those who have and those who do not have.

(ii) Bridging horizontal social distances-Horizontal social distances refer to social differences between different ethnic, religious or geographical areas. Any government should ensure that all regions have their fair share of development. If this is not done ethnic conflicts are likely to be experienced since those from developed areas will look down on those from undeveloped areas and the latter are likely to fear domination. Extreme horizontal distances is responsible for ethnic conflict in Africa.

#### **(6) Engaging in international Relations**

Any state should engage in international relations. Interstate relations is meant to benefit the country in the following ways

- (i) Facilitates trade between two countries.
- (ii) Enhances partnership in combating terrorist acts and crime that is transnational in character.
- (iii) Assists to combat the ecological degradation and global warming which are serious problems in our days.

#### **(7) Legal framework**

The state has a role of providing a legal framework through legislation. This is the role of parliament in all countries. Examples in Kenya of laws include: the children Act which seeks to protect children below the age of 18, the land adjudication Act (cap 284) which seeks to guide the process of ascertainment of land rights in non-adjudicated areas.

#### **(8) Provision of Social Welfare**

Social welfare refers to a system of benefits given to the poor and those excluded in one way or another from society. It is based on the assumption that the market cannot meet the needs of all in the country and hence the state and non- state actors should intervene. Examples of welfare in Kenya include free medical care to the under 5, free universal primary education etc.

#### **Negative influences of the state**

The state may not influence development positively. Sometimes the influence is negative and this includes for instance the following

##### **(i) Skewed re- distribution of resources**

The state may re- distribute resources in a skewed manner i.e. to favour the rich. A good example is where those that are politically powerful e.g. MPs do not pay taxes

and yet the common people are taxed.

**(ii) Exclusion in governance**—The state may exclude certain people particularly minorities in state governance. A good example is Rwanda where civil war is contributed among other things by exclusion of some people from governance. Example is where state jobs are given to members of a particular ethnic group or region.

**(iii) Corruption**

Some state functionaries are overly corrupt for they use public funds for their own use. Such regimes are referred to as kleptocracies (stealing regimes). One characteristic of such states is the formation of many committees to probe into corruption but the findings are never implemented.

**Note:** the above characteristics may characterize some states that are referred to as failed states. Other characteristic of failed states include

- (i) Failure to resolve conflicts within its borders e.g. Somalia
- (ii) Failure to meet the needs of citizens e.g. food insecurity

Government is the chief organizer in a society, coordinator, arbiter, manipulator, controller and protector. It is man's oldest and most universal institution of control and coercion. It is therefore important for the development of society. Without government, there will be a state of "anarchy", comparable to the jungle where there is survival for the fittest, and a war of all against all.

Traditionally, government has been seen as being centered in the operations of the executive, the judiciary and the legislature. The people especially the common man or "mwananchi" plays his role through his popularly elected representatives. The term "government" in modern sense is understood in two closely linked ways. First, it at times refers to a particular aggregate of persons each with peculiar virtues, performing certain functions in a particular society. Second, it refers to a particular set of institutions performing certain defined functions.

We can therefore visualize the government by and large as a body of persons and institutions that make and enforce laws for a particular society or state.

## **Characteristics of Government**

### **1. Total Authority over involuntary membership.**

The rules, laws and degrees set by the government apply equally with certain limitations in some instances. In democratic governments, there is no such thing as the chief executive (president or prime minister) being above the law. This is not the case in authoritarian regimes where the chief executive is usually "above the law".

### **2. Authoritarian Rule**

Government rules are superior to all other rules of other organizations within or even outside its territorial confines. The chief guide of government rules and laws is usually the national constitutions in the case of federal countries such as the USA,

Canada, Australia, Germany, India or Nigeria.

### **3. Monopoly of Life and Death**

The government can imprison, punish or execute violators of the law. This gives the government powers of life and death. Even though some criminal organizations such as the Mafia in Italy and Mungiki here in Kenya, often execute violators of their own nefarious laws, they are exercising illegal powers. Hence, if caught by the government, they will meet the same fate as other violators of the law.

### **4. Overwhelming Force**

The government is the only organization that can and does use legitimate force to compel obedience to its rules and laws. Any other organization attempting to use force to compel obedience to its rules and laws will be accused of taking the law into their hands.

Though governments may not be the only organization that uses force as seen above in the case of criminal gangs, still the degree of legitimate force that can be assembled by the government is overwhelmingly greater. This force is in the security machineries – police, army and other paramilitary organizations.

### **5. Legitimacy.**

Legitimacy refers to perception of rule as correctly and rightly exercised. Most governments seek legitimacy either through elections or other agreed constitutional means. There are governments however which can exist without legitimacy and these are usually the military or the revolutionary types but who eventually impose legitimacy on their governments. For a government to command respect, fear or obedience it must seek legitimacy. This legitimacy is usually through elections, referendums, plebiscites etc.

## **TYPES OF GOVERNMENTS**

The type of government in any state is the result of that state's history as well as its social economic and political realities. In this sense, every state is unique and there are therefore many different forms and types of government to be found around the world. To study types of government we need to classify them into three broad classes: - traditional governments, dictatorial governments and democratic governments.

Traditional governments: include monarchies, oligarchies, aristocracies and theocracies.

Dictatorships: include absolute monarchies, autocracies, one-party totalitarian regimes and military dictatorships.

Democratic governments: include federal governments, unitary governments, constitutional monarchies, parliamentary governments, quasi-parliamentary and quasi-presidential governments and presidential governments.

1. Monarchies-A monarchy is a system of government where the highest authority is the king, Queen, Emperor or Empress – usually called a monarch. Power is vested in one person. The monarch's authority is passed from one holder of office to another person within the family. All the people living in a country with such a government owe their loyalty directly to the monarch.

A monarchy can be either absolute or constitutional. In an absolute monarchy the monarch exercises supreme power; the monarch's authority is final and is not limited by any other institution in the land. Some examples of absolute monarchs include Swaziland, Saudi Arabia and Brunei.

A constitutional monarchy is one where the constitution controls the powers and authority of the monarch. A constitutional monarchy can be found in democratic states in which the monarch's role is largely ceremonial. All the monarchies in Western Europe and Japan are constitutional monarchies.

2. Aristocracy. The word, "aristocracy" originates from the Greek word "aristo" which means the best. Thus, aristocracy may be defined as the rule of the chosen few or a very small section of the populace marked out by birth, wealth, talent, status and the like.

Aristocracy has however not existed in independent form, but as part of the monarchy especially in European countries. In fact, aristocracy is a form of government that has gone out of fashion, and is not practiced anywhere in these times. It may be surviving in the form of oligarchy in several third world countries.

3. Oligarchy:Oligarchy is described by Aristotle, (the Greek Philosopher) as a perverted form of aristocracy. This implies that while aristocracy is the rule of the best in society; oligarchy is the rule of the base elements in society i.e. the most devious, wealthy and corrupt elements in a society. These elements are often being united by common interests to protect their ill-gotten wealth and fear of the oppressed majority.

Thus instead of gaining their legitimacy to rule through superior merit, privileged birth, social status and wealth as in aristocracy, the oligarch, gains power through deception, corruption and violence.

4. Theocracies:Theocracies are those states where there is no distinction between religious and state apparatus. The religion dominant in that state controls the government through its clergymen. The laws enforced in the state are religious edicts found in the Holy Scriptures. The ruling class owes allegiance to the religious or spiritual leaders and hold office at their pleasure. Pre-reformation Europe was dominated by theocracies, which owed their allegiance to the pope. In the modern times, the Iranian government is headed by religious leaders, with Ayatollah Khamenei being the spiritual as well as the head of state. During the elections, held in 2004 many candidates who did not follow the line set by the

religious authority were disqualified from contesting.

5. Dictatorship: Dictatorship may be described as a form of government in which an absolute rule of a single person is established by means of force, and where such person is not accountable to any popular institution or possesses absolute powers unlimited in duration and by any other institution.

Modern dictatorship is totalitarian in scope; the dictator controls not only the “government” but the economy, the home, the school, the press, the radio, the cinema, the church, and the very mind and soul of the citizen.

There are several forms of dictatorship such as one party dictatorship and military dictatorship. The most memorable dictatorships are those of Adolf Hitler of Germany (Nazi one party dictatorship), Benito Mussolini (Fascist one party dictatorship) of Italy, and Joseph Stalin’s (communist party dictatorship) in Russia.

- a) **Authoritarianism** – this is a form of dictatorship whereby those in authority stress obedience to authority/personal rule rather than individual liberty.
- b) **Autocracy** – it implies an absolute sovereign, a monarch ruling without restriction.
- c) **Despotism** – derived from Greek word “despots” (implying master or Lord). This refers to a regime in which power had been obtained by irregular and unconditional methods and in which the tyrant was not a legitimate or a hereditary monarch.
- d) **Totalitarianism** – means the concentration of power in the rulers and especially in the leader of the party, the total sub-ordination of all organizations to the state, the destruction of all possible opposition groups and terror.

### (iii) **Democratic Governments**

Democracy literally means rule by the people (From the Greek Word Demos “people” and Kratos “Rule”. Pericles defined it as a government in which people are powerful. Aristotle defined it as the rule of the many. Abraham Lincoln, President of the USA, designated democracy as “a government of the people, for the people and by the people. A democratic form of government therefore exists when its rule is based on the consent of the governed. This may be expressed by having elections at set times among other interventions that enhance the people’s will.

#### **Characteristics of Democratic governments**

- (i) Adherence to democratic principles such as protection of fundamental/inalienable rights examples of which include freedom of speech and expression, freedom of religion and conscience, freedom of Assembly and the right to equal protection before the law.

- (ii) Being responsible for the welfare of the people
- (iii) Having a system of checks and balances to ensure that political power is dispersed and decentralized i.e. federalism and separation of power.
- (iv) Have accountability within the state its institutions, political parties and private and civil society organizations.
- (v) Have ways and means in which citizens can take part in the decision- making process, which calls upon the need for a civic culture.

### **Types of Democratic Governments**

Democratic governments are broadly classified into three categories based on:

- (i) Type of state: Monarchial or Republican
- (ii) Dispersal of state power: Unitary or Federal
- (iii) Nature of executive: Presidential or parliamentary

1. Republican Government-It is government in which the head of state is an elected person, and not like monarchy where leadership is inherited.

(2) Unitary Government: - This is a type of government in which governmental authority is concentrated in a single central body. The central government exercises "centralized" control over all other units. For administrative purposes, the state may be divided into different units or even regions or districts or provinces. However, the authority exercised by these units is derived from the central government and can be taken back.

### **Merits of Unitary Governments**

- (i) It is efficient and effective form of government. Being all-powerful, the central government can take any measures it deems necessary without reference to any authority.
- (ii) It is flexible form of government since it is easy to effect constitutional amendments because it only requires the necessary majority in the National Parliament.
- (iii) It brings uniformity of administration and legislation
- (iv) It is less expensive as compared to a federal system, because there is no duality in the field of legislation, administration and adjudication.
- (v) It is best suited to a small country, marked by a factor of homogeneity in respect of religion, race, language and culture etc.

### **Demerits of Unitary Government.**

- (i) Since all powers are given to the central government, it may become autocratic to the extent of killing the liberty of the people.
- (ii) It crushes local initiative. This is because of absence of structures of local self-government that encourages people to take part in their local affairs.
- (iii) Local affairs are ignored as the central government is overburdened and may lack intricate understanding of local problems as compared to the local people.

Majority of Unitary Government are in third world countries where governments do not want to delegate power. This has led disastrous effects as seen in conflicts and skewed distribution of resources. In the West, it has been rejected and federalism adopted.

### **3 Federal Government:**

Federal government is a system of government in which power is divided between the national government and certain local governments units (state, regional, provincial) each of which is supreme in its own sphere.

#### **Advantages of Federalism:**

- (a) Encourages greater participation: In federalism, more persons can directly and continuously participate in local government than in unitary government. Direct participation by a maximum number of citizens in the governments makes for a healthy democracy and a strong barrier against tyranny.
- (b) Local problems get local solutions: Local problems have local solutions. Consequently, the central governments can concentrate on more national issues as the lesser or the state or regional government solves small problems.
- (c) Training ground for leadership in the state/ region: Participation in local government either as a public official or as a voter is excellent training for voting in National elections and holding national public offices. Most US presidents have got their training from their home states e.g. Ronald Reagan (California), Bill Clinton (Arkansas) and Barrack Obama (Illinois).

#### **Disadvantages of federation:**

- (a) It is a weak government on account of the division of power between the center and the units and may not stand in times of national crisis; it faces numerous crises.
- (b) A federal system creates a twilight zone that becomes a source of unnecessary complexity and confusion. There is duplicity of legislation, administration, taxation, adjudication and the like.
- (c) The process on constitutional amendment is so rigid and cumbersome, that it is virtually impossible. In case of USA and Switzerland, apart from amendment being affected in both houses of parliament, it must be ratified by more than half of the states or cantons. On top of that, in the case of Switzerland, it must be subjected to a referendum.
- (d) There is constant fear of political disintegration, as happened in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

### **4. Parliamentary Government**

It is the system of government in which the real executive or the Ministry is immediately and legally responsible to the legislature or one branch of it (usually the more popular chamber) for its political policies and acts. Sir Ivor Jennings describes it as cabinet government, while Richard Crossman refers to it as Prime Ministerial government.



Thus the life of government begins and ends in parliament. The party or coalition of parties that gets majority of members in the legislature forms the government, while the other party or parties in minority becomes a loyal opposition.

Most of the governments are parliamentary especially in Europe such as United Kingdom, Canada, Germany, Italy, Sweden, and India.

Parliamentary government is characterized by among others:

- i) A nominal head of state – The president or monarch has no real authority, and though all state powers are exercised in his name or authority, the real power lies in the council of ministers as lead by the Prime Minister.
- ii) Leadership of the prime minister – Though it emphasizes cabinet (corporate) decision making process in which the prime minister is first among equals – the personality of the prime minister becomes as crucial as that of the president as in presidential system.
- iii) Accountability to parliament – The ministers are individually and collectively responsible to parliament. This means they can continue in office as long as they enjoy the confidence of parliament.
- iv) Sound and effective opposition is a pre-requisite for the effective performance of parliamentary system of government.

## **5. Presidential System of Government**

It is that system in which the executive (including both the head of state and his ministers) is constitutionally independent of the legislature in respect to the duration of his or their tenure and irresponsible to it for his or their policies. In other words, the president is not a member of legislature.

The chief characteristic of the presidential form of government is the existence of a powerful executive (called the president) who enjoys a fixed term. His enormous powers virtually remains unchecked and his position remains unchallenged as the process of impeachment by which he can be removed is deliberately made very difficult. The relative “security” of the president’s tenure, coupled with the enormous powers at his disposal might make the president to be a “dictator” but parliament which is not controlled by the president becomes a check of the presidential power in developed democracies.

The most classical representation of presidential system at work is the U. S. A. where the legislature is called Congress. Other countries include South Korea, Taiwan, and Philippines. As alluded, this type of government to work, there should be separation of powers between the executive, judiciary and legislative, otherwise the president can become a dictator.

## **6. Coalition Government**

Coalition government is system in which political parties share positions in the government. This happens when no political party gets an outright majority to form a government on its own after a general election. Coalitions may be forged before or after a general election. Coalitions formed before elections are more stable compared to those formed after. Examples of countries that have had coalition governments include Germany (SPD and Greens), France (De Gaulle's parties), Kenya, Zimbabwe etc.

## **7. Government of National Unity**

A government of National Unity comprises of different political parties representing different interests, it is formed when there is a national crisis such as breakdown of constitutional machinery. It is usually made of all political parties and as many politically interested groups as possible. Examples of countries that have had governments of national unity are Britain during the Second World War and South Africa, after the end of apartheid.

## **FEATURES OF A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT**

### **1. Criteria for Democratic elections**

- a) Must be competitive-Simply permitting the opposition access to the ballot is not enough- Elections in which the opposition is barred from contacting its rallies and harassed, is not democratic. The ruling party may enjoy the advantages of incumbency but the rules and conduct of the election contest must be fair.
- b) Must be periodic-Democratic elections should be periodic. Elected officials are accountable to the people, and they must return to the voters at prescribed intervals to seek their mandate to continue in office. This means that officials in a democracy must accept the risk of being voted out.
- c) Must be inclusive-A government chosen by a small, exclusive group is not a democracy – no matter how democratic its internal workings may appear. One of the great dramas of democracy throughout history has been the struggle of excluded groups – whether racial, ethnic or religious minorities or women to have full citizenship and with it the right to hold office. For instance, in the U.S.A women got a right to vote in 1920. Black Americans however only enjoyed full voting rights in the Southern United States of America as a result of the Civil rights movement of the 1960s. In 1971, voting age was lowered from 21 years of age to 18.
- d) Should be definite-Popularly elected representatives hold the reins of power as determined by the laws and constitution of the country. They are not simply figureheads or symbolic leaders.

### **2. The rule of law**

In a democratic state there should be rule based on the law. This can be realized by practicing equality before the law, due process, and constitutionality.

a) Equality before the law-Any democratic state there should practice equality before the law to its citizens. Whether rich or poor, ethnic majority or minority, political ally of the state or opponent – all are entitled to equal protection before the law. No one should be above the law. The citizens of a democracy submit to the law because they recognize that, however indirect, that they are submitting to themselves as the makers of the law. When laws are established by the people who then have to obey them, both law and democracy are served.

b) Due process: refers to adherence to procedure in the adjudication process or administration of justice. In every society throughout history, those who administer the criminal justice system hold power with the potential for abuse and tyranny. In the name of the state, individuals have been imprisoned, often without any formal charges ever being brought. No democratic system can tolerate such abuses. Every state must have the power to maintain order and punish criminal acts, but the rules and procedures by which the state enforces its laws must be public and explicit, not secret, arbitrary or subject to political manipulation by the state. For instance,

a) No one's home should be broken into and searched by the police without a court order showing that there is good cause for such a search. The midnight knock of the secret police has no place in a democracy.

b) No person shall be held under arrest without explicit written charges that specify the alleged violation.

c) Persons charged with crimes should not be held for protracted periods in prison.

d) The authorities are required to grant bail, or conditional release, to the accused pending trial if there is little likelihood that the suspect will flee or commit other crimes.

e) Persons should not be subject to double jeopardy i.e. should not be judged with the same crime twice.

c) Constitutionality-Democratic governments rest on constitutions. The constitution of the country is the supreme law of the land and all citizens; prime ministers to peasants alike are subject to its provisions. At a minimum, the constitution, which is usually codified in a single written document, establishes the authority of the national government, provides guarantees for fundamental human rights, and sets forth the governments basic operating procedures. But constitutions must be capable of change and adaptation if they are to be relevant to the changing times.

### **3. Promotion of Human Rights**

Any democratic state must promote inalienable human rights among which are life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. Others include freedom of speech and expression, freedom of religion and conscience, freedom of assembly and the right to equal protection before the law. These are the core rights that any democratic governments must uphold. Since they exist independently of the government, these rights cannot be legislated away, nor are they subject to the momentary whim of an electoral majority. Hence individuals may be free when their government is not.

Freedom of speech and expression is the lifeblood of any democracy. To debate and

vote, to assembly and protect, to worship, to ensure justice for all- those all rely on the unrestricted flow of speech and information. Citizens of a democracy live with the conviction that through open exchange of ideas and opinions, truth will eventually win over falsehood, the values of others will be better understood areas of compromise more clearly defined and the path of progress opened.

Freedom of religion or more profoundly freedom of conscience means that no person should be required to process any religion or other belief against his or her desires. Additionally, no one should be punished or penalized in any way because he or she chooses one religion over another or indeed opts for no religion. The democratic state recognizes that a person's religious faith is profoundly a personal matter. By reason of long history or tradition, many democratic nations have officially established churches or religions that rely on state support. This fact however, does not relieve the government of the responsibility for protecting the freedom of individuals whose beliefs differ from that of the officially sanctioned religion.

#### **4. Pluralism**

Democracy is more than a set of constitutional rules and procedures that determines how government functions. In a democracy, government is only one element coexisting in a social fabric of many and varied institutions, political parties, organizations and associations. This diversity is called pluralism, and it assumes that the many organized groups and institutions in a democratic society do not depend upon the government for their existence, legitimate and authority. Citizens of democratic societies have the opportunities to join those organizations many of which are involved in public policy.

The right of individuals to associate freely and to organize themselves into different sorts of these organizations is fundamental to democracy. For instance, when people of common interests bond together, their voices can be heard and their chances of influencing the political debate increased. Alexis de Tocqueville, the great 19<sup>th</sup> Century French political observer wrote "there are no countries in which association are more needed to prevent the despotism of action or the arbitrary power of a prince than those which are democratically constituted.

#### **Classification of Myriad groups in democratic societies**

##### **a) Interest groups/ lobbies**

These function primarily to pressure government which regard to particular issues. For instance private interest groups such as business associations, professional groups or labourunions usually have an economic stake in the policies they advocate, although they may also take public positions on issues far outside their area of specialization

**(b)Public interest groups.** These seek what they perceive to be a public or collective good. Examples are environmental and social welfare organization.

In an authoritarian society all such organization would be controlled, licensed, watched, or otherwise accountable to the government.

c) Political parties

These provide structure and rules for the society's political debate. It ensures that there is criticism and alternative policy that brings innovation for instance when NARC come to power CDF fund was introduced.

**4. Protest.**-In a democratic society, citizens have a right to peacefully protest against the policies of their government or the actions of other groups with demonstration, marches, petitions, boycotts, strikes and other forms of direct citizen action. Direct action is open to everyone in a democracy but traditionally has been used by oppressed disadvantaged or minority groups who feel excluded from other means of influencing government policies.

**5.The News Media.** The News Media in a democracy is important since to govern is to communicate.

**Functions of news media in a democracy.**

i) To inform and educate. To make intelligent decisions about public policy, people need accurate, timely and unbiased information.

ii) To act as watchdog over government and other powerful institutions in society. The media hold to a standard of independence and objectivity, (however imperfectly) and so can expose the truth behind the claims of government and hold public officials accountable for their actions.

iii) Take part in public debate. Through additional or investigate reporting, the media can campaign for specific policies or reforms that they feel should be enacted. They can also serve as forums for organization and individuals to express their opinions through letters to the editors and the printing of articles with divergent points of view.

iv) Setting the agenda

The media can't report everything. The news media must choose which issues to report and which ones not.

**TOPIC THREE: POWER AND INFLUENCE OVER RESOURCE DISTRIBUTION**

In this part the concern is with instruments of power, source of power how state power is used in resource distribution and the origin and practice of kleptocratic regimes of Africa.

Power literally means the possibility of imposing one's will upon the behaviour of other persons. The greater the capacity to impose such a will and achieve the related purpose, the greater the power. Power could be pursued for selfish interests or for the good of the larger community. Those involved in seeking power for the good of all citizens are called statesmen/stateswomen, while those who pursue power for their selfish ends are politicians.

**Instruments of power (Tools of power)**

(a) **Condign power**-This is power that is based on coercion to win submission.

Condign power has an ancient and established relationship to physical punishment, detention under variously uncomfortable conditions or to inflicting pain, mutilation and other imaginative torture or death. For instance in Kenya, those that agitated for multi-party politics were detained under president Moi's government. Consequently many accepted the single party politics out of fear of detention.

**(b) Compensatory power** - This is an instrument of power that wins submission by the offer of affirmative award by giving something of value to the individuals submitting. In earlier stages of economic development or in rural economies, compensation could be in kind, for instance bestowing the right to work on a plot of land. The same payment could be made in the form of money. Compensatory power is also won through praise. It offers the individual a reward or payment sufficiently and advantageous or agreeable so that one foregoes pursuit of his own preferences to seek reward instead. The key word in compensatory power is incentive, tax policy, monetary policy, wage and labour policy etc.

**c) Conditioned power** - This is the instrument of power exercised in a subtle manner and aims at winning submission through changing belief, persuasion, education or social commitment to what seems natural, proper right, causes the individual to submit to the will of another or of others. The fact of submission is not immediately recognized, as the process of effecting submission is subtle. Explicit conditioning is done through persuasion or education through schools, print or electronic media. Implicit conditioning is done through or dictated by culture. The submission is considered normal or traditionally correct.

To achieve desired results, these instruments of power need to be mixed. Most African countries have however relied on Condign power is not very much used but conditioned power is the most used instrument.

### **Sources of power**

**1. Personality:** personality refers to the behavioural and mental characteristics that makes one unique or attracted to other people. It is the quality of physique, mind and speech, moral certainty that gives accessibility to one or more of the instruments of power. Personality has an original and long standing association with condign power particularly physical strength- the commanding figures. However, personality is not solely limited to condign power. It has relationship with compensatory or conditioned power in form of property or organization.

Effective personality wins submissions by persuasion- by cultivating belief, by exercising, leadership. This requires mental resources, precision, charm, seeming honesty, humour, solemnity or even charisma.

**2. Property**-This source accords an aspect of authority, a certainty of purpose by bending the will of one person to another by straightforward purchase. It is principally associated with compensatory power. Access to property provides the means or wherewithal or purchase of submission. So great is the prestige of

property that quite without the need for any actual compensation it accords its possessor unlimited and original source of power. What the man of wealth has or believes attracts the belief of others as a matter of course. The rich hence get automatic access to both compensatory and conditioned power.

### **3. Family backgrounds**

One's family background is mainly a source of conditioned power. The family name may evoke fond memories especially for political leadership that in the minds of others is reassuring. This therefore enables the possessor to obtain willing submission. In America, the Kennedy and Bush names are associated with good leadership qualities. In Kenya there have emerged families with strong leadership ties- The Mwendwa's of Kitui, the Mudavadi's, the Kenyatta's, The Moi's, and the Odingas and so on. In India we have the Nehru – Gandhi dynasty standing tall over any other family name.

### **4. Intellectual/ Academic sources:**

The mere attainment of high learning in a certain field gives the holder conditioned power and willing submission from others. The power to which a teacher has over the student may also fall under this category, which makes it also be an instrument of compensatory power.

### **Origin and Practice of Kleptocratic African regimes**

To understand the practice of resource allocation/ distribution in African states, one should understand the genesis and character of the African presidency. The presidency in Africa is the most significant institution in which national politics anchors. Indeed the African presidency is referred to as the imperial presidency because of its immense power.

### **The Genesis and character of African presidency**

The presidency in Africa has its origins in colonialism which was extremely centralized and authoritarian and which espoused values that were fundamentally the opposite of democratic rule. The implication is that the colonial administration "acted upon" Africans rather than "consulted" with them. Africans eventually got used to the assumption that a superior person would always exact obedience from his juniors. In the circumstances, Africans including leaders were averse to the pluralistic or democratic system of governance that had just been introduced on the eve of independence. Consequently starting from 1964 in many African countries, multi- party political systems were abandoned in favour of the one party political system. Constitutional arrangements that had been put in place to safeguard plural politics at independence were subverted as African leaders rushed for executive presidents with awesome powers- making the presidency the most powerful institution. The powerfulness of the presidency is due to the following:

- The presidency became supreme over all organs of government (The legislative and judiciary) by appointing judges and also being leader of political party whose members are legislators.
- In most African countries the holder of the presidency is immune to the legal process as long as (he) remains in office and this is interpreted to mean the president is above the law.
- The single party system also conferred the holder of office with indefinite continuity in office. For instance in Tunisia and Malawi there were constitutional provisions conferring life tenure to the president.
- Even in multi-party, presidents powers have not been trimmed hence agitation for a new constitution.
- The personalization of power. The notion of personal rule can be defined as the antithesis of institutional rule in that the exercise of political power is based not on institutions but on individual personalities. In this case constitutional rules and conventions that regulate or limit those occupying presidential office are not adhered to by those in power instead the office-holder is permitted a high degree of discretion to exercise personal authority and power to satisfy self-interest rather than the formal grants of power.

According to Lasswell (1958), politics has to do with *'who gets what, when and how'*. In Europe, politics is institutional based. In African countries as noted, a statesman is a personal ruler. Within this context in Africa, the allocation and distribution of resources is not done as per the constitution that defines the office. Consequently, allocation of resources is never predictable, as it does not follow any established and regularized principle of conduct. Instead of allocating resources on the bases of economic criteria, merit or basic needs approach, they are instead allocated on the grounds of such subjective criteria as regionalism, ethnic consideration, political loyalty and the disposition of the ruler himself. Furthermore, in the circumstances that are devoid of effective political institutions, state resources remain at the disposal of the incumbent. The incumbents use those resources to perpetuate themselves in power by skewing their allocation in favour of their Kinsfolk, supporters, sycophants, hangers-on e.t.c, in a manner that effectively amounts to pillaging state resources to purchase political loyalty.

### **Examples**

At independence in 1962, Gregoire Kayibanda, the new political leader, a Hutu from Central Rwanda embarked on a regionally oriented approach towards distribution of both symbolic and material resources of the state. In high schools, post-secondary institutions and salaried jobs, among others, Tutsi's were sidelined. This action provoked a military coup in 1973 that propelled Major General Juvenal Habyarimana from North Rwanda to power. But Habyarimana never learned from the mistakes of his predecessor and instead also channeled the resources towards north Rwanda more than anywhere else. He also sidelined the Tutsi's politically and in the employment in civil service.



In Kenya, NasongoWanjala (2000) and Muigai (1995) have noted that in the period 1963-1978, when Kenyatta was the president, resources were allocated in a manner that clearly favoured the Kikuyu, particularly, Kiambu district where more than a half of the country's development resources were channeled to. The same Nasongo (2000) points out that did the president Moi, did the same. The curious logic of this scenario in Kenya is that "that ethnic group ate when their own was in power and it's our turn to eat given that our own is in state house". The problem of corruptions has also been acute is Mobutu SeseSeko of Zaire, and Nigeria under the various military and civilian Rulers (e.g. Gen Abacha).

## **TOPIC FOUR: ETHICS AND GOVERNANCE**

### **Integrity, Ethics and Governance**

- No universally accepted definition of corruption.
- Various definitions also provided by different scholars, conventions and statutes but all point to abuse of position for personal benefit, group or individuals.
- Corruption derived from Latin word corruptus meaning to break, Symbolizes breakdown in ethical and moral values, Systems and institutions of governance, societal traditions and personal behaviors.
- Noah Webster's (1828) Dictionary: Corruption is viewed as a deterioration of moral principles
- From a philosophical Philosophical/Theological point of view corruption is a deviation from ideal.
- Corruption is dishonest behavior where individuals or groups abuse public office/Position for private gain.

*NB:Understanding corruption is the first step in combating corruption .*

### **THE CONSTITUTION AND INTEGRITY**

The Constitution of Kenya 2010 - especially Chapter Six addresses matters on corruption in the following Acts:

The Leadership and Integrity Act, 2012

Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission Act, 2011(EACCA)

Anti-Corruption and Economic Crimes Act, 2003(ACECA)

The Public Officer Ethics Act, 2003(POEA)

Public Procurement and Disposal Act, 2015(PPAD)

The Proceeds of Crime and Anti-Money Laundering Act, 2012

### **Chapter Six of the constitutions outlines:**

#### **a). Principles of Leadership and Integrity**

Determines Appointive and Elective Positions for State and Public Officers  
Demands Objectivity, Impartiality, Accountability, Discipline, Commitment to Service, Promotion of Public Good and Confidence

#### **b). Responsibilities of leadership and authority**

Consistent with constitutional provisions  
Respect for the people

National honour and dignity

Promote public confidence in office

Servant leadership, not power to rule

c). Guiding principles on leadership and integrity;

meritocracy in selection, objectivity in decision making, selfless service, accountability for decisions and actions, discipline and commitment in service

d). Conduct of State Officers set out

Conflicts between personal interests and official duties outlawed. Not to demean their office

Disciplinary action and/or dismissal if this is violated

e). Financial Probity

Policy on gifts/donations to public officers

Bank accounts outside the country

Personal loans that compromise integrity

f). Restriction of certain activities

Full time state officer not to participate in other gainful employment

Holding offices in political parties

Retired state officers serving on boards

## **GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TO FIGHT CORRUPTION**

-The government of Kenya under Article. 79 (Chapter 15) established the EACC as a constitutional commission to steer the fight against corruption.

This was meant to ensure compliance with, and enforcement of the provisions of chapter six of the Constitution.

The EACC is mandated to:

- ❖ Ensure compliance with and enforcement of chapter six of Constitution
- ❖ Investigate acts of corruption, economic crimes, unethical conduct or violation of codes of conducts and recommend to relevant authorities
- ❖ Trace and institute court proceedings to recover assets corruptly acquired
- ❖ To institute proceedings for forfeiture of unexplained assets
- ❖ To conduct conciliation, mediation and negotiation
- ❖ Facilitate development of code of ethics for state and public officers
- ❖ Oversee enforcement of the codes
- ❖ Public education and awareness on anti-corruption and ethical issues
- ❖ Provide advisory services on ethics and integrity
- ❖ Collaborate and cooperate with state, public officers and other stakeholders to promote ethics and anti-corruption initiatives
- ❖ Develop and promote standards and best practices in ethics and anti-corruption programs
- ❖ Monitor practices and procedures to detect corruption and secure revision of methods of work
- ❖ Defines Corruption Offences
- ❖ Provides for investigation and punishment of corruption and economic crimes.
- ❖ Recovery of corruptly acquired public property.

## **Corruption Offences under ACECA**

- ❖ Embezzlement/misappropriation of funds
- ❖ Bribery
- ❖ Secret inducement for advice
- ❖ Deceiving principal
- ❖ Conflict of interest
- ❖ Improper benefit to trustees for appointment
- ❖ Bid rigging
- ❖ Abuse of office
- ❖ Dealing with suspect property
- ❖ Unlawful acquisition of public property, service or benefit
- ❖ Damaging public property
- ❖ Failure to comply with procurement laws procedures and regulations.
- ❖ Engaging in unplanned projects
- ❖ Attempts and conspiracies constitute corruption.
- ❖ Fraud.
- ❖ Breach of trust
- ❖ Tax evasion
- ❖ Favoritism or discrimination

#### **Unexplained Assests**

- ☐ Property that is beyond a person's legitimate and known sources of income for which he cannot account.
- ☐ EACC is empowered to file a civil suit for forfeiture of the property to the state.
- ☐ Property may be frozen/preserved by court pending hearing of the matter.

#### **ROOT CUASES OF CORRUPTION - DIOSOBEDIENCE, LAWLESSNESS,REBELLION**

- i. **Base values** – A person ignores or has little regard for values and principles as enshrined in Divine/Moral law (Ten Commandments), Societal values and governance statutes (Article 10 of CoK-National Values).
- ii. **Negative attitude** - A person is opinionated to failure and has no moral courage to try doing the right thing. Apathy
- iii. **Selfish desire/Greed** – A person's mind is set to gather as much as possible regardless of the set boundaries/laws. More often than not, such individuals and their families add to themselves troubles and do not enjoy what they have improperly acquired.
- iv. **Impure thoughts** – A person fills the mind with eviltendencies which then control the behavior.

***The key word to describe the root cause of corruption is DISOBEDIENCE. With strict obedience, we can safely talk of "Zero INCIDENCE of Corruption."***

#### **ROLE OF THE YOUTH IN PROMOTING INTEGRITY**

Uphold ethical values by:

##### **1. SAYING NO to:**

- ❖ Stealing property
- ❖ Damaging public property

- ❖ Failure to comply with laws procedures and regulations.
  - ❖ Fraudulent activities
  - ❖ Favoritism or discrimination
    - ❖ Tribalism
  - ❖ Acts of violence
  - ❖ Bribery/ misuse by politicians –our role in elected leadership
  - ❖ Drug trafficking
2. Report corruption or unethical practices whenever suspected
  3. Uphold the values and principles of good governance Art. 10 of the Constitution
  4. Participation in decision making e.g. Form youth groups to articulate youth issues in making decisions such as Budgeting in counties-the formulation of the Budget Policy Statement, County Fiscal Strategy Paper and the Budget Estimates.
  5. Social accountability- oversight on projects

## **National, Values, Integration and Cohesion**

### **Integration**

To integrate is to bring together. Integration is a key contributor to community cohesion. It enables citizens to relate with each harmoniously.

**Cohesion:** Cohesion is the act or state of sticking together or close union. It is cohering or being in consonance with each other.

Cohesion implies positive group dynamics and positive energy that is experienced within a community

### **Social Cohesion**

-Social cohesion is the ongoing process of developing a community of shared values, shared challenges and equal opportunities based on a sense of hope, trust and reciprocity. It also involves the willingness of groups with diverse values and objectives to coexist, share resources, have mutual respect for each other and abide by the rules of the land.

-Social cohesion involves building shared values and communities of interpretation, reducing disparities in wealth and income so as to generally enable people to have a sense that they are engaged in a common enterprise facing shared challenges, and that they are members of the same community

### **Political Cohesion**

Political cohesion is where structures and institutions are operating to ensure that citizens' needs are met while ensuring that political actors are in harmony with each other.

### **Economic Cohesion**

Economic cohesion occurs when financial and business structures and institutions

work to ensure fair and transparent distribution of resources devoid of discrimination.

### **National Cohesion**

National cohesion entails the constructing of an integrated citizenry with a sense of belonging amongst members of different groups and from different regions, through the regulation and reconciliation of differences as well as competing interests and demands.

### **National Cohesion and Integration**

In the Kenyan context, national cohesion and integration is a process and an outcome of instilling and enabling all citizens to have a sense and a feeling that they are members of the same nation engaged in a common enterprise, facing shared challenges and opportunities

National cohesion and integration encompasses unity, equality, freedom, democracy, absence of war, just peace, social justice and the rule of law.

The ultimate goal of national cohesion and integration is to create an overarching national community that renders loyalty to competing ethnic, racial, regional, class and religious communities secondary. National cohesion embraces unity of purpose in the citizenry's participation in economic, social and political processes.

### ***Indicators of a Cohesive Society***

#### **1. Common Vision and Sense of Belonging**

- a) A community is likely to be more cohesive at the local level where people have a relatively strong sense of belonging to their neighborhood and local area.
- b) To ascertain whether people share a common vision for their local area, there is need to establish their perception of their quality of life.
- c) A community is likely to be more cohesive where there are no major differences in people's vision for their neighborhood.
- d) A community is likely to be more cohesive where people feel they can influence decisions affecting their local area

#### **2. The diversity of peoples' backgrounds and circumstances are appreciated and valued**

- a) A community is more likely to be cohesive where the majority of residents agree with this statement, especially in areas with minority ethnic groups.

#### **3. Those from different backgrounds have similar life opportunities**

- a) A community is more likely to be cohesive where there are low levels of deprivation and fewer socio-economic differences between people.
- b) A community is more likely to be cohesive where long term unemployment is low and not concentrated among certain groups.

#### **4. Strong and positive relationships are being developed between people from**

different backgrounds in the workplace, schools and neighborhood.

a) A community is more likely to be cohesive where people of different ethnic origin and social class regularly interact.

b) A community is more likely to be cohesive where people of different ethnic origin combat discrimination on the basis of race, religion, gender, sexual orientation, disability and age; and promote cross

-cultural and inter

-faith contact.

### **Benefits of a Cohesive and Integrated Nation**

1. National solidarity and togetherness in tackling national development issues;
2. Unity and harmony in dealing with national adversity and calamities;
3. Unified approach in confronting external threats to the nation;
4. Similar attitudes, values and positive cultural ethos beneficial to the nation;
5. Similar aspirations and desires that promote the growth and development of the nation;
6. Commitment to national ideals;
7. Increasing potential and ability for joint action by members of the nation;
8. Improving economic performance and well-being of Kenyans;
9. Facilitating the implementation of the new Constitution;
10. Promoting equity in the sharing of state resources;
11. Building a strong and enduring Kenyan identity which knits all the diversity into a strong national fabric; and
12. Mainstreaming the provisions of the National Cohesion and Integration Act (2008).

### **Challenges to National Cohesion**

Research suggests that there is a correlation between a lack of cohesion and inequality in life. This could be political, economic or social-cultural.

#### **a) Political Challenges**

1. Polarization and division of the country along ethnic lines that determine political opinion and positions and selfishness among leaders;
2. Lack of principles and ideologies to define political direction;
3. Weak leadership in governance institutions;
4. Complexity in migration and settlement patterns;
5. Failure to address historical injustices;
6. Proliferation of organized gangs and militia; and
7. Control of land, finance capital, technology and communication by the political elites

#### **b) Economic Challenges**

1. Inequality in access to and control of scarce resources such finance, land, technology and communication;
2. Lack of innovation and creativity in generating wealth;
3. Lack of strategic planning for development funds like the Constituency

Development Fund (CDF), Local Authority Transfer Fund (LATF);

4. Corruption at individual and institutional levels; and

5. Minimal enterprise development for low income entrepreneurs

c) Socio-Cultural Challenges

1. Ethnicity –the management of diverse cultural values and practices;

2. Negative ethnicity –ethnocentrism;

3. High illiteracy levels;

4. Deteriorating morals and values higher levels of crime, fear of crime and anti-social behavior;

5. Weakening of the family unit;

6. Pessimistic negative populace-failure to appreciate the good in the country and

7. Cultural insensitivity.

### **Dimensions of Cohesion and Integration**

There are many dimensions of cohesion and integration. These include:

1. A strong communication strategy which should entail working with local media among others in a bid to counter stereo-types and other negative practices.
2. Visionary leadership that practices good governance and develops a vision for the nation. It also involves community empowerment through participation and engagement through a bottom-up consultation process
3. Meaningful interaction and “bridging” activities that should include but are not limited to:

### **DIMENSIONS OF COHESION AND INTEGRATION**

There are many dimensions of cohesion and integration. These include:

1. A strong communication strategy which should entail working with local media among others in a bid to counter stereo-types and other negative practices.
2. Visionary leadership that practices good governance and develops a vision for the nation. It also involves community empowerment through participation and engagement through a bottom-up consultation process
3. Meaningful interaction and “bridging” activities that should include but are not limited to:
  - a) Education: Schools are important centres of socialization and political education;
  - b) Sports: Sports are not only meeting points but they also unite nations and states and they create emotional bonding;
  - c) Culture is an important superstructure in a nation with many subcultures such as ethnic groups and religions;
  - d) Recreational leisure activities
  - e) Work environment, trade unions, socialization work clubs, team building activities, bonding, training, etc

4. Shared spaces such as parks, beaches, gyms, communal farms, communal grazing fields, common water sources like wells, under trees, social halls and merry go rounds.
5. Intergenerational and interfaith opportunities
  - a) Youth clubs, associations, movements, etc
  - b) Women groups such as income generating activities, associations, members clubs, etc
  - c) Inter-faith organizations such as National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK), Catholic Peace and Justice Commission, Hindu Council of Kenya and the Council of Muslim Preachers of Kenya among others;
  - d) Peace building initiatives, peace rallies, etc.; and
  - e) Inter-religious dialogue that brings together all religions in search of sustainable peace
6. Mapping communities
  - a) Communities mapping entails allocating resources appropriately and equitably;
  - b) Mapping also means including all groups in the national census and providing data on their ethnic profiles;
  - c) It is essential to recognize changing demographics such as youth, men, women, people with various challenges and other groups;
  - d) Migration involves recognizing movement as an integral part of human existence;

## **CHALLENGES IN ACHIEVING NATIONAL COHESION AND INTEGRATION IN KENYA**

### **1. Economic challenges**

- a. Land allocation in post independent Kenya
- b. Political patronage in the distribution of national resources
- c. Corruption
- d. Inequitable distribution of national resources

### **2. Political challenges**

- a. Political Assassinations in 1965, 1969, 1975, 1991, 2005
- b. Return of single party state 3 June 1982
- c. The 1982 abortive coup
- d. Clamor for Multiparty-ism (sabasaba)
- e. Return to Multiparty democracy
- f. Ethnic/land clashes from 1991 and political violence during elections
- g. The ICC process
- h. Political disagreements
- i. Change-the-constitution clamor
- j. Ethnicization of the civil service

### **3. Social/Cultural Challenges**

- a. Divisive educational system (Quota System)
- b. Weak systems of operationalising national values
- c. Culture of greed and selfishness



- d. Community superiority / inferiority complex
- e. Negative ethnicity
- f. Negative cultural practices
- g. Inequitable provision of social services
- i. Change-the-constitution clamor
- j. Crackdown on government critics
- k. Ethnicization of the civil service

## **INTERVENTIONS FOR PROMOTING NATIONAL COHESION AND INTEGRATION**

### **1. Agenda item IV of Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation**

- a. Agenda item IV focuses on consolidation of national cohesion and unity.
- b. Institutionalization of national healing, reconciliation, cohesion and integration process
- c. The Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC)
- d. The National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC)
- e. The National Steering Committee of Peace Building and
- d. Conflict Resolution (NSC)
- f. The Department of National Cohesion (DNC)

**2. Kenya Vision 2030:** Blue Print for Development Under the political pillar, the Vision lays emphasis on security, peace-building, conflict management and resolution.

### **3. The Constitution of Kenya 2010**

The Constitution was promulgated on 27<sup>th</sup> August 2010. It provides a conducive environment for all citizens to live harmoniously. When fully implemented, it is expected that the nation will be more cohesive and integrated. For the sake of brevity, details of how the constitution enhances cohesion and integration are covered in Module 4 on policy, legal and institutional framework for national cohesion and integration.

### **5. Policies and Guidelines**

Formulation of Policies and Guidelines seek to enhance Cohesion.

Some of the policies include:

- a. Policy on National Cohesion and integration
- b. Policy on Peace Building and Conflict Resolution
- c. The National Land Policy etc.

## **TOPIC 5: SOCIETY AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION**

### **SOCIETY.**

Simply, it means a community. It is concerned about people i.e. people centered. It's a concept used to define human organization. Society is therefore a group of people with particular organizations and shared customs, laws, interests, aims e.t.c.

Families come to form a society. Families come together to meet various interests within a society, interests which cannot be fully met at individual or family levels. This we get economic political and social societies or societies with all the above

combined. It's also within the society that most people find meaning, for otherwise without societal dynamics life will be meaningless. It's within the society that we seek higher needs and self-actualization.

## **TYPES OF SOCIETY.**

There are several types of societies varying from simple to complex, from legal to illegal (underground). Our concern here is the larger and known society, our country. Traditionally Kenyans have belonged to various ethnic groups. It is to these ethnic hegemonies that different people belong and owe their allegiance. For a society to withstand the test of time it should be able to have ways and means of regulating itself internally setting up sanctions, conditions and penalties that can be imposed upon those who violate laws and rules. A society should preserve its institutions for posterity. It should check cultural infiltrations that can lead to imbalances and misunderstandings.

## **SOCIAL STRATIFICATION**

This is the hierarchical ordering of people in a society differentiated according to their wealth, power, prestige and privilege. The hierarchy comes about due to what people desire and aspire to and value as scarce. They have to be competed for and in the process they are not shared or distributed equally.

The term stratification is derived from the geological concept of 'Strata' which means rock layers created by natural processes. Stratification is a hierarchy of positions with regard to economic production which influences the social rewards to those in the positions.

According Raymond W. Murray; "Social Stratification is horizontal division of society into 'higher' and 'lower' social units."

Every society is divided into more or less distinct groups. Even the most primitive societies had some form of social stratification.

According to Gilbert; "Social Stratification is the division of society into permanent groups or categories linked with each other by the relationship of superiority and subordination."

According to Kurt B. Mayer; "Social Stratification is, a system of differentiation which includes social positions whose occupants are treated as superior, equal or inferior relative to one another in socially important respect."

Lundberg writes, "A stratified society is one marked by inequality, by difference among people that are evaluated by them as being 'lower' and 'higher'.

Peter Robert Saunders, "In modern Western Societies, Stratification depends on social and economic classes comprising three main layers: upper class, middle class and lower class. Each class is further subdivided into smaller classes related, in part, to occupation.

It can be said that, people classify one another into categories and rank these categories from higher to lower. The process of defining such categories is called 'Social Stratification', and the resulting of ranked categories is called the stratification structure. The categories themselves are known as strata, popularly

termed as classes.

Wealth, power, prestige and privilege are obvious among such things.

- A person's wealth, measured in capital and income, puts him in a position to acquire the goods and services he wants.
- Power gives a person the ability to command and the actions of others add to have his way in difficult situation.
- Prestige represents a person standing in society which determines to what extent others look up to him with respect or look down on him.
- Family, this can put one in a particular class depending on how the family you come from is endowed with power and wealth.
- Privilege refers to the advantageous immunities or rights a person enjoys in society.

In any society the above desirable things constitutes a stratum layer.

### **The Main Features of Social Stratification are:**

1. It is a social and economic categorization of individuals within a societal framework.
2. It is based on Caste, Class, and Status & Power of a Community or Section of People within the framework of a society.
3. Social Stratification exists because of natural differences in people's abilities.
4. Due to Social Stratification societies tend to be stable and are held together through consensus.
5. It lessens conflicts & provides structure.
6. Social Stratification is a natural & voluntary separation according to race, social & economic status.

### **Categories of Social Stratification**

- a) **Social Class** : Distinction between wealth and income and their distribution in society. Social mobility and the link between class and life chances. Changing nature of class and its relationship to the economy and occupational structure.
- b) **Gender**: Difference between biological notion of sex and the socially constructed notion of gender. Nature and consequences of gender-role socialisation. Gender inequalities in terms of occupation, family and social roles and expectations.
- c) **Race and Ethnicity**: Nature, size and distribution of different racial and ethnic groups in modern society. Inequality relating to race and ethnicity; in particular, discrimination in education, employment and on life chances. Role of the mass media in the formation of stereotypes and the consequences for ethnic groups.
- d) **Age**: Social construction of the concept of age, including awareness of different notions of childhood, adolescence and old age in different societies. Inequalities as a result of age, such as employment, unemployment, low pay, access to benefits and

restrictions on social behavior. Implications of changes in the age structure of modern society.

e)**Disability**: Social construction of disability. Inequality relating to disability; in particular, discrimination in education, employment and on life chances. Role of the mass media in the formation of negative stereotypes and the consequences for disabled individuals and groups. The term stratification is derived from the geological concept of 'Strata' which means rock layers created by natural processes. Stratification is a hierarchy of positions with regard to economic production which influences the social rewards to those in the positions.

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### **Effects of Stratification on the Lives of Individuals and Groups:**

The above aspects of social stratification should be studied in order to explore the nature of social relationships, processes, structures and issues. Sub-cultural, cross-cultural, historical, contemporary or anthropological examples should be used wherever possible and candidates should be encouraged to apply insights to current social issues or their own life experiences. Cross-cultural and/or anthropological examples may be drawn from the Socialization.

### **Causes of Social Stratification:**

(1) Inequality – Inequality exists because of natural differences in people's abilities.

- (2) Conflict – Stratification occurs due to conflict between different classes, with the upper classes using superior power to take a larger share of the social resources.
- (3) Power – Power influences one's definition of self and the importance of ideas in defining social situations.
- (4) Wealth – Difference in the wealth is also one of the causes of social stratification.
- (5) Instability – Instability in the society being the cause of social stratification enhances stability and induces members of the society to work hard.

### **The Process of Social Stratification:**

People's differing ranks in society are based on class and status. Class rankings are based on wealth, income, and life chances to acquire wealth and income. Status comes from the honour and respect people receive from others. Class and status are sources of power, and they are the criteria used to rank people in a system of stratification. Structural functionalists believe that systems of stratification develop because societies need scarce leadership skills and reward to those who are willing to assume the responsibility of leadership. Conflict theorists contend that stratification develops because certain groups gain a monopoly of the scarce resources through inheritance or conflict and use those resources to maintain their high positions.

Research indicates that Stratification becomes more pronounced as wealth and the division of labour increase. Very simple societies have little division of labour and little stratification. Agrarian and industrial societies have more wealth, greater division of labour, and more stratification. There are several types of stratification systems. In a caste system, positions assigned of birth according to the position of the caste, and a person's caste is fixed for life. The class system is found only in industrial societies and allows movement into higher or lower strata through the accumulation or loss of wealth and status. The differences are especially profound between the rich and the poor, and the most important ones are found in housing, health care, and educational opportunity. It is these variations that affect life chances.

### **Types of Social Stratification:**

- (1) Caste: Caste can be defined as a hereditary intermarrying group which determines the individual's status in the social stratification by his occupation, etc. e.g. Brahmin has the highest place in the social stratification of castes in India.
- (2) Class: Social stratification is also based on Class. Class is a status group and in only society the social status of one group always differs from that of another. Class is also a person's economic position in a society. However, as per Weber, Class is not a supreme factor in stratification. He noted that how Managers of corporations or industries control firms they do not own.
- (3) Status: Status is a person's prestige, social honour, or popularity in a society. Social stratification is also based on status of a person. Weber noted that political power was not rooted in capital value society, but also in one's individual status.

Poets or saints can possess immense influence on society with often little economic growth.

(4) Power: A person's ability to get their way despite the resistance of others. For example, individuals in state jobs may hold little property or status but they still hold immense power.

### **Major Explanations of Social Stratification: Theories of Social Stratification**

**Why are societies stratified?** This question was widely debated by early sociologists, and their different viewpoints have shaped current debates on the subject. Spencer believed that superior people would educate themselves and become leaders, whereas inferior people would remain in the bottom ranks of society. However Marx contended that the poor would become aware of their plight and would revolt.

The theories of those early writers have had a strong influence on the two prevailing modern theories of stratification, structural functionalism and conflict theory.

#### **1. Functional Theory of Stratification :**

Structural functionalists have refined Spencer's notion that society, like any other organism, is self-regulating and self-maintaining and that it consists of interrelated parts that serve a function in maintaining the system as a whole. According to this view, stratification is necessary for society to function. Complex industrial system needs to be centralized, and power is placed in the hands of people who are capable of being leaders. Leadership requires advanced learning, hard work, and the ability to assume responsibility. Society rewards those who serve as leaders by giving them wealth. Wealth and status, both scarce resources, provide power, so those who serve society by providing scarce skills become the powerful people. Thus, inequality is created by the needs of the society, not by the desires and needs of the individuals. If society had an equal need for all types of work, then all its members would be equal.

#### **2. Conflict Theory of Stratification**

Conflict theorists reject the functional viewpoint, arguing that inequality develops as a result of people's desire for scarce resources, and close-knit groups compete with one another to gain possession of these resources. According to this view, resources are not rewards for talent or for assuming difficult tasks but are acquired through inheritance, coercion, or exploitation. Inequality results when one group acquires more resources than other group.

Once the dominant group gets power, it tries to make its power appear legitimate by using propaganda to appeal to the masses through education, the mass media, religion, and politics. If the masses are influenced by the propaganda of the upper class, they are said to have what Marx called 'false consciousness', a belief that the upper class is superior and has the right to rule. If, on the other hand, the masses reject the propaganda of the upper classes and are aware that they are being exploited, they are said to have 'Class Consciousness'. Regardless of their consciousness, there is little conflict if the masses have jobs and can live lives they find satisfactory. Serious conflicts develop only when the masses are severely exploited and possess class consciousness.

#### **3. Marxist Theory of Stratification**

To view class in relation to ownership of the means of production; this means ownership of industry, factories, banks, etc. Simply put – you are either in the class that owns and controls the country's wealth, or you are not. Marxists use the term 'exploitation' to describe the relationship between the classes that own the means of production – the bourgeoisie – and the people who work for a living –the proletariat. They claim that the bourgeoisie try to keep the wages of the proletariat as low as possible so that they can make as much profit as possible.

Marxists the interests of these classes are opposite to each other. The bourgeoisie want to increase profits and the proletariat want to increase their wages –Marxists argue you can't really do both.

### **Determinants of Social Class:**

A social class is 'one or two or more broad group of individuals who are ranked by the members of the community in socially superior and inferior positions'. Max Weber held that classes are aggregates of individuals' who have the same opportunities of acquiring goods, the same, exhibited standard of living'. Social class can also be said as 'Culturally defined group that is accorded a particular position or status within the population as a whole'.

Social class is based on several closely related factors; Wealth, the power derived from wealth, and 'life chances' to acquire wealth.

### **Principles of Social Stratification**

- (1) It is social, not natural.
- (2) It's persistent, even as societies change.
- (3) It is omnipresent in nearly all social settings, even in socialist systems.
- (4) It is supported by ideology.
- (5) It is micro – as well as a macro –level.

### **Sources of Social Stratification**

1. Occupation: Occupations are not equal. Some attract more wealth/pay, power and status. For example doctors, engineers and lawyers get a lot of money. Thus they can become wealthy and gain higher social status.
2. Education: people have different access to education. Those that get high quality education at a longer period of time of time are likely to occupy better occupations than those without that kind of education.
3. Wealth: Those with wealth or high income can purchase education and health services for themselves and their children. This can give them a higher social status.
4. Personal attributes: Some people have achievement motives than others. Those with achievement motives will tend to go into business and excel. This will make them move higher the ladder of social status.
5. Ascribe status (Family status): Some people have advantage over others simply because from birth, they are defined for certain positions. In other words, these people do not have to work to attain status or certain positions. Identities that flow from religion, gender, race or position of birth may be the basis of ascribed status.
6. Lifestyle: Lifestyle refers to where one stays, the clothes put on, the schools children go to, the type of vehicle driven, the estate where one stays e.t.c.

## TOPIC SIX: NATION AND NATIONALISM

The word “**nation**” is derived from a Latin word “nation” which denotes the idea of common birth or descent. A nation can therefore be said to be a large grouping of people bound together by a common historical origin, the same ancestors, common experiences, language and cultural practices.

Anderson argues that a nation is an imagined political community. It is imagined as both limited and sovereign.

- i) It is imagined because most members of even a small Nation never meet one another or hear one another, yet they feel they belong to that particular one community.
- ii) It is limited in the sense that nations include some people who are regarded as belonging, while excluding others as outsiders. No nation claims to include the whole community.
- (i) It is sovereign because nationalism seeks or celebrates independence and self-government for a group of people

David McCrone in the Sociology of Nationalism (1998) has given the following information about Nationalism. In distinguishing nation from state, McCrone points out that nation and state are often seen as one and the same as in the term nation-state but this is not always the case. The state is essentially a political and administrative unit but people may feel a sense of national identity which does not coincide with political boundaries.

In modern times, the concept nation has a significance of its own. Identified, with the word “nationality”, the term “nation” signifies the existence of a common political consciousness.

**Nationality** is a collective name to that complex of psychological and cultural factors which furnish the cohesive principle uniting a nation. Nationality is therefore a sentiment of “oneness” that unites the people of a particular kind and thus differentiates them from others who do not share similar feelings and sentiments. Stressed here is the existence of a common political consciousness that procreates the tendency of distinct identity of a people.

### Characteristics of a Nation (state)

1. **Common History** – people of a particular nation are conscious of being part of a continuous historical past. This is popularized by myths, legend and folklore. For example, the Jews as a nation trace their common history in the creation stories in the Bible. For Kenya, we have a shared common colonial history, though the different ethnic groups may have varying histories of their own. The colonial experience and the struggle for independence was an important factor in creation of a sense of nationalism and nationhood in Kenya. As a way of fostering a shared identity, nations also erect national monuments, totems and symbols.
2. **Common Language** – people of the same nation usually have the same



language either a vernacular common to all or a lingua franca like Kiswahili in Tanzania and Kenya, French in France, Belgium, Rwanda & Cote D'Voire, Spanish in most Latin American countries and English in almost all the commonwealth countries. A common language helps to improve nationhood when it is used to bridge ethnic and cultural differences and to promote integration ethnic groups. This increases nationality identity and national pride as has happened with Kiswahili in Tanzania.

**3. Common Culture** most citizens in a nation conduct their lives according to their manner generally accepted and approved in their own society (nation). Age-old tradition, rites and rituals are called upon to create a sense of nationalism and patriotism as elements of nationhood. Some of the cultural symbols include dressing habits, food, music and cinema and so on.

**4. A definite Territory** – though there are some nations without a definite territory of their own such as the Palestine and the Jews before 1948, territory is one of the foundations of a nation. Each of the world's nations is located in particular areas of the earth's surface and has definite and generally recognized boundaries which are not supposed to overlap the area of another nation. Not only does each nation occupy and govern a particular territory, but most of its citizens to some extent psychologically identify with it. They have affection for its physical characteristics-its rivers, lakes, mountains and so on.

Some nationalities are straddled along several countries and lack a geographical contiguity or political identity. The Kurds lack a state of their own, and instead are thinly spread in Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria.

**5. Government.** Each nation usually has a government which sees to it that its machinery is in place functioning.

**6. Sovereignty:** for a nation to be said to be one, it must be sovereign, otherwise it will be constituted as a mere entity or appendage of a larger nation, without sovereignty, it may even be seen as a colony, a protectorate. It must be independent in as far as it relates to other nations. It must be recognized by supra-national organizations such as the United Nations African Union etc.

## **The Concept, Objectives and Practice of Nationalism**

### **Definition of Nationalism**

The Oxford Learner's Dictionary defines nationalisms as "the devotion to the interests of one's nation and desire for its advancement and independence".

The Encyclopedia of Social Sciences sees nationalism as the deepest sentiment for affiliation and common good for the nation-state for which maximum sacrifices can be made by people.

It may be said to be a state of mind in which the individual feels that everyone owes his supreme secular loyalty to the nation-state. Eugene Kamenka and David in their book on nationalism both view nationalism as originating in ethno-centric feelings, the idea that one's ethnicity or community is the best vis-à-vis others and striving to make sure within the possible means that it remains so.

Modern nationalism is associated with the evolution of modern states. It has both negative and positive connotations. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe, it was the spirit behind the evolution of many nation-states, especially after the era of Napoleon Bonaparte and the Napoleonic wars. The rise of the French Republic, United Germany, Australia, Hungary, Poland, Italy, Turkey (formally Ottoman Empire), Greece, Cyprus, Spain and Portugal among others, were all creations of European Nationalism, seen as positive in the eyes of many Europeans.

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century Africa, Europeans viewed the rising African nationalism as a negative move, whereas it was very positive to the Africans and Pan-Africanists as it is responsible for the present states in Africa.

Nationalism began to appear in Africa and Asia after the WWI. It produced such leaders as Kamal Atatuk in Turkey, Said Pasha Zaghul in Egypt, Ibn Saud in the Arabian Peninsula, Mahatma Gandhi in India, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen in China, Jomo Kenyatta in Kenya, Walter Sisulu in South Africa and so on.

### **Objectives of Nationalism**

1. **For Imperialism:** there is no doubt that most of the European imperialists who explored the rest of the world did so with a lot of vested imperialistic zeal, whose guiding spirit was nationalism. They wanted to conquer as much colonies for their nation states in order to control the world's resources, for the benefit of the nations.
2. **For Nation or state formation:** in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe and 20<sup>th</sup> century Africa and Asia, nationalism was used to create and build nation-states. It was used to rally people together to form functional state infrastructures it thus led to creation of states.
3. **To fight foreign Rule or Domination:** in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe, Napoleon Bonaparte used his immense power and resources to spread the French hegemony all over Europe. Because of the iron hand and ruthless methods he used in doing so, the other peoples of Europe were awakened into their own feelings of nationalism. When he was defeated many nations sprung up from his continental acquisitions. In Africa, the over 60 years of European rule in many parts made many people to realize their position as a colonized people and their vulnerability unless they fought off and removed the burden of colonialism.

This witnessed the rise of pan-Africanism mainly by the blacks in the Diaspora and in Africa. Some of the earliest pan-Africanists included George Padmore, Marcus Garvey, W.E.B. Dubois, and an emergent elite in Africa especially political elites led by Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Nandi Azikiwe, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Omar Bongo, Felix Houphouet-Boigny, Ahmadu Bello, Ahmed Ben Bella, Patrick L.Lumumba, Leopold Sedar Senghor, Sekou Toure, Quett Masire, Sir Seretse Khama, Augustino Neto, Kenneth Kaunda, Nelson Mandela, Julius Nyerere and so on.

### **Characteristics of Nationalism**

1. **Ideology:** nationalism can at times be projected through an ideological

commitment. For example Zionism for Jews, Nazism for Nazi Germany, fascism for Musoloni's Italy and communism for the Soviet Union.

2. **Desire for independence:** nationalism is against any foreign control or domination for it cannot be fully realized in such a situation. It therefore seeks autonomy or independence through hostility to foreign rule or influences in social, political and economic fields.
3. **A State of Mind:** nationalism is a state of mind, which is then, transformed into a pragmatic expression through actions like in the wars of liberation.
4. **Belief in the Ideals of a Nation:** a person's belief and conviction about the ideals of one's nation is an important characteristic in nationalism. It constitutes the adherence to those ideals and requires acceptance of national, social, cultural, political and economic objectives and the seeking of appropriate means of achieving unity.

### **Bottlenecks to National Unity**

1. **Tribalism or Ethnicity:** this is the major obstacle to Kenya's unity and identity. "Tribalism as a concept has been viewed variously by scholars and political leaders. According to J.S. Lafontaine, "tribalism entails among other things a clinging to traditional life, as opposed to rapid change". A man may therefore be described as a tribalist if he is devoted to his particular tribe against the wider and more appropriate aims of unity, modernization, development and justice. **D.M Edel** defines tribalism as a sense of ethnic loyalty and identification in preference to traditional patterns of justice and other aspects of life.
2. **Leadership:** the problem of poor and irresponsible leadership is evident in Kenya. Many of our politicians use tribal affiliations devoid of any ideology for value as stepping stones to national offices. This background to our leaders' makes them remain tribal in all their inclination in order to maintain their tribal support. There is need for political education for all Kenya, both the leaders and the voters, on the need to use merit when electing leaders are not tribalism.
3. **Limited resources:** Nationalism is also affected by the scramble for limited resources by members of different ethnic groups in a country. Those who feel marginalized will be resentful and will take any slightest opportunity to tear down the national fabric. It is expected that such remedies like free-market economy and devolution of power, will
4. **Nepotism:** the culture of extended relations encourages the favouritism of the relations of those in authority at the expense of those who might be more qualified for the assignment but outside the "favoured" relations.
5. **Religious difference-**people with different political orientations seem not to get along well. Good examples of countries that have such a problem are Nigeria, and Sudan.
6. **Corruption-**grand corruption may divert resources for development activities to personal uses or in favour of some regions. The people in disadvantaged regions may develop hostilities towards the favoured regions.
7. **Urban rural divide-**this is a problem particularly because urban people cannot

easily agree with rural people on a number of issues. For instance urban people may want cheap food while rural producers want a higher price for their food produce

### **Lessons on Modern Day Nationalism**

As already noted, nationalism was the spirit behind the liberation struggle for decolonization of African countries. After the attainment of independence, this spirit is still needed if the nation is to develop and prosper.

For us in Kenya, nation building entails the creating of one nation out of the 42 ethnic groups' residents in the country. This is extremely necessary as promotion of ethnic loyalties can lead to division and ethnic tensions. Kenyans have to see themselves as one if we are to attain national harmony and greater peace. There is therefore need for a nationalistic spirit of an emotional character strong enough to overcome ethnic, linguistic and cultural differences among US. Kenyans should always draw inspiration from our freedom fighters and be proud of them. We should appreciate the role played by the pioneer nationalists like Jomo Kenyatta, OgingaOdinga. Tom Mboya, Daniel arapMoi, MasindeMuliro, Ronald Ngala among others and patriots like Dedan Kimathi, Waruhiu Itote (General China). ArgwingsKodhek, Kipchoge Keino, KoitalearapSamoei among others. These nationalists and patriots have taught us the following lessons.

1. That unity in the face of a dominating foreign power is important. Kenyans of all ethnic backgrounds united to confront foreign domination. Consequently the current Kenyans should unite in tackling problems such as unemployment, poverty and negative influences of foreign culture
2. That nationalism can be exhibited by common people as well, and not just by political leaders. For instance in the name of nationalism ordinary people should reject corruption, negative ethnicity and nepotism
3. That love for freedom, love for one nation is so important that one can take arms to defend the honour of our country.
4. That courage is very important in sustaining a struggle to the point of victory.
5. That personal sacrifice to the pain of death or imprisonment is essential in any nationalist cause.

## **TOPIC SEVEN: GLOBALIZATION, PRIVATE DIRECT FOREIGN INVESTMENT AND FOREIGN AID**

### **a) Globalization**

Globalization in ordinary usage refers to "making global" or being present world-wide or on the world stage". It is the many linkages and interconnections that go beyond the borders of nation- states.

In this context, globalization is the increase of social, cultural, economic and political relations across regions and continents. Globalization thus involves increased exchange, spread and flow (across and beyond regions and nation state

borders), of for instance trade, commerce, production, goods, services, politics, information, knowledge, culture, and technology. It is therefore a multinational force based on economic liberalization, or the adoption of capitalist, market- based reforms.

**Globalization has several dimensions. These include:**

- (i) Economic dimension: This includes increased economic interdependence of national economies e.g. the East African Community involving the integration of Uganda Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania and Kenya whose goal is to achieve monetary union. It also includes economic integration due to the activities of Multi-National corporations that operate in several countries. In addition, this dimension is characterized by increased financial globalization which simply refers to increased flows of financial capital from one country to another due to financial liberalization.
- (ii) Political dimension: This involves political interdependence of nation- states, which may involve creating political unions of different states. For instance East African Community envisages transforming itself into a political federation.
- (iii) Cultural dimension: This is where there is increasing interdependence and flow of cultures through enhanced global communication. Cultural flows are normally from the developed countries to the developing countries. Examples include: manner of dress, political systems, types of education etc.
- (iv) Greater interaction and flow of people/ individuals among societies through social- economic migration and travel

The apparent advantages of globalization include:

- (i) Lower consumer prices e.g. due to mitumba (second hand clothes) from developed countries.
- (ii) Increased bargaining power for (groups of) states within the world economy.eg East African community or European Union have better bargaining than if it was individual countries.
- (iii) Making the state more accountable: global institutions like United Nations African union, IMF and the World Bank are increasingly putting pressure to some autocratic countries in the developed world to develop better governance and the rule of law.
- (iv) Increased foreign investment within the state. Globalization facilitated by trade liberalization has increasingly led to more investment by MNCs in developing countries. This has served to create jobs and a higher income in developing countries.

**Critics of globalization argue that it has certain disadvantages these include.**

- (i) Preventing adequate utilization of local and national resources. This is particularly because multinational corporations will tend to import intermediate goods from their affiliate companies abroad to use in their local industries instead of sourcing these goods from the local firms. This has also the disadvantage of

facilitating outflows of foreign exchange from the country.

- (ii) Weakening local industries by opening up the economy to cheap imports from abroad. A good example in Kenya is the closure of Rivatex in Eldoret due to the presence of mitumba (second hand clothes) from the developed countries.
- (iii) Promoting foreign values at the expense of indigenous values e.g. practices like homosexuality in developing countries have about due to arrival of tourists, and flows of cultural goods via the mass media from the developed countries.
- (iv) Promoting trade imbalances in favour of industrialized countries: Increased flows of trade due to liberalization of trade have disadvantaged developing countries since increasingly; developed countries have the capacity to export their goods to the developed world. Developing countries do not have this capacity because developed countries subject strict measures and standards to goods from the developing world.
- (v) Promoting dependence on international financial capital. Since independence, African countries have been dependant on financial capital from the developed world and multi-lateral institutions like World Bank and IMF. This borrowing of finance is responsible for the current large debt that African and other third world countries have.

### **Private Direct Foreign Investment and the Multinational Corporation (MNCs).**

The international flow of financial resources takes two main forms: -

- (i) Private Foreign Investment: This is mostly foreign direct investment by large multinational corporations with headquarters in the developed world, and
- (ii) Public development assistance: this is also known as foreign aid, which could be from individual national governments (bi-lateral aid), or multi-lateral assistance given out by large multinational donor agencies such as the IMF and the World Bank.

### **Multinational Corporations (MNCs)**

MNCs are highly influential non-governmental actors whose business ventures are trans-national in character. These actors are therefore important facilitators of the process of globalization. The investment decisions of these corporations often mean the difference in whether a country is increasingly drawn into the global economy or marginalized by it. They are extremely powerful economic entities with an enormous scope and range of activities, including banking, pharmaceuticals, industrial goods, oil, food stuffs, services-virtually any consumer or need.

According to Fortune Magazine, February 1987, the two largest multi-nationals (General Motors and Exxon) each had gross sales value greater than the GNPs of all but five developing nations (China, Brazil, India, Mexico and Iran). In fact General Motors Gross sales even exceed the GNP of many developed countries as well such as Switzerland, Norway and Belgium.

Such enormous size confers great economic and even political power on MNCs vis-avis the countries in which they operate. This power is greatly strengthened by their

predominantly “oligopolistic market position, that enables them to operate in product markets dominated by a few sellers. This situation gives them the ability to manipulate prices and profits, to collude with other firms in determining areas of control, and in general to restrict entry of potential competition by means of their dominating influences over new technologies, special skills, and through product differentiation and advertising, consumer tastes.

### **Arguments in Favour of MNCs**

The role of MNCs in the development of LDCs is an extremely controversial subject yet they play a significant role such as creating jobs, technology transfer and improvement in the GNP and per capita incomes of host countries. Among the roles played by MNCs are:

1. **Resource Gap:** - they help fill the resource gap between targeted or desired investment and locally mobilized services.
2. **Foreign exchange Gap:** - they fill the gap between targeted foreign exchange requirements and those derived from net export earnings plus net public foreign aid.
3. **Local tax Gap:** - they fill the gap between targeted government tax revenues and locally raised taxes. By taxing MNC profits and participating financially in their local operations, LDC government is thought to be better able to mobilize public financial resources for development projects.
4. **Management Gap:** - MNCs are thought to fill a yawning gap in management skills and technical knowhow, through training and providing the locals the opportunity to learn through experience while in employment. Such transfers of knowledge, skills and technology are assumed to be both desirable and productive for the recipient nations.

### **Arguments against the MNCs**

There are two basic arguments against private foreign investment in general and the activities of MNCs in particular- the strictly economic and the more philosophical or ideological.

On the economic side, one may say of MNCs that:

1. Although MNCs provide capital, they may lower domestic earnings and investments rates by:-
  - i) Stifling competition through exclusive production agreements with host governments,
  - ii) Failing to reinvest much of their profits,
  - iii) Generating domestic incomes for those groups with lower savings propensities, iv). Inhibiting the expansion of indigenous firms that might supply them with intermediate products, by instead importing these goods from overseas affiliates, and
  - v). Imposing high interests on capital borrowed by host governments.
2. Although the initial impact of MNC investment is to improve the foreign-exchange position of the recipient nation, its long-run impact may be to reduce foreign exchange earnings as a result of importation of intermediate products and

capital goods and repatriation of profits, interests, royalties and right fees.

3. Though MNCs contribute to revenue generation, this is considerably less as a result liberal tax concessions, excessive investment allowances disguised as public subsidies and tariff protection provided by the host government.

4. The provision of management, entrepreneurial skills and technology transfer from overseas, tend to stifle the growth of these same skills in the host country.

On the more **philosophical and ideological** points of view, third world countries have commonly raised the following objections:

1. Their (MNC) impact on development is very uneven, and in many situations i) MNCs activities reinforce dualistic economic and exacerbate income inequalities between regions within the country. They particularly operate in urban areas and further widen the rural-urban divide, while accelerating the rural-urban migration.

2. They tend to promote the interests of the small number of well-paid modern sector workers against the interests of the rest by widening wage differentials.

3. MNCs typically produce inappropriate products and stimulate inappropriate consumption behaviour through advertising.

4. MNCs use inappropriate (capital-intensive) technologies. These technologies require less labour and hence, are not appropriate from the point of view of developing countries where there is surplus labour i.e. these technologies tend to contribute to or worsen unemployment.

5. Environmental degradation: MNCS, particularly the oil extracting companies have been blamed for contributing to environmental degradation and pollution in some areas in the developing countries. A case in mind is the River State in Nigeria where there is serious pollution in Ogoniland.

6. Fanning conflicts: MNCS are blamed for the conflicts in Africa. In particular, the oil extracting MNCs are blamed for conflicts in Nigeria where oil revenues are seen to benefit the MNCs and powerful state elites. Consequently people in oil producing regions have taken arms to fight for self-determination on oil matters.

### **Foreign Aid**

There are two types of foreign aid

i) Bi-lateral aid: This is defined as the transfer of concessional resources from one government to another. For instance if Britain transfers financial resources on soft terms, it is referred to as bilateral aid.

ii) Multi-lateral development assistance: this is defined as transfer of concessional resources from a group of donors such as the United Nations, the organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), European Union, World Bank, IMF etc. to a recipient.

Aid is therefore a tool of diplomacy employed in such a way as to manipulate the behaviour of possible recipients. It is also used as a carrot to encourage or reward loyalty. What is more, the withholding of aid can be a stick used to punish those deemed undeserving. For instance, the majority of US aid does not go to the world's poorest people, for it is not provided on a needs basis but on strategic calculations.



In fact only two countries Israel and Egypt receive a lion's share of US annual assistance. Foreign aid comes in a variety of forms: cash, food, clothing, medicine, arms, or just about any other commodity.

### **Why donors Give aid**

Donor countries give aid primarily because it is in their political, strategic and or economic self- interest to do so. While some development assistance may be motivated by moral and humanitarian desires to assist the less fortunate ( e.g. emergency food relief programmes) there is no historical evidence to suggests that over longer periods of time, donor nations assist others without expecting some corresponding benefits (political, economic military etc.) in return. These motives can broadly be categorizes into to two: political and economic.

1) Political motives: the United States has viewed foreign aid from its beginnings in the late 1940s under the Marshal plan, which aimed at reconstructing war- torn Europe, as a means of containing the international spread of communism. This was later extended to the third world in the mid- 1950s onwards, where the US gave political, economic and military support to "friendly" LDCs in order to strengthen such countries that had shaky political foundations. Most of the socialists aid from the erstwhile Soviet Union to countries in their sphere of influence such as North Korea and Cuba and former Eastern Europe, had similar political motives.

2) Economic motives:- developed countries also give aid with economic motives

The principal economic arguments advanced are that foreign aid:

- (i) Enables beneficiary countries overcome foreign exchange constraints.
- (ii) Facilitate and accelerates the process of development by generating additional domestic savings as a result of investment of foreign.
- (iii) Enables technical assistance through high- level" manpower transfers.
- (iv) That the amount of aid should be determined by the recipient country's 'absorptive capacity'. I.e. the capacity for the recipient country to utilize the aid in the manner desired by the donor country.

3) Humanitarian reasons: some developed countries such as such as Sweden, Norway and Canada, are motivated by humanitarian motives that seeks to better and mitigate the effects of disasters in developing countries.

4) Security Issues: Developed countries increasingly give foreign aid out of their interest to fight global security threats such as terrorism. The United States of America is at the forefront for giving this kind of aid.

5) To Reduce Environmental Degradation: increasingly environmental degradation is threatening global sustainable development. Consequently developed countries are giving aid to developed countries to conserve forest ecosystems like Aberdare in central Kenya to preserve waters that flow from that area.

6) Guilt feelings e.g. due to slavery.

### Why developing countries accept foreign Aid

1. **Resource Gap:** - they help fill the resource gap between targeted or desired investment and locally mobilized services.
2. **Foreign exchange Gap:** - they fill the gap between targeted foreign exchange requirements and those derived from net export earnings.
3. **Local tax Gap:** - they fill the gap between targeted government tax revenues and locally raised taxes.
4. **Management Gap:** foreign aid in terms of personnel helps to fill a yawning gap in management skills and technical knowhow, through training and providing the locals the opportunity to learn through experience while in employment. Such transfers of knowledge, skills and technology are assumed to be both desirable and productive for the recipient nations.
5. **Humanitarian issues** like drought and famine, floods etc force countries to request for aid.