

Political Philanthropy and its Development Implications

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Abstract: An electioneering season in Africa is a time politicians scramble to outdo each other in terms of buying votes and loyalty from the electorate. Kenya is no exception to the practice, where politicians have perfected the craft to astonishing proportions. This paper examines the extent to which political hand-outs influence voters' choices and undermine development. It also seeks to establish the immediate and long-term impact of political gifts on both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries. Further, the researcher aims to investigate how manipulating local communities through political hand-outs stokes inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic hostilities. The study is based on descriptive survey design and uses interviews and textual analysis. Findings from field research reveal that the practice of vote buying is widespread in Kenya during canvassing for election to public office. In conclusion the paper recommends, among other things, an overhaul of the Kenyan political set-up so as to decentralize and devolve power to the grassroots. The leaders must be made to be accountable to their people through proper oversight structures.

Key words: political philanthropy, development, underdevelopment, electioneering, dependency

I. INTRODUCTION

This paper seeks to establish the immediate and long-term impact of political gifts on both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries in some African communities, with specific emphasis on the Kenyan situation. The researcher intends to draw significant examples of this state of affairs from a number of Kenyan communities, but also where possible, from elsewhere in the continent.

In giving further insight on the practice of political gifts, the study also attempts to determine the extent to which the local economy of a given community is affected and the resentment brought about between opposing members of the community. As much as possible, views from African scholars and other scholars from a variety of backgrounds have been explored on how the poor can be manipulated by the powerful, besides findings from field research.

In Kenya, as in many other African countries, the practice is endemic and it especially intensifies when elections are around the corner. With the vast majority of the electorate illiterate and living below the poverty line, politicians are quick to seize on their ignorance to have them mortgaged their rights for a pittance.

For instance, in the mid 1980s in Liberia, when military leader Samuel Doe stood as a candidate to return the country to

civilian rule, his party, National Democratic Party of Liberia (NDPL), went around the country dishing out money to buy votes from the rural poor. In addition, the NDPL formed a youth group known as NDPL Task Force, which was given a lot of money to mete out violence to people perceived as government opponents and opposition supporters.

A similar situation in which the poor instantly become a political football is obtaining in South Africa, with accusations and counter-accusations of vote buying doing the rounds as the country prepares to elect a successor to President Thabo Mbeki in 2009. Because of their ignorance, the poor are not aware that those who carry briefcases full of money to dish out have actually amassed their wealth from the sweat of the very poor. The plight of the poor is best described by Myers (1999):

The poor are poor largely because they live in networks of relationships that do not work for their well-being. Their relationships with others are often oppressive and disempowering as a result of the non-poor playing god in the lives of the poor. Their relationship within themselves is diminished and debilitated as a result of the grind of poverty and the feeling of permanent powerlessness. Their relationship with those they call "other" is experienced as exclusion. Their relationship with their environment is increasingly less productive because poverty leaves no room for caring for the environment. Their relationship with the God who created them and sustains their life is distorted by an inadequate knowledge of who God is and what God wishes for all humankind. Poverty is the whole family of our relationships that are not all they can be. (p.13)

With presidential, parliamentary and civic elections due in Kenya on December 27, 2007, politicians are criss-crossing the country with lightning and whistle-stop excursions to dish out material and monetary hand-outs to voters – a truly remembrance period indeed! For some of the less fortunate and rural poor, this is the only time that they can, at least, get a "free" packet of maize meal or KSh100 (about US one dollar) from their political leaders.

Some work so hard to till the soil to feed themselves and the nation, but get little or nothing in return from the government, perhaps unaware that it is the responsibility of the government to provide basic services, including clean water, roads and electricity. This perhaps underscores the feeling of powerlessness of the poor that Myers (1999) describes above.

At the same time, those who are regular recipients of political hand-outs in exchange for their loyalty and votes have developed a tendency of dependency. The greed of those in privileged position has continued to increase the vagaries of poverty among the poor and entrench underdevelopment – something which is a legacy of colonialism. It was meant to keep the status quo, particularly in Africa.

Rodney (1989) captures this scenario when he says “Obviously, underdevelopment is not the absence of development, because every people have developed in one way or another and to a greater or lesser extent. Underdevelopment makes sense only as a means of comparing levels of development. It is very much tied to the fact that human social development has been uneven and from a strictly economic view point some human groups have advanced further by producing more and becoming more wealthy” (p.21). I may add that the process of wealth creation has, more often than not, been at the expense of the poor.

In Africa, for example, if it is not Westerners exploiting Africans, then it is African elite exploiting their fellow poor Africans. Or to put it another way, African elite and their Western masters combine efforts to compound the misery of poor Africans. Again Rodney (1989) points out why some countries are caught in the web of poverty:

All of the countries named as ‘underdeveloped’ in the world are exploited by others; and the underdevelopment with which the world is now preoccupied is a product of capitalist, imperialist and colonialist exploitation. African and Asian societies were developing independently until they were taken over directly or indirectly by the capitalist powers. When that happened, exploitation increased and the export of surplus ensued, depriving the societies of the benefit of their natural resources and labour. That is an integral part of underdevelopment in the contemporary sense. (p. 22)

II. WHAT IS POLITICAL PHILANTHROPY?

When viewed from its dictionary meaning, the word philanthropy is noble, in that it is the practice of helping people less well-off than oneself. But when it is combined with political to form the adjectival phrase, political philanthropy, the phrase assumes a sinister meaning. For the purpose of this paper, the phrase means gifts or hand-outs that politicians give in exchange for loyalty and votes from recipients or beneficiaries.

Weeks of field research have revealed that the practice is widespread in Kenya, particularly during electioneering periods when politicians are canvassing for votes. Informants were unanimous that poor and disadvantaged Kenyans are the main target of politicians since these poor people are vulnerable and constitute the majority of voters.

For instance, hundreds of thousands of unemployed youths have been enlisted in different political camps for a token during campaigns for the December 27, 2007 General Election in the country. Mrs Rosemary Nyaole (cf. App. B,

no. 4) observes that politicians have created a dependency syndrome mostly among rural inhabitants by giving them hand-outs to buy favours. Some of these political gifts, she says, are in the form of giving out jobs to members of a certain community to buy their loyalty, but which is not based on merit.

She cites an example whereby in school, some students who do not work hard enough brag that they are sure of getting jobs after leaving school because of their political connections, while those who work hard and perform well in school do not get jobs. “These hand-outs promote corruption, bring laxity in the community and defeat the purpose of work ethic,” says Mrs Nyaole. Because the politicians’ salaries alone cannot meet their thirst for buying loyalty, they steal from the tax payers to do so. She goes on:

“The political leaders only cater for people who sing their praises, and therefore the ‘eating syndrome’ that has developed continues. There is no accountability; so the politicians steal public funds and stash them abroad and the mighty cover each other. As a result, the common man who pays high tax suffers, while the gap between the rich and poor continues to widen.”

It appears that Kenyan politicians are content to maintain the status quo, where the majority of the people are not adequately educated about their rights and can be easily manipulated. If the masses were educated about their rights, then they would know that they are being fleeced by politicians. Mr Solomon Oluoch Otiato (cf. App. B, no. 6) recalls that immediately after independence in 1963, many people were looking to politicians, who took over from colonialists for hand-outs, a situation which has continued to date.

“Because of lack of civic education, people did not realize how they were abusing their own rights. For over 40 years now, this country has tended to rely on politicians to give them hand-outs. When they are in need of votes, the politicians will give hand-outs in form of food, and even pay rent for some people, but will not meet all your needs. After they are elected, that is the end of the story,” he warns. After young people complete their studies, Otiato notes, they migrate to the cities because there are no corresponding jobs in the rural areas.

The parents of these young people are said to invest so much in them, some by selling their belongings to educate their children. But unfortunately, according to Otiato, some do not plow back what they get from the community. As a consequence, the rural folks have become poorer, and therefore, he believes, dependency depends on the level of poverty in a community or tribe.

The foundation for political hand-outs and making poor people dependent had been laid by the Kenyatta and Moi regimes, says Peter Njoroge (cf. App. B, no. 7). He points out that since independence, Kenya has thrived on political gifts

and other forms of patronage, which have caused dependency among the masses and rendered them vulnerable to manipulation.

“The Kenyatta and Moi regimes managed the politics and resources of this country based on tribal chiefs. President Moi had chiefs from most large tribes, who were believed to represent the interests of their communities, and the communities were made to believe that their chiefs represented their interests,” Njoroge argues.

2.1 *The Positive Aspects of Political Philanthropy*

The benefits of political gifts are mixed, since in most cases, the gifts do not reach a large percentage of the population. If in a form of on-the-spot hand-outs, they reach only part of the cheering crowds; if it is a project, it tends to benefit those in close proximity or close to the political leader in question. Most people are lured into voting in the politician based on promises that more good things are coming, after seeing the fortunes of their immediate neighbours.

James MisikoNeyole and Jeremiah Neyole (cf. App. B, no. 9) reveal that at the moment in the run-up to the 2007 General Election, money is being dished out in parts of western Kenya, and that one aspirant is said to be giving out KSh500 per head. They cited an example, where a coffee factory was built by a Trade Minister, in Sikhandu, western Kenya, known as Makhaga Coffee Factory.

They added: “Most of the people, who work there, are relatives of the Minister’s. For us the local people, our interest was electricity. Even then, the factory was to get power at a cost of KSh60,000, but to date the money has not been paid and the factory is using a generator. Very recently, he has said if we vote for him, he will tarmack the road from the area to Eldoret. The previous understanding was that he would bring power to the factory and then people would get their own connection from the factory.”

The locals who do not benefit from the factory are said to have cut down their coffee trees because they feel the factory is only benefiting the Minister and his clan. The perception in Kenya, says Misiko, is that giving hand-outs has become a culture, so much so that “the politician cannot go in without giving gifts. He may come and take the children to school and clear unpaid fees/bills. For the immediate families, it is positive, but negatively, this creates rifts between members of the same community.”

Mr Joshua Karani (cf. App. B, no. 8) agrees that in the short term, political hand-outs might be something positive when used immediately. However, he cautions, the recipients are likely to develop a dependency attitude. “This might in turn retard the culture of hard work and affect productivity. People become blind to opportunities, which are stepping stones to development. If that happens, those who give might develop an attitude of a small god, because others depend on them for their livelihood,” Karani comments.

2.2 *How Political Gifts Influence and Divide Grassroots Communities*

Although some of the negative aspects of political hand-outs have been mentioned above, they obviously far outweigh the positives and are more profound in scope. For instance, when money is thrown into a crowd of hundreds of people, they may fight over it, resulting in some getting seriously hurt, or even being trampled to death. Also vote buying prevents the right people with the necessary leadership qualities from being elected to public office.

The study further found that politicians may take revenge if they lose elections and realize that people given money did not vote for them. Angry politicians may hire goons to beat up people and destroy property.

Mr Maurice Lusweti (cf. App. B, no. 10) thinks political gifts have been institutionalized since highly placed government officials are involved as part of the grand corruption that is tearing into the fabric of the Kenyan society. “Sometimes poor people will virtually camp at the gates of the politicians to get hand-outs. If they fail to get hand-outs, they will shout obscenity at the politicians, and this is something like KSh100 or KSh200 per head they are waiting to receive.

“On the other hand, if the politicians fail to win an election and they have given out iron sheets to, say, a church so the faithful could vote for them, they will come back for the iron sheets or hire goons to do the job. The politicians can also hire thugs to strip women naked, who have been given dresses” says Lusweti.

When politicians make election promises to the population, Lusweti goes on, once they get into power, they only take care of their cronies; and all good roads will be built for people who voted for them, while opposition areas will be left out. All citizens pay taxes to the government; why should some people be left out of development plans because they did not vote for a particular politician?” he posed, and noted that worse still, “school bursaries are given to people who are well-off and can afford fees, whereas the poor deserving students are left out.

“There is too much nepotism and favouritism in development priorities. Some areas have hospitals, clinics and dispensaries, others have none. Productive areas which feed the country are left with poor infrastructure. For example, Trans Nzoia District could raise KSh10 billion in taxes, but they only get back KSh2 billion. There is therefore resentment in people who have been neglected because other groups have become wealthy from the country’s resources. This is discriminative kind of politics.”

Undoubtedly, Lusweti maintains, the politicians control the judiciary, the police, and the army, and therefore the poor are helpless. This, he says, explains why there is so much craving for the presidency, because all communities want one of their own to get the seat so they can also enjoy the wealth of the country.

The research found that unless there is a complete overhaul of the entire system in the country, the trend of “eating” from the national coffers by whichever community occupies the presidency will continue for the foreseeable future. Echoing the foregoing sentiments, Leonard Wekesa and Thomas Magona (cf. App. B, no. 5) concur that political gifts may have positive impact on the recipients in the short term, but it is only temporary.

The hand-outs do not address the root cause of poverty to make people self-reliant, but instead, the poor people develop the mentality of dependency, the two argue. In their opinion, “African politicians have adopted the method used by the colonialists to make us feel helpless and rely on them. When the colonialists came they created the impression that we are inferior to them and so they came to ‘develop’ us.” The two informants talk of lack of regional balance in the way Kenya is run and call for legislation to address the anomaly in resource allocation.

“People from certain communities who are close to the government or the President are the only ones who benefit from the country’s resources,” they argue.

III. HOW DO POLITICAL HAND-OUTS UNDERMINE DEVELOPMENT?

From the preceding insight into abounding examples as regards the Kenyan experience, political hand-outs not only make people perpetually dependent, helpless and expectant, but also take away people’s dignity and self-respect. In light of this, it is clear that productivity will be drastically reduced and economic stagnation is bound to obtain.

Furthermore, when political gifts take the form of stoking animosity and violence between members of different ethnic communities, what follows is the undoing of any little gains that may have been made. As has been witnessed in parts of Kenya in the run-up to elections, it is an open secret that politicians are involved in providing the ammunition needed to stir up violence.

Berdal and Malone (2000) observe that “It is helpful to distinguish between ‘top-down’ violence and ‘bottom-up’ violence. Top-down violence refers to violence that is mobilized by political leaders and entrepreneurs – whether for political or economic reasons.” The two authors go on to state:

The existence of powerful groups mobilizing violence from the top will be sufficient to create large-scale violence where major coercion is used to get recruits. However, in practice violence has often been actively embraced by a variety of ordinary people (either civilians or low-ranking soldiers) as a solution to problems of their own. This can be called bottom-up violence. Getting involved in violence may serve a range of psychological and even security functions as well as economic functions. (p.25)

The very strategy of political hand-outs explains the voracious propensity of the African elite to accumulate wealth at the expense of the suffering masses. In so doing, politicians ensure that the marginalized poor feel they have no hope of making ends meet without their illustrious benefactors. The poorer the poor become, the better it is for the elite to keep their privileged status.

The Westerners, who prescribe development strategies for Africa, could not care less about these underlying factors, for the very capitalist strategies are the irony of development. Troil (1993) puts this point quite clearly: “I am concerned here with development strategies in the sense of sets of recommendations formulated with the intention of promoting economic development.

“Economic development is growth in a process of structural transformation, in the sense of increasing the productive capabilities that could lead to improvement in welfare and overall standards of living. ‘Development dogmas’ are the recommendations which dominate theorizing and the strategic recommendations on development at a given time” (p.28).

Political hand-outs deliberately promote the proverbial giving of fish to the poor rather than teaching the poor how to fish. The colonial structures inherited by the elite in Kenya, for example, which they sought to perpetuate, laid the foundation for continued impoverishment of the majority of the population. As here described by Hazlewood (1979), the majority has been deprived of access to the country’s resources ever since:

In 1960, the year in which agreement on self-government was reached, the total population was estimated to be 8.1 million, of which 7.8m were Africans. The Europeans numbered 61,000 and the Asians 169,000. There are no data of the Racial distribution of money income, but it is clear that, despite the overwhelming numerical preponderance of Africans, non-Africans received a high proportion of the total. Eighty per cent of the value of the marketed produce of agriculture came from the European-owned farms and estates; 55 per cent of the total wage-bill accrued to non-Africans, though they amounted to only 10 per cent of the labour force. Profits from manufacturing and trade were received almost entirely by non-African individuals or companies. (p.7)

Today, Kenyan poor are part of the world’s billions that the World Bank (1996) says continue to live in misery, “Aside from the economic hardship associated with gathering and cooking with biofuels, the indoor air pollution created by such fuels is a health hazard, particularly to women and children. In addition, collection of biofuels frequently leads to ecological damage to forests, woodlands, and farmlands, and biofuels are generally energy-inefficient” (p. 20).

3.1 The Role of Political Hand-outs in Furthering Dependency

Some of these research questions appear to overlap in nature, but while much discussion has been done about political hand-

outs, the purpose of this section is to take a closer look at how politicians use hand-outs to perpetrate and perpetuate dependency among the poor. The commoners have been subjected to and are bedeviled by deprivation, desperation and despondency. The fact that the poor are powerless means those in authority determine, at their pleasure, how the poor should survive.

But how should a government govern to empower the powerless? Three authors, Weaver, Rock, and Kusterer (1996), pose a similar question and proceed to answer:

What does a government do when it governs? It chooses, implements, and enforces policies that are embodied in a system of laws and regulations. It produces routine regulatory actions. It issues licences and permits; allocates access to government resources and subsidies; monitors compliance of companies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and individuals; and intervenes to stop activities that do not meet regulatory standards. It either produces public goods and services itself – such as roads, schools, clinics – or contracts for those goods and services. Then it distributes access to governmental goods and services among the citizenry according to its own criteria of need and programme eligibility. Effective governance refers to the government's ability to do these things effectively. (pp. 85-86)

Political leaders in Africa, in general and Kenya in particular, have failed abysmally to follow these fundamental tenets of governance. Admittedly, three main things have been used by Kenyan politicians to promote dependency among the poor and reduce them to a pawn.

1. Most potent is the tribal card – where ethnicity defines and informs the actions of politicians. They may incite one ethnic community against another, pretending to be protectors for selfish gain. At the heart of this is the fact that many politicians have acquired wealth illegally, including large tracts of productive land, while millions of poor peasants remain landless and squatters. Political leaders use their wealth to make the masses subservient and to look to them for survival.
2. Divide and Rule – while this is closely linked to number one above, it can be pitting one community against another or a section of the same community against the rest. The selected group, assured of hand-outs, can then be used to further the given politician's agenda against other communities.
3. Government resources (both financial and material). These resources are illegally taken by people in public office to buy vote and loyalty, especially during election campaigns.

This behavior on the part of those entrusted with public office helps to deepen poverty among the poor in the long run, because once the politician ceases to be in that position, the status of those who have been relying on him for hand-outs

will dramatically fall. Such community will soon realize that their lack of hard work for self-sustenance has been retrogressive and against development.

The Kenyan privileged class has borrowed a cue from Western capitalists and perfected it in a most ruthless fashion in their quest to accumulate wealth. They seek opportunities to accumulate wealth as, what Leys (1996) calls, “capitalist merchants, capitalist bankers, capitalist insurers, etc., and finally capitalist manufacturers,” and also comments:

Their activities involved accumulating capital where this could be done cheaply, and investing it where the return to investment was highest, and this gave rise to a process of surplus removal from some parts of the world to others, perpetuating and rigidifying in new ways the low levels of productivity in the areas from which the surplus was taken, and also a structuring of these economies so as to subordinate them systematically to the structures of the economies where capital was being accumulated. (pp. 45-46)

IV. CONCLUSION/RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has shown that the culture of ethnicisation of politics is central in the Kenyan society and that politicians readily use it as a driving force for political hand-outs. This in turn leads to dependency, which seriously undermines development.

There is overwhelming evidence that political gifts do more harm than good to the community, in that one group is given preference over another, thereby creating hatred and divisions. Instead of furthering development, political hand-outs encourage laziness among the poor and close all avenues of devising means to be self-reliant.

The poor have been put in a state that Liberation Theology described as “marginalized and dehumanized” – a product of capitalist model. They lack awareness of the role of reasoning and science. From the point of view of the political leaders, the poor are “non-persons” and merely a tool for achieving political ends.

In this regard, there is a need to take a long hard look at the Kenyan political set-up with a view to overhauling it so as to bring about social transformation. It is recommended that political leadership be demystified by increasing civic education among the population. The people must be taught about their right to hold the leaders accountable and that leaders are custodians and not owners of state resources. They must be made to be seen in that light – servants and not lords.

The civic education must be geared toward building capacity and empowering the people to demand for their rights, including government services and allocation of resources. For this to succeed, the system of governance must be reformed so that power is decentralized, and devolved for the ordinary citizens to have a bigger say in the way they are governed.

Civil society groups have often been viewed by politicians with suspicion because they have the capacity to reach out and educate people at the grassroots about their rights. They and the media should be allowed to carry out civic education unhindered.

During field research many respondents agreed that the constitution must be changed so that services can be brought closer to the people. The current system is skewed and open to abuse. It also creates a situation, where each community is fighting to have one of their own as president of the country in order for those who have not had the opportunity to also “eat” from the national coffers.

There must be a new dispensation that allows for equitable distribution of the country’s resources. Further, it is recommended that civil society groups should come together and advocate for a change of the open-ended, blank cheque system that allows parliamentarians to award themselves astronomical salaries and allowances without a ceiling.

The same body responsible for structuring civil servants’ salary scale should also do so for Parliament and not Parliament itself, on the basis of the lowest earner and highest earner in government brackets. This will change Parliament from being a place for amassing wealth to a service institution.

APPENDIX A

Research Methodology

1. *Research Problem Statement:* Political Philanthropy and its Development Implications.
2. Research Questions:
 - a. What is political philanthropy?
 - b. The positive aspects of political philanthropy
 - c. How political gifts influence and divide grassroots communities
 - d. How do political hand-outs undermine development?
 - e. The role of political hand-outs in furthering dependency
3. *Purpose/Objective of the Study:* The researcher attempts to establish the immediate and long-term impact of political gifts on beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries in some African communities. The study also seeks to determine the extent to which the local economy is affected and the resentment brought about between opposing members of the community. It is aimed at showing that political gifts not only create dependency, but also negatively affect individual and community productivity. In doing so, these hand-outs undermine work ethic and promote mediocrity.

4. *Assumption:* The researcher assumes that political gifts and hand-outs are commonplace among especially many African politicians. For example, with elections coming up in Kenya, it is expected that politicians will dish out money and material gifts to the poor masses in rural areas across the country to buy votes.
5. *Limitation of the Study:* The researcher is conscious of the fact that not all informants have the requisite knowledge and experience to discuss the subject in depth. In view of this, the researcher will gauge views from a cross section of respondents from different backgrounds in Nairobi and its environs. At the same time library resources will be cited to strengthen the study.
6. *Data Collection/Scope of the Study:* The study focuses on Political Philanthropy and its Development Implications, which will also interchangeably be referred to as political gifts/hand-outs. A significant sourcing of research material will be based on field research information, as well as library resources relative to the subject.
7. *Operational Definitions:* Kiswahili words, if any, used are explained in brackets, likewise expressions and words of other tongues to clarify them for non-speakers of those languages.
8. *Conclusion/Discussion:* This is where information from field research and literature survey, as well as my own views on the subject has been harmonized and recommendations made.

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APPENDIX B

Field Research Summary

- 1) *George Padmore Lane, off Ngong Road, Nairobi.* September 11, 2007. To interview a Christian couple about their perception of development. The couple of CMS (Church Missionary Society)-Australia think development is improving the living standards of a people by providing quality education, health, food sufficiency and opportunities for employment.
- 2) *Matasia, Ngong, Nairobi.* September 19, 2007. To interview a couple about their understanding of underdevelopment. They described underdevelopment as lack of significant development that leads to industrialization. This, the couple said, is manifested in poor governance, corruption, mismanagement of resources, and lack of advancement in education and technology.
- 3) *Daystar University, Nairobi.* September 30, 2007. To interview two adults about the concept of God and spirit in Africa. They said Africans knew there was a supreme

being who was the creator of the universe. For Africans, life is a cycle – people live on even after death. The religious leaders are family heads, elders, priests and specialists.

- 4) *Nairobi Hospital and Embubul, Ngong, Nairobi.* October 6 & 9, 2007. To interview two adults about Africans' belief in God and spirit. They agreed that Africans believe in God as the Creator and that the ancestors connect the living with the Creator. They said much of African Traditional Religion is borrowed from the Old Testament.
- 5) *Holy Family Basilica, Nairobi.* October 11, 2007. To interview two adults about political gifts and their implications. The informants believe political hand-outs make poor people develop the mentality of dependency. They said African politicians have adopted the method of the colonialists to make people feel helpless and rely on them (politicians) for their livelihoods.
- 6) *City Hall, Nairobi.* October 13, 2007. To interview a senior citizen about the problem of dependency. The respondent, who appeared quite knowledgeable about the country's recent history, said dependency depends on the level of poverty in a community or tribe. He said because of lack of civic education, people who depend on politicians for token favours do not realize that they are abusing their own rights.
- 7) *Kenya Polytechnic, Nairobi.* October 22, 2007. To interview a student about how political gifts are used to manipulate locals. He said sadly, Kenya has got used to the culture of political gifts because the practice was promoted by the Kenyatta and Moi regimes. The student added that the two former presidents Used tribal chiefs to promote the practice.
- 8) *Daystar University, Athi River Campus.* October 25, 2007. To interview a lecturer about the positives and negatives of political hand-outs. The informant said in

the short term political gifts might be positive for some people if used immediately. But this is likely to develop dependency mentality in the recipients and retard development.

- 9) *Chepkoiyo, Kitale.* November 3, 2007. To interview two adults on how frequently, politicians who give hand-outs, visit the constituents. The respondents revealed that political leaders are frequently seen mainly during election periods when they need the people's votes. The politicians come to dish out money and give jobs to sons of certain influential people in the community, jobs which do not last.
- 10) *Kitale Town.* November 4, 2007. To interview an adult resident on the extent to which common Kenyans enslave themselves to political leaders to get hand-outs. The respondent said poor people in rural areas virtually camp at politicians' gates to get hand-outs – as little as KSh100 or KSh200.

APPENDIX C

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