

STRATEGIC PLANNING PRACTICES AMONG POLITICAL PARTIES IN KENYA //

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
LOWER KABETE LIBRARY

University of NAIROBI Library



0444015 2

By

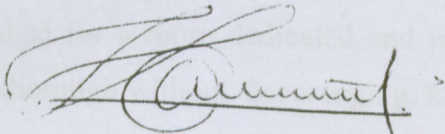
Kepta Reseni Ombati

**A Management Research Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Business
Administration (MBA), School of Business, University of Nairobi**

September 2008

DECLARATION

This management research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.



Signed.....

Date.....18/11/2008

KEPTA RESENI OMBATI

D61/P/8370/03

This management research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University supervisor.



Signed.....

Date.....18th/11/2008

DR. MARTIN OGUTU

Department of Business Administration

School of Business

UNIVERTSITY OF NAIROBI

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My first and foremost gratitude is to my ever abiding friend and benefactor, the Almighty God. It is through His amazing grace I was able to undertake and complete my MBA studies. To Him I give glory.

I am deeply indebted to my supervisor Dr. Martin Ogutu whose patience, guidance, dedication and encouragement made it possible to complete this project. I could have never asked for a more dedicated and inspiring supervisor. You were always firm but cordial, thorough without discouraging. Kindly accept my sincere gratitude.

They may be too many to mention by name, but I acknowledge with appreciation the moral support and encouragement of all my MBA colleagues. I know that the collective efforts in group work and assignments contributed greatly to completion of my course work.

Sincere thanks go to my colleagues and friends at work at both the Youth Agenda (YAA) and the National convention Executive Council (NCEC). My research assistants Eustace Kinyua and Joseph Mutua deserve special mention for their invaluable assistance in data collection and analysis. I thank them for their enthusiasm in spite of the many hours they spent with me throughout the research period in collecting and analysing a wide range of data which form the basis of this report.

Finally, I must thank my friends Duncan Okello, Danny Mwangi, Cyprian Nyamwamu, Collins Odote, Mwalimu Mati, George Tinega, Solo and Hon. Cecily Mbarire for their constant encouragement and support. To my friends and mentors Dr. Willy Mutunga, Prof. Kivutha Kibwana, Rev. Timothy Njoya, Pheroze Nowrojee and Davinder Lamba, I am forever indebted to you for your inspiration and support.

May the Almighty God bless and reward abundantly each one of you who have contributed to the successful completion of this endeavour. Thank you all very much.

DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to you my mother Miriam Kwamboka and to my father the late George Ombati Monyangi. Thanks for the gift of life and for all your love. I dedicate this project to you to thank you for all the efforts and sacrifices you made in bringing me up and giving me an education.

To my wife Elizabeth Isabwa-Ombati for her invaluable friendship and support and my sons Ramsa Ombati Reseni and Jabali Isabwa Reseni for giving me reason to live and work hard for, I treasure all of you and appreciate your understanding support through the many hours I put into this project and into my studies. I thus dedicate this project to you too.

I also dedicate this project to my sister Pamela Mokaya and my sister-in-law Prakah Dickey. Pamela, I have not forgotten that it is you who made me overcome the morning chill to go to school and that it is you who stood by me as I went through turbulent moments in my life to find firm footing in academics later on in life. I owe this achievement to you. As for Prakah, I can only thank God for giving me such a wonderful sister-in-law. Thanks for all the moral support, encouragement and inspiration.

I also dedicate this work to every ordinary Kenyan woman and man who under great odds keep on working hard to make Kenya a better place for all. You are the true heroes of this nation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	iii
DEDICATION.....	iv
LIST OF TABLES.....	viii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	x
ABSTRACT.....	xi
 CHAPTER ONE.....	 1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background.....	1
1.1.1 Strategic Planning Practices	3
1.1.2 Political Parties in Kenya.....	6
1.2 Problem Statement.....	9
1.3 Objectives of the Study.....	11
1.4 Importance of the Study.....	12
 CHAPTER TWO.....	 13
LITERATURE REVIEW.....	13
2.2 The Concept of Strategy.....	13
2.3 Strategic Planning.....	17
2.4 The Strategic Planning Process and Practices.....	20
2.5 Strategic Planning and the Public Sector.....	25
2.6 Benefits of Strategic Planning.....	27
2.7 Challenges and Limitations of Strategic Planning.....	28
2.8 Factors Influencing Strategic Planning Practices.....	29

2.8.1	Leadership.....	29
2.8.2	Organizational Structure and Politics.....	30
2.8.3	Availability Of Resources.....	31
2.8.4	Organizational Culture.....	31
2.8.5	External Environment.....	32
2.9	Studies in Kenya into Factors Influencing Strategic Planning Practices.....	34
CHAPTER THREE		36
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....		36
3.1	Research Design.....	36
3.2	Population.....	36
3.3	Sample Design.....	37
3.4	Data Collection.....	37
3.5	Data Analysis.....	38
CHAPTER FOUR		39
RESEARCH FINDINGS.....		39
4.1	Introduction.....	39
4.2	Profile of Surveyed Political Parties.....	39
4.3	Strategic Planning Practices.....	46
4.4	Strategic Analysis and Choices.....	60
4.5	Factors Influencing Strategic Planning Among Political Parties.....	61

CHAPTER FIVE	71
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	71
5.1 Summary, Discussion and Conclusions.....	71
5.2 Limitations of Study.....	79
5.3 Suggestions for Further Research.....	79
5.4 Implications for Policy and Practice.....	80
REFERENCES	81

APPENDICES.....	88
------------------------	-----------

Appendix I: Questionnaire	88
Appendix II: Political Parties Representation in the Tenth Parliament	98
Appendix III: List of Registered Political Parties	99

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Size of Party by Membership.....	39
Table 2: Size of Party by Members in Parliament	40
Table 3: Duration in operation.....	42
Table 4: Extent of Party Branch Networks and Key Responsibilities of the Branches.....	43
Table 5: Nature of Party Secretariat.....	44
Table 6: Whether the Party Had a Manifesto or Constitution	44
Table 7: Does the Party manifesto or constitution have the party's vision, mission and objectives.....	45
Table 8: Information considered Important in the External Environment	47
Table 9: Collection of Information on the working environment	47
Table 10: Responsibility for Collecting information on Operating Environmental.	48
Table 11: Method employed in competitor analysis.....	48
Table 12: Approaches Used To Analyze Competition.....	48
Table 13: Conduct of Internal audits.....	49
Table 14: Vision, Mission and Objectives.....	50
Table 15: Participants in setting the Party Strategic Objectives.....	51
Table 16: Whether the parties have a strategic plan.....	52
Table 17: Nature of strategic planning.....	52
Table 18: The time horizon of the strategic plan.....	53
Table 19: Responsibility for strategic planning in the party.....	53
Table 20: The order of performing the various tasks in the strategic planning process.....	55
Table 21: Features that characterize the strategic planning process.....	56
Table 22: Budgetary Allocation for Strategic Planning Process.....	57
Table 23: Percentage of Party Budget Allocated To Strategic Planning.....	57
Table 24: Budgetary Allocation by Party size.....	58
Table 25: Tools used in strategic planning.....	58
Table 26: Approaches used in selecting appropriate strategy.....	59

Table 27: Complexity of Party and Relative Importance of Party Values.....60

Table 28: Party Size by Membership and Approach to Strategic Planning.....61

Table 29: Party Size by Employees and Presence of
Formal Strategic Planning Units.....61

Table 30: Party Age and Nature of Strategic Planning.....62

Table 31: Nature of Party and Approach to Strategic Planning.....62

Table 32: Stability of Operating Environment
and Strategic Planning Horizon.....63

Table 33: Environmental Stability and Frequency of
Revision of Strategic Plan.....63

Table 34: Caliber of Party Secretariat and approaches to
Environmental Analysis.....64

Table 35: Complexity of Party Structures and Approaches to
Strategic Planning.....64

Table 36: Complexity of the Party and Responsibility for
environmental scanning.....65

Table 37: Complexity of the Party and Responsibility for
defining vision, mission and objectives.....66

Table 38: Lead Agency and Sequence of Strategic Planning67

Table 39: Complexity of Party Structures and Communication of Strategy.....68

Table 40: Party Geographic Operating Scope and
Communication of Strategy.....69

Table 41: Strategic Planning Practice and Order of
Importance of Party Values.....69

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig 1: Nature of the party by Incorporation.....41

Fig 2: Age of Party.....41

Fig. 3: Geographic Scope of Party Operation.....42

Fig. 4: Responsibility for Environmental Scanning In the Party.....46

Fig 5: Scope of Objectives.....51

Fig. 6: Description of the tools and techniques used in
strategic environmental Analysis.....54

Fig. 7: The Persons Informed Of Party Strategy.....56

Fig. 8: Rating the operating environment.....59

ABSTRACT

The aim of this project was to determine the strategic planning practices among political parties in Kenya and to establish the factors that influence this practice. The research conducted an exploratory descriptive survey involving forty eight parties. This research covered both small and big parties as well as old and new ones. Data was collected by way of a questionnaire with both closed and open ended questions. The data collected was processed to produce requisite descriptive statistics which formed the basis of the analysis, discussions, conclusions and recommendations made in this report. A key finding of this research was that a majority of the political parties do not pursue formal approaches to strategic planning or to strategy development, though most appreciate the importance of strategy in their operations. Many of these parties indeed confirmed pursuing certain approaches to come up with strategy.

The research findings also show that a majority of the parties had a vision, mission as well as well defined objectives but they were mainly found in the party manifestoes or constitutions and not in a formal strategic plan. The research findings show that less than one third of the political parties had a strategic plan. With regard to factors that influence strategic planning among political parties, an interesting finding was that age was not a factor. More of the younger parties than the middle aged parties had a formal approach to strategic planning though all the old parties did like likewise. The research however found the complexity of a party structure is a factor that influences strategic planning practices. The findings show that less complex parties put less premium on formal strategic planning than the more complex ones.

The research also found that Party size is a factor in strategic planning. All large political parties have a formal approach to strategic planning while small had more informal approaches. The caliber of party secretariat is also an important factor in the approaches adopted by parties to environmental analysis. While parties with a professional secretariat had formal approaches to environmental analysis, a minority of the parties with semi-professional or volunteer secretariats did the same. While the findings of this research seem to suggest that strategic planning was not a factor in the performance of political

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Strategic planning has increasingly become a global phenomenon embraced and encompassing a vast variety of organizations across the spectrum over the last four decades. Since its advent in the 1960s when it replaced long range planning, strategic planning has become the touchstone of competition. However as study has shown the practice of strategic planning in these organizations is neither standard nor driven by the same agency. Even within the same industry the practices differ vastly. While sophisticated planning organizations such as General Electric, Procter & Gamble and IBM, for instance, have developed detailed processes, small businesses that rely on the strategy formulation skills and limited time of an entrepreneur typically exhibit very basic planning concerns when contrasted with the larger firms in their industries (Pearce and Robinson 2002). This invites great interest from scholars and researchers to establish the peculiarities as well as coincidences in the strategic planning practices among organizations in the same industry or sectors and across the sectors.

In Kenya while considerable research inquiry has been directed towards the strategic planning practices within the corporate sector, the public sector and the not-for-profit organizations, no similar studies have been done with regards to political parties in the country. Njoya (2004) observed that, while there is a lot of research which has been undertaken in strategic planning, most of it has been in for profit – or corporate sector – organizations. This is supported by Kinyanjui (1985) whose study concluded that research on NGOs has been very limited. However in the case of political parties there is absolutely no research undertaken into strategic planning practice among Kenya's political party organizations. Yet just like corporate organizations and civil society organizations (such as NGOs), political parties too face critical challenges within the competitive operating environment that require strategy and strategic planning. How they manage or cope with these challenges can make a significant contribution to strategic planning knowledge.

Like corporates and CSOs, political parties exist in an open system meaning that they affect and are in turn affected by external conditions that are largely beyond their control (Pearce and Robinson 1997). Organizations operating in open systems consist of groups of people managing limited resources in the pursuit of identifiable goals (Njoya 2004). It is the confluence of competing interests, scarce resources and uncertainties in the environment that motivate organizations to embrace strategic planning as a means of coping with or staying ahead of competition. This is true of political parties which are vehicles for organizing different interests within the context of a competitive environment and scarce resources. Political parties occupy a critical role in our national life shaping public policy, organizing and managing the country's human, natural and other national resources. They also receive and spend billions of shillings from members, supporters and sponsors. This raises many important questions with respect to management of these organizations. For instance, questions have been raised as to whether these organizations utilize the resources available to them effectively and whether they are sufficiently accountable to their benefactors.

The significance of the study of political parties is deepened by the fact that parliament has passed legislation that entitles political parties to public funds for their management and operations. This raises concern as to whether political parties have the necessary institutional systems and organizational management capabilities to put these funds to good use. The tax-payer is entitled to this knowledge as these organizations will spend their money. The basic assumption for public funding of this organization is that they are public interest institutions which are promoting some public good and are subject to public scrutiny. Investigation into their management culture in general and practice of strategic planning will provide information that might be useful in determining the extent to which public money is likely to be effectively utilized. This study therefore seeks to examine political parties in Kenya to establish the extent to which strategic planning is practiced in the management of these political organizations.

1.1.1 Strategic Planning Practices

Strategic planning is the overall planning that facilitates the good management of a process. Strategic planning takes an organization – or individual – outside the day to-day activities of the organization or project. It provides one with the big picture of what one is doing and where one is going. Strategic planning gives provides clarity about what an organization wants to achieve and how to achieve it, rather than a plan of action for day to-day operations (Lachapele et al, 2003). Strategic planning involves making decisions about the organization's long term goals and strategies (Bateman and Zeithaml, 1993). It is a subset of strategic management which focuses on formulation of strategic goals and strategies. The other part of strategic management is strategic implementation which deals with the process of execution of strategy. Strategic planning is a multi-faceted process which covers definition of an organization's vision, mission, objectives, values, strategies, goals and programs.

Terry (1997) observed that strategic planning consists of six distinct steps; determining objectives, gathering and analyzing information, assessing the strategic dimensions of the environment affecting the organization, conducting a resource audit of the firm, establishing strategic alternatives for courses of action and choosing strategic alternatives to pursue and implement. Strategic planning depends heavily upon information external to the organization (Massie 1996). When this is combined with internal data, it enhances the capacity of management to make estimates of expected results while effectively deployment the organizations resources to meet the challenges posed by the external environment. Ansoff (1990) described the strategic planning process as a multifaceted, complex and time-consuming process. Strategic planning process requires careful planning because it is a thorough and comprehensive process. This is necessary because strategic planning sets the parameters for the work of an organization. Thus it demands considerable time and energy (Shapiro). Terry (1997) further observed that strategic planning does not predict the future but rather can perform several key functions. It can, for instance assist a manager cope effectively with future contingencies. It can also provide an early opportunity to correct inevitable mistakes. Strategic planning can also

help an organization in making decisions about the right things at the right time. Finally, it can also focus the manager and the organization on what actions to take in order to shape the future as desired.

McNamara (2008) observed that there are a variety of perspectives, models and approaches used in strategic planning. The way that a strategic plan is developed depends on the nature of the organization's leadership, culture of the organization, complexity of the organization's environment, size of the organization, expertise of planners, etc. For example, there are a variety of strategic planning models, including goals-based, issues-based, organic, scenario etc. Goals-based planning is probably the most common and starts with focus on the organization's mission (and vision and/or values), goals to work toward the mission, strategies to achieve the goals, and action planning (who will do what and by when). Issues-based strategic planning often starts by examining issues facing the organization, strategies to address those issues, and action plans. Organic strategic planning might start by articulating the organization's vision and values and then action plans to achieve the vision while adhering to those values. Henry (2003) defined public strategic planning as "the development, articulation, prioritization and communication of significant policy goals by public organizations and the integration of those goals into the management, budgeting and performance measurement system of public organizations". Whereas Bateman and Zeithaml (1993) observe that strategic planning was a corporate fad of the 1960s through the early 1980s, strategic planning remains a very important aspect of corporate management to date. Strategic planning is indeed a critical aspect of strategic management (Pearce and Robinson, 1999). As Thompson (1997) observed, planning is essential to provide direction and to help ensure that appropriate resources are available where and when they are needed in pursuit of objectives.

Differences in approaches to strategic planning abound. Different planners, for instance, prefer differing approaches to strategic planning. And while some plans are scoped to one year, many range from three years to five while in exceptional cases these may stretch up to ten years into the future. Some plans include only top-level information and no action plans. There is no standard length of written strategic plans. While some plans are five to

eight pages long, others can be considerably longer. Quite often, an organization's strategic planners already know much of what will go into a strategic plan (this is true for business planning, too). However, development of the strategic plan greatly helps to clarify the organization's plans and ensure that key leaders are all "on the same script". Far more important than the strategic plan document, is the strategic planning process itself (McNamara, 2008). No matter what their size, all organizations need to plan. Doing so will highlight both the opportunities and challenges it faces. This will not only strengthen the organization, but will also enable it to deliver more effectively to meet the needs of its beneficiaries. Planning can be simple and straightforward. It can be a creative process that brings demonstrable benefits. There is a direct link between effective planning and long-term sustainability. As such, it is the first step towards sustainable funding (NCVO/ Carnegie UK Inquiry into the Future of Civil Society seminar).

Strategic planning is important in getting an organization achieve many objectives. Key among these are defining the purpose of the organization or company and setting realistic goals, communicating the organization's goals to its various publics, ensuring that employees use resources effectively, Measure the organization's progress and filling gaps. It also helps an organization build a consensus about where it is going. Strategic planning is also important in increasing productivity by ensuring that employees know where they are going and what is expected of them. Furthermore it helps and organization to capitalize on its strengths and overcome it weaknesses while taking advantage of business opportunities and defend itself against threats in the external environment. Strategic planning is thus the process adopted in identifying a strategy that best matches organizational capability with the environment. Strategic planning will enable an organization to identify the prevailing environmental opportunities and threats, and also to figure out or estimate the organization's resources capabilities taking into account the strengths and weaknesses of its resources so as to align itself accordingly to battle with the environmental challenges. As much as strategic planning is important, what is of more importance is how it is practiced in the different institutions. It is no wonder to find institutions going for seminars, workshops and even involving consultants to formulate strategies!

The increasing interest of political parties in strategic planning is driven by changes taking place in the political environment. Donnelly et al (1992) note that in recent years the increasing pace of environmental change has prompted many organizations to adopt strategic planning, which focuses on the definition of long term objectives and strategies to achieve those objectives as opposed to functional or operational planning which focuses more on the intermediate objectives and problems. The pressure to perform better may come from the voters, competitors or donors. Organizations such as the Centre for Multi-Party Democracy Kenya (CMD-K), the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, the National Democratic Institute and the International Republican Institute which support political parties in Kenya, for instance, have made strategic plans mandatory for partnerships with political parties.

1.1.2 Political Parties in Kenya

Political party organizations, more commonly referred to as political parties, refer to all societies formed for the principal purpose of competing for and gaining or retaining political power. There are varied definitions of political party but the key elements of a political party are captured in the definition offered by Dowse and Hughes (1972) which states that political parties are associations formally organized with the explicit and declared purpose of acquiring and or maintaining legal control, either singly or in coalition with other similar associations, over the personnel and the policy of the government of an actual or prospective state. This definition covers all forms of associational life with interest in capture of political power. Political parties are key institutions of governance in a democratic nation-state such as Kenya because they are essential to the practical workings of representative democracy. Scholars have noted that modern democracy in mass societies is unworkable without parties (Schatterschneider 1942).

The many functions that political parties can be condensed into five key headings: the integration and mobilization of citizens; the articulation and aggregation of interests; the formulation of public policy; the recruitment of political leaders; and the organization of

parliament and government (Bartolini and Mair, 2001). Political parties aggregate demands, facilitating compromise among diverse groups and offer the electorate a program of alternative policy proposals designed to meet these demands. They also recruit candidates for elected office, and, if elected, pass legislation and oversee the implementation of public policies. Parties are consequently evaluated for their performance by the electorate during the periodic elections.

Political party organization in Kenya is as old as the nation. The first political party, the Kenya African Union begun as a movement called the Young Kikuyu Association, in 1921, the same year that Kenya became a nation-state under colonial rule. However it is not until 1960 when the first major nationwide political parties emerged in Kenya with the founding of the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU). In 1966, Kenya became a single party state under KANU. Status quo remained until 1991 when under tremendous pressure the state caved in to permit the re-introduction of multiparty pluralist politics. This was preceded by the repeal of section of 2a of the constitution which had made Kenya a *de jure* one party state since 1982. Since then, there has been an exponential growth of political parties which stood at 134 by 2007. From a Global perspective however, Kenyan political parties are a relatively a new phenomenon and is very much at early stages of growth. The Tory Party, from which came the Conservative Party of England, and the Whigs from which the Liberal Democrats are descended, were both formed in the 17th century. The Democratic Party of the US was founded in 1792 and the Republican Party in 1854. In Africa, some of the oldest parties are the African National Congress (ANC) and the National Party both founded in 1912 in South Africa, the latter fronting Afrikaner interest and pursuing a policy of "separate development" among the races while the former fought for total freedom of all South Africans.

In Kenya, the important milestones in political development are the formation of the first party, the Kenya African Union in early 1920s, the formation of the first national parties KANU and KADU in 1960, the proscription of opposition party politics *de facto* in 1966 and *de jure* in 1982. More recently, the country has witnessed profound changes at a

dizzying rate. In 2002, various political parties coalesced with civil society organizations to form NARC which went on to defeat the hitherto monolithic independent party KANU at the polls later that year. However within 2 years of this unprecedented experiment the former allies had fallen in 2007, the country witnessed the most controversial election in which over 1,300 people were killed and over 350,000 displaced. Property estimated at KES 90 million was destroyed and the international community drawn into Kenyan politics in a manner unprecedented. The political and social tension persists today while the economy is laboring under depressed growth. The growth rate dipped from 6% in 2007 to less than 2% in 2008. The country is currently under what is called the Government of National Unity, an uneasy cohabitation among the country's major political parties, the Party of National Unity (PNU) and the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) with Orange Democratic Movement of Kenya (ODM-K) also in the partnership. It is important to note that leaders of the three parties were in the same party, NARC in 2002 when they faced off against KANU. In 2007 the KANU leadership and party of the former NARC members who had regrouped as NARC Kenya teamed up to form PNU while the former allies Odinga and Kalonzo parted ways within ODM-K with the former establishing himself in ODM and the latter in ODM-K. ODM partnered with NARC while ODM-K teamed up with the Labour Party of Kenya. PNU was formed just a few months to the election while NARC which had an overwhelming majority in parliament in 2003 today has only 3 MPs. ODM which never existed before 2005 is today the largest party in Parliament with 107 MPs. All these happened between 2004 and 2007! Such is the dynamic nature of Kenya's party politics.

Political parties in Kenya are established under the *Registration of Societies Act (Cap 490)* of the laws of Kenya. However the Ninth Parliament passed the *Political Parties Act* in 2007 which has transferred this responsibility from the Registrar of Societies to the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK). The act has also fundamentally altered the manner in which parties are to be established and managed. While the repeal of section 2A of the Constitution opened up Kenya to competitive politics, the *Political Parties Act 2007* provides for the establishment of the Political Parties Fund (sec 21) whose sources will be the treasury (sec 22.1.a) and which will be allocated to political parties for

activities and programmes aimed at promoting citizens participation in political life, public communication of party policies shaping public opinion among others (sec 23).

In spite of all these, the exact nature and extent management practices within these organizations remain uncertain. Compared to other sectors, there is little information concerning strategic planning practices specifically amongst Kenya's political parties. Yet political parties occupy a very critical position in the life of the nation. In democracies political parties are the only vehicles through which government is formed. They impact public policy and management of the economy. Proper management of political parties is therefore critical for the growth and well being of the nation. While there are over 134 political parties in Kenya, only 23 are represented the Tenth Parliament. This is however the largest number of representation ever. Parties vary widely in terms of extent of institutionalization, management competences and membership base, ranging from mass movements to briefcase organizations with a small number of members. However irrespective of relative sizes, all political parties face serious management challenges in a highly competitive and unpredictable environment. The challenge of evolution and growth present serious management challenges which makes an inquiry into strategic planning practices within these parties both interesting and intriguing. It is also of great strategic significance within the field of strategic planning. Political parties are now set to benefit from public funding. That raises public stakes in these organizations. This means increased public scrutiny and demand for accountability. This is likely to raise demand for strategic planning amongst political parties. Within the rapidly changing and competitive political market, only those parties that are best organized and managed internally may survive while the rest will perish.

1.2 Problem Statement

Porter (1998) emphasizes that competitiveness is at the core of the success or failure of organizations and that every firm in the market should have a competitive strategy which relates the firm to its environment. This environment consists of all the conditions and forces that affect its strategic options and define its competitive situations. The process by which the organization arrives at its competitive strategy is strategic planning. While

strategic planning does not predict the future, for a manager it can assist in coping effectively with future contingencies, provide an early opportunity to correct inevitable mistakes, help in making decisions about the right things at the right time and focus on what action to take in order to shape the future desired (Terry and Franklin 1997). The more dynamic the environment, the more intense the competition among organizations operating within that environment (Pearce and Robinson 1997). And the more the competition the greater the need for strategic planning in search of competitive edge. But it is not only whether or not organizations such as political parties operating in a competitive environment, within the multiparty democracy context, craft strategic plans that is of interest. Even more important is how the strategic plans are developed and therefore whether these strategic plans get implemented.

Political parties are considered unique because in a democracy such as Kenya's, it is only political parties that can compete for political power and form government. Political parties shape public policy, manage the country's economy and politics, formulate laws that govern the conduct of business and private life of individuals and groups. Indeed only political parties can and do form and run government. Political party pre-eminence is also on ascendancy. These organizations have been increasing in number and importance within the public sphere with the entrenchment of democratic governance in Kenya. However at the same time, mismanagement of political parties has led to wrangles and breakup creating a very unstable environment for political party management.

Political parties have also been accused of promoting ethnicity and enriching a few individuals at the expense of the membership. Following the acrimonious breakup of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) in 2003 and post-election violence that followed the equally controversial announcement of the contested results of the December 2007 that led to the deaths of over 1,200 Kenyans, the displacement of over 300,000 other Kenyans and the destruction of property estimated at more than KES 90 billion, greater interest has shifted to political parties. This considered together with the fact that these organizations are set to start benefiting from millions of taxpayers money demand that we

must turn our serious attention to the manner in which they are managed and how they do business in pursuit of their stated objectives. Political parties are critical organization in our political, economic and social lives as a nation as these are the vehicles through which government is formed.

While considerable research has been undertaken on strategic planning in various sectors in Kenya, most of this research has revolved around corporate, public and non governmental organizations. For instance, Sharbani (2001) carried out a study on strategic planning practices within hotels and restaurants in Nairobi. Sagwa (2002) studied the pharmaceutical manufacturing firms, Wanjohi (2002) covered the insurance firms in Kenya, Bett (2003) studied the tea manufacturing companies in Kenya while Busolo (2003) covered the motor vehicle franchise holders in Nairobi. No similar research has been undertaken with regards to political parties in the country. Previous researches have tackled various organizations other than political parties in Kenya.

This study sought to bridge the existing knowledge gap by conducting research among political party organizations and providing relevant information on research findings with respect to strategic planning practices among the organizations. This will be achieved by examining practices within the parties to establish whether they undertake strategic planning and how they develop their strategic plans. This study seeks answers to the following fundamental questions; whether Kenyan political parties undertake strategic planning at all, and if they do, how they do it. It also seeks to establish the factors that may influence strategic planning among political parties.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

This research had the following two key objectives;

- i. To determine the strategic planning practices among political parties in Kenya
- ii. To establish factors influencing strategic planning among political parties in Kenya

1.4 Importance of the Study

The findings of this research may be beneficial to political parties, stakeholders such as the Electoral Commission of Kenya under whom political parties will be registered and regulated, civil society organizations working in the field of governance and donors interested in promoting the development of political party organizations in Kenya. It may also be useful to scholars and other researchers who may wish to use the research as a source of reference in future.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 The Concept of Strategy

Strategy is about change, adaptability and flexibility (Quinn 1982). It may be thought of as a pattern of purposes, policies, programs, actions, decisions, and/or resource allocations that defines what an organization is, what it does, and why it does it (Bryson 1995). Strategy, where it comes from and how it operates, are in fact contentious issues in management theory, as witnessed by the volumes of writing on the subject. Mintzberg and Lampel (1999) identified ten schools of strategy formulation, but this is only one among many attempts to categorize the vast literature and varying approaches that have been generated over the years. Strategy indeed is a multi dimensional concept which various scholars have defined in many different ways. Mintzberg and Quinn (1993), for instance, perceive strategy as a pattern or a plan that integrates organization's major goals, policies and action into a cohesive whole. Porter (1996) on the other hand has defined strategy as a creation of a unique and vulnerable position of tradeoffs in competing, involving a set of activities that neatly fit together, that are simply consistent, reinforce each other and ensure optimization of effort. Pearce and Robinson (2007) defines strategy as the company's "game plan" which results in future oriented plans interacting with the competitive environment to achieve the company's objectives. This definition of strategy is important in this study as it reflects competitiveness in the environment and the game plan aspects, which organizations such as political parties within a competitive environment, put in place to compete effectively.

Ansoff (1999) viewed strategy in terms of market and product choices. According to his view, strategy is the "common thread" among an organization's activities and the market. Johnson and Scholes (1998) define strategy as the direction and scope of an organization that ideally matches the results of its changing environment and in particular its markets and customers so as to meet stakeholder expectation. According to Jauch and Glueck

(1984), strategy is a unified and integrated plan that relates the strategic advantages of the firm to the challenges of the environment and that is designed to ensure that the basic objectives of the enterprise are achieved through proper execution by the organization. For Thompson et al (1993), it is the match between an organization's resources and skills and the environmental opportunities as well as the risks it faces and the purposes it wishes to accomplish. It is meant to provide guidance and direction for the activities of the organization. Since strategic decisions influence the way organizations respond to their environment, it is very important for a firm to make strategic plans and define strategy in terms of its function to the environment. The purpose of strategy is to provide directional cues to the organization that permit it to achieve its objectives while responding to the opportunities and threats in the environment (Pearce and Robinson, 2007). Thompson et al (1993) contend that managers develop strategies to guide how an organization conducts its business and how it will achieve its objectives. The major tasks of managers are to ensure success – and survival – of the companies they manage. Strategy is useful in helping managers tackle the potential problems that face their companies (Aosa 1997). Strategy is a tool that offers significant helps for coping with turbulence confronted by firms. It is therefore very important for managers to pay serious attention to strategy as a managerial tool. If strategy is to be of value, correct strategies have to be formulated and implemented; a process known as strategic management which incorporates strategic planning.

But strategy is also about competition. About being able to operate, survive and thrive in a competitive environment such as the multi-party environment within which political parties operate. This introduces the concept of competitive strategy which Porter (1998) describes as “the search for a favorable competitive position in an industry, the fundamental arena in which competition occurs” and further explains “Competitive strategy aims to establish a profitable and sustainable position against the forces that determine industry competition.” This involves identifying sources of competition in the ever changing environment then developing strategies that match organizational capabilities to the changes in the environment. According to Porter (1998), “competitive

strategy is about being different". This means deliberately performing activities differently and in better ways than competitors.

Competitive strategy consists of all those moves and approaches that a firm has and is taking to attract buyers, withstand competitive pressure and improve its market position (Thompson and Strickland, 2002). It concerns what a firm is doing in order to gain a sustainable competitive advantage. Porter (1980) outlines the three approaches to competitive strategy these being Striving to be the overall low cost producer, i.e. low cost leadership strategy, secondly Seeking to differentiate one's product offering from that of its rivals, i.e. differentiation strategy and lastly Focus on a narrow portion of the market, i.e. focus or niche strategy. We can also make distinctions between strategy as top-down and planned on the one hand and incremental and bottom-up on the other. Whittington (1993) identifies the former a "classical" view, referring to "rational future-oriented planning", "a rational process of deliberate calculation and analysis, designed to maximize long-term advantage". Similarly, Mintzberg and Waters (1994) observe that strategy has been seen as "what the leaders of an organization 'plan' to do in the future". Key features of such a view of strategy are its long termism and its "bigness" (Huff, 2001).

However in his essay on logical incrementalism, Quinn (1982) sees a blurring of strategy formation and strategy implementation. Mintzberg (1987) has also challenged the classical model, which views the strategist as a planner or a visionary, sitting on a pedestal dictating strategies for everyone else to implement. The classical model assumes leadership from the top, but the issue of "leadership" has become problematic and its characteristics debated in "emergent" theory, counterbalancing questions around the cultural dissemination of strategy (Quinn 1982, Clegg et al. 1999). Peters and Waterman (1982) added another dimension to the conception of strategy with the edict that a successful company needs to "stick to the knitting", outsourcing anything other than core functions or operations.

A definition of strategy, which encapsulates the ethos of much of the thinking beyond the “classical” planned top-down model, is offered by Quinn (1982,) which points out that, the validity of a strategy lies not in its pristine clarity or rigorously maintained structure, but in its capacity to capture the initiative, to deal with unknowable events, to redeploy and concentrate resources as new opportunities and thrusts emerge, and thus to use resources most effectively toward selected goals. Equally important, a strategy serves as a vehicle for achieving consistent decision-making across different departments and individuals. Hamel and Prahalad (1989) views organizations as composed of many individuals all of whom are engaged in making decisions that must be coordinated. For strategy to provide such coordination requires that the strategy process acts as a communication mechanism within the firm. Such a role is increasingly recognized in the strategic planning processes of large companies. The shift of responsibility of strategic planning from corporate planning departments to line managers and the increased emphasis on discussion the businesses and the corporate headquarters (as opposed to the formal approval of written plans) are part of this increased emphasis on strategic planning as a process for achieving coordination and consensus within companies (Buzzell and Gale, 1989).

Hamel and Prahalad (1989) argued that a critical ingredient in the strategies of outstandingly successful companies is what they term “strategic intent”—an obsession with achieving leadership within the field of endeavor. Strategy process in facilitating communication and coordination must recognize the importance of intuition, tacit knowledge, and learning-by-doing in complementing more “scientific” analysis. However Unlike mathematics, chemistry, or even economics, strategic management lacks an agreed-upon, internally consistent, empirically validated body of theory. Though it employs theory and theoretical concepts, these are drawn mainly from economics, psychology, ecology and sociology—principally on an ad hoc basis (Buzzell and Gale, 1987). Strategy is about winning (Grant, 1998) and will help by giving coherence and direction to both individuals and organizations by specifying the resources that are required to achieve an objective. Johnson and Scholes (2002) define strategy as: direction and scope of an organization over the long term which achieves advantage for the

organization through its configuration of resources within a changing environment to meet the needs of markets and to fulfill stakeholders' expectations. In large corporate organization strategy can be applied at the following three levels: Corporate which looks at the general direction of the whole organization, the Business level which looks at how the organization or its strategic business units (SBU) tackle particular markets and at the operational level which looks at specific strategies for different departments of the business. But this may or may not apply to political parties in Kenya.

2.2 Strategic Planning

Strategic planning has been defined variously by different writers. The earliest attempt to define strategic planning was by Henri Fayol, Bill Goetz and John Friedman. Fayol (1949) viewed strategic planning as an assessment of both the future and making provision for it while Goetz (1949) perceived it as fundamental choosing. Friedmann (1967) on the other hand regarded strategic planning simply as reason acting on a network of ongoing activities through the intervention of certain decision structures and processes. Bryson (1995) and Nutt and Backoff (1992) look at the strategic planning processes as providing a guide for the practitioner, while Joyce's (2000) study is discursive rather than prescriptive, and Maddock (2002) focuses on an example of strategy implementation in one segment of the public sector. Massie (1996) introduces an interesting concept when he observes that strategic planning, which may also be viewed as deciding on the broad courses of action is termed policy making and that this is, in theory, performed by the legislative branch of government. In practice however this role is shared with also the Executive branch and the judiciary.

Koontz and O'Donnell (1972) have defined strategic planning as deciding in advance what to do, how to do it, when to do it and who is to do it. According to them planning bridges the gap between where an organization is and where it wants to go. Ackoff (1970) defined strategic planning as a design of a desired future and of effective ways of bringing it about. Naylor (1979) defines strategic planning as long range planning with a time horizon of three to five years. Saunders and Tuggle (1977) on the other hand view it

as an organization-wide planning which covers all major functions, inclusive of goals as well as means and which is long range in nature but effectively integrated into the management system utilized by senior management. Hofer (1976) on his part suggests that strategic planning is concerned with the development of viable match between an organization's capabilities and the risks present in the environment. Litschert and Nicholson (1968) on the other hand view strategic planning as the highest level of decision making concerning a company's basic direction and purpose in order to assure long term health and vitality of the organization.

Strategic planning may be for an organization or for an individual. Corporate planning is a philosophy (Bennett, 1999). It has a futuristic orientation and embraces the evaluation of implications of future decisions, the establishment of performance standards for an organization, the analysis of the environment in which the company operates and the precise specification of goals. As Bennett further observes, and correctly so, corporate planning precedes all other managerial activities and conditions changes in an organization, its staffing and such other important managerial decisions. MacMillan and Tampoem (2000) concurs with Bennett when he asserts that corporate planning is a phenomenon that seeks to address the issue of organization as a whole and that corporate strategic planning addresses issues relating to the intent, scope and nature of an organization. Hussey (1978) on his part views corporate strategic planning as being a comprehensive continuous process of management looking towards the future which is implemented within the framework and which is responsive to changes in the environment. Steiner (1979) contends that corporate strategic planning links three major types of plans; the strategic, medium range programmes and the short range budgets and the operational plans. He views corporate strategic plan as more or less formalized efforts of an organization to establish basic company purposes, objectives, policies and strategies.

Mintzberg et al (1999) provide a very interesting perspective in their discussion of strategy formation when they argue that strategic planning is a means not to create strategy but rather to programme already created strategy – or in other words, to work out

the implications of such a strategy formally. The distinction here is that while strategy creation is essentially a process of synthesis, strategic planning on the other hand is essentially an analytical process which is based on decomposition. This is important in establishing and delineating the fact that strategy is not dependent on formal strategic planning but that formal strategic planning is important in putting logic to strategy through programming.

Bryson (1993) summarizes the difference between strategic planning and long range planning thus; first, strategic planning characteristically focuses on strategic issues and their political context while long range planning focuses on goals and objectives without appropriately acknowledging the politics of planning. Secondly, while long range planning tends to rely on extrapolation of current trends, strategic planning emphasizes on rigorous assessment of the internal and external environment of the organization. Finally while long range planning depends on the predictions of a "most likely" future happening, strategic planning is more action-oriented, given its emphasis on building a capability to respond to a range of possible futures.

Strategic planning took shape in the 1960s, less than ten years after long range planning (Ansoff, 1960). Strategic planning rose into prominence as a consequence of the failure of the traditional long range planning in the context of a turbulent economic environment in the 1960s. The stimulus for the rapid transition from long range planning to strategic planning was saturation and decline in growth in a number of firms. While at the time the reasons for the saturation and decline were unclear, it was clear that it was both undesirable and dangerous to plan a firm's future on the basis of extrapolation of past trends as was the practice in long range planning. In 1976, Louis Gerstner stated that "one of the most intriguing management phenomena of the late 1960s and 1970s has been the rapid spread of the corporate or strategic planning concept. Except for the so called computer revolution few management techniques have swept through corporate and government enterprise more rapidly or completely" (Gerstner 1976).

Although over the recent past strategic planning has been more closely associated with the corporate sector, its origin lies in the military with close support of politics. Early experimentation with strategic planning, for instance, was spearheaded by the US Secretary of Defence, Robert McNamara who installed PPBS (planning-programming-budgeting system, which is an advanced version of strategic planning) in the department of defence in the early 1960s. In this he was supported by Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson. This indicates that application of strategic planning to statecraft is not alien but rather an important contribution to the evolution of strategic planning. Indeed business borrowed from experimentation by the military and politicians. As Ansoff (1990) observes the McNamara experiment was repeated in many business firms inspite of the early setbacks. The result is that firms like General Electric which is reputed to be one of today's leading practitioners of strategic planning have successfully established strategic planning as part of the firm's general management.

Strategic planning has gained currency over the last four decades precisely because in the increasingly highly competitive business environment, budget-oriented planning or forecast-based planning methods are insufficient for business to survive and grow. This is because strategic planning involves making decisions about long term goals and strategies for an organization (Bateman and Zeithaml, 1990). Organizations have found it inevitable to engage in strategic planning in order to clearly define their objectives and assess both the internal and external situation to formulate strategy, implement the strategy, evaluate the progress, and make adjustments as necessary to stay on track with a focus on the long term growth or performance horizons.

2.3 The Strategic Planning Process and Practices

There is no universal consensus on the one "right way" to develop strategy. There are many different and divergent views on strategy development and strategic planning. While logical incrementalist school championed by proponents like Quinn (1980) and Handy (1976), for instance, have argued that every successful strategy development has an element of goal orientation and process orientation, proponents of the rational view

such as Ansoff (1990) considers strategy development as a rational and analytic process. This approach views strategy development as based on rational arguments and analytical consideration. Consequently the rational planning models are based on assessment of opportunities and threats in the external environment, and strengths and weaknesses in the internal environment. However other scholars such as Argyris (1985) have disputed this view and instead argued that strategy development is a guided learning process. This view considers the mere formulation of strategic plans as advocated by the rational view as an insufficient guarantee of behavioral change by managers. This is because managers are subject to mental frames which may not reflect the complexity of the world as analyzed in or during the preparation of strategic plans. This approach therefore attempts to introduce these mental modes of reality into the strategy development process. This approach emphasizes common image of reality, a common language and joint acquisition of new insights. However a fourth school, the emergent strategy view, has contended that it is not possible to develop a perspective of the future and formulate explicit objectives in an unpredictable environment. Proponents of this view such as Mintzberg (1994) argue that it is necessary to react in a flexible, opportunistic and accidental manner to new, unpredictable developments. It proposes "muddling through" because organizations are regularly overtaken by developments and therefore react in non-structural manner and learn through mistakes.

Gluck (1986) note that in the 1960s through to the early 1980s, strategic planning often emphasized a top-down approach to goal setting and planning. This means that only senior managers and specialized strategic planning units analyzed market conditions and developed goals and plans for the entire organization (Bateman and Zaithaml, 1990). This suggests that the practices have changed. However this is not the case. As Mintzberg et al (1999) have observed, in the strategic planning process, the popular view still sees the strategist as a planner or a visionary sitting on a pedestal dictating brilliant strategies for everyone else to implement. These views reflect the broad reality of the strategic planning practices across organizations. Thus while in some organizations, there has been a shift to involvement of managers from various levels or among staff members across the organization, in others the strategic planning process involve either the top

management only or the top level management and specialized strategic planning units within the organization. In other cases it may involve outsourced specialists.

The debate on strategy development is even deepened further by the argument that strategic planning need not always be a formal process to be effective. Critics of formal planning argue that when the environment turns turbulent, firms are advised to avoid formal planning and instead make their decisions “organically” on the basis of managerial intuition and experience (Mintzberg 1973). This view therefore effectively promotes informal approaches to strategy formulation with flexibility being perceived as the anti-dote to a dynamic environment. However others have argued that research has shown that strategic planning, when properly installed can accepted by management, does produce superior improvements in performance (Ansoff and McDonell). This suggests that formal approach to strategic planning is a desirable and beneficial corporate undertaking.

Kenya is however out of pace with the rest of the world in terms of study and publication on strategic planning practices in the country. Kamau (2005) notes that unlike in developed countries, literature on theory and practice of strategic planning in organizations in developing countries, such as Kenya, is very limited and more so particularly in the indigenous organizations in both the private and public sectors. This is even more true of political parties. Study of strategic planning practices in the country has concentrated on the corporate sector. Among the early works include those of Shumusho (1983) who focused on practices in selected Kenyan companies and Aosa (1992) who conducted an empirical investigation of aspects of strategy formulation and implementation within large, private manufacturing companies in the country. More recent works show the same trend. Among the recent research include those of Bett (2003) who studied strategic planning practices in tea manufacturing companies, Busolo (2003) who looked at the motor vehicle franchise holdings in Nairobi, Mutonyi (2003) whose work was around microfinance institutions in the country and Maundu (2005) whose attention was on the horticultural exporters. In between important work in the areas has been conducted by among others Mwaura (2001) who studied practices among

television companies and Sharbani (2001) who looked at the practices in hotels and restaurants. Sagwa (2002) on the other hand has conducted an investigation into the local pharmaceutical manufacturing firms in Kenya while Wanjohi (2002) has conducted similar investigation into the insurance companies in Kenya.

The public sector has also attracted some attention. Notable works in this area include those of Karanja (2004) whose survey research on strategic planning and performance of public corporations in Kenya is among the very first ones. Academic and research institutions have also received some attention with Ogari (2005) researching into the practices within the universities in the country and Waruhiu (2004) studying research-based institutions. Study of the practices within the non-profit sector has revolved around non governmental organizations (NGOs) with the early work done by Kiliko (2000). Another groundbreaking study is that of Otete (2003) who has made a comparative study of strategic planning practices in the public and private sectors in the country. The literature is enriched by case studies among which include those of kamau (2004) who studied strategic planning practices at the Kenya Amateur Athletics Association (KAAA) and Wangechi (2005) who made similar studies at the East Africa Breweries Ltd (EABL). Related studies are those of Muhoro (2004) who looked at process of strategy development in the Kenya Bus Service (KBS) Ltd and Nyamweya (2005) whose study was on strategy development at the Lonhro Africa PLC.

Strategic planning processes will be designed to fit the specific need of the organization. But every successful model must include vision and mission, environmental analysis, setting objectives and strategic analysis choice (McCarthy 1996, Arthur 1989). A key organizing question throughout this process is who determines the organizational response at each stage and how does this happen? Identification of the institution's vision and mission is the first step of any strategic planning process. It involves questions such as what is the organization's business and what will it be in future? A vision and mission infuse the organization with a sense of purpose and direction and giving it a mission. A mission is a statement that broadly outlines the organization's future course and serves as a guiding concept. Once the vision and mission are clearly identified the institution must

analyze its external and internal environment. Analysis is the critical starting point for strategic thinking (Ohmae 2008). The most popular framework for this analysis is the SWOT analysis. The SWOT analysis seeks to establish the internal strengths and weaknesses of the organization and the external opportunities and threats to the organization. Analysis of the external environment may be based on a review of the political, economic, social and technological factors within the organization's environment or it could be based on the broader list covering political, economic, social and technological as well as the ecological and legal (PESTEL) ones.

The act of setting formal performance objectives converts the organization's mission and direction into specific performance targets to be achieved and protects against drift and confusion over what to accomplish and toleration of undemanding results (Arthur 1989). The organization is able to draw short range objectives which draw attention to what immediate results to achieve while long range objectives consider what to do now to have the organization in position to produce results later. The institution then evaluates the difference between their current position and the desired future through Gap analysis. To close up the gap and achieve its desired state the institution must develop specific strategies. Strategic evaluation and control involves not only evaluating strategy for deviations from intended course but also for flexibility towards responding to the new challenges and determining the effectiveness and the pace of the implementation (Johnson and Scholes 2003). The institution should measure current performance against previously set expectations, and consider any changes or events that may have impacted the desired course of actions. The revised plan must take into consideration emergent strategies and changes affecting the organization's intended course. This is because the ongoing stream of new and revised strategic moves and approaches (some big in scope and some small, some applying to one part and some to the whole) mean that an organization's prevailing strategy is almost never the result of a single strategizing effort but rather the pattern of moves, approaches and decisions that establish an organization.

2.4 Strategic Planning and the Public Sector

Strategic planning practices within the public sector is of interest to this research because of its close affinity with political parties. Unlike the corporate sector the public sector and political parties foundational philosophy is the promotion of the social good and the exercise of public and political power in pursuit of these ends. Thus the public sector has may provide useful insights for this study in terms of the challenges that organizations within these sectors face in strategic planning and the factors that influences the strategic planning thereof. In his guide to strategic planning, Bryson (1993) posits that strategy is essentially an emergent phenomenon, involving the crafting of a corporate culture through reviews of the organizations present state, and formation of a mission and vision to guide its future development. Leadership is given prominence, counterbalanced with “stakeholder” issues, which are to be “managed”, chiefly, internally. This approach may have much to do with the size of the organizations concerned. Joyce (2000) takes a similar model of strategic processes as his base, in his account of the implementation of strategic planning in the public sector in the UK, so that concepts rooted in the private sector literature of leadership, mission and vision, again appear. In relation to the local government sector, he adds consultation to the list of core activities, to achieve the goal of user-driven services. Maddock (2002), notes the importance of leadership and complains that people are consulted to death, and yet that the system is unable to feed innovative ideas from the bottom-up.

The tensions about outsourcing, about bottom-up versus top-down, about leadership versus community and about where strategy should and does come from, are not dissimilar to the problems posed by the management literature. She comments, for instance, that “there is a juggling act to be done by executives in order to manage top-down strategy alongside what they perceive as more consultative management styles” (Maddock, 2002). Government directives and the managerial controls that flow from them largely constitute the top-down element. The aims of the internal culture, on the other hand, feel more like “total quality management”, but concerns around how staff innovation feeds up, and how community views feed in, remain. Maddock highlights the

importance of leadership, but concludes that “transforming leaders” who can empower others are thin on the ground, as “too many executives appear uncertain of their leadership role within the modernization process” (Maddock, 2002). Maddock sums up the short-fall in performance towards the delivery of the modernization agenda in the NHS as gaps between aims and reality: the implementation gap; the knowledge gap; the communication gap.

The selected strategy is implemented by means of programs, budgets, and procedures. Implementation involves organization of the firm's resources and motivation of the staff to achieve objectives. The way in which the strategy is implemented can have a significant impact on whether it will be successful. In most cases different people from those who formulated it do implementation of the strategy. For this reason, care must be taken to communicate the strategy and the reasoning behind it. Otherwise, the implementation might not succeed if the strategy is misunderstood or if the affected parties resist its implementation because they do not understand why the particular strategy was selected (Thomson, 1996). Therefore Strategy implementation as an activity embraces all of those actions that are necessary to put a strategy into practice. In detail this Implementation involves identification of the key tasks to be performed, allocation of these tasks to individuals (i.e. delegation) providing for co-ordination of separated tasks, the design and installation of an appropriate management information system the drawing up of a specific programme of action including a time schedule down to the system of comparing actual performance with those standards and the design of a system of incentives, controls and penalties appropriate to the individual concerned and the tasks to be performed (Howe 1986).

Putting the strategy into effect and getting the organization moving in the direction of strategy accomplishment calls for a fundamentally different set of managerial tasks and skills. Whereas crafting strategy is largely an entrepreneurial activity, implementing strategy is primarily an internal administrative activity. Whereas strategy formulation entailed heavy doses of visions, analysis, and entrepreneurial judgment, successful strategy implementation depends upon the skills of working through others, organizing

motivating culture-building and creating strong fits between strategies and how organization does things, ingrained behavior does not change just because a new strategy has been announced. Implementing strategy poses the tougher, more time-consuming management challenge. Practitioner is emphatic in saying it is a whole lot easier to develop a sound strategic plan than it is to "make it happen" (Thompson and Strickland, 1989).

Massie (1996) suggests one major reason why the public sector organizations are comparatively less successful in strategic planning than those in the corporate sector. In his view, business firms have one great advantage over public organizations in that it is easy to measure profit unlike the major goals of public organizations which must be articulated in phrases such as "reduce crime", "improve public health", "protect the country from attacks" which are much harder to measure goal attainment. The difficulties that may be experienced in measuring goal attainment by public organizations encompass political parties. Indeed in Kenya this could be even worse given the comparatively low level of institutionalization of political parties.

2.5 Benefits of Strategic Planning

The benefits of strategic planning are many. It places focus on the important things and assists in proper allocation of resources such as time, talent and money to those activities that provide the most benefit. This is because strategic planning provides a holistic view of the organization and an objective basis for performance measurement. It also creates an awareness of the changing environment so that the organization can execute necessary changes or take actions to cope with this environment. This may lead in change of direction for the organization. Strategic planning may therefore bring about needed change of direction of the organization. Concomitantly, it helps in identifying available opportunities to be exploited by the organization while at the same time dealing with potential threats within the external environment. On the other hand it creates awareness of the organization's internal strengths on which to build for future success and weaknesses to be overcome. This also means that poor performing areas can be identified

and eliminated. Analysis of the internal business or organizational culture may also be useful in evaluating the organization's impact performance. Not less important is the fact that strategic planning can also help the organization set more realistic objectives that may be demanding and yet attainable. Indeed it may help the organizations to set clear objectives. This is because strategic planning enables the organization to visualize the future as well as provide a clear framework for decision-making.

Another critical benefit is that strategic planning may lead to better communications with both those inside and outside the organization or company. This is especially important in providing a clear road map to the organization's different constituencies showing where the company is going and how to get there as well as develop a logical frame of reference for budgets and short-range operating plans. This is besides developing better internal coordination of activities. It could also provide a better grip on control of operational problems while improving and accelerating growth through improved effectiveness and efficiency in utilizing organizational resources to meet its objectives. Strategic planning may throw up strategic issues that can be brought up for top management review and also provide better information for decisions making. Finally strategic planning may engenders a sense of participation and provide a sense of security among employees that come from better understanding of the changing environment and the company's ability to adapt.

2.6 Challenges and Limitations of Strategic Planning

Important as it may be, strategic planning is not without its challenges. Mintzberg (1994) has in fact challenged the extent to which planning provides benefits. He argues that there is danger in the manner in which formal systems of strategic planning have been employed. Some of these dangers include the following; the strategy becoming thought of as the plan; confusion between the budgetary process and the strategic planning process; obsession with the search for a definitively right strategy; problems in design and putting into effect of strategic planning systems. The problems here include the leadership of the organization ceding responsibility of strategic planning process to

specialists or consultants; the process may be cumbersome; over-detailing leading to paralysis by analysis; the dangers of ending up with an inflexible, hierarchical organization with the resultant stifling of ideas and dampening of innovative capacity.

Key among these challenges are organizational culture/cultural web, organizational structure, uncertainty and the learning organization, division of responsibility, time challenge, chances of implementation, expensive, uncertainty of the future and internal resistance. Strategic planning has also been accused of inability to address current problems. In any case planning is difficult and that plans limit choices. According to critiques, strategic planning by its very nature constitutes an imposed limitation.

2.7 Factors Influencing Strategic Planning Practices

There are diverse factors identified as influencing the strategic planning practices. The following are some of the factors that have been consistently associated with influence on strategic planning practices.

2.7.1 Leadership

Like strategic planning, the concept of leadership is a contested territory with as many definitions as there are theoreticians on the subject. And whereas our focus here is to explore how leadership impacts strategic planning it might suffice to begin by looking at the definitions provided by a few scholars. Massie (1996) for instance views leadership as the total manner in which a manager influences actions of subordinates. Stodgill (1950) and Johnson et al (2005) on the other hand view leadership as the process of influencing an organization (or group within the organization) in its efforts towards achieving an aim or goal. Massie (1996) identifies four functions of leadership; issuing of orders which are clear, complete and within the capabilities of the subordinates to accomplish, continual training in which subordinates are given instructions to enable them carry out particular assignments in existing situations, motivation of workers to meet expectation and maintenance of discipline and rewarding. This clearly indicates that leadership has a critical role to play in strategic planning as all these four activities apply to the process.

Johnson et al (2005) however provide very useful dichotomy between occupation of position and exercise of influence when they observe that a leader is not necessarily someone at the top of an organization, but rather someone who is in a position to have influence. Viewed this way it becomes clear that in the process of strategic planning in organizations, leadership may or may not come from the top. Further interesting perspectives on strategy formation are provided by Mintzberg who identifies three different possible responses of the strategist based on the nature of the organization they are working within. Mintzberg et al (1999) observe that if the strategist of an entrepreneurial organization is largely a concept attainer and that of a machine organization largely a planner, then the strategist the innovative organization is largely a pattern recognizer, seeking to detect emerging patterns within and outside the strategic umbrella. This view nuances further the role of the leader in strategic planning with the proposition being that the role of strategist is not similar across the organizations or circumstances. It will be useful to see how this applies to different sizes of political parties, to parties of different ages and to parties whose support structures are dissimilar.

2.7.2 Organizational Structure and Politics

Thompson and Strickland observe (1998) that company politics present strategy leaders with the challenge of building consensus for the strategy and its subsequent implementation. Politics play a critical role in strategy formulation and implementation. Effective formulation and implementation of strategy is not possible without being perceptive of organizational politics. Organizational politics in turn may be driven by organizational structure. Heinz and Harold (1993) define organizational structure as the grouping of activities and people into departments while Bateman and Zeithaml (1990) view structure as the division of tasks for efficiency and clarity of purpose and coordination between independent parts of the organization to ensure organizational effectiveness. Structure strategists aim at balancing between internal efficiency and overall effectiveness within the broader environment.

If an organization fails to involve subordinates in the planning, the strategy resulting from deliberation of the top level leadership or management, may not be owned widely by all

staff members, or in the case of a political party even by the membership. If formal planning is to be useful, those responsible for them need to involve and draw on the experience of people throughout the organization if resistance is to be overcome and the process ownership guaranteed (Johnson et al, 2005).

2.7.3 Availability Of Resources

Strategic planning is an expensive exercise. It requires significant resources ranging from human resources, financial resources to intellectual and political capital. The latter is tied closely with leadership and organizational politics. As Edelman (1997) argues resource constraint can be a real challenge in strategy formulation and implementation. Thompson et al (1992) particularly notes that the human resources element is critical in the design and implementation of strategic plans.

2.7.4 Organizational Culture

Pearce and Robinson (2004) define organizational culture as the set of important assumptions that members of an organization share in common. This view is shared by Schein (1984) defines culture as the pattern of basic assumptions that a given group has invented, discovered or developed in learning to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration. Thompson et al (1992) on the other hand view culture as the central norms that may characterize an organization. Norms are expectations about what are appropriate attitudes and behaviours. They are socially created standards that help integrate and evaluate events. Every organization therefore has its own unique culture.

Bateman and Zeithaml (1990) have noted that culture can be a powerful instrument for success because it eases communications, facilitates organizational decision making and control as well as generating higher levels of cooperation and commitment in the organization. Culture however can also be a source of weakness when important shared values and beliefs interfere with the needs of an organization, its strategy and the members or employees. This can happen if culture influences people to think and act inappropriately thus leading to inefficiency (Bateman and Zeithaml, 1990).

Buy-in is critical in order for people to be committed to formulation and implementation of strategic plans. As Thompson et al (1992) argue commitment is an individual's psychological bond to the organization. This includes a sense of involvement, loyalty and belief in the values of the organization without which a buy in may be very difficult.

Organizational culture also provide context of the organization's internal environment. As Bartol and Martin (1991) observe, although internal environment can encompass such factors as organization's members, the nature of their interaction and the physical setting within which they operate, the notion of organizational culture is often used as a summary description of the general conditions, or the internal environment, of an organization. Organizational culture therefore describes the nature of an organization's internal environment. It is difficult for an organization to achieve success without a compatible internal environment.

2.7.5 External Environment

Mintzberg et al (1999) observe that environment refers to various characteristics of the organization's outside context, related to the markets, political climate, economic conditions and so on. Bartol and Martin (1991) further observe that an organization's effectiveness is influenced by its external environment where the external environment refers to the major forces outside the organization that have the potential of significantly impacting on the likely success of products or services. This external environment can be stable, changing or turbulent. As Donnelly et al (1992) have observed, in a stable environment the demand upon the organization is relatively unchanged and therefore there is limited innovation. In a changing environment, changes in the competition strategy, market demands, personnel practices and technology are frequent and somewhat expected while in turbulent environment, changes are unexpected and unpredictable. This has great implication on strategic planning as it will influence aspects such as organizational design and strategy choices. Matching an organization's strategic plan to the environment requires accurate managerial assessment of the environmental forces.

Mintzberg et al (1999) argue that in strategy formation, environment takes precedence. It is the environment that drives the organization, which responds continuously and eclectically, but does nevertheless achieve convergence during certain periods. They make five observations with regard to the relationship between the environment and the organization; the more dynamic an organization's environment, the more organic the structure; the more complex an organization's environment, the more decentralized its structures; the more diversified an organization's markets, the greater the propensity to split it into market-based units; and that extreme hostility in its environment drives any organization to centralize its structures temporarily.

While Johnson et al (2005), break down this external environment into the following three levels; macro environment, the industries and sectors and more specifically, the competitors and markets, Bartol and martin, (1991) break it into the following the following two; mega environment and the task environment. The mega environment is the segment of the external environment that reflect the broad conditions and trends in societies within which an organization operates while the task environment refers to the specific outside elements with which an organization interfaces in the course of conducting its business (Bartol and martin, 1991). This therefore combines the industries and sectors and the competitor and markets in the Johnson model.

Pearce and Robinson (1991) have typified these more simply as the Remote environment and the industry environment. According to this definition, the remote environment comprises factors that originate beyond, and usually irrespective of any single firm's operating situation, be it economic, social, political, technological or ecological while the industry environment refers to the nature and degree of competition within the industry. Porter (1979) identified five forces upon which this competition hinges; the threat of new entrants, the bargaining power of the customers, the bargaining power of the suppliers, the threat of substitute products or services and the jockeying among current contestants.

2.8 Studies in Kenyan into Factors Influencing Strategic Planning Practices

Different researchers and authors have pointed to different sets of factors that may influence Strategic planning practices within organizations in different sectors. Within the corporate sector, for instance, factors that are considered most important are; company ownership, size, age, caliber of senior management, employee resistance to change, poor communication techniques, time constraints, business market scope, inconsistency in industry policies and environmental stability (Mittra 2001; Sagwa 2002).

But in an interesting development, Busolo (2003) found that shortage of qualified personnel was not an important factor among the motor vehicle franchise holders in Nairobi while inadequate resources, economic trends, technological changes were listed as the most important factors. Socio-cultural trends were also of minimal consequence in strategic planning within this industry. He however also found that respondents regarded corporate strategic planning as time consuming and cumbersome with only 50% expressing confidence that the product of the process would be implemented. Nyamweya (2005) on the other hand has highlighted two other key factors in his case study of Lonhro Africa PLC; influence of the founder and organizational structure and experience.

Studies within the NGO community have suggested similarities in some of these factors. Kiliko (2000) for instance found that among the factors constraining strategic planning within this sector include financial constraints, lack of skilled personnel, a dynamic and discontinuous environment and beneficiary needs in that order. He however points to others not mentioned in the study of the corporate sector such as the diverse stakeholder interests and bureaucratic nature of these organizations. However there are also important drivers of strategic planning in this sector and these include competition for donor funding, quest for better reach of beneficiaries, supplementing government services, legal environment, background of managers and leaders.

Waruhiu (2004) cites poor communication and complexity of collaboration as the most important factors amongst collaborative research-based institutions in Kenya. Others are

shifts in partner objectives and expectations, waning managerial attention, clashes in corporate culture, environmental turbulence, size differences, differences in technological capabilities, patents and heterogeneity of research initiatives. The importance of these factors however also have different weights across the strategic planning cycles; formulation of mission, environmental analysis, objective setting, financial resources allocation, management of strategic change and leading strategic initiatives (Waruhiu *ibid*).

Within the public sectors, the important factors have been identified as Government's wider policies and regulations (Karanja 2004). She however also implicitly suggests that some public institutions may not put great premium on strategic planning as a consequence of being monopolies.

The foregoing are consistent with the observations by authors such as Gilmore (1971) who have argued that small and medium sized companies do not have the benefits of planning departments or operation research groups and that these kind of firms therefore often adopt a simple, practical approach to strategy formulation. Thompson and Strickland (1989) have further observed that while large firms tend to develop their strategic plans through an annual strategic planning cycle, complete with prescribed procedures, forms and time-tables that includes board and management participation with lots of studies and a multiplicity of meetings to probe and question, in small owner managed companies, strategy making is developed informally. This is often never reduced into writing but exists mainly in the mind of the entrepreneur and in oral communication with key subordinates. Keith (1998) has pointed out the cost constraint in arguing that because of their size, small firms cannot afford strategic planning staff and personnel that large firms possess. They also note that "senior management" in small firms may often mean one individual rather than a group of people. Shetty (1979) observes that while large firms give relatively more attention to socially oriented goals, small companies attach more importance to economic goals.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

This research was designed and conducted as an exploratory survey. It sought to explore strategic planning practices among political parties in Kenya. An exploratory survey is a research methodology that is used to study the general conditions of people and organizations in order to establish the behaviours and opinions usually be questioning them (Aosa, 1992). This permits for general review, examination and description of the results is then done and presented. This study required collection of primary data. To achieve the set objectives of this research both quantitative and qualitative data was required. However more emphasis was laid on the former to permit for comparisons.

This research problem was studied through the use of a descriptive survey because descriptive research portrays an accurate profile of persons, events, or situations while surveys allow the collection of large amount of data from a sizable population in a highly economical way (Robson, 2002; Aosa, 1992). It allows one to collect quantitative data which can be analyzed quantitatively using descriptive and inferential statistics (Saunders et al., 2007).

3.2 Population

The population of interest in this study consisted of all the political parties registered under the *Registrar of Societies Act* and by the Electoral Commission of Kenya. As at November 2007, that is the date of the final party list before the 2007 general election, there were 134 political parties registered with both the Registrar of Societies and the Electoral Commission of Kenya. However of all these, only 23 political parties are represented in the Tenth Parliament elected on December 27, 2007. Political party representation however has varied greatly over the last 16 years since the re-introduction of multi-party democracy in Kenya in 1992. One hundred and one others are parties without representation in parliament. The list of these parties is provided as appendix 3 titled *List of Registered Political Parties (With Approved Symbols) as at 17th November*

2007 while the list of parties with representation in Parliament is provided as appendix 2 titled *Political Parties with Representation in Parliament 1992 – 2008*.

3.3 Sample design

To ensure coverage of parties of all different sizes, the research clustered the population on the basis of two key characteristics. Parties with members in parliament, that is those that have at least one member in Parliament and parties without any parliamentary representation were considered. Daniel and Terrell (1995) advise that as rule of thumb, the sample size widely used is 30 or more. The sample design is disproportionate representation to ensure that sufficient numbers are obtained for both parties with representation in parliament as well as the large number of parties without representation in parliament. This is important in order to find out whether there are variances between the two categories. With a sample size of 50% of each of the two categories, the study covered 12 parliamentary parties and 56 non-parliamentary parties. The sample population was been obtained by rounding off 11.5 and 55.5 upwards to 12 and 56 respectively.

3.4 Data Collection

Data was collected by way of structured questionnaires consisting of closed and open ended questions. The questionnaires was administered through drop and pick later method. The questionnaire was developed in line with the objectives of the research. The questionnaire (herein attached as appendix 3) was divided into three parts. Part one sought to obtain information regarding the profile of the respondent's party. Part two looked into relevant information to determine the strategic planning practices in the parties while part 3 examined information regarding the factors that affect the strategic practices in the respondent's parties. In developing the final questionnaire, an initial draft was prepared and pre-tested on a few political parties that were not part of the study. The questionnaire was then reviewed and adjusted accordingly on the basis of the feedback from the field pre-testing. The researcher then contacted individuals within each political party who are senior enough to address the issues raised in the study. These individuals were selected on the basis of their ability to provide the information sought based on their position in their respective parties.

3.5 Data Analysis

All returned questionnaires were reviewed and screened to ensure completeness and consistency. The data was then tabulated and classified into sub-samples according to the characteristics of the party. The responses were then coded for statistical analysis. Descriptive statistics (such as frequency distribution, means, modes, percentages, simple and cross tabulation) were employed for the basic analysis. A database was prepared using the SPSS computer package and then this data was processed to produce requisite descriptive statistics.

4.1 Profile of the Surveyed Political Parties

From the 47 questionnaires administered, a total of 43 political parties were received back representing a 91% response rate from the sample population of 47 political parties. This response rate was comparable to it was done previously with previous studies including Shauri (2007) 77%, Kinyua (1997) 70%, Achi (1992) 42% and Achi (1990) 37%. While the response rate was high, the data received was not complete.

Table 4. Size of Party by Membership

Registered membership	Percentage
Below 2,000	11.6%
2,001-10,000	23.3%
10,001-25,000	23.3%
25,001-50,000	23.3%
Above 50,000	23.3%
Total	100%

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter covers data analysis, research findings and discussion of the research findings. The data in this study is summarized and presented in form of graphs, tables, percentages, frequency distribution and other descriptive statistics. The data collected was analyzed using descriptive statistics with the results being presented as proportions, percentages, means and frequency distributions. This chapter presents the overview of the political parties involved in the research before presenting the results of the study focusing on the two core research objectives. The first was to determine the strategic planning practices among political parties in Kenya while the second was to establish factors influencing strategic planning among political parties in Kenya.

4.2 Profile of the Surveyed Political Parties

From the 67 questionnaire administered, a total of 48 questionnaires were received back representing a 72% response from the sample population of 67 political parties. This response rate was acceptable as it compares favourably with previous studies including Safari (2003) 51%, Kangoro (1998) 38%, Aosa (1992) 15% and Adegbite (1986) 5%. While the completed questionnaires were usable, some lacked vital details.

Table 1: Size of Party by Membership

Estimated membership	Frequency	Percentage
Below 25,000	23	48%
25,001-50,000	5	10%
50,001-75,000	4	8%
75,001-100,000	10	21%
Over 100,000	6	13%
Total	48	100%

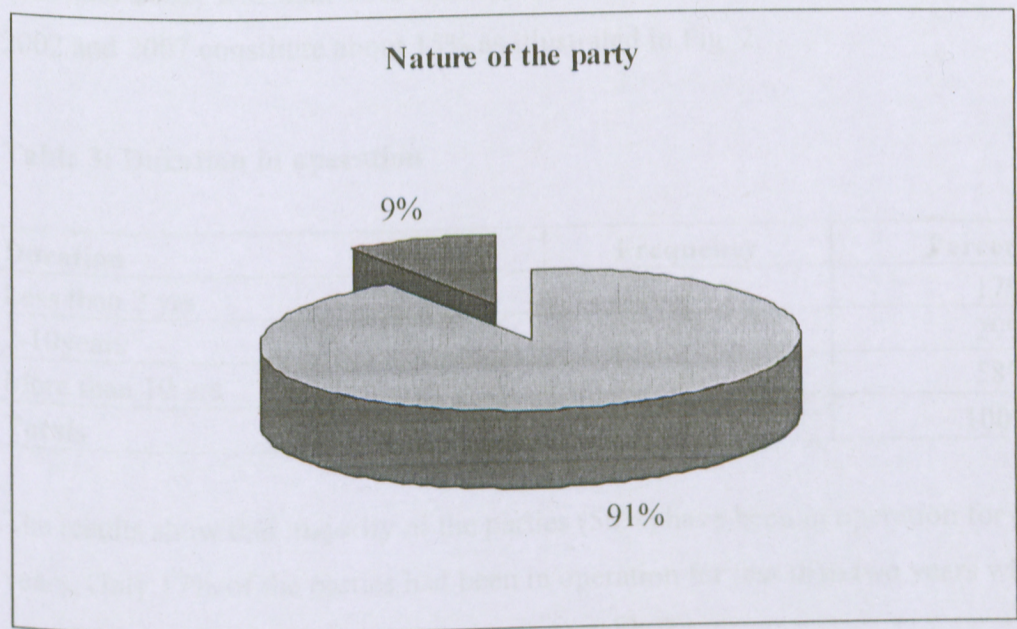
The findings of this study show that party membership varies widely. Majority of the parties are small parties with a membership base of less than 25,000. This category constitutes 48% of the surveyed population. Large parties with a membership of more than 100,000 members constituted only 13% while the rest are medium sized parties with membership range of between 25,000 and 100,000. This category constituted 39% of the surveyed population as shown in Table 1.

Table 2: Size of Party by Members in Parliament

Number of Member of Parliament (MPs)	Frequency	Percentage
None	37	77%
Less than 5	7	15%
Between 6 - 10	0	0
Between 11 - 100	3	6%
Over 100	1	2%
Total	48	100%

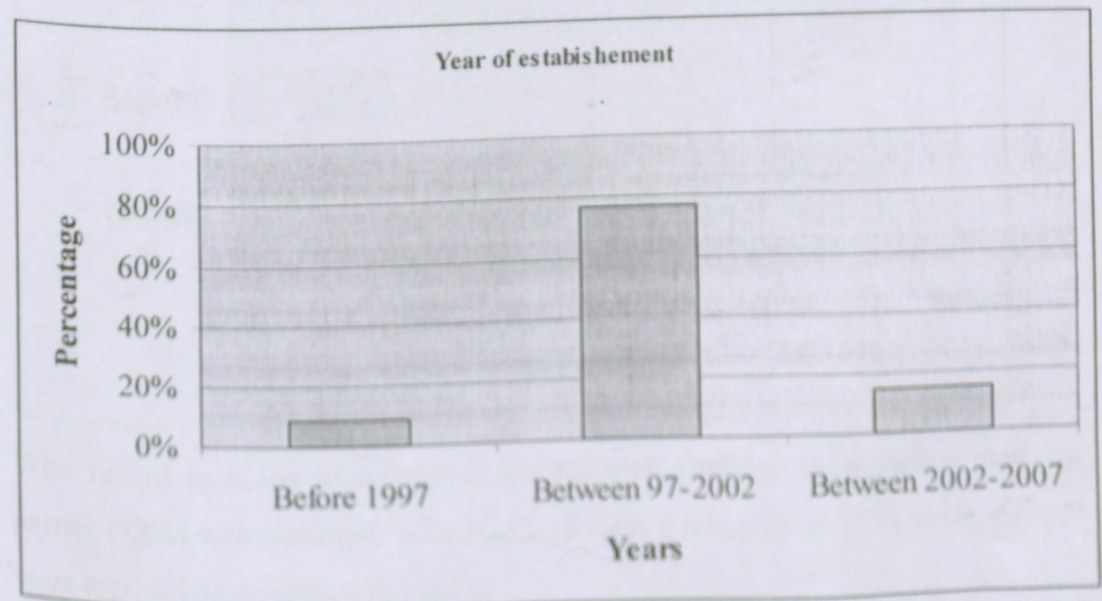
Respondents were spread out as follows. Those from Parties with less than five Members of Parliament consisted of 15% while those without any were the majority at 77%. Only one party (2%) had more than 100 members of parliament while 6% had between eleven and one hundred members. In total 23% of respondents were from parties with members in parliament while the majority had none as presented in table 2.

Fig 1: Nature of the party by Incorporation



From fig. 1 it is clear that majority of the parties (91%) were incorporated and managed as single registration parties compared with only 9% of the parties had corporate registration. By single registration we infer no further membership of such parties to conglomerates or composite secondary parties.

Fig 2: Age of Party



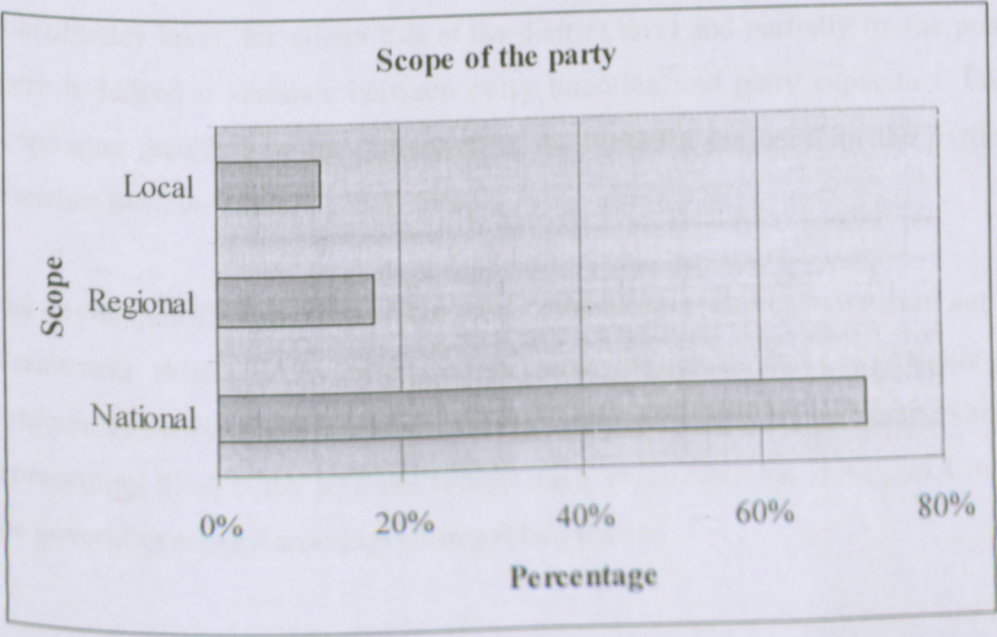
Whereas 76% of the respondents indicated that their parties were established between 1997 and 2002, less than 10% were founded before 1997 while those founded between 2002 and 2007 constitute about 15% as illustrated in Fig. 2.

Table 3: Duration in operation

Duration	Frequency	Percentage
Less than 2 yrs	8	17%
2-10years	14	29%
More than 10 yrs	28	58%
Totals	48	100%

The results show that majority of the parties (58%) have been in operation for over ten years. Only 17% of the parties had been in operation for less than two years while the rest were between two and ten years as shown by table 3.

Fig. 3: Geographic Scope of Party Operation



With regard to scope of operation, the research findings show that a majority of the parties (72%) were national, with localized ones a minority at 12% while the rest (16%) were regional as presented in Fig. 3.

Table 4: Extent of Party Branch Networks and Key Responsibilities of the Branches

Number of branches	Frequency	Percentage
No branches	9	19%
50 or less	23	48%
51-100	11	23%
101 or more	5	10%
Total	48	100%

Majority of the parties (71%) had less than 100 branches countrywide while a significant number (19%) had no branches at all as shown in table 4. Only 10% had more than 100 branches and therefore a credible probability of claim to nationwide presence. However while for most parties the branches are at the constituency level, for other branches are at the district level. Comparison may therefore mask the differences. It is however of interests that this information seems to contradict the information provided on the party scope which indicated that 72% of the parties had a national scope. This may however be explained partially by the fact that while for some parties branches are established at the constituency level, for others it is at the district level and partially by the possibility that there is indeed a variance between party intention and party capacities. For the latter, scope may therefore be an expression of the intended presence for the parties while the branches limit the party's actual spread.

The key responsibilities of political party branches are political education and conducting recruitment drives. They also oversee party primaries for parliamentary and civic contests. However party branches are also critical in mobilizing membership views and representing them at the national forums such as the National Delegates Conference and the governing council meetings of respective parties.

Table 5: Nature of Party Secretariat

	Below 10 employees	10 – 20 employees	Above 20	Aggregates
Professional secretariat	4 (8%)	2 (4%)	0	6 (12%)
Semi professional	12 (25%)	0	0	12 (25%)
Volunteer	30 (63%)	0	0	30 (63%)
Totals	46 (96%)	2 (4%)	0	48 (100%)

It will be noted from table 5 that most of the parties (63%) had small volunteer secretariats with ten or less volunteer staff. Only 6% of the parties had professional secretariats with only 2% having more than 10 employees while the rest had ten or less professional staff. no party had more than 20 members of staff. cumulatively a total of 96% of the parties had ten or less staff members. Of these 25% were semi-professional, 4% professional and the rest volunteer. basically all staff in these parties were stationed at the party headquarters. Almost all of the branch offices in the parties were run by either the elected branch officials or volunteers whom the party headquarters either new little or nothing about and whom were answerable to the local branch and not the party headquarters. As such it was difficult to obtain reliable information on this tier of "staff".

Table 6: Whether the Party Had a Manifesto or Constitution

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Parties with a manifesto and constitution	21	44%
Parties with a manifesto but without constitution	0	0%
Parties without manifesto but with a constitution	27	56%
Party without manifesto and a constitution	0	0%
Total	48	100%

From table 6, it is evident that all the parties had either a manifesto or a constitution. Of these 44% had both a party manifesto and a constitution. Fifty six percent had a constitution but no manifesto. The research found that it was compulsory for every party to have a party constitution before registration. Thus 100% of the respondents had a constitution. However 56% of the parties had no manifesto. The research found that there is no legal requirement for a party to have a manifesto as a precondition for registration by the Registrar of Societies or for approval by the Electoral Commission of Kenya to field candidates. The fact that a manifesto is discretionary document may explain the difference.

Table 7: Does the Party Manifesto or Constitution have the Party’s Vision, Mission and Objectives

Purpose	Manifesto No. of Parties (%)	Constitution No. of Parties (%)
Vision	21 (44%)	31 (65)
Mission	21 (44%)	42 (86)
Objectives	21 (44%)	48 (100)

The research findings show that most parties had their vision, mission and objectives spelt out in their constitution while a slight minority had the same in their manifestoes. As shown in table 7, all parties (100%) had objectives outlined in their respective party constitutions while only 44% had the same in their manifestoes. And while 86% had the mission statement in their constitution, only 44% had it in their manifesto. Similarly while only 44% had their mission statements in their manifesto, 65% had the same in their party constitution.

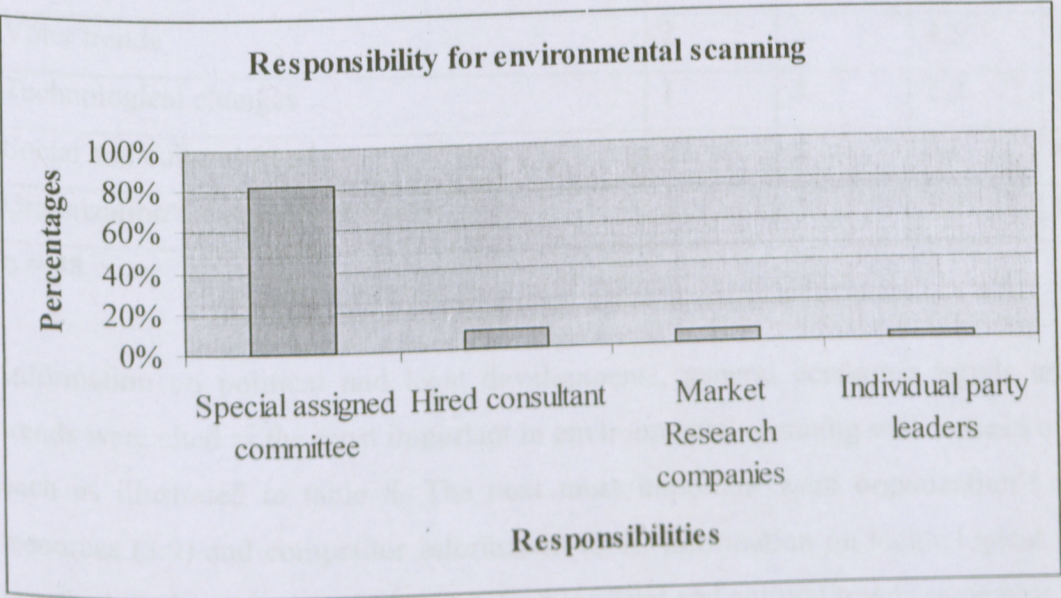
4.3 Strategic Planning Practices

Strategic planning involves four key steps. These are environmental analysis which involves analysis of both the internal and external environment of the organization, defining of organization’s vision, definition of the organization’s mission and

establishment of the organization's strategic objectives. I will therefore use this framework to present and discuss the findings of this research.

4.3.1 Environmental Analysis

Fig. 4: Responsibility for Environmental Scanning In the Party



The research findings show that the responsibility for environmental scanning among political parties is mainly by special assigned committees. In the larger parties these are specialized committees which vary from standing committees to ad hoc working teams. Among the small parties the practice range from the few party leaders constituting themselves into such committees to working teams constituted by volunteers. Hired consultants and market research companies are also employed especially by the larger parties while in some of the smaller parties this task is discharged by the party leader as shown in Fig. 4.

Table 8: Information considered Important in the External Environment

Factor	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Political and legal developments	2	5	4.5	0.15
General economic trends	2	5	4.5	0.15
Competitors	2	5	3.4	0.50
Voter trends	2	5	4.5	0.15
Technological changes	1	5	2.9	0.80
Social and cultural trends	1	5	3.1	0.75
Organization's external resources	2	5	3.9	0.25

n = 48

Information on political and legal developments, general economic trends and voter trends were cited as the most important in environmental scanning with a mean of 4.5 for each as illustrated in table 8. The next most important were organization's external resources (3.9) and competitor information (3.4). Information on technological changes was the least important to parties at 2.9 while social and cultural trends came next at 3.1.

Table 9: Collection of Information on the working environment

Methods of obtaining information	Frequency	Percentage
Verbal and written	48	100%
Competitor spying	37	77%
Forecasting	12	25%
Formal studies	15	31%
Total	48	100%

The research findings, as presented in table 9, show that all parties used either or both verbal and written sources to obtain information on their working environment. However only 31% used formal studies while 25% employed forecasting. The main means of collecting information on their working environment for political parties is through competitor spying at 77%. This may explain party sensitivity to providing information.

Table 10: Responsibility for Collecting information on Operating Environmental

Responsibility for obtaining information	Frequency	Percentage
Strategic planning committee	16	33%
Secretariat	2	4%
Designated individuals	3	6%
Various party organs	17	35%
Hired consultant	8	17%
Market research company	2	4%
Total	48	100%

The research found that most of the parties entrusted the responsibility for gathering information on competition to either the strategic planning committee (33%) or to various designated organs of the party (35%). Only 21% delegate this responsibility to consultants or market research firms. Secretariats and designated individuals were the least used for this purpose as is clear from table 10.

Table 11: Method employed in competitor analysis

Responsibility for obtaining information	Frequency	Percentage
Yes formal	18	38%
Yes informal	26	54%
Not at all	4	8%
Total	48	100%

While most of the respondents (92%) indicated that they conducted competitor analysis, only 38% conducted formal competitor analysis. Over half of the respondents (54%) indicated that they conducted informal analysis as shown in table 11.

Table 12: Approaches Used To Analyze Competition

Approach to analyzing competitor's performance	Frequency	Percentage
Market share analysis	2	4%
Membership registration/subscription	11	23%
Attendance of public party rallies/meetings	48	100%
Financial Resource base	23	48%
Strategic group analysis	2	4%

The research found that turnout in public party rallies and other meetings is the most popular method of analyzing the relative strength of competition among political parties. All respondents indicated that they base their evaluation on this analysis. In contrast only 4% used either market share analysis or strategic group analysis. Nearly half used financial resource capacity assessment while 23% used membership base analysis as is evident from table 12.

Table 13: Conduct of Internal audits

Whether internal audit is done	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	22	46%
No	21	44%
No response	5	10%
Total	48	100%

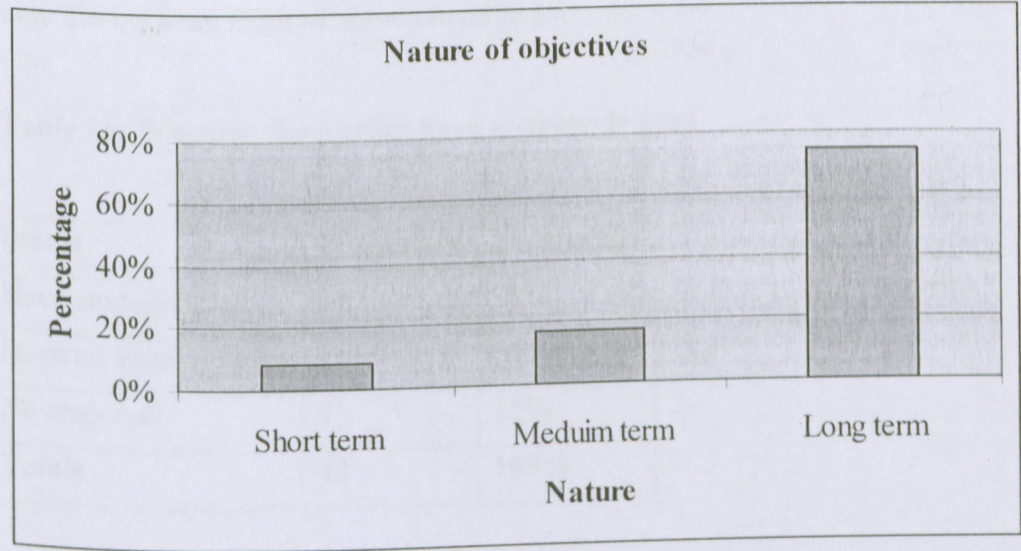
From table 13, it will be noted that nearly as many respondents (44%) indicated that they did not conduct formal internal audit as those that indicated that they did (46%). Ten percent were non committal. However some of the parties had no clear distinction between strategic or performance audit and financial audit. The respondents were asked to indicate what they considered to be the party strengths and weaknesses. The responses pointed out that for most party strengths originate from the membership subscriptions and popularity, this are mainly derived from the strong regions where the parties are initiated. In addition, strengths are also derived from the available resources that are at the party disposal to assist in operations. The main weaknesses that parties had generally was in relation to soliciting adequate resources to roll out national programs of recruitment. In addition, the inability to implement national policies creates a major weakness in most parties since they will not be able to convince their members both potential and otherwise of their ability to achieve the set objectives.

Table 14: Vision, Mission and Objectives

Element of Strategic Planning	Small (n = 23)		Medium (n = 19)		Large (n = 6)		Aggregate (n=48)	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
Have vision, written	5	(22%)	16	(84%)	6	(100%)	27	(56%)
Have vision, unwritten	4	(17%)	0		0		4	(8%)
Have no vision	0		0		0		0	
No response	14	(61%)	3	(16%)	0		17	(35%)
Have mission, written	18	(78%)	18	(95%)	6	(100%)	42	(88%)
Have mission, unwritten	4	(17%)	0		0		4	(8%)
Have no mission	0		0		0		0	
No response	1	(4%)	1	(5%)	0		2	(4%)
Have objectives, written	23	(100%)	19	(100%)	6	(100%)	48	(100%)
Have objectives, unwritten	0		0		0		0	
Have no objectives	0		0		0		0	
No response	0		0		0		0	

While only 56% of the parties had a written vision, 88% of them had a written mission as shown in table 14. Those parties that had a written vision had invariably a written mission too. Of the parties with a written vision, all the large ones had a written vision while only 22% of the small ones had the same. Eighty four percent of the medium sized ones had written vision statements. On the other hand all parties across the different size categories had written objectives. While there was no response from 35% of the respondents on the question regarding the vision, only 4% did not similarly respond with regard to the question on mission. Thus it is clear that progressively objectives are the most common aspects of strategy among political party while visions are the least prevalent.

Fig 5: Scope of Objectives



While all political parties had objectives, these objectives varied widely. The research findings show that for most parties, their objectives are long term. The objectives of parties with strategic plans and manifestoes ranged from a timeframe of 1 to 5 years while the objectives of parties with only a constitution had objectives which were mostly broad and long term as illustrated in Fig. 5.

Table 15: Participants in setting the Party Strategic Objectives

Responsibility for setting strategic objectives	Frequency	Percentage
Strategic planning committee	7	15%
Secretariat	2	4%
Designated individuals	10	21%
Various party organs	27	56%
Hired consultant	2	4%
Total	48	100%

In over half of the respondent parties (56%) strategic objectives were set by various party organs. These organs ranged from the National governing council (for others committee), the National Executive Committee, the management committees, the Strategic Planning Committee (in some the Strategy Committee) to the secretariat. In 36% of the cases, the responsibility was shared between the strategic planning committee and designated

members within the party. The secretariat and the consultants constitute the minority with only 8% between them as shown in table 15.

Table 16: Whether the parties have a strategic plan

Status	Frequency	Percentage
Have strategic plan	15	31%
Have no strategic plan	26	54%
No response	7	15%
Totals	48	100%

The research findings show that only 31% of the political parties had a strategic plan. The majority of the respondents (54%) indicated that they had no formal strategic plan while 15% did not respond either way as will be noted from table 16. This indicates that only 3 out of every ten political parties have a formal strategic plan.

Table 17: Nature of strategic planning

Nature of strategic planning	Frequency	Percentage
Formal	15	31%
Informal	4	8%
None	22	49%
No response	7	15%
Total	48	100%

Majority of the respondents (49%) indicated that their party did not have any form of strategic planning while 15% did not indicate whether or not they undertook strategic planning at all. Only 31% of the parties had formal strategic planning as table 17 shows.

Table 18: The time horizon of the strategic plan

Time horizon	Frequency	Percentage
0-1 yrs	1	2%
0-2 yrs	2	4%
0-3 yrs	0	0
0-4 yrs	0	0
0-5 yrs	12	25%
Over 5 yrs	1	2%
No response	32	67%
Total	48	100%

Majority of the parties that undertook strategic planning (25%) indicated that their time horizon was 5 years as shown in table 18. Only 2% indicated that they planned with a time horizon of less than one year. On the other extreme was also another 2% who planned with a time horizon of 10 years. Majority of the respondents (67%) however gave no response. That majority of the parties preferred a 5 year time period for their strategic planning may be explained by the general elections which take place once every five years. It is possible that most parties plan to realize their goals within this time frame.

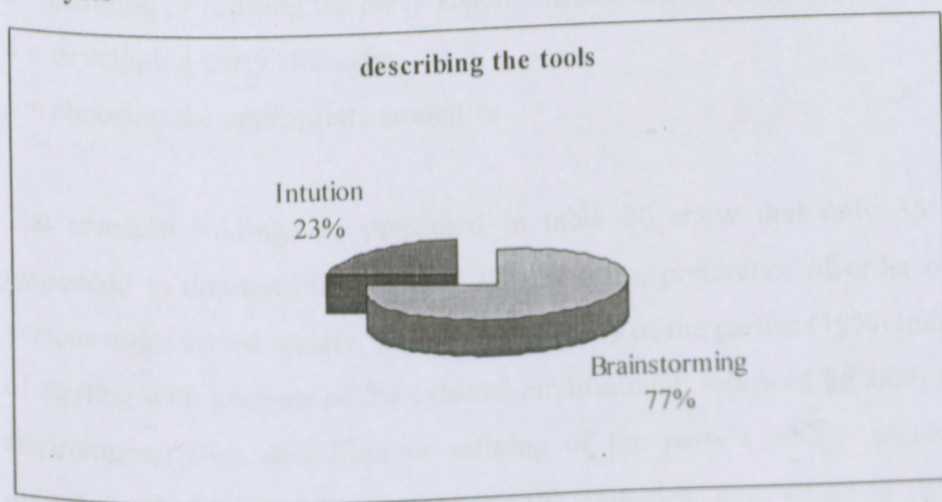
Table 19: Responsibility for strategic planning in the party

Responsibility for strategic planning	Frequency	Percentage
Strategic planning committee	10	21%
Secretariat	5	10%
Designated individuals	2	4%
Various party organs	7	15%
Hired consultant	3	6%
No response	21	44%
Total	48	100%

Party organs accounted for the majority of the responsibility for strategic planning at 46% as will be noted from table 19. Strategic planning committees accounted for the nearly half of these at 21% while the secretariat accounted for 10%. Other party organs accounted for 15%. Consultants accounted for only 6% while designated individuals

represented 4%. However it must be noted that in many cases, respondents indicated that the responsibility was shared among more than one the various organs and individuals listed above. In these instances only the lead actor is listed. While significantly A significant number (44%) did not indicate who was responsible for strategic planning in their parties. it is significantly lower than the findings on whether or not parties had strategic plans and who set strategic objectives but fairly consistent broadly with the trend of parties with and parties without strategic plans. The difference might be accounted by a gap between party intentions and party realities. But it could also reflect the existence of passive incompetence in some parties. That would mean there are parties that have purposed to undertake strategic planning and that have assigned responsibilities but the organs or individuals assigned the responsibilities have failed to fulfill them.

Fig. 6: Description of the tools and techniques used in strategic environmental Analysis



The research findings as presented in Fig. 6 show that both intuition and brainstorming were used by political parties in strategic environmental analysis. However the research found that brainstorming was the more prevalent technique used. However intuition is more prevalent among the small parties while brainstorming is preferred by the larger ones.

Table 20: The order of performing the various tasks in the strategic planning process

Order	Frequency	Percentage
1,2,3,4,5	9	19%
1,2,3,5,4	1	2%
1,4,5,2,3	2	4%
2,1,3,4,5	5	10%
No response	31	65%
Totals	48	100%

Where:

- 1 = analysis of external environment
- 2 = analysis of internal environment
- 3 = defining or refining the party vision, mission and strategic objectives
- 4 = developing party strategies
- 5 = choosing the appropriate strategies

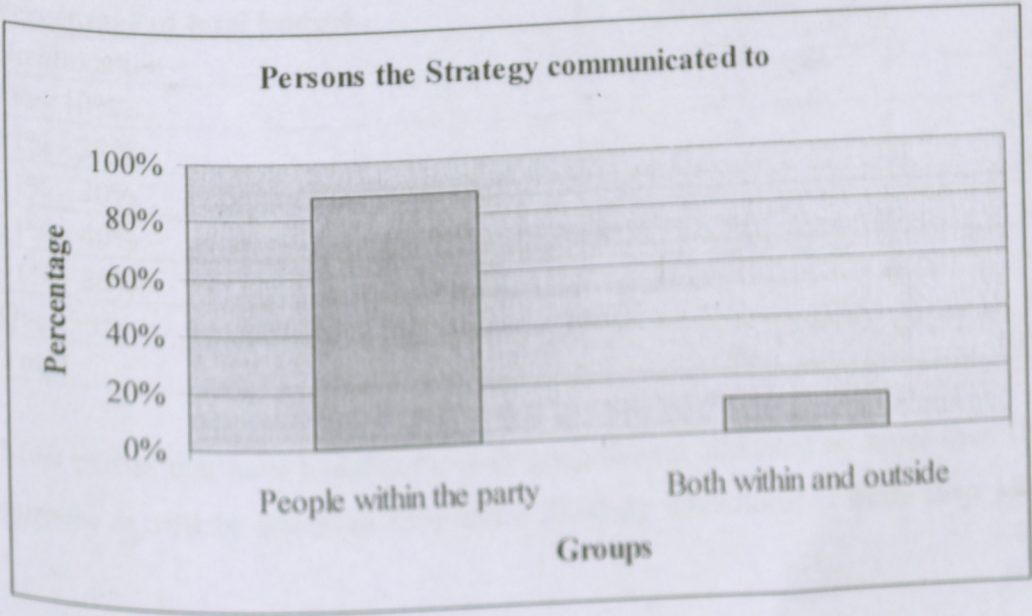
The research findings as presented in table 20 show that only 35% of the parties responded to this question. Among these parties, preference of order of performing the various tasks varied widely. however a majority of the parties (19%) indicated preference of starting with analysis of the external environment, followed by analysis of the internal environment, then definition or refining of the party’s vision, mission and strategic objectives before developing the party strategies and finishing with choosing of appropriate strategies. however a significant number (10%) would rather start with analysis of the external before proceeding on to analysis of the external environment. only 2% indicated preference of choosing appropriate strategies and then developing them. On the other hand only 4% would end with analysis of internal environment and definition or refining of the party vision, mission and strategic objectives

Table 21: Features that characterize the strategic planning process

Features in planning	Frequency Yes	Percentage
Formal meetings	15	31%
Timetable for plan preparation, clear designation of responsibilities for strategic planning	12	25%
Have Planning department/committee	14	29%
Informal meetings	18	38%
No response	30	63%

The most common characteristic among political parties in the strategic planning process, as shown in table 21, are informal meetings at 38%. But there are nearly as many formal meetings (31%) as there are informal ones. However most of the respondents who indicated that their parties have formal meetings in conducting strategic planning also indicated that these are complimented by informal consultations. Thus these meetings are largely complimentary rather than substitutes of each other. However, only 29% of the parties have formal strategic planning committees or departments while 25% have a timetable for strategic planning with clear lines of responsibilities. There was no response on this question from 63% of the respondents.

Fig. 7 The Persons Informed Of Party Strategy



This research found that while some parties communicate their party strategies to both stakeholders within and outside the party, the vast majority (90%) restrict their communication to people within the party. Only 10% communicate their strategy to both people within and outside the party as shown in Fig 7. This may be reflective of the fear parties have for sharing information with opponents. But it could also be a strategy to maintain an advantage over competition.

Table 22: Budgetary Allocation for Strategic Planning Process

Status of budget	Frequency	Percentage
Have budgetary allocation for strategic planning	15	31%
Have no budgetary allocation for strategic planning	33	69%
Totals	48	100%

The research found that while a few parties (31%) made a budgetary allocation for strategic planning majority (69%) did not. Of those that made budgetary allocation, majority were the large ones while the reverse is true as shown in table 22.

Table 23: Percentage of Party Budget Allocated To Strategic Planning

Percentage of total budget	Frequency	Percentage
No allocation	33	69%
1% - 10%	11	23%
11% - 20%	3	6%
21% - 30%	1	2%
31% - 40%	0	0
41% - 50%	0	0
Over 50%	0	0
Total	48	100%

Most parties that have budgets for strategic planning allocated no more than 10% for the purpose as will be observed from table 23. Only 4% allocated more than 10% of their

budget to strategic planning and none over 30%. Most of the parties (69%) however had no specific budgets for strategic planning.

Table 24: Budgetary Allocation by Party size

Party size	Total Population	Frequency	Percentage	As a Percentage of the category
Small	23	2	13%	9%
Medium	19	8	53%	42%
Large	6	5	33%	83%

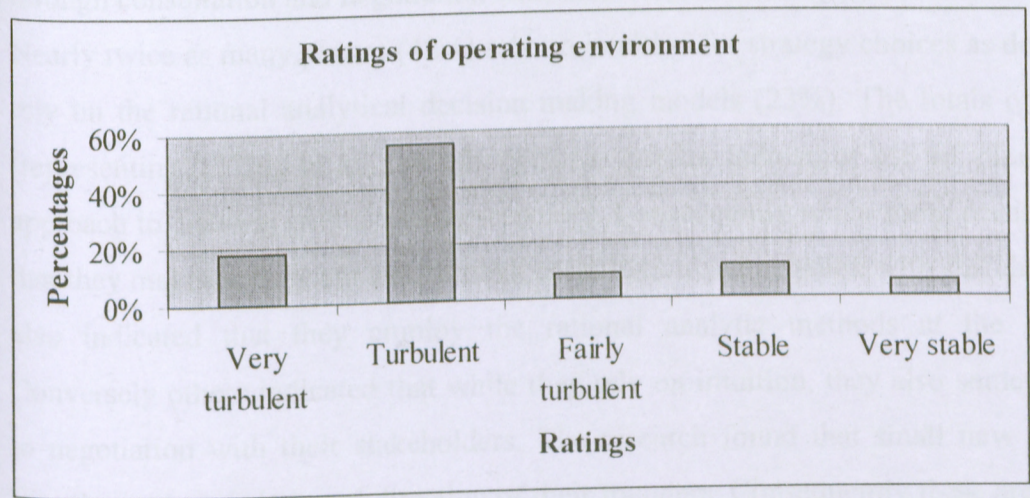
From table 24, it will be observed that most of the parties with a budget for strategic planning were medium (53%) while the small ones made up only 13%. The large ones made up for the difference of 33%. However relative to their population of 6 in this sample, the large ones have a better rating of 83% while the medium sized ones have a rating of 42%. The rating of the small ones dips to only 9% of all the small parties.

Table 25: Tools used in strategic planning

Tool used	Frequency	Percentage
SWOT analysis	12	25%
Strategic gap analysis	2	4%
PEST analysis	1	2%
No response	33	69%
Total	48	100%

SWOT analysis is the most commonly used tool in strategic planning among political parties. 25% of the respondents indicated that this is their tool of choice in strategic planning compared with 4% for strategic gap analysis and 2% for PEST analysis as presented in table 25. 69% did not respond to this question.

Fig. 8: Rating the operating environment



The findings of this research indicate that most political parties (58%) consider their operating environment turbulent as illustrated in Fig 8. Very few parties (5%) consider their operating environment very stable while a considerable number (19%) consider it very turbulent. While 8% consider their environment fairly turbulent, 10% consider it stable. Only 15% of all the parties consider their environment stable while the vast majority regard it as turbulent. This may be attributed to the dynamism of the political environment in which there is unprecedented competition which has led to phenomenal collapse and rise of parties. It reflects a highly competitive environment.

4.4 Strategic Analysis and Choice

Table 26: Approaches used in selecting appropriate strategy

Approach	Frequency	Percentage
Negotiation with stakeholders	27	56%
Using rational analytical decision making processes	11	23%
Using intuition and gut feelings	20	42%
No response	3	6%
Totals	55	127%

Research findings show that majority of the parties (56%) choose strategies to pursue through consultation and negotiation with their various stakeholders as shown in table 26. Nearly twice as many parties (42%) rely on intuition for strategy choices as do those who rely on the rational analytical decision making models (23%). The totals of 55 parties (representing 127%) is as a result of some parties indicating use of more than one approach to arriving at their strategy choices. Consequently while some parties indicated that they make strategy choices through consultation and negation with stakeholders, they also indicated that they employ the rational analytic methods at the same time. Conversely others indicated that while they rely on intuition, they also sometimes resort to negotiation with their stakeholders. The research found that small new parties rely heavily on the wisdom and direction of their founders. Consequently these are the parties that the research found are more prone to arriving at strategic choices through intuition and gut feeling. The research further found that these parties were less likely to utilize the rational analytical approach than the larger older parties with well established secretariats.

Table 27: Complexity of Party and Relative Importance of Party Values

Structure of Party	Levels of decision making.	No.	1,2,3 n (%)	1,3,2 n (%)	2,1,3 n (%)	2,3,1 n (%)	3,1,2 n (%)	3,2,1 n (%)
Complex	> 3	9	1 (11%)	-	2 (22%)	1 (11%)	2 (22%)	3 (33%)
Standard	< 3 and >1	11	2 (18%)	-	-	1 (9%)	3 (27%)	5 (45%)
Simple layer	1	28	18 (64%)	3 (11%)	1 (4%)	-	4 (14%)	2 (7%)
Totals		48	21(44%)	3(6%)	3(6%)	2(4%)	9(19%)	10(21%)

- Where:**
- 1 = Efficiency
 - 2 = Effectiveness
 - 3 = Accountability

From table 27 it is clear that a majority of the parties (44%) rated efficiency and effectiveness in that order above accountability. however majority of these are small parties. majority of the large complex parties (33%) within that class put accountability ahead of effectiveness. but effectiveness was more important compared to efficiency within this class. more of the parties with a standard structure (45%) had similar preference. However only 2% of the small parties had similar view. Sixty four of these small parties rated efficiency ahead of accountability and effectiveness.

4.6 Factors Influencing Strategic Planning Among Political Parties

Table 30: Party Age and Nature of Strategic Planning

Table 28: Party Size by Membership and Approach to Strategic Planning

Party size	Small	Medium	Large	Aggregates
Formal strategic planning	5 (22%)	7 (37%)	6 (100%)	18
Informal strategic planning	18 (78%)	12 (63%)	0	30
Totals	23	19	6	48

From table 28, it will be noted that size is a factor in strategic planning. All large political parties have a formal approach to strategic planning. In contrast only 22% of small parties have a formal approach while 37% of the medium sized parties did so.

Table 29: Party Size by Employees and Presence of Formal Strategic Planning Units

No. of permanent employees	Classification of party by size	Presence of formal strategic planning unit	Absence of formal strategic planning unit	Aggregates
0 – 5	Small	0	34 (100%)	34
6 – 10	Medium	4 (40%)	6 (60%)	10
Over 10	Large	2 (50%)	2 (50%)	4
Total		6 (13%)	42 (88%)	48 (100%)

Most of the parties had no formal strategic planning unit within the secretariat as shown in table 29. Only 13% had this unit while 88% had none. All parties with secretariats of less than 5 people had no such unit while only 40% of the parties with between 6 to 10 employees had such units. In contrast, there were an equal number of parties with a formal strategic planning unit as those that did not among the large parties with over 10 employees. This suggests that party size by employee was an important factor with respect to whether a party had a formal strategic planning unit within the secretariat or not.

Table 30: Party Age and Nature of Strategic Planning

No. of years in operation	Classification of party by age	No	Formal strategic planning	Informal strategic planning
Less than 5 years	Young	7	3 (43%)	4 (57%)
6 – 20 years	Middle age	40	14 (35%)	26 (65%)
Over 20 years	Old	1	1 (100%)	0
Totals		48	18	30

The findings of this study suggest that age of a party is not a factor in strategic planning among political parties. As can be observed from table 30, whereas only 35% of middle aged parties have a formal approach to strategic planning, 43% of younger parties do the same while all the old parties did like likewise.

Table 31: Nature of Party and Approach to Strategic Planning

Nature of party/Approach	No.	Formal strategic planning	Informal strategic planning
Single registration	45	15 (31%)	30 (69)
Corporate registration	3	3 (100)	0
Totals	48	18 (38%)	30 (63%)

Findings of this study, as will be noted from table 31, suggest that nature of a party is an important factor in strategic planning among political parties. All corporate or composite political parties had a formal approach to strategic planning while only 31% of the single registration did so.

Table 32: Stability of Operating Environment and Strategic Planning Horizon

Strategic planning horizon	No.	Stable environment	Unstable environment	No response
Less than 1 year	1	0	1 (100%)	0
2 – 5 years	14	6 (43%)	8 (57%)	0
More than 5 years	1	1 (100%)	0	0
No response	32	0	0	32 (100%)
Totals	48	7 (15%)	9 (19%)	32 (67%)

Only 34% of the respondents answered the question on the party planning horizon as will be seen from table 32. However an interesting finding here is that among the parties that planned with a time horizon of between 2 and 5 years, more (57%) considered the environment unstable compared to 43% who considered it stable. None of those that planned with less than one year considered the environment stable while similarly none of those that planned with over 5 years horizon considered it unstable.

Table 33: Environmental Stability and Frequency of Revision of Strategic Plan

frequency of revision	stable environment	Unstable environment	No response	Aggregates
Annually	0	1 (100%)	0	1 (100%)
Within 2 – 3	1 (33%)	2 (67%)	0	3 (100%)
Within 3 – 5 years	7 (64%)	4 (36%)	0	11 (100%)
Every 5 years	1 (100%)	0	0	1 (100%)
Not stated	0	0	32 (100%)	32 (100%)
Totals	9 (19%)	7 (15%)	32 (67%)	48 (100%)

More of the parties that considered the environment unstable reviewed their strategic plans within 3 years or less while more of those that viewed the environment as stable reviewed their strategic plans after every three years or more as shown in table 33.

Table 34: Caliber of Party Secretariat and approaches to Environmental Analysis

Caliber of Party	No.	Formal	Informal	Both formal and informal
Professional	4	3 (75%)	0	1 (25%)
Semi-professional or Volunteers	44	5 (11%)	30 (68%)	9 (20%)
Totals	48 (100%)	8 (17%)	30(63%)	10 (21%)

The findings of the research, as presented in table 34, suggest that the caliber of a party secretariat is an important factor in the approaches adopted by parties to environmental analysis. While 75% of respondents of parties with a professional secretariat indicated that they had formal approaches to environmental analysis which included forecasting and formal studies, only 11% of the respondents from parties with semi-professional or volunteer secretariats did the same. In addition while 68% of the parties with a semi professional or volunteer secretariat resorted to informal approaches, none did so in parties with a professional secretariat. However nearly as many parties with semi professional secretariats (20%) utilized a combination of both formal and informal approaches as those with professional ones (25%).

Table 35: Complexity of Party Structures and Approaches to Strategic Planning

Structure of Party	Levels of decision making.	No.	Formal Approach	Informal Approach	Both formal and informal Approach
Complex	> 3	9	5 (56%)	0	4 (44%)
Standard	< 3 and >1	11	4 (36%)	2 (18%)	5 (45%)
Simple layer	1	28	0	26 (93%)	2 (7%)
Totals		48(100%)	9 (19%)	28 (58%)	11 (23%)

Findings of this research show that the complexity of a party structure is a factor that influences strategic planning practices as will be seen from table 35. While a majority (93%) of respondents of parties with simple single layer structure indicated that they had an informal approach to strategic planning, 56% of the respondents from parties with complex party structures with more than three decisions making levels indicated that they had formal approach while the balance had a mixed approach. And while only 2% of simple structure party respondents said they had a mixed approach, 81% of the standard party structure respondents said they had either mixed or formal approach.

Table 36: Complexity of the Party and Responsibility for environmental scanning

Structure of Party	Levels of decision making.	No.	Special committee	Consultant	Market research companies	Party leader
Complex	> 3	9	6 (67%)	1 (11%)	2 (22%)	0
Standard	< 3 and >1	11	6 (55%)	5 (45%)	0	0
Simple layer	1	28	9 (32%)	0	0	19 (68%)
Totals		48	21 (44%)	6 (13%)	2 (4%)	19 (40%)

The research findings, as presented in table 36, suggest that special committees are the most prevalent across the parties categorized by complexity of structure accounting for 44% of responsibility in environmental scanning. However among the small single layer parties the responsibility is predominantly in the hands of individual party leaders accounting for 68% while in the rest of the parties within this group (32%) the responsibility is discharged by special committees. This contrasts with the complex parties with multiple decision making levels in which special committees accounting for 67% of all the responsibilities of environmental scanning within the group while party leaders have none. The spread is however nearly evenly spread between special committees and consultants among the parties with standard structures. Special

committees with responsibility for 55% of all the cases have a slight edge over consultants who account for the balance of 45%. Large complex parties are the only ones that use services of market research firms who account for 22% of the responsibility of this task within the group but only 2% of all cases. Market research firms and consultants account for only 13% of all the cases.

Table 37: Complexity of the Party and Responsibility for defining vision, mission and objectives

Structure of Party	Levels of decision making.	No.	Special committee	Consultant	Market research companies	Party leader
Complex	> 3	9	6 (67%)	1 (9%)	0	2 (22%)
Standard	< 3 and >1	11	5 (45%)	2 (18%)	0	4 (36%)
Simple layer	1	28	7 (25%)	5 (18%)	0	16 (57%)
Totals		48	18 (38%)	8 (17%)	0	22 (46%)

Findings of this research show special committees (38%) and party leaders (46%) are the main ways through which political parties craft their vision, mission and strategic objectives. However as will be observed from table 37, while party leaders are the main drivers in small parties with 57% of all cases, it is the special committees that are dominant among the larger complex parties with responsibility for 67% of all the cases. Party leaders and special committees committee share this responsibility almost equally among the parties with standard structures with the latter at 45% and the former at 36% for all cases in this group. Consultants account for only 17% with an equal deployment by both the standard and simple structure parties in which they account for 18% within their respective groups as opposed to the larger complex parties which use them for only 9% of all cases in the group.

Table 38: Lead Agency and Sequence of Strategic Planning

Responsibility	No.	1,2,3,4,5	1,2,3,5,4	1,4,5,2,3	2,1,3,4,5	No response
Strategic planning committee	10	6 (60%)	0	1 (10%)	3 (30%)	0
Secretariat	5	1 (20%)	0	0	0	4 (80%)
Designated individuals	2	0	1 (50%)		1 (50%)	0
Various party organs	7	0	0	1 (14%)	0	6 (86%)
Hired consultant	3	2 (67%)	0	0	1 (33%)	0
No response	21	0	0	0	0	21 (100%)
Total		9 (19%)	1(2%)	2 (4%)	5 (10%)	31 (65%)

Where:

- 1 = Analysis of external environment
- 2 = Analysis of internal environment
- 3 = Defining or refining the party vision, mission and strategic objectives
- 4 = Developing party strategies
- 5 = Choosing party strategy

The research findings, as presented in table 38, show that the parties that had strategic planning committees and those that hired consultants had a near identical approach to strategic planning. While 60% of the strategic planning committees preferred to commence with analysis of the external environment, and then proceed to analysis of internal environment, defining of party vision, mission and objectives before finishing with development of party strategy and strategy selection, 30% preferred beginning with analysis of internal environment before proceeding with external environment. Similarly 67% of the parties that retained a consultant preferred beginning with analysis of the external environment as compared with 33% who started with analysis of internal environment.

Majority of the respondents who indicated that their party's strategic planning was led by the secretariat (80%) or various party organs (86%) did not specify in which order they approached their strategic planning a total of 65% of the entire population failed to

provide information on this question. Among those who responded the preferred order was to begin with analysis of external then proceed to analysis of internal environment, defining of party vision, mission and strategic objectives and then to development of party strategies and selection of the strategy to be adopted. This group made 19% of all cases while those who preferred starting with internal environment analysis made 10% of all cases.

Table 39: Complexity of Party Structures and Communication of Strategy

Structure of Party	Levels of decision making.	No.	Both Internal and external Constituency	External Constituency	internal constituencies
Complex	> 3	9	2 (22%)	0	7 (77%)
Standard	< 3 and >1	11	5 (45%)	1 (9%)	5 (54%)
Simple layer	1	28	0	4 (14%)	24 (86%)
Totals		48	7 (15%)	5 (10%)	36 (75%)

The findings in this research indicate that most of the parties across the different party structure complexities principally target their own constituency in communicating their strategies. 75% of the respondents said that their strategies are communicated to their internal constituencies only compared with 15% who indicated that they communicate to both the internal and external constituencies. However more of the parties with standard decision making structure communicate their strategy to both internal and external constituencies (45%) compared with 22% for the larger complex ones. The small parties with simple layer indicated that their strategy is almost exclusively communicated to their internal constituency with only 14% indicating that their strategies are exclusively intended for external constituencies.

Table 40: Party Geographic Operating Scope and Communication of Strategy

Structure of Party	No.	Both Internal and external Constituency	External Constituency	internal constituencies
With branches	39	8 (21%)	0	31 (79%)
Without branches	9	4 (44%)	2 (22%)	3 (33%)
Totals	48	12 (25%)	2 (4%)	34 (71%)

Findings indicate that 79% of the parties with nationwide branch networks communicated their strategy to internal constituencies compared with 33% for those without. On the other hand 44% of those without branches communicated their strategy to both internal and external constituencies as opposed to 21% for those with branches. While 22% respondents from parties with branches indicated that they exclusively communicated to external constituencies none from those with branches said the same as shown in table 40.

Table 41: Strategic Planning Practice and Order of Importance of Party Values

Nature of strategic planning	No.	1,2,3	1,3,2	2,1,3	2,3,1	3,1,2	3,2,1	Unknown
Formal	15	1 (7%)	0	0	1 (7%)	5 (33%)	8(53%)	0
Informal	4	2 (50%)	1 (25%)	0	0	0	1 (25%)	0
Others	29	0	0	0	0	0	0	29 100%)
Totals	48	3 (6%)	1(2%)	0	1 2%)	5 10%)	9 (19%)	29 (60%)

Where:

1 = Efficiency

2 = Effectiveness

3 = Accountability

The findings of this research suggest that most of the parties that have a formal approach to strategic plan value accountability most. The findings as presented in table 41 show that accountability came first among 86% of the respondents compared with efficiency and effectiveness at 1% each. Effectiveness was next with 53% citing it as the second most important consideration while 33% cited efficiency. 60% of all respondents did not provide sufficient information to draw a conclusion on their views on party value in relation to approach to strategic planning.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary, Discussions and Conclusions

The first objective of this study was to determine the strategic planning practices among political parties in Kenya. One of the key findings was that majority of the political parties do not pursue formal approaches to strategic planning or to strategy development, but most confirmed the importance of strategy their operation. Many of these also confirmed pursuing certain approaches to come up with strategy. The fact that certain parties, such as NARC in 2002, and the two major parties that form the Grand Coalition Government after the 2007 election, had succeeded in elections without the standard formal strategic planning procedures, supports the argument that when the environment is turbulent, organizations should avoid formal planning and instead make their decisions “organically” on the basis of managerial intuition (Mintzberg, 1973). However the research also found that these are exceptions rather than the rule. Most of those that do not undertake strategic planning perish at their infancy or never grow at all. The findings indicate that parties that undertake strategic planning have longer life expectancy and are better managed than those that do not have. The research findings support the view that does produce superior performance when properly implemented (Ansoff and McDonell, 1990).

The research findings show that less than one third of the political parties had a strategic plan while a majority indicated that their party did not have formal strategic planning. While majority of the parties that undertook strategic planning indicated that their time horizon was 5 years, a negligible minority indicated preference for a shorter or longer time horizon. That majority of the parties preferred a 5 year time period for their strategic planning may be explained by the general elections which take place once every five years. It is possible that most parties plan to realize their goals within this time frame. Party organs accounted for the majority of the responsibility for strategic planning with strategic planning committees accounting for the nearly half of these. Secretariats accounted for only a tenth while other party organs, consultants and designated

individuals were utilized by a few parties. However in many cases, the responsibility was shared among more than one of these organs and individuals listed above.

While parties used both intuition and brainstorming in strategic environmental analysis, brainstorming was the more prevalent technique used. However intuition is more prevalent among the small parties while brainstorming is preferred by the larger ones.

The most common characteristic among political parties in the strategic planning process are informal meetings. But there are nearly as many formal meetings as there are informal ones. However most of the respondents who indicated that their parties have formal meetings in conducting strategic planning also indicated that these are complimented by informal consultations. Thus these meetings are largely complimentary rather than substitutes of each other. However only minorities of parties have formal strategic planning committees or departments within the parties and an even smaller number has timetable for strategic planning with clear designation of responsibilities for strategic planning.

The research findings show that some parties engaged consultants and market research companies for environmental scanning, for most parties this responsibility was discharged mainly by specially assigned committees. In larger parties these vary from standing committees to ad hoc working teams. Among the small parties the practice range from the few party leaders constituting themselves into such committees to working teams constituted by volunteers. Hired consultants and market research companies engaged especially by the larger parties while in some of the smaller parties this task is discharged by the party leader. The research findings show that all parties used either or both verbal and written sources to obtain information on their working environment. The main means of collecting information on their working environment was through competitor spying. This may explain party sensitivity to providing information.

Collection of information on competition was mainly the responsibility for either the strategic planning committee or the various designated organs of the party. A minority of the parties delegated this responsibility to consultants or market research firms. The

research found that turnout in public party rallies and other meetings is the most popular method of analyzing the relative strength of competition among political parties. Interestingly, this was considered more important than actual registered members of parties. All respondents indicated that they base their evaluation on this analysis. A small minority used either market share analysis or strategic group analysis while nearly half used financial resource capacity assessment. Nearly as many respondents (44%) indicated that they did not conduct formal internal audit as those that indicated that they did (46%). However some of the parties had no clear distinction between strategic or performance audit and financial audit.

The research findings show that a majority of the parties had vision, mission as well as well defined objectives. That there were more parties with a mission statement than those with a vision statement confirms the findings of some previous studies. Bett (2003) for instance found that amongst tea factories in Kenya, more of these organizations had a mission statement than those that had a vision statement. For most parties, the vision, mission and objectives were contained in their party constitutions or in the manifestos which also set the party policies and operational principles. Party objectives varied widely. The objectives of parties with strategic plans and manifestoes ranged from a timeframe of 1 to 5 years while the objectives of parties with only a constitution had objectives which were mostly broad and long term. In over half of the respondent parties, strategic objectives were set by various party organs ranging from the National governing council, the National Executive Committee, the management committees, the Strategic Planning Committee (in some the Strategy Committee) to the secretariat. In a minority of cases, the responsibility was shared between the strategic planning committee and designated members within the party while the secretariat and consultants were seldom used exclusively.

This research found that while some parties communicate their party strategies to both stakeholders within and outside the party, the vast majority restrict their communication to people within the party. Only a tenth communicate their strategy to both people within and outside the party. As noted in chapter four, this may be reflective of the fear parties

have for sharing information with opponents, but it might also be a very good strategy to maintain an advantage over competition. However the fact that only a few parties made a budgetary allocation for strategic planning may underline the fact that political parties in Kenya have not yet fully appreciated the benefits of strategic planning.

SWOT analysis is the most commonly used tool in strategic planning among political parties. In his study of strategy development at Lonhro Africa PLC, Nyamweya (2005) found that while the organization undertook environmental scanning as a basis for their strategy development, they opted for SWOT analysis which was "not comprehensive enough". This suggests that SWOT analysis may not be adequate or even appropriate for all cases. Nyamweya for instance proposes that the company should have employed either PEST analysis, porter's five forces framework, porter's generic strategic matrix or even the BCG's growth share matrix. He observes that because of this mistake, the company made wrong and unrealistic forecasts and projection about their performance in the market such as injecting 1 million pounds into its motor vehicle subsidiary, Lonhro motors east Africa with the unrealistic projection of capturing 80% of the vehicle market in the country. Parties need to consider these observations in the choice of their tools in strategic planning.

The research found that while small new parties rely heavily on the wisdom and direction of their founders, most of the larger and medium sized ones make their strategy choices through consultation and negation with stakeholders. Others indicated that they also employ rational analytic methods at the same time. Conversely others indicated that while they rely on intuition, they also sometimes resort to negotiation with their stakeholders. The research further found that small parties were less likely to utilize the rational analytical approach than the larger older parties with well established secretariats. These parties relied more on intuition and gut feeling to arrive at their strategic choices.

Conclusions

From the findings above, the following observations can be made;

1. Formal strategic planning is not prevalent among political parties in Kenya. However most parties undertake aspects of strategy development. Most political parties in Kenya are small and have very limited capacities in terms of both material resources and leadership capacities. Due to these constraints most of these parties do not undertake strategic planning and instead resort to informal approaches to strategy development.
2. There is a cyclic causality between lack of capacity and lack of institutionalization among the political parties which impact their approaches to strategy development. Lack of institutionalization is responsible for low level of strategic planning among political parties. However poor strategic planning appears to be responsible for poor institutionalization of the parties. This suggests a vicious cycle between strategic planning and institutionalization of parties.
3. Formal strategic planning is not an absolute antecedent factor for the success of political parties in their general conduct and specifically in the electoral contests. However strategy is. The mutation of parties is itself a product of conscious strategy formulation.
4. Whereas strategic planning is not a sufficient factor for the success of a political party, it is a necessary factor.

The second objective of the research was to establish factors influencing strategic planning among political parties in Kenya. An interesting finding of this research was that age was not a factor in strategic planning among political parties in Kenya. More of the younger parties than the middle aged parties had a formal approach to strategic planning though all the old parties did like likewise. The research however found that there are a variety of factors both within the internal and external environment that are critical in influencing strategic planning practices among political parties in Kenya.

The complexity of a party structure is a factor that influences strategic planning practices. The findings show that less complex parties put less premium on formal strategic planning than the more complex ones. While a majority of parties with simple single layer structure had an informal approach to strategic planning, most of the parties with

complex party structures with more than three decisions making levels had formal approach while the balance had a mixed approach. And while a negligible number of simple structure party respondents had a mixed approach, the vast majority of the standard party structure parties had either mixed or formal approach.

Party size is a factor in strategic planning. All large political parties have a formal approach to strategic planning while small ones had more informal approaches. The results were mixed among medium sized parties. Similarly parties with relatively well staffed professional secretariats had a formal approach to strategic planning while those that had volunteer or thin secretariats did not. The caliber of party secretariat is also an important factor in the approaches adopted by parties to environmental analysis. While parties with a professional secretariat had formal approaches to environmental analysis which included forecasting and formal studies, a minority of the parties with semi-professional or volunteer secretariats did the same.

While large parties had formal strategic planning units, the small ones did not. Special committees are the most prevalent across the parties categorized by complexity of structure in environmental scanning. However among the small single layer parties the responsibility is predominantly in the hands of individual party leaders. This contrasts with the complex parties with multiple decision making levels in which special committees are the principal method for environmental scanning within the group. This responsibility was evenly spread between special committees and consultants among the parties with standard structures with the former having a slight edge over consultants. Only the large complex parties used services of market research firms. Special committees and party leaders are the main ways through which political parties craft their vision, mission and strategic objectives. However while party leaders are the main drivers in small parties, it is the special committees that are dominant among the larger complex parties. Party leaders and special committees committee share this responsibility almost equally among the parties with standard structures.

The research findings show that the parties that had strategic planning committees and those that hired consultants had a near identical approach to strategic planning. While majority of strategic planning committees preferred to commence with analysis of the external environment, and then proceed to analysis of internal environment, defining of party vision, mission and objectives before finishing with development of party strategy and strategy selection, nearly a half as much as preferred beginning with analysis of internal environment before proceeding to external environment. Similarly, majority of the parties that retained a consultant preferred beginning with analysis of the external environment.

Nature of a party is an important factor in strategic planning among political parties. All corporate or composite political parties had a formal approach to strategic planning while a minority of the single registration parties did so. Most of the parties across the different party structure complexities principally target their own constituency in communicating their strategies. Majority of the parties with nationwide branch networks communicate their strategy to internal constituencies than those that do not have branches. Finally, another very interesting finding of this research is that parties that have a formal approach to strategic planning value accountability more than those that did not.

Conclusions

1. Irrespective of age political party need strategic planning among political parties in Kenya.
2. to be able to undertake proper strategic planning, it is imperative that political parties establish and maintain well staffed professional secretariats
3. There is a vicious cycle between lack of capacity and lack of competitiveness. Less competitive parties do not attract much political will and financial support but parties with limited political and financial support are also the least competitive. This presents a major strategic challenge to small parties. How they resolve this vicious cycle is what ultimately determines which of these small parties perish and which grow into drivers of change.

4. Political parties are subject to a wide range of external factors and this influence approaches to strategic planning. Key among these factors voter perceptions and trends, donor conditionalities and government and legal changes.
5. Strategic planning is good for parties because it enhances accountability and provides an objective basis to measure party performance.

5.2 Limitation of the study

There were three limitations in this research that deserve mention. The most important of these was the reluctance by political parties to provide all information required in the research. The information provided in some cases lacked vital data. But collecting information from such a sensitive population could have also been affected by information moderation arising out of a sense of responsibility to safeguard “confidential” information by respondents. Secondly, accessing many of the political parties was a great challenge and strain on the resources of the researcher. Many political parties lacked reliable physical addresses and this made the follow up extremely difficult. Third, and relatedly, this research was conducted with limited time and resources which limited the number of political parties surveyed. This therefore may have limited the extent to which the research could have been pursued with greater rigour and breadth.

It is however important to state that extra caution was taken to minimize as much as possible, the potential effects of these limitations. The limitations have therefore been raised to contextualize the research and disclose factors that should be borne in mind in evaluating the findings so as to put the research in perspective.

5.3 Suggestions For Further Research

This research focused on strategic planning practices among political parties in Kenya. The focus was therefore rather wide. Suggested areas for further research could include the following;

- Case studies on individual parties

- Comparative study among selected political parties or between political parties and NGOs
- Strategic management practices among political parties
- This study could also be replicated using a larger sample size. This may provide more substantive results.

5.4 Implications for policy and practice

The findings of this research have some significant policy implications. First, while supporting the logic behind the introduction of the *Political Parties Act* as a means to streamline the management and operations of political parties, it suggests that there is need to provide some guidelines on strategic planning and management. Whereas legal enforcement of strategic planning may not be possible and whereas it might not be desirable, it would be useful to compliment the Act with a schedule that may provide guidance to those parties that may wish to pursue strategic planning as a strategy for achieving the stringent requirements of the act regarding management and operations of parties. Secondly, the Act must ensure that there is a complete paradigm shift in political party organization and management. Precisely because most political parties are managed like family business or sole proprietorship, few bother to communicate the party strategy to members. This makes it difficult for members and for the public to measure party performance and to impose accountability. One of the key objectives of the political parties act is to ensure accountability of the party leadership to the members and of the parties to the public. Strategic planning, if well implemented would be very useful in achieving this objective. Findings of this research indicate that parties that have a formal approach to strategic plan value accountability more than those that do not have. Thirdly, political parties themselves need to embrace strategic planning proactively. This is because the findings of the research indicate that parties that undertake strategic planning have better life expectancy and membership involvement and ownership than those that do not do so. Finally, it is recommended that sponsors and development partners invest more in helping political parties to conduct strategic planning as a way of helping them institutionalize and adopt best management practices while cushioning from high mortality rate.

REFERENCES

- Adegbite, O. (1986). Planning in Nigerian Business. *Long Range Planning*, 10(3), 234-42.
- Andrews, K., (1987) The Concept of Corporate Strategy. Homewood, Illinois: Dow-Jones-Irwin. In Aosa, E. (1992). "An Empirical Investigation of Aspects of Strategy Formulation and Implementation within Large, Private Manufacturing companies in Kenya". *Unpublished PhD. Thesis*. University of Strathclyde, Scotland.
- Ansoff, H.I. (1999). *Implanting strategic management*. Cambridge, UK: Prentice Hall
- Ansoff, H.I. & McDonell E. (1990). *Implanting strategic management*. London: Prentice Hall.
- Aosa, E. (1997). The Influence of the Linkage between Strategy and Budgeting of Implementing Strategic Decisions. *Nairobi Journal of Management*, 3
- Argyris, C. (1985). *Strategy and defensive routine*. Boston, MA: Pittman
- Barr, D. (1998). Integrated Rural Development Through Telecommunications. In Richardson, D. and Paisley, L. (Eds.). *The first mile of connectivity: advancing telecommunications for rural development through a participatory communication approach*. Rome: FAO, pp. 152-167.
- Bartolini, S. & Mair, P. (2001). Challenges to Contemporary Political Parties. In Diamond, L. & Gunther, R. (Eds). *Political parties and democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press
- Bateman, T.S. & Zeithaml, C.P. (1993). *Management function and strategy*. (2nd Ed.). Burr Ridges, IL: Richard D. Irwin.
- Bett, C. (2003). "Strategic planning in tea manufacturing companies in Kenya". *Unpublished MBA Project*, University of Nairobi.
- Boyd, H. W. (1990). *Westfall marketing research: Text and cases*. Homewood R & S.F. Stasch IL: Richard D. Irwin.

- Bryson, J.M. (Ed). (1993). *Strategic planning for public service and non profit organizations*. New York: Pergamon Press.
- Burby, R.J. (2003). Making Plans that Matter: Citizen Involvement and Government Action. *APA Journal*, 69(1), 33–49.
- Busolo, G. (2003). Corporate strategic planning among motor vehicle franchise holdings in Nairobi. *Unpublished MBA Project*, University of Nairobi.
- Caeldries, F & Dierdonck, V. (1988). How Belgian Businesses Make Strategic Planning Working. *Long Range Planning*, 21(2), 41–51.
- Chandler, A. (1962). *Strategy and structure: chapters in the history of American industrial enterprises*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. In Aosa, E. (1992). “An Empirical Investigation of Aspects of Strategy Formulation and Implementation within Large, Private Manufacturing Companies in Kenya”. *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, University of Strathclyde, Scotland.
- Chow, H., Farley, J. & Lee, K. (1989). Corporate Planning Takes off in Singapore. *Long Range Planning*, 22(2), 78 – 90.
- Daniel, W.W. & Terrell, J.C. (1995). *Business statistics for management and economics*. 2nd ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin
- Dowse, R.E. & Hughes, J.A. (1972). *Political Sociology*. London: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Fayol, H. (1949). *General and industrial management*. London: Pitman Publishing Co.
- Gerstner Jr., L.V. (1976). Can strategic planning pay off? Marketing management perspectives and applications. Homewood, Ill: Richard D. Irwin
- Gluck, F. (1986). Strategic Management: An overview. In *Handbook of strategic planning*. Gardner, J. Rachlin R. & Sweeny, A. (eds.). New York: John Wiley & sons.
- Government of Kenya. *Political Parties Act 2007*. Government Printers.

- Government of Kenya. *Registration of Societies Act (Cap 490)* of the laws of Kenya. Government Printers.
- Handy, C. (1976). *Understanding Organizations*. London: Penguin Books.
- Henry, N. (2003). *Public administration and public affairs*. (8th ed.). New Delhi: Prentice-Hall of India.
- Hill, C.W.L. & Jones, G.R. (2001). *Strategic planning theory: An integrated approach*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.
- Howe, S. (1986). *Corporate Strategy*. Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan Publishers.
- Huff, A.S. (2001). The Continuing Relevance of Strategy. *Human Relations*, 54(1), 123-131.
- Jauch, L. & Glueck, W. (1984). *Business Policy and Strategic Management*. (4th ed). New York: McGraw-Hill Inc.
- Johnson, G. & Scholes, K. (1988). *Exploring corporate strategy*. (2nd ed). New York: Prentice-Hall.
- Joyce, P. (2000). *Strategy in the public sector: A guide to effective change management*. Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons.
- Johnson, G. & Scholes, K. (1999). *Exploring Corporate Strategy*, London: Prentice Hall.
- Kamau, J.M. (2004). "Strategic planning at Kenya Amateur Athletics Association". *Unpublished MBA Project*, University of Nairobi.
- Kanter R.M. (2004). *Confidence*. New York: Crown Press.
- Karanja, A. (2004). "Survey of strategic planning and performance of public corporations in Kenya". *Unpublished MBA Project*, University of Nairobi.
- Karemu, C.K. (1993). "The State of Strategic Leaderships in the Retailing Sector: The Case of Supermarkets in Nairobi". *Unpublished MBA Research Project*, University of Nairobi.

- Kiliko, J. (2000). "Strategic planning within NGOs in Kenya". *Unpublished MBA Project*, University of Nairobi.
- Kinyanjui, K. (1985). Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs). *IDS Occasional Paper*, 50
- Kotter, J.P. (1982) *The general managers*. New York: The Free Press.
- Lachapelle, P.R., McCool, S.F., & Patterson, M.E. (2003). Barriers to Effective Natural Resource Planning in a "Messy" World. *Society and Natural Resources*, 16, 473-490.
- Lane, E.A. (2003). "Obstacles to Implementing Strategic Plans: A Study of Honduran Protected Areas". *Master's Thesis*, Duke University, USA
- Maddock, S. (2002). Making Modernization Work: New Narratives, Change Strategies and People Management in the Public Sector. *International Journal of Public Sector Management*, 2(2), 349-55
- Massie, J.L. (1996) *Essentials of Management*. (4th ed.). New Delhi: Prentice-Hall of India.
- Mbayah, P. W. (2000). "Strategy Practices within Commercial Internet Services Providers (ISPs) in Kenya". *MBA Dissertation*, University of Nairobi
- McNamara, C. (2008). *Field guide to nonprofit strategic planning and facilitation* retrieved from http://www.managementhelp.org/plan_dec/str_plan/str_plan.htm
- Melkote, S.R. (1991). *Communication for development in the third world: Theory and practice*. Newbury Park, CA.: Sage Publications.
- Mintzberg, H. (1994). The Fall and Rise of Strategic Planning. *Harvard Business Review*, Jan-Feb, 107-114.
- Mintzberg, H. & Waters, J. (1994). Of Strategies Deliberate and Emergent. In De Wit & B. Meyer. R. (eds). *Strategy process, content, context*. St. Paul, MN: West Publishing Co.
- Mintzberg, H. (1987). Crafting strategy. *Harvard Business Review*, 65, 66-75.

Mintzberg, H. & Quinn, J.B. (1979). *The strategy process – concepts, contexts and cases*. Engelwood Cliffs N.J: Prentice Hall Inc.

Mintzberg, H. (1973). *The nature of managerial work*. New York: Harper & Row.

Moncrieff, J. (1999). Is Strategy Making a Difference?. *Long Range Planning*, 32(2), 273-276.

Mwaura, J.W. (2000). “Strategic planning within television companies in Kenya”. *Unpublished MBA Project*, University of Nairobi.

National Assembly of Kenya. (2008). Composition and functions of Parliament. Retrieved July 6, 2008 from <http://www.bunge.go.ke/composition.php>

NCVO / Carnegie UK Inquiry into the Future of Civil Society seminar 2008. ‘Bridging’ Social Capital Seminar Series Seminar 2. Social Capital and Dimensions of Equality. Retrieved July 6, 2008 from <http://www.ncvo-vol.org.uk/sfp/strategicplanning>

Njoya, L.N. (2004). “Strategy for Mobilization and Sustainability of Resources among Not for Profit Organizations in Kenya: A Case Study of the Bible Society of Kenya”. *Unpublished MBA Project*, University of Nairobi.

Nyamweya, R. (2004). “Strategic development at Loresho Africa PLC”. *Unpublished MBA Project*, University of Nairobi.

Ogari, O.G. (2004). “Strategic planning practices by universities in Kenya”. *Unpublished MBA Project*, University of Nairobi.

Ohmae, K. (1983). *The mind of the strategist: business planning for competitive advantage*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Ombati, P.A. (2006). “Strategy implementation of HIV/AIDS Workplace Policies: A Case Study of Challenges and Responses of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies in Nairobi”. *Unpublished MBA Project*, University of Nairobi.

Otete, A. (2003). “A comparative study of strategic planning in the public and private sectors in Kenya”. *Unpublished MBA Project*, University of Nairobi.

Pearce, J.A. & Robinson, R.B. (1997). *Strategic planning: Strategy formulation, implementation and control* (6th ed.). Chicago: Richard D. Irwin Inc

- Pearce, J.A. & Robinson, R.B. (1991). *Strategic management: strategy formulation and implementation*. (3rd). Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin Inc
- Peters, T. & Waterman, R. (1982). *In search of excellence: Lessons from America's best-run companies*. London: Harper and Row.
- Porter, M. E. (1985). *Competitive advantage, creating and sustaining superior performance*. New York: The Free Press.
- Porter, M. (1980). *Competitive strategy*. New York: Free Press
- Quinn, J.B. (1982). Managing Strategies Incrementally. *Omega*,10(6)
- Sackmann, S. (1991), *Cultural knowledge in organizations*. London: Sage Publications.
- Sagwa, L.E. (2002). "An investigation of the strategic planning practices of local pharmaceutical manufacturing firm in Kenya and factors influencing the practices". *Unpublished MBA Project*, University of Nairobi.
- Saunders, M.N.K., Lewis, P and Thornhill, A. (2007). *Research methods for business students*. 4th Ed. London: Prentice Hall.
- Schatterschneider, E.E. (1942). *Party government*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Schumpeter, J.A. (1942). *Capitalism, socialism and democracy*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Sekran, U. (1992). *Research methods for business: A skill-building approach*. New York: John Wiley & Sons Inc.
- Sharbani, M. (2001): "Strategic planning practices within hotels and restaurants in Nairobi". *Unpublished MBA Project*, University of Nairobi.
- Shumbusho, V.R. (1983). "Corporate strategic planning: A survey of its practice in some selected Kenyan companies". *Unpublished MBA Project*, University of Nairobi.

- Terry, G.R. and Franklin, S.G. (1997). *Principles of management*. (8th ed.). New Delhi: AITBS Publishers and distributors.
- Thompson, J.L. (1997). *Strategic planning: Awareness and change*. (3rd ed.). ITBP
- Wangechi, M. (2004). "Strategic planning at the East Africa Breweries Limited". *Unpublished MBA Project*, University of Nairobi.
- Wanjohi, P.N. (2002). "An investigation on aspects of strategic planning by insurance companies in Kenya". *Unpublished MBA Project*, University of Nairobi.
- Waruhiu, H. (2004). "Issues in strategy formulation and implementation in international collaborative research and development. A case study of research-based institutions". *Unpublished MBA Project*, University of Nairobi.
- Wilkinson, G. & Monkhouse, E. (1994). Strategic Planning In Public Sector Organizations. *Executive Development*, 7(6), 16-19.

APPENDIX 1:

QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire seeks to establish strategic planning practices among political parties in Kenya. The information provided will be treated with utmost confidence and will be used for no any other purpose other than this academic research. Please discuss with the data collector in case of need of any further clarifications.

The questionnaire is divided into 3 parts. **Part A** seeks basic background information of your party to enable the research to contextualize information provided. **Part B** seeks information on strategic planning practices in your party while **Part C** seeks to locate the factors that influence – negatively or positively – strategic planning in your party.

PART A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Party data

1. Name of party _____
2. Date of registration _____
3. How was your party constituted? _____
4. Estimated membership _____
5. Nature of party
 - a. Single registration
 - b. Corporate
6. When was your party established? _____
7. How long has your party been operating? _____
8. Who do you consider the core of your membership? _____
9. What is the structure of your party?
Supreme decision making _____
Policy making _____
Implementation _____
10. What is the scope of operation of your party?
 - a. National
 - b. Regional
 - c. Local
11. Does your party have branches

a. Yes

b. No

12. If yes, how many? _____

13. What are the key responsibilities of the branches?

14. Does your party have employees? If so kindly specify on the following;

a. Total number of employees _____

b. Management, salaried _____

c. Support salaried _____

d. Management volunteers' _____

e. Support volunteers _____

15. Does your party have a manifesto? If yes, what is its key purpose?

16. does your party have a constitution? If yes, what is its key purpose?

17. Indicate in order of importance how your party values the following

a. Efficiency

b. Effectiveness

c. Accountability

18. How many Members of Parliament has your party had/have in the following Parliaments:

a. Tenth Parliament (2008)

b. Ninth Parliament (2003 – 2007)

c. Eighth Parliament (1998 – 2002)

d. Seventh Parliament (1993 – 1997)

PART B: STRATEGIC PLANNING PRACTICES

Section 1: Vision, Mission and Strategic Objectives

19. Do you have a vision statement?
- a. Yes
 - b. No

20. If yes, is it written
- a. Yes
 - b. No

21. Do you have a mission statement?
- a. Yes
 - b. No

22. If you have one, is it written?
- a. Yes
 - b. No

23. What is the nature of your party's objectives?
- a. Short term
 - b. Medium term
 - c. Long term

24. Which of these statements are true of your party? Please tick appropriately;

	Yes	No
Have vision in manifesto		
Have vision in party constitution		
Have mission in manifesto		
Have mission in party constitution		
Have party objectives in constitution		
Have party objectives in manifesto		

25. Who participates in setting your objectives?
- a) All members
 - b) The National Governing Council/Committee
 - c) The National Executive Committee
 - d) The Party Chairman
 - e) The Secretariat

- f) The Chief Executive
- g) Strategic Planning Committee
- h) Consultant
- i) Others, please specify _____

Section 2: Strategic Planning Process and Practice

26. Does your party have a strategic plan?

- a. Yes
- b. No

27. Please indicate below the nature of your strategic planning.

- a. Formal strategic planning
- b. Informal strategic planning
- c. No strategic planning at all

28. When was strategic planning first conducted in your party? _____

29. What is the time horizon of your strategic plan?

- a. 0 – 1 year
- b. 0 – 2 years
- c. 0 – 3 years
- d. 0 – 4 years
- e. 0 – 5 years
- f. Over 5 years

30. Who is responsible for strategic planning in your party?

- a. All members
- b. The National Governing Council/Committee
- c. The National Executive Committee
- d. Party Branches
- e. The Party Leader
- f. The Party Chairman
- g. The Secretariat
- h. The Chief Executive
- i. Strategic Planning Committee
- j. Consultant
- k. Others, please specify _____

31. What are the most important objectives of your party?

32. How would you describe the tools and techniques used in strategic environmental Analysis?

- a. Intuition
- b. Brainstorming

33. Which of the following steps do you undertake in your party's strategic planning process? (tick all the relevant ones)

- a. Analysis of the external environment
- b. Analysis of the internal environment
- c. Defining or refining the party's mission statement and strategic objectives
- d. Developing strategies to achieve the strategic objectives of the party
- e. Choosing the appropriate strategy
- f. None of the above

34. Indicate in the boxes provided the order in which you perform the various tasks in the strategic planning process;

- | | |
|---|-------------|
| a. Analysis of the external environment | <div></div> |
| b. Analysis if the internal environment | <div></div> |
| c. Defining/revising the party's mission statement and strategic objectives | <div></div> |
| d. Developing strategies to achieve the strategic objectives of the party | <div></div> |
| e. Choosing the appropriate strategies | <div></div> |

35. Please indicate whether any of the following features characterize your planning process by ticking against the relevant box;

- | | |
|---|-------------|
| a. Formal meetings | <div></div> |
| b. Informal planning interactions | <div></div> |
| c. Time-tables for plan preparations | <div></div> |
| d. Clearly assigned responsibilities for planning | <div></div> |
| e. Have a planning department or committee | <div></div> |

36. When you have a strategy, to which of the following is this communicated to:

- a. People within the party only
- b. People outside the party only

- c. Both people within and outside the party

37. Does your party make budgetary allocation for strategic planning process?

- a. Yes
b. No

38. If yes, how much? _____

39. What is the percentage of your party budget is this? (please below as appropriate)

- a. 0% – 10
b. 11% - 20%
c. 21% - 30
d. 31% - 40%
e. 41% - 50%
f. Over 51%

40. Which of the following statements are true of your party and which ones are false? For each, please tick appropriately:

	True	False
Your party has developed a strong vision of the future which it would like to realize		
All the people in the party are involved in creating this vision		
The elements of traditional party values and old identities are included in the vision		
Your party has a strategy that responds to the changing environment		
All leaders and employees in your party are involved in reviewing plans		
Existing plans get reviewed and improved on		
Your party makes objectives clear to all employees		
Your party makes all leaders and employees aware of the party vision and mission		
Your party involves everyone in formulation of party strategic objectives		
Your party communicates plans and objectives to the whole organization		

Section 4: External Environment

41. Who undertakes environmental scanning on behalf of your party?

- a. A special assigned committee
b. A hired consultant
c. Market research companies
d. Individual leaders of the party

42. Please indicate the extent to which information on the following is considered in the planning process;

(Use a 5 point scale where; 1=Not at all; 2=To a little extent; 3=Moderate; 4=To a great extent; 5= To a very great extent)

	1	2	3	4	5
Political and legal developments					
General economic trends					
Competitors					
Voter trends					
Technological changes					
Social and cultural trends					
Organization's internal resources					

Section 5: Competitor Analysis

43. How do you collect information on the various aspects of your working environment?

- a. Search for information from both verbal and written sources
- b. Competitor spying
- c. Forecasting
- d. Use of formal studies
- e. Others, please specify _____

44. Who is in charge of the activity above?

- a. The strategic planning committee
- b. The party secretariat
- c. All party organs
- d. Market research Company
- e. Hired consultant
- f. Specifically designated individual/individuals
- g. No one
- h. Others, please specify _____

45. Do you carry out any form of competitor analysis?

- a. Yes, formal
- b. Yes, informal
- c. No, not at all

46. If the answer to above question is yes, what approaches are used by your party to Analyze competitor performance?

- a. Market share analysis
- b. Membership registration/subscriptions
- c. Attendance of Rallies and other political meetings
- d. Financial resource base
- e. Strategic group analysis (i.e. analysis of political strength of competitors with similar competitive approaches and market positions)
- f. Others, please specify _____

47. Does your party carry out internal audits?

- a. Yes
- b. No

48. If yes, please briefly describe how this is carried out

49. What do you consider to be your party's main:

Strengths

Weaknesses

50. Which of the approaches here below best describes the approach your party has used in selecting an appropriate strategy after the strategic options have been developed?

- a. Intuition and gut feeling

- b. Rational and analytical decision making process
- c. Process of Negotiation with key stakeholders (e.g. financiers, NEC, NGC, grassroots leadership, lobby and interest groups etc)

51. Which of the following tools do you use in your party's strategic planning?

- a. SWOT analysis
- b. Strategic gap analysis
- c. PEST analysis
- d. PESTLE analysis
- e. Portfolio analysis (BCG, general electric, Ansoff's market/product etc)

52. How would you rate your operating environment?

- a. Very Turbulent
- b. Turbulent
- c. Fairly Turbulent
- d. Stable
- e. Very Stable

PART C: FACTORS INFLUENCING STRATEGIC PLANNING

53. Indicate the extent to which each of the following factors influence your party's strategic planning?

(Use a 5 point scale where; 1=Not at all; 2=To a little extent; 3=Moderate; 4=To a great extent; 5= To a very great extent)

	1	2	3	4	5
Government					
Compliance with legal requirements					
Voters					
Electoral Commission of Kenya					
Registrar of societies					
Business community					
Religious community					
Development Partners					
Civil society Organizations					
Media					

Competition from other existing political parties					
Formation of new political parties					
Party leadership					
Politics within the party					
Party Structure and systems					
Culture within the party					
Availability of Resources					
Interests of party members					
Others (specify and list here below)					

RESPONDENT'S PROFILE

54. Name or respondent (Optional): _____

55. Position in party : _____

56. Age (tick one)

- a. 18 – 35
- b. 36 – 45
- c. Over 45

57. Gender

- a. Male
- b. Female

58. For how long have you been in the party

- a. Less than 1 year
- b. 1 – 5 years
- c. 5 – 10 years
- d. Over 10 years

- End -

Thank you very much for your help and co-operation.

APPENDIX II:

POLITICAL PARTY REPRESENTATION IN THE TENTH PARLIAMENT 2008

Abbreviation	Names	Seats	Nominated
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement Party Of Kenya	99	6
PNU	Party Of National Unity	43	3
ODM-K	Orange Democratic Movement-Kenya	16	2
KANU	Kenya Africa National Union	14	1
SAFINA	Safina	5	
FORD-A	Forum For The Restoration Of Democracy-Asili	1	
FORD-P	Forum For The Restoration Of Democracy-People	3	
SKS	Sisi Kwa Sisi Party Of Kenya	2	
MAZINGIRA	Mazingira Greens Party Of Kenya	1	
FORD-K	Forum For The Restoration Of Democracy-Kenya	1	
PDP	Peoples Democratic Party	3	
KADDU	Kenya African Democratic Development Union	3	
UDM	United Democratic Party Of Kenya	3	
PICK	Party Of Independent Candidates Of Kenya	3	
CCU	Chama Cha Uma	2	
NARC-K	National Rainbow Coalition-Kenya	4	
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition	3	
PPK	Peoples Party Of Kenya	1	
NEW FORDK	New Forum For The Restoration Of Democracy-Kenya	2	
DP	Democratic Party	2	
KANU-A	Kenya African Democratic Union Asili	1	
KANDA	Kenda	1	
NLP	National Labour Party	1	

APPENDIX III:

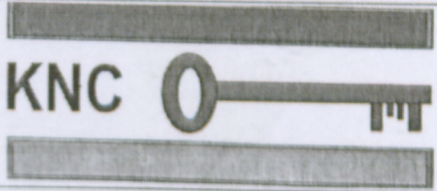
LIST OF REGISTERED POLITICAL PARTIES (WITH APPROVED SYMBOLS)
AS AT 17TH NOVEMBER 2007

REGISTRATION NUMBER	PARTY NAME	APPROVED SYMBOL
ICA 001	PARTY OF INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES OF KENYA	
NPCK 003	NATIONAL PATRIOTIC PARTY OF KENYA	
MAP 006	GREEN AFRICAN PARTY	
UPK 004	UNITED DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF KENYA	
WPPK 002	WAZIRI WA GRUPE TAAZI PARTY OF KENYA	
UPWA 005	UPWA PARTY	

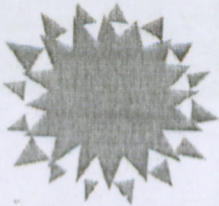
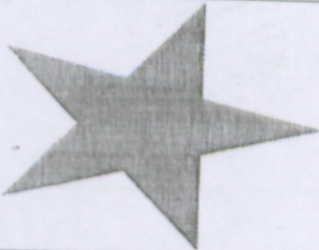
LIST OF REGISTERED POLITICAL PARTIES (WITH APPROVED SYMBOLS) AS AT

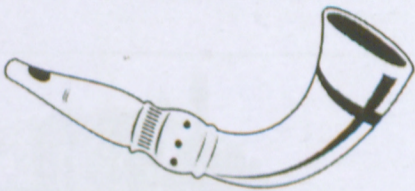
17TH NOVEMBER 2007

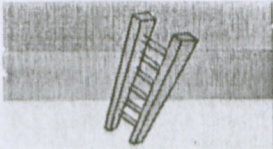
ABREV	PARTY CODE	NAME OF POLITICAL PARTY	SYMBOL NAME	PARTY SYMBOL
PICK	001	PARTY OF INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES OF KENYA	Child	
NPPK	003	NATIONAL PATRIOTIC PARTY OF KENYA	Flag	
GAP	005	GREEN AFRICAN PARTY	Maize Cob	
UPPK	006	UNITED DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF KENYA	Shield	
MGPK	007	MAZINGIRA GREENS PARTY OF KENYA	Tree	
SAFINA	008	SAFINA PARTY	Safina	

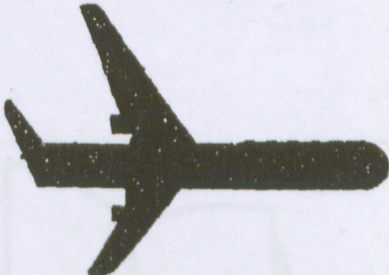
FORD-P	009	FORUM FOR THE RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY FOR THE PEOPLE	Pen	
KANU	010	KENYA AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION	Cockerel	
KSC	012	KENYA SOCIAL CONGRESS	Dove	
KENDA	013	KENYA NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE	Bell	
KNC	014	KENYA NATIONAL CONGRESS	Key	
DAP	015	DEMOCRACY ASSISTANCE PARTY	Hoe	
FPK	016	FEDERAL PARTY OF KENYA	Giraffe	

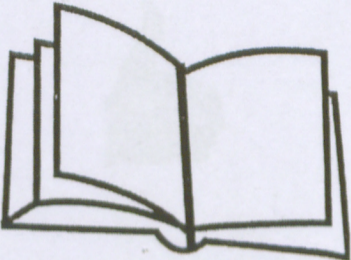
FORD-A	017	FORUM FOR THE RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY - ASILI	Two Fingers Raised	
DP	018	DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF KENYA	Lantern	
NPDP	020	NEW PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY	Two People	
FORD-K	021	FORUM FOR THE RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY - KENYA	Lion	
KNPDP	022	KENYA NATIONALIST PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY	Torch	
SDP	023	SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF KENYA	Face Of clock C	

KSP	024	KENYA SOCIALIST PARTY		
PPK	025	PEOPLES PARTY OF KENYA	Trumpet	
SPK	026	SHIRIKISHO PARTY OF KENYA	Fish	
KRRP	027	KENYA REPUBLICAN REFORMATION PARTY	Rising Sun	
RPK	028	REFORM PARTY OF KENYA	Football	
LPK	029	LABOUR PARTY OF KENYA	Star	
PSUK	030	THE PEOPLES' SOLIDARITY UNION OF KENYA	Fly Whisk	

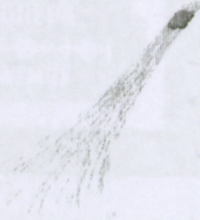
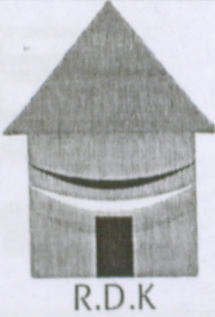
NAP	031	NATIONAL ALLIANCE PARTY	Leopard	
PDUK	032	PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC UNION OF KENYA		
NCPK	033	NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE PARTY OF KENYA	Closed Door	
UDPI	034	UNITED DEMOCRATS OF PEACE AND INTEGRITY IN KENYA	African Horn (Mbiyu)	
UKCP	035	UNITED KENYA CITIZEN PARTY		
NLP	036	NATIONAL LABOUR PARTY	Bull (Ndume)	

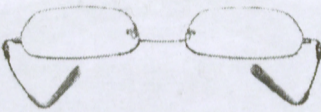
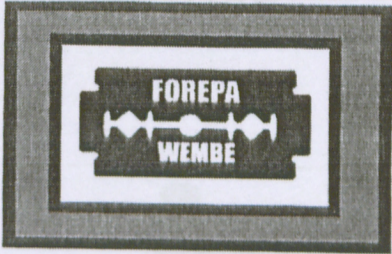
CCU	038	CHAMA CHA UMA PARTY	Pot	
LDP	039	LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY	Open Umbrella	
SPARK	040	SOCIAL PARTY FOR ADVANCEMENT AND REFORMS - KENYA	Elephant	
CMM	041	CHAMA CHA MUAFKA NA MWANGAZA	Ladder (Ngazi)	
SKSPK	042	SISI KWA SISI PARTY OF KENYA	Train	
MPK	043	MASS PARTY OF KENYA	Handshake	
WAPA	044	WAKULIMA PARTY OF KENYA	Dollar	
RPK	045	REPUBLICAN PARTY OF KENYA	Buffalo	

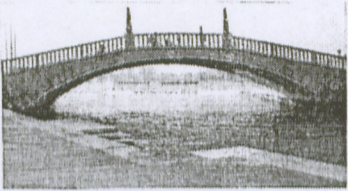
KADDU	046	KENYA AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT UNION	Fruit Basket (Mavuno)	
NARC	047	NATIONAL RAINBOW COALITION	Traditional African Torch (Mwenge)	
UPP	048	UNITED PEOPLES PARTY	Aeroplane	
NPP	049	NATIONAL PROGRESSIVE PARTY	Bicycle	
KCC	050	KENYA CITIZENS CONGRESS	Ostrich (Mbuni)	
KNDP	051	KENYA NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY		
KPP	053	KENYA PEOPLE'S PARTY	Running Water	

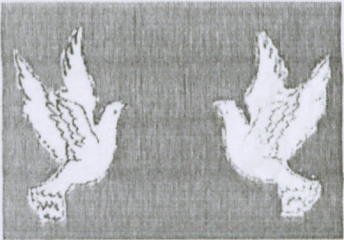
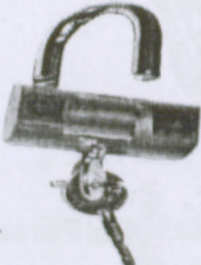
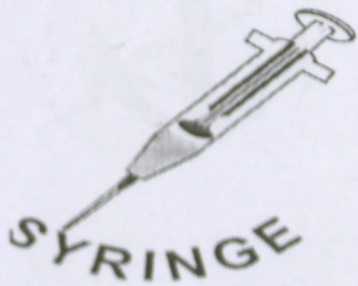
KPTP	054	KENYA PARTRITIC TRUST PARTY	Plate (Sahani)	
SPPC	055	SOCIAL PEOPLES PARTY AND CONGRESS	Binoculars	
APK	057	LIBERAL ALLIANCE COALITION OF KENYA		
NPK	059	NATIONAL PARTY OF KENYA	Book	
	060	NEW KANU ALLIANCE PARTY OF KENYA	Five Fingers Raised	
	061	NARC KENYA	Flower	

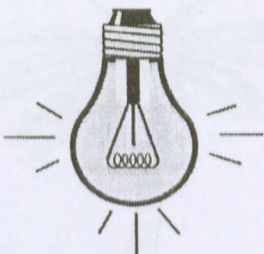
ODM	062	ORANGE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT	Orange	
UPC	063	UNITED PEOPLE'S CONGRESS	Crocodile	
CCM	064	CHAMA CHA MWANANCHI	Thumb Up	
NAP	065	NEW ASPIRATION PARTY	Rhino	
AP	066	AGANO PARTY	Lamb	
KANUP	067	KENYA ALLIANCE FOR NATIONAL UNITY PARTY	Eagle	

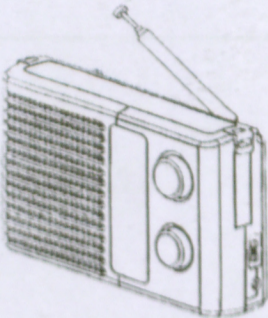
MDA	068	MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRATIC ADVANCEMENT PARTY OF KENYA	Omnibus	
RLP	069	REPUBLIC LIBERTY PARTY	Horse	
DRP	070	DEMOCRATIC REPRESENTATIVE PARTY	African Broom	
RDK	071	RESTORATION DEMOCRATS OF KENYA	Traditional Hut	
GAP-K	072	GENERATION ALLIANCE PARTY OF KENYA	Spade	
LDM	073	LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT	Iron Box	

PPK	074	PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF KENYA	Spectacles	
	075	WORKERS CONGRESS PARTY OF KENYA	Hammer	
FOREP A	076	FORUM FOR REPUBLICAN PARTY	Wembe	
KUNAP	077	KENYA UNION O F NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF PEACE	Chair	
VIPA	078	VIPA PROGRESSIVE ALLIANCE	Lit Candle	
PAS	079	PAN AFRICA ASSEMBLIES	African Drum	

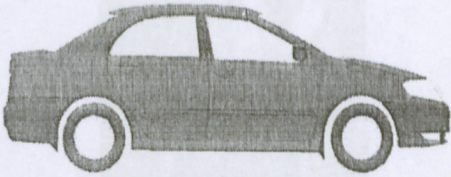
ND	080	NEW DEMOCRATS	Bridge	
	081	NEW FORD KENYA	Cup	
GDP	082	GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT PARTY (GDP)	Mobile Phone	
ODM-K	083	ORANGE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT-KENYA	Oranges	

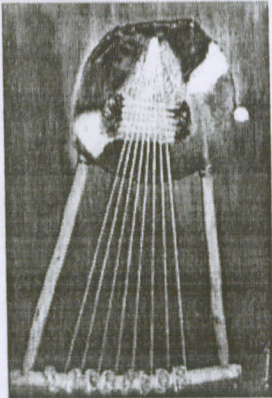
CDP	084	COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PARTY	Two Doves	
CCU	085	CHAMA CHA UZALENDU	Whistle	
NDDP	086	NATIONAL DYNAMIC DEVELOPMENT PARTY	Padlock	
	087	FORUM FOR ORANGE DEMOCRATIC CHANGE PARTY	Syringe	

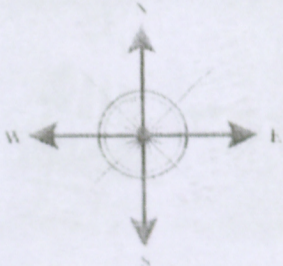
PPK	088	PAMBAZUKA PARTY OF KENYA	Lit Bulb	 LIT BULB
UDPK	089	UNIVERSAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF KENYA	Boot	
KPCP	090	KENYA PEOPLES CONVENTION PARTY	Gourd	
MIP	091	MORAL INTEGRITY PARTY	Anchor	

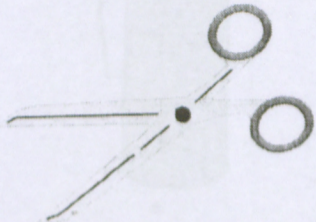
KADU-ASILI	092	KENYA AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC UNION ASILI	Coconut Tree	
	093	SABA SABA ASILI	Saba Saba	
RAP-K	094	REPUBLICAN ALLIANCE PARTY OF KENYA	Bee	
NRP	095	NATIONAL REVIVAL PARTY	Radio	
NRGP	096	NEW REVIVAL GENERATION PARTY	Banana	

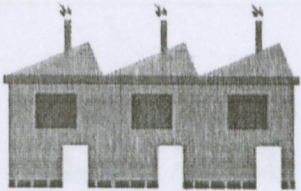
NIP	097	NATIONAL INTEGRITY PARTY	Waist Belt	
TIP	098	THE INDEPENDENT PARTY	Three Legged Traditional Stool	
CDP	099	CITIZEN DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF KENYA	Flamingo	
NDA	100	NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE	Table	
	101	DARAJA YA WAKENYA PARTY	Camel	
	102.	DEMOCRATIC REFORMATION PARTY OF KENYA	Trophy	

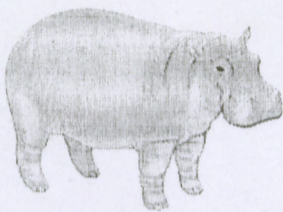
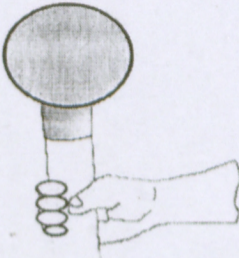
DCP	103	DEMOCRATIC COMMUNITY- PARTY	Cap	
CWDPK	104	COMMON WEALTH DEVELOPMENT PARTY OF KENYA	Car	
ADPK	105	ALLIED DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF KENYA	Kettle	
KNLP	106	KENYA NATIONAL LIBERATION PARTY	Tairi	
FP	107	FARMERS PARTY	Maize Plant	
JPPK	108	JUBILEE PEOPLES PARTY OF KENYA	Handcuffs	

DLPK	109	DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY OF KENYA	Zebra	
PDP	110	PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY	Traditional African Banjo	
KPK	111	KIFAGIO PARTY OF KENYA	Shirt	
FPK	112	FREEDOM PARTY OF KENYA	Running Athlete	
PPPK	113	PEOPLES PATRIOTIC PARTY OF KENYA	Calabash	
NRPP	114	NATIONAL RENEWAL PEOPLE'S PARTY	Deer	

kca	115	KENYA CULTURAL ALLIANCE	Steering Wheel	
PNU	116	PARTY OF NATIONAL UNITY	Two Torches With Flames	
CDK	117	COMMUNAL DEMOCRACY PARTY OF KENYA	Comb	
	118	THE NURU PARTY	Green Compass	
NSP	119	NATIONAL STAR PARTY OF KENYA	Rabbit	

NALIPA	120	NATIONAL LIBERATION PARTY	Kipepeo	
PECD	121	PARTY FOR ECONOMIC CHANGE AND DEMOCRACY	Sickle	
	122	ALLIANCE FOR THE RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY IN KENYA	Scissors	
	123	NEW SISI KWA SISI KENYA	Helicopter	
	124	PARTY OF HOPE	Globe	

CCU	125	CHAMA CHA UTU	Leaf	
DDP	126	DYNAMIC DEVELOPMENT PARTY	A Smoking Chimney	
	127	GREEN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF KENYA	Flask	
	128	THE NATIONAL INTEGRATION PARTY OF KENYA	Guitar	
	129	THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PARTY OF KENYA	Briefcase	

	130	SOCIAL WELFARE ALLIANCE PARTY OF KENYA	Kiboko	
	131	MUUNGANO DEVELOPMENT MOVEMENT PARTY OF KENYA	Weighing Balance	
	131	KENYA AFFILIATED DEMOCRATIC UNITY	Traditional Batton	
	132	UNITED DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT	Milk Can	
	133	RAINBOW ORANGE ALLIANCE PARTY	Child Swing	