

CHAPTER THREE

Student Activism, Political Party Alliances and Election Violence in Kenyan Public Universities

Truphena E. Mukuna and Stanley N. Mutsotso

Abstract

Student leaders, the world over, have been known to be political. Some of the present-day political leaders were once university student leaders. University students usually play an essential role in generating a critical mass during protests. Today, there is an emerging trend of university student leaders being aligned to political parties. Public universities in Kenya strive to remain democratic in the execution of their mandate. This has resulted in a trend whereby all public universities organise student elections for students' self-determination and governance. Student activism and electioneering is, however, generally punctuated by great passion that soon metamorphoses into violence and strife. Elections and the resulting violence are now common phenomena that have evolved over the years in Kenya and have become a cancer intertwined with students' election administration and the resultant violence. The fear of violence supercedes all other factors nowadays before the conduct of elections in the universities. Budget costs towards security of the process have always been high and the police must always be ready to intervene in anti-riot gear. There are allegations that the student leaders are sponsored by politicians; therefore, the voting is done along political party alliances, and religious and ethnic lines. This study was conducted among student leaders, registrars in charge of academics and deans of students of three public universities, namely, Masinde Muliro University, Maasai Mara University and Kibabii University College. The objectives of the study were to determine student leaders' role in university governance; determine factors that lead to student election violence; establish student involvement in political parties; ascertain the levels of democracy in student elections and political parties' elections; and determine the characteristics of student activism in Kenya today. The study established that there is a significant relationship between student activism and political alliances. It was, therefore, concluded that student activism in Kenya is dictated by ethnicity and political party alliances, which have significantly contributed to sycophancy, poor leadership and a complacent student body. Student participation in politics in Kenya has been instrumental in the development of the civil society and national political leadership. Consequently, politicisation of student activism, on the one hand, cannot be disentangled from political party alliances, and on the

other hand, de-politicisation of student activism would only undermine liberty and democracy in the university.

Keywords: Student activism, election violence, political party alliances, public universities.

1. Introduction

Student activism is a highly complex, multi-faceted phenomenon (Altbach 1989). Universities lack a sense of urgency and caring, thus students feel that, “The only way to get things done and attract attention to their plight is to protest, demonstrate, boycott classes, and attack significant figures” (Omari and Mihyo 1991, 14). For university students, violence is perceived and accepted as the only language understood by authorities and opponents alike (Chikwanha 2009, 92). Higher education is recognised as key to delivering the knowledge requirements for political development. It is essential for the design and operation of key political institutions of a modern political system, from the judiciary to the legislative and executive arms of government, the top staffing of the state bureaucracy as well as key institutions of civil society. Moreover, public higher education in democracies is typically mandated to contribute to the development of an enlightened, critically-constructive citizenry (Thierry *et al.* 2011).

Since the late 20th century, researchers, politicians, and the public have criticised institutions of higher education for not preparing college students to actively participate in their communities and within a democratic society (Boyer 1987; Colby *et al.* 2003; Kellogg Commission 1999). Student involvement in local issues and service plays a role in establishing a sense of empowerment in students’ ability to effect change. At a broad level, the question is whether student unrest in Kenyan public universities is orchestrated by political parties and linked to election violence in and outside the universities. In the 1980s and 1990s, the Kenyan public university scenario experienced unprecedented numbers of expulsions, university closures and police crackdowns on campus. Many students died, were jailed or maimed by police. Instead of rehabilitating and instructing them, “errant” university students were expelled and rendered useless by university administrators with the help of the Kenyan government (Klopp and Orina 2002).

This chapter examines student activism in public universities in Kenya by locating the linkage between student activism, political influence and election violence. It sought answers to the following research questions.

- How does this linkage between or among student activism, political influence and election violence contribute to the political, social and economic transformation of Kenya? It should

be noted that the effects of student activism go beyond university borders.

- What pragmatic solutions can be offered other than declaring that politicians keep off student elections because student elections in public universities cannot be depoliticised since they are political by nature?
- How did political events and eras relate with student leaders and elections? This trend is interesting and explains political, social and economic transformation and their influence on student activism.

It is hoped that this analysis will contribute to ongoing efforts by scholars and policymakers towards understanding election violence in Africa, socio-political status of higher education in Africa, and student participation in the management of institutions of higher learning.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The phenomenon of student unrest has persisted since the inauguration of universities in Africa in the early 1960s and has defied ideological boundaries and university size. Student leaders, the world over, have always been known to be political. This can be attested by the fact that some of the present-day political leaders were once university student leaders. Furthermore, post-colonial African politics reveals an astonishing level of student activism at the national stage. Student unrests shift the political landscape, and mostly culminate into political party politics. University students usually play an essential role in generating a critical mass in protests; and as such each year, resources are wasted due to recurrent student strikes (Omari and Mihyo 1991). Most of their activism is driven by their immediate interests as recipients of government spending and policy changes. It is expected that the university is a place where ideas are challenged, clarified and disputed in the most dignified manner; but, student protests have challenged this assumption (Omari and Mihyo 1991). Student activism has often been portrayed as a negative and disruptive process. Little or no attention is given to its importance and socio-political transformation that it brings.

Today, there is an emerging trend of university student leaders being aligned to political parties. Public universities in Kenya strive to remain democratic in the execution of their mandate. This has resulted in a scenario whereby all universities organise student elections for students' self-determination and governance. Students' electioneering is however, generally punctuated by great passion that soon metamorphoses into violence and strife. Elections and the resulting violence are now common phenomena that have evolved over the years in Kenya, and have become a cancer intertwined with students' election administration and the resultant violence. The fear

of violence supercedes all other factors nowadays before the conduct of elections in the universities. Budget costs towards security of the process have always been high and the police are always expected to be ready in anti-riot gear to intervene. There are allegations from media reports that the student leaders are sponsored by politicians; therefore, the voting is done along party affiliations, religion and negative ethnicity in Kenya (Thierry *et al.* 2011).

A lot of research on election violence has been conducted on a wide range of political activism, including labour movements, struggles for democracy and university students' role in democratisation of Africa (Thierry *et al.* 2011). Most studies that have been conducted on student activism have focused on the nexus between student activism and politics (Emmerson 1968; Cefkin 1975; Apter 1997; Altbach 1989; Omari and Mihyo 1991; Mlambo 1995; Zeilig 2007; Chikwanha 2009). This has resulted in a dearth of information on student activism and its linkage to political parties and election violence. Moreover, much of the information that is available on student activism in Kenya is based on media coverage. This warrants the need for a study which analyses student activism by providing a systematic analysis and interpretation of student activism beyond the stereotypical perspectives that tend to portray student activism as a manifestation of hooliganism. The authors of this chapter hope it fills the gap of knowledge by virtually telling an unknown story about the linkage between student activism, political parties and election violence in Kenyan public universities.

1.3. Research Questions To Be Answered

This study sought to analyse the linkage between/among student activism, political party alliances and election violence with an assumption that a significant relationship exists between/among the three. In view of that, the study set out to answer the following research questions:

- i. What are the perceptions of student leaders about their role in university governance?
- ii. What are the various claims that students put forward as the causes of student election violence, policies, strategies and mechanisms governing them?
- iii. What is the nature of the relationship between student leaders, university authorities and political parties?
- iv. What is the level of democracy in both student leader and national elections in Kenya?
- v. What are the implications of student activism in Kenya today?

2. Literature Review

There has been a considerable amount of research on the nexus between student activism and political activism across the globe (Zeilig 2007; Chikwanha 2009; Omari and Mihyo 1991; Cefkin 1975; Altbach 1989; Emerson 1968; Mlambo 1995). Research and analysis on student political activism dates back to the turbulent 1960s when most universities were introduced (Hanna and Hanna 1975). However, Altbach (1989) dates it to the period before 1960. Omari and Mihyo (1991) observe that political processes and issues include protests against imperialism, neo-colonialism, political murders, corruption, government inadequacies, and prioritisation of national issues and investment paths. Students were an important force in the revolutionary movements of 1848 in Germany and later played a role in the unification of Germany and Italy in the 19th century (Altbach 1989).

In Africa and Asia, almost every nationalist struggle for independence had a strong component of student participation (Altbach 1989). Students in countries such as India, Kenya, Vietnam and Burma (now Myanmar) were involved in efforts to free their countries from colonial rule (Douglas and Bachtiar 1970). Besides the involvement of students in the broader political events, students have also been involved in effecting academic-related changes. Omari and Mihyo (1991) noted that specific academic problems that serve as bases for student protests include protests against difficult examinations, incompetence of lecturers, shortage of books, introduction of new courses, and favouritism in teaching and examinations.

Some of the issues students articulate through student activism include welfare matters, such as bad food, congested dormitories, shoddy catering services, freedom in residential halls, and access to recreational and guidance services. Management issues within the university centred on administrative inadequacies, debates regarding the allocation of resources, discipline matters on campus, and disputes on management styles, which are some of the problems that students routinely protest against (Omari and Mihyo 1991). Issues of major concern, as noted by Zeilig (2007), include spiraling student fees, high living costs, overcrowded classrooms, and inadequate teaching.

Student activism has received varied responses from governments and university authorities in different countries. Government responses to student activism range from ignoring student protests entirely to violently repressing demonstrations. Violent repression of student activism has been said to be primarily associated with developing nations. In many instances, campus authorities have sought to negotiate with student activists and reached a compromise with them.

2.1. Perceptions of the Role and Character of the University

Omari and Mihyo (1991) explain how the world views universities. They assert that universities are generally treated with respect, reverence and dignity befitting serious minds engaged in intellectual adventure, discovery and reflection. Universities are expected to be sites of fresh insight, vision and arenas where fundamental ideas are pronounced, challenged, clarified, and disputed in a dignified and collegial manner. They are viewed as places where brains are at work – the highest institution of learning. Omari and Mihyo found out that student unrest in Africa is attributed to state repression, university mismanagement, or treatment of students, and corruption or inefficiency in nation states. University students go on the rampage because they want to be part of the solution to their problems by participating in making decisions and choices. The government often hits back by jailing the students involved or by shutting universities for long periods. The image of universities suddenly changes from being a fountain of hope and source of wisdom to a citadel of hooliganism, indiscipline and senseless acts (Omari and Mihyo 1991).

While they have “Rules of Student Conduct and Discipline”, most African universities have no statements relating to students; fundamental rights such as freedom of expression in the classroom, freedom of association on campus, citizenship rights, disclosure of personal information, and autonomy of students’ publications. The standards of discipline are similarly flawed due to bureaucratic circumvention and intolerance (Omari and Mihyo 1991). Student activism heats up when opposition party leaders join them. The strength of any nation depends on an actively engaged citizenry taking responsibility for building the institutions that solve public problems and participating in the political and electoral processes.

2.2. University Governance Structure in Kenya

Kenyan universities have a uniform governance structure as stipulated in the governing principles of the Commission of University Education. Any university is governed by the University Council as the supreme policy-making body and the Senate which is responsible for academic affairs. The Senate comprises mainly academic office holders (vice chancellor, deputy vice chancellors, college principals, deans of faculties, chairs of departments and directors of various sections in the university). The vice chancellor is the academic administrative head of the university responsible for policy matters, planning, coordination, public relations, fundraising, and general development of the university. Up until the promulgation of the Kenyan New Constitution in 2010 (Republic of Kenya [RoK] 2010), the President of Kenya was the Chancellor of all the public universities. After the amendment of the Constitution, universities received power to nominate their individual chancellors. The Cabinet

Secretary of Education in liaison with the Director of the Commission of University Education nominates the members of the Board of Councils.

Student leaders form the Student Council. Students are represented also in the University Council and the Senate; thus, two leaders at the University Council and six at the Senate. They are directly under the Deputy Vice Chancellor for Academics, Academic Registrar and Deans of Students. At lower levels of decision-making, such as catering, accommodation, security and general student welfare, the Dean of Students and Academic Registrar handle issues. Students are also represented in academic boards. Each university has a Student Governing Council which holds a general meeting. It consists of representatives from various halls, schools, faculties, and colleges as well as student leader executives. The student leaders are elected in a fiercely contested annual election. The student leader plays a very significant role in representing students of the particular university. Universities also have student associations and clubs. This trend was started by the former President Moi in a bid to weaken comradeship that was opposing his government. There are no formally registered branches of Kenyan political parties operating within the student body although university politics is said to be deeply divided along political party lines, and political parties tend to informally sponsor individual students for student elections (finance posters, off-campus meetings, cars, and money for hiring goons).

2.3. Factors that Lead to Student Activism in African Universities

Omari and Mihyo (1991) listed factors that lead to student activism in African universities. These include:

- i. rapid social and economic changes that redefine social roles and status in society;
- ii. a feeling of breakdown of the established authority patterns;
- iii. perceptible social and intellectual developments among key groups sharing power, privileges and access to key resources;
- iv. liberalisation of systems of communication and participation in society;
- v. great politicisation processes going on among groups;
- vi. existence of power-eager and power-sensitive intellectual elite;
- vii. occurrence of precipitating events which may not necessarily be related but cause cracks;
- viii. moral issues being articulated by large sections of the society regarding what should and ought to be, and what is right and wrong;
- ix. existence of contrasting scenes of declared corruption, hypocrisy and interference with human rights;
- x. presumed or real existence of a reservoir of guilt on the part of those in power.

Additional factors that Omari and Mihyo (1991) adopted from Altbach (1982) include the following.

- i. There may be no other political institutions for channelling student views and making impacts as is the case, for example, in one party states. In such cases, universities are used by the politicians for constructive criticism of the state.
- ii. The concentration of a large elite group in one place leads to competition for opinion leadership. Most students assume that they are future leaders so they start exercising this power while still in campus through mass media, books and student groupings.
- iii. Students read about their countries' history and the activism involved. They develop resistance for repressive rule. Most current politicians were student activists so they inspire students to take after them.
- iv. Some of the university students come from literate backgrounds with connections and access to power elites and structures. Thus, they push others into activism.
- v. Students and unity staff can easily be mobilised without consideration of ethnicity but patriotism. University students act as the conscience of the nation.

All these factors suggest that student activism is closely related to politics in the country. This means that when there are student protests that degenerate into violence either due to elections or other factors, the two are bedfellows. Other causes of student unrest include irrelevance of academic programmes, congestion in hostels, poor food quality, and managerial matters such as lack of student participation in university governance and welfare issues.

2.4 Linking Student Activism with Politics

Many scholars writing about student activism have recorded the crisis of violence that often accompanies most protests (Naidoo 1991; Wise 1998; Konings 2002; Mashayekhi 2001; Klopp and Orina 2002). Since many youth and student protests have often culminated in violence," Young people are now seen and constructed as a menace" (Diouf 2003, 9). Little effort is made to put acts of violence into perspective, given that student protesters are already categorised as unruly. More often than not, most government officials perceive "street protests as a form of deviant behaviour" (Aelst and Walgrave 2001, 461). However, while some forms of protests have become normalised, others (such as violent protests) are subject to renewed stigmatisation. Students go to great lengths to secure the title of a student leader. This is because student leaders earn a salary, enjoy well furnished accommodation with television sets, are given free meals, and attend several seminars and conferences while they earn allowances. These allowances range from Ksh 30,000 to 40,000 in a month (Klopp and Orina 2002; Thierry *et al.* 2011).

Student leaders are elected with the hope of articulating student's needs, interests as well as addressing national issues. This links them to policymakers directly. Students cannot afford the glamour that surrounds all this. A question that begs answers is where they get the money for campaigns which are characterised by voter buying. In some cases, there are allegations that businessmen and drug barons sponsor student leaders so as to get a "through pass" to sell their drugs to university students in exchange for support. The drug barons also hope to get backing from students when their cases are being discussed either in parliament or in courts (Nduko 2000; Thierry *et al.* 2011). Student unrest often derails the academic progress of universities and diverts the attention of the public. Student elections in Kenya today are marred by intimidation and violence.

The student leader candidates are surrounded by a group of bodyguards (known as goons at the University of Nairobi) who are well built male volunteers who undertake the dirty work. They intimidate, force, coerce and use violence against opponents. The goons are either students or non-students who are hired by aspiring candidates for purposes of security as well as for intimidation of other candidates. The goons ensure that before and after elections, they are strategically positioned on campus. Election violence undermines democracy, security and human rights. It indicates intolerance. It is often associated with corruption and underdevelopment, and can spark civil war.

2.5. The Metamorphosis of Student Activism in Kenya, 1963 to 2015

2.5.1. The Rise of Student Activism in Kenya

The British colonialists fought the emergence of African elites to prevent competition for administrative jobs and to discourage a potential cadre of political leaders (Nwauwa 1996 cited in Klopp and Orina 2002). However, Africans continued to struggle until universities were built. This symbolised autonomy and independence (Hughes 1994). The first President of Kenya, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, did not tolerate student activism. The President was the Chancellor of all public universities. He appointed vice chancellors, chancellors and University Council members, and generally controlled the university (Sifuna 1997 cited in Klopp and Orina 2002). These patronage appointees had powers to block loans, fail or expel dissident students and prevent the appointment or promotion of "stubborn" lecturers.

The first university students in Kenya after independence had many privileges, such as stipends, free education and the promise of a job in the civil service upon graduation. President Kenyatta often reminded them of these privileges. This was meant to make them very loyal to the government of the day. However, many university students realised that if they were to be future leaders they needed to participate in debates on various events in the country. Inasmuch as

the country was under a one-party state, most students were opposed to this status. As Klopp and Orina (2002) point out, the opposition relocated into universities and university students' political institutions became the structures through which battles were fought.

In 1969, the late opposition leader Jaramogi Oginga Odinga was prevented from speaking to university students at the University of East Africa, sparking violence from university students. The government closed the university for a few months and each student had to reapply for admission. Five students were expelled and successful students were required to sign a written apology to the government. In 1972, the University of Nairobi newsletter, *University Platform*, was shut down and the editors were expelled along with other students. In 1974, the government introduced a loan system whereby students were required to pay the government back for their education once they were employed. (Awiti and Ongwen 1990; Klopp and Orina 2002).

In 1975, the Member of Parliament for Nyandarua North, J. M. Kariuki was assassinated. He was one of the few outspoken critics of the government. This sparked violence in the university. The government sent the General Service Unit (GSU) to quell student unrest at the campus, brutally beating and raping female students (Awiti and Ongwen 1990). In 1978, President Daniel arap Moi released several political prisoners. Shortly afterwards, he fell back into following the footsteps of his predecessor. When he barred George Anyona and Oginga Odinga from contesting the results of 1979 national elections, university students took to the streets in protest. Moi ordered the GSU and anti-riot police to put off student protests and the University of Nairobi was closed.

In 1980, the University Staff Union was banned. A presidential decree was passed in 1981 stipulating that student organisations wishing to hold meetings on campus would have to apply for permits from the Office of the President for scrutiny clearance by the special branch. This did not stop student activists from agitating and organising student activities. In 1982, the government allowed the registration of the Student Organisation of Nairobi University (SONU). Due to the failed *coup de d'état* attempt, the university was shut down for 14 months and students were under strict scrutiny. For example, to punish university students who celebrated the coup attempt, Tito Adungosi Aloo, the chairman of SONU and 67 other students were thrown into jail and tortured (*Africa Watch* 1991; Kenya Human Rights Commission 1992). Further, Adungosi Aloo was convicted of sedition and sentenced to ten years in Kamiti Maximum Security Prison. He later died in prison in 1988.

According to Awiti and Ongoven (1990), in 1985 students protested against the appointment of P.L.O. Lumumba as the SONU chairman unopposed. Those who opposed were jailed, including the previous

SONU chairman. Thereafter, the university is said to have manipulated the SONU elections to rig in a SONU chairman that would favour the government. The then elected SONU chairman, Maina Kiranga was rejected by students. They elected Wafula Buke as their choice with a landslide victory.

In 1987, elected SONU officials were barred from attending an international university meeting in Cuba. Munoru Nderi and Miguna Miguna were arrested, questioned and threatened. Following this, students demanded university autonomy, security of students and freedom to speak out on national issues, particularly corruption. Violence ensued and Wafula Buke was jailed for five years. The President further threatened students with the introduction of university fees as punishment for their riotous attitude (*Weekly Review* November 20, 1987 cited in Klopp and Orina 2002). This heightened tension between university students and the government. Some of the university students joined Mwakenya, an underground movement that was making plans to overthrow the government. The Special Branch swung into action, and, as a result, most of the student activists were arrested and tortured. According to Kenya Human Rights Commission Report (1992) and Africa Watch (1991), most of the financial resources allocated for public universities were directed to Moi University. The government also won favour from lecturers by granting them the right to borrow money through the university and permitting them to purchase cars which they imported duty free (Adar 1999). The sympathetic academics to the jailed students were either jailed or silenced into fear while loyalists were rewarded with political appointments.

The President and the Minister for Education introduced student associations organised along ethnic or regional lines. This was a strategy aimed at fragmenting the multi-ethnic student body in the universities. The president further welcomed these university student associations into the ruling Kenya African National Union (KANU) party District Development Committees. Politicians, academics and civil servants were the patrons of these ethnic associations (Human Rights Watch 1999). By 1990, student activism had declined because of the ethnic associations.

2.5.2 Multiparty Politics and Student Activism

Due to the intolerant political landscape in Kenya, Kenya's major donors cut off humanitarian aid pending reforms in the early 1990s. In 1991, during a KANU National Delegates' Conference, President Moi repealed the law banning multiparty democracy (Repeal of Section 2[A] of the Kenyan Constitution). This reinvigorated student activism because students now had the freedom to organise demonstrations. A rival political party, Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD) that was agitating for constitutional reform became a popular party for university student activists. In June 1991,

the Vice Chancellor of the University of Nairobi announced the scrapping off of the national bursary system known as “boom” and introduction of fees. This sparked off student unrest in all public universities in Kenya. Many students were hurt and some were killed. The universities closed for 9 to 12 months (Nduko 2000 cited in Klopp and Orina 2002). When the universities reopened, the Pay as You Eat policy was effected as a cost-sharing mechanism. Most poor students could not manage to meet the cost of the new system and had to drop out of the universities.

In 1992, Youth for KANU 92 (YK 92) was formed. This was yet another strategy by the KANU government to lure university students to support the government. The leaders of YK 92 based in universities recruited the ethnic associations and gave them money obtained from State House. This attracted many university students. Recruits of YK 92 became increasingly involved in violent acts on behalf of KANU politicians who paid them (Nduko 2000). This was the actual and official introduction of political party politics in university student affairs. YK 92 was officially disbanded in 1992 after KANU won the general elections. In 1997, President Moi won the general elections too but by then, Kenya was enjoying multiparty democracy and political liberalisation.

However, student activism did not end. Student activists pushed for genuine university autonomy. They called on the president to relinquish the role of Chancellor for all public universities. Lecturers joined students in this call. The University Academic Staff Union was registered in 1993. Lecturers went on strike just when the university exams were starting and students refused to sit for exams unless lecturers invigilated them. The students supported their lecturers until their grievances were listened to.

In 1995, student activists regrouped and formed the Kenya University Students’ Organisation (KUSO) with the aim of enabling students to address issues of national importance. KUSO was to look into issues that affect students nationwide and advise the university administration and the government. Their objective was to reduce the misunderstanding between students and the government. KUSO hoped to promote dialogue. The government expelled all student leaders involved in its formation. The Registrar of Societies in Kenya refused to register KUSO, stating that it was a security risk to the country. Student leaders continued to be harassed (Thierry *et al.* 2011).

In September 1995, the Higher Education Loans Board was established in line with specifications by the World Bank on structural adjustment programmes (SAPs). However, guidelines for applying for loans were not clear and poor students continued to be marginalised. KUSO complained to the Minister of Education at the time, Joseph Kamotho. Unfortunately, their grievances were not

addressed. KUSO activists rejoined the constitutional reform campaigns. Student leaders were denied loans, suffered from police brutality and psychological torture. They sought support from the Kenya Human Rights Commission, Release Political Prisoners, International Commission of Jurists (Kenya Chapter), the Coalition on Violence Against Women, Kituo cha Sheria, Amnesty International, and Human Rights Watch (Lasner 2010; Klopp and Orina 2002). In 1997, the KUSO vice chairman, Solomon Muruli, was burnt to death in a mysterious fire in his room at the University of Nairobi. This instilled a lot of fear in student activists who sought asylum with the help of Amnesty International. However, the spirit of student activism did not die. According to Mutunga (1999), the activists formed the Youth Agenda to support the reform movement. Most of them joined civil society organisations.

2.5.3. The Kibaki Era

In 2002, the ruling party KANU lost to the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), a coalition of opposition parties led by Mwai Kibaki. While under President Moi, the political system of Kenya had become increasingly patronage-based and corrupt. Kibaki at once promised democratic space and promised to root out corruption. However, he increasingly ethnicised politics in a multi-ethnic country. Ethnic-based violence in the competition for land and resources became more widespread. This climaxed in the 2007/8 election violence (Afrobarometer 2009; Lasner 2010). Kenya's political landscape changed with allegations of election violence being orchestrated by political figures (Lasner 2010). These elections were widely recognised as not being free and fair, and promoting impunity in Kenya. A coalition government was formed but the two factions continued.

The changing face of student activism during the NARC era was evident. As mentioned earlier, the repeal of Section 2(A) of the Kenyan Constitution brought about a lot of socio-political changes. The failed Memorandum of Understanding between President Mwai Kibaki and Prime Minister Raila Odinga caused President Kibaki to attempt to gag the media, a move that greatly tarnished Kibaki's presidency. Along with this was the Anglo-Leasing and Goldenberg scandals.

The Anglo-Leasing scandal that shook the Kibaki administration revealed that the Kenyan government had paid out tens of billions of shillings in dubious procurement deals. The projects included a new naval ship, the Postal Corporation of Kenya satellite service procurement, a second-generation passport scheme, and a communication system for the Administration Police. The Anglo-Leasing scandal was among the many corrupt deals that were traced back to the KANU Government which had ruled Kenya for 24 years. Even though the new NARC government came to power with a

promise to fight corruption, some corrupt civil servants and cabinet ministers happily inherited and nurtured graft projects.

The Goldenberg scandal was a political scandal whereby the Kenyan government was found to have subsidised exports of gold far beyond standard arrangements during the 1990s by paying a company, Goldenberg International, 35 per cent more (in Kenyan shillings) than their foreign currency earnings. Although it notionally appears that the scheme was intended to earn hard currency for the country, it is estimated to have cost Kenya the equivalent of more than 10 per cent of the country's annual gross domestic product (GDP), and it is possible that no or minimal amounts of gold were actually exported. The scandal appears to have involved political corruption at the highest levels of the government of Daniel arap Moi. Officials in the former government of Mwai Kibaki have also been implicated (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Goldenberg_scandal; <http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000098604/files-in-anglo-leasing-and-goldenberg-scandals-remain-open-says-eacc-chair-mumo-matemu>).

All these portrayed the NARC government in bad light. The civil society leadership, most of which comprised former university student leaders, took up the matter. During the making of Kenya's new constitution of 2010, CSOs played a tremendous role in delivering the Constitution (Sylvia 2012). The political environment in Kenya has actually been defined by the Civil Society of Kenya in which elitists play a great role. Their background as student activists prepared them for national political leadership.

2.6. The Gender Dynamics Question in Student Activism and Election Violence

Exploration of gender dynamics in student activism and election violence cannot be ignored. Much progress has been made worldwide on mainstreaming gender in governance, of which the university is expected to play a leading role in society. The "a third majority rule" has been implemented in compliance with the affirmative action that the new Kenyan Constitution underscores. Student elections in public universities in Kenya were, for decades, embroiled in violent national politics; but as peace takes hold, more female students are giving student politics a shot. However, the hurdles to female leadership are still considerable in a country where student politics, until only a few years ago, was enmeshed in the country's broader political struggles (Neondo 2007).

Female students campaigning for posts have to put up with having their posters constantly removed as soon as they are put on the walls. They are pushed off campuses when they hit campaign trails and have dirt thrown at their face. Woe to them who go for the big posts of chairmanship or secretary-general, then you risk physical abuse

(Virginia Njuguna, Treasurer of the University of Nairobi Student Organisation 2007, cited in Neondo 2007).

Past violence deterred female leaders from vying for top leadership positions in the student councils. Most public universities have never had a female in a top-level position, whether chair or secretary-general of the student body. However, 6 of the 18 members of the current student cabinet are female because of the “a third majority” rule. During the radical and militant politics of the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, when student elections were used as a proxy test of opposition strength, students often served on the front line in run-ins with the police during demonstrations. Student candidates would get financial support from both pro- and anti-government camps, making elections volatile and dangerous. Fist fights were common among male candidates (Neondo 2007). In the recent past, as indicated above, student election violence has intensified and deepened, including candidates being stabbed as was the case in the recently concluded SONU elections.

In 2003, Kibaki disengaged the presidency from the university system, which removed direct government influence, and appointed chancellors to oversee the institutions. This new system reduced interference by national political leaders and helped to reduce the strikes and riots that were common in Kenya's public universities. However, student elections in public universities in Kenya greatly reflect the political mood of the nation as they are still an arena for political parties to show their might.

It is important to note that female students struggle with the issue of low self-confidence, engendered by a society that still often expects women to be seen and not heard, and a legal system that lags on affirming women's rights, such as property ownership (Kipto 2013). Female students from rural backgrounds face special problems when they enter university. Female student representatives can help universities address unplanned pregnancies and rocky romantic relationships that interfere with young women's studies. Female leaders can also raise campus awareness about sexual gender-based violence that is on the increase in universities today and press administrators for better youth-friendly reproductive health services in the universities. Women leaders, such as Njoki Ndungu, Winnie Lichuma, Martha Karua, Charity Ngilu, Orié Rogo Manduli, and Professor Olive Mugenda, have inspired very many student leaders and should mentor them through pep talks. For instance, when Martha Karua was the Minister for Justice and Constitutional Affairs, she encouraged female student leaders by stating the following: “I see it as important for young women in universities who feel that they have a calling to leadership of whatever form to actively take part in student governments, and should regard this as good training ground”.

These gender dynamics can also be traced back to the history of women in Kenyan politics. Since Kenya attained formal independence in 1963, women have been seeking to effectively participate alongside men in governance and decision-making, in all aspects of public life. However, for the first three decades of postcolonial governance, progress was painfully slow due to a combination of structural obstacles, including: i) deeply embedded patriarchal socio-cultural values; (ii) undemocratic institutions, buttressed by equally undemocratic and gender-blind legal and policy frameworks; and (iii) low levels of civic and gender awareness (Nzomo 2013). After 1990, this scenario changed. Feminist activism has over the years generated some notable successes, especially in respect to the remarkable improvement in civic, gender and human rights awareness, alongside strategies for policy and advocacy interventions. However, there has been dismal performance in increasing women's numerical strength in all public decision-making bodies, but most notably in parliament and local government. This has ripple effects on the gender dynamics in the community, including education institutions.

Currently, the Kenyan parliament has only 9.8 per cent female representation, trailing far behind the global average of 18.8 per cent. Over the past decade, some African countries have attained, and even surpassed, the critical mass threshold of 30 per cent female representation in decision-making. All the countries in the East African region have overtaken Kenya on all measures of gender equality indices. Rwanda, which reflected 56 per cent female parliamentary representation by January 2011, was ranked first globally, followed closely by South Africa at third position, while Kenya trailed way behind at position 101, in global ranking of women's presence in parliament (Kamau 2010).

The big question begging for answers in Kenya today is whether the high numbers of female parliamentarians or senators or governors will translate to increased articulation of women's issues and change public policy and allocation of resources. A study by the United Nations Development Fund for Women (2008) found that higher numbers of women in parliament generally contribute to stronger attention to women's issues, but at the same time women's presence in government alone may not be enough to change public policy and resource allocation. This assertion has been supported by a World Bank report on engendering development which posits that a higher number of women in parliament or the private sector will lower corruption as women are less likely to be involved in bribery and corruption (World Bank 2001). These reports are an encouragement to young women leaders to soldier on and take up influential leadership positions in the Kenyan government. Their participation will have a significant impact on good governance.

Political analysts (Clinton-Rodham 2003; Neuman 1998; Maathai 2006; Thomas and Wilcox (Eds.) 2005; Wanjohi 2003) assert that when women get into leadership and management, they bring a different perspective to political leadership and help solve problems associated with perpetual poverty, state building, as well as help to balance decision-making processes. These analysts also argue that when women get into leadership and management, they bring a different perspective to political leadership. In her study of 10 Kenyan female politicians, Kamau (2010) argues that women bring a different perspective into politics and some individual women politicians contribute more than is often acknowledged. The study also argues that the lack of a critical mass of women in political institutions has been a major constraint for women politicians to effect significant and positive difference towards transforming the male-dominated culture of politics, public policy, and resource allocation in a gender-equitable manner (Kamau 2010). The main challenge in regard to mentoring female student leaders or encouraging female students in universities to compete for leadership is the fact that most female political leaders do not enjoy large patronage in political parties that sponsor student elections. This could be the reason why female students don't vie for these positions— for fear of lack of funds and a strong political party behind them.

Professor Maria Nzomo reports that Kenyan women activists and female MPs hold the view that women make a difference, not necessarily because of numbers, but despite numbers. She argues that despite their marginality in decision-making, Kenyan women have made some significant difference in shaping and advancing the gender agenda. In this connection, she points to the fact that as numbers of women in parliament began to rise, especially in the 9th and 10th parliaments, some key policy and legislative changes were made in favour of women during this period. This includes tax waivers for sanitary towels and baby diapers; passing into law of the Sexual Offences Bill; Children's Act of 2002; the Political Parties review of the Employment Act of 2007; increase in maternity leave to four months (three months actual maternity leave and one month annual leave); and increased focus on gender issues and HIV and AIDS, especially by the Minister for Health, a position held by a woman since 2003. The Employment Act as well as the Political Parties Act were also significant pieces of legislation as they sought to address key issues of gender-equitable representation in the socioeconomic and political arenas, and they discourage gender discriminative practices. Furthermore, there has been a notable paradigm shift in the gender-responsive direction that parliamentary debates have taken, some of which have resulted in gender-sensitive policies that may advance the gender agenda. This includes Sessional Paper No. 2 of 2006 on Gender Equality and Development; National Land Policy; National Reproductive and Health Policy; Gender

Policy in Education of 2007; and the National Policy for the Abandonment of Female Genital Mutilation of 2008–2012. As such, female students are especially encouraged to take up this challenge of student leadership as a training ground for national leadership, and not only support their male counterparts, but also compete with them.

2.7 The Dearth of Comradship in Kenya

There is widespread evidence, along with a general characterisation in the media, that college students today are cynical and apathetic about politics, with commentators even lamenting the return of the “silent generation” of college students of the 1950s (Bennett and Bennett 2001). “Alienation, a catchall term combining cynicism, distrust, low efficacy, and apathy, is the most widespread characterisation of this generation” (Bennett and Bennett 2001, 45).

After 2002, Kenyan universities witnessed an era of relative tranquility in terms of student activism. This has largely been attributed to dialogue between university management and student organisations (Mwiria and Ng’ethe 2007). This era comes after a long history of student agitation for greater democracy, governance reforms and human rights. Reviewed literature reveals that this tranquility could be due to the following reasons:

- i. The change of guard from a one-party to multiparty system of government, followed by the opposition party taking over power. This meant that students who aligned themselves to opposition political parties lost their role in national politics (Klopp Orina 2002; Thierry *et al.* 2011).
- ii. Ethnic-based associations divided students who subsequently lost enthusiasm to confront issues and champion their values, visions and aspirations, both as students and citizens (Nduko 2000).
- iii. Introduction of cost-sharing in Kenyan universities, which initially sparked riots and led to university closure for long durations, alienated students. Their focus is said to have shifted from comradship to individualism whereby they wanted their programs fast-tracked to allow them to join the labour market earlier. Students no longer freely socialised and criticised phenomena and are also said to hold less confidence in themselves (Nduko 2000).
- iv. Few students still view student leadership as a stepping stone to make quick money while being a student.
- v. Introduction of university fees has divided students and collective interests have reduced. Further, it has widened the gap between the rich and the poor. Students from rich families prefer to live at home. The student centres where students would meet to socialise or university assembly halls and sports fields are said to be occupied with other activities (Mokaya *et al.* 2013).
- vi. Student university news bulletins and journals have very few students sending articles to them.

- vii. Today, student activism has changed and perhaps been replaced by the media. This is attributed to the change in the democratic space enjoyed in the country. More institutions have set up media stations in various ethnic languages. Civil society organisations are very vocal in advocacy, whistle blowing and watching over the implementation of the new Constitution to uphold the rights-based approach (Klopp and Orina 2002; Thierry *et al.* 2011; Nduko 2000).
- viii. University management has been put under the spotlight to be accountable for their actions.
- ix. Other reasons include intimidation of student leaders by university administration, by failing them in exams.

The funding of student elections by politicians jeopardises the chances of better leaders to attain the slot of student leader.

2.8. Conceptual Framework

This study seeks to explore the relationship between students' active political involvement on and off campus, and students' attitudes towards election violence in Kenya, including their student leadership elections. Considering that student activism and their involvement in political parties and election violence is a multi-faceted domain, it also needs to be analysed broadly. The Lamprianou (2013) concept of different conceptualisations and classifications of political participation was adopted for this study. Lamprianou asserts that political participation has been shown to take incredibly diverse forms, such as being a member of a political party or community-based organisation; displaying an active role within a range of cultural or leisure interactions; contacting a politician to express ecological concerns; signing a petition; and setting public buildings on fire. Bourne (2010) adds that it may also include shooting at policemen during demonstrations and riots. Lamprianou analyses recent studies on political participation and concludes that it falls in two dimensions: conventional and non-conventional activities. The linkage between student activism, political party alliances and election violence in Kenyan public universities is viewed through this lens.

Political participation is often referred to as "political engagement" or "public involvement in decision-making". As Rile, Griffin, and Morey (2010) assert, political engagement has traditionally been thought of as "a set of rights and duties that involve formally organised civic and political activities such as voting or joining a political party. Diemer (2012) referred to political participation as an engagement with traditional mechanisms in the political system, such as voting in elections and joining political organisations. Political participation is the degree to which citizens exercise their right to engage in political activities, such as protest, speak freely, vote, influence or get more energetically involved. Consequently, riots can

be seen as events charged with a visible form of political engagement and the rioters seen as conveying a political message, even though they were acting unlawfully. Arguably, being able to voice a group's demands in the public sphere is one of the indications of a sustainable democratic system and may be seen as a desirable form of political participation. Of course, acts of violence cannot be considered as legitimate forms of political participation.

The distinction between certain acts as unconventional or conventional remains a controversial issue because some unconventional acts, such as petitioning or demonstrating, are generally becoming more accepted and differently conceived in the public sphere as time passes (Dalton 2008). Thus, it would be wrong to classify such acts as participating in demonstrations or signing a petition as modes of unconventional political engagement as they have increasingly become acceptable— and definitely much more widespread across the political spectrum. Figure 1 demonstrates the interplay between the variables.

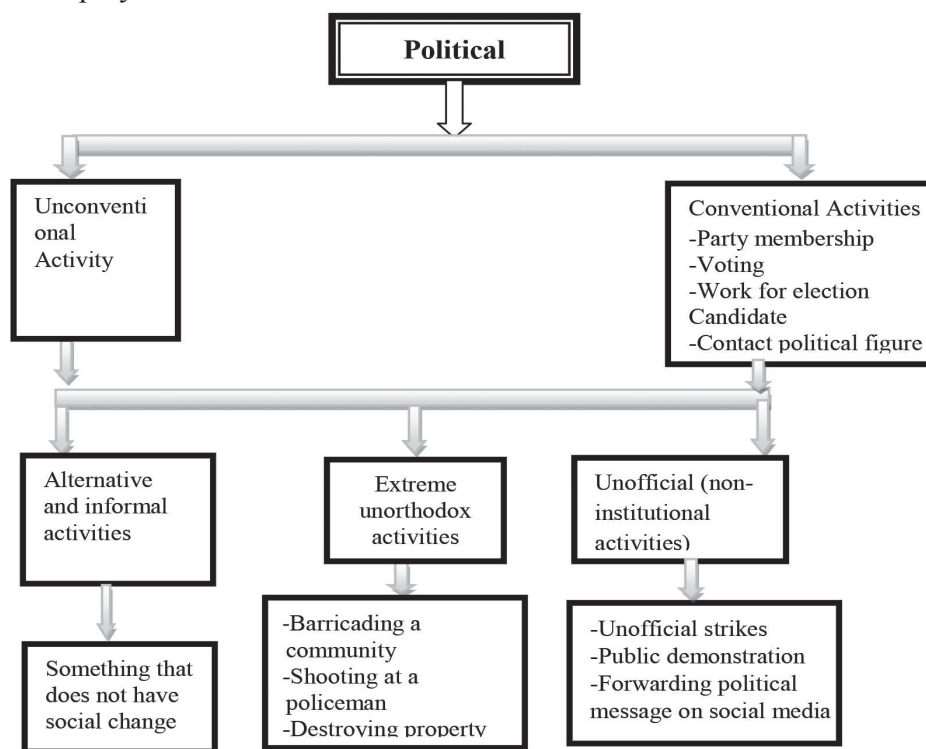


Figure 1. Interplay between Variables
SOURCE: Adapted from Lamprianou (2013).

3. Methodology

This chapter focuses on public universities in Kenya, where student activism has been demonstrated since the 1980s to date. The common pattern and trends revealed indicate something more broadly on student activism in Africa. Primary and secondary research methods were used to collect both qualitative and quantitative data in a mixed methods research paradigm. This is because the authors sought to analyse the views expressed by respondents on the linkage between student activism, political parties and election violence in Kenya. Purposive sampling technique was employed in the selection of three public universities in Kenya. The respondents included six student leaders from Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology (MMUST); six student leaders from Kibabii University College, a constituent college of MMUST; and six student leaders from Narok University. Universities have recently had student elections. For each university, the dean of students, academic registrar and head of university security participated in the in-depth interviews.

As data in Figure 2 indicate, the student respondents drawn from each of the three universities were equal in number, constituting 6 (33.3 per cent) each. This number was 50 per cent of the student leadership in each university since each university student leadership was composed of 12 student leaders.

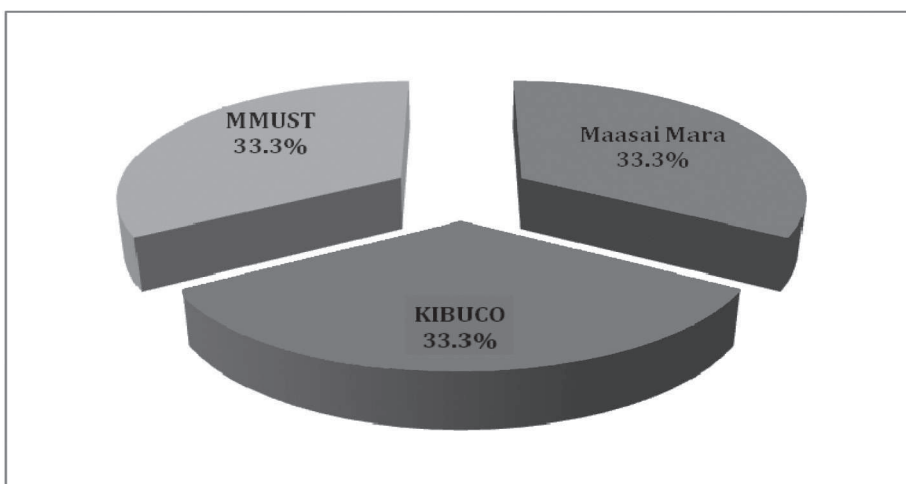


Figure 2. Student Respondents' University (n = 18)

SOURCE: Field data.

Methods of generating data included document analysis of media reports, university senate meeting minutes, minutes of meetings between the academic registrar and student leaders, minutes of meetings between the dean of students and student leaders, minutes

of the university governing council and university security department meeting minutes on student elections and student unrest. Furthermore, a review of literature, from published and unpublished sources on student activism, political alliances and election violence, was conducted. The instruments of data collection were developed by the researchers based on the literature review and the objectives of the study. The instruments were pilot-tested at the University of Eldoret to ascertain their validity and reliability.

In-depth interviews were conducted with the deans of students, academic registrars and chiefs of security from three universities in Western Kenya. The responses were audio-recorded and transcribed, and subsequently categorised into themes to answer the research questions.

Questionnaires that had both close-ended and open-ended items were administered to student leaders. The close-ended questionnaires were analysed using SPSS version 21 to generate means, percentages and frequencies. These too, were interpreted in accordance with the research questions.

4. Findings and Discussion

4.1. Student Leaders' Role in University Governance

The first research question sought to find out the role of student leaders at the university. The student leaders filled a Likert Scale questionnaire that sought to find out their perceptions of their role in university governance, representation of students within and outside the university and role in local and national issues. The findings are as indicated in Figure 3.

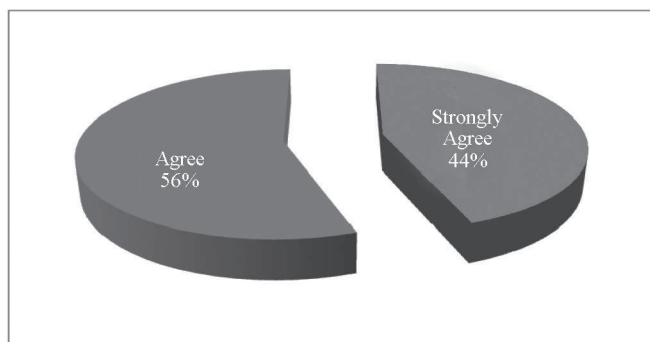


Figure 3. Perception on Representation of Students within and outside University (n = 18)

SOURCE: Field data.

Results show that 7 (38.89 per cent) and 10 (55.56 per cent) of the student leaders strongly agreed and disagreed, respectively, with the statement that they represented their colleague students within and

outside the university on local and national issues; one respondent (5.56 per cent) student leader remained undecided on this matter.

In regard to channelling students' grievances to university administration, the findings were as shown in Figure 4.

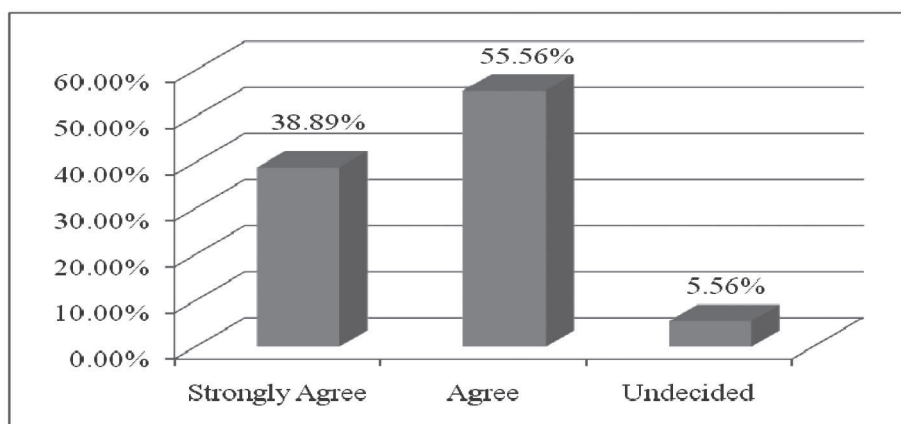


Figure 4. Channelling Students' Grievances to University Administration (n = 18)

SOURCE: Generated from fieldwork data.

The data in Figure 4 show that 10 (56.00 per cent) of the student leaders agreed that their roles were to channel students' grievances to the university administration and the nation at large, while 8 (44.00 per cent) strongly agreed on the same fact. At the same time, other student leaders' perceptions on their roles were as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Student leaders' perception of their roles

Role	Strongly agree		Agree		Undecided	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Monitor and supervise university programmes	7	38.9	10	55.6	1	5.6
Ensure the welfare of students is taken care of	11	61.1	6	33.3	1	5.6
Be the voice of reason for students and the nation	11	61.1	6	33.3	1	5.6
Inform the nation on sociopolitical issues that may affect governance of the nation	2	11.1	13	72.2	3	16.7

SOURCE: Computed from fieldwork data.

The data in Table 1 show that 7 (38.9 per cent) of the student leaders strongly agreed to the statement that their role was to monitor and supervise university programmes while another 10 (55.6 per cent) agreed on the same fact. One (5.6 per cent) of the student leaders remained undecided. About 61.1 per cent (11) and 6 (33.3 per cent) of the student leaders strongly agreed and agreed, respectively, to the statement that their role was to ensure that welfare of students is taken care of while one (5.6 per cent) of the student leaders was undecided on the issue. Another, 11 (61.1 per cent) and 6 (33.3 per cent) of the student leaders strongly agreed and agreed, respectively, to the statement that their role was to be the voice of reason for students and the nation at large while one (5.6 per cent) was undecided. About 11.1 per cent (2) and 13 (72.2 per cent) of the student leaders strongly agreed and agreed, respectively, to the statement that their role was to inform the nation on sociopolitical issues that may affect governance of the nation, a role that 3 (16.7 per cent) of the leaders were undecided on. These findings resonate with those of Omari and Mihyo (1991) regarding how student leaders perceive themselves.

4.1.1. Effects of Participation in University Decision-Making as Student Leaders

This study established the student leaders' views on the effects of their participation in university decision-making. See Table 2 for the findings.

Table 2. Effects of participation in university decision-making as student leaders (n = 18)

Effects	Yes		No	
	F	%	F	%
Developed a sense of responsibility	16	88.9	2	11.1
Developed better interpersonal and social skills	16	88.9	2	11.1
Developed democratic skills and citizenship	15	83.3	3	16.7
Developed better attitude towards compliance and acceptance of rules	14	77.8	4	22.2
Developed a great sense of cooperation	14	77.8	4	22.2
Boosted self esteem	14	77.8	4	22.2
Developed better communication skills	14	77.8	4	22.2
Very organised	11	61.1	7	38.9

SOURCE: Computed from field data.

Results in Table 2 indicate that 16 (88.9 per cent) of the student leaders reported that they had developed a sense of responsibility while only 2 (11.1 per cent) reported that they had not developed a sense of responsibility. At the same time, 16 (88.9 per cent) of the leaders indicated that they had developed better interpersonal and

social skills while 2 (11.1 per cent) indicated that they had not improved on the same. Furthermore, 15 (83.3 per cent) of the student leaders reported that they had developed democratic skills and citizenship due to the leadership positions they held, while only 3 (16.7 per cent) indicated that they had not improved on the same. In addition, 14 (77.8 per cent) of the student leaders revealed that they had developed a better attitude towards compliance and acceptance of rules, developed a great sense of cooperation, boosted self-esteem and developed better communication skills, with only 4 (22.2 per cent) of the respondents denying these effects. Finally, 11 (61.1 per cent) of the leaders indicated that due to the positions they held, they were very organised. These findings clearly show that students' participation as leaders in university decision-making greatly improves their attributes as far as good leadership is concerned.

4.2. Factors that Lead to Student Election Violence

The second research question sought to establish the factors that lead to student election violence. Responses to this question are presented hereafter. One dean of students stated:

Violence is led by competition to lead, financial gains by winners, tribalism, favouritism, interference by politicians, interference by the administration, and sometimes, drug/alcohol abuse. All these factors, in one way or another, cause the violence, but the main being tribalism and politicians' interference.

This was echoed by another registrar, an academic who stated:

Student election violence in this university has been mainly due to general discontent among students, protest against political manipulation and tribal politics.

While another dean of students stated:

The main problem was election being based on tribal basis, students fighting for posts due to allowances, and specifically, drunkard students are the trouble shooters.

In addition, one other registrar revealed:

We have information that politicians come to town here and meet students and the aspirants in hotels to form voting blocks based on tribalism. Some of these meetings are done at night. So, the main causes of violence are ethnicity and politicians' influence.

The above sentiments were echoed by the Principal of Rongo University College, a constituent college of Moi University, after violent student protests that left one student dead and several injured. He reported that the election violence was caused by the loser refusing to concede defeat and claiming massive rigging:

Students believed to be against the Rongo University College student election results are suspected to have tried to set on fire a residential hall. They destroyed property of unknown value. There has been a lot of tension in the colleges since Friday after elections of the students' council were concluded. Police have been camping in the institutions since Friday after Intelligence reports indicated chaos was looming due to student protests. This process is bitter mainly during the campaigns. We are fully convinced that this is as a result of politics but police are investigating the occurrence and will get to the bottom of it. The loser in the elections protested the outcome and could be behind setting the university ablaze. The university was closed indefinitely following protests that marred student elections at the main Kitere campus. Trouble was caused by students' belief that massive rigging had occurred during the polls (Prof. Gudu, Principal of Rongo University College).

Document analysis augments the above findings. Excerpts from some documented interviews are presented below. Political analyst John Njuguna, cited by Nganga (2010) reported that what is happening in the universities is a projection of the rot in Kenya's political system which is tribal. Politicians are reaching out for support in universities by financing student elections in the hope of securing numbers during national elections.

On May 23, 2010, Hilbert Ngang'a wrote an article entitled "Kenya Student Unrest, Claims of Political Meddling" in the *Standard Newspaper*. This report was about University of Nairobi student elections. Academicians pointed fingers at the country's politicians for meddling in students' affairs. The election led to disarray, massive looting and demonstrations. Educationists linked this to local politicians who were said to have funded the candidates. This state of affairs was creating tension in the country. Political temperatures were spilling into universities to cause trouble. In this particular case, Prof. Magoha, the Vice Chancellor of the University of Nairobi at the time, blamed the tension on the rivalry between Kenya's former Prime Minister Raila Odinga and his former ally, William Ruto. The ongoing heated debate on the constitutional referendum was replicated at the university. The hotly contested elections in 2007 that led to humanitarian crises due to allegations of rigging had spilled over into universities and were exacerbated by political meddling in student politics.

In March 2015, Jared Opiyo wrote in *Citizen Weekly* that a Rongo University student was stabbed with a knife by a rival during hotly contested student elections. This ignited more trouble, leading to burning of sugarcane plantations, blocking roads and pelting motorists. Students had to flee for dear life. One of them fell into an uncovered well and died.

From these narratives, student leaders revealed that rigging of elections, abuse from different coalitions, defeat of a popular candidate by an unpopular contestant, involvement of politicians in the university to support one coalition, and tribalism were the main factors that led to student election violence in Kenyan universities. These sentiments were in agreement with those of deans of students and registrars during the interviews. From these findings, it is evident that indeed ethnicity/tribalism, interference by the national politicians and drug abuse were the main causes of student election violence. The narratives revealed a trend of tribal differences and political divisions that threatened to tear the institution apart. There was negative ethnicity and a politicised student fraternity, both of which threatened to shake the stability of Kenyan universities. The authors attribute this to the ethnic clubs that were introduced in the universities to reduce student riots in the 1990s. This has had a very negative impact on the social and political fabrics of the country.

4.3. Student Involvement in Political Parties

The third research question purposed to establish the nature of relationship between student leaders, university authorities and political parties. Student activism in Kenya and the world over has been closely linked to political parties. This study sought to establish whether the student leaders belonged to or supported any political party in Kenya, and the results were as shown in Figure 5.

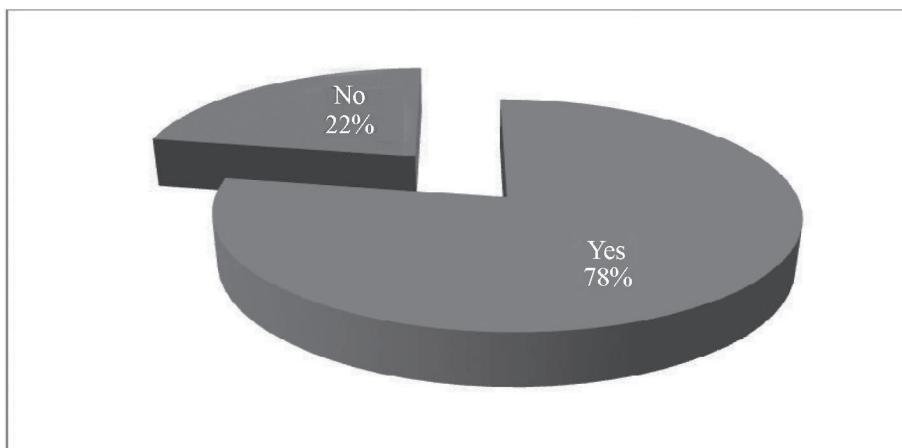


Figure 5. Student Leaders' Belonging to or Support of Political Party in Kenya (n = 18)

SOURCE: Generated from fieldwork data.

The data in Figure 5 show that the majority (78.0 per cent) of the student leaders revealed that they belonged to or supported particular political parties in Kenya while the rest (22.0 per cent) reported that they did not belong to or support particular political parties. These

university student elections.

The student leaders were asked to indicate how party politics influenced university student elections in Kenya, and most of them indicated that parties were able to offer financial support to student leaders for campaigns and other political activities. During the interviews, one registrar stated: “The student factions normally get inclined to specific political parties.”

One other dean of students also indicated:

Present-day Kenyan politics based on parties have also influenced students elections to the extent that politicians fund some candidates and this promotes rise in tribalism.

Another dean of student indicated:

Party politics has created lack of appreciation of the meaning of parties and commitment to the party that produces lack of party spirit, causing retrogressive tendencies identified with political parties such as tribalism and nepotism. These vices have landed in student elections.

The study further established ways in which student leaders actively participated in national/political party politics then, and the findings were as indicated in Table 3.

Table 3. Ways of participation in national/political party politics (n = 18)

Ways	Frequency (F)	Percentage (%)
Potential actors	9	50.0
Observers	7	38.9
Actual actors	2	11.1

SOURCE: Field data.

Results in Table 3 indicate that 9 (50.0 per cent) of the student leaders indicated that they were potential actors while another 7 (38.9 per cent) reported that they were observers. At the same time, 2 (11.1 per cent) reported that they were actual actors in the national/political party politics in Kenya.

This study also sought to establish whether university students were generally interested in regularly discussing politics. Figure 6 shows the results.

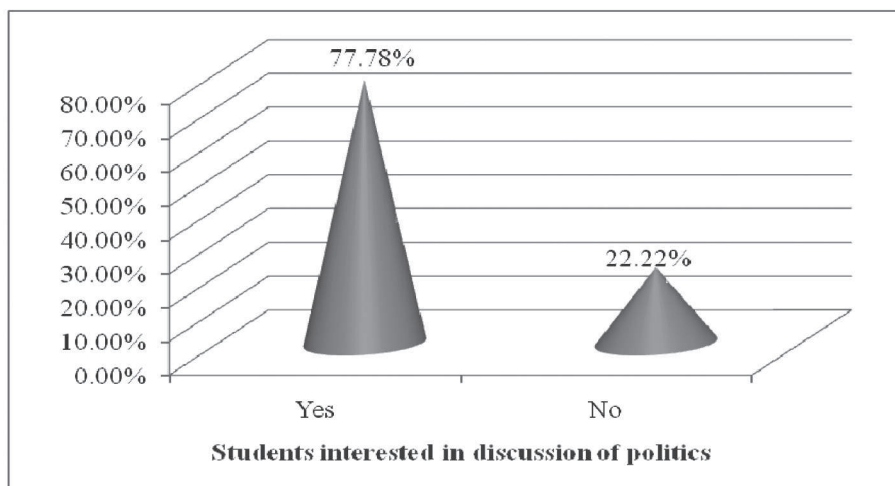


Figure 6. University Students’ Interest in Discussion of Politics (n = 18)

SOURCE: Field data.

As can be referred from Figure 6, most (77.78 per cent) of the student leaders reported that their colleague students were interested in regularly discussing politics, whereas, 22.22 per cent reported that the university students were not interested in regularly discussing politics. When asked about how they accessed information on politics, all student leaders reported that they accessed this information through the media and social sites. When asked how they got involved in politics, the student leaders reported that they were involved in politics through voting and attending political rallies. This study further established how university students participated in elections; the findings are shown in Table 4.

Table 4. How students participate in elections (n = 18)

Participation	Frequency (F)	Percentage (%)
Attending political meetings	14	77.8
Contacting party officials	2	11.1
Contacting university officials	2	11.1

SOURCE: Field data.

Results in Table 4 indicate that 14 (77.8 per cent) of the student leaders reported that university students participated in elections by attending political meetings while a further 2 (11.1 per cent) indicated that university students participated by contacting party officials. Another 2 (11.1 per cent) of the student leaders indicated that their colleagues participated in elections by contacting university officials.

The foregoing findings indicate that university students were actively involved in politics in Kenya. This is a historical phenomenon in Kenya and the world over. Politics shapes policy; therefore, university students' involvement in politics is in order. This is performing part of the tasks that the university should do. Moreover, the youth are the leaders of tomorrow. Their active engagement in politics mentors them for the task ahead of them. However, all respondents condemned ethnicity, tribalism and political party sycophancy that often lead to election violence in student leaders' elections and political party elections.

4.3.1. Factors that Lead to Student Leaders' Involvement with Political Parties or Coalitions

Student leaders reported that political parties provided them with full support, mainly financial, and in exchange, the student leaders supported the political parties both inside and outside the university. The politicians also assisted the student leaders with political strategies and rallying of students behind preferred candidates. Document analysis of newspaper dailies on student activism and elections, and student leadership, supported these reports. Irvin John Jalango (2015) analysed these dailies and some excerpts from these reports (<ftp.ktnkenya.tv/.../the-power-and-millions-students-leaders-control-in-campus-siasa>.) are presented here:

There is money in campus politics, which is why university elections have morphed from the small show they were to a grand battle characterised by flashy and highly contested campaigns that sometimes turn violent. Some students spent as much as Kenya Shillings (Kshs.) 15 million just to win the student leader's seat. SONU controls Kshs. 20 million annually, out of which Kshs. 11 million goes towards elections; Kshs. 5 million is set aside for bursaries; Kshs. 3 million is spent on executive allowances and the rest is shared between the dockets, parliament and congress (Babu Owino, SONU Chairman, University of Nairobi).

Our budget stands at Kshs. 25 million. In this election you have to give your all because you are dealing with intellectuals. It is not just about money but brains as well (George Thuku, Kenyatta University Students Association [KUSA] Chairman, Nairobi).

At Moi University, election campaigns at the university are largely dependent on crossfires and debates. The allowance was Kshs. 4,000 per sitting, and we were only allowed three sittings in a semester. The MUSO budget is less than Kshs. 1 million, so there isn't much to control (Dikembe-Dikembe, former student leader, Moi University, Eldoret).

We used to go to the great court or at Kabete to sell our policies openly. There was no money, there was no allowance. Food at the university was good and it was enough’’

(Mwandawiro Mahanga, MP Wundanyi, former SONU Chairman).

These excerpts confirm the involvement of politicians in student elections. A general observation on Kenyan politics and student unrest in the 1980s–1990s indicates that students supported politicians who were agitating for change in terms of democracy and human rights. From 2000, there was a twist of events with student elections becoming more about negative ethnicity and sycophancy. Politicians now used students to champion their agenda. Most Kenyan politicians are former student leaders; therefore, they have an easy time inciting students and using student elections as a weak point to cause chaos. Student leaders also look forward to becoming policymakers. They practically sponsor the elections depending on political party affiliation of the candidates. Aspiring student leaders therefore align themselves to politicians to benefit from this sponsorship. This is the main reason why student leaders involve political parties. On the other hand, an old student leader wondered about the present-day elections that had very huge budgets. This means that the candidates’ manifestos do not really matter as much as the money and political party that is sponsoring them.

4.3.2. Comparison of Registrars’ (Academic Affairs), Deans’ of Students and Students’ Views on Student Election Violence and Political Parties

Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was done at a level of significance (α) of 0.05 to compare the means of responses given by the registrars, deans of students and student leaders on the influence of party politics and student election. The results are summarised in Table 5.

Table 5. Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) of the views given by University Administrators and Student Leaders on Influence of party politics on student election

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	p-value
Between groups	7.468	2	3.734	0.908	0.074
Within groups	114.802	28	4.111		
Total	122.270	30			

SOURCE: Field data.

From Table 5, it is evident that the F-ratio (between groups mean square) was 0.908 while the p-value was 0.074. The probability of F-ratio (p-value) of 0.074 was higher than the significance level (critical value) of 0.05. Using this analysis, therefore, the difference in the

means of the responses of the registrars, deans of students and student leaders were not statistically significant. This indicates that there was no significant difference between the responses they had about influence of national party politics on student elections. Therefore, registrars (academic affairs), deans of students and student leaders were generally in agreement that university student elections are highly influenced by how party politics are conducted nationally, and any difference in opinion may have occurred by chance.

4.3.3 Link between Student Activism and Political Career

When asked whether student leadership was viewed as a training ground for active political position in government, the student leaders were all in agreement that student leadership gave them qualities they could use later in government positions. During the interviews, one dean of students of a university noted:

Yes, most of our present leaders were student leaders such as Orengo, the late Ombaka, Mutai and Hassan Omar. Their leadership exposed them to leadership roles and responsibilities, and the benefits pushed them to aspire for national leadership and foundation.

Another registrar anonymously confirmed the above view stating that many student leaders have emerged to be national politicians.

The student leaders were further asked to identify former student leaders they knew who had changed the political course in Kenya. They named James Orengo, Ababu Namwamba, Boni Khalwale and Kabando wa Kabando.

When asked whether it was possible to separate university student activism and politics, the student leaders revealed that it was not possible to separate the two since university student activism was the background of active politics. In agreement during the interview, one registrar stated:

No, not in Kenya. Student activism goes hand in hand with politics. They criticise the political leadership; are paid by politicians to demonstrate or set up lobby groups to benefit those in power, or organise elections. For instance, you remember YK 92.

Another dean of students noted:

The two cannot be separated because the two have a lot in common. Students' political blocks are in line with what is happening in this country.

Another dean of students, differed,

I think activism is not [the] same as politics because we have activists who will not want to venture in[to] politics.

4.3.4. Ways in Which Student Activism Can Relate Positively with Political Parties

On this theme, the student leaders were finally asked to suggest ways in which student activism could positively relate with political parties and elections within and outside the university, and the following were suggested: Allowing students to openly discuss their views through debating and supporting political activities in all aspects. During in-depth interviews, one registrar recommended the following:

There is need for those aspiring to be student leaders to come up with manifestos that should be studied and comprehended by voters so that they are voted in based on their manifestos and not tribalism.

Another registrar noted:

There is need to for the activists to be reasonable and not led by greed; they can voice pertinent issues which affect society and form groups to sensitise wananchi on social, political and religious issues.

Furthermore, one dean of students suggested:

At this lower level like the university, students should be educated to take proper stands without tribal influence. This may translate to good political electorates.

Another dean of students stated, “Since these are two different phenomena, it depends on the individual’s decision”.

These responses further condemn tribalism and ethnicity that has negatively impacted on the students. The respondents proposed that student leaders should develop manifestos for their campaigns. They should also voice pertinent issues that affect their fellow students and not be driven by greed in their quest to be leaders.

4.5. Level of Democracy in Student and Political Elections

Free and fair elections are the mark of a true democracy. The fourth research question sought to establish the level of democracy in student elections in Kenyan public universities. The respondents responded to various items. This study analysed the freeness and fairness of the previous student elections. See Table 6 for rating by the student leaders.

Table 6. Rating the freeness and fairness of previous students' elections

Rating	Frequency (F)	Percentage (%)
Free and fair with minor problems	9	50.0
Completely free and fair	7	38.9
Free and fair with major problems	1	5.6
Not free and fair	1	5.6

SOURCE: Field data.

The data in Table 6 show that 9 (50.0 per cent) of the student leaders rated the previous election as free and fair with minor problems while another 7 (38.9 per cent) indicated that the election was completely free and fair. One (5.6 per cent) of the student leaders reported that the previous election was free and fair with major problems while one (5.6 per cent) student leader felt that the election was not free and fair at all.

During in-depth interviews, all the deans of students and registrars were in agreement that the elections were free and fair. One of the deans of students stated that elections were free and fair but the violence was caused by those students who wanted to win unfairly because their political godfathers had told them that it was a must-win game.

And according to a registrar, the election officials who were both staff and students tried to be very fair in conducting the election.

The student leaders were also asked about whether these elections were democratic and the findings were as shown in Figure 7.

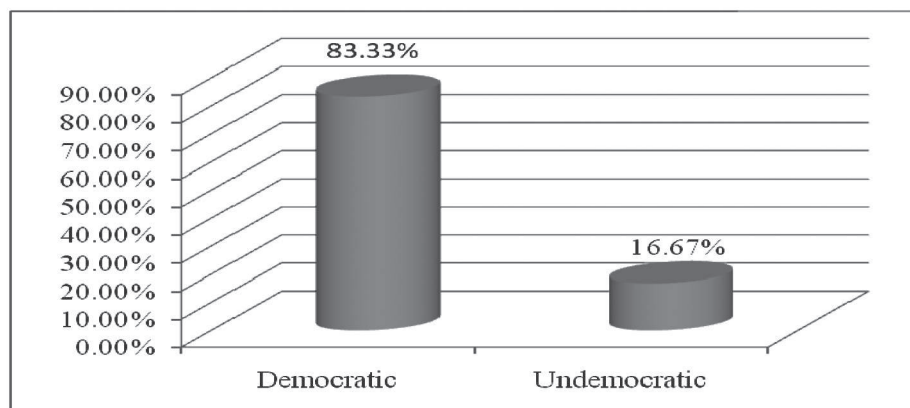


Figure 7. Responses on Whether or Not the Previous Student Elections were Democratic (n = 18)

SOURCE: Field data.

The results in Figure 7 show that 15 (83.33 per cent) of the student leaders indicated that the previous elections in their universities were democratic; whereas 3 (16.67 per cent) reported that the previous elections were undemocratic. The findings clearly indicate that most of the student leaders felt that the previous elections were democratic. This was corroborated by one dean of students who stated that elections were democratic since they were conducted factoring in all the necessary requirements needed.

Another dean of students indicated:

All rules governing students elections were followed, up to counting when violence broke out, so according to me, the election was democratic only that there must have been some external forces, especially from politicians and political parties.

The study further established the level of satisfaction of the student leaders with the democratic space in Kenya with regard to university students' relationship with the government. See Table 7 for the findings.

Table 7. Level of respondents' satisfaction with the democratic space in Kenya with regard to university students' relationship with the government (n = 18)

Satisfaction	Frequency (F)	Percentage (%)
Fairly satisfied	9	50.0
Very satisfied	5	27.8
Not very satisfied	3	16.7
Not a democracy	1	5.6

SOURCE: Field data.

The data in Table 7 show that 9 (50.0 per cent) of the student leaders were fairly satisfied with the democratic space while another 5 (27.8 per cent) indicated that they were very satisfied with the democratic space. Whereas 3 (16.7 per cent) of the student leaders indicated that they were not very satisfied with the democratic space while 1 (5.6 per cent) indicated that there was no democracy. One dean of students stated:

I am not satisfied with the democratic space in Kenya with regard to university students' relationship with the government, in fact it is not a democracy.

Furthermore, one registrar stated:

I am fairly satisfied with regard to the relationship between university students and the government as far as the democratic space is concerned.

Another registrar stated, "I can say that I am fairly satisfied".

In addition, this study established the type of political freedom that multiparty politics had given Kenyans. The data are presented in Figure 8.

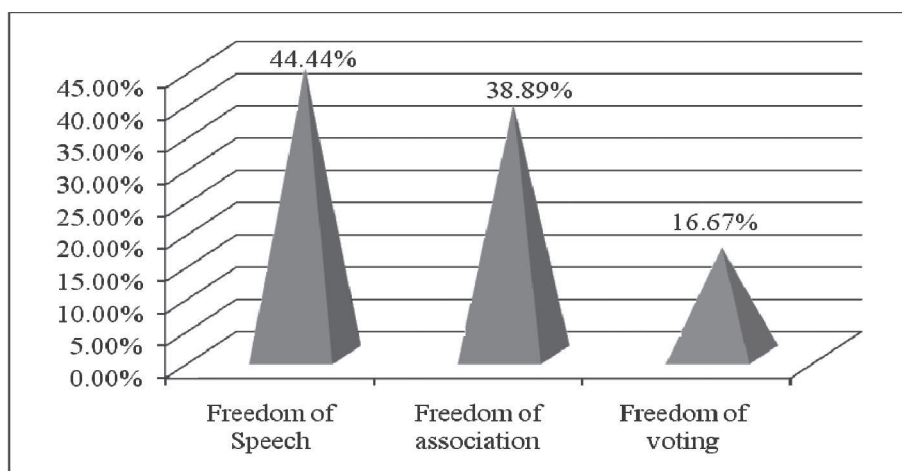


Figure 8. Type of Political Freedom Brought by Multiparty Politics in Kenya

SOURCE: Fieldwork data.

The data in Figure 8 show that 8 (44.44 per cent) of the student leaders indicated that multiparty politics brought about freedom of speech to say what they want; 7 (38.89 per cent) of the respondents indicated that multi-partism had brought about freedom of association which enabled Kenyans to join any political party they want. About 16.67 per cent (3) of the student leaders indicated that due to multiparty politics, there was freedom of voting without feeling pressurised. During interviews, one dean of students indicated:

In comparison to what used to happen during the single party era, there is now more political freedom, in terms of association, to join any political party and freedom of voting to choose who to vote for without feeling pressurised.

One registrar also stated:

Yes, multiparty politics has enabled Kenyans to be vigilant and struggle to defend their democratic gains, though we require principled and dependable leadership.

Another registrar indicated:

At least today there is freedom of expression though we have not reached where we wish to be because there are some people who still think in the past.

In addition, one dean of students stated:

Yes there is some freedom since people are now able to interrogate the government and give their views.

From the findings, it is clear that most student leaders felt that the previous student elections in their universities were free and fair though there might have been hitches here and there. This implies that the elections were democratic. This is a good practice that should be reflected in political elections in the country so as to avoid election violence. It is evident that the respondents felt that multiparty politics has brought more political freedom to Kenyans though there is need for more to be done. These findings align with Thierry *et al.* (2011) and Klopp and Orina (2002) who agree that multiparty politics provided a democratic space in Kenya and all citizens are enjoying it. Kenya as a young democracy is giving her citizens the human rights entitlements of expression and voting.

4.6. Student Activism in Kenya Today

The fifth and final research question endeavoured to examine student activism in Kenya today. Student leaders were also asked to rate the university student activism of the day in Kenya. The findings are shown in Table 8.

Table 8. Rating the present day university student activism in Kenya

Rating	Frequency (F)	Percentage (%)
Complacent	9	50.0
Impatient	7	38.9
Uncritical	2	11.1

SOURCE: Computed from fieldwork data.

The findings in Table 8 indicate that 9 (50.0 per cent) of the university student leaders rated student activism in Kenya as complacent while a further 7 (38.9 per cent) rated student activism as impatient. On the other hand, 2 (11.1 per cent) indicated that the present-day student activism in Kenya was uncritical. This is a total shift from student activism in Kenya as reported by Klopp and Orina (2002), Nduko (2000) and Wanyande (2006). The uncritical and complacent university student indicates that there is a dearth in comradeship. It confirms what Mwiria and Ng'ethe (2007) reported on tranquility at Kenyan public universities.

5. Conclusion

This chapter presents a detailed analysis of student activism in relation to political parties and election violence in Kenya. The trends of student activism from the 1980s to date have been shown, including how these trends correlate with sociopolitical transformations in the country. It is clear that much has changed and student activism in Kenya today is dictated by ethnicity and political party affiliation. This has led to sycophancy, poor leadership and a submissive and complacent student body in university student activism. Student elections are very similar to political party politics where rival groups never accept defeat and make claims of voter

buying, rigging and irregular and unfair elections. This often sparks violence. All student violence leads to destruction of property and causes instability in the society.

Student activism may sometimes lead to justice, such as the appointment of new vice chancellors and university administrators who qualify to occupy these offices, sociopolitical departments at the university and at the national level. Therefore, student activism is essential for awareness creation of issues facing the society. It often leads to sociopolitical change. Student participation in politics in Kenya has led to the development of most of the civil society and national political leadership. As such, politicisation of student activism cannot be disentangled. There is a delicate link between student election politics and violence. If we encourage de-politicisation of student activism, then we would be undermining the liberty and democracy they should enjoy. It means losing out on the very vehicle which African universities can use to make a key contribution to the democratisation of political culture. Additionally, since universities are by nature hubs of knowledge and enlightenment, de-politicisation of student activism is betrayal to higher education. It is repressive. It will hinder the theory taught in universities from being transformed into practical action. Further, as good citizens, student activism displays the solidarity of individuals.

This study also concluded that the gender dynamics displayed in the national politics have a great impact on student leadership politics in public universities. Female students, just as female politicians, shy away from competing for the top posts. Socialisation and culture play a key role here. Unless Kenyan female politicians also control political parties and find time to mentor female students who are interested in student politics and good governance, the affirmative action will not be fully and effectively implemented.

5.1. Recommendations for Policy

This chapter sought to discuss the linkage between student activism, political party alliances and election violence. Having systematically analysed this linkage, the authors hereby make the following recommendations for higher education governance in Kenya:

- i. Develop a robust understanding of alternative politics that is more participatory, inclusive, open, creative, and deliberative. This includes advising the government to promote dialogue amongst university students, university administration and the government (Ministry of Education) on pertinent issues that affect students.
- ii. A deeper analysis of student activism is required in order to give policymakers answers to the current political landscape in the country. The policymakers in universities and the Ministry of Education need good information about the past if they are to avoid replication of mistakes.

- iii. Teach tolerance, peace and diversity of culture in the curriculum, anchoring them on accountability, good governance, human rights, and democracy. The universities should not confine these studies to Master of Arts and Conflict Studies, but they should be mainstreamed in the curriculum.
- iv. Restore comradeship.
- v. University management should come up with mentorship programs for student leaders to enhance good governance and accountability of student leadership organisations, leadership responsibilities, democracy in choosing leaders, evaluating and supporting leaders, financial accounting, monitoring institutional development and transformation, preserving institutional autonomy, and security in campus.
- vi. The student code of conduct should spell out clearly operational and organisational parameters of student activity and politics. This should form part of the university statutes and policies.
- vii. The university should support the student use of social media and newspapers to air their views. This responsible freedom of speech can go a long way in helping the government to identify problems in the society.
- viii. Appoint a campus Ombudsman — a respected external personality who will listen to students' grievances and attempt to solve them.
- ix. Review university governance structures to ensure participation of students in their various decision-making bodies and create appropriate communication channels between the university administration and students, by either co-opting them or incorporating them in decision-making at the university.
- x. The university administration should apply all skills of conflict resolution and management to limit damages during unrest and quickly resolve such situations.
- xi. Student activism should be analysed more deeply with the new wave of African transition and democracy. Student activists should be looked at as ambassadors of democratic space rather than rebels. Their leadership capabilities should be nurtured. The active role played by the youth in the recently contested presidential elections in Senegal to safeguard the constitution suggests that student participation in political discourse could be a positive development that bodes well for countries in Africa.

References

- Adar, K. 1999. Human rights and academic freedom in Kenya's public universities: The case of the Universities' Academic Staff Union. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 21(1): 179–206.
- Aelst, P.V. and Walgrave, S. 2001. Who is that (wo)man in the street? From the normalization of protest to the normalization of the protester. *European Journal of Political Research*, 39: 461–486.
- Apter, D. 1997. Political violence in analytical perspective. *In: The legitimization of violence*, edited by D. Apter, 1–32. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Africa Watch. 1991. *Kenya taking liberties*. New York: Africa Watch.
- Afrobarometer. 2009. Popular attitudes towards democracy in Kenya: A summary of Afrobarometer indicators, 2001–2008. Retrieved February 14, 2015, from www.afrobarometer.org.
- Altbach, P. G. 1989. Perspectives on student political activism. *Comparative Education*, 25(1): 97–110.
- Awiti, A. and Ongwen, O. 1990. *Academic freedom, state repression and optimism in Kenya*. Dakar: CODESRIA.
- Bennett, S. and Bennett, L. 2001. What political scientists should know about the survey of first-year students in 2000. *Political Science and Politics*, 34: 295–299.
- Bourne, P. A. 2010. Unconventional political participation in a middle-income developing country. *Current Research Journal of Social Sciences*, 2 (2): 196–203.
- Boyer, E. L. 1987. *College: The undergraduate experience in America*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Cefkin J. L. 1975. Rhodesia university students in nationalistic politics. *In: University students and African politics*, edited by W. J. Hanna and J. L. Hanna, 141–158. NY: Africana Publishing Co.
- Chikwanha, A. B. 2009. Higher education and student politics in Zimbabwe. *In Youth and higher education in Africa: The cases of Cameroon, South Africa, Eritrea and Zimbabwe*, edited by D. P. Chimanikire, 79–108. Senegal: CODESRIA.
- Clinton-Rodham, H. 2003. *Living history*. London: Headline.
- Colby, A., Ehrlich, T., Beaumont, T. and Stephens, J. 2003. Introduction: Higher education and the development of civic responsibility. *In Civic responsibility and higher education*, edited by T. Ehrlich, xxx–xliii. Phoenix, AZ: Oryx Press.
- Dalton, R. J. 2008. Citizenship norms and the expansion of political participation. *Political Studies*, 56 (1): 76–98.

- Diemer, M. A. 2012. Fostering marginalized youths' political participation: Longitudinal roles of parental political socialization and youth sociopolitical development. *American Journal of Community Psychology*.
- Diouf, M. 2003. Engaging postcolonial cultures: African youth and public space. *African Studies Review*, 46: 1–12.
- Douglas, S. A. and Bachtiar, H. 1970. Indonesian students: The generation of 1966. *In The Student Revolution*, edited by P. G. Altbach, 156–160. Bombay: Lalvani.
- Emmerson, D. K. 1968. *Students and politics in developing nations*. New York: Praeger.
- Hanna, W.J. and Hanna, J.L. 1975. 'The cynical nationalists'. *In*: Hanna, W. J. and Hanna, J. L. (Eds.), *University students and African politics*. NY: Africana Publishing Co.
- Hughes, R. 1994. Legitimization, higher education and the post-colonial state: A comparative study of India and Kenya. *Comparative Education*, 30 (3): 193–204.
- Human Rights Watch. 1999. *Leave none to tell the story*. New York: Human Rights Watch.
- Jalango, I.J. 2015. *The power and millions student leaders control in campus siasa*. Standard Digital Your Gateway News Daily. Retrieved on May 14th 2015 from <ftp.ktnkenya.tv/.../the-power-and-millions-students-leaders-control-in-campus-siasa>.
- Kamau, N. 2010. *Women and political leadership in Kenya: Ten case studies*. Nairobi: Heinrich Boll Foundation.
- Kellogg Commission. 1999. Commission on the future of state and land-grant Universities. *Returning to our Roots: The Engaged Institution*. Retrieved February 15, 2015, from http://www.nasulgc.org/publications/Kellogg/kellogg1999_Engage.pdf.
- Kenya Human Rights Commission Report. 1992. *Haven of repression. A report on the University of Nairobi and academic freedom in Kenya*. Nairobi. Human Rights Commission.
- Kipto, L.K. 2013. *The dynamics of student unrests in Kenya's higher education: The case of Moi University*. Ph.D. Thesis. University of Pretoria. South Africa.
- Klopp, J. M. and Orina, J. R. 2002. University crisis, student activism and contemporary struggle for democracy in Kenya. *African Studies Review*, 45 (1): 43–76.
- Konings, P. 2002. University students' revolt, ethnic militia and violence during political liberalization in Cameroon. *African Studies Review*, 45 (2): 179–204.

- Lasner, T. 2010. Countries at the crossroads 2010: Country report. *Kenya*. Retrieved June 8, 2010, from www.freedomhouse.org.
- Lamprianou, L. 2013. 'Contemporary political participation research: A critical assessment.' *In*: K.N. Demetriou (Ed.), *Democracy in Transition*, pp 21–42. Springer. August 8, 2014, from www.springer.com/cda/content/.../9783642300677-c1.pdf?...0-0
- Mashayekhi, M. 2001. The revival of the student movement in post-revolutionary Iran. *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, 15: 283–314.
- Maathai, M. W. 2006. *Unbowed. A memoir*. London: Heinemann.
- Mlambo, A. S. 1995. Student protest and state reaction in Colonial Rhodesia: The 1973 Chimukwembe student demonstration at the University of Rhodesia. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21(3): 473–490.
- Mwiria, K. and Ng'ethe, N. 2007. Reforms related to governance/management and planning. *In Public and private universities in Kenya: New challenges, issues and achievements*, edited by K. Mwiria, N. Ng'ethe, C. Ngome, D. Ouma-Odero, V. Wawire and D. Wesonga. 54–65. Oxford: James Currey and Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.
- Mokaya, B. M., Oyugi, A. E., Kigen, E. M., Gatumu, H. N. and Ireri, A. M. 2013. Evaluating the effectiveness of three conflict resolution models in changing students' intergroup expectancies and attitudes in Kenyatta University, Kenya. *Education 2013*, 3 no. 3: 178–184.
- Mutunga, W. 1999. *Constitution-making from the middle: civil society and transition politics in kenya, 1992–1997*. Nairobi: SAREAT.
- Naidoo, K. 1992. The politics of youth resistance in the 1980s: The dilemmas of a differentiated Durban. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 18: 143–165.
- Nduko, J. 2000. Students' rights and academic freedom in Kenya's public universities. *In A thousand flowers: social struggles against structural adjustment in African universities*, edited by S. Federici, G. Caffentzis and O. Alidou. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
- Neondo, H. 2007. In Kenya, women open door to student politics. Retrieved September 11, 2014, from <http://womensenews.org/story/the-world/070208/in-kenya-women-open-door-student-politics>
- Neuman, W. 1998. *True to ourselves: A celebration of women making a difference*. San Francisco, CA: Josey-Bass Publishers.
- Nganga, G. 2010. 'Kenya: Student unrest, claims of political meddling'. *University World News: The Global Window on Higher Education*.

The African Edition. 23rd May 2010. Issue No. 054. Retrieved on 9th May 2015 from www.universityworldnews.com/article.php?story

- Nzomo, M. 2013. *Impacts of women in political leadership in Kenya: Struggle for participation in governance through affirmative action*. University of Nairobi: Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, Nairobi, Kenya.
- Omari, L. M. and Miho, P. B. 1991. *The roots of student unrest in African universities*. Nairobi: Man Graphics Limited.
- Riley, C. E., Griffin, C. and Morey, Y. 2010. The case for 'everyday politics': Evaluating neo-tribal theory as a way to understand alternative forms of political participation, using electronic dance music culture as an example. *Sociology*, 44 no. 2: 345–363.
- RoK. 2010. *The Constitution of Kenya, 2010*. Nairobi: National Council of Law Reporting with the Authority of the Attorney General.
- Sylvia, T. P. 2012. *Constitutional development with civil society: Case studies from southern and eastern Africa*. Retrieved September 11, 2014, from www.constitutionnet.org/.../constitutional_development_with_civil_society_case_studies_from_southern__east_africa_0.pdf.
- Thierry, M. L., Kiiru, S., Mattes, R., Angolwisye, M., Njuguna, N. and Romo, M. 2011. The university in Africa and democratic citizenship. Hothouse or training ground? Report on student surveys conducted at the University of Nairobi, Kenya, The University of Cape Town, South Africa, and the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Wynberg, South Africa: Centre for Higher Education Transformation.
- Thomas, S. and Wilcox, C. (Eds.). 2005. *Women and the elective office*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- UNIFEM. 2008. Progress of the world's women. Retrieved September 11, 2014, from <http://www.unifem.org/progress/2008/politics.html>.
- Wanjohi, N. G. 2003. 'Women have to vie for role of leadership'. *East African Standard*, Nairobi.
- Wise, C. 1998. Chronicle of a student strike in Africa: The case of Burkina Faso, 1996–1997. *African Studies Review*, 41: 19–36.
- World Bank. 2001. *Engendering development: through gender equality in rights, resources and voice. A World Bank Policy Research*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Zeilig, L. 2007. *Revolt and protest: Student politics and activism in Sub-Saharan Africa*. London: IB Tauris.