

# Kenya's Electoral System: A Critical Evaluation

**Charles Otieno. P. Ochieng**

PhD Candidate in Peace and Conflict  
Masinde Muliro University and Technology  
Email: chrlochieng@yahoo.ca

**Frank Khachina Matanga**

Professor of Peace and Conflict  
Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology  
Email: fmatanga@mmust.ac.ke

**Chrispinous Iteyo**

Professor of Peace and Conflict  
Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology  
Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology  
Email: citeyo@mmust.ac.ke

DOI: 10.29322/IJSRP.13.09.2023.p14121

<https://dx.doi.org/10.29322/IJSRP.13.09.2023.p14121>

Paper Received Date: 12th August 2023

Paper Acceptance Date: 19th September 2023

Paper Publication Date: 26th September 2023

**Abstract:** *Election of leaders by the people is the aim of democratic procedures. An electoral system is designed to make sure that the results are uncontested in any way and that they reflect the choices of the majority of voters, giving elected officials legitimacy. This study's objective was to assess the nation's electoral process. Consociationalism, voting, and rational choice theories served as the foundation for this investigation. The researcher adopted a descriptive study design and employed both qualitative and quantitative techniques. The research was carried out from July 2022 to December 2022. Political parties, political analysts, IEBC members, legislators, and voters made up the study's target population. The researcher employed the stratified random sampling technique. The strata were created by the target demographic, and a random sample was drawn from each stratum. The researcher used interview guide techniques to collect data, using items that were developed from the study objectives and research questions. Questionnaires and interviews were the two main ways that data were gathered. Voters were handed questionnaires, and interview guidelines were provided for political experts, electoral experts, and IEBC officials. The information gathered through the use of questionnaires was analyzed using descriptive statistics. According to the results, Kenya's electoral system is based on the plurality/majority system known as the First Past the Post concept. It is based on the Kenyan Constitution of 2010 and includes a wide range of actors, each of whom has a specific duty outlined in the Constitution. The IEBC is a key player among these parties. The report recommends, among other things, looking at alternative choices including mixed member and proportional representation models since they are more inclusive and produce fair representation as a remedy for the existing polarizing plurality voting system.*

**Key Words:** Electoral System, First Past the Post Principle, Plurality System.

## 1. Introduction

Kenya achieved independence in 1963 and has had representative democracy ever since. Elections are a process used by legitimate citizens of a sovereign democratic state to choose the contending candidates for office. Democratic elections are supposed to promote peace, calm, and sustainable development. Elections are intended to bring about legitimate governance, which will subsequently execute policies and programs for the benefit of all citizens in a transparent and fair manner. Whether or if good elections result in results that are acceptable will depend on the electoral system (Bogaards, 2014; Bratton, Vande walle, & Nicholas 1997).

Kenya had little to no influence on the form or design of the election system that it received from Britain, the colonial ruler (Chege, 2008). The majority rule has been in place for all elections since 1963, however, the democratic elections and our electoral system as a whole have fallen short of expectations. Since 1963, every election has left a bad taste. In 1992, 1997, and 2007, when violence broke out as soon as the results of the presidential elections were revealed, this reached its apex.

The outcome, which the public felt had been influenced and did not represent the will of the people, was criticized by the public. This violence demonstrated the connection between the electoral system and electoral violence, exposing the structural and systematic processes in Kenya's political system (Chege, 2008). A double-edged sword, the electoral system has the potential to either bring about peace or fuel conflict and division in the nation (Gallagher & Mitchell, 2018).

Kenya adopted the majoritarian electoral system in 1963, when the country gained its independence. In an election held on the same day, at the same hour, and in the same place, the candidate receiving the most number of votes wins the seat. Other names for it include First Past the Post and Winner Takes All. This election procedure, which Kenya acquired from Britain, serves as a good illustration of the idea that occasionally electoral systems can be said to reflect the specific political circumstances involved in their inception (Lindberg, 2006).

An electoral system outlines the procedures that voters' preferences are gathered, totaled, summed up, and then collectively interpreted to produce election results. The electoral system of a country determines the process by which the following elections, individuals and parties compete for a variety of elected seats in the government. (Herron, Pekkanen, & Shugart, 2018). Every government or country choose to employ a particular election system for a variety of complex reasons that are influenced by its distinct history and goals (Mozaffar et al., 2003). The three most widely used electoral systems are plurality, majority, and proportional representation (Caraman, 2017). These electoral processes define who is in charge and the future course of government (Shugart, Taagepera, Herron, & Pekkanen, 2018).

Globally, the majority of Western European countries use proportional representation laws to elect their legislatures. Britain and France are the two primary exceptions where plurality and majority rules, respectively, predominate, despite the fact that both nations utilize proportional representation systems to elect members of the European Parliament and candidates in other second-rank elections (Sinnott, Farrell, 2017).

All federal, state, and local elections in America are currently conducted using a plurality electoral system. However, since the nineteenth century, voting via proportional representation has been employed to elect members in the United States. The most well-known electoral method now in use in the US, known as plurality, is used to elect the three members of the US House of Representatives as well as countless state and local legislatures (Duncan, 2017). A region is split into a number of physically distinct voting districts under the plurality system, and each is represented by a single elected person. According to Shugart, Taagepera, Herron, and Pekkanen (2018), voters only cast one ballot for the representative of their district, with the candidate with the highest overall vote total winning the election even if they earned less than 50% of the vote.

In the context of the African continent, South Africa's national election system—this combines parliamentary standards with a severe form of proportional representation—is among the most liberal in the world (Lockwood & Kronke 2018). These regulations were chosen to support the National Assembly's representation of various political parties. On the other hand, due to a low effective number of seat-winning parties at the national level and dominance by a single party, the African National Congress, South Africa's party system and political structure continue to consistently flout social expectations (Mancebo, 2019). Also defying fundamental institutional expectations are provincial and municipal performance (Gallagher & Mitchell, 2018).

Despite having an extremely proportional election system, majoritarian results have frequently occurred in South Africa. Nigeria has a first-past-the-post electoral system that is majoritarian in nature. In order to carry out this, Nigeria's 1999 constitution's Section 153(1) created the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) as the nation's Electoral Management Body (EMB) with the authority to plan, conduct, and oversee all elections. The Third Schedule (Part 1) of the constitution lists the INEC's additional responsibilities, which span from voter registration to the monitoring and registration of political parties. However, the election process is tainted by violent episodes, election manipulation, and other irregularities in the majority of young democratic African nations (Ashindorbe, 2018).

Locally, Kenya's electoral system is plurality/majoritarian, or "First Past the Post", in which voters are given the names of the nominated candidates and choose the one and only candidate who receive the most votes—though not necessarily an absolute majority of votes.

Kenya will employ this system when, there will be a variety of positions up for grabs, including the president, the senate, the governorship, the women's representatives, and the member of parliament. When choosing a county assembly member, voters are given as many votes as there are seats up for election. Regardless of the percentage of votes they receive, the candidates with the highest polling numbers fill the open seats; the candidate with the most votes is considered the victor. If the rival candidate received just one vote, he or she may theoretically win the election with two votes: Numerous Commonwealth nations, primarily former British colonies like Canada, India, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, etc., adopt this system as well.

The presidential election is conducted using a modified two-round voting method under the current constitution, which was passed in 2010 (Gutierrez Romero, 2014). To avoid a second round, the winner must receive more than At least 25% of the votes were cast in at least half, or 24 of the 47 counties, or 50% of the total votes cast (KHRC, 2011). Kenya's presidential and general elections are synonymous with bloodletting, death, damage, and relocation (USAID 2010). The Kisumu, Homabay, and Siaya counties have been the most severely affected areas, according to the Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC, 2011). Various NGOs and the Kenya Human Rights organization have also accused police of employing excessive force in strongholds of opposition parties. In locations like Kibera and Mathare in Nairobi, there is typically a significant police presence before, during, and after every electoral process (Mutugi, 2016).

My argument is that Kenya's majoritarian electoral system has the capacity to either escalate tensions, violence, and conflict, or to diffuse them. Candidates who sympathize with the incumbent are pitted against rivals who prioritize minority representation and those who once supported one-party control. On the other hand, losers may feel compelled to seek power through intimidation, demonstrations, and other illegal means, including violent tactics, if an electoral system is not perceived as fair and the political environment does not support the opposition's belief that they have a fair chance of winning the next election (Barkan, 2008).

Kenya had its greatest civil upheaval since gaining independence in 1963 during the 2007 elections. According to estimates, in addition to killing, one million people hundreds of thousands also lost their homes during the two-month brutal conflict that raged across the nation (Drummond, 2015). Most people were just dissatisfied with the election results, which saw former Prime Minister of the Orange Democratic Party defeat the late President Kibaki, the incumbent president at the time, and keep his position in office (De smedt, 2009).

Majoritarianism In Kenya, tension and conflict are sometimes exacerbated by voting processes. It's possible that this wasn't the planned result. similar to what happened in 1992, 1997, 2007, 2013, and 2017. During election campaigning, it deepens divisions in Kenya. Citizens will become protagonists who either succeed or fail in this. Election choices should be made based on candidates' personality rather than their platforms or stances on issues like good or evil. It results in a zero-sum game. In Kenyan slang, this would mean that we would win the election and establish the government, that they would lose the election, and that they would then be removed from office.

The mobilization strategies and tactics used in this campaign, which amplify political tensions and advance the notion that one party must win at any costs, fuel election violence in Kenya. Since 1963, Kenya has hosted annual regular elections, but they have all been marred by post-election violence. Kenya has held elections after every five years ever since gaining of independence in the year 1963. Violence has affected most of these elections, either during the election or immediately thereafter (International Peace Institute, 2012). Since the return of the multiparty system in late 1991, there have been 6 presidential elections, with 5 of them being contested and the cause of conflict and bloodshed (Birch & Muchlinski, 2017). These elections occurred in 1992, 1997, 2007, 2013, and 2017. The worst was between December 2007 and February 2008, when after the announcement of the

presidential election results, more than 300,000 individuals were compelled to leave their houses because they were too afraid to return (KNHR, 2018).

Around one thousand two hundred people pass on because of election post violence during this time. The worst occurrence occurred when 200 internally displaced people sought sanctuary in a church, to the extent of setting the church on fire, resulting to death of thirty five people. In the election years of 2013 and 2017, violence was once more noted. According to a regular pattern (Adhiambo, 2017), many people suffer injuries and are forced to flee their homes.

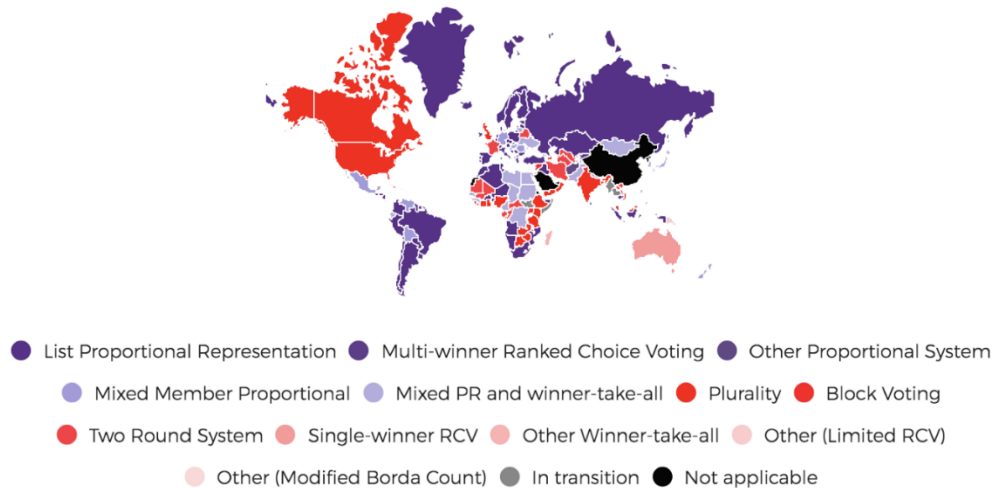
This study will therefore examine Kenya's electoral system since independence with a focus on its relationship to electoral violence in Kenya since 1963, its majoritarian winner-take-all mechanism, which makes elections a high stakes process in a country with many nationalities, and the polarising political campaigns, where elites attempt to exclude losers from the nation's main stream democratic process and the government formed after elections. No side wants to lose the elections since the stakes are so high; therefore, every side uses violence as a tactical choice in the election to prevent being fully outmatched. Due to this, post-election violence in Kenya has increased dramatically since 1963 (Mozaffar, Scarriet, & Galaich, 2003). Additionally, post-election violence has persisted despite numerous reforms and adjustments to Kenya's electoral procedures, which is why we are conducting this research. In light of this, the study set out to look into the fundamentals of Kenya's election system.

## **2. Literature Review**

### **2.1 Essence of Kenya's Electoral Structure since 1963**

According to empirical literature, there are several electoral systems in operation today, each with a wide range of variants (Reynolds et al., 2005). They can be grouped into three categories for ease of reference: plurality/majority systems, sometimes referred to as first past the post (FPTP); proportional representation; and a mixed model (Reynolds et al., 1995). In a plurality system, each electoral district has a single seat, and only one candidate is to be chosen. If a candidate receives the most votes under the First Past the Post system, they may not necessarily need to get more than 50% of the vote to win the seat. A two-round technique, on the other hand, aims to give a victor with an overwhelming majority (i.e., more than 50%) by using voters' second preferences. The plurality system, in which the candidate with the most votes wins without needing to receive a majority of the vote, is characterized by multiple voting. It is also referred to as first past the post when there is only one open position. 58 nations, the bulk of which are former British colonies or of American ancestry, elect their parliaments using this as the second most common electoral method for national legislatures. With 19 countries having presidents, it is also the second most popular system for presidential elections. This is well illustrated in Figure 1.

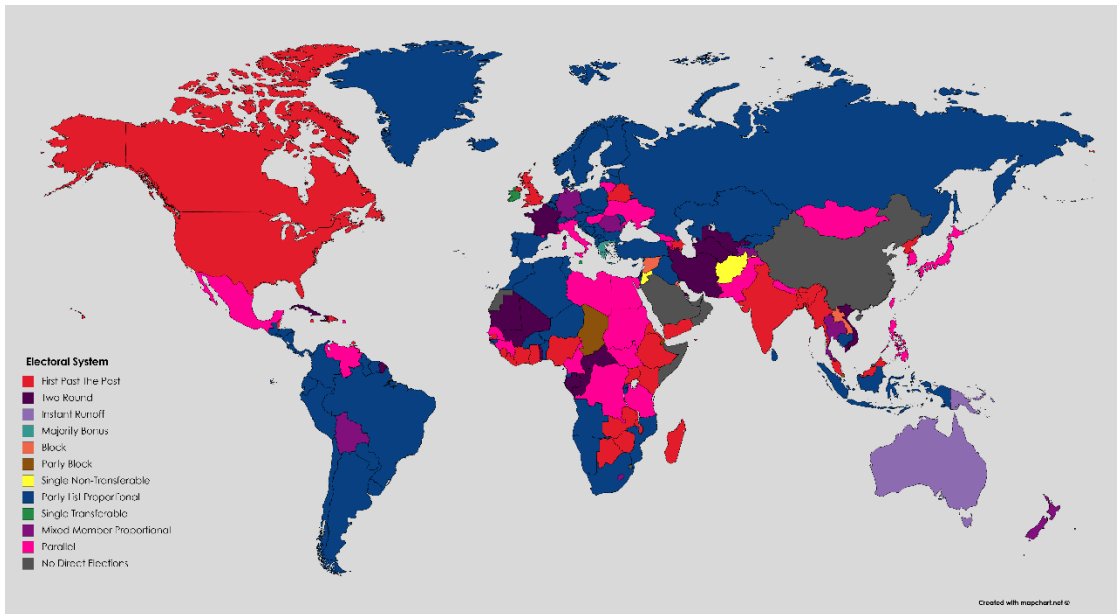
## Electoral Systems of the World



**Figure 1.2: Distribution of Electoral Systems in the World**

Source: Adpted from Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance

All proportional representation (PR) systems actively work to narrow the gap between the allocation of parliamentary seats and the share of the national vote that each party receives. If a large party obtains 40% of the vote, it should control around 40% of the parliamentary seats, whereas a minor party should hold 10% of the seats if it receives 10% of the vote. In order to attain proportionality, party lists of candidates are frequently employed. These lists can be open; in which case voters rank the candidates in order of preference, or closed, in which case the party leadership decides the ordering prior to the elections. In hybrid systems, delegates are selected, for instance, by fusing features of the PR and plurality systems. Of the 199 countries and territories that hold direct legislative elections, 91 (or 46% of them) employ a plurality arrangement, making it the most popular system globally. Only six (30%) of the other 72 (36%) people utilize another of the systems, while 30 (15%) use blended systems. In the 199 countries and territories having direct elections to the legislature, the plurality system is the one that is used the most frequently (91 or 46% of the time). Only 30 (3%) of the remaining 72 (or 36% of the total) utilize one of the other arrangements, while 15% use mixed arrangements and 72% employ PR-type arrangements (Reynolds, 1995).



**Figure 1.3: Shows Description of Regional Distribution of Electoral Systems around the World.**

Source: Adpted from Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance

In matters relating to the nexus between electoral processes and post-election abuse, the enabling conditions are systems that produce simple winners and losers, a lack of effective working electoral legislation, and administration with hardly any checks and little influence (Hoglund, 2009). None of the popular types of electoral systems, namely proportional Representation majority rule, and mixed rule tend to be more democratic than the others are (Cohen, 1997).

The plurality of electoral system family is believed processes prone to conflict/violence. Lijphart's book on the pattern of democracy (1963), in addition to creating a statistical model of government effectiveness, aims to test the relationship between electoral systems and conflict. He proposes a consensual (i.e. PR democracies) control conflict much more effectively. However, the author's data appears to be relatively old and heavily restated. Based on Lijphart's study, it becomes extremely difficult to draw preliminary conclusion that can definitively point to the superior output of one or more types of systems when it comes to aggression.

In their research on electoral systems and violence in ethnically divided societies, Reynolds and Reilly (1997) looks at a diverse collection of countries with divided societies, both existing and emerging, and the electoral systems that they have placed in place to prevent more violence and conflict. According to their findings, four distinct types of electoral systems are appropriate. Surprisingly, these include systems from both the majority/plurality and PR families as well as consociationalism (a form of PR system predicated on list proportional voting). Examples include Belgium, Switzerland and the Republic of South Africa; centripatalism, or majority rule, is based on combining the alternative vote's (AV) potential. Papua New Guinea and Fiji are two examples of integrative consensualism, a PR strategy based in part on the single transferable vote (STV).

## 2.2 Theoretical Framework

The Consociationalism Theory served as the foundation for the investigation. Arend Lijphart, a political scientist, discussed consociationalism in academic terms in 1963, term consociationalism means that a country is able to establish a stable democratic system even though it is comprised of a deeply divided society. To achieve this, the country develops a power sharing framework comprising of elites or leaders of the existing and major social groups (Saurugger, 2016). This theory investigates techniques for rapprochement based on the division of society along racial or religious lines. It emphasizes maintaining a stable administration, preserving any type of power-sharing agreements, maintaining democracy in a country, and preventing conflict and bloodshed (Nagle, 2016).

A consociation state is a country that it is considered to have internal divisions along ethnic, religious or even linguistic lines. However, even though these divisions exist, they are not large enough to form a majority group i.e. none of the ethnic or religious groups is able to form a majority on its own (Bogaards, 2000). Such countries manage to achieve a state of stability because of consultations that are conducted by the elites of each social group. According to Arend Lijphart (1997), the role played by social elites in terms of their cooperation and agreements is an influential factor in terms of the democracies achieving a state of democracy.

Lijphart (1997) proceed to identify the following characteristics of a consociation democracy. In these countries, the ruling government is formed through a coalition and therefore results in coalition cabinets. Since the executive power is divided among the parties, most of these cabinets are enormous. The fact that the executive and legislative branches of government have equal power is another feature.

It is also important to note that it has a decentralized and federal government whereby the minority groups (ethnic or religious) have considerable independence in terms of policy formulation that affects their constituencies (Bogaards, 2014). There is also proportional representation, which allows the minorities to gain a sense of representation.

The constitution of such states is described as rigid, which means that the ruling government cannot change its constitution, unless it gets a consent from the minorities. There are also elements of direct democracy, and factions can pass or prevent legislation. It has a neutral head of state in that he or she is either a monarch with ceremonial duties or an indirectly elected president who is required to give up his or her party affiliations once they are elected to this seat. Furthermore, in the event that there is a referendum, it is proposed and used by the minorities to provide them with the required powers to block legislation that affects them in a negative manner. There is also equality between the ministers in the cabinet and an independent central bank whereby it is the experts and not politicians who will set out monetary policies.

The advantage of this theory is that, in a consociation state all existing groups inclusive of the minorities are represented on both the economic and political platform. Supporters of this theory feel that it is a realistic option to use in deeply divided societies to address any forms of conflict. The implementation of this theory has been seen to ensure successful and non-violent transitions in democratic states such as South Africa after the Apartheid. The Consociationalism is a realistic option to use in deeply divided societies to address any forms of conflict. The implementation of this theory has been seen to ensure successful and non-violent transitions in democratic states. It addresses the need for electoral system to be accommodative in divided societies.

### **3. Research Methodology**

A descriptive research design was used in this study. To generate the most intuitive presentations, this includes carrying out several tasks including phenomenon research, analysis, and description from unsupported hypotheses. According to Saunders (2009), with a descriptive research design, a specific study phenomenon can be documented in its natural environment without the researcher having to worry about impacting the study's technique or results. A mixed technique approach was used.

This explanatory model was considered helpful for this study since it made it easier to gather and analyse large amounts of detailed data. This is essential for evaluating the goals of the research and aids in addressing the posed research questions. The qualitative approach, on the other hand, encourages a deeper understanding and justification of this investigation. It is significant to remember that both the quantitative and qualitative approaches can be utilized to validate the outcomes.

The counties of Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru, Uasin Gishu and Kisumu were the study's primary geographic focal areas. The counties of Nairobi and Kisumu were picked because there have been isolated incidents of violence in these two counties in various locations after each election. The goal of the study was to understand why violence is so prevalent in these areas. The

other regions contain some of the major cities in the nation, and the researcher is interested in learning what the residents of these areas think should be altered regarding the voting process. Additionally, the researcher visited the marginalized counties of Marsabit and Baringo. The researcher is curious to know what difficulties these regions have when voting, the feeling on the introduced electoral system, and their thought on what to be done to make it easier for them to choose their leaders.

The study examined the frequency of post-election unrest in Kenya's electoral system. Targets included eligible voters from the nation, lawmakers, IEBC members, political analysts/journalists (both print and electronic media), and security personnel. Willing participants received questionnaires with pertinent questions for the country's residents who are qualified to vote. For the purpose of gathering data, the researcher conducted one-on-one interviews with lawmakers, IEBC members, and political analysts.

The study concentrated on the two counties that were harmed by shortcomings in the ability of the electoral administration body to hold free and impartial elections in Kenya and the five counties that have been disproportionately impacted by post-election turmoil. Having data from every county would make it easier to analyze the opinions of each and how they feel about the electoral process. This is because, despite the fact that certain counties may have produced a leader, that leader was never able to prevail, which caused conflict. While believing that the counties where their chosen candidate won the election were free and fair. This was helpful in giving a broad overview of the causes of the constant fighting that occurs in this region before, during, and after elections.

The study included adults over the age of 18. This is due to Kenya's 18-year-old voting age. They could express their opinions on what motivates them to fight in elections. It also aids in ensuring that the information obtained is from sources with sound judgment. Both male and female sex was involved. Since both male and female voters participated in the research, there is no gender bias. The number of samples was equal. To ensure that the data obtained is accurate, the study would not focus on any one ethnic group in particular but rather on all ethnic groups. There was an equal number of people taken from each ethnic group.

Participants were subjected to an interactive review method using a judgemental or purposive sampling strategy. Because they were chosen based on the researcher's assessment, this strategy was thought to be appropriate for these research participants. The research subjects that were taken into consideration for this study are those who have the relevant training and expertise that the researcher is looking for. On the other hand, a random sample procedure was utilized for the respondents who had to fill out the questionnaire. It is the best selection approach because it gives every citizen who satisfies the criteria a fair chance of being chosen to take part in the study.

This study shows researchers determined that four hundred and fifty participants, fifty politicians, three hundred voters, sixty political analysts and fourty IEBC officials were a suitable sample size for the qualitative methodology. The researcher believes that the anticipated 450 participants will be the perfect number for this interview process, enabling her to plan an efficient schedule. More than 10,000 people are anticipated to be involved in politics (including MPs and County Governors), political analysts, I.E.B.C. representatives, and voters. The survey included 300 voters, 40 IEBC employees, 60 political analysts, and 50 each of politicians and political analysts. This affected all of the chosen counties, including Mombasa, Nakuru, Eldoret, Kisumu and Nairobi.

**Table 3.1: Sample Size**

---

Category	Sample size
----------	-------------

---



---

Voters	300
I.E.B.C Officials	40
Political analyst	60
Politicians (MPs and County Governors)	50
Total	450

---

Source: (Researcher, 2019)

Four hundred participants were thought to be the perfect number for this interview process, enabling the researcher to set up a useful schedule. Due to their busy schedules, politicians, political analysts, and IEBC officials may not be able to be interviewed all at once if a larger sample size is chosen. A further benefit of having 450 participants is that it gives the researcher some leeway in case some of them fail to appear for interview process (Qu & Dumay, 2011). Besides, the researcher utilized the formula below to get the appropriate sample size for quantitative methodology:

$$No = Z^2 * Q^2 / e^2$$

$$No = Z^2$$

No =sample size

Z=value of Z in a normal distribution curve

E=level of precision

Q<sup>2</sup>=variance of an attribute in the population

$$Z=1.64$$

$$Q^2=9.65$$

$$e=1$$

$$1.64 * 9.65 / 1^2 = 250.46 = 250 \text{ (as it involves people)}$$

Questionnaires and interviews were the two main ways that data were gathered. Voters were asked to fill out questionnaires, and politicians (including county governors and MPs), political analysts, and I.E.B.C officials were given interview guidelines. It denotes that the researcher only considered primary sources of information. This was justified by the researcher's interest in the real data that the study participants provided, whether through the questionnaire that was provided to them owing to Covid -19's limitations or through the zoom interview processes that he conducted. Information for the literature review in this study was gathered from journals, newspapers, published electronic sources, and films.

The research tool was pretested in a pilot study. In order to accomplish this, the researcher used 10% of the sample size, which was supported by Kothari (2013). In order to conduct the study, 30 randomly chosen voters, 6 political analysts, 4 I.E.B.C. officials, and 5 members of parliament were all chosen. Its purpose was to ascertain whether the respondents would have been offended by the interview questions' different formats for politicians, political analysts, and IEBC personnel. The pilot was run in the county of Kiambu. This therefore made it possible to change the questionnaire and interview questions in light of the input that the recruits will offer. If a research tool can be applied in future studies with comparable objectives and produces results that are similar, it is reliable. The internal scales of the questionnaire and interview questions were determined using a cut point of 0.7 for Cronbach's internal consistency.

Data analysis is the procedure used by researchers to provide the information they have managed to gather during their investigation order, organization, and meaning. The data was gathered through interviews and questionnaires. The data gathered

from the surveys was analyzed using descriptive statistics. The researcher used the frequency, mean, and standard deviation to analyze the data. Tables, bar graphs, and charts are used to illustrate the results.

#### 4. Results

The study's objective was to identify the foundations of Kenya's electoral process. Respondents were rated on how much they agreed with several statements given on the principles of Kenya's election system in order to accomplish this. We utilised a 5-point Likert scale, where 1 stood for strongly disagree, 2 for disagree, and 3 for neutral. Number 4 stood for "agree," whereas number 5 was a synonym for "strongly agree."

**Table 4.2: Essence of Kenya’s Electoral System**

	Mean	Std. Dev
Upholds the freedom of citizens to exercise their right to vote	4.186	0.611
Promotes fair representation	4.297	0.485
Promotes equality of vote	4.360	0.578
Supports free and fair elections	4.411	0.588
Establishes mechanisms for settling of electoral disputes	4.106	0.634
Determines how elections and referendums are conducted by the electoral management body	4.377	0.624
Establishes eligibility criteria for voters	4.076	0.482
Establishes eligibility criteria for election candidates	4.191	0.654
Establishes the electoral formula	4.271	0.464
Establishes how election campaigns are conducted	4.275	0.656
<b>Overall Mean</b>	<b>4.255</b>	<b>0.577</b>

The findings presented in Table 4.2 depict an overall mean of 4.255 (SD=0.577), implying that a majority of respondents highly agrees with most of the items. A majority of respondents particularly affirm that the electoral system in Kenya upholds the freedom of citizens to exercise their right to vote (4.186); promotes fair representation (4.297); promotes equality of vote (4.360); supports free and fair elections (4.411); establishes mechanisms for settling of electoral disputes (4.106); determines how elections and referendums are conducted by the electoral management body (4.377); establishes eligibility criteria for voters (4.076); establishes eligibility criteria for election candidates 4.191; establishes the electoral formula (4.271); and establishes how election campaigns are conducted (4.275).

Respondents were further asked to elaborate on what they think about the nature of electoral system in Kenya. It emerged from the responses that a majority of respondents perceive the country’s electoral system as being grounded on the principles of being free and fair as well as the equality of vote. A majority of respondents also recognize that the freedom to vote, association with a political party and the right to stand for elective positions are among political rights provided for in the Constitution of Kenya. A majority further recognize the IEBC as the institution that is constitutionally mandated to govern the electoral process in the country and the judiciary as being tasked by the Constitution to handle any electoral disputes including presidential petitions. A respondent for instance offered that:

*“The electoral system in Kenya is headed by the IEBC which is mandated by the Constitution to conduct elections in a manner that is free and fair”*

[Q7 Voter 29, Nairobi]

Another added that:

*“The electoral system in Kenya is such that every citizen who has attained the legal age of eighteen has the freedom and right to register as a voter, to vote and to vie for any elective post as long as they are qualified”*

[Q7 Voter 72, Kisumu]

The First Past the Post principle, a sort of plurality/majority system, is the foundation of Kenya's election system, according to key informant interviews. It is grounded on the Constitution of Kenya, 2010 and encompasses an array of actors each with a particular role defined in the Constitution. The main actors in this regard include the voter, who is guaranteed the freedom to vote among other rights; IEBC as the institution constitutionally mandated to conduct elections, by-elections and referenda; the judiciary, which is tasked with addressing all disputes and litigation pertaining to the elections; and parliament tasked with the formulation of legislation and amendments relevant to election laws. Other important stakeholders were found to include the executive and particularly the incumbency; media houses and internal security apparatus. A key informant for instance averred that:

*“The principle of plurality/majority systems is simple. After votes have been cast and totaled, those candidates or parties with the most votes are declared the winners. In our case for instance, a presidential candidate must attain the 50% plus 1 to be declared winner. And as we saw in the 2022 presidential election petition, this was one of the bones of contention at the Supreme Court”*

[Q1 Political Analyst 5, Nairobi]

*“The electoral system in Kenya as you have rightly put is a ‘system’ that has a number of moving parts, whether it is the voter, the IEBC, the courts and others who play different towards one outcome. Fairly elected leaders that reflect the will of the people, and in this case a majority of the voters”*

[Q1 Political Analyst 7, Nairobi]

Another observed that:

*“The electoral system in Kenya is articulated in the Constitution. If you read through the Constitution and particularly the provisions that touch on election, you see an elaborate system but the main component I would say is the IEBC. The Constitution really mandates the IEBC to conduct elections and also clearly outlines the roles played by other actors in the system”*

[Q1 Politician 1, Nairobi]

The researcher further probed in an interview to establish the place of IEBC in Kenya's electoral system. It emerged that the Constitution of Kenya explicitly establishes the IEBC and provides for its mandate as well as constitution of the commission in Articles 88, as conducting all general elections, by-elections and referenda. A key informant articulated that:

*“We are mandated by Article 88(4) of the Commission to conduct or supervise referenda and elections to any elective body or office established by the Constitution”*

[Q2 IEBC Official 1, Nairobi]

Respondent voters were also asked to indicate whether in their opinion, the country's electoral system is effective in upholding universal suffrage. It was found that according to a majority, the electoral system in Kenya has by and large been progressively improving with regard to upholding universal suffrage. This was largely attributed to the new Constitution which was promulgated in the year 2010. A respondent observed that:

*“The principle of universal suffrage is enshrined in the Constitution, and to the extent that every adult Kenyan is free to vote for their preferred candidate I would say that the electoral system in Kenya is effective in upholding universal suffrage”*

[Q8 Voter 55, Nairobi]

Another averred that:

*“I think that the new Constitution states that every adult citizen has the right to vote by a secret ballot”*

[Q8 Voter 102, Kisumu]

Respondents were also asked to express their opinion as whether the country's electoral system guarantees free and fair elections. While a majority affirmed that the Constitution of Kenya tasks the IEBC to conduct free and fair elections, they expressed reservations particularly with the incumbency and the integrity of the election officials. According to most, the Constitution

guarantees free and fair elections but it is up to the IEBC through its officials and the incumbent government to ensure that the electoral process is devoid of any malpractices that jeopardize freedom and fairness of the same. A respondent intimated that:

*“We have a very good Constitution that guarantees free and fair elections but the buck stops with the IEBC to ensure that they govern the whole process in a free and fair manner”*

[Q9 Voter 142, Nakuru]

Another added that:

*“The Constitution may guarantee free and fair elections but if the incumbent president for instance wants to remain in office, he will use all state resources to compromise the elections in his favour”*

[9 Voter 198, Uasin Gishu]

The key informant interviews confirmed that one of the fundamental standards that the nation's electoral system is expected to uphold is the provision of free and fair elections in accordance with Article 81 of the Constitution. A key informant opined that:

*“Article 81 of the Constitution enlists the general principles for the electoral system in Kenya. Among those provided include that elections shall be free and fair. Now whether this is implemented to the letter is another question”*

[Q2 Political Analyst 7, Nairobi]

Key informants were probed to indicate whether they had faith in the IEBC to conduct a free and fair election process. It emerged that most had faith, to the extent that the main political rivals agree beforehand on a process that is transparent and verifiable with clear winners and losers. An informant argued that:

*“I have faith that the IEBC has the capacity to conduct a free and fair election process to the extent that the main political contenders especially the presidential levels are on the same page on the rules of the game. At the very least, none of the parties should feel aggrieved even before an election is conducted. Both should be satisfied that the process will be transparent and verifiable”*

[Q2 Politician 12, Nairobi]

Key informants from IEBC were also asked on whether they feel that their organization conducts free, fair, transparent and credible elections. It was found that the commission works to the best of its capacity to deliver on its constitutional mandate, adding that the commission has been endeavoring to make significant improvements with every election cycle. Respondents however decry trust deficit on the part of the politicians. A respondent argued that:

*“We have the capacity to conduct free, fair, transparent and credible elections. We learn of any weaknesses with every election and endeavor to improve on the same with every election. As things stand now, we have the capacity to deliver the most transparent, transparent and credible elections in the history of elections in the country. There is however a serious trust deficit on the part of the politicians but on our part, we are committed to and have the capacity to deliver”*

[Q4 IEBC Official 2, Nairobi]

The researcher probed to find out whether respondents feel that the Supreme Court's annulment of the 2017 elections exposed the Commission as not being fully prepared to conduct presidential elections. It was revealed that the Commission had taken in the findings and recommendations by SCOK and had accordingly made various significant improvements in the way it conducts presidential elections. Key among these include the strict use of an electronic register, unless in extreme cases of electronic failure when the manual register may be used accompanied by photographic evidence of manual voters; and a transparent transmission of results from the polling stations to the national tallying centre. An informant offered that:

*“We have since sealed all possible loopholes in the entire process from voter registration to the transmission of results from the polling stations to the national tallying centre. We have for instance resorted to a strict use of an electronic register, unless in extreme cases of electronic failure when the manual register may be used accompanied by photographic evidence of manual voters”*

[Q4 IEBC Official 2, Nairobi]

Respondent voters were further asked to indicate whether in their opinion, the country’s electoral system guarantees fair representation and equality of vote. It was established that most respondents were affirmative. A majority were particularly satisfied with the two thirds gender rule whereby no one gender can dominate more than two thirds of any elective position, which is what essentially birthed the woman representative position in parliament. A majority also approved of the representation of people living with disabilities. A number however expressed dissatisfaction with representation at the constituency level, arguing that representation in parliament should be proportional to the population. A respondent noted that:

*“I am highly satisfied with representation particularly with regard to gender, and I think that the two thirds gender rule has really advanced gender parity in political representation”*

[Q10 Voter 271, Mombasa]

Another observed that:

*“The electoral system guarantees fair representation but I think the way parliament is right now is not representative enough. For instance, MPs are given an equal amount of CDF regardless of the size of their constituency in terms of population. This should be looked into”*

[Q10 Voter 25, Nairobi]

Important informants were also asked to comment on whether they believed the nation's election system guaranteed equitable representation and fair voting. Most of the key informants reported general satisfaction with the fundamental election ideals, including equal representation and fair voting, as required by Article 81 of the Constitution. A significant informant noted that:

*“Among the fundamental principles of the electoral system in Kenya is fair representation and equality of vote. And it is this particular principle that grounds such positions as woman representative and representatives of the physically disabled”*

[Q4 Political Analyst 9, Nairobi]

Another opined that

*“Yes, I would say that there is generally fair representation particularly in parliament but of course there are still areas for improvement which is among the things the Building Bridges Initiative (BBI) was trying to resolve. For instance, it is unfair for an MP from a sparsely populated constituency to be allocated an equal amount of CDF as one from a densely populated one”*

[Q4 Politician 22, Nairobi]

The study also sought respondents’ opinion on whether the country’s electoral system is effective in addressing electoral disputes. In responding, a majority of respondents expressed satisfaction with the judiciary in handling electoral disputes and petitions. A number proceeded to cite incidences where elections results have been nullified in the country, including the 2017 landmark ruling by the Supreme Court of Kenya (SCOK) which nullified the 2017 presidential elections and ordered fresh elections. A respondent observed that:

*“Yes, in my opinion the country’s electoral system is effective in addressing electoral disputes. We have seen aggrieved competitors go to court and get justice by elections being overturned. A prime example is the nullification of presidential election results by the retired Chief Justice Maraga”*

[Q12 Voter 279, Mombasa]

A respondent added that:

*“It is really commendable what this new constitution has done as it provides amicable mechanisms through which electoral disputes can be addressed without bloodshed”*

[Q12 Voter 90, Kisumu]

The foregoing sentiments were echoed in key informant interviews, where most agreed that the country’s electoral system is effective in addressing electoral disputes. The interviews indicated that Article 87 addresses electoral problems and charges parliament with passing laws to set up procedures for the prompt resolution of electoral disputes, including petitions. Further information revealed that the 2013 elections were the first time in Kenya's multiparty history that issues were settled amicably, peacefully, and quickly rather than through violence or a protracted legal process. This was made possible by the current Constitution. When questioned about their role in resolving electoral disputes, a prominent IEBC informant hinted that:

*“Article 88(4)(e) charges the Commission with the settlement of electoral disputes, including disputes relating to or arising from nominations but excluding election petitions and disputes subsequent to the declaration of election results”*

[Q5 IEBC Official 1, Nairobi]

Respondents were further asked to assess the effectiveness of Kenya’s electoral system in terms of how elections and referendums are conducted in the country. Responses were largely split in this regard. Whereas some participants expressed confidence in the IEBC in terms of their constitutional mandate to conduct elections and referendums, some expressed a lack of confidence. Those approving of the IEBC cited political interference and lack of financial independence as curtailing the commission’s ability to conduct elections and referendums in a credible manner.

In contrast, respondents disapproving of the IEBC were found to be informed by previous cases electoral malpractices which have been litigated and confirmed by the courts as well as the seeming disfunction as manifested in the split among the IEBC commissioners during the announcement of the 2022 presidential election results. A respondent offered that:

*“In my opinion, the IEBC has been effective in how they conduct elections and referendums in the country. I however feel that they have not been able to perform to their full potential due to political interference by the political actors and their lack of financial independence”*

[Q12 Voter 35, Nairobi]

In contrast, a respondent observed that:

*“I think that the IEBC lacks credibility to effectively conduct elections and referendums. I think that the commissioners are compromised every electoral cycle to manage elections in favour of a particular candidate. Just from the split among the commissioners while announcing the presidential results is testament to that fact”*

[Q12 Voter 189, Nakuru]

Respondents were further asked to express their opinions on how effective the country’s electoral system has been in establishing the eligibility criteria for voters and election candidates. Whereas a majority of respondents lauded the Constitution for expressly spelling out the eligibility criteria for both voters and election candidates, a majority equally faulted the implementation of the same by the courts and the IEBC particularly in instances of political candidates having criminal records. This was largely in reference to a considerable number of politicians being allowed to run for elective positions despite having cases in court and in some cases even being found culpable for various accusations. A respondent observed that:

*“The Constitution of Kenya is very good on paper on the eligibility criteria but the weak link is in its implementation. You find a case where candidate clearly fails the integrity test but is allowed to run for office”*

[Q13 Voter 89, Kisumu]

*“I think this is where the problem is. Because the Constitution stipulates the integrity threshold that a candidate for a political office must meet before being allowed to vie. But this is not followed at all”*

[Q13 Voter 221, Uasin Gishu]

The study further sought respondents' opinion on how effective the country's electoral system has been in managing election campaigns. A majority were found to agree that the politicians, media and the interior security docket have the greatest responsibility in ensuring that election campaigns are conducted peacefully and with dignity. Majorities were particularly dissatisfied with politicians' conduct during elections campaigns pointing out that their utterances are in some cases inciteful and characterized by hate speech. A considerable number of respondents also faulted media houses for being blatantly biased and misrepresenting certain facts about campaigns. Some however lauded the security organs for largely maintaining order during election campaigns but pointed out bias in handling politicians across the political divide. A respondent observed that:

*“Politicians can be very reckless with their utterances during campaigns just to charge up their supporters and if this is not checked it is likely to lead to chaos”*

[Q14 Voter 175, Nakuru]

Another added that:

*“Media houses have a special responsibility during election campaigns. They are responsible for what they choose to air during campaigns. It is therefore incumbent upon them to ensure that they do not propagate hate by sieving out garbage”*

[Q13 Voter 324, Mombasa]

It can be deduced from the findings that the essence of the electoral system in Kenya is embodied by a multiplicity of stakeholders grounded on the Constitution of Kenya, 2010. The Constitution is the overarching law that establishes the institutional and legal frameworks in the electoral system. The main institutional stakeholder in the system is the IEBC which is charged with conducting or supervising referenda and elections. The Judiciary is also a key institution whose role is particularly pronounced in settling electoral disputes. Other key institutions include Parliament, county governments, the executive, the interior security docket and the media. Voters are also key stakeholders in the country's electoral system with their rights pertinent to voting provided in the Constitution.

The results strongly suggest that the majority of Kenyan voters believe the country's electoral system supports free and fair elections as well as the freedom of citizens to exercise their right to vote. With accordance to Kenyans constitution article thirty eight all Kenyans have a right to free and fair elections that are based on universal suffrage and the free expression of the people. This is consistent with that provision. Article 38(3) expressly grants the following rights to every adult citizen: (a) the right to register as a voter; (b) the right to vote in any election or referendum in a secret ballot; and (c) the right to run for public office or a position within the political party to which the citizen belongs and to hold that office if elected. As a result, it can be concluded that Kenya's electoral system does indeed support free and fair elections and maintain the freedom of Kenyans to exercise their rights to election, as its indicated in Kenyan constituions article thirty eight.

The results also suggest that the majority of Kenyan voters believe the country's election system supports equal representation and fair voting. This is particularly highlighted in Article 81 of the Kenyan Constitution, which states that no one gender is allowed to occupy more than two-thirds of the seats in elective public bodies in order to ensure balanced representation of the genders.

Article 81 of the Constitution further requires that the electoral system abide by the principles of universal suffrage and fair representation of individuals with disabilities in order to uphold the goals of fair representation and equality of vote.

The study concludes from its findings that the majority of Kenyan voters believe that the electoral process creates procedures for resolving electoral disputes. Article 87 of the Kenyan Constitution, which requires Parliament to approve legislation establishing mechanisms for the swift resolution of electoral disputes, lends credence to this perception. The Constitution further states that petitions pertaining to elections must be filed within seven days (for presidential elections) and twenty-eight days (for other positions) following the IEBC's announcement of the results. In this sense, the institutional structure of the electoral system is comprised of the IEBC, Parliament, and the Judiciary.

The findings imply that the majority of voters believe that the electoral system and electoral formula have an impact on how elections and referendums are conducted by the nation's electoral administration organization. According to Article 88(4) of the Kenyan Constitution, the IEBC is charged with organizing or overseeing elections for any elective body or office established by said Constitution, as well as any further elections required by law. A candidate is considered the winner of the election if they get more than fifty percent of the total votes cast and at least twenty five percent of the votes cast in each of more than half the counties, as stated in Article 138(4), which outlines the electoral process for presidential elections.

The results also suggest that the majority of Kenyan voters agree that voters and candidates for office must adhere to certain standards. According to Article 83 of the Constitution, an individual should be an id holder and of sound mind more so, he or she should not have been convicted of an election related offense during the previous 5 years order to register as a voter at elections or referenda. Article 193, Article 180, Article 85, Article 99, Article 137, and Article 88 of the Constitution specify the procedures for electing county assembly members, county governors, independent candidates, members of Parliament, and the president. The findings also imply that the majority of Kenyan voters accept that candidates for elections and voters must meet certain criteria. According to Article 83 of the Constitution, a person must be an adult citizen, not be found to be of unsound mind, and not have been convicted of an election-related offence during the previous five years in order to register as a voter at elections or referenda. The Constitution also lays out the requirements for electing county assembly members (Article 193), county governors (Article 180), independent candidates (Article 85), members of Parliament (Article 99), the president (Article 137), and members of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) (Article 88).

The results also suggest that the majority of Kenyan voters agree that voters and candidates for office must adhere to certain standards. According to Article 83 of the Constitution, In order to register as a voter in elections or referenda, a person must be a citizen with a national id, not be deemed to be of unsound mind, and not have been convicted of an election-related offense within the previous 5 years. Article 193, Article 180, Article 85, Article 99, Article 137, and Article 88 of the Constitution specify the procedures for electing county assembly members, county governors, independent candidates, members of Parliament, and the president.

## **5. Conclusion and Recommendations**

The study draws the conclusion that the First Past the Post concept, a type of plurality/majority system, and a variety of stakeholders grounded in the Kenyan Constitution of 2010 are the fundamental components of the electoral system in Kenya. The institutional and legal underpinnings for the election system are established by the Constitution, which is a supreme law. The main institutional stakeholder in the system is the IEBC which is charged with conducting or supervising referenda and elections.



The Judiciary is also a key institution whose role is particularly pronounced in settling electoral disputes. Other key institutions include Parliament, county governments, the executive, the interior security docket and the media. Voters are also key stakeholders in the country's electoral system with their rights pertinent to voting provided in the Constitution.

The results also show that the majority of Kenyan voters believe the country's electoral system supports free and fair elections as well as the freedom of citizens to exercise their right to vote. The results also suggest that the majority of Kenyan voters believe the country's election system supports equal representation and fair voting. The study further deduces from the findings that most voters in the country perceive the electoral system in Kenya as establishing mechanisms for settling of electoral disputes. Article 87 of the Kenyan Constitution, which requires Parliament to approve legislation establishing mechanisms for the swift resolution of electoral disputes, lends credence to this perception.

The study recommends looking into alternatives because they are more inclusive and result in fair representation, such as models of proportional representation and mixed member representation as a remedy to the current divisive plurality electoral system based on the findings and conclusions drawn therefrom. The goal of these alternate voting systems is to reduce vote waste by making practically all votes count toward influencing the outcome. A method like this is credited with boosting voter turnout and reducing election results' disproportionality.

## REFERENCES

- Adhiambo, M. (2017, October 29). People who defined 2017 elections in Kenya. Read more at: <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001258722/people-Who-defined-2017-elections-in-kenya>. *The Standard*. Page 3.
- Ashindorbe, K. (2018). Electoral Violence and the Challenge of Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria. *India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs*, 74(1), 92-105. Doi: 10.1177/0974928417749639
- Barkan, J. D. (2008). Kenya's Great Rift. *Foreign Affairs*, 87(1), 88-100.
- Birch, Sarah & David Muchlinski (2017) Electoral Violence Prevention: Patterns and Trends: in Holly Garnett & Margarita Zavadskaya (eds) Electoral Integrity and Political Régimes: Actors Strategies and Consequences. New York & London: Routledge, 100-112.
- Bogaards, M. (2000). The uneasy relationship between Empirical and Normative types in consociational theory. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 12(4), 395-423  
Doi:10.1017/1465116502003003004<http://doi.org/10.1177%2F13533310420002373000>.
- Bogaards, M. (2014). *Democracy and social peace in divided societies: Exploring consociational parties*. Springer.
- Bratton, Michael/ Van de Walle, Nicholas (1997): *Democratic Experiments in Africa, Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Caramani, D. (2017). *Elections in Western Europe 1815-1996*. Springer.
- Chege, M. (2008). Kenya: back from the brink? *Journal of Democracy*, 19(4), 125-139.
- Cohen Frank (1997) proportional versus majoritarian ethnic conflict management in Democracies *Cooperative political studies* 30 (5):607-30
- Duncan, M. K. (2017). Democracy Down Under: A Comparative Look at Australian and American Electoral Systems. *Ind. Int'l & Comp. L. Rev.*, 27, 117.
- De Smedt, J. (2009). 'No Raila, No Peace!' Big man politics and election violence at the Kibera grassroots. *African Affairs*, 108(433), 581-598.
- Drummond, P. (2015). Promoting Democracy in Preventing Electoral Violence: The Women's Situation Room. *Sustainable Development Solutions Network*. 87(1), 88-100.
- Gallagher, M., & Mitchell, P. (2018). Dimensions of variation in electoral systems. *The Oxford handbook of electoral systems*, 23.
- Gutierrez –Romero, Roxana (2014). An Inquiry into the Use of Illegal Electoral Malpractice and Effects of Political Violence and Vote Buying. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58(8):1500-1527)
- Herron, E. S., Pekkanen, R. J., & Shugart, M. S. (Eds.). (2018). *The Oxford handbook of electoral systems*. Oxford University Press.
- Hoglund, Kristine (2009). Electoral violence: causes, concept and consequences. *Terrorism and political violence* 21(3):412-427.
- International Peace Institute. (2012). 'Elections and stability in West Africa': the way forward. *IPI Policy Brief*. IPI. 87(1), 88-100.
- KHRC. (2012) and (2013) not to be forgotten: the faces of impunity in Kenya. Kenya Human Rights Commission, Nairobi.
- Kothari, C.R (2004) *research methodology: methods and techniques*. New Delhi, New Age international publishers.
- Lijphart, A. (1977). *A comparative examination of democracy in multiple society* Yale University press is based in Connecticut.
- Lijphart, Arend 1977 *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1985 *Power Sharing in South Africa*. Policy Papers in International Affairs No.24. Institute of International Studies. University of California. Berkeley.

- Lindberg, Staffan (2006). *Democracy and Elections in Africa*. Baltimore: *Johns Hopkins University Press*.
- Lockwood, S. J., & Krönke, M. (2018). Do Electoral Systems Affect How Citizens Hold their Government Accountable? Evidence from Africa.
- Mancebo, A. (2019). Parties' motivations for electoral reform under the democratic transition in South Africa. *Revista Española de Ciencia Política*, (50), 43-67.
- Mozaffar, S. Scarrit, J.R., and Galaich, G. (2003) Electoral Institutions, EthnoPolitical Cleavages and Party Systems in Africa's Nascent Democracies, *American Political Science Review*, 97(03) 379-390.
- Mutugi, D. M. (2016). *Trends of Internal Displacement in Kenya: The Case of Kuresoi, Nakuru County, 1992-2008* (Doctoral Dissertation, Kenyatta University).
- Nagle, J. (2016). *Social movements in violently divided societies: Constructing conflict and peacebuilding*. Routledge.
- Reynolds, Andrew 1995 "The Case Proportionality "Journal of Democracy 6:117-124.1996 Electoral Systems and Democratic Consolidation in Southern Africa." Ph.d.dissertation university of California San Diego.
- Reynolds, Andrew, and Ben Reilly (1997). *The International IDEA Hand Book of Electoral*.
- Reynolds, Andrew 1995 "The Case for Proportionality ". *JournalofDemocracy* 6:117-124.1996 "Electoral Systems and Democratic Consolidation in Southern Africa". Ph.D. dissertation, University of Carlifornia at San Diego.
- Sandy Q. Qu & John Dumay, 2011. "The qualitative research interview," [Qualitative Research in Accounting & Management](#), Emerald Group Publishing, vol. 8(3), pages 238-264, August.
- Saunders, M., Thornhill, and Lewis, P. (2009): *Research Methodologies for Business Student*, London: Prentice Hall.
- Saurugger, S., & Terpan, F. (2016). Regional Integration in Times of Crisis: Power, Institutional Density and the People—a Conclusion. *Crisis and Institutional Change in Regional Integration*, 209-223.
- Shugart, M. S., Taagepera, R., Herron, E. S., & Pekkanen, R. J. (2018). Electoral system effects on party systems. *The Oxford Handbook of Electoral Systems*, 41.
- Sinnott, R., & Farrell, D. M. (2017). The electoral system. In *Politics in the Republic of Ireland* (pp. 109-130). Routledge.
- USAID, (2010). *Electoral Security Framework Technical Guidance*. HandbookforDemocracy and Governance Officers, USAID.178.