

KENYA

Polity5 regime codes:

fac	scode	polity	pers	bmon	bday	byear	emon	eday	eyear	exec	exconst	polcomp
1X	KEN	5	1	12	12	1963	11	20	1964	7	5	7
1O	KEN	-1	5	11	21	1964	10	30	1969	5	4	3
1Oa	KEN	-7	10	10	31	1969	11	7	1979	3	3	1
1Ob	KEN	-6	3	11	8	1979	6	9	1982	3	3	2
1Oc	KEN	-7	10	6	10	1982	12	3	1991	3	3	1
1Od	KEN	-5	6	12	4	1991	11	6	1997	3	3	3
1Oe	KEN	4	5	11	7	1997	12	29	2002	7	4	8
1Of	KEN	8	5	12	30	2002	10	22	2007	8	6	9
2X	KEN	6	0	10	23	2007	4	16	2008	7	6	7
2Xa	KEN	7	2	4	17	2008	8	3	2010	7	7	7
2O	KEN	8	3	8	4	2010	3	3	2013	7	7	9
2Oa	KEN	9	6	3	4	2013	99	99	9999	8	7	9

PITF Problem Events:

- 1) 01/64-10/69 (ETH 01/64-10/66; ARC 11/64-10/69)
- 2) 10/91-09/93 (ETH 10/91-09/93)
- 3) 12/07-02/08 (ETH 12/07-02/08)

1X) Date of Change to Factional-Democratic: December 12, 1963 (independence)

Brief Explanation of Change To:

From 1952 to 1960 the British colonial government in Kenya was seriously challenged by a native insurgency known as the Mau Mau Rebellion, led by militant members of the Kikuyu tribe and the nationalist Kenya African Union. In an attempt to isolate the militants, the British administration began co-opting moderate Kikuyu leaders into the government apparatus, ultimately leading to increased pressure for self-government. The two major African parties, the Kenya African National Union (KANU), representing the Kikuyu and Luo tribes, and the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU), representing the Masai, Kalenjin, and other smaller tribes, were in strong disagreement over the form and degree of centralization in the future government, with the KANU favoring strong central government and KADU favoring confederation and, even, separation. Under British tutelage, a basic constitutional agreement was concluded that left crucial questions regarding the distribution of authority to the future, independent government. Parliamentary elections were held May 18-26, 1963, in which KANU won an absolute majority of both houses; a KANU government was formed on June 1, 1963, with independence leader Jomo Kenyatta, as prime minister. Kenya achieved independence on December 12, 1963.

Identify Main Factions:

- *Kenya African National Union (KANU)* — KANU was formed on March 27, 1960, by rehabilitated leaders of the banned Kenya African Party (KAP), which had been associated with the Mau Mau Rebellion. KANU was led by jailed independence leader Jomo Kenyatta and drew support mainly from the Bantu-speaking tribes, particularly the Kikuyu (Kenya's largest tribe). Kenyatta favored a strong, unitary central government. KANU also received support from the Luo, a Nilo-Hamitic tribe led by Oginga Odinga, in the early years; however, disagreement over East-West orientation and trade union issues led Odinga to resign as Vice President on April 14, 1966, and form an opposition party: the Kenya People's Union (KPU).

- *Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU)* — KADU was formed on June 25, 1960, and drew its support mainly from the Nilo-Hamitic tribes, including the Masai and Kalenjin. The leaders of KADU feared domination by the Bantu tribes and favored regional autonomy; they even proposed the establishment of separate states during constitutional talks prior to independence. KADU had been allied with the African People's Party (APP; Kamba tribe) in opposition to the KANU government until the APP dissolved and joined KANU on August 25, 1963. The leadership of KADU was gradually co-opted and KADU was dissolved on November 21, 1964.
- *Ethnic-Somalis* — Ethnic-Somalis inhabited the large and sparsely populated northern region bordering on Ethiopia and Somalia. The ethnic-Somalis rejected participation in Kenyan politics and their incorporation in the independent country; they demanded regional autonomy and the right to decide secession by plebiscite and join with Somalia.

Ethnic War: January 1964 – October 1966

Kenya's independence ignited a conflict between ethnic-Somali separatists (*shifita*) and the KANU government in Kenya's Northern Frontier District. The conflict was effectively ended in mid-1966 by increased security measures taken by the Kenyan government.

10) Date of Change from Factional-Democratic: November 21, 1964 (executive-guided transition)

Brief Explanation of Change From:

Adverse Regime Change: November 1964 – October 1969

Bowing to the consolidation of central authority by President Kenyatta and the ruling KANU government, the leaders of the sole, remaining, opposition party, KADU, were gradually co-opted and, on November 21, 1964, its remaining parliamentary members dissolved the party and joined KANU, effectively turning Kenya into a one-party state. Rivalry between President Kenyatta and Vice President Odinga and disagreement regarding the country's Western orientation, led to Kenyatta's decision on September 2, 1965, to ban the country's established trade unions (Odinga's main support) and create new unions under direct control of the government and, eventually, to Odinga's ouster from his party position in March 1966. On April 14, 1966, Odinga resigned from office as vice president and formed a new opposition party: the Kenya People's Union (KPU). The KANU-dominated parliament passed a bill terminating "cross-over" members effective at the end of the parliamentary session and President Kenyatta abruptly ended the session on May 2, forcing the 30 KPU members to stand in a special by-election held on June 10-26, 1966. The by-elections were conducted within an atmosphere of violence and intimidation and the KPU managed to retain only 9 of its 30 seats.

Changes within Autocratic/Democratization Period:

10a) October 31, 1969 (consolidation of one-party state) – President Kenyatta acted decisively to restrict the ability of the KPU and its leaders to operate prior to the August 1968 local elections, in which Kenyatta banned more than 1800 KPU candidates. Tensions between the Luo (the main supporters of the KPU) and the Kikuyu peaked in July 1969 with the assassination of Luo tribesman and KANU political leader Tom Mboya, resulting in widespread riots and rising

fears of a Luo-Kikuyu civil war. On October 27, Odinga and several other KPU leaders were arrested and, on October 30, President Kenyatta banned the KPU, thus, consolidating the KANU one-party state.

1Ob) November 8, 1979 (general election; relaxation of candidacy restrictions) – President Kenyatta died August 22, 1978, elevating his vice president, Daniel Moi, to the presidency. In October 1979, President Moi announced new general elections to be held November 8, 1979. Although no opposition candidates for president were approved by KANU, ensuring Moi's election, legislative elections were contested by multiple KANU candidates in each district, many of whom were former opposition party members and members of Luo or other minority tribes.

1Oc) June 10, 1982 (constitutional amendment) – On June 10, 1982, the National Assembly amended the constitution, officially declaring Kenya to be a one-party state.

Ethnic War: October 1991 – September 1993

Kalenjin and Masai tribes execute attacks aimed at driving Kikuyu, Luo, and other rival groups from their villages in highlands.

1Od) December 4, 1991 (legalization of opposition parties) – President Moi became increasingly repressive after he consolidated power in 1979, causing the formation of underground anti-government movements in the 1980s. In February 1991, Oginga Odinga, now eighty years old, announced the formation of an opposition party and that he would seek formal registration and the repeal of the constitution's one-party state provision. Although Odinga was subsequently arrested, pressure from the U.S. forced President Moi to back down. On December 3, KANU unanimously approved Moi's proposal to repeal the one-party state provision of the constitution, returning Kenya to a multi-party system. On December 31, Odinga became chairman of the opposition party Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD), which fragmented shortly thereafter, causing a divided opposition that allowed Moi and KANU to win subsequent elections in 1992 and 1997.

1Oe) November 7, 1997 (liberalization) – Opposition demands for political reform became tied to a national labor strike in 1997, leading to widespread rioting and violence over the liberalization issue in late summer 1997. On November 4, the legislature enacted three constitutional amendments that repealed legislation allowing the president to stifle opposition by banning parties, arresting political rivals without trial, and banning public demonstrations. The amendments also guaranteed equal opposition party access to the state-owned media, and doubled the membership of the electoral commission, filling the extra seats with opposition party members. The amendments were signed into law by President Moi on November 7. Elections held December 29-30, 1997, were marred by widespread fraud and violence, with incumbent President Moi winning the presidency and KANU maintaining a narrow majority in the legislature.

1Of) December 30, 2002 (general election) – President Moi was constitutionally prohibited from standing in the December 27, 2002, election and selected Uhuru Kenyatta (son of former

President Kenyatta) to run as the KANU candidate. Kenyatta faced widespread opposition, leading to the defection of several KANU leaders to Mwai Kibaki's broad-based opposition National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), which defeated KANU with a 2-1 majority in both the presidential and legislative elections. The elections were deemed free, fair and peaceful by foreign observers. Kibaki was sworn in on December 30, 2002.

2X) Date of Change to Factional-Democratic: October 23, 2007 (general elections)

Brief Explanation of Change To:

On October 23, 2007 President Kibaki dissolved the National Assembly, paving the way for new elections, which were scheduled for December 27. Over the previous months Kibaki had formed the Kikuyu-dominated Party of National Unity (PNU), which included KANU and several other political parties and boasted the support of former President Moi and Kibaki's 2002 rival, Uhuru Kenyatta. The opposition was led by Raila Odinga, son of opposition leader Oginga Odinga, who represented the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM). Early results on December 28 gave a strong lead to Odinga, but late results the following day erased the gap, leading to accusations of government fraud, which were supported by international observers. The Electoral Commission announced a victory for Kibaki on December 30, who was sworn in the same day, resulting in widespread protests and tribal violence against the Kikuyu people, further inflamed by Odinga's refusal to recognize the results. On February 28, 2008, following two months of mass demonstrations, prolonged ethnic conflict, and (since mid-January) power-sharing negotiations, Kibaki and Odinga signed the National Accord and Reconciliation Act, which established the post of prime minister (assumed by Odinga) and created a coalition government between the PNU and ODM, which was sworn in on April 16, 2008.

Identify Main Factions:

- *Ruling (Kikuyu) elite* — The Kikuyu comprise the largest ethnic group in Kenya and has long dominated politics in Kenya; the Kikuyu were represented by President Kibaki and the Party of National Unity (PNU), a coalition of political parties including KANU, in the 2007 elections and used their control of the administration to ensure a Kibaki victory in presidential elections (the opposition had already won control of the legislature). Kibaki gained the support of many Central Kenyan minority tribes, including the Embu and Meru.
- *Anti-Kikuyu opposition* — The opposition to continued Kikuyu domination of politics was represented in the 2007 elections by Raila Odinga, son of former opposition leader Oginga Odinga, and the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM). Odinga, an ethnic-Luo, built a wide base of support for the elections by forming a coalition with leaders from the Luhya tribe dominant in Western Kenya, the Kalenjin tribe of the Rift Valley, and Muslims from the Coast Province.

Ethnic War: December 2007 – February 2008

Deep-seated resentment of the domination of Kenyan politics by ethnic-Kikuyu since independence was used by the leader of the opposition Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), Raila Odinga, to mobilize an effective electoral challenge to the ruling elites, reorganized by President Kibaki as the Party of National Unity (PNU). A government announcement of a Kibaki

victory on December 30, 2007, triggered systematic attacks on mainly ethnic-Kikuyu residents in Luo and Kalenjin territories by local militias. Kenyan authorities secretly targeted members of the opposition in retaliation. The violence resulted in the forced displacement of some 300,000 people. The violence subsided with a mediated agreement on the formation of a PNU-ODM power-sharing government, which was established on April 16, 2008.

Changes within Factional-Democratic Period:

2Xa) April 17, 2008 (agreement; new government) – The severe political crisis triggered by the 2007 elections and the contested victory of incumbent President Mwai Kibaki (PNU) led to intense international mediation that resulted in a power-sharing accord on February 28, 2008, whereby ODM leader Raila Amolo Odinga was appointed prime minister and a "unity" cabinet of PNU and ODM ministers was formed on April 17, 2008.

2O) Date of Change from Factional-Democratic: August 4, 2010 (constitutional amendments)

Brief Explanation of Change From:

A constitutional referendum, supported by both President Kibaki and Prime Minister Odinga, was passed on August 4, 2010, that, while retaining the presidential system of the old constitutional order, introduced greater legislative oversight of the chief executive and devolved significant powers to the sub-national level. The constitutional reforms were designed to address the concerns that had polarized Kenyan politics and had led to the serious political crisis and violence following the December 27, 2007, elections.

Changes within Democratic Period:

2Oa) March 4, 2013 (general elections) – Presidential and legislative elections were held on March 4, 2013; the elections were the first to be held under the new constitution approved by national referendum in August 2010. Uhuru Kenyatta of The National Alliance (TNA) won just over 50% of the presidential vote and avoided a runoff election; the opposition Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) was the largest party in the National Assembly with 96 of 349 seats.