

Influence of Social Movements in the Democratization Process in Africa. A Case of Kenya.

Veronica Awino Juma¹ and Logiel Lokwawi Samson²

¹Pan African University Institute of Governance, Humanities and Social Sciences: email, jumaveronicaawino@gmail.com: Tele +237678979307 P.O.X :18 , Soa , Yaoundé ,Cameroon.

²Pan African University Institute of Governance, Humanities and Social Sciences: email, samlologiel@gmail.com: Tele +254723834116 P.O.X :18 , Soa , Yaoundé, Cameroon.

Abstract: *This article analyses the role of social movements in advocating for democratization process in Kenya and their continued struggle for constitutional reforms in the country since independence. The social movements came as result of oppression, underrepresentation of women, youth and marginalized group in the societies, violation of human rights and corruption which was experienced not only in Kenya but also across Africa. In this regard, the article examines the context of social movement in Kenya, analyze the roles the social movements such as the Bunge la Wananchi (people parliament), Ufungamano Initiative movement and coalitions have played in shaping the constitutional reform and making Kenya a democratic country. This article used secondary sources of information ranging from books, articles, journals, case studies, newspapers, EBSCOhost, eBook, Google, Google Scholar, ResearchGate, and to existing legal research such as comprehensive Journal Index Acts of parliament. It is evidenced that social movements have played a very important role in advocating for democracy, and the process has not been smooth either through whistle blowing the corruption syndicates, collection of citizen actions through public participations, public demonstrations, media exposes and civic education and challenges experienced by the social movements are; Insufficiencies in Obtaining Enough Mass Mobilization to Achieve Objectives, Opposition from People in Power, Ethnicity and Identity Politics and Inadequate Funding for the Social Movements. The study recommends allocation of funds to support the social movements, formulation of policies with policy alternatives advocating protection of human and people's rights as enshrined in African charters and United nation human rights charters, legal research findings need to evoke suggestions for legal reforms to support social movements to reduce police brutality, unlawful arrest and jeopardization of their rights during demonstration.*

Introduction

The growth of social movements can be associated with economic, political and social changes can be traced back in England in the mid- 18th century such as political repression resulting to civil arrest, corruption, market capitalization, and proletarianization.¹ Since this period, social movements have transformed across the world paving ways for emergence of more vibrant social movements, some commentators argue that freedom of expression, education and relative economic independence has played undisputed role in the modern-day social movements.² The nature of social movements has appeared different depending on time and purposes in various countries in the world. Though the social movements idea was not received in good faith by most of the leaders still their spirits in championing the plights of citizens and community members was alive.

Globally , since the inception of the third wave of democratization in 1970 and 1980s by Samuel Huntington following the end of the Cold War that disintegrated the Soviet Union leading to the spread democracy in the parts of Eastern Europe and the Less Developed Countries, Huntington, many social movements of different forms across the world were formed to facilitate the changes to democracy since issues of inequality, oppressions and violations of human rights were on the rise.³ The rise of this third wave of democratization led to the fallout of military and one-party regimes which in most cases got assistance from the world powers in terms of political and financial support got disintegrated.⁴The blossoming of democratization in the African context got halted by

¹ Kitschelt, H. (1986), 'Political opportunity structures and political protest', *British Journal of politica Science*, 16(1): 57-85.

² Zygalski, A., 1995."The bread riot "and the crises of one Party system in Tunisia. In M. Mamdani and E Wamba-dia -Wamba, eds. African Studies in Social Movements and Democracy. Dakar & Oxford: CODESRIA Book Series, 99-129

³ Huntington, S. P. (1991). Democracy's third wave. *Journal of democracy*, 2(2), 12-34.

⁴ Ottaway, M. (1997). From political opening to democratization? *Democracy in Africa. The Hard Road Ahead*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 5.

the increasing civil wars that didn't provide a favorable ground for democratic consolidation. In other cases, the authoritarian regimes were hesitant in adopting the democratic ideologies.⁵

Democratization in Africa to a greater extent has been characterized by the routinization of elections where countries that have been able to hold elections are considered more democratic than their authoritarian counterparts who do not believe in or recognize the idea of power transition and in turn influence the amendment of constitution to allow power extension.⁶ The dilemma of sharing presidential power has also been the main feature of this process, the nature of electoral democracy in Africa where winner takes it all has resulted to a more divided continent and politics, this has led to the increasing rise in patron client relationship leading to ethnic voting and the rise of violent politics of belonging.⁷ For example, in Kenya, the people divide themselves along tribal lines during voting irrespective of whether the leader can deliver his or her mandate or not and this has resulted into a contentious debate on whether democracy can foster development.⁸ More so for the case of Cameroon politics in which one tribe is dominating politic sphere suppressing marginalize communities and press freedom and this has led to perennial conflict in anglophone regions.

The growth of African Exceptionalism has seen the relevance of having social democracy rather than liberal democracy, this school of thought argues that the relevance of social democracy is in providing solutions to African contemporary challenges as opposed to liberal democracy and this will allow the state to be the championing activist for social welfare. Social movements have been missing in the African studies as most of the authors of social movements in Africa have written in the Western perspective which doesn't give a clear picture of the African social movements.⁹ Most of the social movements in Africa have been influenced by the western actors, concepts and ideologies. Debates have also risen on the differences between social movements and civil societies. In 1980s, social movements were mainly used to refer to spaces of political opposition and autonomy. Civil Society on the other hand are the defenders of the people from the monopoly of the state machineries.

In the African context, social movements have evolved through different approaches.¹⁰ For instance, the social movements or nationalist movements. During the struggle for independence, the nationalist's movements were formed in order to fastened the ability of African states to secure self-rule and political independence. In Kenya there was the Mau Mau movements that resisted the colonial rule. According to Copper (1997) anti-colonial struggles were instituted to rebel against the economic, social and political power from the colonial rulers. These colonial movements fought against the colonial rulership. Some of the movements include; Maji Maji rebellion of Tanganyika, Present day Tanzania¹¹.

The rise of social movements in the post-colonial Africa has been viewed as a threat to the implementation of development plans by the colonial states that found it hard to thrive with the opposition and resistance from the social movements. These movements mobilize citizens who are not satisfied with the operational regimes for example, the resistance of Kipande system in Kenya.¹² In this regard, trade union movements have been formed for effective incorporation of workers and equality as well as protection of their rights. In addition, social movements also express the inequalities that exists in the society such as inequalities related to resource allocation, power sharing, class, gender and ethnicity. Social movements are also avenues or spaces where people have the freedom to express underrepresentation, exploitation, and an expression of social conflicts in the society.¹³

Following the debt trap diplomacy that the West has greatly pursued towards the developing countries, most of these countries have experienced debt burden thus reducing both their internal and external sovereignty, countries are borrowing to repay loans to the

⁵ Ramage, J. A., & Watkins, A. S. (2011). *Kentucky Rising: Democracy, Slavery, and Culture from the Early Republic to the Civil War*. University Press of Kentucky.

⁶ Okunloye, R. W. (2018). Monetization of Politics and Elections in Fourth Republican Nigeria: Implications for Sustainable Democratic Governance. *KIU Journal of Humanities*, 2(2 (A)), 77-85.

⁷ Ogot, B. A. (Ed.). (1996). *Ethnicity, Nationalism, and Democracy in Africa*. Institute of Research and Postgraduate Studies, Maseno University College.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Brandes, N., & Engels, B. (2011). Social movements in Africa.

¹⁰ Taylor, V., & Whittier, N. (2013). Analytical approaches to social movement culture: The culture of the women's movement. In *Social movements and culture* (pp. 163-186).

¹¹ Iliffe, J. (1967). The organization of the Maji Maji rebellion. *The Journal of African History*, 8(3), 495-512.

¹² Ranger, T. O. (1967). *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia, 1896-97: a study in African resistance*. London, Heinemann.

¹³ Della Porta, D., & Diani, M. (1999). Social movements. *The SAGE Handbook of*, 656.

point that their economies are deteriorating, this saw the implementation of the structural adjustment programs in the 1970,1980, which led to the rise in the cost of living leading to riots and protests in countries such as Egypt, Morocco which was later referred to as the Arab Spring, the protests against government decisions to raise the cost of living. This kind of protest continued to seek for political relief from the present regimes in order to welcome the pro-democracy regimes.¹⁴

Hodgkin outlines the rise of new Senegalese Peasant associations working on strengthening ties with the international organizations which in most cases saw aid as the only solution to African problems rather than solidarity.¹⁵ These dissatisfactions led to the rise of pro-democracy social movements and this meant that democratization in Africa and in Kenya in particular, social movements took a different angle such as movements organized to protests against military and authoritarian rules in order to transition to multiparty democracy organization, moreover, they mobilized themselves towards realization of democracy such as the trade unions, Church Based Organizations, women organizations to show their discontent with the present regimes and this resulted into a wave of change in most parts of the country. It against this background the study seeks to analyze the role of social movements in the democratization process in Africa and Kenya in particular.

Statement of the problem

Social movements have also played a role in keeping the governments on toes whenever there is a reluctance in performance, the movements have always organized protests to put the government on toes by playing the role of checks and balances and in this regard, there is no literature documented on the new social movements in Kenya and their roles in influencing democratization process in Kenya. Moreso, in Kenya for instance, the events that triggered the pro-democracy movements included the assassination of Tom Mboya in 1969, Josiah Kariuki in 1975 and later Robert Ouko in 1990 and economic collapse in the year 2001 as a result of denial of aid by the West on the condition that the country must adopt the democratic principles in order to continue enjoying foreign aid, these events saw the blossoming of democracy in Kenya.¹⁶ In sum most of the literature has proven that social movements in Kenyan tend to thrive with adequate funding, when the regimes are funded, it acts as a catalysts for the social movements to thrive but instances where there is disunity or opposition within the movement then it becomes apparent that such a movement would cease to pursue its mandate, therefore this study aims looking at the role of the following social movements in advocating for democracy: Ufungamano Initiative, Bunge la Wananchi (Peoples parliament), coalitions and movements and lastly the challenges faced by these social movements in democratization process in Kenya.

Literature review

Social movements across the world are commonly referred as a form of collective action that emerge or emanate in response to situations arising from social, political, economic or cultural demands leading to inequality, oppression and/or unmet.¹⁷ The genesis of most of the social movements is in the co-existence of contrasting value and political systems and to some extent the groups tend to be in conflict with each other. These are regarded as distinctive parts of social life.¹⁸ Tarrow et al argues that, traditionally the social movements after formation they would be organized at the national level, to target national governments and non-state actors for change, as the example of the French unemployed illustrates, today's national protests are more often accompanied by transnational ones, in a process of scale shift.¹⁹ This shift or the changes in the social structure and in the normative order are interpreted within a process of cultural evolution through which new ideas emerge in the minds of individuals participating in the demonstration process.²⁰ When traditional norms of the social movements formation no longer succeed in providing a satisfactory

¹⁴ Zygal, A., 1995. "The bread riot "and the crises of one Party system in Tunisia. In M. Mamdani and E Wamba-dia -Wamba, eds. African Studies in Social Movements and Democracy. Dakar & Oxford: CODESRIA Book Series, 99-129

¹⁵ Hodgkin, T., 1956. Nationalism in Colonial Africa. London: Fredrick Muller.

¹⁶ Ajullu, R. (2001) 'Kenya: One Step Forward, Three Steps Back: The Succession Dilemma, *Review of African Political Economy* 88 (June):197-212.

¹⁷ Bauhr, M. (2017). Need or greed? Conditions for collective action against corruption. *Governance*, 30(4), 561-581.

¹⁸ Killian, Lewis 1984: Organization, Rationality and Spontaneity in the Civil Rights Movement. *American Sociological Review*, 49, 770-83.

¹⁹ Tarrow, Sidney and McAdam, Doug 2005: Scale Shift in Transnational Contention. In della Porta and S. Tarrow (eds.), *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 121-49.

²⁰ Ibid,

structure for behavior, the individual within the movement are forced to challenge the social order through various forms of nonconformity to send a signal to the authorities that all is not well.²¹ A social movement develops when a feeling of dissatisfaction spreads, and insufficiently flexible institutions are unable to respond hence leading to mass demonstration which might take different forms.

Batliwala in her argument postulated that the social movement group comprise of an organized set of constituents pursuing a common political agenda of change over time²². This is in contrast to a number of studies which have demonstrated the importance of political considerations to the development and outcomes beside other factors which will lead to formation of movements as diverse as anti-nuclear movements.^{23 24 25} Bouchier has shown how different political ideas and principles or political 'ideologies' serve movements more or less well in the pursuit of effectiveness in addressing the pertinent issues the society faces as result of political turmoil.²⁶ He further argues that the term appears first to have been used by Peter Eisinger and elaborated by Sidney Tarrow but more readily available exposition and application of it is to be found in Kitschelt and to the extent that it is increasingly used to refer to processes that are more strictly conjunctural than properly structural, the term has become over-extended; to avoid linguistic and conceptual confusion it would seem better to restrict it to refer to the properties of political systems.

Rootes argues that, social movements, have metamorphosized to include movements integrating or focusing on gender power relations to champion the role of women in the society by advocacy for policy reforms to have full representation of women in governance structure to bridge the gap widen by cultural practices.²⁷ Rootes further explained that the major factor in social movement engage in the because of how they differently view the situation they are advocating for the change from social structures, their vision variously clarified or obscured by perspectives rooted in their social situations. This structuring of knowledge and perspective affects equally movements and their opponents and it tends to exacerbate conflicts of interest because it obstructs the identification of common ground necessary to negotiation, to the optimization of the benefits of negotiation, and to the minimization of mutually destructive hostility.²⁸

Levitas for instance, has documented the way the Christian Socialist movement redefined its goals in response to changing conditions.²⁹ Piven and Cloward's finding is consistent with Gamson's conclusion that, even among formally organized protest movements in the United States, it was the unruliest which were the most successful. It should, however, be noted that others who have examined Gamson's data have come to rather different conclusions.³⁰ The escalation of global crises in more recent years can be expected to bring new openings for groups hoping to challenge the dominant order and advance alternatives to the existing world economic system.³¹

Theoretical and Conceptual framework

Marxist theory by Karl Heinrich Marx a famous German economist, revolutionary and a social philosopher of the nineteenth century propounded the theory of Marxism. In his postulations, he talks about how the ideas, concept of the law, state and human rights across the divide are influenced by the Bourgeoisie and how it is used against the Proletariat.³² In this theory there are three basic assumptions in the Marxist theories of law, first, that law is the product of economic forces; secondly, law is considered to be the tool of the ruling class to maintain its powers over the ruling classes; finally, that law will wither away in the future communist society. However, according to Engels, state in the future will disappear. The third assumption has been repudiated and a novel concept is evolved that of 'socialist legality'.

²¹ Ibid et op cit.

²² Batliwala, 2012. Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID). Published by AWID in Toronto, Mexico City, Cape Town. Alloys, Grassroots community organizer 21/03/2010 Kibera

²³ Kitschelt, H. (1986), 'Political opportunity structures and political protest', *British Journal of political Science*, 16(1): 57-85.

²⁴ Rootes, C.A. (1990), 'The student movements of the advanced societies: a transnational movement and its national political contexts', *Transnational Associations-Transnationales*, September p. 23-24

²⁵ Rootes, C.A. (1983), 'On the social structural sources of political conflict – an approach from the sociology of knowledge', *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change*, 4: 33-54

²⁶ Bouchier, David (1978), *Idealism and Revolution; new ideologies of liberation in Britain and the United States* (London: Arnold).

²⁷ Ibid. p 25-30

²⁸ Rootes, C.A. (1983), 'On the social structural sources of political conflict – an approach from the sociology of knowledge', *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change*, 4: 33-54.

²⁹ Levitas, R. (1977), 'Some problems of aim-centred social movements', *Sociology* 11 (1): 47-63.

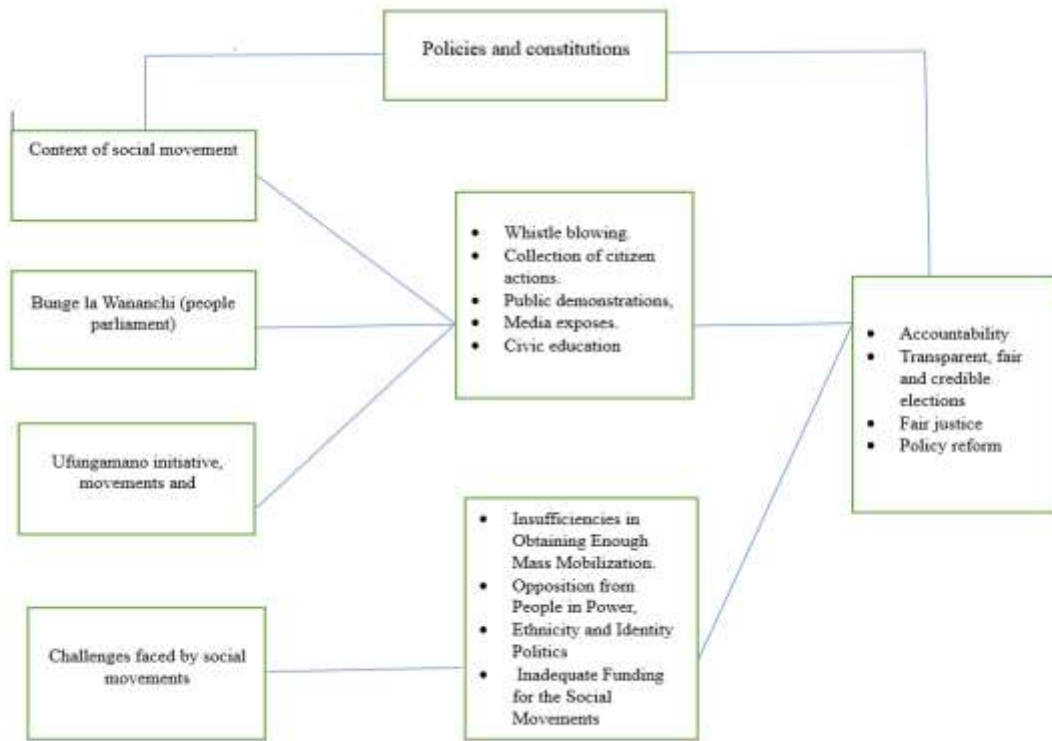
³⁰ Gamson, William A. (1975), *The Strategy of Social Protest*, (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey).

³¹ Ibid.

³² Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, 40 vols. (New York, NY: International Publishers, 1976), 6:494-5.

The theory underpins the study since the emergence of the social movements was attributed by the harsh conditions the less privilege groups of the society members full of oppression, inequality and violation of human rights by the ruling class across the divide in 19th century were subjected to, it on basis the research supports the ideology that as the social movement arose this led to withering of the retrogressive law input by the powerful groups of people for their benefits. Contrast to the existence of the law for powerful groups in the society such reform of constitutions and laws as a result of emergence of social movements has led to equal resource sharing, transparent, fair and credible elections and fair justice to the unprivileged groups in the society.

Conceptual framework.



STUDY FINDINGS

1. Influence of Bunge la Wananchi (Peoples Parliament) on the Democratization process in Kenya.

Bunge la Wananchi as a grassroots movement mainly works to enhance the participation of people in the democratic processes in Kenya by providing platforms and spaces where citizens engage in the governance issues that directly affect their lives such as repressive governments, acts of oppression, exploitation or even inequality.³³This movement has played a very critical role in expanding Kenya’s democratic struggle since its establishment in the 1990s as a space where people would have debates on political and civil issues for instance, the Imperial British rule was mainly resisted by Mekatilili Wa Menza, a Giriama leader who organized uprisings against the British rule in Kenya, this was because of the increased taxation, force labour to work in the British plantations. Bunge la Wananchi has also worked towards promoting participation in the democracy where the citizens are no longer free riders in the pool of decision makers but also active participants in the drive for change.³⁴This movement has played a very critical role in

³³ Otieno, D. C., Kabala, N., Scott-Villiers, P., Gachihi, G., & Ndung’u, D. M. (2016). Men and Women of Words: How Words Divide and Connect the Bunge La Mwananchi Movement in Kenya. *Transforming Development Knowledge*, 99.

³⁴ Kinyua, W. A. (2014). *Civil society advocacy in political participation in Kenya between 2007 and 2013: a case study of friedrich-ebert-stiftung* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Nairobi).

empowering the citizens to be active participants in the political process and demand for the accountability, transparency, inclusiveness, responsiveness and effectiveness from their elected leaders. This social movement has also created a space where citizens and the other parties involved can have open debates and discussions around their issues of concern, this implies that Bunge la Wannanchi has played a role in engaging citizens on governance issues.

During the food protests or riots in the year 2008 this movement mobilized citizens in the public spaces to come out in large numbers and show their dissatisfaction with the increase in the prices of food.³⁵ Some commentators viewed this in relation to the 2008 oil crises in the world and through the movement irrespective of the harassment from one police to the other, arrests, the government came in to introduce subsidies in order to manage the situation. In 2010 when there was an increase in the price of maize meal which is one of the staple foods in Kenya, most people suffered from that increase and this led to mobilization of more citizens through Bunge la Wananchi which organized demonstrations to show their dissatisfaction with the increased prices and this led to government intervention and the prices of maize meal were reviewed after the uproar. During the 2007/2008 election violence in Kenya, Bunge la Wannanchi played role in bringing people together, most of the politicians were fond of promoting divisions along the tribal lines but this movement mobilized citizens in open spaces where they had discussions on people who mostly get affected in conflict and how they can work on restoring social cohesion.³⁶

The movement additionally created platforms for reconciliation in the peoples “Barraza’s” (meeting) thus leading to an ultimate solution of arriving at a coalition government at the national level, an important milestone in democracy of power sharing. However, it is in order to take note that the extent to which Bunge la Wananchi has promoted democracy in Kenya cannot be quantified, there is a likelihood that many other factors may have contributed to the democratization process in Kenya. Overall, Bunge la Wannanchi movement has played an important role in advancing democracy in Kenya.³⁷

2. Influence of Coalition and Movements on Democratization in Kenya.

Promotion and protection of democracy is done by bringing together individuals and organizations with a common goal of advancing democratic values and practices.³⁸ These coalitions and movements can have a powerful impact on shaping of public opinion and policy decisions in regards to particular public concerns that needs an immediate action. For instance, the Global Democracy Coalition which has got an aim of to drive democracy forward by promoting the role of the youth in political and democratic spaces, tackling issues that are related to corruption and mismanagement of resources thus addressing the challenges affecting the newly democratic nations and communities. In addition, citizen movements can play a very powerful force for promoting democracy.³⁹ The powered by the people initiative launched by the USAID is one of the instances of an effort to empower peaceful mass movements working towards democratic reforms for the realization of political change.

In general, coalitions and movements play a significant impact on promoting and protecting democracy by bringing together diverse groups of individuals and organizations. Creating public awareness, engagement and advocating for policy changes that advance democratic values and practices. In Kenya, coalitions and movement have greatly played in fighting corruption which is one of the main hindrances to the democratization process in most of the African countries, Kenya included. Coalitions and movements have played a critical role in the journey of fighting against corruption which has proven beyond reasonable doubt to undermine democracy. Some of the activities that are carried out by the coalition and movement to promote democracy included in Kenya include:

³⁵ Musembi, C., & Scott-Villiers, P. (2015). Food Riots and Food Rights: The Moral and Political Economy of Accountability for Hunger in Kenya.

³⁶ Nyongesa, G. (2009). Grassroots activists take on the coalition Government. *Wajibu*, 24(1), 22-25.

³⁷ Gachichi, G. A. C. H. E. K. E. (2014). The Study of Grassroot Social Movement in Kenya, Case Study of Bunge La Mwananchi (People’s Parliament)’. *University of Bagamoyo, Nairobi*.

³⁸ Hyde, S. D., Lamb, E., & Samet, O. (2022). Promoting democracy under electoral authoritarianism: Evidence from Cambodia. *Comparative Political Studies*, 00104140221139387.

³⁹ Oyugi, W. O. (2006). Coalition politics and coalition governments in Africa. *Journal of contemporary African studies*, 24(1), 53-79.

i. Whistle Blowing

This is a very powerful tool in fighting corruption, this is where one discloses information concerning acts of corruption by making their illegal acts being known to the relevant authorities and to some extent even to the members of the public, this helps in creating a culture of transparency and accountability, for example, if a national leader is fond of violating human rights, the whistle blowers will expose these actions and there is a higher chance they can refrain from such acts in the future for fear of persecution from the international community.⁴⁰

ii. Collective Citizen Action

This is where the citizens have the opportunity to actively participate in the democratic processes specifically in finding a solution to the challenges that they face, this was done by mobilizing themselves to conduct grassroots campaigns, engaging in advocacy and lobbying initiatives and taking actions to implement changes and this is mainly done to achieve the political, economic and social benefits from democracy. The success of collective action relies on mobilization of resources, and building of alliances across different sectors of the society.⁴¹

iii. Public Demonstrations

Demonstrations have proven effective in giving government pressure to comply to the demands of the citizens as well as compelling the government to adhere to democratic principles in Kenya. Demonstrations have also proven useful in creating awareness and thus welcoming an era of change by empowering people to show that there are more of such people who share the same sentiments in regards to the change they want. In Kenya, demonstrations have played a very critical role in influencing government actions for example, mass demonstrations led to mobilization of more Kenyans to support the removal of KANU from power leading to the first ever free and fair elections in 2002. In 2017, Kenya almost witnessed post-election violence but through demonstrations, the opposition and government had an agreement leading to a “Handshake” that saw peace in the country for the entire 5 years.⁴²

iv. Media Exposures

The media has played a very critical role in harnessing democracy, as watchdog in ensuring that the democratic principles are effectively implemented. The media has also played an important role in covering elections, abuses of human rights, they also play a role of checks and balances in ensuring that the government is on toes.

3. Influence of Ufungamano initiative and Kenyan constitutional reforms

Ufungamano Initiative is comprised of faith-based organizations, Non-Governmental Organizations, women led organizations. These organizations joined together to form this movement in order to show discontent with the oppression from the Moi's regime, in addition the movement tried to redefine the nexus between the people of Kenya and their leaders. Ufungamano Initiative played a critical role in the democratization process in Kenya particularly in the drive towards having the new constitution in the late 1990s and the early 2000s. This movement which is composed of diverse civil society organizations, religious groups, and opposition political parties played a very instrumental role in creating public awareness and garnering support for constitutional reforms that led to the formation of the 2010 constitution.⁴³ The Ufungamano Initiative was also responsible for convening the National Convention Executive Council (NCEC) that saw the engagement of various stakeholders in the constitutional review process, NCEC saw the engagement of various stakeholders in constitutional review process by crafting the draft constitution that sought to curb the powers of the presidency and devolve power to the regions.⁴⁴ Kivutha Kibwana a constitutional lawyer and also a constituent figure in the National Convention Executive Council argued that the lawyers supported this initiative because:

For quite some time people were abducted, many people were killed and others were imprisoned, and we really suffered a lot. As lawyers we got involved because there was no more law to practice. You could imagine no practice any more in the

⁴⁰ Francis, R. D., Armstrong, A. F., & Foxley, I. (2015). Whistleblowing: a three-part view. *Journal of Financial Crime*.

⁴¹ Bauhr, M. (2017). Need or greed? Conditions for collective action against corruption. *Governance*, 30(4), 561-581.

⁴² Mutonya, M. (2004). Praise and protest: Music and contesting patriotisms in postcolonial Kenya. *Social Dynamics*, 30(2), 20-35.

⁴³ Mati, J. M. (2012). Social movements and socio-political change in Africa: The Ufungamano initiative and Kenyan constitutional reform struggles (1999–2005). *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 23, 63-84.

⁴⁴ Mati, J. M. (2013). Antinomies in the struggle for the transformation of the Kenyan constitution (1990–2010). *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 31(2), 235-254.

courts. Your kids could not go to school. We had kids that dropped out of school when universities went on strike, they kicked you out of the house because it was rented. If you have loans especially from public banks, they would take you in. In fact, you would be very vulnerable. So, you decide to have another system where you would make a livelihood and free from this culture of both political and economic oppression (Interview 26/09/2009).

In this regard the citizens mostly those from the informal settlements were in dire support for the Ufungamano Initiative and this was their argument:

A few of us have realized that the problems we are facing were not limited to Kibera alone and the problems are the same in other slums in Nairobi like Mukuru Kayaba, Mukuru Kwa Reuben, Korogocho, Kingstone in Spring valley, Mutumba city cotton in Nairobi West, Mariguni etc. We realized that we needed to get organized and start a strong movement to raise alarm on the problems of evictions of the poor and grabbing of the public land by rich and the public administration. Therefore, we started organizing on our own programmes like the Firimbi (Whistle) OF THE Mazingira Institute, Kituo cha Sheria and the ANPPCAN etc It became clear that the problem we confronted were rooted in the bad constitution. That is why we had the rich flashing out fake title deeds and would still have the state on their side to oppress the poor. We started agitating not for just against the evictions but also the changes in the basic law of the land. We started educating others on the and ourselves on the fundamentals of the constitution (Interview 21/03/2010). The draft ultimately formed the basis of the 2010 constitution. The Ufungamano Initiative was therefore an important force in the democratization process in Kenya, as it played a pivot role in shaping and advocating for constitutional reforms that led to greater democracy and accountability in the country.

The Ufungamano initiative used a number of tactics and strategies in order to achieve its goal constitutional reforms. The initiative managed to challenge the state through demonstrations, civic education and the collection of views from the citizens.

v. Demonstrations

This initiative organized several demonstrations to compel the government to listen to their pleas on constitutional reforms for instance in 1997, the Ufungamano Initiative led mass demonstrations against the proposed constitution that they didn't adequately represent the interest of the people. This demonstration led to the withdrawal of the constitution and commitments towards review of the same constitution.⁴⁵

vi. Civic education

This was one of the key strategies that was used by the Ufungamano Initiative to propel its agenda on constitutional review, one of the main agendas of the initiative was to educate the citizens on the importance of having a constitutional review process and to encourage public participation in the process, in this light, the initiative developed and implemented civic education programs that aimed at stimulating discussions and widespread awareness on issues related to the constitution. Some of the programs involved holding of workshops, seminars, public forums and the distribution of educational materials and this saw an increase in public awareness concerning constitution and the participation of citizens.⁴⁶

vii. Collecting views from citizens

This initiative also worked hand in hand with different stakeholders to collect information or views of the citizens on the constitutional issues, in different forums, citizens were given the opportunity to voice their opinions and make the necessary recommendations and propose amendments or the constitution. The initiative set up hot lines and email addresses that that could allow citizens to transmit their views electronically in partnership with different civil society organizations and religious groups that also largely engaged the citizens on the importance of constitutional reforms. In addition, this initiative also engaged in the analysis and interpretation of the law. Ufungamano Initiative identifies the constitution as a sacred covenant thus leading the concerns of

⁴⁵ Press, R. M. (2023). Review of Political Protest in Contemporary Kenya: Change and Continuities. *The Journal of Social Encounters*, 7(1), 291-292.

⁴⁶ Wamalwa Muragori, B., & Gitu, M. (2002). Trends in civic education in Kenya: review and mapping study, 1963 to 2001; report.

having an active input from both the ruler and the ruled by establishing a system of principles for transparent operations and engagement.⁴⁷

4. Challenges that face social movements in advocating for democratization process in Kenya.

Social movements have historically been closely connected with democratic political systems, which in most cases blossom after democratization, however, this does not mean that social movements advocating for the democratization process do not encounter hindrances in their functions. One of the major challenges include:

i. Insufficiencies in Obtaining Enough Mass Mobilization to Achieve Objectives

This may take the direction of convincing the people who might not be well informed on the importance of being part of the movement and also convincing people who may have not been active in politics to join such movements. Mass mobilization also requires the movement to identify and reach out to potential supporters which in most cases becomes challenging because of the inconsistency in labelling and the description of the social movements.⁴⁸

ii. Opposition from People in Power

Opposing groups may have significant resources and influence, making it challenging for the social movements to achieve their objectives. In addition, social movements advocating for democratization may also have to contend with issues such as money politics, identity politics, leadership wrangles between the political parties, political polarization which is one of the features of politics in Africa, social division and racial tension.⁴⁹

iii. Ethnicity and Identity Politics

Ethnicity is one of the major challenges faced by the social movements in their urge to advocate for democratic consolidation in Kenya. Ethnicity has proven beyond reasonable doubt to be the greatest hindrance to the flourishing of democracy. Over the years, citizens of Kenya have always voted along the tribal lines based on the assumption that their 'tribes' men will enhance their ability to have their share of national cake and also protect their ethnic resources that might be snatched if people from a different ethnic group gets into power. Kenya for the longest period have always voted along ethnic lines and the elected leaders in most cases direct almost all the resource and opportunities towards his or her tribes men leading to the marginalization of all the other citizens. In this regard, the rulers have always used the system of divide and rule to ensure that ethnicity thrives, some of the largest ethnic groups are rivals for them to always remain in power and this hinders having a strong social movement because of the divisions caused by politicians. For example, during the Moi regime, he always ensured that the Luo and Kikuyu ethnic groups are rivals for him to remain in power for the 24 years and in 2005 when both the communities came together, change became eminent leading to election of Mwai Kibaki ushering in a new age of democracy in Kenya.⁵⁰

iv. Inadequate Funding for the Social Movements

With inadequate financial resources, social movements struggle to organize rallies, workshops, distribute materials, or conduct outreach programs to the general population. This can limit their ability to raise awareness, build momentum and engage policy makers to effect changes. It is order for social movements to have adequate funding and resources to support their efforts and promote democracy as well as advocate for the rights of the marginalized members of the community.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Nkatha, M., & Dzinekkou, J. Y. (2022). 'University Mtaani': A Case Study of Service Learning and Civic Engagement for Social Transformation in Nairobi's Informal Settlements. *Community-based Research with Vulnerable Populations: Ethical, Inclusive and Sustainable Frameworks for Knowledge Generation*, 187-203.

⁴⁸ Smith, J. (2008). *Social movements for global democracy*. JHU Press.

⁴⁹ Della Porta, D., & Diani, M. (1999). Social movements. *The SAGE Handbook of*, 656.

⁵⁰ Leach, C. W., Brown, L. M., & Worden, R. E. (2008). Ethnicity and identity politics. *Science*, 32(3), 415-434.

⁵¹ Littlewood, D. C., & Kiyumbu, W. L. (2018). "Hub" organisations in Kenya: What are they? What do they do? And what is their potential? *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, 131, 276-285.

Overall, social movements are faced with many challenges in their urge to promote democratic change but their importance in promoting political and social equality cannot be understated. Strategies such as effective mass mobilization and resource mobilization as well as adopting to communication trends through the use of technology and social media can help social movements better overcome these challenges, from repressive governments actions and co-optation to difficulties in defining objectives and maintaining unity within the movements. Despite the challenges, social movements have historically played a crucial role in shaping democratic political systems will likely continue embarrassing democratic consolidation within our societies and nations.

Conclusion

The notion that social movements have greatly contribution to democratization process in Kenya is undeniable. Their role in enhancing citizen participation in public affairs, coordinating reforms has played a very vital role in initiating social change in the country. The Bunge la Wananchi, Ufungamano Initiative movements have demonstrated the need of society and community members to unite and support ideas that are of national importance inline with the mandate of the structures that are put in place by the state. In this regard the social movements have proven to be the custodians of people confidence and trust and their success rate relies on the popular will.

REFERENCES

- Ajullu, R. (2001) 'Kenya: One Step Forward, Three Steps Back: The Succession Dilemma, *Review of African Political Economy* 88 (June):197-212.
- Batliwala, 2012. Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID). This publication may be redistributed non-commercially in any media, unchanged and in whole, with credit given to AWID and the authors. www.creativecommons.org. Published by AWID in Toronto, Mexico City, Cape Town. Alloys, Grassroots community organizer 21/03/2010 Kibera.
- Bauhr, M. (2017). Need or greed? Conditions for collective action against corruption. *Governance*, 30(4), 561-581.
- Brandes, N., & Engels, B. (2011). Social movements in Africa.
- Bouchier, David (1978), *Idealism and Revolution; new ideologies of liberation in Britain and the United States* (London: Arnold).
- Della Porta, D., & Diani, M. (1999). Social movements. *The SAGE Handbook of*, 656.
- Dr. Kamau Kuria, Human activist/constitutional lawyer, 26/09/2009, Chai House, Nairobi
- Francis, R. D., Armstrong, A. F., & Foxley, I. (2015). Whistleblowing: a three part view. *Journal of Financial Crime*.
- Gamson, William A. (1975), *The Strategy of Social Protest*, (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey).
- Gachichi, G. A. C. H. E. K. E. (2014). The Study of Grassroot Social Movement in Kenya, Case Study of Bunge La Mwananchi (People's Parliament). *University of Bagamoyo, Nairobi*.
- Iiffe, J. (1967). The organization of the Maji Maji rebellion. *The Journal of African History*, 8(3), 495-512.
- Hodgkin, T., 1956. Nationalism in Colonial Africa. London: Fredrick Muller.
- Huntington, S. P. (1991). Democracy's third wave. *Journal of democracy*, 2(2), 12-34.
- Hyde, S. D., Lamb, E., & Samet, O. (2022). Promoting democracy under electoral authoritarianism: Evidence from Cambodia. *Comparative Political Studies*, 00104140221139387.
- Kanyinga, K. (2016). Devolution and the new politics of development in Kenya. *African Studies Review*, 59(3), 155-167.
- Killian, Lewis 1984: Organization, Rationality and Spontaneity in the Civil Rights Movement. *American Sociological Review*, 49, 770-83.
- Kinyua, W. A. (2014). *Civil society advocacy in political participation in Kenya between 2007 and 2013: a case study of friedrich-ebert-stiftung* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Nairobi).
- Kitschelt, H. (1986), 'Political opportunity structures and political protest', *British Journal of political Science*, 16(1): 57-85.
- Leach, C. W., Brown, L. M., & Worden, R. E. (2008). Ethnicity and identity politics. *Science*, 32(3), 415-434.
- Levitas, R. (1977), 'Some problems of aim-centred social movements', *Sociology* 11 (1): 47-63.
- Littlewood, D. C., & Kiyumbu, W. L. (2018). "Hub" organisations in Kenya: What are they? What do they do? And what is their potential? *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, 131, 276-285.
- Mati, J. M. (2012). Social movements and socio-political change in Africa: The Ufungamano initiative and Kenyan constitutional reform struggles (1999-2005). *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 23, 63-84.
- Mati, J. M. (2013). Antinomies in the struggle for the transformation of the Kenyan constitution (1990-2010). *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 31(2), 235-254.
- Musembi, C., & Scott-Villiers, P. (2015). Food Riots and Food Rights: The Moral and Political Economy of Accountability for Hunger in Kenya.
-

- Mutonya, M. (2004). Praise and protest: Music and contesting patriotisms in postcolonial Kenya. *Social Dynamics*, 30(2), 20-35.
- Nkatha, M., & Dzinekkou, J. Y. (2022). 'University Mtaani': A Case Study of Service Learning and Civic Engagement for Social Transformation in Nairobi's Informal Settlements. *Community-based Research with Vulnerable Populations: Ethical, Inclusive and Sustainable Frameworks for Knowledge Generation*, 187-203.
- Nyongesa, G. (2009). Grassroots activists take on the coalition Government. *Wajibu*, 24(1), 22-25.
- Ogot, B. A. (Ed.). (1996). *Ethnicity, Nationalism, and Democracy in Africa*. Institute of Research and Postgraduate Studies, Maseno University College.
- Okunloye, R. W. (2018). Monetization of Politics and Elections in Fourth Republican Nigeria: Implications for Sustainable Democratic Governance. *KIU Journal of Humanities*, 2(2 (A)), 77-85.
- Otieno, D. C., Kabala, N., Scott-Villiers, P., Gachihi, G., & Ndung'u, D. M. (2016). Men and Women of Words: How Words Divide and Connect the Bunge La Mwananchi Movement in Kenya. *Transforming Development Knowledge*, 99.
- Ottaway, M. (1997). From political opening to democratization?. *Democracy in Africa. The Hard Road Ahead*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 5.
- Oyugi, W. O. (2006). Coalition politics and coalition governments in Africa. *Journal of contemporary African studies*, 24(1), 53-79.
- Press, R. M. (2023). Review of Political Protest in Contemporary Kenya: Change and Continuities. *The Journal of Social Encounters*, 7(1), 291-292.
- Ramage, J. A., & Watkins, A. S. (2011). *Kentucky Rising: Democracy, Slavery, and Culture from the Early Republic to the Civil War*. University Press of Kentucky.
- Ranger, T. O. (1967). *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia, 1896-97: a study in African resistance*. London, Heinemann.
- Rootes, C.A. (1990), 'The student movements of the advanced societies: a transnational movements and its national political contexts', *Transnational Associations-Transnationales*, September.
- Rootes, C.A. (1983), 'On the social structural sources of political conflict – an approach from the sociology of knowledge', *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change*, 4: 33-54.
- Sarihan, A. (2012). Is the Arab Spring in the Third Wave of Democratization? The Case of Syria and Egypt. *Turkish Journal of Politics*, 3(1).
- Smith, J. (2008). *Social movements for global democracy*. JHU Press.
- Tarrow, Sidney and McAdam, Doug 2005: Scale Shift in Transnational Contention. In della Porta and S. Tarrow (eds.), *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*. Lanham, MD:Rowman and Littlefield, 121–49.
- Taylor, V., & Whittier, N. (2013). Analytical approaches to social movement culture: The culture of the women's movement. In *Social movements and culture* (pp. 163-186).
- Wamalwa Muragori, B., & Gitu, M. (2002). Trends in civic education in Kenya: review and mapping study, 1963 to 2001; report.
- Zygal ,A., 1995."The bread riot "and the crises of one Party system in Tunisia. In M. Mamdani and E Wamba-dia -Wamba, eds. *African Studies in Social Movements and Democracy* .Dakar & Oxford :CODESRIA Book Series, 99-129