

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

---

KENYAN  
POLITICS

---

*Edited by*

NIC CHEESEMAN,  
KARUTI KANYINGA,

*and*

GABRIELLE LYNCH

OXFORD  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

**OXFORD**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP,  
United Kingdom

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.  
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,  
and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of  
Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries

© Oxford University Press 2020

The moral rights of the authors have been asserted

First published 2020

First published in paperback 2022

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in  
a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the  
prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted  
by law, by licence or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics  
rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the  
above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the  
address above

You must not circulate this work in any other form  
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press  
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Data available

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Data available

ISBN 978-0-19-881569-3 (Hbk.)

ISBN 978-0-19-288742-9 (Pbk.)

Links to third party websites are provided by Oxford in good faith and  
for information only. Oxford disclaims any responsibility for the materials  
contained in any third party website referenced in this work.

# CONTENTS

---

<i>List of Figures</i>	xv
<i>List of Tables</i>	xvii
<i>List of Contributors</i>	xix

1. The political economy of Kenya: Community, clientelism, and class 1  
NIC CHEESEMAN, KARUTI KANYINGA, AND GABRIELLE LYNCH

## PART I. THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY

2. Colonial rule and the rise of African politics (1930–1963) 29  
DEREK R. PETERSON
3. Jomo Kenyatta and the creation of the Kenyan state (1963–1978) 43  
DAVID W. THROUP
4. Daniel arap Moi and one-party rule (1978–1991) 56  
DAVID W. THROUP
5. The limits of multi-partyism (1992–2005) 69  
RAYMOND MUHULA
6. Civil conflict, power-sharing, truth and reconciliation (2005–2013) 82  
JAMES D. LONG
7. The 2013 elections and the peace narrative (2013–2015) 96  
COLLINS ODOTE
8. The 2017 elections and electoral (in)justice (2015–2017) 109  
MARIE-EMMANUELLE POMMEROLLE

## PART II. IDENTITY POLITICS

9. Race and ethnicity in colonial Kenya 123  
JOHN LONSDALE

10. The political role of Christian churches	137
GREGORY DEACON	
11. The political role of Islam	150
NGALA CHOME	
12. Gender mainstreaming and the campaign for equality	163
WINNIE V. MITULLAH	
13. Youth and masculinity	178
NAOMI VAN STAPELE	
14. Sexual-minority rights and activism	191
SINI HASSINEN	

### PART III. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

15. Constitutions and constitutionalism	207
YASH GHAI	
16. The politics of the provincial administration	221
WALTER O. OYUGI AND JIMMY O. OCHIENG	
17. The rise and fall of the legislature	235
KEN OCHIENG' OPALO	
18. Devolution and county government	251
MICHELLE D'ARCY	

### PART IV. CIVIL SOCIETY, THE MEDIA, AND POLITICAL CULTURE

19. Satire, social media, and cultures of resistance	269
ANGELIQUE HAUGERUD, MEGHAN FERENCE, AND DILLON J. MAHONEY	
20. The role of traditional media	283
DENIS GALAVA	
21. Chiefs, elders, and traditional authority	297
MICHELLE OSBORN	

- 
22. Civil society and the state 310  
GEOFFREY LUGANO
23. The science, suspicion, and sustainability of opinion polls 325  
THOMAS P. WOLF

## PART V. POLITICAL PARTIES AND STRATEGIES OF MOBILIZATION

24. High-stakes ethnic politics 343  
SUSANNE D. MUELLER
25. The weaknesses of political parties 356  
ADAMS OLOO
26. Violence as an election strategy 369  
SARAH JENKINS

## PART VI. LAW AND (DIS)ORDER

27. The protection and promotion of human rights 385  
IRINA ICHIM
28. Land rights and the rule of law 399  
AMBREENA MANJI
29. Post-colonial state–military relations 410  
MUSAMBAYI KATUMANGA
30. Police, reform, and counter-terrorism 422  
ABDULLAHI BORU HALAKHE
31. Gangs and vigilantism 435  
JACOB RASMUSSEN

## PART VII. THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DEVELOPMENT

32. The lessons and legacies of the “Kenya debate” 451  
JOHN W. HARBESON AND FRANK HOLMQUIST

33. The financial sector 465  
 RADHA UPADHYAYA AND EDOARDO TOTOLO
34. The local politics of resource distribution 482  
 MAI HASSAN
35. Mobile technology and development 497  
 BITANGE NDEMO AND DENNIS AIKO
36. NGOs and public service provision 513  
 JENNIFER N. BRASS
37. The informal economy and its relationship with the state 531  
 JANE N. O. KHAYESI

## PART VIII. KENYA AND THE WORLD

38. The political economy of foreign aid to Kenya 547  
 MICHAEL CHEGE
39. International relations and the International Criminal Court 562  
 NJOKI WAMAI
40. Kenya's war in Somalia 576  
 DAVID M. ANDERSON
41. Foreign policy and regional relations 589  
 L. MUTHONI WANYEKI
42. The rise of China in Kenya's foreign relations 602  
 SAMUEL M. MAKINDA

## PART IX. REGIONAL POLITICS IN THE TIME OF DEVOLUTION

43. Nyanza: The Odinga dynasty and beyond 617  
 PATRICK O. ASINGO
44. Nairobi: The politics of the capital 632  
 PERIS S. JONES
45. Rift Valley: The struggle for supremacy 646  
 ALEX DYZENHAUS

---

46. North Eastern: From the periphery to the center HASSAN H. KOCHORE	659
47. Central: Self-sufficiency through local government DOMINIC BURBIDGE AND THOMAS RAJI	673
48. Western: Negotiating political heterogeneity FREDRICK O. WANYAMA	689
49. Eastern: The dynamics of “bridesmaid politics” MUMO NZAU	702
50. The Coast: An elusive political bloc HANNAH WADDILOVE	715
<i>Index</i>	729