



A GUIDE TO **POLITICAL PARTY MANAGEMENT IN KENYA**

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Smooth-Running Machinery

- Making Political Parties Work

When National Democratic Institute (NDI) approached our party with the request from Kenyan parties to contribute with practical experiences on how to build and maintain strong political organizations, we felt both honored and humbled at the same time. Honored, because of the possibility to assist in strengthening Kenyan democracy, one of the key factors to peaceful development in the country, in the East Africa region, and on the African continent as a whole. Humbled, because the task of assisting in developing effective and strong political parties is challenging. In the same way, that well-functioning democracies demand converging and determined action from all actors in society, well-functioning political parties require coordinated and unwavering effort from leaders at all organizational levels.

Leading up to, and following, the time we started our cooperation in 2011, Kenya's young multiparty democracy has made giant steps forward. It is with great hope and expectation that we see the determination of our Kenyan colleagues in making sure that political parties meet the high standard of democratic and professional operation expected of them by the citizenry. Our three years of cooperation with the Kenyan political parties has focused on joint discussions and experience sharing on how best to achieve this goal. This guide provides some of the main ideas and conclusions from those discussions.

There are many national and international actors targeting improvements in various aspects of Kenyan governance. Consequently, making sure activities are breaking new ground must be an important part of any project. In cooperation with NDI and our Kenyan colleagues, we identified early on political party administration as a potential area of focus. Therefore, a major objective in our cooperation has been to find ways of improving and strengthening the secretariats of the parties. Staff at national and county level are crucial in facilitating a smooth-running political party while working towards steady, long-term organizational growth. The administrators, advisors, and secretaries can be the oil needed to make the machinery of political activities and leaders work together towards common goals.

Even though we have 80 years of experience in running a political party in Norway, we do not know Kenya and are therefore dependent on tapping into the knowledge of others. We are grateful to our Kenyan colleagues in the secretariats of various political parties for their interest in discussions based on experiences from the Norwegian context. It is always good to be able to meet as colleagues across borders and feel a

common love for political party work and its potential to be an avenue for citizen involvement in public governance.

Thankfully, we have not been alone in realizing the cooperation and this handbook. The initiative, advice, and assistance of John Lovdal, former NDI Kenya Resident Program Director, provided the critical link between the Norwegian and Kenyan contexts to ensure understanding across borders. We are also grateful to the rest of the staff at NDI; they have been crucial to our whole project, particularly in putting together this handbook. The ongoing activities between NDI and political parties have contributed in creating the basis for multi-party activities aimed at solving mutual problems and challenges that political parties in Kenya are facing. We have experienced a very impressive openness and willingness to cooperate across party lines first-hand during our discussions. We hope this handbook can contribute in the processes of further improving that cross-party determination to develop our political party organizations.

In creating this handbook, we are grateful to have acquired the services of Dr. Collins Odote. His academic experience and detailed knowledge of Kenyan society has been determinant in making this guide possible. We are also grateful to the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) for the financial support necessary for the cooperation and the production of this handbook.

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Historical Context of Political Parties in Kenya

1.1 Role of Political Parties in Governance

The history of democratic development in Kenya is closely linked to that of political parties. During the struggle for independence, parties played a major role in mobilizing citizens to fight against the oppressive policies of the colonial authorities. Since independence, parties have continued to play roles, including promoting national unity. In all the roles that parties play, a central theme is the contribution they make to the country's governance. To be able to perform their roles, parties need to have organized structures, to recruit members, to raise resources for their operations, to choose their leaders, and to have procedures for internal governance.

While the main role of political parties is to provide an avenue for competing for and acquiring power, other roles straddle the electoral, legislative, executive, and administrative functions of government once in power. The functions that parties play in a democracy include acting as:

An avenue for mobilization of citizens to participate in politics: While in many countries, including Kenya, provisions exist for independent candidates, political parties still provide the main avenue through which citizens are mobilized and encouraged in a structured manner to participate in political processes.

The main legal means through which political power is contested and won: In this role, parties play the role of selecting, and offering for leadership, candidates that campaign; and, if successful, these parties form government and help manage the country and its affairs.

Interest aggregators: Political parties provide a platform for various interests and views of citizens to be brought together, organized, and—on some coherent basis, like an ideology—put forward as ideas for the management of society.

Leadership nurseries: Political parties help identify and nurture the next generation of leaders.
As fora for conflict resolution: Political parties serve as the medium through which there are peaceful and organized contests over ideas, ideologies, and policies, avoiding violence and war.

A key channel for democratic accountability: Once government is established, political parties play a key role in parliament. In Kenya, through the existence of the parliamentary groups and the offices of the

leaders of the Majority and Minority, political parties carry out important parliamentary business, including law-making and oversight. While elections are the primary accountability mechanism, political parties represented in the parliament play an important role in holding the government to account.

Thus, although citizens often complain about the state of organization and accountability within political parties, they are an essential cog in the democratic wheel of a country, and more attention should be paid to their management in order to improve the country's democratic development.

1.2 Evolution of Political Parties in Kenya

While formal political party institutions—in their modern and current form—emerged only a few years before independence, political organization in Kenya is much older. The struggle for political liberation and the fight against colonial policies with special focus on land, labour, and taxation gained impetus in the early 1920s, following the transformation of Kenya into a colony and formal control of land in Kenya taken over by the white settlers and the colonial government. Following the Devonshire White Paper of 1920 that called for land reform, political groupings emerged in the form of welfare associations with the notable ones being the Young Kavirondo Taxpayers' Association and the Kikuyu Central Association. The arrest of Harry Thuku in 1922 only enhanced political mobilization in colonial Kenya.

These agitations continued and were made even more urgent with the skewed representation of the Legislative Council (LEGCO). The demand for greater African representation and land rights was at the heart of the Mau Mau Revolution of 1952 and the declaration of a state of emergency by the colonial authorities as a response to the uprising. The arrest of African leaders and their detention led Africans to increase their demand for independence and begin to form political parties.

The first political party was formed in 1960 as the Kenya African National Union (KANU). However, minority communities felt left out in KANU and soon formed the rival Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU). At independence, the two unions were the main political parties until KADU dissolved a year later and its members joined KANU. KANU continued to operate as a single political point until 1966 when Kenya People's Union (KPU) was formed. In 1969, KPU was banned, leaving KANU as the sole political party although the law allowed for the existence of multiple parties. In 1982, following an attempted coup, the country's constitution was amended, introducing Section 2A defining Kenya legally as a single-party state.

This status continued until the reintroduction of multi-party politics through another amendment to the constitution in 1991 to remove Section 2A. Thereafter, many political parties were formed, most notably Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD) and Democratic Party (DP). From 1991 to 2007, many other parties were formed, and others split, such that, by the 2007 General Elections, Kenya had over 200 political parties. The passage and implementation of the Political Parties Act (2007) resulted in the reduction of this number to 47 in 2008.

The 2007 elections revealed the ugly side of Kenya's politics and the challenges of political party organization, including ethnicity, lack of proper structures, and weak internal democracy. The Kriegler Commission that investigated those elections returned a damning verdict on several sectors of society, including political parties, recommending reforms to the way political parties were registered and regulated. The 2007 Political Parties Act, which came into force in 2008, defined new procedures for registration of political parties,

regulation of parties by the office of the Registrar, public funding of political parties, and improved operation and management of political parties.

The institutional development of parties—both in terms of the regulatory environment and in terms of the internal processes of political parties—is, and will be, a work in progress in which all parties make continuous effort at improvement. This publication seeks to contribute to the amount of information at the disposal of political parties to help them in their organization and management in order to enhance their contribution to democratic governance in Kenya.

2

Constitutional and Legal Framework

2.1 Regulating Political Parties

While parties are voluntary organizations in their formation, the manner in which they are formed and their operations once registered is governed by the legal environment. Party constitutions and rules supply the details of the organization of the party. Until 2008, the regulation of political parties did not take into account the unique nature of the party institutions, which was evidenced by the lack of a dedicated law on party establishment, operations, and governance. Instead, all political parties that existed in the country were registered under the Societies Act, a law that deals with all voluntary associations including clubs, societies, and welfare associations. The first law on political parties was passed in 2007 and came into force in 2008. The constitutional recognition of political parties in the 2010 Constitution led to the enactment of a new Political Parties Act in 2011. This chapter discusses in brief the highlights of the main instruments that relate to the operation of parties in Kenya from two broad perspectives: first, from the perspective of the laws of the land, including the Constitution, the Political Parties Act, and the Elections Act; and second, from the perspective of the internal documents, which include the party constitutions and nomination rules and procedures.

2.2 National Laws

a. The Constitution of Kenya

The Constitution is the supreme law of the land. It is the source of all authority in the country. Parties provide an avenue through which people compete for and acquire power. Anybody who acquires power through the party platform is under a responsibility to exercise that power in accordance with the requirements of the Constitution. The requirement applies not just to those who contest through the party, but to all people who seek and obtain power through lawful means.

The Kenyan Constitution was adopted in August 2010 following several years of constitutional discussions and decades of struggle. It captures that historical context and embodies the aspirations of the Kenyan people. In it, the people recognize that they require accountable government. In the governance scheme, parties have been given an important role to play. First, the Constitution recognizes the

sovereign power of the people and directs that such power can either be exercised directly or through representatives who have been chosen in a democratic election. The sovereign power is also delegated to Parliament, the National Executive, and the Judiciary.

The delegation of power to democratically chosen representatives links with a cardinal function of parties in any democracy, which is providing an avenue for contesting for, and acquiring, political power in society. The Constitution recognizes this role of parties and provides as a qualification for seeking elective office that one is either a member of a political party or an independent candidate.

The importance of political parties is further demonstrated by the inclusion—in Part 3 of Chapter Seven, dealing with representation of the people—of two substantive articles that deal with political parties. The first article sets out the basic requirements of a political party, stipulating that every political party shall:

- Be national in character
- Have a democratically elected governing council
- Promote and uphold national unity
- Abide by the democratic principles of good governance
- Promote and practice democracy through regular, free, and fair elections within the party
- Respect and promote human rights, fundamental freedoms, and gender equality and equity
- Respect the rights of all persons to participate in political processes, including the rights of minorities and marginalized groups
- Subscribe to and observe the code of conduct for political parties

The Article also requires parties not to:

- Be founded on sectarian interests like gender, ethnicity, or religion
- Engage in or encourage violence or intimidation
- Engage in bribery or other forms of corruption
- Establish or maintain a militia
- Use public resources to promote partisan political interests of its candidates, except as allowed by law

The Constitution has a very elaborate Bill of Rights. One of the rights contained in that chapter is Article 38 on Political Rights. The Article is a recognition of the importance of political parties and the need for their constitutional classification and protection. As part of the political rights that citizens are entitled to are the rights to: form a political party, join a political party, recruit members to join a party, participate in the activities of a party, campaign for a party, vie for office in a party where they are a member, and expect free, fair, and regular internal party elections.

Traditionally, the involvement of youth, women, and people with disabilities in political parties has been limited. It is now a constitutional requirement that the participation of these groups be encouraged and promoted by political parties, including through affirmative action measures.

The Constitution also places an obligation on the state to develop a law, within one year of coming into force of the Constitution, on Political Parties and itemizes the content that such a law should cover, which includes: roles and functions of parties; their registration, supervision, and regulation; and, public funding and access to media.

Therefore, the Constitution recognizes and provides for political parties as institutions of governance. Their existence is decreed by the Constitution, which also provides the parameters of their operation. Parties have an important role to play in the implementation of the Constitution. The National Democratic Institute published a list of these functions:¹

- Promoting constitutionalism
- Creating awareness
- Aligning their constitutive documents to the Constitution
- Participating in law-making
- Developing policies
- Adhering to a code of conduct for parties
- Monitoring implementation of the Constitution
- Engaging with other stakeholders
- Practicing internal party democracy

b. The Political Parties Act

The 2011 Political Parties Act is the main law that governs parties in the country. As already stated, the first Political Parties Act came into operation in 2008. That earlier act led to several reforms in the party landscape, including the reduction of the number of parties from over 200 to 47; the creation of an office of Registrar of Political Parties and the Political Parties Dispute Tribunal; public funding of political parties; and greater internal democracy and accountability of parties.

The Constitution of Kenya required a new Political Party Act with more detailed provisions aligned to its values and vision. This requirement led to the enactment of the 2011 Political Parties Act, the current law governing parties.

This Act deals with several matters. First, it lays down the provisions for qualifying to be registered as a political party, including a definition of what “national character” as stated in the Constitution means in reality. It states that a party should have at least 1,000 registered members in at least 24 counties. Membership recruitment requirements are also detailed in the law, including the requirement that parties need to supply the names, addresses, and identification particulars of all members to the Registrar of Political Parties. These members are required to reflect regional and ethnic diversity, gender balance, and representation of minorities and marginalized groups. The Act provides for management of parties, including human and financial resource management. It provides for a Political Parties Fund and rules for its distribution to, and use by, parties. Important are the requirements that money from the fund should only be used for purposes compatible with the promotion of democracy, which are defined to include promotion of the representation of youth, women, and persons with disabilities, for which at least 30 percent of the allocations must be reserved.

The Act creates an office of the Registrar of Political Parties with overall powers to register, monitor, supervise, regulate, and support the operations of parties in Kenya. This office is established as a state office with a director, three deputies, and staff commensurate with its status and the functions it is to undertake. It is independent of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), which was

1. For further information, see National Democratic Institute, *Implementing the New Constitution of Kenya: A Practical Guide for Political Parties*, 2010.

not the case in the 2007 Act. The other institution with responsibility under the Act is the Political Parties Dispute Tribunal to which most disputes relating to parties are to be referred for resolution.

The Act contains a detailed code of conduct to guide the operations of political parties. The idea behind the Code is that, in addition to laws, parties should abide by certain standards of conduct that promote ethical political conduct and morality in the country. The Code is a mandatory document to be signed by all registered political parties. It marks a commitment on the part of the parties to follow democratic principles in their activities, promote tolerance and consensus building, and avoid violence. It is a commitment that politics should be competitive, yet civil.

c. The Elections Act

This legislation governs the conduct of elections in the country. It supplements the provisions in the Constitution that provide for the principles governing the conduct of elections and create the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission with constitutional responsibility to oversee the conduct of national- and devolved-level elections in Kenya.

Both the Constitution and the Act underscore the role of political parties in the electoral process and provide a close nexus between party regulation and conduct in the electoral process. While the Registrar of Political Parties is separate from IEBC, close consultation and cooperation in their operations are expected for the success of the electoral process. Created under the Political Parties Act, the Political Parties Liaison Committee (PPLC) envisages a role for both IEBC and the Registrar in discussions with parties on elections.

Under the Act, party nomination rules relating to elections are to be filed with IEBC, enabling this office to undertake its constitutional role of regulating the manner in which parties conduct their nominations and listening to disputes related to party nominations.

The Act also contains an electoral code of conduct by which all parties, their officials, candidates, agents, and supporters are bound. The code of conduct seeks to ensure a free and peaceful campaign process devoid of violence and intimidation.

d. Other Laws

There are numerous other pieces of legislation that are relevant to the operations of political parties. The main ones include the following:

- Campaign Finance Act
- Media Act
- County Governments Act
- National Cohesion and Integration Act

2.3 Party Internal Rules and Regulations

a. Party Constitutions

Every party that is registered and operating in Kenya must have a constitution, which is a set of rules that the members of the parties have agreed to bind them. The process of developing the constitution should not be left to lawyers to draft and then filed with the Registrar of Political Parties. Instead, party members should debate and agree on the contents of the rules, and then lawyers can be consulted for adjustments to ensure the legality and strength of the document.

The Political Parties Act has detailed requirements that a party constitution should contain, which serves as a minimum guide. The exact wording and full scope is left to individual parties to determine. The required content includes:

- Name, abbreviation, symbol, logo, and colour of a political party
- Objectives, vision, mission, guiding principles, and values of a party
- Physical and postal address
- Membership rules
- Governing body and its constitutive process and rules
- Political party management structure and systems
- Branches
- Financial management
- County structures
- Party caucuses
- Disciplinary procedures
- Merger rules
- Asset management
- Nomination rules
- Dissolution
- Internal dispute resolution
- Inspection of records
- Policy formulation and reporting
- Signatories and authorized party officials
- Amendments
- Democratic principles

b. Nomination and Election Rules

In addition to a constitution, parties are also required to have nomination rules, which govern the manner by which parties conduct their elective processes. There are two types of elections that the rules have to cover in detail, which include internal party elections for offices within the party and the nominations—also called party primaries—for elections to public offices during general elections or by-elections.

3

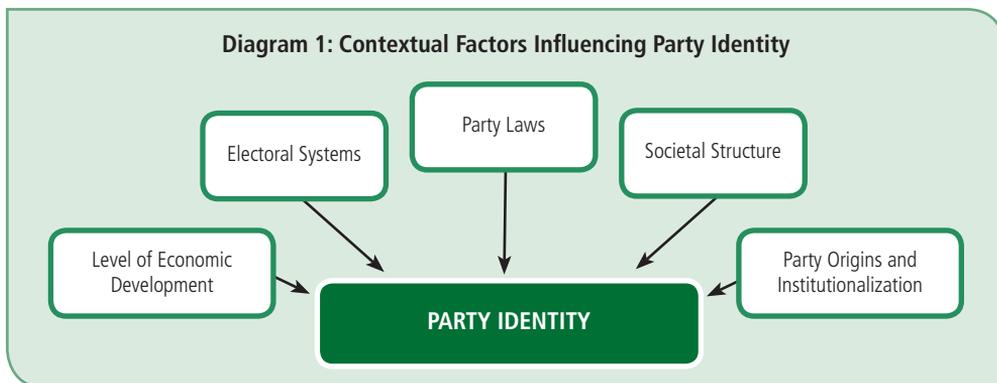
Developing a Party Identity

3.1 Overview

Political parties as institutions exist to serve their members and the wider society. They are in competition with each other. Too often based on narrow and negative issues, this competition should in reality be a contest of ideas, policies, and brands. The overall identity and image of a party plays an important role when contesting for support from the public. A clear party identity helps the public differentiate one party from the other and provide a way of distinguishing between what parties stand for and what they promise to society. In this way, voters are able to know what to expect of a party should it get the chance to govern. It also provides the needed basis for potential members to decide whether they are attractive enough to join.

An identity basically refers to the distinctive manner in which a party may be branded and differentiated from other institutions and other political parties. There are many ways to identify a party. The most common way is through its name. Throughout Africa—and in Kenya, party identities are often subjectively formed by their leaders and/or based on ethnic orientation, rather than through politically distinctive and objective factors, like ideas and principles for how society should be governed. The 2011 Political Parties Act requires political parties to develop policies and manifestoes and include in their party constitutions a process for production, review, and reporting on these policies—thereby confirming the importance of moving to an identity-based political party system.

In this process, it is important for Kenyan political parties to find their own way. There might be things to learn from other countries, but ultimately ideas and political vision need to be adapted to the needs of Kenyan citizens by the political parties that represent them. The following chapter aims at providing some key concepts and experiences that might be useful in that process of finding what an identity-based political party system entails for Kenya.



Adapted from NDI Political Parties and Democracy in Theoretical and Practical Perspectives: Developing Party Policies 2013.

3.2 Party Name, Symbols, Slogans and Colour

How a political party portrays itself when it comes to rather superficial features like name, symbols, and so on should be considered in two dimensions: external and internal. Outwardly, these factors determine a large part of the first impression when potential voters meet the party. It could potentially get someone interested in learning more about the policies of the party and thereafter become voters, members, or active promoters. Inwardly, these things are important when building a common identity. If party members and activists feel a sense of belonging to the party, it increases the chance of them staying loyal to the party. The most efficient way of ensuring this type of commitment is to create an image based on the political profile and ideological ideas that are particular to the party. For example, if the party slogan reflects what the members care about, it reinforces the feeling of togetherness among them. Read more about party ideology in the next section.

The party name is the first, and most obvious, form of identification. Names are very important in an African setting. Applied to human beings, they express something about those people: for example, when they were born, what they remind their parents about, or what qualities they are expected to have. Therefore, names help shape the identity of the person. Applying the same analogy to political parties, a name is an important identification tool. Apart from distinguishing the party from other political parties, the name should give the public a sense of the unique qualities and political philosophy that the party and its members represent.

It is interesting that parties sometimes choose names that include a word associated with a particular ideology, such as communist; however, often the party might not actually ascribe to the communist ideology. While there is nothing legally wrong with doing that, it has the effect of confusing the public about what the party stands for since its name communicates a different way of thinking about society from its real adopted ideological standpoint.

In addition to having a name, a party is required by the Political Parties Act to indicate if it will use an abbreviation of its name and to define a symbol. The acronym and symbol are additional ways of identifying a party. Just like the party name, a symbol should be distinctive and relate to some message related to the philosophy that a party wants to communicate. Failure to think about what the symbol of the party represents to the ordinary public can result in misunderstandings and possible embarrassment.

The Political Parties Act provides for conditions under which a name, abbreviation, or symbol of a proposed party can be rejected by the Registrar of Political Parties, including situations when they are:

- Obscene or offensive
- Belong to an already registered party
- Very similar to a party that is already registered
- Very similar to any other legally registered organization in Kenya

In addition to the name, acronym, and symbol, parties are also expected to have a slogan and colour, which are particularly important for promotional materials and branding purposes. The choice that a party makes on its name, colour, symbol, and even ideology is normally influenced by several factors. It may have something to do with the history of the country, the history of the party, or the socio-economic environment under which the party was formed.² For example, particular colours are often associated with certain types of ideological leaning or events in history, the major example being the connection between socialist parties and the colour red.

3.3 Ideologies, Values and Principles

a. Why Political Ideologies?

The basic ideological stands of the major party internationals³ originated from the European Industrial Revolution and its effects on socio-economic developments. Understanding what ideology means, their genesis, and the potential role of party ideologies can prove useful in helping parties in Kenya to develop indigenous ideological brands that reflect its own history, socio-economic challenges, and future aspirations.

An ideology involves a system of ideas that link thought with action and, as a consequence, shape and direct how people think and act. Applied to the political realm, ideology can be defined as:

“a set of values and ideas combined in a coherent, consistent, and comprehensive system of principles for the organizing of the society and guiding the delivery of services to the people.”

In its broad sense, the ideological base of a party will influence its value judgments and policy options in governing. An ideology performs several functions. First, it provides a basis for explaining the socio-political and economic conditions in a society and the decisions or policy options of a political party. When a party makes a decision on a critical issue, like the health care system, voters should be able to use the party's ideological views to understand its choices and options. As an example, in Great Britain, the ideologies of the Labour Party and the Conservative Party influence how they view health services. Being a social democratic party, Labour looks to government initiatives that can be used to guarantee basic health care for everyone. While the Conservatives, being ideologically in favor of using market competition to get the best offer, look to businesses and the private sector for solutions to the population's health needs.

² For example, in Kenya, a party formed on the sole basis of promoting gender, regional, or ethnic agendas will not be registered.

³ For years, the three dominant party internationals were the Centrist Democratic International, the Liberal International, and the Socialist International. As the world has entered the digital age, characterized by challenges and opportunities posed by successive waves of democratization, globalization, deregulation, and environmental degradation, other ideological strands have emerged.

Secondly, ideologies help parties determine which policy option is the right choice for society. In this sense, the ideology, as defined above, provides a rough blueprint for addressing society's challenges and choices based on a previously delineated plan to bring success to the country and its people. Thirdly, ideologies provide a common political framework for the members of the party. The shared framework ensures that people with similar ideas gather in the same party, thereby also avoiding internal conflict and reducing the likelihood of party hopping.

An ideology provides the party and its membership with a vision of the social, economic, and political world they would like to have. It helps shape their actions towards changing the society to that vision. For this reason, it is important that a party clearly articulate its ideology and, once developed, use it as the basis for making and implementing party policy and programmatic choices. When parties develop policies based on a discussion of ideas, their ideology will serve to guide them and influence the choices they make. Thus, if there is a dilemma facing society—e.g., how to ensure high quality extraction of natural resources, parties will make policy proposals influenced by their ideological leanings. A social democratic party might, for example, want to ensure the safety of state ownership, while a conservative party might favor the efficiency of private companies. A green party might pick private or state solutions, but what matters to it most is that the local population is heard and that pollution is minimized.

Parties normally use the party constitution, policy, or branding documents to outline their ideology. It is important that the choice of the ideology be decided through deliberation and discussion between the party founders at the start, as well as continued consultation and involvement of the party members throughout the life of the party.

Ideologies can also be inferred by others by reading the documents and policies that a party produces. It is desirable that these documents be similar to the chosen ideology so that the party is perceived to be consistent and sincere. Therefore, it is important that parties develop an ideology with which they would like to be identified.

In conclusion, an ideology should communicate a party's political belief system based on ideas and values and act as a basis for bringing members of the party together, creating a sense of belonging, and defining an image for the party. Party leaders should always ensure that party members are aware and proud of the party ideology.

b. Utilizing Political Ideologies

Once a party chooses an ideology, it will further elaborate on its philosophy in its constitutions, policy documents, and strategic plans with **values** and **principles**. Values and principles are the core elements of a party's ideology broken down into simple, but clear, statements. In strategic planning language, these statements are sometimes referred to as "value propositions." It is about asking and answering the question based on a party's ideology and context, "**What do we stand for?**"

The answer to that question should lead one to a set of values and principles that help identify the party and breakdown the party ideology into words and phrases that are easy to understand by the ordinary rank-and-file and that puts the party ideology within the context of the society's current affairs. The Constitution lists a set of national values and principles that govern all people in Kenya in the process of governance—and to which parties have a duty to adhere. In developing its identification documents, parties should remember

the binding nature of these constitutional values. However, as all parties have to adhere to the Constitution, the individual political party values and principles should be more specific and useful in devising policy suggestions.

The specific areas of focus that a party prioritizes will influence the choice of values that it establishes in its key documents. For example, a party may want to be known as the party that ensures local communities decide things affecting their own everyday lives. Thus, a value for the party might be “self-governance.” This value could then be specified through the principle of “subsidiarity” – the idea that the common good for the population is found when smaller communities are supported by the larger communities of which they are part.

These values and principles should be able to stand the test of time. They should also be agreed upon by the party membership so that members have ownership of them and use them to guide policy development. While policy proposals and manifestoes are developed more frequently, a party’s values and principles should be long-term and function as the basis for formulating policy proposals and campaign promises.

Article 10: Constitution of Kenya

10(2) the national values and principles of governance include-

- (a) patriotism, national unity, sharing and devolution of power, rule of law, democracy and participation of the people;
- (b) human dignity, equity, social justice, inclusiveness, equality, human rights, non-discrimination and protection of the marginalized;
- (c) good governance, integrity, transparency and accountability; and
- (d) sustainable development.

c. Types of Ideologies

Political ideologies are not invented from nothing; they emerge together with challenges and conflicts of interest in society. An example of this is how socialist and communist ideology emerged as political reactions from the working class during the Industrial Revolution in Europe. These ideas put into words some of the dissatisfaction with the policy and behavior of the much richer class of business owners. This illustrates how political parties through ideological thinking can become a channel for existing public opinion, as well as taking leadership by defining possible solutions.

As societies develop, so do political ideologies. In many societies the conflict level and stark divisions between classes have been replaced by egalitarianism and a large middle-class. In this setting, political ideologies tend to maintain their core ideas, but they are all forced to evolve in parallel with societal changes and add new concepts to solve new challenges. They might still, for example, emphasize the interests of specific groups, like small- and medium-sized business owners or the unemployed. However, some parties also decide to broaden their message in order to appeal to the largest possible share of the electorate. Parties that choose this option are often, logically enough, referred to as catch-all parties.

There are also examples of newer ideologies. The most obvious example is the development of green parties across the world from the 1970s as people became more aware of the effects of pollution and various ecological threats. These parties build their policies on values like ecological wisdom, grassroots democracy, nonviolence, and social justice. Another example of newer ideological strands arising from new challenges is the emergence of “pirate” parties. Initially arising in Sweden, these parties arose in response to reforms to copyright and patent laws. They have since even formed a Pirate Party International and see themselves as social-liberal with a key focus on protecting and promoting copyright and patent law reform, as well as rights including privacy of the individual and increased government transparency.

The newer ideologies most often propagate ideas with which anyone in that society might agree. Although there might be a tendency for certain groups, like young professionals or the rural population, to agree with these ideas as it benefits them, someone from outside these groups might also agree because she thinks it is the right policy for the country as a whole. These newer parties might also express the global tendency of increased popular control and participation in politics. This tendency is evident from their emphasis on increased contact between politicians and grassroots movements and increased participation of ordinary people in decision-making. These parties always look for ways to achieve a higher degree of popular participation in party affairs, which they see as a goal in itself.

Below are a few more details and examples of the main political ideologies. This list is neither complete nor a full summary of each ideology, but rather an attempt at presenting some core ideas. Each ideology also has sub-groups and related ways of thinking. It aims at providing a basic overview to inspire and lay the groundwork for defining a party's ideology.

Liberalism: Liberalism has been defined as openness to change and respect for individual liberties within a social framework in which all have equal opportunity. Liberals share an emphasis on a more open and tolerant society, one in which people are free to pursue their own ideas and interests with little interference. For liberals, the key issue is to strive for a free society where human rights are respected. There are many variations of liberal ideology, but all focus on limited government and individual liberties.

Conservatism: Conservative ideology is both easy and difficult to define. Easy in the sense that all conservatives, based on the word from which it derives, seek to “conserve” or preserve something, i.e., certain positive values or practices in society. An often used phrase among conservatives is to “change in order to conserve.” Conservatives emphasize steady and controlled change as opposed to complete standstill or radical change. The difficulty in definitions arises from the fact that traditions and customs vary from society to society. Further, conservatives will differ on what elements of the established way of life are worth preserving. Some will pick only certain parts of the customs, e.g., a certain way of organizing health services, family planning, or military structures, while others may pick something completely different.

The other difficulty arises from the fact that the term is normally used to denote anyone who resists change. Someone who has a conservative ideology is normally seen as being in favour of the *status quo* or, in the Kenyan context, “anti-reform.” However, this problem is only theoretical. Most modern conservatives are in favour of change and modernization whenever needed. Conservatism is a rather pragmatic approach to political decision-making in which each case must be carefully evaluated to find a way to balance the need for change and the responsibility to preserve.

Conservative parties often focus on institutions, social issues, and the economy. They are often concerned

about the sustainability of public welfare systems, instead preferring growth as the basis of addressing poverty. Examples of conservative parties include the People's Party in Spain and the Conservative Party in the United Kingdom.

Christian Democracy: This ideological strand grew out of the turmoil and chaos in Europe after World War II. It was a reaction to the totalitarian Fascist and Communist ideologies and their willingness to make any human sacrifice to shape their idea of a perfect society. It is not a religious ideology, but it does find its inspiration from the idea that all men are created equal. The logical consequence is that we have a responsibility to take care of, and help, the men and women around us—no matter who they are.

Some also argue that this ideology is a sub-branch of Conservatism. However, there are also differences. For example, one major concept in Christian Democratic ideology, which is not shared by all conservatives, is the idea of social market economy. With the social market economy as a guiding principle for economic growth, Christian Democratic politicians do not focus on the purely financial aspects, but rather the affect decisions might have on the quality of life among the population. The Christian Democratic Union (CDU) in Germany has been the major proponent of this way of thinking about economic growth.

Social Democracy: Social democrats are skeptical of the liberal focus on individual liberty, self-interest, and competition. They believe that individuals are by nature social and communal. They are part of society and act in cooperation with, not in isolation from, others. For social democrats, therefore, cooperation, not competition, is the basis of society and societal development. Through the community, it is possible for every human being to enjoy liberty, justice, and prosperity. Therefore, adherents of social democratic ideology are against unrestricted capitalism. Socialists see the distribution of power based on economic control as undemocratic. The social democratic ideology focuses on the question of how much, and what kind of property should be in the hands of the public and how society should exercise control over that property. Social democrats believe that there is a role for the state in maintaining the public good and see value in the provision of public services like roads, education, and health. They are most often against privatization of these services. They also see redistribution of wealth through taxation and a welfare state as a central tenet of ensuring a just society. Social democratic parties are found all over the world. Examples include the Social Democratic Party of Germany, the Workers' Party in Brazil, and the Labour Party in Great Britain.

3.4 Additional Organizing Concepts for Parties in Africa

In a study of African political parties, International IDEA makes the case that the origin of African political parties is traceable to the undemocratic and illegitimate events of colonialism. These events had the effect of focusing African parties on getting rid of colonialism, while reserving very little time for democratic development. As the parties emerged, some ethnic parties arose in opposition to the original parties, which were also accused of being organized along ethnic lines. After independence, a core organizing principle and concern for political parties became national unity and, only later on, multi-party politics. This brief historical sketch is important in understanding some party typologies and systems in Africa.

The parties that were formed and spearheaded the fight for independence are invariably referred to across the continent as independent parties. They share a common history of the liberation struggle, which sometimes also influences their ideology and policies. Independent parties include Frelimo in Mozambique, SWAPO in Namibia, ANC in South Africa, TANU—later CCM—in Tanzania, and KANU in Kenya.

There are also African countries that have only one party, which are referred to as single-party states. Until the constitutional amendment of 1991, Kenya was a single-party state. However, the dominant form in Africa is that of the multi-party state, where, by law, more than one party is able to be formed and compete in elections. The 2010 Constitution defines Kenya as a multi-party democracy.

Art. 4(2) Constitution of Kenya

The Republic of Kenya shall be a multi-party democratic state founded on national values and principles of governance referred to in Article 10.

In multi-party societies, there are situations where one or two parties dominate the politics of that country. These parties can be referred to as dominant parties. Depending on their participation in, or absence from, the executive branch of government, parties are further defined as either government parties or opposition parties. Following the adoption of the presidential system in Kenya through the Constitution of 2010, there is now a categorization of parties as either majority or minority parties or coalitions, depending on the numbers of representatives that they have in the Senate, National Assembly, or a given county assembly.

However, the above classifications are only descriptions of the governance positions of parties following an election. It tells the citizens little about what the political parties might do if they were elected in the next election. The complaint has been made that African parties have been successful in copying the form, but not the content, of ideological standpoints of parties in Europe and North America. Therefore, it might be necessary for parties to look at their party identity and ask themselves the following questions:

Some Questions on Party Identity

- What are some common threads in what you stand for as a party? Do these threads correspond to your party ideology, values and principles?
- How relevant is your ideology to your organization and recruitment?
- Should you continue having the same ideology?
- Are you aware of your party symbols and colours? What do they represent? Are they well anchored among party members?

Depending on the answers to the questions above, parties should seek to develop a philosophy based on the things they truly believe in and the way they want their party to be perceived as opposed to categorizing themselves according to the traditional ideological groupings of Europe, which grew out of a very different historical setting. Ideological values and principles function like a compass: they can only help identify a direction; but to have a complete route, a map of the area is necessary. That map is the awareness of the challenges within Kenyan society and the mountains facing ordinary Kenyans in their pursuit of happiness. African political philosophies could derive from a party's view on the economy, its ideas about land reform, its thoughts on how the state should be structured (i.e., as a unitary or devolved state), or its opinions about the role of the private sector, the place of ethnicity in society, and how to overcome with poverty. The core ap-

proach to these issues, based on the country's specific challenges will help political parties in Kenya develop unique ideologies with which Kenyans can easily identify.

Political parties need to determine to which values they are committed. These values should influence their policy-making and pronouncements. In the end, the values and their contribution to policy-making are more important than just an abstract ideological label. Whether Kenyan parties want to adopt the overall thinking from the ideologies described earlier should be determined in party discussions, combined with training and knowledge-based input. An ideology developed in another time on another continent is not necessarily directly transferrable to a Kenyan context. The process of building an ideological party identity should consider both what can be adopted and what has to be put in another way due to history, current situation, and relevance in Kenya today.

4

Policy Development

4.1. Why Policies Matter?

Parties exist in democratic societies to compete for power and, if successful, to govern the country. As part of this process, they will need to recruit and retain members and offer candidates for elections. In democracies, elections should be based on ideas with parties presenting candidates and policy choices and citizens making their choices based on the policy alternatives and the qualities of the leaders presented for election by the various parties. Therefore, policies play an important role in the operations of political parties. They provide a basis for articulating the ideological standpoint of the party, demonstrating the party's views on critical governance issues, and providing tangible proposals to voters as a way of attracting membership and seeking electoral support. Policies should also provide the basis on which parties in both government and opposition approach their different roles in the governance process. During elections, parties should develop election platforms and broad party policies drawn from their ideologies to be used in their campaigns.

As such, policy development is one of the main reasons for having a multi-party democracy. It ensures that different opinions are heard and different solutions are brought to the table. It enables society to move forward and for new solutions to new challenges—as well as old challenges—to be brought into the debate. A primary task for political parties is to find solutions to improve society. Therefore, policy-making is not only about creating a brand for the party, but also about bringing the debate and the society forward.

Despite complaints that policies do not matter to citizens, research demonstrates that this position is changing. Citizens are increasingly asking questions about the pronouncements of candidates and their parties during elections and the possible impact of these ideas on their lives. In the 2013 elections, policy proposals received slightly more attention from the public when compared to previous elections. Consequently, political leaders contesting those elections had to think carefully about which policy promises they were making to the electorate. If this trend continues, the role of policies in the development and organization of parties and the conduct of their affairs will increase. Policies will also help change the political culture of society from one where political competition is based on ethnicity and money to one where the contest is based on ideas. A battle of ideas will also result in greater demand for accountability. The Constitution makes policy formulation on the part of political parties a key part of the governance process, which is another reason why parties should pay attention to policy formulation, implementation, and review.

Currently, despite the recognized importance of policies and policy-making to political parties and the citizenry, parties are faced with several challenges in the process of formulating and implementing policies, including:

- Lack of consultation with party members in the process of policy formulation
- Lack of commitment to policy implementation
- Lack of review of the policy implementation process
- Poor communication of party policies
- Lack of research services and departments to support policy formulation
- Low importance attached to policies by citizens
- Lack of representation of marginalized groups in policy-making committees and organs
- Limited public debate on policy alternatives by political parties
- Limited clarity and linkage between party ideologies and party policies and manifestoes
- Limited resources and technical expertise for policy formulation
- Weak, fledgling, and shifting membership bases

Well-developed policies accurately reflect the party's ideology, basic philosophical beliefs, and values and shape the overall image of the party in the minds of the electorate. Lack of programs based on ideological identities and concrete policy solutions result in political parties based on personalities or on the interests of a small group of people that fail to address the real concerns of the people in the long-run. It is important for political parties to develop good policies that are consistent with the platform of the party and accurately reflect the values of party members.

The process of developing such policies needs to be consultative. Party members have a right to be involved and to have their views taken into account in agreeing on a party's policy position on any subject. We increasingly live in a globalizing world; and with technological advances, parties are increasingly on the spot on a variety of complex policy issues. Time for consultation, research, and gathering expert advice is considerably reduced. For this reason, well-developed and clearly articulated policy positions on critical governance and societal issues help prepare the party to respond to problems in society when they arise, enhance the communication and image of the party, improve its internal coherence and credibility with the public, and increase its chances of electoral success.

Party policy-making serves four broad functions:

- **National:** Provides the framework for contributing to democratic governance, which requires a party's policies to be aligned with the country's national goals and aspirations and the country's constitution.
- **Ideological:** Aligns the party's ideological interests and principles to societal needs and aspirations.
- **Strategic:** Increases public confidence in the party by reflecting inputs by the party and its experts.
- **Innovative:** Serves as an arena for developing better solutions for challenges in the society.

4.2. Policy-Making in between Elections

Many parties in Kenya struggle to keep active in between elections. Leaders pay less attention to the activities of the political party. Members also do not engage with the party in between elections. The level of activities within the party slows down only to pick up when elections approach again. Unfortunately, this practice in Kenya has the result of reducing a political party to an electoral machine.

Policy-making provides a good avenue for maintaining an active party in between elections. After elections are over, parties can use the time before the next elections to review how their policies affected their electoral performance. The period after elections also gives parties the chance to implement their policies whether they are in government or opposition; and since parties are less busy in between elections, it is a good time to develop policies and have them discussed by party members at all levels. These processes should be initiated at the national level, but should also include county branches and culminate in a national policy conference.

4.3. Legal Requirements related to Policy Development

The requirement for policy development is no longer only a matter of good politics and practice in Kenya. It is also a constitutional and legal matter. Parties are recognized in the Constitution as important instruments of governance. All institutions and people recognized in the Constitution have a role to play in its implementation. Importantly, it recognizes that implementation requires development of laws and policies that adhere to national values and principles of governance. This requirement brings political party policy-making into the constitutional realm.

The exercise of the political rights of citizens recognized and protected by the Constitution also requires policies from parties. While the Constitution guarantees every individual the right to join and belong to a political party and campaign for a party or political cause, it is implied that parties will develop policy platforms and options on whose basis they will recruit members and give citizens a foundation for making their political choices and exercising their constitutional political rights.

Parties are also required by the Constitution to adhere to the Code of Conduct of Political Parties. The Code of Conduct puts emphasis on policy development as the basis for competition among the political parties. It makes policy development a hallmark of party development; and since all parties that are registered must sign and commit to respect the Code of Conduct, it follows that policy development is no longer optional for political parties.

Rule 4: Code of Conduct of Political Parties

Political parties shall:

- (a) Promote policy alternatives responding to the interests, concerns, and needs of the citizens of Kenya;
- (b) Respect and uphold the democratic process as they compete for political power so as to implement their policies;
- (c) Promote consensus building in policy decision-making on issues of national importance.

When parties apply for registration, they are required by the Political Parties Act to submit several documents, including a party constitution. The Act has a schedule detailing the content of party constitutions. That schedule requires that every party applying for registration indicate in its constitution:

- Policy documents the party intends to develop
- Process of developing, approving, and implementing party policies
- Policy reporting documents, process, and regularity of their preparation, approval, and implementation

Policies are therefore given sufficient attention in the Constitution and the Political Parties Act as the main laws governing parties in the country. As part of their compliance with the Constitution of Kenya and the Political Parties Act, parties should develop policies and review them regularly.

4.4. Process of Policy Development

The process of developing policies is an important consideration for every party. The law requires that the constitution of the party address the procedures the party will apply in developing its policies. Therefore, it is up to every party to design processes and assign responsibilities to organs to develop these policies. Additionally, parties should consider the constitutional requirements of public participation in all governance processes, including policy formulation and the dictates of devolution.

In order to ensure public participation, parties must design a process that enables ordinary party members to have their views considered and to make contributions to the policy being developed by the party. The rights of party members in policy-making must be clearly stipulated and respected. At a minimum, it should include consultation, feedback, debate and finally, either directly or through a representative system decided in each party, approval of policy documents.

Policy-making takes place at both the national and devolved levels. With the adoption of a devolved system of government in Kenya, parties should ensure that they respond to the needs of the counties in their policies by developing specific county policies and also through county consultations on national policies. Women, youth, and persons with disabilities (PWDs) should also be represented in the policy development bodies. Parties should also consider developing and implementing specific policies focusing on these groups. Every party should ask itself whether:

- It has a committee for policy formulation?
- Women, youth, and PWDs are represented in the committee for policy formulation?
- Its policies address specific concerns of women, youth, and PWDs or there is a need to develop separate policies for these traditionally marginalized groups?

Policy-making in any context—be it for a country, agency, company, or society—is a cyclical process. The same should be true for political parties. While the party context for policy-making is fluid, ever-changing, and consequently complex, parties should adopt a cyclical approach to policy-making, which includes:

- Policy Initiation and Identification
- Research
- Consultation
- Conceptualization and drafting
- Adoption
- Implementation
- Reporting
- Evaluation

Good policy-making should:

- Be forward-looking
- Be outward-looking
- Be innovative, flexible, and creative
- Be evidence-based
- Be inclusive
- Be holistic
- Learn lessons from the past, both in terms of what works and what does not work
- Incorporate evaluation
- Incorporate review

As a cyclical process, policy-making will rarely be undertaken in a vacuum or start from a clean slate. It will certainly be based on research, but also on previous knowledge, information, existing policies, and the specific context within which it is being developed.

Every party's policy development process will be set out in its constitution and rules. These documents will define the process for developing the policy, the organ responsible for driving the policy process, the role of other actors, how consultation at all levels will take place, and the entity responsible for adopting the policy.

The rules should be clear about what individuals and which organs can generate a policy idea and make a determination about the need for policies. There should also be clarity on the types of policies (e.g. party platforms, pledges, sectoral policies, manifestoes, *ad hoc* policies, and other categories) and whether the process is the same for all policies.

Around the world, there are a number of parties that have regular policy conferences, comprising delegates that approve policy platforms. To maximize the efficiency of policy-making, it is possible to have a delegates' conference approve the broad party policy outlook and then mandate smaller organs to develop and approve more specific policies based on the broad policy document. In South Africa, the Policy Conference of the African National Congress is an important platform and good example from which to learn.

To avoid confusion and protests, it is important to develop guidelines and rules within the party before starting the process, thereby making it clear who is deciding what and how people can have their voices heard.

The key steps of policy-making are:

Policy Identification: At this stage, the party defines the problem that needs to be addressed by a policy and whose role it is to do so, e.g., the party leader, Members of Parliament, the Secretariat, ordinary members, a think-tank, or a policy committee.

Policy Conceptualization and Drafting: This step is the technical phase of policy-making. It should be based on solid research and discussions. It should preferably be the responsibility of a technical body, like a think-tank or a policy committee. Some parties also assign this phase to a subcommittee of the National Executive Committee. The important issue to remember is that this phase is based on solid data and discussions with experts.

Consultation: Often, parties consider policy-making to be a purely technical exercise and leave policy development in the hands of a think-tank or a consultant. However, such an approach is a mistake. Policies are developed based on the values and ideologies of the parties and with the input of the party membership in order to respond to the needs of society—as well as to gain members’ commitment to the party’s ideals. Therefore, parties should invest a lot of time and resources in consultations with the party rank-and-file at all levels, the party leadership, elected representatives to parliament and county assemblies, experts in the field, and interest groups, including civil society and business. Together with research, these consultations should inform the policy drafting process.

Parties may also want to consider commissioning public opinion research. Due to the considerable cost of both research and consultations, parties could consider developing cost-effective mechanisms of carrying out both using online mechanisms and developing basic in-house research capabilities. Policy forums in the form of workshops and conferences at national and devolved levels will also be very useful for collecting views and receiving feedback on draft policy ideas.

Adoption: This phase is the formal process of adopting policies. It can be preceded by a policy conference. Adoption should be undertaken by a formal organ of the party. While some parties give the task to the party executive, most parties prefer to use their National Convention to debate, amend, and adopt policies. Because of the costs of holding such conventions, they should be combined with other events of the parties and can also involve speeches to energize the party membership base.

Implementation and Reporting: A great challenge in policy formulation is the implementation process. Kenya’s policy landscape is characterized by many good policy documents that are rarely implemented. A good policy will remain nothing but an idea unless and until it is implemented. Parties that win elections will have their policies translated into government programs by their winning candidates. Even parties that do not form government have the chance to implement their policies in several manners, either internally within the party, as part of the legislative process through their party caucuses and individual legislators, or by contributing to public policy debates. Parties should also regularly report on their policy implementation. Reporting can be done through an annual report, a regular newsletter, an address by the party leader, or even a website. Reporting serves to ensure that the party is accountable to its members and the public.

Evaluation: This step provides an opportunity for systematically reflecting upon the policies developed and implemented and the process through which the party made the policies. Evaluation can be done internally by the party or by an external agency for the party. Several opinion polls are also undertaken in Kenya, which parties can use as an evaluation tool. The important thing is to do the evaluation objectively, to listen to the views of both those critical of and those in support, and to seek to gain information on how to improve the policy process.

4.5. Policy-Making at All Levels

As a result of devolution, policy-making is needed at both the national and the county levels. One should keep in mind that appropriate political solutions in the areas of responsibility given to the counties might differ among the counties. Therefore, political parties should aim to develop policies at the county level. Policy is usually best if the ideas and experiences of stakeholders closest to the challenges are heard.

4.6. Relevance

Forming a political manifesto as a platform for what the party aims to achieve in the upcoming term should highlight the most relevant issues—but also cover a broad roadmap of the party’s way of approaching also minor, but still important, issues. A practical way of outlining this broad picture is to dedicate sections of text to explaining the overall plan to solve a problem or achieve a political vision, while relevant bullet points can touch on even more specific issues.

Keep in mind that forming a manifesto should be the basis for discussion within the party on what primary issues will be highlighted in the election campaign. A manifesto will cover much more than the party is able to talk about in the campaign.

4.7. How to Involve Members and Party Branches

Including members and party branches in policy development is important for real internal party democracy, but it also has the positive side effect of making it interesting and meaningful to be a party member in between elections.

Possible methods of involvements could be:

- Encouraging members to send their input before a policy-making committee starts working (be sure to make it clear what inputs are and what body or individuals will receive and decide on their inclusion).
- Presenting a draft policy document to members and branches and inviting suggestions on how to improve it (the document can be sent out to branches or the party can organize meetings in different parts of the country/county).

Possible plan for involvement: Each party should discuss and decide what would be the best way of organizing a policy outreach plan, but below is an example:

THE FIRST YEAR	
April	Party (NEC or other formal party organ) discusses how to improve the policy development process
June	Follow up discussion and decision making on amending the policy development process
June-October	Familiarizing party members with the procedures and importance of policy-making
November	NEC or other formal party organ appoints a working committee that starts its work
THE SECOND YEAR	
January	Call for inputs from party members Continuation of committee work on the first draft First draft could concentrate on ideology/political identity of the party

June	Presentation of first draft. No reason to keep it secret, if media writes about it, it can encourage a process of identity-building and trust-building.
June-October	First draft discussed within the party
November	Committee continues the work, considers the inputs from the party organization and from members Continuation of committee work
THE THIRD YEAR	
March	Committee presents its suggestion for a party ideology Discussion within the party
June	NEC decides about ideology
June-October	Committee develops policies based on inputs and on decided ideology platform
October	Committee presents its suggestion for party manifesto Discussion within the party with possibility to suggest amendments and changes.
THE FOURTH YEAR	
February	NEC (or even party convention or new party congress) decides about the whole manifesto

The above plan is only a suggestion to show how to establish a procedure. A similar process could also be held at county level and maybe even at ward level.

4.8. Parallel Training and Policy-Making

Being part of a young multi-party democracy, Kenyan parties have a large task to do on civic education of their members. Civic education does not need to be limited only to the practical things related to elections, but also to members role as citizens with equal rights to speak their opinion in their party about the platform and policies.

Doing the training and collecting input in a parallel process would make the training more relevant. Parties might consider giving out a diploma/certificate to participants, showing that they have taken part in the training programme for policy-making within the party.

5

Party Management & Organization

5.1. Dynamics that Influence Party Management & Organization

The management and organization of a political party are important sub-sets of internal democracy within a party. They also determine how well a party is able to deliver on its key functions, expand its base, and enhance its chances of acquiring power, retaining it, and delivering effective service for members and citizens when it has the chance to govern.

The National Democratic Institute has developed a political party triangle that seeks to provide a basis for assessing an effective party. The triangle points out that the three essential requirements for effective parties are internal democracy, outreach, and transparency.

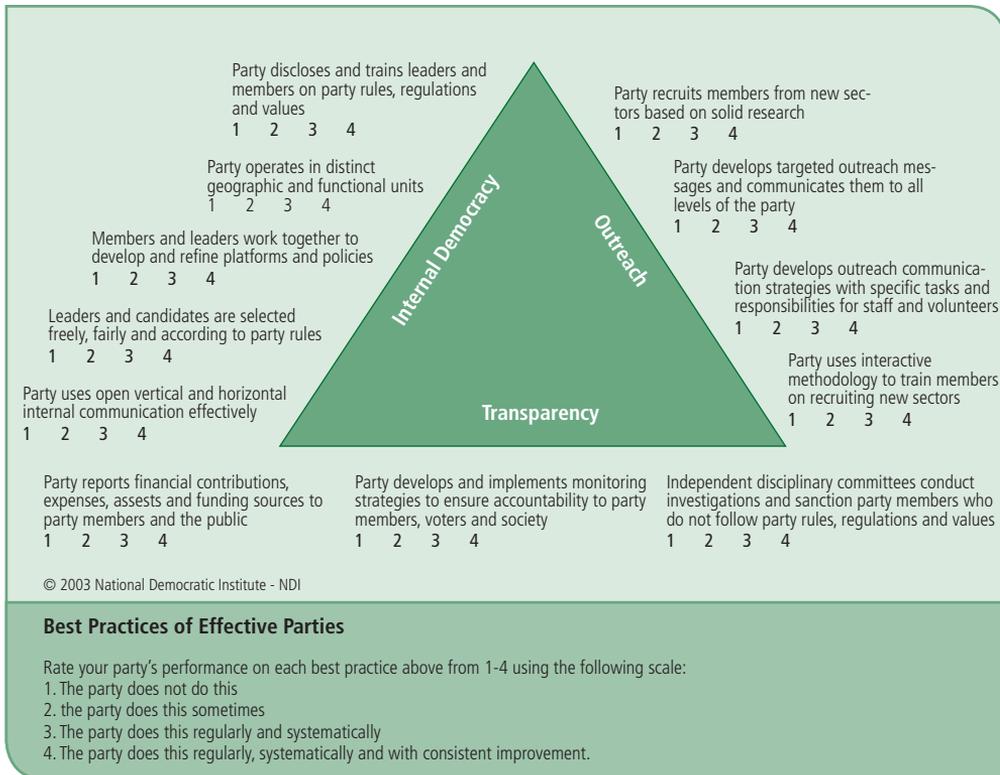
A party that scores high on each of the elements is an effective party. The path to being effective requires every party to ensure it addresses its organizational strength, internal democracy, political identity, internal party unity, and electioneering capacity.

5.2 Party Structures

a. Overview

There is no single template on how a party should be structured. The design is based on what the party membership and leadership agree. The structure should be influenced by the country's regulatory laws, the party's ideology and beliefs, its views on internal democracy, and its tactics and strategies. It is also guided by best practice internationally. A party structure should consist of:

- A **plenary of the membership** for making key party decisions, such as choosing the party's presidential candidate, amending the party constitution, and making the decision to dissolve the party
- A **governing body** for making policy decisions related to running of the party
- An **executive body** for overseeing the party operations
- An **administrative body** for day-to-day running of the party
- A **branch** or other devolved structure for decentralized party operations



The party constitution should clarify the branches and committees of the party from the local to the national level. It should also provide for both the geographic and functional units of organization within the party. Geographic units include branches, while functional units include youth leagues, women's leagues, and bodies for persons with disabilities. Important features of party structures are lines of authority, accountability, and communication. A party may have enthusiastic members, committed leadership, and practical and great ideas for resolving the problems facing society. However, without proper organization, the chances of success are limited and, if achieved, short-lived.

b. General Structures & Responsibilities

A party structure should clarify the roles and responsibilities of people at the various levels of the organization. The typical structures found in most parties and their responsibilities are described below:

- Party Congress:** The congress is the highest decision-making body of the party. In Kenya, it is normally called the National Delegates Conference or Convention. Although it is the highest decision-making organ, it plays a limited role due to the huge numbers who attend it and the cost of convening it. Party constitutions usually limit the congress to key decisions, such as approving amendments to the party constitution, deciding on party dissolution, approving the party's key policy documents, and electing certain cadre of candidates and party officials. If a party wants to ensure actual democratic influence by the members on important decisions like these, the party congress should be a real arena for decisions and discussions. It can be achieved in different ways, but it is likely to be very difficult without limiting the number of delegates.

Therefore, it might be a good idea to discuss other ways of organizing a party congress. One way of organizing a democratic selection of delegates is to have a set key based on the number of members that the party has in the county. For example, all counties might automatically have two delegates, but then also have the opportunity to get one extra delegate for each 1,000 paying party members in the county. In smaller parties, this number might lower, while larger parties might set it higher. An added bonus of such a system is that party representatives in the counties will have an added incentive to recruit members in order to increase the power of that county branch inside the party.

- **Party Executives:** Since the convention or congress meets only occasionally, the powers to make decisions in between congresses, which sometimes happens once every five years, is delegated through the constitution to an executive organ. In Kenya, this body is normally called the National Governing Council. In addition to and below this body, there is normally the National Executive Committee (NEC), which administers party affairs in between National Governing Council meetings.
- **Party Secretariat:** Many parties distinguish between administrative and political staff. The administrative staff are employees of the party and cannot seek political positions within the party structures as long as they serve the administrative wing.
- **Party Caucuses or Parliamentary Groups:** Caucuses are composed of the elected representatives to the various legislative bodies of the country who are members of the party.
- **Branches:** The branches are the local geographic units of the party with clear decision-making and deliberative responsibilities.
- **Special Interest and Professional Groups:** These groups are functional units of the party that are organs for the representation of the interests of and for reaching out to special interests within the party. They include youth, women, workers, persons with disabilities, and professionals. It can also include permanent think-tanks.
- **Election and Dispute Resolution Boards:** Parties also have special bodies responsible for the conduct of their elections and party nominations listening to appeals and other internal party disputes. They are normally organs of the NEC, but good practice requires that their membership be distinct from the NEC.

c. Relationship between Elected Representatives and Other Party Organs

Elected officials are an important part of the party organizational framework. Parties normally have parliamentary groups as part of their party organs. The relationship between the elected officials and the party is one that parties should clarify in their organizational structures and operations. The practice in Kenya ranges from neglect to one where the elected officials become the party or more important than the party.

Parties should provide for a body where the elected officials of the party meet. While all elected officials are normally part of the Delegates Conference and, in some parties, part of the National Executive Committee, the party often lacks a systematic organ for elected officials. In the past in Kenya, a party's parliamentary group only had members of the single-chamber Parliament. With a newly established Senate and a devolved system of government, there is a need to either expand the membership of the body of elected representa-

tives or have several bodies to cater for Senators, elected county assembly members, and Governors, as well as members of the National Assembly.

As a rule, parties should institutionalize their parliamentary caucuses. The Political Parties Act recognizes caucuses, including at the county level. Caucuses can be important vehicles for party organization in the various legislative bodies. While a political party should ideally define the policy of the party on any given issue, elected representatives in reality become the voice of the party. They are frequently sought out by the media, get to debate national issues, and are asked to make comments. In these situations, they are expected—and assumed—to speak on behalf of the party.

Therefore, it is important that the party structures maintain regular contact with the party caucuses and elected representatives—and vice versa. The party structure should provide for a link between the party caucuses and the party structures at the appropriate level. In the counties, the county assembly should be in close contact with the county branch of the party. At the national level, national elected representatives should be in close contact with the NEC, the Secretariat, the Secretary General, or all three levels, depending on a party's choice. The caucuses should be included in the key decisions of the party. Regular consultation will improve the role of the elected representatives as voices of the party among the public. If a party does not include the caucus in the decision-making process with regard to policy, it will be missing an important voice, not only within the party, but also with knowledge of how the voters feel about the policy being considered.

Party caucuses also need to be structured and to meet regularly to discuss party positions in the legislature and how to carry out their work as legislators. Parties should consider allowing non-elected representatives from the party leadership and secretariat to attend these meetings in order to create a link between the party inside and outside the legislature.

Close cooperation between the party organization and the elected representative is, in fact, a win-win issue. The parties should play a more and more important role in policy development, which implies the party structures cannot be isolated from the practical implementation of policies both at the national and county levels.

In conclusion, every party should:

- Provide for party parliamentary and county assembly caucuses in its structures
- Determine the numbers of caucuses it will have
- Agree on the relationship between the caucuses and other organs of the party
- Determine the support the party will give to the caucuses
- Clarify the staffing and role of the secretariat of the caucuses
- Require its caucuses to develop formal rules of operations
- Provide a mechanism for regular reports from the caucuses to a designated party organ
- Define the support that the party secretariat will provide to the caucuses

5.3 Party Secretariat

a. Composition

The secretariat is the nerve center and engine of the party. It consists largely of unelected employees of the party who are responsible for the administrative, programmatic, and logistical functions of a party. Every party

needs to determine the structure and staffing of the secretariat. However, according to the Political Parties Act, there are some staff that are mandatory for every registered political party, including the executive director and accountant.

The head of the secretariat is usually the executive director of the party, who is an employee. In certain instances, it may be the secretary general. It is important that every party makes a choice whether they prefer the head to be the executive director or the secretary general. Either way, every party will have an executive director as the most senior non-elected person at the secretariat. In addition, there is a need for clear reporting lines and links between the party secretariat and the National Executive Committee. Day-to-day supervision and reporting of the secretariat can be to the Secretary General, while overall oversight is provided by the NEC. In this case, the executive director should be part of the NEC.

The structure of the secretariat should be organized around key functions that the party will undertake, including:

- membership service (including recruitment and register maintenance);
- administration (including human resource, finances, resource mobilization, logistics, and branch coordination); and,
- technical (including communication, strategic planning, research, and planning).

The head of each of the above functional departments can be called directors, managers, or coordinators. Above them, a party can also choose to have a deputy executive director. Each department should have staff and reporting levels as the party considers necessary based on its size, funding levels, and the function of the department. The specific job descriptions for each staff should be prepared by the party and formally handed to every employee upon engagement. The requirement to sign letters of employment is not only part of legal compliance, but also good practice. It will help instill a higher sense of discipline within the party secretariat, provide for rights and responsibilities, and improve professionalism in the manner parties are run.

Parties should also develop human resource and financial management procedure manuals to ensure that the process of recruitment and conduct of staff is documented and well known by all within the party. The manuals should also provide for compliance with the constitutional requirement of having not more than two-thirds of either gender in appointed positions and the guidelines for ensuring that 5 percent are persons with disabilities.

It is important to create a high level of awareness of the roles and functions of the party secretariat. A party secretariat, as a vital part in the party machinery, must be given space to advise and develop the party and be aware that it acts on behalf of the democratically elected bodies.

b. Role in Communication

The secretariat should be responsible for supporting internal and external communication within the party. While the executive director will most likely not be the party spokesperson, it is the duty of the secretariat to prepare drafts of communications for approval and to undertake daily routine communication both internally and externally. However, the secretariat should restrict itself to administrative communications relating to the running of the party and leave the political and policy communications to the official spokesperson or only do it on the authority of the spokesperson. Maintaining party records is a role of the secretariat, as is preparing and distributing communication and branding materials, like brochures, t-shirts, and newsletters.

The secretariat also runs the political party's information technology communication sites, including website maintenance and update, Facebook, and other social media.

5.4 Research and Training

Research and training are two interrelated services that every secretariat must undertake. Designing a training program for the various levels of the membership, staff, and officials of the party is a time-consuming and resource-intensive exercise. In undertaking this function, the secretariat should seek to partner with organizations that support capacity building and training of political parties. Partnership with sister political parties across the world that share similar ideology with the party are also sources of capacity building support.

For the training process to be sustainable, it has to be planned and rolled out across the entire party branch network. Parties will also need to build the capacity of their own trainers to ensure that they can undertake training cheaply and for a wide membership. A database of those trained should be maintained so that they can be deployed to train others in the party.

Politics without supporting research is hollow and lacking in vision. The challenges facing the world and for which parties are required to provide solutions are complex and ever-changing. To be able to deal with this reality requires having access to research services. Research is an opportunity for the party to not only employ professionals in its research department, but also link up with institutions that can provide it with research information. Academicians and researchers can also be recruited as members and incorporated into think-tanks within the party secretariat to provide research support.

Very few parties have the resources to have their own research department. Therefore, they will have to lean on knowledge available from other sources. Research institutions normally want to be politically independent, but their results are usually available for the rest of society.

5.5 Administration and Management

Administration and management of finances are key functions of any organizations' secretariat. It is said that the health of an organization is determined by how well it manages its finances, staff, and processes. There is a school of thought that believes that, since politics is a chaotic profession, prudence in management is not expected in politics—however, this belief is incorrect. The Political Parties Act requires parties to carefully manage their human and financial resources. Failure to manage and account for resources may well attract the wrath of both the Registrar of Political Parties and the Auditor General, especially when a party receives public funds through the Political Parties Fund.

The Political Parties Act requires parties to develop several policies, including policies for financial management, asset management, and human resource management. The office of the Registrar of Political Parties has also developed a detailed manual on financial management and procurement for political parties. The party secretariat should ensure that these manuals are followed. In addition, it should organize training for staff and branches on financial management and administration.

Since parties operate in a complex and changing environment, they need to adapt and respond to those contexts so that they are successful. The process of strategic planning is useful for enabling a party to develop a shared sense of direction and goals within a given time-frame, to define the required strategies, and to identify the resources needed to realize that goal and harness the party's energies in that direction. The secretariat has the responsibility of coordinating the development of the party's strategic plan through a consultative process.

5.6 Party Branch Organs

All politics is local, so the saying goes. For parties, the role of their local structures is mobilizing and recruiting members, selling the party ideas and policies, and running the party should be given prominence.

The Political Parties Act requires every party to have at least 24 functioning branches at the county level. This requirement was introduced to avoid the past practice of having some branches exist only in theory. For every branch, the party must have contact information for officials in that branch and must forward that information to the Registrar of Political Parties. In addition, the branch must have an operational branch office, which is a fixed office, rather than a mobile, one where party members and the public can interact with the party and its officials.

In every county office, the following documents must exist and be available:

- A register of members
- A copy of the constitution of the political party
- A copy of the policies and plans of the political party
- Details of contributions made by founding members of the party
- Estimates of the expenditures of the political party
- A list of party property
- The latest audited book of accounts.

Branch development should be a top priority for parties because branches are the building blocks for a properly functioning party organizational machine. They are the place for recruiting members, training members on the party policies, and internal communication between the members and the party leadership. Branches are the ears and eyes of the party at the local level. Parties should put aside sufficient resources to provide basic equipment to the party branches, to employ staff, and to acquire materials, including for publicity. Resources for operations of the branch offices should include resources for training of branch officials, for outreach and education, and for membership recruitment, including membership cards.

The officials and structure of the branch are up to the party to determine through its constitution. Inclusion of women, youth, and persons with disabilities should be given top priority in branch structures and operations. The county branch structure is fully compatible with the spirit of devolution and delivering services to the people as near to them as possible.

5.7 Membership Recruitment & Retention

While the party constitution and the Political Parties Act will deal with issues of eligibility and qualification

for membership in a political party, the real task of recruiting members requires planning and commitment by the party. A party that does not have a recruitment plan will soon suffer from a dwindling and disinterested membership base.

There are many ways of recruiting members, including face-to-face, online, through rallies, and through the use of volunteers. Membership is a requirement for party registration. The list of members is supposed to be continuously updated, and a copy of the records submitted to the Registrar of Political Parties. Recruitment should also be targeted to ensure that membership is diverse. A special effort is needed to bring in young members. In some countries where the law permits, recruitment is done when people have not even reached the age of voting to ensure the party always has a rich membership base and to teach the values and ideologies of the party to youth at a very early age. In those countries, the young members have the same democratic rights within the party as any other member.

Membership cards and fees are things to consider in the recruitment process. Having sufficient copies of the membership cards well distributed among the party branches and all those responsible for recruitment sounds simple. However, it can be a challenge if not properly thought through. Parties should also design a clear and simple system of entering and storing the membership details of the party members. It is no use recruiting members if an accurate register of members does not exist. It is also important to differentiate between members and supporters.

Party membership in Kenya is very fluid. Parties are frequently faced with members that resign and move to other parties. It is incumbent upon parties to develop strategies for retaining their members. To do so, parties should ensure that membership in the political party is meaningful by ensuring, for example, that nomination processes are fair and transparent and limited to genuine members. There is no need to be a loyal member of the party if, at the time of party nominations, non-members are allowed to select the party candidates and even compete for nominations. Maintaining communications flow, involving members in party activities, developing attractive policies, distributing party paraphernalia, and practicing internal democracy are other ways of retaining party membership.

5.8 Leadership and Mentorship

Leadership helps guide an organization in realizing its objectives. It helps improve the organization. The importance of public leadership in Kenya is captured by the Constitution. Chapter Six of the Constitution on leadership and integrity calls for ethical and value-based leadership. It also requires that the process of electing or selecting leaders be objective and ensure that the country and its institutions get the best that the country and the process can deliver. It requires that election of leaders be based on free and fair parameters. For those leaders who are selected, the selection process must be objective and impartial. Those selected must have personal integrity, must be suitable, and must be competent.

Political parties are expected to adhere to the requirements of Chapter Six of the Constitution when choosing their leaders. International best practice also requires that leaders of the party are chosen freely and fairly according to party rules. The Political Parties Act requires every party to provide details of the process of leadership selection for the various organs of the party and for nominations to elective office through the party. The choice of which method the party adopts is left to the party. Parties normally choose their leaders through some form of direct or indirect election.

Parties need to invest in leadership identification and development. It is often stated that there is no school for politics, which is not fully accurate. Leaders can be trained so that they understand what the society expects of them, how to relate with their parties and the electorate, and required rules governing acquisition and exercise of power.

As part of the leadership development process, every party should develop and improve its internal training capacity. Establishing such a capacity requires identification and training of trainers within the party that are then provided with resources and opportunities to undertake trainings for the party's potential leaders. Focusing on traditionally underrepresented groups in the leadership training process will help increase the numbers of women, youth, persons with disabilities, and marginalized groups that offer themselves for leadership and eventually get elected.

Leadership succession and mentorship are issues to which every party should pay attention. Worldwide, parties are sometimes faced with a situation in which they do not have competent and charismatic leaders to take over from the current generation. A normal tendency is either for the current crop of leaders to hang on to their positions for decades—even through undemocratic means—or for those parties to suffer a loss of power and membership. This situation can be avoided by every party putting in place processes for continuous leadership succession. Developing a mentorship program can contribute to improving the quality of leadership in Kenya. A mentorship program would identify early on young party members with leadership potential that are taken through a process of learning from current leaders for a period of time so that they can observe how those leaders undertake their activities, learn the workings of the leadership positions, and get to interact more closely with the leaders. Mentorship should be undertaken by parties at all levels, including at the county branches, within the secretariat, within the women's and youth leagues, within the governing body, and also through attachment to elected representatives at the county and national levels.

5.9 Party Cooperation and Coalition Building

While parties are distinct entities that seek to acquire power through competition with each other, it is also necessary that parties cooperate. Collaboration can happen in situations where parties share an ideology or in instances where parties have a common interest. When parties are discussing some governance issues in the country, parties can come together and cooperate in pushing that agenda for the common good of the country and the parties.

Cooperation can also take place between cross-party groups of interest groups within parties. This inter-party collaboration is healthy because it enables a group of people across the political divide to push a common agenda. An example of a successful cooperative initiative in Kenya is the Inter-Party Youth Forum (IPYF). IPYF is a forum for youth in political parties to cooperate and enhance the youth voice in political parties. It is a cross-party initiative, and since its establishment, it has realized numerous achievements, including campaigning for and promoting peaceful involvement of young people in the electoral process and creating links with and learning from the experience of similar initiatives across the continent and the world.

Parties can contest for elections and govern, either alone or in association with others. The Political Parties Act defines a coalition as an alliance of two or more political parties formed for the purpose of pursuing a common goal and governed by a written agreement. Coalitions are normally formed for the purpose of governance (i.e., after an election), but coalitions can also be formed with the purpose to win the election

(i.e., before an election). Kenyan laws recognize and allow for parties to enter into a coalition either before or after elections.

The Political Parties Act requires parties to sign a pre- or post-election agreement; however, the parties themselves must determine the terms of their coalition and the purpose for its formation. In final coalition agreements, parties should agree on, among other things: possible common policies and policy decision-making structures, as well as rules and procedures. They should also define criteria for sharing positions in coalition structure and roles and responsibilities within the coalition. In agreeing these issues, parties need to take into consideration the political balance and strengths of the different parties as it will strengthen the coalition. It is also possible to make a preliminary agreement of cooperation before election, for example, limited to a promise of coordinated campaigning and post-election negotiations for a final coalition agreement. Such a pre-election agreement should also contain some political goals for the coalition parties to let the voters know the most important priorities. After the election, these parties can then negotiate for a government policy platform and distribution of positions based on the strength given to the parties by the voters.

All coalition agreements must be in writing and approved by the governing bodies of the respective parties in order to ensure that the process is based on the desire of the parties and not a few individuals within the parties. Writing of coalition agreements, and the added requirement that these agreements be deposited with the Registrar of Political Parties, is a reaction to past practices in Kenya where disputes arose between political parties in a coalition about the existence and content of a coalition agreement. By making it mandatory to sign the coalition agreement and deposit it with the Registrar of Political Parties, it will be easier to resolve disputes that may arise from the agreements.

Parties should take coalition building and coalition management seriously. Before entering into a coalition, there should be consultations within the party structures and a thorough SWOT analysis to determine whether to enter into a coalition and define the benefits and disadvantages of potential partners. If a party decides to enter into a coalition, it should discuss and prepare its requirements and expectations from the arrangement and give this list to an appointed negotiating team to ensure its interests are catered for in the coalition negotiations. The terms of the coalition should also be debated and, as required by the Political Parties Act, approved by the governing organ of the party. The Third Schedule of the Political Parties Act lists the minimum requirements of a coalition agreement. Parties should ensure they address all the issues in the schedule during their negotiations and include them in the agreement. In the past, there has been lack of agreement on how to nominate candidates from among the parties in a coalition, threatening the survival of such coalitions. In addition, failure to discuss and agree on sharing of resources from the Political Parties Fund can be extremely destabilizing to a coalition.

Having formed a coalition, parties need to provide for mechanisms for managing the coalition and resolving disputes that may arise between coalition partners. Regular and honest dialogue and confidence-building meetings are important tools for promoting successful coalition operations and enhancing the survival and strength of the coalition.

5.10 Funding for Political Parties

Money is important for the survival and operations of political parties. Many political parties have difficulty raising sufficient resources to maintain their operations. In recognition of the challenge of money to the

survival and growth of political parties, the Political Parties Act provides for public funding of political parties. However, not all parties are currently entitled to the public funds. Qualification is based on the number of votes that a party received in the previous election with a minimum threshold of 5 percent of the votes. This threshold has created challenges for a majority of political parties that do not qualify for this funding based on the current criteria. The past criteria in the 2007 Political Parties Act ensured that all parties that were registered got some share of the Political Parties Fund.

Still, money will always be a challenge for political parties. At the outset, it should be noted that resources are more than just public money. Resources also include members and volunteers, capacity building support from organizations, and material contributions. Parties should harness these other resources as much as possible. Every party must also assess how much money it can raise from members through membership contributions, which will require parties to increasingly develop a membership base of committed people who are willing to contribute to the running of the party.

In the past, and even now, parties have relied on their elected representatives for funding. To ensure that members of the National Assembly, Senators, Governors, and County Assembly Members are a crucial source of funds for running the party, parties have to define and enforce rules for elected members' contributions to the party operations and also get value for money. Establishing a certain minimum contribution as a criterion for determining a candidate's qualification to run on the party ticket may be an option for parties to consider, while also establishing a waiver policy that will avoid locking out good candidates who cannot afford to contribute. Requiring a contribution in advance will establish early on the expectation that those who get elected on the party ticket have an obligation to support the party financially. Rules should also be stipulated to define the consequences of failing to contribute.

Parties also need to consider having a committee and written strategy for resource mobilization to guide it in the process of raising money for the operations of the party.

6

Communication Mechanisms

6.1 Overview

Communication is the means through which a party will maintain contact with its membership and the larger public. It enables a party to have its agenda, reach its target audience, and receive feedback, advice, and criticism from both the membership and the external audience. Strong party-based communication systems provide vital avenues for public participation, structure citizens' electoral choices, and connect leaders and elected officials around common programs. With increased developments in technology and communication channels, the place of communication and diversity of options are increasingly becoming an important aspect of every party's mobilization and organizational strategies.

There are two broad categories of communication that every party must pay attention to, and they are:

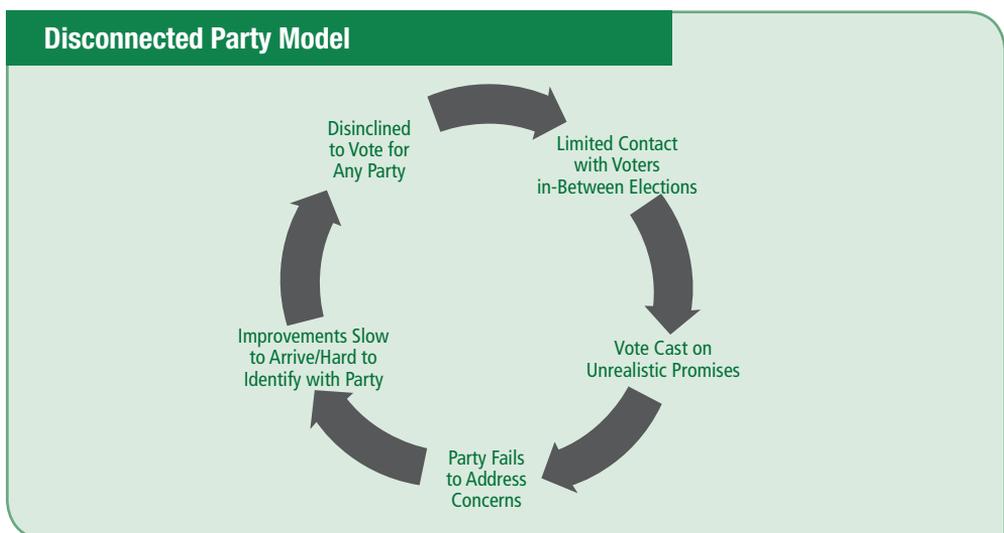
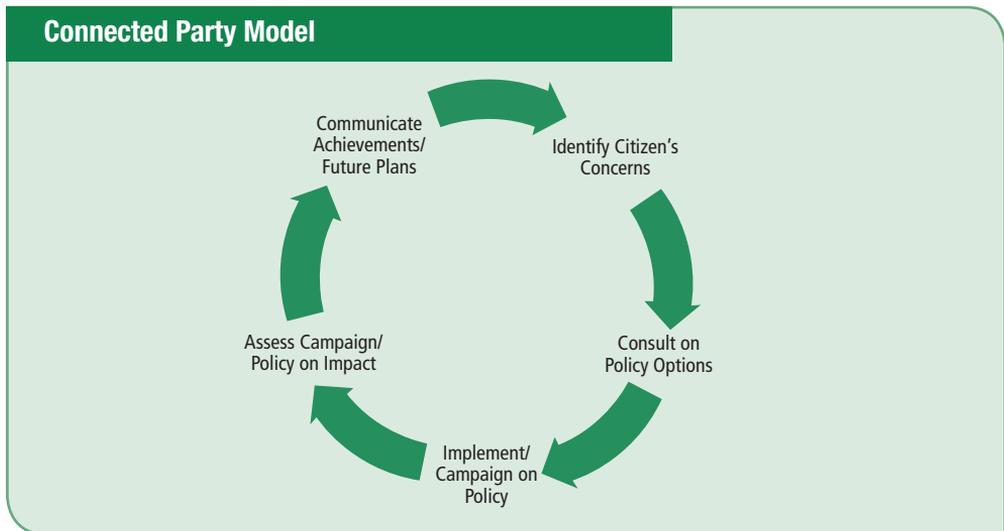
- Internal communication
- External communication

6.2 Internal Communication

Internal communication is communication within the party, focusing on the membership, structures, officials, and staff. Every party should design and implement a mechanism for internal communication. Good internal communication should be both bottom-up and top-down. The top-down communication mechanisms allow the party leadership to communicate to the members on party positions and decisions. Unless this mechanism exists, members will not know what decisions have been made in the party and what the party positions are, and, consequently, there will be a disconnect.

Apart from its obvious democratic challenges, a skewed focus towards top-down communication within the party will likely also lead to disquiet and lack of engagement by the party members. It will also be difficult for party leaders to respond to the challenges and needs of party members. For these reasons, every internal party mechanism must also include a bottom-up communication channel, providing party members with the opportunity to communicate their views, inputs, and concerns to the party leadership. Unless a party maintains a two-way communication channel between the party leaders and members, it will soon result in a dysfunctional, weak, and disconnected party.

In addition to vertical two-way communication channels, parties should also have horizontal communication channels, including between the party secretariat and the elected members' caucuses, between the youth and women's leagues, or between different counties. Such horizontal communication will help improve the party's processes.



Adapted from NDI-Kenya training

Parties should also pay attention to the different layers of communication. There is need for communication channels between party officials, party members, and elected leadership. Parties may have elected representatives to county assemblies, the National Assembly, the Senate, and/or a regional assembly (e.g., the East African Legislative Assembly). Each of these organs performs an important legislative, oversight, and representative role. Representatives of these bodies require a link with the party and regular communications and interactions with it. Some parties often forget to communicate with their elected leaders. Other parties only see elected leaders as a source of funds. Frequently, elected leaders also forget their parties, seeing them only as an avenue for ascending to leadership. These problems can be corrected by developing a structured

system for regular and sustained two-way communication between elected leaders and the party. It may take the form of inviting elected leaders to regular meetings of certain party organs; scheduling regular meetings between a designated party official and the leadership of the party's caucuses; and/or inviting the party secretariat to caucus meetings.

Communication between the national office and branches is the other area of internal communication that must be dealt with. Branches of the party require open communication channels to be effective. Therefore, it is a good idea for the party secretariat to employ an officer in charge of branch liaison. Members exist at the branches, and sustained communication with the branches enables the party at the center to continuously keep abreast of what is happening within the party across the country. Good communication can enhance the party's electoral fortunes.

There are many ways of internal communication. Every party should consider a variety of communication channels based on the resources it has, including:

- Email
- Newsletters on paper
- Newsflashes through SMS
- Phone/internet conferences
- Regular face-to-face meetings
- Visits by branches to party headquarters
- Visits to branches by national officials

Effective internal communication should be simple and regular. Maintaining regular communication channels should be at the heart of a party's internal communication strategies. In addition, a party should remember to share important documents with its members. Enabling members to access copies of party constitutions, reports, policy documents, manifestoes, financial reports, and rules are great ways of ensuring that information flow is maintained. Record keeping and documentation is also essential. Basic things, like keeping an updated list of members, of elected party officials, of elected representatives, and of branch officials and making these lists available to the membership based on established rules are other important ways of enhancing internal communication. Good record keeping helps to promote institutional memory, accuracy, and effective communication. Having clear communication channels and clear chains of command for reporting are also essential for effective internal two-way communication within a party.

Many party volunteers and representatives at the local level have useful information of daily happenings on the ground, but lack effective contacts with the party structures. Parties should develop mechanisms for these representatives to pass the information to clearly defined party channels. The party headquarters and leaders should also pass along advice and party policies and positions to make the work of those at the grassroots effective.

6.3 External Communication

External communication refers to the part of the communication that focuses on the wider public. External communication plays an important role in building and organizing a successful party. Through it, a party is able to relay its policies to the public, help shape public decisions, improve its image, and recruit new members. It also provides a party with the channel to convince voters to choose its candidates and policies during

an election. In addition, it is a vehicle through which the party can interact with and receive feedback from citizens and other interest groups.

External communication can be undertaken through several channels, including:

- Face-to-face meetings
- Press releases and statements
- Rallies
- Social media
- Publications
- Interviews
- Advertisements in both print and electronic media
- Other media channels

It is important that a party has processes to govern its external communication. A key part of that process is to be clear on who the party spokesperson is. This person will communicate to external audiences all party positions on key matters. This person should be known by all party members and also by external actors, including the media, so that, whenever there is an issue requiring the party position, the spokesperson is contacted to give that position. A single spokesperson will avoid the broadcasting of conflicting information from different party members. However, if the party has several well-spoken and media-trained politicians, it is also an option to have one spokesperson per political topic.

All external communication by a party needs to be clear, in line with the party policies and positions, factual, and—wherever possible—consultative. External communication based on good internal communication will ensure that party leaders and members are able to stick to the party position once it is communicated. Therefore, it is essential that important information once communicated to the external audience also be shared internally using the internal communication channels.

In addition to having a party spokesperson, there will be other layers of communication. The party spokesperson cannot communicate with all external audiences. A lot of communication takes place at the grassroots level. It is therefore important to determine the communication structure at the branch level. The communications function at the branch level can be given either to the branch secretary, a communication or public relations committee, or another party official at the branch level. It is important that these individuals are clear on the possibilities and limitations of their task. A key in achieving this clarity is to have open channels of communication between the branch officials and the party spokesperson at the national level.

In developed countries, a number of parties have full-fledged communication departments to support the party's external communication function. Even with limited resources, parties in Kenya should consider a stand-alone department to support its communication functions. This department can help members who communicate externally to prepare press releases, check factual accuracy of information for the media, and help respond to negative attacks or misinformation in the media.

6.4 Using Different Communication Channels

Both for its internal and external communications, a party should be well-versed with the use of various communication avenues. In the modern world, a party that relies only on traditional methodologies of face-

to-face meetings and rallies for communication may find its citizen engagement severely limited. A party that avoids the traditional modes completely will also be at a disadvantage because modern methods cannot completely replace the traditional communication channels. To be sure, face-to-face communication is still the most effective communication option, but it is not practical in all situations. It has to be complemented by other options.

Technology: Use of technology to communicate is an imperative for parties. However, technology can be expensive. Parties have to choose the modes of communication based on the availability of resources. Websites are a common method of communicating to members and the external public. It is important that these websites be professionally designed so that they are appealing to the audience and easy to use. Many organizations in Kenya have websites that are rarely updated and some that are not interactive. A party needs to pay attention not only to website development, but also to processes for regularly updating the site. A website that is not updated is a negative communication tool for the party because it speaks loudly of the party's level of organization. If a party is not able to update and maintain a modern and functional website, it might be better to focus on using social media as a contact point for interested voters.

Social media: Social media is fast gaining currency as a method of political communication in Kenya. One can dare say that a party that does not employ Twitter, Facebook, and other social media tools runs the risk of not being able to communicate effectively. In fact, that party will find that it misses out on the youth who have taken to social media as their main avenue for receiving and communicating information. It can be very cheap to maintain a presence as a party on social media if the party relies on its youth members and gives them the opportunity and necessary information to update their social media sites. Parties should remember that social media has also been used to propagate hateful and divisive messages, and the media laws of the country are very stringent on abuse of social media. Consequently, parties should pay attention to ensuring that communication, especially on social media, is responsible. One possible option might be to make a social media code of conduct that is communicated to party representatives in trainings and party meetings.

Media relations: Cultivating and maintaining good relations with the media is also an art that parties have to develop to ensure that their message is conveyed in the right manner. As there are politicians from the party in contact with the media all over the country, it might be an option to develop a short list of tips on how to relate to journalists. This list could include things like getting in contact with a journalist early in the morning if there is a story for them and standards for being able to confirm quotations in the case of an interview before the newspaper is published. The tips could also include a short value statement, based on the party ideology, as to how the party wishes to be perceived in the media. The tips should be designed to guide the party's representatives and make it easier for voters to see what characterizes the party.

Feedback: Developing a means of receiving feedback is a key aspect of communication. Parties should invest in communication options that seek to collect views from citizens and members to help guide future decision-making. Feedback mechanisms can include the use of informal questionnaires, opinion polls, and other research methods. Another affordable option is to use social media, e.g., through closed groups on Facebook.



Party Campaigns & Elections

7.1 Party Campaigns

a. Campaign Management

A successful political campaign must be grounded in planning, organization, resources, and messaging. Without focusing on all of these elements, a campaign is bound to fail. Any campaign has limited resources. It is therefore important that a party manage its campaigns for successful and cost-effective delivery of the target, which is a win for its candidates and for the party.

At the start of the campaign process and during the campaigns, the party should develop a campaign structure clearly identifying the personnel and their roles. The management of the campaigns should ideally not be left to the candidates(s). Candidates should focus on campaigning, while management of the process should be the responsibility of another person or team of persons. At the top of this team, there should be a campaign manager. The choice of the manager for any campaign is normally a key decision for any party. It is important that it be done after careful evaluation of the qualities of the people being considered. A good manager should:

- Be an administrator
- Be conscious of time
- Be a good planner
- Have good inter-personal relations skills
- Be able to delegate
- Get along well with the candidate
- Be loyal
- Be honest
- Be a good communicator
- Be a team-player

Having chosen the manager, the party must then discuss and agree on the structure for the party campaign machinery and determine:

- How many staff and volunteers the campaign will have

- Routines and reporting to party leadership, including a definition of types of issues that must be discussed with the leadership before handling.
- What equipment the campaign will have
- What communication strategy to employ
- Security arrangements for the campaign and candidates
- The campaign message
- Transportation and logistics
- Campaign scheduling
- How to organize media relations

The link with the grassroots is an important element of campaign management. A party should decide whether its campaign will be centralized or devolved. Will the campaign have one office and structure at the national level or will it also have several offices and structures at the devolved levels too? If devolved, how many devolved units will there be and who will be in charge of each of the unit? Defining a reporting and communication structure for the various levels will help reduce potential conflicts that might exist between national campaign managers and local officials at the grassroots. The relationship between the campaign staff and party officials should also be determined through discussions. There is no clear rule as to whether party officials and campaign staff should be located in a single or separate office. The more important issue is, if they are separated, there must be proper linkages to enhance coordination and avoid misunderstandings.

Developing and maintain a schedule of campaign activities and sticking to them helps ensure an organized campaign. The schedule can be flexible and adjustable whenever the need arises, but it must exist. A campaign without a schedule will be like a rudderless ship moving from one event to the other without a strategy and plan, thus reducing the effectiveness of the campaign.

b. Campaign Financing

Resources greatly affect the success of a campaign. Their proper identification, use, and management are necessary aspects of any successful campaign process, but resources are not just about money. They include time and people as well. It is important that as part of the campaign plan, a political party develops a detailed resource mobilization and management strategy. The strategy should identify all the types of resources the campaign will require and their various sources.

The law in Kenya regulates the financing of campaigns; and the oversight task is vested with the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC). The regulations on this issue exist to ensure transparency and accountability in the financing of campaigns. It is also regulates the amount of money and the sources of finances that people use in campaigns. Parliament recently passed a law on campaign financing. Parties should be aware of the provisions of this law and comply with its requirements.

By law, public collections, known as *Harambees*, are not to be undertaken by parties and their candidates within eight months of a general election. The only money that can be raised is money for either a party or a candidate, but not money for public causes like education.

Parties should consider putting in place a permanent resource mobilization committee to help raise money for its electoral campaigns. Once raised, prudent financial management systems are necessary, including a bank account where money raised will be banked and rules for its use, record keeping, auditing, and reporting of

the campaign finances raised. A lot of parties lose money during campaigns because there are no systems for using and accounting for funds. The end result is campaigns run out of money well before the campaign ends. Thus, the campaigns need to have a proper budget in order to prioritize spending during a campaign.

Parliament has also passed an Election Campaign Finance Act to provide for the regulation, management, expenditure, and accountability of election campaign funds during an election. The Act details the powers that the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) has in regulating expenditures during campaigns. Political parties intending to contest elections are required by the law to constitute a Party Expenditure Committee that will open, maintain, and operate an account into which all monies for the party election campaigns, including nomination fees, will go and from which all expenses will be paid. The committee also has the responsibility of accounting to IEBC on the expenditures of the party. It is required that this committee is defined in the party's constitution. Members of the committee should be aware of their roles and the requirements of the campaign finance law. In addition, the committee needs to engage with the party leadership and candidates so that its work is properly understood and appreciated.

c. Campaign Outreach and Targeting

Campaign outreach is the process of undertaking voter education and reaching out to voters. It is important that the outreach process be coordinated and sustained. At the start of the campaign period, a party should develop a strategy for reaching out to voters. This strategy should identify all the different methods that the party intends to employ, the resources required for them, and the messages to be communicated. The use of volunteers for outreach helps increase coverage, energize the base, and reduce costs. Management of volunteers is an area that parties regularly forget to focus on. Volunteers are a resource that should be organized and appreciated. Simple things, like giving volunteers the opportunity to be part of the process, rewarding them when opportunities come up within the campaign, organizing for them to meet and have a discussion with the candidate, and publicly thanking and acknowledging them are things a party should do for its volunteers.

Campaign materials, the messages in them, and organized distribution channels are essential for any campaign. Parties should avoid conflicting messages, late delivery of materials, and disorganized distribution. Having early discussions with identified suppliers, seeking discounts on costs, defining a structure for distribution of campaign materials can determine the success or failure of a campaign.

Outreach and messaging should also be targeted. Many parties like rallies, which are useful and serve the purpose of reaching a large group of people. However, in addition to rallies, a successful campaign should carry out other specific campaign outreach activities including use of media, roadshows, door-to-door visits, and personal communications, e.g., SMS messages. Voter targeting—a process of scientifically determining those most likely to vote for the candidate or the party—is also necessary. The process begins with identifying registered and unregistered voters with the goal of targeting only registered voters. Then, based on research, the campaign team should determine which individuals or type of voters (e.g., young female professionals) that are:

- most likely to vote for the candidate or party,
- less likely to vote for the candidate or party,
- currently undecided, and
- not likely to vote for the candidate or party

The campaign efforts should target the first three groups with the greatest use of resources targeted toward those who can be convinced to vote for the candidate or party.

d. Get Out The Vote

A campaign strategy should include how to get those who have registered to vote—and pledged to vote for the party—to come out on Election Day. It is not sufficient to have many supporters if they do not come to the polling stations on Election Day. There is a saying that “bad leaders are elected by good voters who do not turn up to vote.” In the 2013 elections in Kenya, there was a huge debate on registration of voters and voter turnout. One of the lessons to take away from the 2013 process is the need to focus, as a political party, on the process of voter registration and ensure that as many Kenyans as possible from the party’s support base turn up to register as voters. Strategies on voter registration drives, analyzing the trends of voter registration, and following the accuracy of the voter register are essential components of this task.

Parties should remember that Kenyan laws require that campaigns stop 24 hours before Election Day. In addition, it is an offence to transport voters to the polling station. Strategies for getting out the vote must respect these legal limits. Within the confines of the law, parties should still devise strategies to ensure that all registered voters come out to vote for their candidates. Focusing on the party’s support base and undertaking the following tasks may prove useful:

- Holding last-minute rallies at the party’s or candidate’s stronghold
- Using final campaign messages to urge participation
- Asking party supporters to talk to others and encourage them to go to the polls
- Calling on people to avoid waiting until the last minute to go and queue to vote
- Asking supporters to help their sick, elderly, and expectant relatives to get to the polling stations
- Collecting voter turnout figures as reported by IEBC during the voting process

e. Party Agents

The campaign process culminates with the election of candidates. A party should prepare for and deploy agents to watch or observe the conduct of elections. Party agents or pollwatchers are people, invariably party members, who have been trained and deployed by the party to observe the process of elections on behalf of the party. While every candidate used to deploy agents in the past, the Elections Act now mandates that agents belong to the parties.

Agents are important for the electoral process and the party. They serve to:

- Deter human error, manipulation, and rigging
- Expose and bring to the attention of relevant bodies human errors and rigging when they occur
- Collect information and report to the political party on the conduct of the elections
- Enhance confidence in the electoral process
- Provide an avenue for engagement between election officials and parties at polling stations on Election Day
- Strengthen the knowledge base of political party members about electoral processes

In undertaking their tasks, agents are required to focus on details, be aware of the procedures, respect the authority of the election officials, document their findings, and maintain regular contact with their parties through established channels. The critical issues in pollwatching include:

Presence: Pollwatchers will only be useful to the party if they arrive at the venue of observation in time and maintain continuous presence throughout the polling period. Should they need to leave at any time, prior arrangement should be made with the party for a temporary replacement.

Documentation: Observation is not about just being at the polling venue. While it is an essential component, focus should be on recording the happenings at the venue. It is this information that will act as evidence should it be necessary to take corrective action either at the station or with higher level poll officials—or even to seek legal redress. A Party Agents Checklist and critical incidents form have been developed in Kenya that all parties should get access to and train their agents to use.

Reporting: It is necessary that once agents have finalized their observation or if they see events that require quick intervention, they file their reports. Parties should decide on the mode of reporting, frequency of reporting, and the reporting channels and protocols.

Analysis and Action: Parties should determine the process by which the reports will be collected from the agents. Once collected, they should be analyzed as quickly as possible to inform the party's position on the conduct of elections and any necessary action for purposes of defending their vote by legal means.

Parties should consider the following issues as part of the observation of elections:

- Identification and recruitment of agents
- Process of training agents
- Deployment and supply of materials
- Accreditation process with IEBC, including processing the Oath of Secrecy
- Transportation and logistics
- Resources for the process
- Payment amount, their sources, and method of payment
- Links to other party organs, including a legal committee
- Communication and reporting processes
- Analysis of reports and action
- Thanking the agents at the end of the process

Many parties recruit agents at the last minute and never retain a database of those they have used in the past. Parties should consider having a permanent body within its structures responsible for coordinating the work of agents, having some people with in-house skills on pollwatching to conduct future training of agents, and enhancing the party's capacity to defend its vote by legal means.

7.2 Internal Party Elections and Party Nominations

a. Internal Party Elections

Every party constitution and election rules identify the offices within the party and the manner in which they should be filled. A key element of internal democracy is the manner in which parties carry out their party elections. To enhance the involvement of women, youth, and persons with disabilities and respect the country's diversity, parties should consider establishing in their rules clear provisions for the election of these categories of members during party elections.

The Constitution and the Political Parties Act stipulate provisions for regular free and fair internal party elections. The rules of the party must provide for the frequency of the conduct of these elections and the process by which the elections will be undertaken, including:

- Will it be at the grassroots level or at a central venue nationally?
- What will be the electoral unit?
- Will it be through universal adult suffrage or through a delegate system?

These issues are weighty decisions with practical and resource implications and should be discussed robustly before a decision is made.

Sticking to the calendar for party elections is an issue that parties find difficult to do, but good practice requires that it be done. Determining the timing is also crucial. Will it be before a general election? Immediately after? In the middle of an electoral cycle? Or at some other time? The answers to these questions depend on a party's strategic considerations, requiring a consideration of each timeline and arriving at a decision.

The next step is to choose the body and people who are responsible for conducting the elections and determine their relationship with other party organs, especially the National Executive Council. Providing the body with relative autonomy is an essential democratic requirement so that it can be neutral in the conduct of the party elections. Poorly organized, shambolic, and undemocratic party elections usually result in arguments within the party. They also sometimes lead to defections and party splits, which are consequences that only end up weakening parties. Therefore, all parties should aspire to avoid such eventualities by conducting democratic party elections that follow a clear set of well-established rules.

Having set the rules for the process before the internal elections take place is crucial. Discussing the rules at the same time as there is a possible disagreement on the candidates, often leads to more difficulties. The internal election rules should answer: Who is entitled to suggest candidates? Is there a nomination deadline? Who can run for the position? What party meeting will decide and what is required to hold this meeting? In a good democratic party, competition is healthy, but democratic decisions must be accepted. The goal for a party should be that all candidates make it clear beforehand that they will respect the voting of, and go on working for, the party in other ways if they lose this time around.

b. Party Primaries and the General Election

Party nominations, also referred to as party primaries, influence a free and fair election. Therefore, the manner in which parties choose their candidates for the general election is a concern not just for the political party, but also for the entire electoral process and stakeholders. In certain parts of the country where one or two parties are dominant, party primaries are essentially the real general election since whoever gets the party nomination certificate stands a very high chance of winning the seat during the general election. The conduct of party primaries also affects the performance of a party during the general election. The way the party conducts its primaries will give the voters an indication of how democratic the party is.

The Constitution requires IEBC to have some supervisory responsibility over the conduct of party nominations. The starting point of that supervision should be the party nomination rules. Parties should ensure that their rules for carrying out nominations are democratic, realistic, and cost-effective. There have been discussions in the past about whether parties are able to fund a universal suffrage nomination process. The decision requires honest debate and serious consideration by political parties and other electoral stakeholders.

The nomination process, timing, and required resources are decisions for the party to make and plan for. The party should clearly outline eligibility requirements for candidates to run on the party ticket. The party should also identify the body that will run the nominations, select its members through a transparent and objective process, train them, and provide them with the resources to do their work. Parties should determine whether their nominations will be managed centrally or will be devolved to the counties. The process of resolving disputes arising out of nominations should also be clearly spelled out and communicated to candidates and party supporters.

Parties should remember that nominations pose serious logistical challenges. Developing a logistical plan in advance helps avoid the chaos and confusion that normally haunt party primaries. Parties should agree on and procure:

- A register of eligible members to participate in nominations
- Nomination materials, including ballot papers and boxes
- Trained election staff
- Resources to support the nomination process
- Transportation arrangements
- Venues for nominations
- Security arrangements
- Nomination and counting procedures

In the general elections, parties are important players. While the overall conduct of the elections is the responsibility of the electoral commission in accordance with the Constitution, the success of the election requires the collaboration and support of political parties. More than any other stakeholder, parties determine every aspect of the elections through their direct actions. The choice of candidates, the method of that choice, the conduct of the party and candidates, and their relationship with citizens, law enforcement agencies, and the electoral commission are all important determinants of a free, peaceful, and fair election.

The law provides for the establishment of a Political Parties Liaison Committee (PPLC) as a permanent body for consultation between political parties, the Registrar of Political Parties, and the IEBC. PPLC exists at the national level and also in every county. During elections, PPLC becomes the organ for discussion of important events and updates on election matters. Parties should take their membership in the PPLC seriously, send informed representatives to PPLC meetings, raise any concerns they have about the election process at PPLC meetings, and require IEBC and RPP to give them satisfactory responses. Parties should also require their representatives to report back on the outcome of PPLC meetings to party organs for their information and further action.

Parties also have other responsibilities during elections including:

- Respecting the electoral code of conduct
- Avoiding hate speech in their campaigns
- Promoting national cohesion in their campaigns
- Being ambassadors for and preaching peace
- Supporting the participation of women, youth, and persons with disabilities in the electoral process
- Contributing to electoral reform discussions
- Monitoring recruitment of poll officials and raising any objections if necessary



Conclusion

Kenyan parties have made progress in institutionalization since independence. However, in the early periods, the development of parties as institutions of governance was not given the attention necessary by parties themselves and by the Kenyan public at large. Both law and finances—two critical requirements for supporting and influencing party development—were not given sufficient attention. With the experience of two elections following the introduction of multi-party politics, both national and international support and attention to party democracy increased. The result was capacity building activities by several foundations and institutes, and legislative reforms seeking to regulate the formation and operations of parties.

The process of promoting strong, institutional, and democratic parties was given impetus by the coming into force of the Political Parties Act in 2008 and the creation of the office of the Registrar of Political Parties. Since then, several initiatives have been undertaken, including establishment of a system of public funding for political parties and defining requirements for maintaining functioning party offices, for membership recruitment, for maintaining party membership databases, for preparation of policy documents, for auditing, and for financial management systems.

With the adoption of the Constitution and a new Political Parties Act in 2010 and 2011, respectively, the legal environment and requirement for progressive and democratic parties has been improved. Parties now have an even greater constitutional responsibility to help improve the state of democratic development in the country. To do so, they have to develop effective systems, improve their internal democracy, and service members' needs much more than they have done in the past.

This guide details ideas, processes, and justifications for party organization and management. It should offer political parties in Kenya a catalogue of things they should and could do to continue on the path toward institutionalization and greater democratization. Applying the concepts and strategies discussed in this guide requires commitment and continuous efforts. However, the guide is not a magic wand that will solve all the challenges facing parties. By its name, it is only a guide. Parties have to pay attention to the details of the laws of the land and of their constitutive and policy documents. In addition, politics is about acquiring and retaining power—but not just for power's sake. Power needs to be used accountably and in the service of the citizens, which means that parties have to be progressive and democratic in their outlook and operations.

By developing this guide, it is hoped that it will assist parties in understanding their roles in society and offer a resource to be consulted by party structures and the membership in explaining and contextualizing their

work. Successful political management requires diligence, consultation, accountability, communication, and improvement. Therefore, parties need to put in place measures that will help them strengthen themselves and transform into strong progressive parties that involve their members and encourage their active participation in political processes and decision-making.

