Moderating Effect of Political Leadership in Electoral Processes and Political Stability in East Africa Community States

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Abstract
The purpose of the study was to find out the moderating effect of political leadership in electoral processes and political stability in East Africa Community States. This study adopted a quantitative approach of both descriptive and correlation designs. The target population consisted of 123 individuals working within the electoral commissions of different EAC Countries and the EAC Legislative Assembly. Primary data were collected using self-administered questionnaire. The study used primary data, which was collected using questionnaires. The questionnaires were both open and close ended. The study used email, phone calls and meeting procedure with the targeted respondent in EAC Countries and the EAC Legislative Assembly to follow up. Data collected from the field were coded, cleaned and categorized according to questionnaire items. A pilot test was conducted to detect weaknesses in design and instrumentation. The gathered data was analyzed using computer aided IBM Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 21 premium. Both descriptive and inferential statistics was used to analyze the data collected. Descriptive statistics involved computation of mean scores, standard deviation, percentages, cross tabulation and frequency distribution which described the demographic characteristics of the organization and the respondents. Inferential statistics was used to determine the relationships and significance between independent and dependent variable. Correlation and linear regression were used to analyze the data with F-test being applied to the test hypothesis at 5% level of significance. Content analysis was used for the qualitative data. The data was presented using tables, graphs and charts. From this objective, it was hypothesized that there is significant moderating effect of the political leadership on the political stability in East African Community States. The results of this study showed a positive statistically significant relationship between political leadership, hypothesis H04: there is no significant relationship between pre-election phase processes and political stability in the East African Community States was rejected and concluded that pre-election phase processes have a significant effect on political stability. It is notable that the relationship at this stage was not as strong as expected. The researcher attributes this to the fact that before election process it is still young, and the states are at initial stage of implementation of election campaigns and rules.

Keywords: Political leadership, Political stability, East African Community States.

1.0 Introduction

A "political leader" refers to persons who occupy important positions in the formal polity such as Presidents, Prime Ministers, Ministers, Governors, Legislators, Party Officials, Local Government Chairmen, Council Members and of course, the local Chiefs. Leadership is at the heart of public sector governance, and it is vital to the overall development of a nation as well as the welfare of the citizens. Research by Kura (2014) showed that the quality of leadership affects the pace of development in any country. Obazee (2014), opined that leadership skills are still required for effective public governance in Africa.

Ngowi (2009) studied the effect of political leadership on economic development in Tanzania and concluded that leadership is the defining factor that shaped the nature and path of economic development in that country. Poor leadership, and the endemic bureaucratic corruption that has characterized public sector governance since independence in 1960, have been blamed for the slow pace of development in key sectors of Africa’s economy, especially in the infrastructure sector (Ogbeide, 2012).

According to USAID & UKAID (2015), there are some basic principles indicators that can be used to determine political leadership and its effect on democracy in general and electoral systems in particular which are essential: Among them include the following:

All citizens should be given a chance by the leadership have an equal and effective opportunity to make their views known to other citizens; the leadership should give citizens exclusive opportunity to decide how and what matters are placed on the agenda. Policies have to be open to change. These are fulfilled as long as freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom of press is guaranteed; Every citizen must have an equal and effective opportunity to vote and all votes must be counted as equal (one person one vote); Each member must have equal and effective opportunities for learning about the relevant alternative policies or the policies candidates stand for and their likely consequence; All adult permanent residents should have the full rights of citizens which are defined in the first four criteria. (a) All adults should have the right to vote and the right to stand as candidates; (b) Transparency ensures that the overall electoral process remains open and accessible to external monitoring to guarantee free and fair elections; (c) Elected parties and political leaders should remain accountable and be responsive to the voters. This works in two ways. Governments and presidents should be constantly accountable to the parliament and at election times to the electorate. This means that an electoral system should make sure that bad performing politicians and parties can get voted out and replaced by other parties and politicians.

Leadership is at the heart of public sector governance and political stability and is vital to the overall development of a nation as well as the welfare of the citizens.

Government exists to serve the needs of the public, and good governance exists to ensure that those needs are served efficiently, effectively, and fairly. (Deloitte Global Series, 2012). This means that governance has a lot to do with how authority is exercised in institutions and the traditions of government, which includes the process of bringing government into being and holding it accountable for socio-economic outcomes (Davis, 2011). Good leaders ensure effective public governance which helps to strengthen democracy, promote economic prosperity and social cohesion, and reduce poverty (United Nations, 2009). Good governance must be perceived to solve social problems.

Political stability as determined by specific indicators refers to a qualitative assessment of the political ability in a country to support the needs of its people (Bratton, 2010). Political stability is derived from five sub-indicators, measuring the likelihood of social unrest, the strength of constitutional mechanisms, accountability, international disputes and the likelihood of an antagonistic opposition. Political stability is one of the twenty-two (22) indicators of peace measured by the Global Peace Index. It is an “internal” indicator of peace, meaning it measures peace within a country. Political instability in the governments creates uncertainty for business and investors which may in turn reduce investment and the speed of economic development, poor economic performance and eventual government collapse and political unrest. We find that political instability tends to be persistent, in that the occurrence of frequent government collapses increases the probability of additional collapses.

Political stability is linked to the electoral process as it determines the issues of public accountability and transparency in government procedures, rule of law, and public-sector management are emphasized. This is the restricted view of governance adopted by the (Kapur, 2009). Political instability can be caused by many factors, including conflict between rival political parties, insufficient internal resources and the proximity to other nations in conflict. Political instability may occur when there is a sudden change that

leaves citizens in doubt about their nation's situation and may even lead to general revolt or sporadic mass demonstrations. This means that a country's leadership can be responsible for political instability when they hold onto power for too long amidst opposition or enact controversial legislation. Political instability can also be caused by conflict between two or more ethnic groups within a nation or Community. Some of the documented indicators for political stability as defined by Olorunmola (2016) include the following: The practice of and respect for rule of law and the rights and freedoms of the citizens, low levels of corruption and efficient management of public fund, free and fair elections in the country, low unemployment and a generalized low poverty levels, suppression of opposition parties by the ruling government. When members of the opposition parties are deliberately targeted and prosecuted for no apparent reason, Transparency, respect and tolerance for the views and opinions of others; ethnic prejudices have over the years and clear electoral processes that are adhered to and respected by all consistently.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Globally, electoral process is an important role in shaping the political stability in any given country. Violating the stipulated code of conduct of the electoral process is dangerous to both the economy and the political stability of a country. This is potential in situations where polls are subject to manipulation or conducted by a biased source hence distortion of poll results. It is well recognized under international law that any limitation placed on freedom of expression must remain within strictly-defined parameters. For example this is evidenced by the 2007 post-election violence in Kenya that left more than 1,500 Kenyans killed, 1,133 casualties, over 350,000 internally displaced persons, approximately 2,000 refugees, destruction of 117,216 private property and 491 government owned property, around 42,000 houses and many businesses looted and destroyed, gang rapes, and destruction of the railway line (Kioko, 2010). The lessons learnt however did not live long to help Kenya organize free and fair elections in the 2017 presidential elections.

The situation in Burundi has progressively deteriorated since 25 April 2015. According to the armed conflict location and event data set country report on Burundi crisis (2016), the Burundi political conflict reported fatality count of 1,155 between 26 April 2015 and 25 April 2016. At least 690 of the reported dead (or approximately 60%) are civilians. More than 260,000 people have reportedly fled outside Burundi and thousands have disappeared without trace: approximately 137,000 Burundian refugees have crossed into Tanzania, 77,000 into Rwanda, 23,000 into Uganda, and 22,000 into the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) (UNHCR, 29 April 2016).

According to the Commonwealth Observer Group report on Uganda Presidential and Parliamentary Elections in 2011 and 2016 respectively a number of irregularities in the electoral processes have consistently been noted and they include; lack of a level playing field; abuse of incumbency, the ‘commercialization of politics’, the lack of campaign finance regulations; the lack of a Political Parties Code of Conduct; issues with regard to the lack of independence of the Electoral Commission and its poor management of the process.

Quantitative cross-national research on the principal manifestations of political instability coups and civil wars has consistently shown that economic conditions are the best predictors in Africa and other developing regions, (Fearon & Laitin, 2013), (Miguel et al.,2014) and (McGowan, 2014). Although these empirical analyses acknowledge that the weakness of political institutions contribute to the region’s volatility, they do not explicitly bring out the factors related to electioneering and leadership positions as possible contributors and the chief strategy used by most African leaders to buy off rivals and reward their followers.

This is attributable to difficulties in operationalization and measurement of indicators of the electoral processes and leadership. From the review it is also worth noting that a few studies have determined the electoral processes.

1.3 Objectives and Hypotheses of Study

The general objective of the study was to examine the role of political leadership in electoral process and political stability in the East African Community States. Specifically, the study sought to find out the moderating effect of political leadership in electoral processes and political stability in East Africa Community States. In order to address the above objectives, the following null hypotheses were tested.

**Ho1:** There is no significant moderating effect of the political leadership on the political stability in East African Community States.

**H1:** There is significant moderating effect of the political leadership on the political stability in East African Community States.

2.1 Conceptual Framework

This study was guided by the relationship between the variables as shown in the conceptual framework (Figure 1).

![Conceptual Framework Diagram]

**Independent Variable**

**Political leadership**
- Ethnic prejudices
- Government policy

**Dependent Variable**

**Political stability**
- Practice of and respect for rule of law;
- The rights and freedoms of the citizens;
- Free and fair elections;
- Low unemployment and low poverty levels;
- Adherence to and respect for electoral processes

**Pre-election Phase Processes**
- Election laws
- Political environment on violence and intimidation
- Voter registration

**Election Phase Processes**
- Election Administration
- Electioneering process
- Use of state resources
- Election dates

**Post-election Phase Processes**
- Election dispute resolution
- Election Observation
- Foreign policy on elections
2.6 Research Gap

The need to enhance democratic participation has been recognized and efforts are currently being sought to incorporate extensive consultation and participation by the widest possible range of consultations that involve politicians, the private sector and civil society (Birch, 2010). The literature review present conflicting findings in electoral processes research and political leadership research. Although policy makers, journalists, and scholars readily employ the concept of patronage in explaining leadership and political outcomes in Africa, relatively little is known about the extent to which the distribution of political power systematically affects political stability. Rather than assert that African leaders are merely venal or myopic in their deployment of resources, the empirical regularities surrounding the use of patronage as an instrument for managing political relations need to be explained from the electoral processes perspective. Quantitative cross-national research on the principal manifestations of political instability coups and civil wars has consistently shown that economic conditions are the best predictors in Africa and other developing regions, (Fearon & Laitin, 2013), (Miguel et al., 2014) and (McGowan, 2014). Although these empirical analyses acknowledge that the weakness of political institutions contribute to the region’s volatility, they do not explicitly bring out the factors related to electioneering and leadership positions as possible contributors and the chief strategy used by most African leaders to buy off rivals and reward their followers. This is attributable to difficulties in operationalization and measurement of indicators of the electoral processes and leadership. From the review it is also worth noting that a few studies have determined the electoral processes. Ironies such as those were identified by Mukandala and Killian (2014) who pointed out that citizens’ participation may result in the “consolidation of nation states” as well as an increase in territorial nationalist demagogy about the need for “non-interference in each other’s internal affairs; respect for each and sovereignty issues may be working against all the efforts made towards the integration process. This is because they may work towards ‘consolidating’ the status quo; thus, promoting a situation that may be the opposite of the ultimate goal of EAC regional political and economic cooperation, which are political federation and political union. Lwaitama (2012) concludes on the extent to which a lot is still required to encourage full participation of all the stakeholders in the EAC integration. One important observation in the harmonization process is the fact that the national constitutions of the different EAC countries do not make much reference to the EAC integration. Similarly, the election manifestos of political parties hardly addressed the EAC integration in any great detail, if at all. This and other related areas of elections and electoral processes need to be relooked into if the harmonization process is to succeed.

This research sought to bridge the gaps identified above upon reviewing previous scholarly contributions. The study covered objectives that range from determination of the relationship between the pre-election phase processes and political stability in the East Africa Community States; The assessment of the relationship between election phase processes and political stability in the East Africa Community States; the evaluation of the relationship between post-election phase processes and political stability in the East Africa Community States and assessment of the moderating role of political leadership in electoral processes and political stability in East Africa Community States.

3.0 Research methodology

A sample size of 94 respondents was determined using Slovin’s formula (1967)

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N (e)^2}$$

Questionnaires were the main tools for collecting the primary data since the study were concerned with variables that cannot be directly observed such as views, opinions, perceptions and feelings of the respondents which are best collected by this technique (Touliatos & Compton, 2013). Questionnaires provide a high degree of data standardization and adoption of generalized information amongst any population (Schutt, 2015). He further explains that questionnaires are useful in a descriptive survey study where there is need to get information from people quickly and easily in a non-threatening way. The study expected to produce both quantitative and qualitative data. Therefore, both descriptive and inferential statistics were used to analyze the data. Once the questionnaires were received, they were coded and edited for completeness and consistency. The data obtained was cleared and coded then SPSS was used for data analysis using quantitative data analysis as well as qualitative data analysis. The study collected and analyze primary data which was keyed into an excel table, before subjected to meaningful analysis through SPSS Version 21. The process involved the identification and correcting of errors in the data (data cleaning), coding the data and storing it in excel form. Data was coded and analyzed simultaneously using content analysis method. A list of key categories and themes for each variable were generated and this helped to guide the nature of integration needed for the qualitative data processed.

The hypothesis testing was done at 5% level of significance and SPSS was used for this purpose. The data was then presented using frequency distribution tables, bar charts, and pie charts for easier understanding. Regression model was tested on how well it fitted the data. The significance of each independent variable was also tested. Fischer distribution test called F-test was applied; which refers to the ratio between the model mean square divided by the error mean square. F-test was used to test the significance of the overall model at a 95 percent confidence level. The study tested the individual linear regression models for each hypothesis of the form,

\[ Y = \alpha + \beta X_i + \mu \]

Multiple regression models attempt to determine whether a group of variables together predict a given dependent variable (Oso & Onen, 2011). A multiple regression model separates each individual variable from the rest allowing each to have its own coefficient describing its relationship to the dependent variable. This model was therefore adopted because the study had more than one variable. A multiple linear regression model was used to test the significance of the influence of the independent variables on the dependent variable. The multiple linear regression model was as laid below:

\[ Y = \alpha + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + M + \mu \]

Where:
- \( Y \) = Political stability (dependent variable)
- \( \alpha \) = Constant \( \beta_1 \ldots \beta_3 \) = Coefficients of independent variables
- \( X_1 \ldots X_4 \) Values of the various independent (covariates) variables
- \( X_1 \) = Pre-election phase
- \( X_2 \) = Election phase
- \( X_3 \) = Post-election phase
- \( M \) = Political stability
- \( \mu \) = Error term which is assumed to be normally distributed with mean zero and constant variance.

Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was also done to establish whether the whole model was a significant fit of the data and therefore formed the tests of significance. ANOVA is a data analysis procedure that is used to determine whether there are significant differences between two or more groups of samples at a selected probability level (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2012). The data was

\[ n = \frac{123}{1 + 123(0.05)^2} = 94 \]
presented using distribution tables for easier understanding. The p-value for the F-statistic were applied in determining the robustness of the model. The conclusion was based on p-value where if the null hypothesis of the beta was rejected then the overall model was significant and if null hypothesis was accepted the overall model was insignificant. In other words, if the p-value was less than 0.05 then it was concluded that the model was significant and had good predictors of the dependent variable and that the results were not based on chance. If the p-value was greater than 0.05 then the model was not significant and was not used to explain the variations in the dependent variable.

4.0 Multiple Regression Analysis

In interpreting the results of multiple regression analysis, the R squared was used to check how well the model fitted the data. Therefore, it is interesting to know if the independent variables (Pre-election phase processes, Election phase processes, Post-election phase processes) relate to the dependent (political stability). According to Brooks (2011) and Gujarat (2011), hierarchical regression analysis is a statistical procedure of computing regression results of a study where a researcher determines the order of entry of the variables (both predictor and outcome variables). In this regression process, F-tests are used to compute the significance of each added variable (or set of variables) to the explanation reflected in R².

This procedure is an alternative to comparing betas for purposes of assessing the importance of the independents. In more complex forms of hierarchical regression, the model may involve a series of intermediate variables which are dependents with respect to some other independents but are themselves independents with respect to the ultimate dependent. Hierarchical multiple regression may involve a series of regressions for each intermediate as well as for the ultimate dependent. According to Gujarat (2011) use of hierarchical regression has two key advantages, namely; it has less capitalization on chance and; a researcher is assured that hierarchical regression results such as R² are easily interpretable. The multiple regression analysis was consistent with previous studies like Kribat et al., (2013). The data collected was used to fit the proposed regression model;

\[ Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \epsilon \]

in determining the statistical significance of the three independent variables.

Model of the study

Table 1 shows the model summary of the political leadership in the East African Community States. The study findings indicated that the value of R was 0.884 and the values for R square were 0.781. The value of R which was 0.884 was an indication of a positive linear relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable political stability in the East African Community States. The adjusted R square was an indication of the explanatory level of the independent variables towards establishing the relationship with the dependent variable which was 78.1%. This means that the three independent variables of the study could explain up to 78.1% of the political stability in the East African Community States. The difference of 21.9% of the political leadership can be said to be contributed to by other factors other than the study variables, Pre-election phase processes, Election phase processes, Post-election phase processes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R Square</th>
<th>Adjusted R Square</th>
<th>Std. Error of the Estimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>.884a</td>
<td>.781</td>
<td>.774</td>
<td>.340598</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Predictors: (Constant), Pre-election phase processes, Election phase processes, Post-election phase processes.

ANOVA for the Regression model of the study

Table 2 presents the results of the ANOVA for the regression model that was used in the study. The ANOVA indicated an F-value of 105.285 with a P-value of 0.000, which was less than 0.05. This was an indication that the coefficients fitted in the multiple regression were not equal to zero therefore the model was a good fit for the variables that were being tested.

Table 2 ANOVA for the Regression model of the study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Sum of Squares</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regression</td>
<td>61.382</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12.276</td>
<td>105.285</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Residual</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>.116</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>78.551</td>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Dependent Variable: Political stability
b. Predictors: (Constant), Pre-election phase processes, Election phase processes, Post-election phase processes.

Coefficients of the study model

The constant term is 0.102 dependent variable when all the independent variables are equal to zero. The constant term has a p-value of 0.915 which is greater than 0.05. This implies that the constant term is insignificant. The multiple regression political leadership on political stability is thus an equation through the origin. If all the independent variables take on the values of zero, there would be zero political stability in East Africa states.

The t statistics helps in determining the relative importance of each variable in the model. As a guide regarding useful predictors, we look for t values well below -0.5 or above +0.5. In this case the significant variable level of the variables was as follows; election phase (0.000 less than P-value 0.05) followed by pre-election phase (0.021), and post-election phase (0.185), respectively

Table 3: Coefficients of the study model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Unstandardized Coefficients</th>
<th>Standardized Coefficients</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Std. Error</td>
<td>Beta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>.102</td>
<td>.946</td>
<td>.108</td>
<td>.915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-election phase processes (X1)</td>
<td>.116</td>
<td>.009</td>
<td>.444</td>
<td>1.815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election phase processes (X2)</td>
<td>.182</td>
<td>.050</td>
<td>1.231</td>
<td>3.616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-election phase processes (X3)</td>
<td>.204</td>
<td>.240</td>
<td>.230</td>
<td>.850</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.1 Conclusion

The objective was to find out the moderating effect of political leadership in electoral processes and political stability in East Africa Community States. The research findings are as presented in chapter four and the following summaries are made in light of the objectives of the study. The following are major key findings of the study. The Study observed that twenty two percent of the beneficiaries among the respondents claimed that The EAC law and regulation on elections and political leadership are effective.

Respondents outlined various electoral raw in utilization of these phases they included; electoral raw, political environment on violence and intimidation, voter’s education, funding camping and electoral administration among others. Findings show that most of the respondents were involved in decision making in election phases processes, majority of 52% of the respondents reported to be involved in election phase processes, more than 50% of the respondent were involved to a moderate use of state resources on election phases processes while 40% agreed being involved election phases processes on election disputes. On the other hand, 20% of the respondents agreed to be involved in monitoring and evaluation of election phases. However, most of the key informants noted that participating beneficiaries were not adequately involved in decision making process as most of the international observer reported that Majority of East Africa community (91%) acknowledged that east Africa community state maintain stability on election date. These conclusions are; resource identification and utilization form the election phases of are successful program. The utilization of these law must directly affect the immediate Moderating Role of Political Leadership and monitoring of election phases. It can therefore be concluded that respondents in the study utilized East Africa Community States in activities that directly and positively impacted on moderating role. Activities like election administration; electioneering engineering, use of state resources, election date election law. It can further be concluded that decision making process of program was not adequately inclusive as observe.

5.2 Recommendations
From the conclusions drawn, the researcher made a number of recommendations which are briefly discussed below;

Recommendation for improvement can be drawn from the study conclusions; Role of political leadership was reported to be persistent in the study area, the government should consider extending the law branch to the rest of the East Africa Community state through screening, supporting of law moderation groups locked out by stringent East Africa Community state program approval procedures in order to ensure that most people are reached out in the program. This will not only expand the coverage but increase the number of people in pre-election phase. The stakeholders should ensure decision making is inclusive in order to capture the needs of the beneficiaries for posterity of the program.

To enhance this, stakeholders should adopt an open-door approach that is decision making process. Research into issues in the program should be embraced in order to beef up on decision making process. To mitigate misappropriation, diversion and siphoning of East Africa Community state pre-election phases the stakeholder should do regular audit on the use of election law. They should further carry out monitoring and evaluation in order to ensure that monies were used for the intended projects. The government should sponsor frequent leadership conferences, seminars and workshops for leaders in order to fully polish their leadership in project management as well as group management skills.

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