

Political Parties' Implementation of Pre-election Pledges: 2017 to Date



Centre for
Multiparty Democracy Kenya

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| ANC: | Amani Natonal Congress |
| CMD: | Centre for Multiparty Democracy – Kenya |
| FAP: | Fronter Alliance Party |
| Ford Kenya: | Forum for Restoraton of Democracy - Kenya |
| JP: | Jubilee Party |
| KANU: | Kenya African Natonal Union |
| NASA: | Natonal Super Alliance |
| ODM: | Orange Democratc Movement |
| PDR: | Party of Democracy and Reforms |
| PWD: | People with Disabilites |
| WDM-K: | Wiper Democratc Movement – Kenya |

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CMD-Kenya

Head of Programmer - Range Mwita,

Executive Summary

Political parties' pre-election pledges represent a social contract between political leaders and the electorate. Although politicians make various pledges during the campaign period, the pledges that represent the political party are essentially those documented in party manifestos. The study on political parties' implementation of pre-election pledges had two objectives: to examine how the governing political party – i.e., Jubilee has implemented pledges through government programmes; how NASA as the opposition coalition has held the governing party to account; and how political parties represented in parliament have contributed to legislative agenda. Data on programme implementation were mainly from the Kenya Economic Survey of 2020. Individual perceptions on programme implementation were drawn from membership of diverse political parties. On the other hand, data on political parties' legislative performance were drawn from bills of the National Assembly and Senate for three years (2018 – 2020).

The results showed that based on official statistics, diverse peer reviewed journals and media reports, the governing party has to a fairly large extent fulfilled or is on-course fulfilling the 2017 pre-election pledges. Some of the most notable successes were on the expansion of digitalization of government procurement and of huduma (service) centers, free maternity services, free primary and secondary schools, and electricity connectivity. However, notable challenges were on completion of dam projects, affordable housing, and the apprentice programme. Viewed against individuals' perceptions, the results that people generally downgraded Jubilee government's performance. Other findings show that the NASA coalition was downgraded on holding the governing party to account. In terms of parliamentary contributions, Jubilee Party ranked the highest while Ford-Kenya also had an appreciable performance especially in the National Assembly. In contrast, some of the big parties like ODM, WDP-Kenya, ANC did not

demonstrate significant performance in the assemblies. Further, the Jubilee's bills were mainly in the social and economic sectors, which is largely in concordance with its manifesto orientation. Similarly, NASA's bills had a significant leaning on the political sector and therefore in concordance with its manifesto orientation.

To that extent the results showed that the political parties' implementation of the 2017 pre-election pledges has mixed results. It is, therefore, imperative for the political parties to find out how to augment their performance and how to communicate the same to the electorate.

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Background

Political parties' election pledges are a social contract between political leaders and the electorate. Election pledges are made on important issues and on the policy themes parties emphasize most and are represented or embedded in the party election manifesto. Generally, a party manifesto is a published declaration of the party's intentions, motives, or views and usually accepts a previously published public opinion or public consensus, or promotes a new idea with prescriptive notions for carrying out desired changes. More specifically, an election manifesto is the list of promises to citizens issued by a political party and shows the party ideology and its commitment to the citizens. Election manifestos enable voters to know about the policies and programmes of competing parties and so they form a basis for voters' decision making in choosing one political party over another. The manifesto of the ruling party communicates about its achievements during the last tenure; while the manifestos of the opposition parties point out the failures of the government and mobilise public opinion against them. After the

elections, people can exert pressure on the governing party to fulfil the pledges made, and exert pressure on opposition parties to hold the governing party to account (Brouard et al., 2018; Mansergh and Thomson, 2007).

Pledges made by parties that enter the government after elections are more likely to be enacted than those made by parties that do not (Mansergh and Thomson, 2007) and in practice there is a strong positive correlation between governing parties' manifestos and their funding priorities. The positive correlation is partly associated with the view that elected officials' have the incentive to commit to at least some electoral pledges since their party is going to have to communicate about policy enactment in order to get re-elected in the future (Brouard et al., 2018). However, a governing political party faces impediments inherent in the party's internal and external environments. Internally, the governing political party may be in a situation where those who drafted the manifesto are not the ones to implement it given that some contestants will lose the

election. Elected officials may also have cognitive limits that would undermine translation of ideals into action. Further, the party may experience reduced budgetary allocation (Brouard et al., 2018).

Externally, both governing and opposition political parties are exposed to legal and regulatory changes, changes in electorate expectations in response to changes in society (e.g., the impacts of COVID-19 pandemic such as mass unemployment), changes in global and national economy, or the rise of competing political parties.

Kenya is a multi-party state with at least 68 registered political parties by year 2020. Constitutionally, Kenya has a two-tier governance system comprising of the national government, and 47 devolved county governments. At the national level, the legislative structure is bicameral with a National Assembly consisting of 349 members with voting rights, of whom 290 are elected members from each of the single-member constituencies, 47 are elected women representatives from each county, and 12 are special interest representatives nominated by political parties

based on the share of seats won in the single-member constituencies. The second tier of legislature is the senate with 67 members, of whom 47 are elected from counties acting as single member constituencies, 16 are women nominated by political parties based on the share of seats won in the Senate single member constituencies, two (2) are a man and a woman representing youths, and another two (2) are a man and woman representing people with disabilities. Both the National Assembly and Senate have Speakers who are ex officio members meaning that they do not have voting rights. Following the latest general election in 2017, the political parties with fairly significant representation in the National Assembly, say over 20%, were only two - Jubilee Party (JP) with 49% (171 members), and Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) with 22% (76 members). The representation of other parties is low, for example, Wiper Democratic Party (WDP)-Kenya at 7%, Amani National Congress (ANC) at 4%, and Forum for Restoration of Democracy (FORD)-Kenya and Kenya African National Union (KANU) at 3% each. In Senate, the representation was largest in Jubilee (51%, 34 members) and ODM (30%, 20 members) while that of the next parties was low, for example, WDM-Kenya, ANC

and KANU at 4% (3 members) each. In the 2017 election, JP, and KANU participated as single parties while ODM, WDP-Kenya, Ford-Kenya and ANC were in the NASA coalition.

1.2 The Context and Rationale

CMD-Kenya set out to assess how political parties in Kenya have implemented their 2017 pre-election pledges. CMD-Kenya is a political party-based membership organization whose mandate is to enhance multi-party democracy and strengthen the institutional capacity of political parties in Kenya through policy influence and capacity building. The organization provides a platform for political parties, political actors and policy makers to engage in dialogue and cooperate in strengthening multiparty democracy.

The assessment is part of CMD-Kenya's project called 'broadening participation in democratic governance in Kenya' whose aim is to strengthen the role of political parties in Kenya in advancing democratic, accountable and transparent governance in a participatory and inclusive manner. The findings of the study will be used to

inform and shape public discourses around political accountability; to awaken interest and to persuade people of the importance of issue-based politics, promote responsive political parties as public

institutions at both national and county levels; support inclusive politics based on transparent and predictable mechanisms that include and engage individual or social groupings wholly excluded from political life. The findings of the study will also inform CMD-Kenya's engagement with political parties at the National and County levels in a bid to strengthen their linkages with the electorates as well as enhance their institutional capacities.

1.3 Study objectives

The broad objective of the study was to assess the political parties' implementation of pre-election pledges. The specific objectives were twofold:

1. To determine how the governing political party has implemented pre-election pledges through government programmes;
2. To determine how political parties represented in parliament have contributed to legislation.

2.0 Methodology

A review of JP's 2017 manifesto titled 'Continuing Kenya's Transformation Together' showed that the party had 10 distinctly itemized pledges, which became the basis for programme performance assessment. A review of NASA's 2017 manifesto titled 'A Strong Nation' showed that, though not itemized, the party documents several pledges that formed the basis for its assessment with regard to holding the governing party to account. None of the other political parties represented in parliament (e.g., KANU, PDR, FAP) had manifestos available to the evaluation team.

JP's performance on programmes was examined mainly through secondary data whose sources were government published reports, peer-reviewed journal articles and mass media reports. The Kenya Economic Survey of 2020 was the main government published report utilized. JP's performance on programmes was also measured through citizen's views captured through questions which required the respondent to rate

performance within three responses namely, "achieved", "on-course", or "failed". Similar questions were utilized to gauge NASA's performance in holding the government to account.

Data on political parties' legislative performance were drawn from bills of the National Assembly and Senate for three years (2018 – 2020), and as published by the National Council for Law Reporting (2020). The parties' parliamentary performance was assessed by comparing their strength in parliament against the percentage of bills they sponsored. For instance, given JP's parliamentary strength of 49% and 51% in National Assembly and Senate respectively, the party would be expected to sponsor bills of equal proportions or higher in order to be considered to have performed averagely or better. Once the findings of the study had been established, they were subjected to a validation workshop whose participants were drawn from CMD-Kenya member political parties, and from civil

society organizations with interest on political parties in Kenya.

3.0 Results

3.1 Jubilee Performance on Programmes

The performance of jubilee performance in government programmes is profiled according to the 10 pledges in the 2017 manifesto as follows:

Pledge No 1. To create 1.3 million jobs every year and work with county governments to establish at least one industry in every county.

This pledge was assessed on the basis of creation of jobs but not establishment of at least one industry in every county. The results showed that between 2015 -2019, the average number of jobs created was 845.0 thousand, which ranged from a low of 801.1 thousand jobs in 2016 to a high of 905.1 thousand jobs in 2017. Against the expected 1.3 jobs, the numbers translate to achievement rate of between 62% - 70%, which is above average performance. When individuals were asked to rate JP's performance on the pledge, an overwhelming 92% gave a verdict of failure. This result shows a discordant between the official data based performance and individual assessment of the

performance whereby the later gives a low rating. The discordant means that, among other things, the public is not much aware of the JP government's performance, which calls for innovation on the part of the party to communicate its performance to the public.

Pledge No. 2. To establish a government sponsored apprenticeship programme of up to 12 months for all University and Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) graduates.

The pledge was assessed on establishment of the apprenticeship programme with the results showing that in 2017 – the year with the latest available data, only 6,311 out of estimated 50,000 University graduates apprentices/interns had been admitted to various work places. This translates an achievement rate of only 12%. The survey data indicated that only 2% gave a verdict of achievement while nearly half (exact 45%) gave a verdict of failure.

Pledge No.3. To double the number of vulnerable citizens supported through the cash transfer programme (Inua Jamii) from 700,000 to 1,400,000. This will include all citizens above the age of 70; in addition, all citizens above the age of 70 will obtain health insurance cover through the NHIF.

An analysis of three cash transfer programmes – orphans and vulnerable children (OVC), older persons and people with disability (PWD) showed a reduction of beneficiaries between 2018 and 2019 but also increased funding. The OVC beneficiaries (households) reduced by 13.3% (from 340,416 in 2018 to 295,307 in 2019); older persons beneficiaries reduced by 4.1% (from 797,411 in 2018 to 764,644 in 2019), and PWD beneficiaries (caregivers) reduced by 204% (from 42,851 in 2018 to 34,094 in 2019). As such, the total number of beneficiaries was 1.1 million, which is deviation of 21% (n=305, 955). The reduction in number of beneficiaries has been attributed to 'natural' attrition

(mortality), and to migration of payment to the beneficiaries from card based payment system to bank account based system which resulted in some beneficiaries having challenges in opening the accounts.

Among the respondents studied, only 8% gave a verdict of achievement, while 63% felt the government was on course and 29% felt it had failed on this pledge.

Pledge No.4. To expand the free primary school programme to include free day public secondary schools in Kenya.

This pledge was supported because enrolment in secondary schools grew by 10.8% to 3.3 million and number of public secondary school teachers increased by 6.0% to 105,234 in 2019. However, it was partly negated because the numbers of primary and secondary schools decreased in 2019 compared to 2018. In a related note, results showed that number of TVET schools increased in 2019 by 10.3% to 2,191; and enrolment of TVET trainees increased by 19.7% to 430,598. Among those who participated in the survey, 19% gave a verdict of achievement on expansion of primary and

secondary schools, while nearly half (exact 46%) gave a failure verdict.

Pledge No. 5. To facilitate mass housing production of at least 500,000 affordable homes in 5 years across the country by working in partnership with financial institutions, private developers, manufacturers of building materials and cooperatives to deliver homes faster and reduce the cost of construction by at least 50%.

The target of facilitating production of at least 500,000 affordable homes in 5 years across translates to 100,000 homes per year. Official statistics showed dismal performance because in 2018 and 2019 the numbers of completed public residential buildings were 430 and 530 units respectively. The statistics further showed that in 2019, more than 5,000 units were under construction of which 4,700 were commenced in 2019. The dismal performance – especially on completion – can be attributed to the failure of the government proposed housing fund; while the subsequent success can be attributed to approval of funding from World Bank and AfDB. The achievement rating was by only 3%, while failure rating was by 50%.

Pledge No.6. To expand free maternity care to include government funded NHIF cover for every expectant mother for one year.

At the time of study, there were available no official data of beneficiaries. However, a 2019 peer-reviewed journal article by Evaline Lang'at and others titled "Effects of implementing free maternity service policy in Kenya: an interrupted time series analysis" revealed that antenatal care visits increased by 89%; health facility deliveries increased by 97%; live births increased by 98%; and emergency obstetric care increased by 27% at level 5, 4, and 3 hospitals. This success was equally reflected in the survey with an achievement rating of 29% and a failure rating of 31%

Pledge No.7. To ensure every citizen is connected to reliable and affordable electricity (on or off-grid) by 2020.

In the pledge to ensure every citizen is connected to reliable and affordable electricity (on or off-grid) by 2020, the access rate was 75% in 2018 nearly 85% in 2019 as shown in a study by Institute of Economic Affairs of 2020. The survey data showed very few gave a verdict of achievement (5%) but a large 68% felt the

government was on course.

Pledge No.8. To expand food and agricultural production, double the fertilizer subsidy initiative, reducing the cost to farmers to less than Ksh1,500. Expand the programme to include all crops with a resultant increase in production and support the expansion and capacity of local fertilizer manufacture.

This is a much compounded pledge; hence it required multiple measurements. For the period under study, there were no available data on agricultural production level and on food production. The latest available agricultural production index was for 2014 and the food production index was for 2016. With respect to fertilizer subsidy programme and cost, there wasn't also data to report on. However, according to media reports the Eldoret fertilizer blending factory is operational while the Nakuru manufacturing factory is set to be operational by end of 2020. A few studies on the effectiveness of fertilizer policy reforms to enhance food security in Kenya (e.g. Boulanger et al. 2020) have not found positive impacts of the subsidy programme. The survey data showed an achievement rating of 11%, while failure rating was by a large 60%

Pledge No.9. To complete the 57-large-scale dam construction programme, support small-holder agricultural irrigation and work with the private sector to enhance food and agricultural production on at least 1.2 million acres.

There were no official data available to show the completion of the projects, but media reports show the construction of the Ksh.700 billion worth mega dams is currently in the pipeline. In Kenyan media reports, this pledge raises substantial concern due to the much publicised stalling of Kimwarer and Aror dams amid claims of irregularities. The Ksh. 14.5 billion Galana Kulalu irrigated maize farming project is equally widely reported to have stalled amid corruption allegations. By March 2020 a media report indicated that out of the targeted one (1) million acres for cultivation, only 5,000 acres had been realized translating to a success rate of a paltry 0.5%. It was also reported that by March 2020, 85% of the project had been completed and plans were underway to revive the project. The spectacular challenge on this pledge was concurred with survey data whereby only 3% felt the government had achieved while nearly 70% (exact 68%) felt it had failed.

Pledge No.10. To make government more transparent and accountable through the digitisation of all government procurement; expand and deliver e-government services through the growing network of Huduma Centres.

The pledge was digitize all government procurement; expand and deliver e-government services through the growing network of Huduma Centres. The Huduma centres programme was established in 2013 and a government report indicated that the centres would have been established in all 47 counties by end 2020. The program's success is indicated by receiving the United Nations' Public Service Award on Improving Delivery of Public Services. Diverse media reports also recognize that the programme has transformed service delivery for example by reducing costs, delays and official corruption. This success was echoed by survey data which showed an achievement rating of 24%, an on-course rating of 68% and a failure rating of only 8%.

3.2 NASA's performance on holding Jubilee to Account

In a multiparty democracy, it is expected that the non-governing political parties should play the role of holding the governing party to account. An assessment of NASA's manifesto shows that the coalition made pledges that appear to address perceived Jubilee government's failures. The survey data showed minimal support that the NASA coalition was fulfilling its pledges. For example, only 3% felt that NASA had achieved in combatting corruption, only 8% felt it had achieved in promoting democracy, human rights and rule of law. The highest ranked pledges were to promote good governance and to empower Kenyan people and communities through devolution each of which was given an achievement rating by 14%.

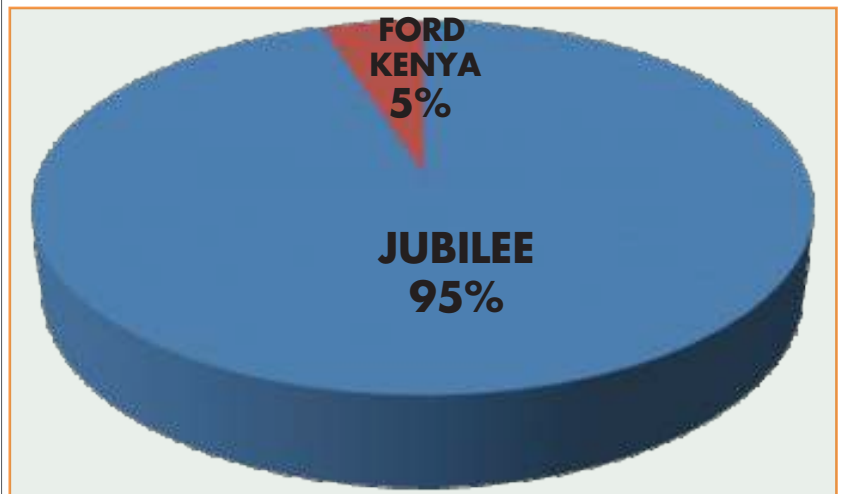
3.3 Political Parties' Parliamentary Performance

3.3.1 Number of Bills in National Assembly

Data for three years (2018-2020) showed much higher contribution by JP compared

to the NASA counterparts. In 2018, out of the 21 National Assembly bills only JP and Ford-Kenya were represented whereby JP had 20 (95%) bills and Ford-Kenya (1) (5%) (Figure 1). Placed against the parties' parliamentary strength, the results indicate JP's enhanced performance by a margin of 48% points while Ford Kenya enhanced its performance by a margin of 2% points. Conversely, the parties without any bill sponsored underperformed (compared to their parliamentary strength); thus, ODM (minus 22% points), WDK-Kenya (minus 7% points), ANC (minus 4% points) and KANU (minus 3% points).

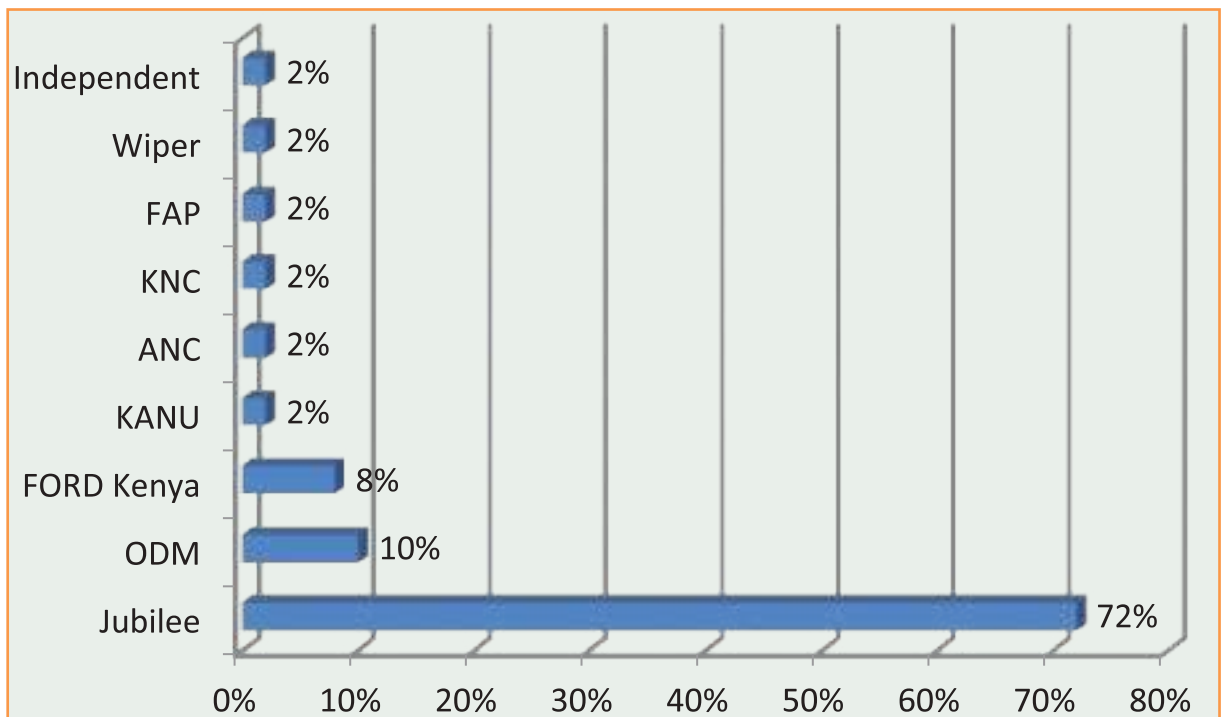
Figure 1: Political Parties' National Assembly Bills in 2018.



The year 2019 is when the most of bills (61) were transacted, and involved the participation of eight (8) political parties and one Independent member. Of the 61 bills, JP had the most (72%, n=44), followed way behind by ODM (10%, n=6) and Ford-Kenya (8%, n= 5) while each of the remainder (KANU, ANC, KNC, FAP AND WDK-Kenya, and the Independent member) had 1.6% (n=1).

Comparing the parties' performance and their representation in the NA, the results show enhanced margin for JP (+23%), Ford-Kenya (+2 %) and KNC, FAP and the Independent member (+ 1%); and reduced margin for ODM (minus 12%), WDP-Kenya (minus 5%), ANC (minus 2) and KANU (minus 1%).

Figure 2: Percentage of Political Parties' National Assembly Bills in 2019



The results show that in 2020, the NA transacted 24 bills of which 92% were from JP, ODM and KANU had one (4%) bill each. The results show enhanced margins for JP (+ 43%) and KANU (+1%) and reduced margins for ODM (minus 18%), WDK-Kenya (minus 7%) ANC (minus 4%), and FORD Kenya (minus 3%).

3.3.2 Number of Bills in Senate

In senate in 2018, there were 35 bills transacted, of which JP had the most bills (54%), followed by ODM (26%), KANU (14%), WDP-Kenya (3%) and PDR (3%). By comparing with the parties' membership in Senate, the results show that the best performance was with KANU with an increase of 10 percentage points and JP (+3) and PDR (+1) while ODM had a decline of 4 points and WDP-Kenya a decline of one (point).

The results show that in 2019, Senate transacted 19 bills, of which Jubilee had the most (68%, n=13) compared to ODM (21%, n=4), WDP-Kenya (5%, n =1) and an Independent member (n=1) while the rest of the Senate parties (i.e., KANU, ANC, FORD Kenya, PDR) had no bills. Compared to parties' representation in Senate, the results show

above average performance for Jubilee (+15 percentage points), average performance for WDP-Kenya and the Independent member (+1 percentage point each), below average performance for both ODM (minus 9 percentage points) as well as KANU, ANC, FORD Kenya and PDR).

The results show that in part of 2020, Senate transacted 14 bills, of which Jubilee had the most (72%, n=10) compared to ODM (21%, n=3) and WDP-Kenya (7%, n =1). Compared to parties' representation in Senate, the results show above average performance for Jubilee (+ 18 percentage points), and WDP-Kenya (+3 percentage points) and below average for ODM (minus 9 percentage points) KANU, ANC, FORD Kenya, PDR and the Independent member.

3.3.3 Content of Bills

The content of political parties' bills is important because it shows the focus of the party which can be used to assess concordance between a party's bills against its pledges. Further, examination of the content of bills is important in assessing whether bills reflect a party's policy orientation or represent individual member's idiosyncratic preferences.

In assessing the concordance between the bills and pledges, the study grouped bills into categories of the political, economic and social. The definition of the political, economic and social indicators of the bills was based on their descriptions in Kenya's vision 2030. The political pillar consists of two dimensions: governance and rule of law; the economic pillar also consists of two dimensions: finance (macro/economic policies) and industry (e.g., coffee, tea, tourism etc); and the social pillar comprises of health, education and social rights.

3.3.3.1 Content of National Assembly Bills

Based on the above in 2018, of the 20 JP's bills, 70% were on the economic sector of which most bills (65%) were on financial management, while one bill (nuclear regulatory bill) was on industry. JP's focus on the political and social pillars was at lower levels of 20% and 10% respectively. Ford Kenya's only bill was on constitution amendment. In 2019, JP's focus was also largely on the economic pillar (54%), of which the main focus was on financial aspects (45%) compared to industry (9%) issues. The focus on the political and social pillars was a comparable 34% and 32%

% respectively, which because they are about one-third each shows appreciable inclusion of these pillars as well. In 2020, JP's bills still largely focused on the economy (50%) compared to the political (27%) and social Sectors (23%). The above findings demonstrate that JP's parliamentary

contribution was mainly on the economic sector, and particularly on the macroeconomic policies. Thus to some significant extent there is consistency between JP's bills and pledges. However, it has to be underscored that JP's main focus in the pledges was on the social sectors.

Table 1: Political Parties National Assembly Bills by Sector Year 2018
(Figures in parentheses are percentages)

| | Political | Economic | | Social | | Total | |
|----------------|------------|-------------|---------|----------|--------|--------------|----------|
| | Governance | Rule of law | Finance | Industry | Health | Social Right | |
| Jubilee | 2 (10) | 2 (10) | 13 (65) | 1 (5) | 1 (5) | 1 (5) | 20 (95) |
| FORD-K | 1 | | | | | | 1 (5) |
| Total | 3 (14) | 2(10) | 13 (62) | 1(5) | 1(5) | 2 (10) | 21 (100) |

Table 2: Political Parties Sponsoring National Assembly Bills Year 2019
(Figures in parentheses are percentages)

| | Political | | Economic | | Social | | | Total |
|---------------------------|------------|-------------|----------|----------|--------|-----------|--------------|----------|
| | Governance | Rule of law | Finance | Industry | Health | Education | Disaster and | |
| JP | 8 (18) | 7 (16) | 20 (45) | 2 (9) | 2 (9) | 2(9) | 3 (14) | 44 (72) |
| ODM | 1 | 1 | 3 | | 1 | | | 6 (10) |
| FORD Kenya | 2 | | 2 | 1 | | | | 5 (8) |
| KANU | | | 1 | | | | | 1 (2) |
| ANC | | | | 1 | | | | 1 (2) |
| KNC | | 1 | | | | | | 1 (2) |
| FAP | | | 1 | | | | | 1 (2) |
| WDK-Kenya | | | 1 | | | | | 1 (2) |
| Independent member | | 1 | | | | | | 1 (2) |
| Total | 11 (18) | 10 (16) | 28 (46) | 4(7) | 3 (5) | 2(3) | 3(5) | 61 (100) |

Table 3: Political Parties National Assembly Bills Year 2020
(Figures in parentheses are percentages)

| | Political | | Economic | | Social | | | Total |
|--------------|------------|-------------|----------|----------|--------|-----------|---------------------|----------|
| | Governance | Rule of law | Finance | Industry | Health | Education | Poverty eradication | |
| JP | 2 (9) | 4(18) | 10 (45) | 1 (5) | 2 (9) | 2(9) | 1 (5) | 22 (92) |
| ODM | | | 1 | | | | | 1 (4) |
| KANU | | | 1 | | | | | 1 (4) |
| Total | 2 (8) | 4 (17) | 12 (50) | 1 (4) | 2 (8) | 2 (8) | 1 (4) | 24 (100) |

The economic sector was also the main focus of ODM and FORD-Kenya, and the only focus of KANU, FAP and WDK-Kenya. Among ODM bills, the public service values and principles resonates much with the idea of national building that is dominant in its manifesto. Among ODM's bill was the Millie Odhiambo's assisted reproductive technology bill which as she attested in public media, was inspired by her personal experience reinforcing the view that party members may pursue goals that are not necessarily in party's electoral pledges.

Among the FORD-Kenya bills was the Wafula Wamunyi's sugar bill, which given the party's western Kenya base being a sugar belt, shows a response to

electorate expectations. Similarly, the Independent member – Mohamed Ali Mohamed - sponsored a bill on narcotic drugs and psycho-actives substances control (amendment), which is a well-documented problem at the coastal region which the member represents.

3.3.3.1 Content of Senate Bills

In 2018, JP's main focus in Senate was fairly comparable across the political (37%), economic (31%), and social (29%) sectors. In ODM, greater focus was on the political sector (56%) compared to economic (33%) and social sectors (11%). KANU's focus was fairly equally distributed across the political (n=3) and economic pillars (n=2) but no noticeable focus on the social pillar.

In 2019 JP's main focus was on the social pillar at 35% whereby social rights had more bills (n=3) than health (n=2) and education (n=0). The second dominant pillar was political (29%) of which all the bills were on governance and none for rule of law. In ODM, the main focus was in the economic pillar with 3 out of 4 bills, while WDP-Kenya's only bill was the political sector's governance segment.

In 2020, JP's main focus was on the economic sector (60%) followed by the social (30%) and political sectors (10%). In ODM, the three bills were equally distributed – one each – in the political, economic and social pillars, while WDP-Kenya's only bill was the economic pillar, while WDP-Kenya one bill was on the economic pillar.

Table 4: Political Parties' Senate Bills by Political, Economic and Social Pillars Year 2018
(Figures in parentheses are percentages)

| | Political | Economic | | Social | | | Total | |
|------------------|------------|-------------|---------|----------|--------|-----------|--------|---------------|
| | Governance | Rule of Law | Finance | Industry | Health | Education | | Social Rights |
| Jubilee | 6 (32) | 1(5) | 5 (26) | 1(5) | 1 (5) | 1 (5) | 4 (19) | 19 (54) |
| ODM | 5 (56) | | 2 (22) | 1 (11) | | | 1 (11) | 9 (26) |
| KANU | 1 | 2 | 2 | | | | | 5 (14) |
| WDP-Kenya | | | | | 1 | | | 1 (3) |
| PDR | 1 | | | | | | | 1 (3) |
| Total | 13 (37) | 1(3) | 7 (20) | 2 (6) | 2 (6) | 1(3) | 5 (14) | 35 (100) |

Table 2: Political Parties' Senate Bills by Political, Economic and Social Pillars Year 2019
(Figures in parentheses are percentages)

| | Political | Economic | | Social | | | Total | |
|--------------------|------------|-------------|---------|----------|--------|-----------|--------|---------------|
| | Governance | Rule of Law | Finance | Industry | Health | Education | | Social Rights |
| Jubilee | 4(31) | | 2 (15) | | 2 (15) | | 3 (23) | 13 (68) |
| ODM | | | 1 | 2 | | | 1 | 4 (21) |
| WDP-Kenya | | 1 | | | | | | 1 (5) |
| Independent | | | | 1 | | | | 1 (5) |
| Total | 4 (21) | 1 (5) | 3 (16) | 3 (16) | 2 (11) | | 5 (26) | 19 (100) |

Table 3: Political Parties' Senate Bills by Political, Economic and Social Pillars Year 2020

| | Political | Economic | | Social | | | Total | |
|------------------|------------|-------------|---------|----------|--------|-----------|--------|---------------|
| | Governance | Rule of Law | Finance | Industry | Health | Education | | Social Rights |
| Jubilee | 1(10) | | 4(40) | 2(20) | 1 (10) | 1 (10) | 1 (10) | 10 (71) |
| ODM | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | | 3 (21) |
| WDP-Kenya | | | | 1 | | | | 1 (7) |
| Total | 2 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 2 | | 1 | 14 (100) |

4.0 Conclusion and Recommendations

The conclusion of the study was that Jubilee party has done fairly well in implementation of its pre-election pledges both in programs and in legislation. However, there is a fairly large disconnect between on one hand, official data and media reports' relatively high indication of success and individuals' generally low rating level of successes. Inasmuch the non-governing political parties have parliament as a platform to push their agenda through legislation, it is apparent that the parties have generally underperformed.

The following recommendations are made:

FOR JUBILEE AS THE GOVERNING PARTY

Ensure the public is aware of the progress on implementation

of pledges to avoid negative valuation even when good progress has been achieved.

FOR NON-GOVERNING POLITICAL PARTIES

Ensure that the public is aware of how they are holding the government to account.

FOR ALL POLITICAL PARTIES

Ensure that members are given each party's agenda in parliament and there is monitoring of their performance. Ensure that their pre-election pledges are clearly defined and programmed so that they can be easily monitored and evaluated. That means there should be clear definition the expected short and medium term results (i.e., outputs and outcomes) and the timelines for achievement of those results.

Ensure that political parties create adequate ownership of the manifestos such that members internalize the pledges. Parties should also mitigate against the situation where people that develop manifestos are not involved in their implementation or monitoring.

5.0 References

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ABOUT CMD-KENYA

The Centre for Multiparty Democracy, CMD-Kenya is a political parties-based membership organization established in March 2004. The mandate is to enhance multiparty democracy and strengthen the institutional capacity of political parties in Kenya through policy influence and capacity building. The organization provides a platform for political parties, political actors and policy makers to engage in dialogue and cooperate in strengthening multiparty democracy. CMD-Kenya works closely with political parties, political actors, strategic partners and key stakeholders in promoting social justice, political governance best practices, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Our Vision

The Vision of CMD-Kenya is “a multi-party democratic Kenyan society that is issue based, people-centred, and accountable to the public.”

Our Mission

The Mission of CMD-Kenya is “to facilitate the institutionalisation of multiparty democracy through policy influence and capacity building of political parties in Kenya”.

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