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2025-11-25

Sentam Research and Publishing

<https://ir-library.kabianga.ac.ke/handle/123456789/1112>

Open Journal of Social Sciences and Literary Research

Volume 2, Issue 4, 2025

Journal homepage: <https://sentam.org/journals/ojsslr>



Resistance and Counter-resistance in Africa Democracy: The Impact and implication for Transformation

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Keywords:

*African democracy,
democratic
resistance, political
leadership,
institutional
counter-measures,
societal impact*

ABSTRACT

In the 1990s the in-word in the political scene in Africa was democracy. The survival of any government was determined by whether they adhered to democratic practices as prescribed by western governments that advocated for this new form of leadership values in Africa. Indeed, countries like the Democratic Republic of Congo was born out of this necessity in which the word "democracy" was included in its name to warrant its acceptability to the supporters of democracy. Twenty years down the line, it is not clear if the enthusiasm applauded then is still alive. In some parts of African, there is the resistance to democratic values by some leaders who are reluctant to embrace the practices and values embedded in democracy. On the other hand, there have been counter- resistances of those who resist democracy by the people themselves and other bodies that cherish it. The paper denotes some of the factors ailing African Democracy and survey the African leaders who have resisted democracy and the resultant impact on the society. The paper also assesses the various institutions that have counter opposed such leaders and the consequent outcome. The paper further evaluates the impact of these developments on African societies affected and suggest the way forward.

INTRODUCTION

The question of what ails African democracy is the most recurrent since the inception of the democratisation ideology in Africa. In the 1990's the in-word in the political scene in Africa was democracy. The survival of any government was determined by whether they adhered to democratic values as prescribed by western governments that advocated for this new form of leadership in Africa. Dambisa Moyo (2009) in her book *Dead Aid* notes that the foreign aid agenda to Africa in the 1990's was a question of governance in the essence that aid would only be

availed to the countries that subscribed to principles of democracy. Due to this requirement and the increased wave of democracy acceptance across the globe African nations adopted democracy. Indeed, nations like the Democratic Republic of Congo were born out of the necessity in which the word "democracy" was included in its name to warrant its acceptability to the supporters of democracy. The significance of democracy then and indeed now can be summarised in what arap Chepkwony wrote elsewhere thus:

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Received: Sept 3 2025 | Revised: Nove 1 2025 | Accepted: Nov 10 2025 | Published: Nov 25 2025

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Indeed, to subscribe to 'democracy' does not only imply modernity, but it also suggests respect for human dignity and individual rights. At the same time, and more importantly, 'democracy' is associated with 'development' (arap Chepkwony 1999: 98).

The proponents of democracy envisioned a system of good governance that would spur development in all spheres, but twenty years down the line; it is not clear if the enthusiasm applauded then is still alive. In some parts of Africa, there is the resistance to democratic values by some leaders who are reluctant to embrace the virtues and values embedded in democracy. The "Welcome to Africa" post caption above that was circulated in the social media in October 2017 is telling. The post was prompted by the challenges faced in Kenya after the nullification of 2017 election by the Kenyan Supreme Court.

The picture painted by the caption is that Africa is struggling with democratic values and that there is resistance among the national leaders. On the other hand, there has been a counter-resistance from the people themselves, human rights and religious bodies and institutions that believe and cherish the values of democracy. In this paper, we shall survey the resistance of democracy in Africa and the resultant impact on the society.

What Ails African Democracy?

In Africa, it is undeniably hard to believe that democracy is a good thing. Gilbert Muyumbu (2017), a writer for Standard Media Kenya writes that "Africa does not literally need democracy but something else and urgently"; we fully concur with the sentiments. The state of African democracy is one of the toughest and controversial questions in the world today (Cheeseman, 2015). Sarsar & Adekunle (2012: 1) in the book *Democracy in Africa: Political Changes and Challenges* points out that African countries have had a democratic experience far much less than satisfactory. Tens of elections that fail in Africa and to many African countries such as Somalia, South Sudan, Gabon, Zimbabwe and DR. Congo among others that the term democracy is a fantasy and factious.

History has always been a backdrop in helping us understand our past, as we relate it to our present and project it with our future. Lee and Paine (2016) pose a question, which is asked by many other scholars on whether the colonial

master promoted democracy in Africa. Can the democratic quagmires and uncertainties depict in the African continent be attributed to the legacy of the colonial masters? This question we believe significantly elucidates what ails the African democracy. Lee and Paine further argue that despite the primarily held notion that colonialists promoted democracy in African states, the statistical data evident today actively dismiss the argument. The legacy the African continent inherited from the colonial masters was a manipulative manner of governance and politics even from the British colonies that were believed to be democratic than other masters (Alemazung, 2010). The masters stripped and criminalised the African leadership that was democratic to replace it with elusive one. Elijah Okon John (2014: 24) argues that:

Another problem with colonialism is that it imposed a hybrid and confusing structure on a people who were hitherto used to a different type of relationship. ... traditional seat of authority, for instance, was wrestled from the traditional rulers. And the traditional contact and understanding, which the traditional rulers maintained with their people were replaced by an impersonal bureaucracy whose source of authority was derived from legal pattern of titles, enshrined in the constitution and which did not augur well with traditional African rulers whose powers were derivative of the special ties they possessed with the ancestors, spirits, and God, in line with traditional beliefs.

One evident element in the governance of the colonists was manipulation resulting in dogmas such as "divide and rule" which many politicians in African have continually used to divide the electorate and push their agendas of staying in power (Bernhard, Reenock, & Nordstorm, 2004). Kenyan politics presents a clear picture of the legacy as depicted in the 2007/2008 post-election violence and the progressive division of the country on ethnic lines. The electorate follows politicians of their tribe, fanatically support them and sycophantically defend them even when the truth is unquestionable. The Rwanda Genocide, the militia fights from DR. Congo to South Sudan, the division of the citizens on ethnic grounds is gross. Using this strategy, democracy has been illusive and become elusive. The electorate both the elite and illiterate do not bother to understand the difference as long it is their kinsmen who is on the political podium. Many colonialists used the divide and rule strategy to conquer and rule Africa. Wars and

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divisions would be engineered among the African leaders and as they fight and argue, the colonial agenda transcended across the land. Bayeh elucidates that:

... the notion of ethnicity left behind by the colonial powers has posed an adverse impact on the overall political system of African states. Ethnic division, which was multiplied by colonial system, left persistent rivalry and conflict in the continent and thereby resulted in exclusion and marginalisation in African political societies. ... what African states inherited from their colonisers is their undemocratic and authoritarian rule (2015: 90).

The colonial masters used assassinations through manipulative ways to silence African leaders who proved a hindrance to their rule. Today assassinations and holding captive of the leaders opposing the ruling government is prevalent in Africa. Patrice Lumumba, a Congolese Prime Minister; Felix Moumie, a Cameroonian opposition leader; Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and Sylvanus Olympio of Togo among other great African revolutionist during the colonial era have believed to succumb to the brutal deaths in the hands of their former colonial masters. This art of suppressing democratic revolutionists was transferred exceptionally to the African leaders (Tar, 2010). Ever since the death of Lumumba and other iconic Africans, the trends have continued to date. Any leader who opposes the ruling government is susceptible to the assassination, a colonial legacy. Democracy cannot prevail in such an environment

Ongong'a (1999: p. 9-14) further helps us answer the question on what ails African democracy. Ongong'a as well as Ibrahim and Cheri (2013: 59) posit that for the concept of democracy to be understood, its definition must be revisited. Typically, democracy ideology infers to 'a government of the people by the people and for the people' which etymologically is the 'rule of the people.' The comprehension and interpretation of the definition of the democracy are skewed. The rule component infers to the exercise of power, authority and influence is unequivocally understood and well interpreted by people. The stones stop to roll on the component of 'people.' Democratically "people" refer to the cumulative inclusion of all the citizens of a country in decision making and governance without any form of marginalisation,

victimisation or favour. To most African politicians, the 'people' component is self-interest defined as a set of few privileged individuals making discriminative decisions at the expense of the public. Democracy is thus redefined to mean 'rule by the privileged few.' This has been the heart of the problematic incidences of failed democracy more so when it comes to succession and transition of government. It is either the sitting presidents who want to serve for eternity or the incumbent presidents engage in election malpractices with the intention of safeguarding their terms.

For instance, in Kenya, two presidential elections were conducted in 2017. The Kenyan Supreme Court annulled the presidential election held on August 8, 2017 over election malpractice by the incumbent President and the election commission body. Unbelievably, the fresh presidential polls held on October 26, 2017 were alleged to have malpractice, the result of which the country was torn into two distinct fronts drawn on the basis of ethnicity. In DR. Congo, President Joseph Kabila ensued a crisis by rescheduling elections to 2018. The Uganda parliament was in a rage of chaos over presidential age bill aimed at removing the age limit for president, which would allow President Yoweri Museveni to rule for life probably. In Burundi, democracy crises emerged over President Pierre Nkurunziza running for a third term regardless of eligibility controversies. In all cases, the opposition, NGOs, religious bodies and individuals demanding for upholding of values of democracy have been scorned, manhandled, some assassinated, and many other injustices done to them by incumbent presidents who argue they incite people against them.

These few examples denote the perverseness in the definition of the 'people component' in democracy by the majority of African politicians. Therefore, African democracy is ailed by the way decisions are made. Nonetheless, Ongong'a quotes John Lucas who said that:

A decision is democratically taken if the answers to the questions 'who takes it?' is more or less everybody; in contrast to the decision taken by only those best qualified to take them as in a meritocracy. Democracy describes how a decision is reached. A decision is taken democratically when it is reached by discussion, criticism, and compromise. Democracy is the spirit in

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which a decision is made, namely, being concerned with the interest of all, instead of only a fraction or a party (1999; p. 12).

We use John Lucas revelations to justify the democracy resistance and counter-resistance in Africa.

African Politics and Governance: Democracy or Meritocracy

Decision-making is the backbone of democracy for it decentralises decision making from a central authority bestowing it to the people. The exercise of the rule should be by the people, meaning it is the public that should decide on how they are governed (Tar, 2010). Arap Chepkwony (1999) gives an example of the Kalenjin community in Kenya that was termed as stateless where it was possible for anyone to rise to any position of authority. The community was characterised by individuals with a capacity to make and influence decisions as equals and collectively worked together for the wellbeing of the society. The leadership and governance were ascribed to the principles of kinship solidarity. It meant that decision-making was collective, so democracy prevailed for people owned the decisions thus the system was considered fair and just. This is dialectally opposite to what is exhibited in most of the African states today.

In a number of African states, the government and the opposition as well as the public and civil organisations are in a constant state of conflict over decision-making. Democracy and justice can only prevail if the will of the people is respected and adopted by those in authority. The African countries are always on the brim of collapse for no person is ready to listen to the opinions of the other party nor the public and when listened to, it is marginalised (Tar, 2010). Tiny Leon (2012) in his article *The State of Liberal Democracy in Africa: Resurgence or Retreat* notes that Felix Houphouët-Boigny who reigned a 29 years authoritarian rule in Côte D'Ivoire was quoted in 1991 as saying "There's no number two, or three or four . . . in Côte D'Ivoire... There's only number one, that's me, and I don't share my decisions."

The words of Felix Houphouët-Boigny echo across Africa where sons of ex-presidents dominate many incumbent presidents and long-serving presidents have converted their countries and resources into their personal possessions. Mobutu Sese Seko reigned his

dictatorial and corrupt government in DR Congo over 30 years. The Arab Spring leading to feud in Tunisia, Algeria, Egypt and other northern Africa countries, political unrests in Chad and Central Republic of Africa to Gabon and Liberia to the west of Africa as well as Somalia, South Sudan, Uganda and Kenya in eastern Africa are evidence that 'number twos, threes, fours *et cetera*' are not allowed to freely operate in the states. In Tunisia and Algeria, the public decided to take matters into their own hands hence *Coup d'état* toppling the ruling authoritarian and dictatorship governments. Kizza Besigye, the opposition leader of Uganda, has been detained and mishandled by the government of President Yoweri Museveni for his efforts of fighting for inclusivity and adoption of democracy and the rule of law. In Kenya, riots and deaths have been recorded across the country over election rigging by President Uhuru Kenyatta, where over half of the country feels their democratic right in election decision making has been denied. Such misrepresentation is a direct breach of the founding principles of democracy. Similarly, President Zuma of South Africa has faced four motions of no confidence in one year over official misconduct and corruption.

Many of the African political leaders cannot be held accountable, and when their decisions are questioned, they quickly dismiss the question stating, "It is an unfair question to the government." It is unfair because people seek to know the truth, they feel their rights have been deprived, their decisions derailed and mocked as irrelevant. Many governments resist collective decision making while many opposition parties counter-resist their decisiveness. Meritocracy and dictatorial decision making depicted through election rigging have decorated Africa red with the blood of innocent citizens who come out to protest over exclusive decision-making. J. J. Ongong'a points out that most Africans have a right to:

... actively take part in decisions that affect their lives and not leave it to only few individuals. The majority of Africans do not have a chance to determine their political density (1999: 14).

Many governments in Africa faces questions of political legitimacy for most of them do not give a chance to the public to determine their political destiny as alluded by Ongong'a. The electorate only matters when it comes to an election where they are used as rubber stamps to give a

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political class more terms in government. Unless the ruling parties, the opposition and general public opinions and decisions are harmonised and respected, democracy shall remain abstract in Africa. Arap Chepkwony notes that for democracy to prevail the following condition must be satisfied:

- a) People (politicians and the electorate) should have respect for one another.
- b) People should accord each other the right to full human dignity, and
- c) People should cultivate healthy attitudes towards each other (1999: 102).

African Politics: A Question of Discussion and Christianity

The principles of democracy are embedded in its definition and as alluded by John Lucas, for a decision to be termed as democratic it is subject to discussion, criticism, and compromise. No action and decision taken by those in authority should be considered as collective if it is unilateral. The Christian teachings about decision-making should be done in consultation with God through prayer. 2 Tim 3: 16 (KJV) notes that "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness". Proverbs 18:1-15 (KJV) on the other hand notes that:

Through desire a man, having separated himself, seeketh and intermeddleth with all wisdom. A fool hath no delight in understanding, but that his heart may discover itself. When the wicked cometh, then cometh also contempt, and with ignominy reproach. The words of a man's mouth are as deep waters and the wellspring of wisdom as a flowing brook. It is not good to accept the person of the wicked, to overthrow the righteous in judgment. A fool's lips enter into contention, and his mouth calleth for strokes. A fool's mouth is his destruction, and his lips are the snare of his soul. The words of a talebearer are as wounds, and they go down into the innermost parts of the belly. He also that is slothful in his work is brother to him that is a great waster.

In the two scriptures, it is evident that actions of man are subject to discussion, criticism, and contention based on the Biblical teachings. The country's constitution and the rule of law are instruments institutionalised by God to help govern the people, and it is a fool who pride in

his/her own understanding sidelining the thoughts of others. God gave human beings a free will to make their own decisions consciously but with consideration to its implication to others. Harmony and justice prevail in a system where respect of opinions whether in favour or against individual opinion. Most African politicians fall short of respect to criticisms; they believe their decisions are final and free from the discussion. Whoever tries to compromise is labelled an enemy of state and mechanisms to silence them are immediately initiated.

It is insurmountably hard to convince anyone that decisions made in African states are democratic in the sense that they are open to rational discussion and criticism. Jalloh (2017) quotes President Yoweri Museveni in 1986 after taking power from General Tito Kello that "Africa is tired of leaders who cling to power against the wishes of the masses." In order to cling to power, the leaders become very dictatorial and authoritative. Many African leaders do not offer room for dialogue and discussion for they believe their decisions and interests are far more critical than that of the general public. Literally, how many African political leaders can withstand criticism and open resistance to their regimes?

Donald Rumsfeld says, "If you are not criticised, you may not be doing much" while Richard Grant White points out that "Criticism is the child and handmaid of reflection." In the book of Ecclesiastes, 7:5 (KJV) it is written, "It is better for a man to hear the rebuke of the wise than to hear the song of fools." For an authority to be considered democratic and liberal it is imperative for them to acknowledge and positively take in criticism from the opposition, the church, the foreign envoys, civil societies and the public at large. It is the fundamental step of ensuring participation of people decision-making and works as a check and balance. Once criticism and room for dialogue is shuttered, the resultant forces are riots and demonstration on the streets that are always culminated by bloodshed and destruction of property. Coup d'état is a result of discriminative representation and acknowledgement of criticism and compromise. Deliberative democracy strengthens the voice of the citizens by ensuring all people are included in the decision-making in deliberations that directly affect their decisions. In Africa, decision-making is valued during

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electioneering periods that is when most politicians pretend to rally and align with the needs of the electorate. Once elected the room for dialogue becomes an illusion. The representatives of the people in parliament and other governing houses are bribed and sycophantically becomes the puppets of the president where they are used to rubber stamp motions in parliament that are in favour of the politicians rather than the common good. J. J. Ongong'a outcry is that until African leaders: "...learn to accommodate constructive criticism, be it political or otherwise, most of our socio-economic problems will not end" (1999: 17).

Inclusivity in Democracy

John Lucas argues that Democracy is the spirit in which a decision is made, namely, being concerned with the interest of all, instead of only a fraction or a party. A decision is only democratic if it has a national outlook. Elections bring countries to a central point where the politicians all rally their efforts whether legit or unscrupulous to influence the masses decision on whom to elect. A president only becomes the face of the country if the citizens believe they are included in the government and their decisions were respected in the election. Successful elections depend on whether the majority of the citizens are convinced the process was fair and just, in this case the president becomes an emblem of national unity. In cases where the electorates' decisions are ignored through election malpractices, amendment of constitutions to suit the objectives of the incumbent presidents, use of victimisation and other unscrupulous means to overstay in power, the people's right to independent decision making is stripped off.

Miloš Brunclík (2012) explains that democratic political systems should be based in the principle of inclusivity. It is imperative for the polls projected at establishing the government and parliament to ensure that decisions are inclusive and free from coercive and tampered voting. The principles of liberal democracy demand for a racially and ethnically inclusive system. The Rwanda genocide, Kenyan 2007/2008 postelection violence and the disengagement of South Sudan from Sudan is a manifestation of unconsolidated inclusivity. When decisions prove to be made by a selected few, the oppressed succumb to use of violence to remove the government and its sympathisers. Shola

Omotola (2011) explains that issues of inclusivity have resulted to power-sharing governments more in circumstances where the incumbent parties fail to concede power to winning parties. The case of 2007/2008 power-sharing in Kenya and Zimbabwe is a manifestation of perverse inclusivity. In order to halt the postelection violence engineered by election rigging the parties accept to take part in power-sharing arrangements: J. Shola Omotola wonders:

...the popularity of power-sharing among its promoters and negotiator after electoral conflicts in Africa has made some analysts wonder if power-sharing has become the "new" democracy in the continent (Omotola, 2011: 28).

It is undeniable that inadequate inclusivity is a prime problem faced by African democracy. In some cases where power transition has been successful, both the winning and the opposition parties may fail to work in harmony more so when the opposition feels secluded from decision-making process. The power-sharing government of President Mwai Kibaki and Prime Minister Raila Amolo Odinga in 2008-2012 in Kenya was predominated by inclusivity issues where the Prime Minister would accuse the President of making decisions without consultation. This derailed decision making significantly. Inclusivity as a pillar of democratisation is projected at creating a pluralistic government where government transition is through peaceful voting but not through bullets as exhibited in most African elections. Inclusivity is a measure of the quality of democracy in any country.

COUNTER-RESISTANCE IN AFRICAN DEMOCRACY

The principles of democracy are engrained and innate with aspects of criticism and dialogue. As alluded earlier (Ecclesiastes 7:5 (KJV), the Bible infers to the importance of constructive criticism from the wise as does Grand White who notes that criticism is a backdrop for reflection. This concept ensues the phenomena of counter-resistance in the African democratic emblem. Counter-resistance here refers to the will of the citizens and other interested parties at individual levels or through groups, be it church-based, humanitarian, NGOs, foreign envoys among others, to rally with an agenda of enforcing the ruling regimes to be democratic in their

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approach and to follow the constitution and the rule of law. More often than not, the efforts of the individuals and groups who appeal to the day's governments to reconsider their unjust and unfair rules are often labelled the enemies of the country. Such individuals were countered with brutal force, victimisation, blackmails, detentions, assassination attempts and assassinations in the long run.

According to Douglas Baddett (2007, p. 121), this world is not broken by people who try to change it but by people who are willing to see vices and keep silent about it. Counter-resistance to perverse, authoritarian and dictatorial regimes in Africa is evident ever since the struggle for African independence commenced. Many leaders across Africa perished in the hands of the colonial masters fighting for the disintegration of the brutal regimes of the colonialists. More than five decades, the struggle continues to liberate Africa from leaders who seize power and personalise the national resources as their own. From 2011 with the Arab Spring wave that hit the northern Africa (Salih, 2013) to most recent resistances of ruling governments by opposition parties in Uganda, Gabon, Burundi, Chad, Central Republic of Africa, South Sudan to Kenya all have been articulated to regimes that have proved to run short of democratic sanity.

Firoze Manji (2017) reflects on the ideas of Amilcar Cabral on culture, power and resistance, culture as a value and element of resistance, is a manifestation of the willingness people can go to overhaul oppressive regimes. Manji infers to the mass mobilization that swept Northern Africa under the wave of Arab Spring, the demonstration in Burkina Faso, the "walk to work" protests organized by Kizza Besigye, the Ugandan opposition leader to the recent formation of National Resistance Movement and People's Assembly in Kenya by the National Super Alliance Coalition. These are examples garnered over an escalated discontent over austerity of the oppression and undemocratic activities of the ruling governments. In Egypt, millions of citizens took it a personal initiative to camp the Tahir Square in songs, music and dance demanding for a change. The same trend both non-violent and violent protests have been recorded across Africa of people thirsty for better live and manifestation of the principles of constitutionalism, democracy and the rule of law.

Ongong'a (1999) noted that the climax of most elections in Africa is blood shade over protests due to election rigging. People are willing to put their lives at stake to demand their constitutional rights. According to Sekou Toure Otondi (2017), one leader the Kenyan democracy shall ever be indebted to is Raila Odinga, who has tirelessly fought for democracy, upholding of law and good governance. Otondi argues that the resistance propagated by Raila Odinga, more so after October 26, 2017 for a refresh presidential election is good for the country's democracy. The struggles for integrity, which is imperative for the rule of law and democracy and the efforts seeking to bestow the struggles for constitutionalism, expansion of democratization and electoral reforms churns a way for Kenya to fight for and adjust itself to a more democratic way of running things.

Besides the opposition from political movements and mass demonstration from citizens, churches, civil societies and foreign envoys have considerably taken the reforms mantle. Nonetheless, their efforts just like the opposition parties and mass resistances have been countered by the ruling regimes. The Kenya Churches association took an active role in 2002 that ended the 24-year reign of Daniel arap Moi but after that, the church has been accused of taking stands in favour of the ruling governments sidelining their steward call of mediations as mandated by the Holy Scriptures. Once the church takes such stands and sympathizes with the regime accused of victimisation, the struggles for good governance often collapse. The church is expected to side with the oppressed as a virtue exhibited by Jesus Christ and not to favour the oppressors. Nonetheless, the church commands millions of citizens hence once dedicated to counter and expose the impunity in the government; good governance and the rule of law have a chance to prevail.

Just like the church, civil societies and foreign envoys have been accused for sidelining with the side that aligns with their interests rather than being the driving force for reforms. Otondi (2017) notes that the Jubilee government targeted Africog and the Kenya Human Rights Commission, NGOs articulating for public ethics and good governance for sympathising with the opposition coalition over election malpractice. The Opposition, on the other hand, lamented and alleged that USA and UK foreign envoys aligned

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with the Jubilee government turning a blind eye to the political and democratic injustices committed by the government. We believe that if the individuals, citizens, civil societies, the church and foreign envoys all rallied together in unison demanding for reforms, then African democracy has a chance to succeed.

Democracy Development and Transformation

Nelson Mandela said, "*Freedom is meaningless if people cannot put food in their stomachs.*" Stories on African development and transformation accrued from stable and unstable democracy looms across the continent. Democracy can attest to significant contribution to the development and transformation of the African continent; on the other hand, it has equally resulted in a stagnated development due to authoritarian and dictatorial regimes (Long, 2011). Very few African states can confidently accord and celebrate development bound to democratic government. Socio-economic development and growth have been retarded by recurrent political instabilities and vendettas among the current government, opposition, the civil society and the public. Violent demonstrations and bloodbath protests have been registered across the continent halting and considerably limiting the capabilities of both internal investments and development as well as the foreign investments.

According to a United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Policy Brief of October 2017, the cumulative uncertainties of the August 8 and October 26, 2017, elections in Kenya have significantly affected the country's economy by derailing both national and foreign-based development initiatives. Kenya was faced by an intensified demonstration led by the opposition coalition NASA (National Super Alliance), clashes between the supporters of Jubilee, the incumbent government and the NASA supporters as well as the police who were mandated to control and manage the crowds.

The demonstration heightened the state of political instability and uncertainty. Ethnic grouping conflicts were as well as noted (UNDP, 2017). The demonstrations always culminated with looting; arson cases to the demolition of business and increased the opportunistic crimes. Roads were blocked in many parts of the country halting the business activities entirely in the

country. According to the UNDP policy brief, the political uncertainties and fiasco in Kenya negatively implicated in the investor's confidence resulting to a sharp downturn in industrial output and the consumption rate of the private sector. The Kenya Private Sector Alliance (KEPSA) noted that due to the political state majority of the investors postponed their investments plans awaiting the calming of the political temperatures in the country resulting in inhibited spending and consumption of good and services by the private sector (UNDP, 2017).

Consequently, the Capital Markets Authority (CMA) noted a reduced Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) due to the reluctance of foreign investors' participation in the Nairobi Stock Exchange, the most prominent stock market in East Africa following the political jitters. From June 2017, the FDI was below 60% (UNDP, 2017). The NSE had to halt trade due to the political pressures in the country where over US\$ 0.5 billion were recorded to have been lost over few hours while the public transport sector lost over KSh 75 million from September 1, 2017, to the time the policy was published. The Kenya National Chambers of Commerce and Industry (KNCCI) approximated a loss of over US \$ 0.21 billion due to the political agitations (UNDP, 2017).

The national economic growth estimate rates by the National Treasury were decreased from 5.9% to 5.5% following the uncertainties and high political pressures. Data by the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS) recorded a 5% economic growth in the second quarter of 2017 compared to 6.3% in 2016 in the same quarter (UNDP, 2017). Following the demonstration and halting of business in many regions of the country, the National Treasury recorded a revenue target shortfall of US \$ 276.2 million in the first quarter of 2017/2018 fiscal year because business was not as usual. The collection of the insufficient revenue put much pressure on fiscal budgets. The KSh. 12 billion that was required to service the fresh presidential election further constrained the 2017/18 fiscal budget.

This supplementary budget would have been directed to other development projects, which would have transformed and empowered the Kenya citizens (UNDP, 2017). The Kenya Association of Manufacturers (KAM) report in the Mid-October 2017 indicated that industries were expected to cut jobs by 47% in the next six

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months, and 64% of the industrial manufacturers were expected to record either a zero or negative revenue growth following the political vendetta. The political uncertainties often lead to money and revenue being channelled into non-productive activities reducing the capacity of the country to develop. For instance, the money used in the fresh presidential elections would have been used for productive investment and solving many of the problem faced by Kenya (UNDP, 2017).

The political instabilities result in many resources being under and miss managed, properties worth billions destroyed, normal running of activities are halted and disrupted, opportunistic criminals and corrupt persons take advantage of the situation limiting the socio-economic growth of the country.

Besides the Kenya predicaments, the aftermath of the Arab Spring depicts a picture of how political instability can turn a productive country into abject poverty and socio-economic destitution (Salih, 2013). As alluded earlier, the citizens of Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt among other countries that took part in the mass revolution believed that the eviction of the authoritarian and dictatorial leaders would leverage the socio-economic development of the nations. The aftermath of the Spring elucidates otherwise. Lieutenant Colonel El Hassane Aissa (2012) notes that the movement envisioned that through the removal of the unshakable dictators, the countries would catapult in the right direction. The Arab Spring resulted to massacres and deaths of thousands of citizens, the countries languished in a political turmoil, interrupted business, damaged the foreign stakeholders and investments as well as tainting international relations and exacerbated ethnic conflicts (Salih, 2013).

Jean-Benoit Falisse (2015) an author for Conversation Africa notes that Burundi is classified as the hungriest nation on earth following the political strife between President Pierre Nkurunziza, the opposition and the masses. By April 2015, over 190,000 people including investors were noted to have fled the country, property worth millions of dollars destroyed, intensified economic inactivity and a GDP dwarfed at 3% amidst the political uncertainties. Political instability is a key proponent of African underdevelopment for peace and prosperity cannot prevail in an

environment dominated by politics of deprivation and exclusion (Long, 2011).

WAY FORWARD

Mass Resistance and Revolution

African election and democratic pursuits have culminated with violence and demonstration resisting the incoming governments. Dictatorship and authoritarian African governments have been toppled through mass revolution. Many mass revolutions recorded in Africa and many other regions of the world depict a community of people tired of oppression and yearn for liberation. The ramifications of the revolutions, which are dominated by bloodbaths of hundreds and thousands of people, are not the apt way of evicting oppressive reign but if conducted constructively it has a potential of enhancing democracy in Africa. The drive behind the movements is hoped at having governments and political system that would incur political reforms and social justice. Mass revolution is an inevitable method of demand for political freedom and reform, but the process should be designed in the manner they are peaceful.

Civil Education

According to Nashon Ndungu (1999: 36), for democracy to survive, the rulers and the ruled must amicably understand and practice the acceptable democratic ideals. Education is key to understanding and efficiently practising the principles of democracy. It is only through comprehensive and constructive education about dynamics of politics, the constitution, the rule of law, human rights and the rights of the electorate is when democracy can fully be exercise. Knowhow about politics and law should not only be left in the hands of a few, but a country should be steadfast.

Scholars Role – The Voice of Reason/ The Middle Way;

Many scholars are posited to believe that socio-economic equity and equality, as well as democratic durability, is the product of effective governance and strong democratic principles. Development and transformation can only be attained by having relentless and selfless leaders who are well empowered with skills and knowledge capable of designing and articulating sound and lucrative political and development agendas. Many African countries attained their

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independence through the efforts of the early African scholars such Mwalimu Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. Today Africa has many scholars and learned minds capable to driving coherent developmental agendas, but an analysis of the many Africa politicians who are well-educated falls short of the arguments that scholars and educated Africans can drive constructive change in Africa. The African Parliaments from Egypt to South Africa is filled with some of the most intelligent African minds entrusted by the people to represent them in development matters. The effectiveness of the scholars in development and democratic agendas is questionable for some of their actions and behaviours rises integrity concerns. The South Africa, Kenya and Uganda's members of parliament of recent past have been recorded fighting and behaving in dishonourable manners. They pass motions and promote agendas that best benefit them depriving the people a right of making a sound decision. They rally people alongside ethnic lines infecting them with a '*mbaya wetu*' syndrome where the leader's kinsmen will always come to his/her defend regardless on whether the allegations against them are legit or wrong. Some scholars are reluctant to openly educate the public on their rights or direct them to the right direction but will relentlessly support the government in its politics of deprivation and exclusion to plunder resources from the people. To change the democracy, development and dependency narrative about Africa, African scholars must seriously take the mantle of accountability and selflessness. They are the educated few in Africa thus have an insurmountable responsibility to educate the masses on their rights, advocate and undertake development projects, and empower the citizens. Ignorance and arrogance still undermine development, which can be averted if the educated cohort deliberately and proactively sensitizes the masses.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the paper, the state of African democracy and underdevelopment stretches from the colonial period whose vices still transcend in the today's African politics. It is undeniable that African democracy is one of the world's predicaments and a serious concern. The legacy of the colonial masters significantly stained the understanding and definition of democracy and democratic principles by the

African leaders. Nevertheless, despite the legacy and African leaders who are allergic to democratic transition and transformation the masses, opposition groups and individuals, the religious, civic and foreign envoys have proved dedicated to countering resistance and propelling the continent into the right direction. The continent cannot heal and develop overnight but the last two decades significantly calls for more efforts across all spheres of life to help Africa under the umbrella of Africans for Africa. African scholars have an insurmountable responsibility to educate the masses on their rights, advocate and undertake development projects, and empower the citizens.

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