

**Electoral Integrity in Kenya's Presidential Elections and Implications on
National Security (2002-2022)**

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MDIS 153156

**A thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirement for the Degree of Master of
Arts in Diplomacy, Intelligence and Security at Strathmore University**

**School of Humanities & Social Sciences
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Nairobi, Kenya



June 2025

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Abstract

The legitimacy of a government depends on free, fair, and credible elections as a flawed election polarises a state posing a significant threat to national security and stability. Despite advancements in the electoral process in Kenya, there has been evidence of recurring electoral-related malpractices during electioneering periods. Electoral integrity is a cornerstone of the constitution of Kenya 2010 where the people delegate sovereignty to their representatives. The study sought to assess electoral integrity in Kenya's presidential elections and its implications on national security (2002-2022). Specifically, the study evaluated the role of institutional frameworks in electoral integrity and national security in Kenya's presidential elections (2002 - 2022), assessed the influence of political culture in electoral integrity and national security in Kenya's presidential elections (2002 - 2022) and explored the extent of foreign interference in electoral integrity and national security in Kenya's presidential elections (2002 - 2022). The study was anchored on democratic theory and Social Contract Theory. A descriptive research design was adopted. Primary data was collected using self-administered questionnaires and interviews. Data cleaning and analysis involved editing, coding, and tabulation. The data was analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Quantitative data was analyzed using descriptive statistics like frequencies, means, and percentages, while qualitative data was analyzed through content and narrative analysis. The study revealed that Strong institutions are crucial for fair elections and withstand challenges from political interference, corruption, and inconsistent implementation of regulations. A political culture of ethnic mobilization, violent political campaigns and voter buying affect free and fair elections. Foreign actor indirectly influence the direction of elections through disinformation and financial support to their preferred candidate. The study recommends that electoral institutions strengthen the legal structure and independence. Equally, economic autonomy and operational impartiality are key to these institutions.

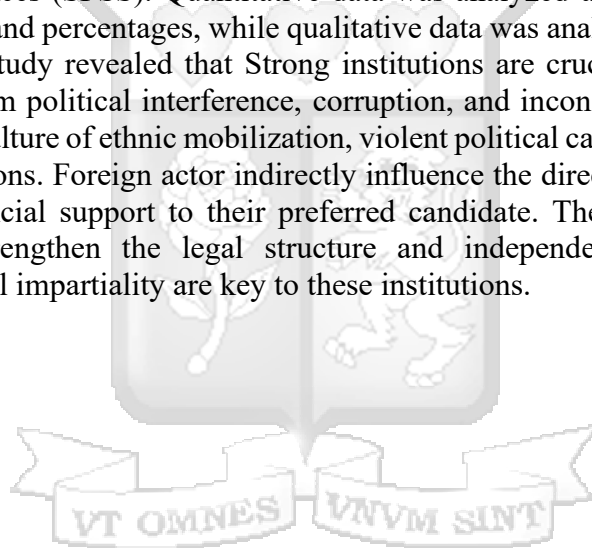
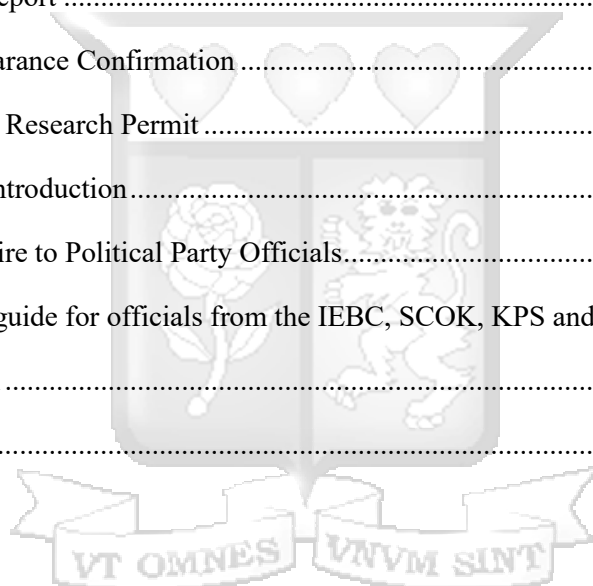


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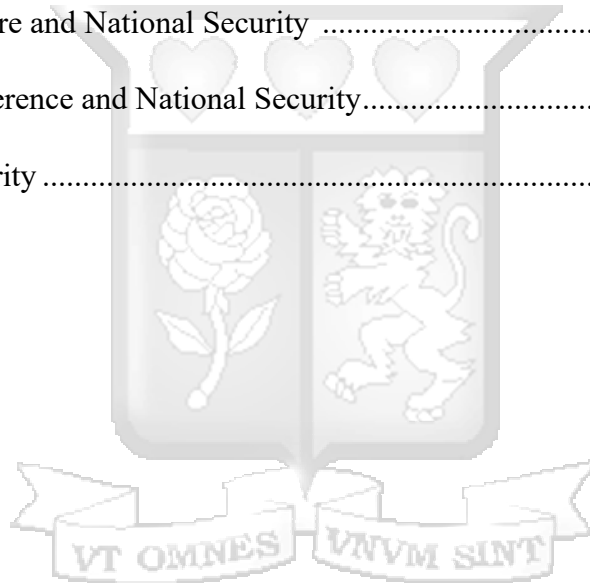
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Acronyms

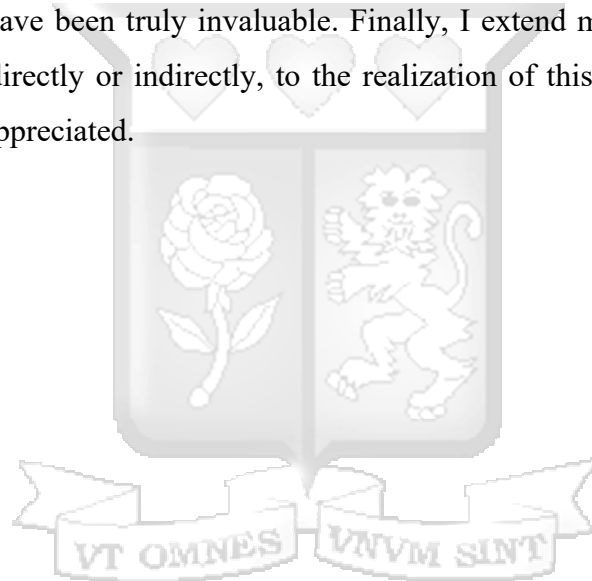
CoK	Constitution of Kenya
CBK	Central Bank of Kenya
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
EAC	East African Community
ECK	Electoral Commission of Kenya
EMB	Electoral Management Body
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
IREC	Independent Review Committee
KANU	Kenya Africa National Union
KNCHR	Kenya National Commission of Human Rights
KPS	Kenya Police Service
NACOSTI	National Commission for Science Technology and Innovation
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
NELDA	National Elections across Democracies and Autocracies
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
OAU	Organization of African Unity
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
ORPP	Office of the Registrar of Political Parties
PNU	Party of National Unity
SCOK	Supreme Court of Kenya

Definition of Terms

Electoral Integrity	Agreed upon universal standards about elections reflecting global norms applying to all countries worldwide throughout the electoral cycle, including during the pre-electoral period, the campaign, on polling day, and its aftermath (Norris, 2014).
Electoral Process	Structured set of procedures through which elections are conducted, ensuring democratic participation, fairness, and legitimacy. It includes key stages such as voter registration, candidate nomination, campaigning, voting, ballot counting, and the announcement of results (Birch, 2008).
Foreign Interference	Entails covert, deceptive or coercive actions by foreign governments, organizations, or individuals to manipulate electoral outcomes, sway public opinion, weaken democratic institutions, or compromise a state's sovereignty through disinformation campaigns, cyberattacks or financial aid (Rid, 2020).
Institutional Framework	Formal and informal structures, rules, norms, and mechanisms established to govern behavior within political, economic, and social systems. It includes legal statutes, regulatory bodies, constitutions, electoral commissions, judicial systems, and administrative agencies (Norris et al., 2018).
National Security	The protection of a state's sovereignty, territorial integrity and population from internal and external threats, encompassing external, political, societal, economic and environmental dimensions (Buzan et al., 1998).
Political Culture	Set of attitudes, beliefs, values, and norms that people in a society hold regarding politics, governance, and their roles as citizens. It encompasses how individuals view authority, political institutions, political participation, and national identity, influencing the stability and functionality of democratic systems (Cheeseman et al., 2021).

Acknowledgements

I extend my deepest gratitude to Almighty God for granting me the wisdom, knowledge, and resilience needed to navigate the challenges of this research journey. His guidance and strength have been my unwavering support throughout this endeavour. I am profoundly grateful to my esteemed supervisors, Dr. Edigah Gitua, Dr. James Nyawo and the entire faculty of Strathmore University School of Humanities and Social Sciences. Their invaluable guidance, encouragement, and academic insights have been instrumental in shaping my understanding of the subject matter and refining the direction of this study. My heartfelt appreciation also goes to my family, colleagues, and friends, whose unwavering support, encouragement, and assistance played a crucial role in the successful completion of this research. Their belief in me and their willingness to lend a helping hand have been truly invaluable. Finally, I extend my sincere gratitude to all those who contributed, directly or indirectly, to the realization of this study. Your support and input have been deeply appreciated.



Dedication

This study is dedicated to my beloved family, whose unwavering support has been the foundation of my academic journey. Their encouragement has been the guiding light, inspiring resilience and determination even amid demanding work schedules and rigorous research commitments. I am profoundly grateful for their steadfast belief in me, which has fuelled my pursuit of knowledge and excellence.



Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

Electoral integrity is the adherence to international universal standards and norms that regulate the electoral cycle covering the pre-electoral period, election days and post-election events (Norris, 2014). A proper electoral process incorporates voter registration, party primaries, voting, campaigning, vote counting, result declaration and legal proceedings (Shayo, 2017). It comprises a set of principles and practices that ensure elections are free, fair, and credible (Birch, 2011). The key players in an election are electoral management bodies (EMB), civil society organisations (CSO), political actors, monitoring officers, international institutions, the judiciary and the media (Dimitrieva, 2021). There are no clear electoral integrity measurement parameters (Garnett & James, 2021), however, this study focused on institutional frameworks, political culture and foreign interference. The institutional variable evaluated voters' confidence in the independence of EMBs, and the role of strong political parties in the electoral process (Birch, 2008). The political culture considered the populace's viewpoints on national values, the rule of law, and minority groups' status. The foreign interference evaluated foreign interests, support for the incumbent and funding.

Article 21 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights grants every citizen an equal right to participate in their country's government, directly or by representatives, through a secret ballot or open voting procedures whilst observing universal and equal suffrage (United Nations). The Venice Commission's Code of Good Practice in electoral matters outlines five fundamental principles for a proper democratic society; suffrage must be universal, equal, free, secret and direct (Venice Commission, 2002). Article 13 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights upholds that every citizen has the right to participate freely in their government affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives, of which Kenya is a signatory. Electoral integrity is vital to democratic governance and contributes to the legitimacy of political leadership and stability of a state (Norris, 2014). The foundations of democracy are built on fair and transparent elections (Norris et al., 2018). Credible elections confer acceptability to political leadership as people's representatives in a government (Rohrschneider & Thomassen, 2020).

Kenya resumed multi-party democracy in 1992, and apart from 2002, all other presidential elections have been contested and recorded varying violence, voter rigging and peace disruptions (Maina, 2020). The 2002 presidential election legitimized the government, promoted stability and economic growth, and signalled a new era of good governance (The Carter Center, 2002). However, the highly disputed 2007 presidential elections plunged the country into widespread election violence, loss of lives, displacements and destruction of properties (Dagne, 2008). Subsequently, the annulment of the 2017 presidential election by the Supreme Court of Kenya (SCOK) due to illegalities and irregularities in the electoral process, and the subsequent boycott of the repeat presidential election by the opposition leader and their secession demands, threatened territorial integrity, social cohesion and stability (Wachira, 2021). The constitution of Kenya 2010 frames national security as a safeguard against threats to Kenya's territorial integrity, sovereignty, population, rights, freedoms, peace, stability, and prosperity (Cok, 2010). A chaotic presidential election threatens national security and undermines the legitimacy of elected leaders, eroding public trust and exposing the government to internal and external threats (Sihanya, 2012).

The Copenhagen school of Security Studies frames national security as the capacity to protect a state's sovereignty, territorial integrity and population from military threats like external aggressions and non-military threats such as political, societal and economic susceptibilities. The securitization theory posits that political leaders frame certain issues as existential threats, thereby justifying extraordinary measures (Buzan et al., 1998). Political leaders who ascend to power through flawed electoral processes lack moral authority and public support to develop and shape people-centred national security policies (Krebs, 2018). Similarly, the absence of electoral integrity in presidential elections promotes resistance from CSOs, opposition parties and NGOs, impeding the execution of national security policies (Ogolla, 2014). A vulnerable electoral process is a target of foreign powers to influence and destabilize a government and its national security (Rid, 2020).

The 1994 Human Development Report, themed human security, equates security with individuals rather than territories and with development rather than military strength. The concept encompasses seven dimensions of human security: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political. This people-centric view on national security requires a holistic approach that protects and empowers individuals and societies (United Nations, 1994). States with

weak electoral systems are a recipe for electoral violence, political instability, which hinders development and good governance (Fukuyama, 2014). An erosion of electoral integrity exacerbates social divisions, subjecting citizens to extremist ideologies that threaten domestic stability and national security (Walter, 2023). Equally, Contentious elections undermine political legitimacy, weaken institutions, and trigger internal unrest, threatening the state's stability and sovereignty (Cheeseman et al., 2021). Therefore, democratic legitimacy enhances the authority of leaders to promote a stable political environment crucial for effective governance and development (Samuel, 1993).

The United States (US) 2016 presidential election was marred by allegations of foreign interference (Fisher, 2019). The campaigns witnessed intense polarization and bias, creating an environment where misinformation and disinformation easily spread and influenced public opinion. The Senate Intelligence Committee notes that Russian Intelligence Services' attacks on the integrity of the 2016 US election process are the most severe security threat to American national security in the modern era (Intelligence Committee United States Senate, 2019). The alleged interference undermined the democratic processes hence threatening national security. Subsequently, the Venezuela 2018 presidential election was flawed by claims of vote rigging, leading to a boycott by the main opposition coalition and widespread international condemnation (Freden, 2020). The Maduro regime subverted democracy and violated the constitution, contributing to long-term political and economic instability in the country (Buxton, 2018). Similarly, in Myanmar's 2020 general election, the military refused to accept the result of the election, leading to a coup d'état and widespread violence in the country, promoting disapproval by international communities and exacerbating ethnic division and conflict in the country (Htut, 2020).

Regionally, the prominence of national security concerns during elections highlights the critical role of electoral integrity (Rosamond & Wright, 2023). The Green Movement disputed Iran's 2009 presidential election and challenged the government's legitimacy, triggering widespread protests and unrest (Harris, 2012). The government's violent crackdown and repression generated opposition and contributed to instability in the country (Shalom et al., 2009). In Zimbabwe's 2008 Presidential Election, intimidation, violence, and manipulation to favour the incumbent president, Robert Mugabe, delegitimised the government, fueling discontent and eroding trust in the

democratic institutions in the country. The political crisis exacerbated economic hardship and international isolation, posing a significant threat to the country's development (Omondi, 2021). Nigeria's 2015 Presidential election witnessed violence, voter rigging and widespread protests, heightening ethnic and religious tensions, which threatened the state's stability and deepened division within the society (Ameh & Aliyu, n.d.).

In Kenya, presidential elections stir intense political fervour, ethnic tensions, and power struggles across the political landscape (Kirimi, 2018). This results from beliefs that the presidency is the centre of state power and resources (Muturi, 2021). The Kriegler Commission observed that the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) lacked institutional independence and relied on several election-related laws, thus recommending the amendment of the constitution to establish an independent electoral body (Kriegler, 2009). The 2010 constitution introduced electoral reforms to enhance transparency, accountability and inclusivity, signifying a measure to protect Kenya's national interests (Cok, 2010). It established the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) in 2011, which is anchored on Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission Act (No. 9 of 2011), Elections Act (No. 24 of 2011), Leadership and Integrity Act (No. 19 of 2012) among other laws (Kenya Law, 2017). However, the persistent recurrence of election violence in the years 2013, 2017 and 2022, indicates deep-seated grievances and complex issues that have torn apart the fabric of national unity, dividing the populace along ethnicity (Higashijima & Kerr, 2023).

The Central Bank of Kenya's reports indicate that the country's annual GDP growth plummets in election years. Precisely, the GDP growth for the election years 2002, 2008, 2013, 2017 and 2022 was 0.5%, 1.5%, 3.8%, 3.8% and 4.8% respectively, which are lower compared to the GDP growth in preceding and succeeding non-election years (CBK, 2023). Additionally, the World Bank data shows that Kenya's inflation rate reached a high of 26.2% in 2008, occasioned by 2007 post-election violence and political instability. A report by the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR) indicates that the 2007 general elections led to loss of 1,200 lives, over 1,000 women raped and over 300,000 people displaced, properties worth millions destroyed (KNCHR, 2009).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Presidential elections in Kenya, particularly in 2007, 2013, 2017, and 2022, have been marred by widespread allegations of electoral malpractices, voter manipulation, and violence, resulting in political instability and economic setbacks. This hampers the state's social and economic well-being and undermines citizens' full participation in national development (Ochieng et al., 2023). The constitution of Kenya, 2010, entrusts all sovereign authority to the people of Kenya, exercising it directly or indirectly through their elected representatives (CoK, 2010). The electoral laws highlight the mechanism through which a president is elected and entrusted with sovereign power and a symbol of national unity (Kenya Law, 2017). The economic prosperity of a state is anchored on political stability, thus, a lack of integrity in electoral processes breeds political tensions and instability, creating an uncertain environment for both domestic and foreign investments (Mueller, 2008). Civil unrest, protests and demonstrations often follow electoral disputes, leading to loss of lives, destruction of property and displacement of the population, thus disrupting social cohesion (Annan, 2013). Kenya is the host of UN-Habitat headquarters and a regional powerhouse with highly developed infrastructure, and political conflicts create instability, leading to economic backlash in the region (Juma, 2018).

Existing research has not explored electoral integrity and national security in Kenya's presidential elections between 2002 and 2022. Odote and Kanyinga (2021) investigate election technology, disputes, and political violence in Kenya, concluding that election technology represents a new avenue for fraudulent activities. This study presents a conceptual gap by concentrating on embracing technology in the electoral process. Simiyu (2022) examines the jurisprudence of the 2013 and 2017 election petitions, utilises secondary data sources to reach findings, and notes that the realization of the full benefits of election technology requires political will.

1.3 Objectives

The study's general objective was to assess electoral integrity and national security in Kenya's presidential elections from 2002 to 2022.

The study's specific objectives were:-

- i. To evaluate the role of the institutional frameworks in upholding electoral integrity and promoting national security in Kenya's presidential elections (2002 - 2022).
- ii. To assess the influence of political culture on electoral integrity and national security in Kenya's presidential elections (2002 - 2022).
- iii. To explore the extent of foreign interference in Kenya's presidential elections and its implication on electoral integrity and national security from (2002 - 2022).

1.3.1 Research Questions

- i. What is the role of institutional frameworks in promoting the integrity of elections and national security in Kenya's presidential elections (2002 - 2022)?
- ii. How does political culture influence the integrity of elections and national security in Kenya's presidential elections (2002 - 2022)?
- iii. To what extent does foreign interference in Kenya presidential elections impact the integrity of elections and national security in Kenya's presidential elections (2002 - 2022)?

1.4 Significance of the Study

The findings of this study is significant for the Kenyan government in assessing the role of institutional frameworks, political culture, and foreign interference in electoral integrity and national security. This study will benefit advocacy groups and stakeholders in electoral integrity and national security. The knowledge will enable the development of tailored policies and strategies for promoting electoral integrity and enhancing national security. This study holds significance for the public, as electoral integrity and national security profoundly influence citizens' social, economic, and political spheres. Its results will enlighten and empower individuals, enabling them to actively contribute to enhancing electoral processes and national security. The study holds significance for scholars, as it contributes to the studies of electoral integrity and national security. Finally, the study's suggestions for future research will lay the groundwork for further scholarly research in this area.

1.5 Scope

The scope of this study was electoral integrity and national security in Kenya's presidential elections from 2002 to 2022. The target population consisted of officials from thirty (30) out of ninety (90) registered political parties in Kenya, selected based on their nationwide outreach. Officials from the Supreme Court of Kenya (SCOK), the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), the Office of the Registrar of Political Parties (ORPP), and the Kenya Police Service (KPS) were also interviewed. The study focused on the period from 2002 to 2022, a time marked by heightened democracy, electoral integrity concerns, constitutional reforms, and national security uncertainties in Kenya.

1.6 Limitations

The findings were confined to electoral integrity and national security in Kenya's presidential elections (2002-2022). The absence of physical offices for some political parties due to closures or temporary shutdowns created difficulties in contacting key officials. Additionally, policymakers' demanding schedules and pre-confirmed appointments prolonged the data collection process. In the cases where junior officers were delegated to respond, their answers tended to be vague or generic, as they avoided discussing sensitive operational details. To ensure participation, the researcher obtained the contact details of party officials and proactively reached out to them. Persistent follow-ups were conducted, with adjusted timelines to accommodate policymakers' schedules. In cases where interviews were delegated to junior officers, brief clarifications were sought directly from senior officials to ensure accurate and authoritative responses.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The study was anchored on democratic theory and social contract theory. Numerous pieces of literature were reviewed on the topic in line with the research objectives. A conceptual framework was developed to serve as a visual representation of the link between the study's variables. Finally, research gaps were identified from the empirical reviews.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical review examined the interconnected concepts and ideas based on known theories. The theoretical framework functions as a logical framework of propositions and seeks to give answers to the underlying causes of observable phenomena. According to Kivunja (2018), theories enable researchers to reach findings, improve practical activities and promote the development of refined theories. The democratic theory and the social contract theory guided the study.

2.2.1 Democratic theory

This study adopted the democratic theory by Giovanni Sartori, which comprehensively examines democracy by delving into the dynamics of power, democracy, and governance, highlighting the complexities of politics (Sartori, 1962). Sartori redefined democracy from a simplistic majority rule to a complex system characterized by a delicate balance of power that is rooted in pluralism, valuing diversity and dissent, essential to a healthy democracy. A literate political citizenry capable of evaluating their representatives' actions and holding them accountable promotes democratic resilience that addresses the integrity of the electoral process in the country. Upholding electoral integrity promotes public confidence in the legitimacy of the election outcome (Norris, 2014). Democracy is not just a form of government but a way of life, and the diverse ethnic and interest groups promote the integration of various voices, contributing to the political discourse and strengthening the democratic fabric in a state. According to Mou (2018), the voices of revolution groups demanding their involvement in national affairs require a holistic approach to the electoral cycle. Democracy extends beyond the mere allocation of resources to the legitimization of social order as an aspect of electoral integrity.

The role of political parties is essential for a functioning democracy, as they act as a bridge between the government and the governed and translate popular demands into policy decisions.

Strengthening the independence of institutions such as political parties, EMBs, security agencies, and the judiciary, among others, promotes electoral integrity during elections (Abuya, 2009; Garnett & Zavadskaya, 2018). The theory is crucial, especially in ensuring sound political parties that play a key role in bolstering governance. The path to democratic consolidation hinges on a robust institutional framework and effective electoral processes. The role of political actors, government agencies, and civil organizations in ensuring free and fair elections aligns with Sartori's advocacy for robust institutions and effective electoral processes (Kumar, 2015).

The ideas confronted democratic systems to strive for a more inclusive, more resilient form of governance, promoting a critical role in shaping policy debates and legislative reforms. The integrity of elections is crucial in promoting the legitimacy of a government and trust by the people. Flawed elections generate tensions and conflict, leading to political instability, civil unrest, and violence (Jovanović, 2021). The theory's constitutional engineering concept is instrumental in political change and practical insights for designing robust democratic institutions. The integrity of election management bodies (institutions) is the foundation of promoting credible and legitimate elections that reflect the will of the people (Norris, 2014). The theory advocates for strong democratic institutions and a knowledgeable electorate that resists foreign interference.

Critics of democratic theory point out the failure to focus on procedural aspects, neglecting deeper structural issues like systemic corruption and unequal resource distribution, which undermine electoral integrity. Corruption levels, lack of autonomy, and political interference undermine the performance of institutions like EMBs, the judiciary, and parliament, among others (Munene, 2020). Despite the critiques, the theory remains relevant to this study as it offers a framework for understanding how adherence to democratic norms influences social cohesion, stability, and national security. It demonstrates the importance of pluralism, tolerance, and civic participation and tasks societies to identify their democratic deficits and strive for a more inclusive and equitable political order. The implications on society, political culture, and the individual in shaping democratic processes and party systems prompt a deeper look into the complexities of political processes in Kenya.

2.2.2 Social Contract Theory

The study used the social contract theory by Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Rousseau in their contributions to *Leviathan* (1651), *Two Treatises of Government* (1689), and *Social Contract* (1762), respectively. The theory explains the origin of nature and the functioning of democratic systems. Hobbes' hypothetical state of nature is where there are no rules, authority, peace and security, and life is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short," and individuals act out of survival instincts. This state of nature compels rational and self-interested individuals to escape the chaos by collectively agreeing to form a civil society under a sovereign authority and have a social contract that sees individuals surrendering their natural rights in exchange for security and social order. This perspective explains the legitimacy of political authority where the public entrusts elected leaders with representative power in a government. However, manipulation of the electoral process by political actors leads to flawed, unfair, unfree and fraudulent elections, undermining the legitimacy of a government, promoting violence, and abuse of national values (Albert et al., 2020; Jovanović, 2021; Kumar, 2015; Norris, 2014). Thereby, violating the social contract and promoting anarchy that mirrors the chaotic state of nature identified by Hobbes.

According to Hobbes, the sovereign authority can formulate and enforce laws, arbitrate disputes, and protect the people from external threats. The anchoring of the electoral process in the constitutional legal framework promotes the independence of EMBs and broadens their mandate and capacity to handle election disputes and enforce electoral regulations (Darnolf, 2018). Institutional integrity fosters healthy democracy and political equality that ensures that all participants (candidates, voters, parties) abide by the established rules, thereby maintaining order and fairness (Jurdi, 2022). The process of appointing the EMB Commissioners in some states is a political one and relies on the goodwill of the incumbent government promoting political interference and undermining public trust in these bodies, therefore, the need for strong EMBs anchored in the rule of law that resist political pressure and ensure credible elections is vital (Hassan, 2023; Makulilo et al., 2016). Equally, the theory outlines individual cultures that detest anarchic environments and prefer a stable society that observes the rule of law. Therefore, undermining the rules and regulations of the electoral process is tantamount to breaking the social contract, leading to disorder (Garnett & Zavadskaya, 2018; Marwanto et al., 2020).

The Hobbesian principle highlights that the sovereign authority has to protect the social contract. Therefore, the centrality of the sovereign power's responsibility for national security and the protection of citizens from external and internal threats aligns with the safeguarding of elections from foreign interference. The sovereign's duty includes both preemptive measures (securing election infrastructure, countering disinformation) and reactive measures (addressing breaches, punishing offenders) to promote electoral integrity. Foreign actors with self-interests and seeking power maximisation and gains tend to interfere with presidential elections to advance their interests, potentially undermining the electoral integrity and national security of other states. Foreign interference is a subversive act that aims to install an illegitimate regime and destabilise a state, hence threatening national security (Akinola & Ogunnubi, 2021; Tadić, 2023). Failure by the authority to safeguard the individuals from foreign interference violates the social contract.

On the other hand, Locke underscores that people can revolt against a tyrannical government; failing in this duty is foundational to democratic principles. A flawed electoral process undermines the government's legitimacy, leading to potential unrest and threats to national security. Lack of political accountability and civic engagement can lead to electoral disputes and instability. Any form of manipulation of electoral processes, like delaying elections, influencing electoral institutions, and coercion of voters, is a recipe for tension and violence, threatening national security and economic stability (Obi, 2018). Poor electoral management aggravates ethnic, political, and social tensions, leading to violence that transcends national borders (Juma, 2018). Rousseau's normative social contract underscores the importance of strong, democratic institutions that are rooted in the collective will of the people. The institutional framework of electoral processes must ensure that the rules and regulations governing elections reflect the general will, thereby guaranteeing fairness and transparency (Duale, 2023; Jurdi, 2022). This alignment with Rousseau's principles promotes electoral integrity by ensuring that institutions serve the common good rather than the interests of a powerful few.

2.3 Literature Review

This section presents the literature review on the institutional framework's general objective and specific objectives, political culture and foreign interference in electoral integrity and national security for Kenya's presidential elections (2002-2022). The review examines literature across the globe, covering the USA, Russia, India, Yemen, Indonesia, Afghanistan, Nigeria, Ghana, Zambia, the East African region, and Kenya, among other states. Election impacts the political stability, social cohesion, and legitimacy of the government that is charged with national security policies. Disputed elections result in violent demonstrations, deaths, and civil upheaval, endangering national stability and national security. Election-related disputes can deepen intercommunal differences and cause instability (Jurdi, 2022). Election-related irregularities can also erode confidence in democratic institutions and cause social disintegration (Jemaru, 2023).

2.3.1 Electoral Integrity and National Security during Kenya's Presidential Elections.

The literature review on the general objective examines electoral integrity and national security during the presidential elections and how it influences the stability and security of Kenya, and vice versa, from 2002 to 2022. The study contributes to a deeper understanding of the challenges and opportunities of the electoral process in strengthening democracy and stability in the country, covering the United States, India, Myanmar, Nigeria, Mali and the East Africa Region among other regions.

Norris (2014), examining why electoral integrity matters, noted that flawed elections undermine the legitimacy of a government. It elicits protests and aggravates conflict, resulting in revolutionary regime change, threatening economic development and national security. Election misconduct and anomalies in established democracies like the United States and Britain corrode citizens' trust in the electoral process, thereby depressing voter turnout and damaging political representation. On the contrary, the lack of electoral integrity in fragile states like Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Myanmar fuels social instability and violence, undermining gains in the democratization process and triggering a change of regime through an uprising. Observing electoral integrity and accommodating the expectations of all groups reduces the underlying grievances that trigger inter-communal violence, popular uprisings and civil wars. Electoral integrity promotes government legitimacy and strengthens public confidence in electoral

institutions. However, electoral malpractices lead to unrelenting and prevalent mass protests, either heightening electoral and leadership reforms or endorsing state repression, crackdowns and torture of the protesters, thereby orchestrating regime changes.

Kumar (2015) examines electoral violence, threats and Security: problems and prospects for Indian democracy, and notes that the electoral process is about the administration of social conflict through public discourse. The capability of the electoral process to attain democratic objectives of the people is anchored on the goodwill of political actors, government agencies, and civil and media organizations. An election is a contest of power through which people select political leaders to represent their interests in government. Free and fair elections guarantee and promote sovereignty, while flawed elections promote violence and violation of national values. During the electioneering period, politicians employ different techniques like coercion and bribery to manipulate electorates and the outcomes of elections. Election-related skirmishes upset the governance and development of a country, and the legitimacy of the institutions that emerge from a tainted process.

Albert et al. (2020) argue that the recurring violations of the electoral process in Nigeria undermine national security. The outcome of election violence has elicited hostility, apathy and a collapse of state security and safety. National security is a holistic approach and framework for safeguarding state survival and transcends the protection of territorial integrity, sovereignty and physical safety, to the safeguarding of national values, cultural heritage and political stability. The realisation of National Security depends on the quality of leaders selected through a free and fair election by the citizens to occupy the offices legitimately. However, presidential elections are a source of crisis rather than a tool to promote National security, due to the manipulation of electoral processes by the political elite to install their political cartels. A fair and free elected government has a social contract with the citizens, as the people surrender part of their rights in expectation of security and welfare. Nigeria, like other democracies, has recorded intense election competitions for power, prompting electoral irregularities and violence. Since 1999, Nigeria has promoted elections of authoritarian regimes through fraudulent processes, producing leaders whose policies favour their financiers and ignore the citizens.

Mou (2018) notes that while focusing on Nigeria's election that national security, electoral integrity and good governance are critical for political stability, economic development and national security. An election that observes electoral integrity promotes voters' will and is central to the election of legitimate leaders to govern the state. However, electoral fraud undermines the tenets of electoral integrity in favour of certain candidates or parties. The role of revolution groups demanding their involvement in national affairs calls for a holistic approach to the electoral cycle that guarantees electoral integrity, good governance, and national security. Politics and governance extend beyond the mere allocation of resources or sharing of positions, and hence legitimization of social order as an aspect of electoral integrity, good governance, national security, and nation-building under democratic settings. Electoral conflicts by various elements of the political elite to control resources aggravate economic crises and threaten national security, governance, and democracy.

Obi (2018) examines election, security and development: interrogating the interface underscores the significance of democratic elections in establishing a legitimate government and promoting development. Free and fair elections promote peace and development, while flawed and irregular elections exacerbate security challenges that can threaten development and national security. Any form of manipulation of electoral processes, like delaying elections, influencing electoral institutions, and coercion of voters, is a recipe for tension and violence, threatening national security and economic stability. For instance, Nigeria and other African countries have led to increased election-related violence, destruction of property, and displacement of the population, thus undermining economic development, as resources are diverted from development to address security issues. Thus, credible elections are essential for sustainable development, as they ensure stability, economic growth, and the protection of human capital.

Ahluwalia (2022) opines that the 21st Century's dreams of Africa advancing democracy have been regressed by the military coups in Mali, Sudan, Guinea, Chad, and Burkina Faso. The seizing of power illegitimately attributed to weak democratic institutions, corruption, insecurity and poor governance from democratically elected governments portrays the fragility of the democratization process in Africa. Prevalent violence during presidential elections along ethnic lines poses challenges to the democratic process in Africa. Ethnic polarization during the electioneering period hinders transparent democratic governance and social cohesion. Africa has a massive unemployed

youth population, that is frustrated and without sources of income, often exploited by the political elite to fuel instability and undermine democratic governance.

Munene (2020) notes that democracy in Kenya has been shaped by historical factors, politics, ethnicity, electoral systems, and foreign influences. Kenya's democracy is rooted in colonialism, which gave post-independence political structures. The shift from a single-party state to a multiparty democracy in the early 1990s marked a new paradigm shift. Despite the democratic gains, electoral misconduct like voter bribery, ballot stuffing, manipulation of voter registers and biased media corrode public trust and lead to disputes and violence. Political elites exploit ethnicity to gather support, exacerbating tensions and undermining national unity. Civil society organizations (CSOs) have been advocating for democratic reforms but face state repression and interference by political actors. High levels of corruption, lack of autonomy, and political interference challenge the performance of institutions like EMBs, the judiciary, and parliament, among others. Foreign actors, including colonial masters and other donors, impose external agendas, threatening Kenya's democratic processes and eroding the state's sovereignty.

Duale (2023) underscores that integrity, transparency and accountability are key leadership qualities for governance. Highlights the role of ethnicity in navigating the political landscape, and building alliances in the country and the complexity of the legislative process and the passage of crucial bills. Integrity, accountability and service to the people are the key governance qualities expected of the leaders. The electoral malpractices, consequences of flawed elections and efforts to reform the electoral system require electoral laws and strong institutions to protect democracy and the people's will. Terrorism, ethnic conflicts, and political violence are challenges to national security in Kenya.

Hassan (2023) provides an insider perspective on the complexities and controversies of managing elections from the political schemes of appointing Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) Commissioners. Misinformation and propaganda erode the public's perception of the election outcome. The commission requires adequate funds for civic education and sensitization of the public to promote understanding of the electoral system and process, hence eliminating unnecessary disputes. The eruption of election violence due to disputed elections threatens economic development and national security. Thus, security agencies need

professionalism and impartiality in their approach to election-related issues and in protecting the integrity of the electoral process and the safety of citizens. International communities, especially observers, provide critical support and oversight in ensuring credible elections.

Jovanović (2021) examines electoral violence, a security challenge that electoral violence emanates from electoral contests, targeting all election actors and processes. Electoral violence can occur in all the phases of the electoral process: pre-election, election day, and post-election. The main objective of electoral violence is to cast doubt on the outcomes of an election through violent protests or other means to divide societies and unconsolidated democracies. The principal actors of electoral violence are political parties, the incumbent government, opposition groups and non-state actors. It is a security threat that manifests through harassment, intimidation, rioting, property destruction and assassination, aiming to influence the behaviour of the voters. Security institutions have to balance the rule of law and democratic rights while dealing with them. Effective prevention combines numerous actors and processes like the EMBs, political elite and programs to mediate and foster peace in case of election disputes.

Abuya (2009) contends that in any presidential election, the stakes are usually high as enthusiasts believe that electing their candidate will endorse access to power and control over resources. Moreover, in Africa, electorates believe that electing their candidate guarantees direct development and benefits in their regions, which explains why the presidential elections in many parts of the world are a make-or-break moment. In reality, elections are expected to install a government that improves people's livelihood. Opposition and emerging political leaders rely on the flaws of the incumbent government to initiate campaign platforms and pledge a change in governance. Some sets of international criteria for free and fair elections encompass; voters' eligibility and right to vote, independence of EMBs, Transparency of the electoral process, announcement of results reflecting people's will, and opportunity for disgruntled candidates to challenge the election outcome in an independent court or tribunal. The case of Kenya's 2007 elections indicates the catastrophic consequences of a flawed election. The country's reputation as a haven of tranquillity in the region was dogged by violence that led to loss of life, displacement and destruction of properties, leading to a national security crisis. These highlight how flawed elections affect the fundamental right to life and personal security.

2.3.2 Institutional Framework on Electoral Integrity and National Security.

The objective evaluates the role of the institutional frameworks in electoral integrity and national security in Kenya's presidential elections (2002 - 2022). Specifically, the focus will be on the election management bodies (EMBs), the judicial institutions that are mandated with the interpretation of electoral laws, the political parties' role in democracy and the role of the incumbent government in elections. The discourse on electoral institutional framework spans across various regions, with distinct challenges and approaches. These studies collectively emphasize the critical role of institutional integrity, legal frameworks, and stakeholder engagement in fostering transparent, inclusive, and trustworthy electoral systems to promote national security.

Darnolf (2018) explores the integrity issues facing election management bodies in established and emerging democracies. He observes that electoral failures emanate from fraud perpetuated by domestic or foreign entities through breaches of technological infrastructure to undermine the credibility of the electoral process. Poor planning, pandemics and insecurities undermine the integrity of the electoral process. However, democracies can resolve electoral malpractice by promoting the independence of the election management bodies (EMBs) and broadening their approaches through capacity building to deal with election disputes and challenges. The EMBs should apply an Integrity Risk Control Plan to mitigate fraud and poor administration, and prepare a road map to deal with elections in case of a national disaster or epidemic.

Simiyu (2022) argues that the manual electoral system has been a source of discontent and dispute in Kenya's election process since the inception of the multiparty system in 1992. The constitution of Kenya 2010 addresses electoral challenges through a rebranding of the electoral management body from ECK to IEBC and enforcing election technology in the 2013 general elections. However, the IEBC was embroiled in scandals of irregular procurement of the Biometric Voter Registration (BVR) Kits, tainting the public perception of the commission's integrity. Failure of some of the kits, voter biometric verification, result transmission, and reversal to manual transmission cast doubt on the 2013 general election despite observers' clean bill of health. The 2013 and 2017 presidential elections were petitioned in the Supreme Court of Kenya (SCOK), the petitioner raised queries about the election technology, the credibility of the voters' register, and the failure of the electronic system. In 2013, SCOK acknowledged the thriving technology but

noted that its reliability was still untenable. In 2017, the majority judgment invalidated the presidential election, acknowledging the significance of election technology in the electoral process and the fulfilment of electoral procedures.

Hassan (2023) notes that there are political interests in appointing IEBC's Commissioners, surrounded by regional, political, ethnic and other dynamics. The interference in the electoral process undermines the independence of the IEBC and the outcomes of the presidential election. Disputes over electoral processes like voter registration, procurement of election materials and result transmission are visible during the election debate. Strong electoral management bodies that withstand political pressure and promote credible outcomes of the elections. Election technology strengthens the electoral process, however, there is a need for rigorous testing and backup systems to prevent technical challenges that could compromise the election results.

Makulilo et al. (2016) evaluate a comparative analysis of the electoral management bodies (EMBs) in the East African countries of Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda. These states' constitutions promote the independence of EMBs from external influence. However, on several occasions, they have reported political interference, increasing public distrust and creating doubts about their ability to conduct free and fair elections. The process of appointing the EMB Commissioners is a political one, where in some states like Tanzania and Burundi, the president has the solemn duty to appoint the commissioner, while in others like Kenya, the process entails political bargaining with approvals from parliament. The EMBs across the states have challenges with credible voter registers, technology failure during elections, frameworks to regulate political parties, and dominance by the incumbent political parties. The EMBs have inadequate capacity to enforce elections due to a lack of political goodwill and poor investigation and prosecution of electoral malpractices by relevant agencies. There is minimal civic and voter education on electoral matters occasioned by the absence of a curriculum by the EMBs. Financial constraints, followed by delays in fund disbursement, undermine electoral activities and the outcomes of the electoral process.

Kanyinga & Odote (2019) examine the judicialisation of politics and Kenya's 2017 elections. Kenya's 2017 presidential elections witnessed two presidential petitions and 388 petitions for other seats. The SCOK, by majority ruling, invalidated President Uhuru Kenyatta's victory due to the technicality of the election process failing to adhere to the required constitution, ordering a fresh election within 60 days. The fresh election was boycotted by Raila Odinga, the National Super Alliance (NASA) party, leaving President Kenyatta to compete against minor candidates and win the election that was characterized by a low voter turnout of 39%. The judiciary plays a critical role in election management through the legal interpretation of cases and disputes, thereby issuing direction. The 2017 general elections were conducted by newly appointed IEBC Commissioners under the chairmanship of Wafula Chebukati following the resignation of the Isaac Hassan-led team. Subsequently, the outcome of the presidential election was disputed on the aspect of technical procedure in voter registration, procurement procedures, and transmission of results. At times, politicians are more concerned with winning elections, hence, the courts act as an alternative path to advance their interests to promote the electoral process and legitimize the people's expectations.

Juma (2018) examines the intricate relationship between election management and regional security in a case study of Kenya's 2007 election. The election outcome led to widespread violence, emphasizing the delicate nature of electoral processes in growing democracies. Poor electoral management aggravates ethnic, political, and social tensions, leading to violence that transcends national borders. Evident in the 2007 Kenyan election, where the disputed presidential election outcome led to grave ethnic clashes and displacement, which affected regional stability. The traditional military-led security measures are inappropriate in addressing the complicated threats posed by electoral violence. Thus, required an inclusive approach of non-military strategies and regional cooperation to enhance stability and prevent conflicts from spilling over into neighbouring countries. The role of effective election management in maintaining regional security and the importance of adopting a holistic and cooperative approach to address the challenges posed by electoral processes in interconnected regions like East Africa.

Jurdi (2022) evaluates institutional context of the General Elections Commission and the implementation of the 2024 election. Elections are a major tool for promoting democracy, legitimacy of a government and the sovereignty of the people. Institutional integrity promotes

healthy democracy and political equality; therefore, inevitable to strengthen the capacity of the institutions that are tasked with electoral management. A strong election management body supported by the regulatory framework ensures a smooth electoral process in which the election outcome can be relied upon. The organizers of elections need to promote maximum voter education and outreach, as this will positively impact the political and democratic process. The paper applied *verstehen* analysis and employed a genealogical perspective as a theoretical perspective.

2.3.3 Political Culture on Electoral Integrity and National Security.

The objective will assess how political culture shapes electoral integrity and national security in Kenya's presidential elections (2002 - 2022). This encompasses factors such as political norms, public attitudes, and the behaviour of political actors that influence the fairness of elections and the stability of the country during election periods. The literature review will cover the United States, Indonesia, Germany, Costa Rica, and Africa, among others.

Hinton & Vaishnav (2023) investigate who rallies around the flag, nationalist parties, national security, and the 2019 Indian election. Argue that the national security crises generate a 'rally-around-the-flag' effect. The rally around the flag for the incumbent and anti-incumbent against external threats varies across states. Security crises amplify nationalism and unite voters behind a current or emerging leader. Some crises divert attention away from economic or governance issues and call for support towards an external adversary or aggressor. In the United States (US), voters likely rally behind the incumbent on security matters supported by the National Security Council, to use force. The authors conclude that incumbency influences voters in reaction to national security crises in India.

Linebarger & Salehyan (2020) evaluate unfree and unfair election forms of fraud to comprehend the reasons behind the variance in violent protests in elections. They underscore that in unfree elections, elites manipulate electoral laws and institutions, while in unfair elections, elites manipulate votes and voters during the campaigning period. A comparative analysis across African, Central American, and Caribbean republics between 1990 and 2011 established that "unfree elections" do not always result in conflict, since the alteration of electoral rules shows elite power. In contrast, "unfair elections" spark conflict since voters are manipulated to believe the

election was unfairly won or lost. Electioneering period, citizens are highly charged and accustomed to the political climate and are susceptible to manipulation by opposition elites. Simatupang & Subekhan (2018) assess the influence of money and political culture in elections on the sustainability of Indonesian democracy. Money politics takes place at every level of elections in the country and has been ingrained into the community to the extent that registered voters' support is influenced towards a certain political party or leader. This illicit practice influences participants by offering rewards, gaining legitimacy among the populace. The illegality is rampant due to the absence of supervision from the Election Supervisory Body. Thus, it becomes a political culture that plays a crucial role in shaping the democratic system in the country.

Marwanto et al. (2020) investigate the influence of culture and social structure affecting political behaviour in the Kediri, Indonesia, Mayor Election. They observe that a culture within a society influences political behaviours. This deeply ingrained behaviour cannot be swayed by political winds. Thus, the inability to influence the people due to their rational culture forces political parties to become egalitarian. Al-Kahtani (2022) notes that political nurturing impacts the party structure and affects democratic values. Civil society's lack of capacity to influence the customs and traditions of the political society to keep pace with contemporary changes, like technological development, affects political stability and standards of political development in the Republic of Yemen. Irregular transfer of power exacerbates political violence by opposition parties.

Odeh (2015) investigates the historical elements of national elections and how they affect Nigeria's security and unity. National elections, security and national integration are complicated not only in Nigeria but across the globe. Free and fair elections promote democracy as a crucial way for citizens to participate in the governance of a state. However, failure to adhere to the rules of the electoral process by the political elite and political parties threatens Nigeria's unity, existence and security. Fears of pre and post-election disputes prompt a mass exodus of Nigerians from one region to another destination, thereby exerting pressure on the limited resources and affecting national security in the country. Traditionally, Nigerian elections have failed except for 1993 and 1999, which were managed by the military, suggesting that military-led elections are often more credible than those conducted by civilian electoral bodies. The 2011 and 2015 elections were fair, though witnessed violence and property destruction hence failing the argument for civilian credibility.

Ogbonna & Ajayi (2022) examine the impact of political thuggery on Nigeria's electoral process. Political thuggery is a threat to political space through organized violence or coercion by the political elite to ascend to political power. The issue in a democratic society is embracing national values by the political elite and instead of using shortcuts to ascend to power for personal interests. They apply corrupt methods like violence and coercion to seize power. The political thuggery and violence have been recorded across the globe and affect the country's national, regional and transnational levels. In Côte d'Ivoire, the 2010 post-election violence left 1000 civilian deaths, internal displacement and a refugee disaster in the country, similar to Kenya's 2007 post-election violence. Nigeria, like these countries, experiences electoral violence that undermines democratic sustainability. The unemployed youths are mainly involved in political thuggery due to poverty and financial appeal by the political elite. The political thuggery has ramifications for national security, such as breeding an environment of insecurity, hence discouraging local and foreign investors and thus deterring economic development. It also leads to loss of life and displacement of the population. The study adopted a qualitative descriptive method of analysis, and data collection included secondary sources like books, newspapers, journals, the internet, and observations of the trend of political activities in Nigeria.

Norris (2014) proposes promoting voter civil education and awareness, ensuring freedom of the media, enabling access to unbiased information, and encouraging internal and external observers during elections as ways to enhance the integrity of electoral processes. Odote & Kanyinga (2021) highlight challenges in using technology in elections, focusing on Kenya. They contend that technology alone does not guarantee election credibility, due to its susceptibility to exploitation by political actors. The process of procurement, deployment and utilization of election technology has political interest and addressing those political aspects is crucial to thwart election-related violence. The perception that election technology is a “black box” implies that its mechanisms are opaque and incomprehensible to the public. Thus, allowing political actors to interfere with the outcomes of the electoral process.

Garnett & Zavadskaya (2018) examine electoral integrity and political regimes. Elections provide an avenue for the people to select political leaders who will represent them in the government. Largely, elections are vulnerable to malpractice by the incumbents, interfering with the electoral process through vote-buying and ballot box stuffing to favour their regime. Election is a process

that encompasses the campaigning period, voting tabulation and announcement of results that reflect the will of the people. The study underscores that the culture of a regime plays a critical role in the integrity of elections. Democratic regimes exhibit levels of electoral integrity due to the presence of civil liberties, enlightened civil society organizations, independent media and strong governmental institutions, contrary to authoritarian regimes that tend to manipulate the electoral process, suppress the people's choice and install their cronies, leading to protests and electoral violence. In some authoritarian regimes, the oppositions boycott elections, affecting the election turnout and results.

Nohlen (2016) examines institutional architecture, cultural context and electoral integrity. The study reveals a link between institutional architecture, socio-cultural factors, and electoral integrity. The institutional architecture is fundamental and a cornerstone in shaping electoral processes and upholding electoral integrity. Also, socio-cultural components like cultural norms, historical legacies and societal values influence electoral conduct and public perceptions, thereby dictating the public's acceptance of the electoral process. Electoral integrity transcends democratic principles like fairness and accountability, encompassing socio-political dimensions rooted in cultural scopes. Therefore, the integrity of elections is not only a matter of procedural adherence but also linked to societal values and norms that shape public trust and stand. For example, despite its unique electoral architecture, Germany maintains high electoral integrity due to cultural trust in the system. This highlights how non-institutional factors like political culture and systemic trust shape electoral integrity and legitimacy. Finally, public perception of electoral integrity, influenced by socio-cultural factors and political actors' behaviour, aligns closely with legitimacy.

Van Ham (2013) examines why elections fail. Explains election Integrity in third and fourth-wave regimes. Election integrity varies across the globe from free and fair to flawed and rigged elections. The socioeconomic structures, such as the distribution of economic resources and social heterogeneity enhance political elite motives and means to undermine electoral integrity through patron-client relationships. For instance, in Costa Rica and Germany, there is higher election fraud in remote areas with greater landholding inequality. Vote-buying is common in such rural areas targeting poor, low-educated voters. Lower economic development, higher inequality and incumbent control over resources exacerbate election-related malpractices like vote-buying and violence. Social heterogeneity such as ethnic, religious, and linguistic divisions increases election

stakes and manipulation of the electoral system, as seen in Kenya and Angola. Using secondary data from over 800 elections (1974-2009) in 97 countries across central and Eastern Europe, the Former Soviet Union, Sub-Saharan Africa, South America, and Central America. The study evaluates the importance of structural versus actor-centred explanations.

2.3.4 Foreign Interference on Electoral Integrity and National Security.

The objective explore the extent of foreign interference in electoral integrity and national security in Kenya's presidential elections (2002 - 2022). This analyses how external actors influence election processes and democratic stability. The area covers the USA, Canada, Australia, Russia and Guatemala among others.

Tadić (2023) assesses foreign election interference as a hybrid threat to national security: Presidential elections in the USA in 2016 and 2020. Foreign interference is the manipulation of electoral processes by a foreign political entity, like a state or non-state actors, to tilt the outcome of the election process towards a certain state. A subversive action that threatens national security in the physical space and cyberspace through modern technologies. Targeting the electoral process by foreign entities, overtly or covertly, is an economical way of achieving their strategic goals without casualties in a direct armed confrontation. Elections, especially in geopolitical significant states, receive massive attention from internal and external agents due to their implications at the core, regional and global environment. Attacking the sovereignty of states through the manipulation of election outcomes is an old foreign policy strategy. The United States and the Soviet Union, directly or through allies, influenced election outcomes worldwide during and after the Cold War in the struggle to exert influence in areas of interest: Guyana, Chile, El Salvador, Japan, Italy, West Germany, and Serbia. Contemporary foreign influence on electoral processes aims at destabilization that would result in a coup or an illegal change of power.

Dawood (2021) evaluates combatting foreign election interference: Canada's Electoral Ecosystem Approach to Disinformation and Cyber Threats. Note that foreign election interference generates a threat to electoral justice, democratic legitimacy, and public trust in elections. Suggesting an electoral ecosystem approach to deal with external interference in elections. The electoral system is a complex system of relationships comprised of institutions, mechanisms and actors that require effective coordination of each other for the successful operation and achieving legitimacy of the

elections. In contrast, an electoral ecosystem is a complex system that entails many bodies and protagonists, including governments, political parties, voters, third parties, platforms, and institutions like EMBs. Unlike a system of checks and balances, an electoral system is inextricably interdependent and has several entry points which need protection. The electoral ecosystem approach entails a system of approaches that guard the institutions and persons that define the ecosystem. The first strategy incorporates new comprehensive election funding laws that prevent external interference in the nation's elections. The second approach is to draw new strategies to reduce the use of fake news in any negative way in democratic discourse. The third strategy deals with the improvement of cybersecurity in Canada, for example, putting in order security agencies, and measures to counteract computer hackers and violations of personal and information privacy. These strategies are aimed at ensuring safety within the Political and electoral arena and safeguarding the process of election.

Dowling (2022) evaluates foreign interference and Australian electoral security in the digital age. The digitising evolution of the electoral process in Australia introduces susceptibilities to exploiting electoral systems by foreign entities to subvert democratic sovereignty. Digitisation has no geographical barrier and can be carried out by anyone, anywhere. Despite securing the Australian electoral system from hard cyber threats like data insecurity and inauthenticity, it is still vulnerable to soft cyber risks emanating from procedural aspects like disinformation. Manipulating elections through disinformation is complicated because it affects public input into policy formulation. The Joint Standing Committee on Electoral Matters agreed that disinformation threatens democratic processes in Australia as it directly affects the selection of people's preferences.

Akinola & Ogunnubi (2021) examine Russian political operatives' tactics in meddling with African elections. Russia's engagement with African states goes beyond bilateral engagements and tries to penetrate the informational and political space. Russian political consultants and disinformation experts have hampered the electoral processes in states such as Madagascar, Zimbabwe and the Democratic Republic of Congo to promote electoral victory of pro-Russian inclined leaders. The first Pan-African summit in October 2019 renewed Russia and Africa's engagement, thereby enhancing Russia's influence in the continent. Russia is keen to install pro-Russian candidates

through flawed elections but without resorting to violence. The current military cooperation and economic projects are intended to counter US-led liberal democracy in Africa.

Schmitt (2021) examines foreign cyber interference in elections in the contentious US 2020 presidential elections, the US intelligence community identified Russia, Iran, and Cuba among other actors that participated in different operations to undermine it. Although not on technical aspects of the electoral processes like voter registration or counting, targeting public perceptions promotes sociopolitical divisions. Foreign states and non-state actors indirectly suppress voter turnout by issuing security and threat advisories targeting certain areas, hence forcing people to avoid some voting stations. This could be misinformation spread through social media platforms or even blocking the sharing of accurate information. For instance, US 2016 Presidential elections, false Twitter messages in English and Spanish misled some voters claiming that they could cast their votes for Hillary Clinton via text message which is not a valid voting method in the U.S. Foreign interferences take different forms from disinformation, coercion to cyber operations intended to influence the electorate's attitudes towards a particular candidate. The interference with the electoral process through cyber operations amounts to a violation of sovereignty since it is an infringement of territorial integrity and inviolability.

Henschke et al. (2020) examine Countering foreign interference: election integrity lessons for liberal democracies. Democracies face threats from foreign actors to undermine public trust through interference in electoral systems. People are central to democracy and elections, as they are the voters and political leaders. Political power emanates from the ballot box, making the people vital causal actors in the electoral process. 2018 US midterms and Presidential elections, Russian operatives targeted social groups like African Americans to influence their voting behaviour and democratic party campaigns faced cyber interference aimed at spreading disinformation and degrading trust. The disinformation campaigns eroded trust in electoral integrity and threatened the will of the people to make deliberate choices. The security of electronic voting machines and election infrastructure persisted during the 2018 midterms, with vulnerabilities such as remote access control software and cyberattacks targeting election systems. Facebook faced scrutiny for its role in disseminating misinformation during elections, with Russian actors using the platform to influence political opinions through sophisticated

disinformation operations. Public trust in ballot integrity was challenged during the 2018 midterms by accusations of vote manipulation and cyberattacks on election websites.

Mohan & Wall (2019) examine foreign electoral interference in the Past, Present, and Future. The deliberate action by state or non-state actors to influence electoral outcomes or public perceptions to favour certain candidates or political parties. States and non-state actors have influenced elections through tactics such as media propaganda, disinformation and providing financial and campaign support in favour of certain candidates. Based on data, between 1946 and 2000, 11.3% of elections across the globe witnessed foreign influence where the US focused on Asia and the USSR ON Europe, for instance, the US intervention in interventions in Iran (1953), Guatemala (1954), and Guyana (1968). The interventions led to political instability and the rise of autocratic rule in Iran, and Guatemala led to political unrest, weakened economy and civil war, while in Guyana, it contributed to ethnic tension, leading to social and political unrest that hindered economic development and progress. Projecting future methods of electoral interference is a challenge due to technological advancements surrounding electoral systems. Cyberattackers are the new frontier targeted to undermine the election and public trust in election management.

2.4 Empirical Review of Electoral Integrity and National Security.

This section presents an empirical study review on electoral integrity and national Security; Kenya's Presidential Election 2002 – 2022. Mulyawan et al. (2020) examine political participation and its implications on national security in the Natuna Regency area in Indonesia. The participation in presidential electoral process facilitates the formulation of policies befitting border area welfare and development. However, these efforts, the governmental policies have failed to improve conditions in border areas, potentially altering public perception of elections and enhancing national security threats. There are high levels of development disparities and increased poverty despite the availability of natural resources. A case study method that was part of qualitative research was used and data was retrieved from primary and secondary sources. The primary data was informed of words, speeches and actions or behaviour of informants, and secondary data was obtained from various documents, journals, and scientific papers.

Kawila et al. (2023) examine elements associated with electoral violence in the Kanyama Constituency of Lusaka District, Zambia. The poverty and unemployment among the youths

caused violence, as some politicians hired youths during elections to instigate violence so that they could gain personal benefits at the expense of the country. Political instability takes place in undeveloped political institutions with the wrong structure, economic backwardness, and self-interested power-seekers. The study underscores that ethnicity has a role in the electoral violence in the Kanyama constituency; the tribal groupings influence the desire for self-rule, promoting violence when other groups of candidates are imposed. The hunger for power by political elites who want to cling to positions forces some to activate violence through organized supporters to suppress their opponents. The authors examine elements associated with electoral violence in the Kanyama Constituency of Lusaka District, Zambia. Adopting a case study design and targeting a population of 28 participants. The data were generated in interviews and document reviews.

Celestin et al. (2018) examine the relationship between the pre-election phase processes and political stability in the East African Community States. They underscore that elections can foster peace as well as incite violence due to the inherent “winner-loser” dynamic. Elections are fundamental to democracy and peace; their competitive nature poses risks to stability, necessitating careful management and adherence to democratic principles. Kenya’s electoral process is anchored on the constitutional framework, and the IEBC is mandated to conduct general elections every five years, unless by-elections. The constitution provides clear guidelines for those vying for different seats, and the EMB is required to conduct civic voter education as per the Election Act 2012. The SCOK is mandated to hear and determine presidential election disputes. The quantitative approach of both descriptive and correlation designs was employed with a target population of 123 employees within the electoral commissions of different EAC Countries and the EAC Legislative Assembly.

Siboy (2021) examines the Integration of the Authority of Judicial Institutions in Solving General Election Problems in Indonesia. In Indonesia, the election process is intended to implement constitutional democracy as through elections the people exercise their sovereignty. The electoral process and laws have undergone amendments over the period to align with judicial interpretation. However, the amendments also record challenges in Indonesia like ethical, administrative, and even criminal issues since every general election is accompanied by different challenges. The study uses a type of juridical-normative research that examines library materials. The approaches used included a philosophical approach, a statutory approach a conceptual approach and a case

approach. Sources of legal documents consisted of primary legal, secondary legal, and legitimate tertiary sources.

Umar et al. (2018) examine the effect of electoral malpractices on sustainable democracy and national security in Nigeria. Democracy is fragile and takes time to build, but collapses instantly due to outbreaks of election violence. Nigeria has witnessed immense electoral fraud and violence that undermine democracy, despite several unsuccessful electoral reforms. Data shows that since 1999, over 10,000 lives have been lost to election-related violence. Disputes over election legitimacy from opposition leaders have been on the rise, impacting social, political and economic spheres. Electoral misconduct in Nigeria undermines sustainable democracy by fueling violence, endangering state security and destabilising the economy. Political elite engage in corruption and looting of public resources to amass wealth for influencing electoral outcomes and perpetrating electoral violence in case they lose an election. The study utilizes the case study research design and qualitative method of data collection. The case study research design was used to examine the cases of electoral violence, rigging and electoral malpractice in the Nigerian general election.

Adebayo (2011) examines elections and Nigeria's national security. Nigeria's electoral process has undermined democratic governance, the political and electoral practices have resulted in loss of lives, destruction of properties, ethnic conflicts, religious crises, corruption and widespread unemployment. Electoral violence, illegal arms and political stability are prevalent, with the political elite focusing on personal gain over public service, resulting in frequent conflicts and insecurity along ethnic and religious lines. Electoral misconduct leading to flawed elections and legal disputes threatens national security and democratic integrity. An election process is a procedure of selecting the right people's representative for a government office and is expected to be free from coercion, intimidation, fraud, or vote-buying. However, in Nigeria, the process is compromised by oligarchies marked by political and electoral violence, corruption, and disenfranchisement. The study thus sets out to discuss the issues of Nigerian nascent democracy about democratic elections as well as national security. Internet explorations, magazines, newspaper cut-outs, books and journals were the instruments of data collection.

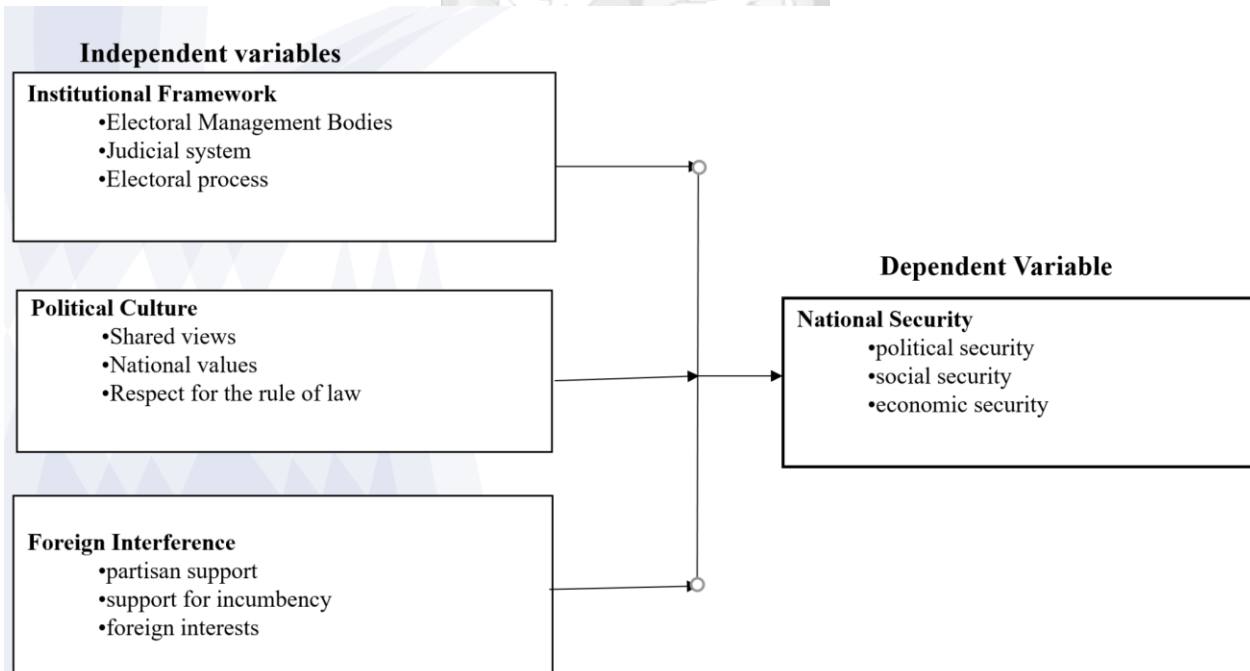
Martinez & Trinh (2017) examine how electoral integrity affects voter turnout in democracies. The credibility of an election is crucial in a democratic society, and electoral integrity is a critical component of a free and fair election. An election that falls short of integrity undermines voter turnout and participation, hence affecting government legitimacy to protect the sovereignty of a state. Subsequently, electoral integrity impacts individual voting decisions; with a large voter turnout, an electoral system is trusted to produce a fair outcome. This relationship has been observed in states such as Mexico, where manipulation of the electoral process decreased voter turnout. The incumbent government's actions influence the electoral process and shape political competition activities, such as banning opposition parties and violating electoral regulations, and suppressing voter turnout. Also, the opposition actions affect the electoral process, issues like boycotts signal dissatisfaction, hence reducing voter turnout due to their supporters abstaining from the process. Subsequently, electoral violence undermines electoral integrity and typically depresses turnout due to security concerns; its impact can vary. The study was conducted using data for over 700 elections covering 85 democracies for the 1950–2008 period.

Rozenas (2016) examine office insecurity and electoral manipulation. Governments manipulate elections at different levels based on circumstances. Insecure incumbents intend to manipulate the electoral system to signal huge support and discourage opposition, whereas secure ones do it to maintain the status quo. However, some fail to manipulate elections and allow the electoral process to achieve the intended outcomes. For example, Senegal's president Abdou Diouf was confronted by protests and economic decline before his 1993 reelection, but chose to reform the electoral code, hardening the manipulation of the electoral system. In contrast, Russian President Vladimir Putin, though popular during his 2004 reelection campaign, manipulated the elections to undermine meaningful competition. Manipulation choices emanate from trade-offs between information and risk; incumbent governments that face high office insecurity manipulate elections less than those facing low insecurity. Economic shocks in autocracies temporarily increase incentives for more open political competition, despite long-term debates on economic growth's impact on survival. The study applied a cross-national panel of elections from 1947 to 2008 that includes all legislative and presidential elections in countries that were autocracies in the year before elections. Using seven indicators of electoral manipulation from the National Elections across Democracies and Autocracies (NELDA) data.

2.5 Conceptual Framework

A network of assumptions or hypotheses that describe how a certain phenomenon operates or is linked (Yob & Crawford, 2012). Expressed using a diagram to comprehend relationships between the variables. The independent variables of this study include institutional framework, political culture, and foreign interference. A variety of key elements are considered while measuring institutional frameworks, which include the electoral body, the legal system, and political party administration that serve as pillars in defining the election environment (Celestin et al., 2018). Political culture indicators include shared views, national values, norms and respect for the rule of law. Foreign interference indicators encompass partisan backing from foreign nations, incumbency support, and the vested interests of external actors, highlighting the potential influence on domestic political dynamics (Akinola & Ogunnubi, 2021). The study's dependent variable is national security, measured through social, economic and political security. Figure 2.1 indicates the study's conceptual framework:-

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework



Source: Author (2024)

2.6 Research Gaps

Mulyawan et al. (2020) examined political participation and its implications on national security in the Natuna Regency area in Indonesia. The scope of the study was a region within the state of Indonesia, and it applied a case study method, accompanied by a qualitative research approach. The data consisted of both primary and secondary sources. This differed from the current study, which focused on electoral integrity and national security in Kenya's presidential elections between 2002 and 2022 and adopted mixed research methods. Kawila et al. (2023) examined elements associated with electoral violence in the Kanyama Constituency of Lusaka District, Zambia. The study adopted a case study design and targeted a population of 28 participants. The data were generated through interviews and document reviews. This differed from the current study, which studied electoral integrity and national security with a focus on Kenya's presidential elections between 2002 and 2022. Additionally, the current study employed descriptive research methods and targeted 200 participants.

Celestin et al. (2018) examined the relationship between pre-election phase processes and political stability in the East African Community States. The study employed a quantitative approach with both descriptive and correlational designs and targeted a population of 123 employees within the electoral commissions of different EAC countries and the EAC Legislative Assembly. This differed from the current study, which studied electoral integrity and national security with a focus on Kenya's presidential elections between 2002 and 2022. Additionally, the current study employed descriptive research methods and targeted 200 participants.

Ogbonna & Ajayi (2022) examined the impact of political thuggery on Nigeria's electoral process. Political thuggery posed a threat to political space through organized violence or coercion by the political elite to ascend to political power. The study adopted a qualitative descriptive method of analysis, and data collection included secondary sources such as books, newspapers, journals, the internet, and observations of political activities in Nigeria. This differed from the current study, which studied electoral integrity and national security, focusing on Kenya's presidential elections between 2002 and 2022. Additionally, the current study employed descriptive research methods and targeted 200 participants.

Siboy (2021) examined the integration of the authority of judicial institutions in solving general election problems in Indonesia. In Indonesia, the election process was intended to implement constitutional democracy, as elections allowed the people to exercise their sovereignty. The study used a juridical-normative research approach that examined library materials. The approaches included a philosophical approach, a statutory approach, a conceptual approach, and a case approach. Sources of legal documents consisted of primary, secondary, and legitimate tertiary legal sources. This differed from the current study, which studied electoral integrity and national security, focusing on Kenya's presidential elections between 2002 and 2022. Additionally, the current study employed descriptive research methods and primary data targeting 200 participants.

Jurdi (2022) examined the institutional context of the General Elections Commission and the implementation of the 2024 election. The research applied *verstehen* analysis and employed a genealogical perspective as a theoretical framework. This differed from the current study, which studied electoral integrity and national security, focusing on Kenya's presidential elections between 2002 and 2022. Additionally, the current study employed descriptive research methods and primary data targeting 200 participants.

Umar et al. (2018) examined the effect of electoral malpractices on sustainable democracy and national security in Nigeria. The study utilized a case study research design and a qualitative method of data collection. It examined cases of electoral violence, rigging, and electoral malpractice in Nigerian general elections. This differed from the current study, which studied electoral integrity and national security, focusing on Kenya's presidential elections between 2002 and 2022. Additionally, the current study employed descriptive research methods and primary data targeting 200 participants.

Adebayo (2011) examined elections and Nigeria's national security. The study discussed issues of Nigeria's nascent democracy concerning democratic elections and national security. Data collection relied on internet explorations, magazines, newspaper cut-outs, books, and journals. This differed from the current study, which studied electoral integrity and national security, focusing on Kenya's presidential elections between 2002 and 2022. Additionally, the current study employed descriptive research methods and primary data targeting 200 participants.

Martinez & Trinh (2017) examined how electoral integrity affected voter turnout in democracies. The credibility of an election was crucial in a democratic society, and electoral integrity was a critical component of a free and fair election. The study was conducted using data from over 700 elections covering 85 democracies between 1950 and 2008. This differed from the current study, which studied electoral integrity and national security, focusing on Kenya's presidential elections between 2002 and 2022. Additionally, the current study employed descriptive research methods and primary data targeting 200 participants.

Van Ham (2013) explored why elections failed by explaining electoral integrity in third- and fourth-wave regimes. Using secondary data from over 800 elections (1974–2009) in 97 countries across Central and Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, Sub-Saharan Africa, South America, and Central America, the study evaluated the importance of structural versus actor-centred explanations. This differed from the current study, which studied electoral integrity and national security, focusing on Kenya's presidential elections between 2002 and 2022. Additionally, the current study employed descriptive research methods and primary data targeting 200 participants.

Rozenas (2016) examined office insecurity and electoral manipulation. The study found that governments manipulated elections at different levels based on circumstances. Insecure incumbents manipulated the electoral system to signal strong support and discourage opposition, whereas secure ones did so to maintain the status quo. The study applied a cross-national panel of elections from 1947 to 2008, including all legislative and presidential elections in countries that were autocracies the year before elections. It used seven indicators of electoral manipulation from the National Elections across Democracies and Autocracies (NELDA) dataset. This differed from the current study, which studied electoral integrity and national security, focusing on Kenya's presidential elections between 2002 and 2022. Additionally, the current study employed descriptive research methods and primary data targeting 200 participants.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

3.1 Research Design

A research design is a methodical and carefully thought-out approach applied to conduct a scientific inquiry (Abutabenjeh & Jaradat, 2018). The research employs a descriptive research design. This design involves observing and analyzing the study variables in their natural state, without any deliberate manipulation or alteration (Siedlecki, 2020). The main objective was to ensure that the respondents understood, without being influenced. The researcher's goal was to acquire data that would help advance knowledge in the area of study. Descriptive studies include not just gathering data but also involve classification, categorizing, analysis, and interpretation of data. The design aided in understanding the implications of electoral integrity on national security in Kenya's presidential elections. Specifically, the study focused on the institutional framework, political culture and foreign interference in Kenya's electoral integrity and national security.

3.2 Target Population

Population refers to the total number of individuals who share similar features in a certain geographic region (Adam, 2020). The target population for this study were political party officials. Based on the Office of Registrar of Political Parties (ORPP), there are 90 political parties in Kenya. However, the study will pick sixty (60) party officials from thirty (30) political parties with outreach across the Country. The study's target population is 1800 officials in the thirty (30) political parties with a presence across the Country. Additionally, the study targeted 8 senior IEBC officials, 8 senior officials from the ORPP, 7 Supreme Court of Kenya Judges, and 3 senior-most Kenya police service leadership. Table 3.1 shows the study's target population:-

Table 3.1: Target Population

Category	Population
Political party officials	1800
IEBC officials	8
Registrar of political parties	8
Supreme Court Judges	7
Kenya Police Service (KPS) (Senior Leadership)	3
Total	1826

3.3 Sampling Frame

Sampling in research involves gathering information from a smaller, representative subset known as a sample to gain insights about a larger population. The main goal of sampling is to gather important information on a specific topic from a larger population without analyzing each individual. The procedure includes selecting a sample that reflects the variety and characteristics of the entire population. The findings from the sample can be generalized to the whole population, improving the importance and usefulness of the study outcomes (Guest, 2014). Sampling establishes a suitable sample size. Sampling entails choosing a particular group for data collection in a study. The research applied stratified random sampling. This provided every individual in the population with a fair chance of being chosen (Gumpili & Das, 2022).

3.4 Sample and Sampling Technique

The sample size for this study was 189 participants, as stated in Table 3.2. Choosing the appropriate sample size is critical for ensuring a balance between the expense of data collection and the accuracy of outcomes. If the sample size is excessive, it might result in extra costs and take up additional time and resources. Equally, a sample that is too small may not effectively reflect the population, potentially undermining the reliability of the study's findings (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). To guarantee that the selected sample accurately denoted the available population and achieved the study objectives, the researcher determined the optimal sample size. This was necessary to obtain consistent and generalizable results. By establishing the sample size, the researcher gained significant perceptions of the issue under inquiry, making the research more relevant and informative. According to Mugenda & Mugenda (2003), a sample size of 10% to 30% was appropriate for analysis. The researcher picked 10% of political party officials, totalling 180 representatives from the 30 political parties with national outreach. Furthermore, the research also engaged two (2) out of eight (8) senior IEBC officials, two (2) out of eight (8) ORPP senior officials, and two (2) out of seven (7) Supreme Court of Kenya Judges, representing 25%, and three (3) top leaders from the Kenya Police Service, respectively.

Table 3.2: Sample Size

Category	Population	Sample	Percentage
Political party officials	1800	180	10%
IEBC Commissioners and Secretary	8	2	25%
ORPP Senior Officials	8	2	25%
Supreme Court of Kenya Judges	7	2	25%
Kenya Police Service (KPS)	3	3	100%
Total	1826	189	

3.5 Instruments

This study employed semi-structured questionnaires for data collection, incorporating both open and closed-ended questions for the representatives of different political parties. However, for the representatives of the IEBC, ORPP, KPS and SCOK, data was gathered through face-to-face interviews. The questionnaires consisted of five sections, including demographics and sections on study objectives. The questionnaire included the Likert scale. Respondents were provided with clear guidelines on how to complete the questionnaires. For confidentiality, respondents were not required to indicate their names on the questionnaires. Given its affordability and practicality in light of the population's size, the questionnaire was deemed the best approach for gathering data (Denscombe, 2017).

3.6 Data Collection Procedure

A pilot test was conducted to determine the data collection instrument's efficacy, suitability, and sufficiency. The primary goal was to improve the tools and fix errors in their design. The study's respondents included two life members from the 15 main political parties, one IEBC secretariat member, ORPP, and the Judiciary. According to Connelly (2008), a pilot sample size should be around 10% of the estimated sample size for the main research. During the pilot test, the researcher evaluated the methods and activities to identify any errors. The time taken to complete the questions was measured to determine the viability of the questionnaire.

Reliability is the degree of consistency an instrument demonstrates in evaluating a particular variable it is designed to measure (Mohajan, 2017). The emphasis was on the instrument's capability to provide equal or nearly similar findings when the same test was performed. To assess the dependability of the data-gathering instrument, two methodologies were employed. The first method, test-retest, was used to determine the consistency of responses over time. An identical instrument was administered to the same group of individuals at different timelines, and their responses were compared to ensure consistency. Internal consistency was evaluated to determine the coherence of the questions within the instrument, specifically how well the questions measuring the same construct aligned with one another. A Cronbach's Alpha value of 0.7 or higher was considered reliable (Taber, 2018).

Validity determines whether the instruments are properly aligned with their intended purpose (Taherdoost, 2016). The questionnaire included only pertinent questions, emphasizing content validity to ensure an accurate representation of the study's objectives. Criterion validity was used to gauge the reliability of the instrument testing. Throughout the pilot study, the researcher monitored the correlation among the results from different instruments administered to respondents. This helped establish whether the instruments produced consistent and accurate results. The survey's goals were communicated to respondents, and participants who opted to take part were issued questionnaires with sufficient time for completion. The gathered questionnaires underwent verification for accuracy and completeness.

3.8 Challenges During Data Collection Process

The data collection process encountered several logistical and methodological challenges. First, accessing key informants proved difficult because some political party offices had shut down, temporarily closed, or relocated, requiring additional effort to track down relevant officials. Second, scheduling interviews with policymakers was a protracted process due to their limited availability, often resulting in delayed or delegated responses. When junior officers stood in for senior policymakers, their responses tended to be superficial, as they either lacked detailed knowledge or avoided addressing sensitive questions directly. Moreover, some interviewees provided cautious, generalized answers, frequently referencing constitutional and legal frameworks to minimize personal or professional risks. To overcome these obstacles, the researcher took proactive measures, including locating relocated offices, re-establishing contact

with temporarily closed branches, and patiently adhering to delayed appointment schedules. These adaptive strategies ensured that data collection remained comprehensive despite the constraints.

3.7 Data Processing and Analysis

The accuracy and consistency of the questionnaires were checked. Editing, coding, and tabulation were conducted on the data to detect any irregularities in the responses. Each response was allocated a specific code for further analysis. The data was analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences. Quantitative data was analyzed using descriptive statistics such as frequencies, means, and percentages, while qualitative data was examined through content and narrative analysis. These statistical measures provided a precise picture of the distribution and central tendencies of the data, allowing for a more comprehensive understanding of the patterns and trends found in the responses. Qualitative data was analyzed through thematic analysis. Findings from the analysis were presented through graphs, narratives, and tables.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

Permission for research was sought from relevant authorities and departments. The researcher sought research approval from Strathmore University. The National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) provided a research permit. Information provided by the respondents was treated with confidentiality. The integrity of the data collected was maintained. The research objectives were explained to the respondents, and consent was sought. No respondent was coerced to provide information.

Chapter 4: Research Findings and Discussion

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses findings. The study assessed electoral integrity and national security in Kenya's presidential elections from 2002 to 2022. The study sought to: evaluate the role of the institutional frameworks in upholding electoral integrity and promoting national security in Kenya's presidential elections (2002 - 2022), assess the influence of political culture on electoral integrity and national security in Kenya's presidential elections (2002 - 2022) and explore the extent of foreign interference in Kenya's presidential elections and its implication on electoral integrity and national security from (2002 - 2022).

4.2 Response Rate

The study issued 180 questionnaires to respondents. One hundred and sixty-eight were filled and returned, hence a response rate of 93%. Additionally, the study sampled 2 IEBC Senior Officials, 2 ORPP Senior Officials, 2 Supreme Court of Kenya Judges and 3 officers from the Kenya Police Service; The interview response rates were 100%, 100%, 100% and 67% respectively. Rosol (2023) states that a response rate above 80% is excellent and reduces the risk of non-response bias. Similarly, Mugenda and Mugenda (2013) note that survey response rates in social science research range between 50% and 70%, making this study's 93% response rate satisfactory. The high response rate is attributed to the relevance of the research study to the target population and the structured data collection process (Wu, Zhao & Fils-Aime, 2022). This is illustrated in Table 4.1

Table 4.1: Response Rate

Category	Sample	Responses	Response rate
Political party officials	180	168	93%
IEBC Commissioners and Secretary	2	2	100%
ORPP Senior Officials	2	2	100%
Supreme Court of Kenya Judges	2	2	100%
Kenya Police Service (KPS)	3	2	67%
Total	189	176	93%

4.3 Reliability Results

Cronbach's Alpha was used to assess the internal consistency of the questionnaire. It examined whether specific items in the research instruments measured the same construct (Dibekulu, 2020). It was computed for each objective to determine the replicability of the results should the research be repeated in the same study site. Cronbach's Alpha coefficients above 0.7 were the cut-off reliability for the study. The reliability results from the pilot research are indicated in Table 4.2

Table 4.2: Reliability Results

Variable	Item	Alpha Value
Institutional Framework	5	0.764
Political Culture	5	0.787
Foreign Interference	5	0.724
National Security	5	0.773

The Cronbach Alpha Coefficient was calculated for each variable. The coefficient for the institutional framework was 0.764, political culture was 0.787, foreign interference was 0.724 and national security was 0.773. All the variables had reliability values higher than 0.7, which was adequate.

4.4 Validity Tests

Content validity ensured that the instruments accurately reflected the study objectives. It was tested through expert judgment, comparing the instrument to relevant content and assessing its comprehensiveness and relevance (Sürücü & Maslakçı, 2020). Criterion validity assessed the reliability of the instrument's measurements (Duke, Hamidi & Ewing, 2020). It involved comparing the instrument's results with an established criterion or outcome to determine accuracy (Mohajan, 2017). These were achieved through professional advice from university supervisors.

4.5 Demographic Data

The study assessed demographic data of the respondents. The study considered: gender, education level and experience as a party official.

4.5.1 Respondents' Gender

The research sought to establish the gender of the respondents. Results are shown in Figure 4.1

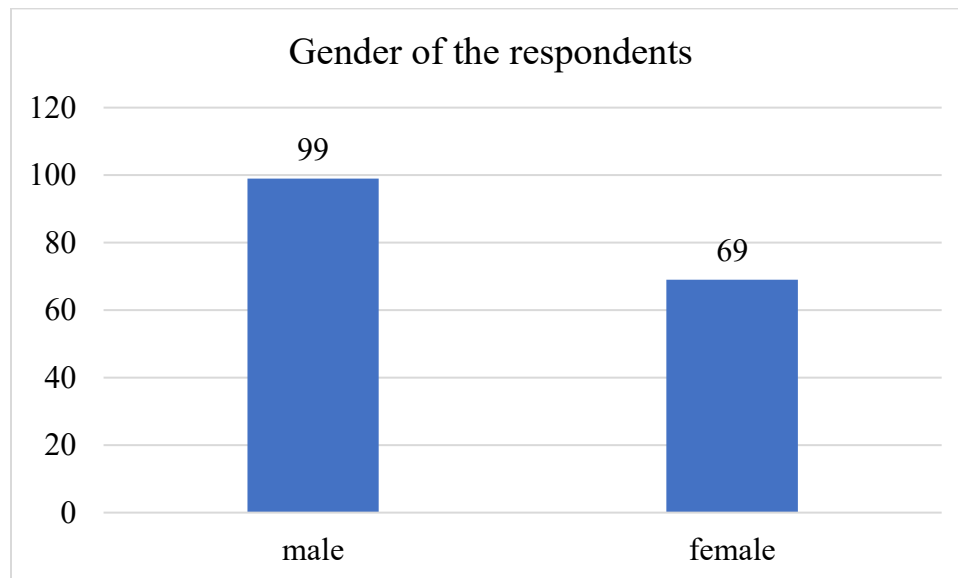


Figure 4.1 : Respondents Gender

Figure 4.1 indicates that 99 (59%) respondents were male and 69 (41%) were female. The nearly equal gender distribution among respondents, with 51% male and 49% female, indicates balanced participation in the study.

4.5.2 Respondents' Education Level

The study established education level of the respondents. Results are shown in Table 4.3

Table 4.3: Respondents' Education Level

Education	Frequency	Percent
Secondary	14	8
Diploma	37	22
Degree	94	56
Post Graduate	23	14
Total	168	100

According to Table 4.3, 14(8%) of the respondents had secondary school level of education, 37(22%) had diploma level of education, 94(56%) had degree level of education and 23(14%) had post graduate level of education. Majority of the respondents had basic level of education, hence their responses could be relied on credible conclusions.

4.5.3 Respondents' Experience as Party Officials

The study established the period respondents worked as party officials. Results are shown in Figure 4.2

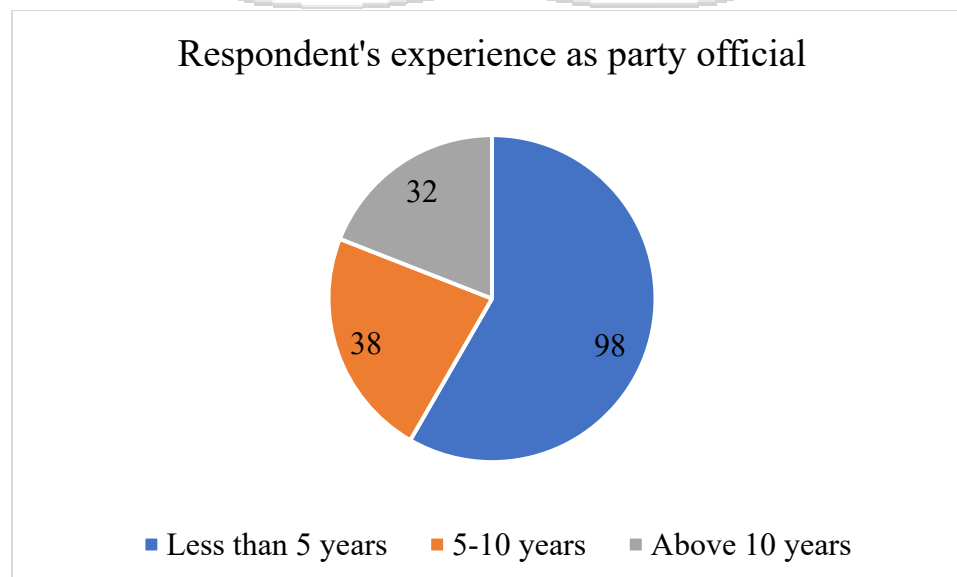


Figure 4.2: Respondents' Experience as Party Officials

Figure 4.1 indicates that 98 (58%) respondents had been party officials for a period of less than 5 years, 38 (23%) had been officials for 5-10 years, and 32 (19%) had been officials for more than 10 years. There was a distribution of experience among party officials across different periods.

4.6 Descriptive Analysis

This section presents descriptive statistics used by the researcher to establish the main findings of the study. The researcher collected responses from the respondents on study constructs using a 5-point Likert scale. The analysis is presented as per the research objectives which are the role of institutional frameworks in promoting the integrity of elections and national security in Kenya's presidential elections (2002 - 2022); The influence of political culture on the integrity of elections and national security in Kenya's presidential elections (2002 - 2022) and the level of foreign interference in the integrity of elections and national security during Kenya's presidential elections (2002 - 2022). The responses were interpreted according to the study, and the average response (mean) and standard deviation were presented, interpreted and discussed.

4.6.1 Institutional Framework and National Security

The first objective was to assess the role of institutional frameworks in promoting the integrity of elections and national security in Kenya's presidential elections (2002 - 2022). Respondents were asked 5 questions, and responses were presented on a Likert scale.

Table 4.4: Institutional Framework and National Security

Statements	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
Kenya's institutions promote electoral integrity and enhance national security	168	4.23	1.05	54	29	7	8	2
The judicial system contributes to the electoral process and national security	168	4.36	0.90	57	30	6	7	1
Political parties in Kenya promote electoral integrity and national security	168	4.27	0.97	51	35	5	7	2
The Elections Act promotes the integrity of elections and the well-being of citizens	168	4.28	0.97	52	34	5	7	2
The IEBC evaluate the integrity and credibility of the election before the announcement of results	168	4.27	1.02	54	31	4	9	2

From Table 4.4 above, 54% of the respondents strongly agreed, 29% agreed, 7% were not sure, 8% disagreed, and 2% strongly disagreed that Kenya's institutions promoted electoral integrity and enhanced national security (Mean=4.23; Std Dev=1.05). This aligns with Darnolf (2018), who argues that institutional frameworks play a crucial role in ensuring electoral transparency and security, but their effectiveness is often compromised by weak enforcement and political interference.

Accordingly, 57% strongly agreed, 30% agreed, 6% not sure, 7% disagreed, and 1% strongly disagreed that the judicial system contributed to the electoral process and national security (Mean=4.36; Std. Dev=0.90). Kanyinga and Odote (2019) emphasize the role of Kenya's judiciary in election management, particularly in adjudicating disputes and ensuring legal compliance, as seen in the 2013 and 2017 presidential election petitions. Findings indicated that 51% strongly agreed, 35% agreed, 5% not sure, 7% disagreed, and 2% strongly disagreed that political parties in Kenya promoted electoral integrity and national security (Mean=4.27; Std. Dev=0.97). Makulilo et al. (2016) observe that political parties in East Africa play a central role in democratic processes, but their credibility is often undermined by internal wrangles, lack of transparency, and excessive political interference.

Fifty-two per cent strongly agreed, 34% agreed, 5% not sure, 7% disagreed, and 2% strongly disagreed that the Elections Act promoted the integrity of elections and the well-being of citizens (Mean=4.28; Std. Dev=0.97). Simiyu (2022) notes that Kenya's Elections Act introduced legal safeguards to enhance electoral credibility, but its implementation has faced challenges due to resistance from political actors and inadequate oversight. It was noted that 54% strongly agreed, 31% agreed, 4% not sure, 9% disagreed, and 2% strongly disagreed that the Elections Act promoted the integrity of elections and the well-being of citizens (Mean=4.27; Std. Dev=1.02). Hassan (2023) highlights that while electoral laws in Kenya provide a framework for free and fair elections, political dynamics and administrative inefficiencies often hinder their full enforcement, impacting overall electoral integrity.

The respondents had mixed opinions on whether the institutional framework in Kenya promoted electoral integrity and national security in presidential elections. Some acknowledged that the regulatory framework, including statutes, is designed to promote electoral integrity, but they noted

that it is not fully implemented. This aligns with Darnolf (2018), who emphasizes that while legal frameworks exist to uphold electoral integrity, weak enforcement and political interference undermine their effectiveness. Others noted that institutions do their best to protect national security, but electoral integrity remains compromised. Kanyinga and Odote (2019) support this view, highlighting that despite constitutional reforms, Kenya's electoral institutions have struggled with credibility issues, especially in the 2013 and 2017 elections, due to procedural irregularities and institutional weaknesses.

It was also indicated that, in theory, the framework should work, but in practice, it has failed due to corruption, lack of cooperation from government representatives, and gaps in electoral integrity. Simiyu (2022) points out that political interference in Kenya's electoral bodies, particularly the IEBC, has contributed to public distrust and allegations of rigging, reinforcing concerns raised by respondents. Some respondents emphasized that credible elections had not been delivered and that integrity started with individuals rather than institutions alone, which is in line with the Social Contract Theory, as discussed by Rousseau, which argues that governance legitimacy is derived from the will and actions of individuals in society. Others noted that while some institutions uphold electoral integrity, others do not, leading to inconsistencies, a challenge echoed in Makulilo et al. (2016), who compare electoral management in East Africa and find that political interference and inadequate oversight contribute to inconsistencies in electoral integrity.

An interview with a senior IEBC official on the role of the institutional framework in promoting electoral integrity and national security in Kenya's presidential elections. The IEBC official said,

“A robust institution is tamper-proof and discourages any form of manipulation. The IEBC operates under the Constitution of Kenya (2010), the Elections Act, and related regulations, but its operations are hindered by inadequate and delayed funding, affecting the planning and execution of our mandates..... We continuously improve our systems through audits, adopting best practices, and stakeholder engagement to build a strong institution.....Credible elections enhance public confidence and prevent post-election conflicts that threaten national security.”

An official from the ORPP indicated,

“Stronger inter-agency coordination promotes an electoral process that upholds integrity, thus promoting national security.....ORPP register, regulates and oversees political parties in Kenya.....ORPP facilitates dialogue among political parties and other stakeholders through the Political Parties Liaison Committee (PPLC), fostering consensus on critical electoral matters. This inclusive, multi-stakeholder engagement enhances trust in the electoral process.....Poorly managed electoral disputes can quickly degenerate into violence, jeopardizing national stability. The ORPP urges political parties to prioritize issue-based politics over divisive rhetoric. Through promoting peaceful campaigns and strict adherence to legal dispute-resolution mechanisms, mitigate tensions that might otherwise erupt into unrest and violence.”

A Senior Judicial official explained,

“The institutional framework plays a critical role in safeguarding electoral integrity and, by extension, national security. Key bodies like the IEBC, the Judiciary, ORPP, and security agencies must operate independently, efficiently, and impartially to guarantee free, fair, and credible elections. When these bodies fulfil their constitutional mandates effectively, they mitigate electoral disputes, foster public confidence, and prevent violence that could destabilize a state.....Flawed elections breed discontent, protests, and even conflict, as witnessed in 2007-2008.....The Supreme Court of Kenya’s (SCOK) 2017 decision to annul the presidential election was a landmark affirmation of judicial independence and constitutional fidelity. The ruling emphasized the necessity of strict compliance with electoral laws and transparent results transmission.”

Indeed, Kanyinga and Odote (2019) analyzed the judicialization of politics in Kenya’s 2017 elections and emphasized that Supreme Court rulings promote democratic governance by upholding accountability, the rule of law and electoral integrity. The court's decision to nullify the presidential election in 2017 set a precedent for handling election disputes, demonstrating the judiciary’s role in ensuring fair electoral processes . In the same vein, Makulilo et al. (2016)

highlight the necessity of an independent judiciary in addressing electoral malpractices and maintaining public confidence in electoral outcomes.

A national police service official further said,

"A strong institutional framework is important during elections. The role of the National Police Service is to provide security throughout the electoral process, preventing intimidation, violence, and electoral malpractices. A clear legal framework governing police conduct during elections enhances neutrality and professionalism in law enforcement. Coordination between the police, IEBC, and intelligence agencies strengthens security measures, allowing for proactive responses to potential threats. Additionally, specialized training of different units in crowd control, electoral laws, and human rights enables officers to handle election-related situations effectively."

The researcher asked the interviewees about measures that could be undertaken to enhance the institutional framework of elections. The IEBC official noted,

"IEBC requires full financial autonomy to reduce reliance on external donors, which can compromise independence. Strengthening legal and policy frameworks is crucial to address gaps in electoral laws. Additionally, we need advanced election technology, such as upgraded KIEMS kits, that are reliable.....Collaborating with law enforcement to create early warning systems for electoral violence to strengthen election security and national security in general."(IEBC02).

Additionally, the office of the registrar political party official advocated for an enhanced legal framework, thus,

"Full implementation of the Election Campaign Financing Act of 2013 and strengthening of laws governing political parties to prevent election malpractices such as vote-buying and ethnic mobilization. Additionally, civic education should be intensified to inform voters of their rights and encourage issue-based voting rather than ethnic-based loyalties..... A need for increased institutional capacity to monitor political parties' activities and enforce regulations.....Strengthening multi-stakeholder engagements through platforms like the Political Parties Liaison Committee can promote trust in the electoral system."(ORPP02).

A Senior judicial officer indicated,

“The judiciary must continue to exercise independence in resolving election disputes. The Supreme Court ensures fair adjudication of presidential election petitions, but challenges remain in enforcing compliance with rulings. Additionally, the court should endeavour to promote a framework that expedites presidential electoral petitions without compromising the quality of ruling.....civic education is essential to help citizens understand legal procedures and have confidence in judicial outcomes.”(SJ02)

An officer from the national police service noted,

We also need improved coordination between law enforcement, the IEBC, and intelligence agencies to detect and mitigate security threats early. Investing in modern surveillance technology can enhance real-time monitoring and response to electoral violence. Equally, the retraining of police officers on electoral matters, human rights and conflict resolution can help maintain professionalism during the electioneering period. Finally, impartial enforcement of the law will promote a peaceful electoral environment and enhance national security.”(NPS02).

This supports the Kriegler Commission’s report (2009), which highlighted the need for law enforcement agencies to take a proactive role in preventing election-related violence through intelligence-led policing and improved coordination between security agencies. Additionally, Mueller (2008) emphasized that political stability and national security are directly linked to effective law enforcement, arguing that investments in modern surveillance technology and inter-agency collaboration can mitigate electoral violence and maintain public order.

4.6.2 Political Culture and National Security

The second objective was to assess how political culture influences the integrity of elections and national security in Kenya's presidential elections (2002 - 2022). Respondents were asked 5 questions, and responses presented on a Likert scale.

Table 4.5: Political Culture and National Security

Statements	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
A sense of national identity among citizens contributes to a more stable electoral process and national security	168	4.31	0.95	56	28	8	8	1
Upholding national values promotes electoral integrity and national security	168	4.36	0.90	57	30	6	7	1
Enforcement of electoral laws and regulations enhances electoral integrity and national security	168	4.27	0.97	51	35	5	7	2
Political pluralism and inclusivity enhance electoral integrity and national security	168	4.28	0.97	52	34	5	7	2
Civic education and participation in electoral activities enhance electoral integrity and National Security	168	4.23	1.06	52	32	4	8	3

From Table 4.5 above, 56% of the respondents strongly agreed, 28% agreed, 8% not sure, 8% disagreed and 1% strongly disagreed that a sense of national identity among citizens contributed to a more stable electoral process and national security (Mean=4.31; Std. Dev=0.95). This aligns with Mou (2018), who argues that a unified national identity fosters trust in governance and reduces political polarization, which is essential for maintaining electoral integrity and security. Similarly, Odeh (2015) highlights that national identity influences voter behaviour and promotes a cohesive electoral process, thereby minimizing conflicts. 57% strongly agreed, 30% agreed, 6% not sure, 7% disagreed and 1% strongly disagreed that upholding national values promoted electoral integrity and national security (Mean=4.36; Std. Dev=0.90). Kumar (2015) emphasizes that democratic principles such as transparency, accountability, and respect for the rule of law are

essential for electoral credibility. Albert et al. (2020) further assert that when national values are upheld, public trust in electoral institutions are strengthened, thus, reducing instances of electoral disputes and violence.

Findings indicated that 51% strongly agreed, 35% agreed, 5% not sure, 7% disagreed and 2% strongly disagreed that enforcement of electoral laws and regulations enhanced electoral integrity and national security (Mean=4.27; Std. Dev=0.97). The Kriegler Commission (2009) pointed out that Kenya's electoral instability has often been linked to weak enforcement of electoral laws. Strengthening these legal frameworks ensures fairness in elections, fostering political stability. Darnolf (2018) also highlights that legal reforms in electoral management reduce the risks of fraud and external manipulation, reinforcing both national security and democratic governance.

According to the findings, 52% strongly agreed, 34% agreed, 5% not sure, 7% disagreed and 2% strongly disagreed that political pluralism and inclusivity enhanced electoral integrity and national security (Mean=4.28; Std. Dev=0.97). Celestin et al. (2018) note that competitive elections must be carefully managed to prevent instability, as exclusion from the electoral system often leads to political unrest. Additionally, Norris (2014) argues that electoral processes that lack inclusivity and fairness can trigger long-term conflicts, thereby threatening national security. Findings showed that 52% strongly agreed, 32% agreed, 4% not sure, 8% disagreed and 3% strongly disagreed that civic education and participation in electoral activities enhanced electoral integrity and National Security (Mean=4.23; Std. Dev=1.06). Norris (2014) advocates for widespread voter awareness programs as a means of strengthening democracy. Similarly, Mulyawan et al. (2020) emphasize that active civic engagement fosters trust in electoral institutions, which is crucial for sustaining peace and stability during election periods.

Respondents were required to explain how political culture influenced electoral integrity and national security in Kenya's presidential elections. Respondents indicated that many voters aligned themselves with leaders from their ethnic backgrounds, hence tribal-based voting patterns. This is supported by Munene (2020), who argues that Kenya's democracy has been influenced by historical and ethnic factors, leading to political affiliations based on tribal identities rather than issue-based politics. The tendency of voters to expect dominant political parties to win regardless

of fairness further weakens electoral integrity. According to Norris (2014), flawed electoral processes corrode citizens' trust, causing disputes that threaten political stability and national security.

Respondents noted that political culture influenced electoral processes when individuals understood voting procedures and expectations. This aligns with Garnett and Zavadskaya (2018), who assert that strong democratic institutions and informed electorates promote fair elections, reducing political instability. However, the persistence of tribalism, electoral fraud and post-election violence has negatively affected Kenya's electoral integrity. As noted by Kanyinga and Odote (2019), Kenya's elections have historically been marred by disputes, often escalating into ethnic conflicts that threaten national security. The culture of rejecting election results and causing violence, as highlighted by some respondents, reflects the deeply rooted electoral tensions that undermine stability. This is echoed by Jovanović (2021), who describes electoral violence as a significant security challenge that manifests in harassment, intimidation, and rioting, thus weakening democratic institutions.

While some respondents acknowledged that political culture can promote transparency and fairness through civic education and adherence to national values, others noted that it is often manipulated to favor those in power. This aligns with Simiyu (2022), who observes that Kenya's electoral system is susceptible to political interference, with institutions struggling to uphold integrity amidst external pressure. Political culture can either strengthen electoral credibility through informed participation or weaken it by entrenching ethnic divisions and electoral fraud, thus compromising national security.

Interviewees were asked how political culture influenced electoral integrity and national security. It was explained,

“strong influence of ethnicity in politics often leads to ethnic-based mobilization, where voters align with candidates based on their community rather than policies or governance records. Additionally, vote-buying is a persistent issue, as some politicians use financial incentives to manipulate voter decisions, further eroding trust in elections...Strengthening the enforcement of electoral laws, promoting civic education, and encouraging issue-based politics can help counter these challenges.”(IEBC01) “The tradition of viewing elections as a zero-sum game leads to intense political competition, often resulting in disputes that

escalate into violence. Many political parties engage in ethnic mobilization and patronage politics, where loyalty is rewarded over competence. Additionally, campaign financing is often unregulated, allowing illicit funds to influence elections, creating an uneven playing field.”(ORPP01).

This corroborates the findings of Van Ham (2013), who argues that political systems with weak internal democracy in political parties and unregulated campaign financing create an uneven playing field, increasing the likelihood of electoral disputes.

The interviewees also highlighted that;

“political affiliations are by ethnic identity rather than ideology... When election results are contested, public perception of the judiciary’s independence can be affected by these cultural biases, leading to dissatisfaction and unrest. Electoral petitions that challenge results must be resolved in a manner that upholds the rule of law... Political parties sometimes resolve onto protests and mass action instead of legal redress hence jeopardizing national security.”(SJ01). “The tendency of political leaders to mobilize supporters based on ethnic lines often leads to tensions that escalate into violence. During elections, security forces face challenges in maintaining neutrality due to political interference, which affects public confidence in the police. Electoral violence, fueled by incitement from politicians, disrupts the democratic process and endangers national security.” (NPS01).

The respondents were asked how negative political culture could be improved to enhance electoral integrity and national security. They responded as follows;

“Electoral integrity is compromised when political parties engage in vote-buying, ethnic mobilization, and intimidation of opponents...civic education must be prioritized to promote informed and independent voting.” (IEBC02). “political parties must commit to ethical leadership and accountability. Electoral integrity is often compromised through financial incentives. Strengthening internal democracy within political parties will ensure that candidates are selected fairly, reducing disputes that often escalate into violence. Political parties should also promote issue-based politics rather than relying on ethnic alliances. Engaging citizens in continuous voter education programs will help instill democratic values and reduce susceptibility to manipulation.”(ORPP02).

Further responses from the respondents indicated that:

"Political leaders must respect judicial decisions and stop incitement when outcomes do not favour them...Civic education should emphasize respect for democratic institutions, ensuring that citizens understand legal processes and do not resort to violence." (SJ02).

"Law enforcement agencies have to remain neutral to citizens' perceptions, and training officers on electoral laws, human rights, and conflict resolution will enhance professionalism in handling election-related matters." (NPS02).

4.6.3 Foreign Interference and National Security

The third objective was to assess the level of foreign interference in the integrity of electoral and national security during Kenya's presidential elections (2002 - 2022). Respondents were asked 5 questions, and responses were presented on a Likert scale.

Table 4.6: Foreign Interference and National Security

Statements	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
Foreign financial support of political candidates and parties during elections undermines electoral integrity and national security	168	4.22	1.02	51	33	7	7	2
The alignment of the state's leadership interests with those of foreign powers affects electoral integrity and national security	168	4.25	1.02	52	33	5	8	2
The dependence of electoral bodies on foreign entities compromises electoral integrity and national security	168	4.31	0.95	56	28	8	8	1
The reliance of the electoral system on technology is susceptible to foreign attacks, hence undermining electoral integrity and national security	168	4.18	1.02	47	36	7	8	2
Disinformation from social media platforms by foreign entities influences electoral integrity and National Security	168	4.23	1.02	51	35	4	8	2

From Table 4.6 above, 51% of the respondents strongly agreed, 33% agreed, 7% not sure, 7% disagreed and 2% strongly disagreed that foreign financial support of presidential candidates and parties during elections undermined electoral integrity and national security (Mean=4.22; Std. Dev=1.02). Tadić (2023) argues that foreign financial interference in elections distorts democratic processes by influencing election outcomes in favour of external interests rather than the will of the citizens. This external funding can lead to policy capture, where elected leaders prioritize foreign agendas over national interests, compromising national security.

52% strongly agreed, 33% agreed, 5% not sure, 8% disagreed and 2% strongly disagreed that the alignment of the state's leadership interests with those of foreign powers affected electoral integrity and national security (Mean=4.25; Std. Dev=1.02). Akinola and Ogunnubi (2021) highlight that foreign powers often seek to install leaders who serve their strategic interests, weakening national sovereignty and electoral independence. This alignment can also fuel domestic instability as political parties receive backing from external entities, creating divisions and heightening tensions during elections. 56% strongly agreed, 28% agreed, 8% not sure, 8% disagreed and 1% strongly disagreed that the dependence on electoral bodies on foreign entities compromised electoral integrity and national security (Mean=4.31; Std. Dev=0.95). Darnolf (2018) notes that reliance on international funding and technology by election management bodies exposes them to external influence, making it difficult to conduct impartial elections. Foreign actors can use their financial leverage to dictate electoral processes, undermining transparency and accountability.

57% strongly agreed, 36% agreed, 7% not sure, 8% disagreed and 2% strongly disagreed that the reliance of the electoral system on technology was susceptible to foreign attacks hence undermining electoral integrity and national security (Mean=4.18; Std. Dev=1.02). Odote and Kanyinga (2021) argue that while election technology enhances efficiency, it also creates vulnerabilities that foreign entities can exploit to manipulate election results or disrupt electoral processes. The risks of hacking, cyber interference, and misinformation campaigns present significant threats to national security. 51% strongly agreed, 35% agreed, 4% not sure, 8% disagreed and 2% strongly disagreed that disinformation from social media platforms by foreign entities influenced electoral integrity and National Security (Mean=4.23; Std. Dev=1.02). Dawood (2021) emphasizes that social media manipulation by foreign actors' spreads misinformation,

influencing voter perceptions and undermining trust in electoral processes. This aligns with Schmitt (2021), who highlights that disinformation campaigns erode public confidence in election outcomes, increasing the risk of post-election unrest and security threats.

Respondents were required to explain the extent to which foreign actors interfered in the electoral system and national security in Kenya's Presidential elections. Respondents noted that external funding for political parties and candidates often compromises electoral integrity, as foreign entities push their interests over national priorities. This aligns with Tadić (2023), who argues that foreign financial support is a tool used to manipulate democratic processes and install leaders who serve external powers. Additionally, reliance on foreign-backed electoral technology has exposed Kenya's elections to cyber threats, raising concerns over data security and result manipulation. Odote and Kanyinga (2021) highlight that election technology while improving efficiency, creates vulnerabilities that external actors can exploit to influence election outcomes.

Respondents indicated the spread of disinformation through social media platforms, which was often driven by foreign entities aiming to manipulate voter perceptions. Dawood (2021) notes that coordinated disinformation campaigns have been used globally to undermine trust in electoral institutions and sway public opinion. Furthermore, some respondents pointed out that Kenya's political alignment with certain foreign powers affects policy decisions, which leads to electoral disputes and national security risks. Akinola and Ogunnubi (2021) emphasize that geopolitical interests often dictate electoral outcomes in African nations, with foreign actors supporting leaders who align with their strategic objectives.

Interviews respondents were asked about the level of the foreign interference on electoral integrity and national security during Kenya's Presidential elections. The IEBC official remarked,

“external actors fund electoral reforms...this can influence the legal and institutional framework....Some foreign organizations sponsor political instability by financing groups that engage in protests or civil unrest, destabilizing the state. Foreign-funded opinion polls shape voter perceptions, potentially swaying election outcomes and undermining democratic choice.”(IEBC01).

A senior official from the ORPP noted,

“Foreign funding of political parties and presidential candidates is prohibited by law, with foreign assistance restricted to technical support. However, the extent of permissible technical assistance remains undefined... International organizations claim to promote democracy but instead support specific candidates or parties, creating an uneven playing field ... Election observers, though necessary for transparency, sometimes issue biased reports that fuel disputes over results.”(ORPP01).

Additionally, a senior judicial officer indicated that,

“Foreign-backed organizations provide legal and technical assistance to specific parties, creating a perception of bias in electoral dispute resolution... countries use economic leverage to push for outcomes that align with their geopolitical interests, compromising state sovereignty”(SJ01).

This aligns with a study by Tadić (2023), who noted that foreign election interference is a threat to national security, as external actors use economic leverage, diplomatic pressure and legal influence to shape election outcomes in their favor. Similarly, Mohan and Wall (2019) highlight that foreign-backed organizations provide legal and technical assistance to specific political parties.

A National Police Service official said,

“causes politically motivated violence and cyber threats. Foreign actors fund groups that incite protests or use social media to spread misinformation, increasing electoral tensions.”(NPS01).

Respondents were required to explain what could be done to overcome foreign interference in electoral integrity and national security. It was explained,

“Kenya must strengthen its legal and institutional framework to ensure elections remain independent and transparent...enforce strict regulations on foreign funding of political parties and candidates. Political financing laws should require full disclosure of all campaign contributions to prevent external actors from influencing election outcome...strengthen cybersecurity measures to protect voter registration databases and results transmission systems from external manipulation.”(IEBC02). “Cybersecurity must

be prioritized to prevent foreign-led cyberattacks on election infrastructure, which could compromise voter data and election results. The police must work closely with other security agencies to monitor and disrupt disinformation campaigns that seek to manipulate public opinion. Diplomatic efforts should be made to engage with international partners in ways that support election transparency without allowing undue influence.”(NPS02).

4.6.4 National Security

The study examined electoral integrity in Kenya’s presidential elections and its implications for national security during these elections (2002-2022). Respondents were asked five questions, and their responses were presented on a Likert scale.

Table 4.7: National Security

Statements	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	SA	A	NS	D	SD
Economic security has been threatened by the outcome of flawed elections	168	4.24	1.01	52	33	6	7	2
Social security in Kenya is weakened during contested elections	168	4.23	1.05	54	29	7	8	2
Political actors undermine national security through the manipulation of the electoral process	168	4.36	0.90	57	30	6	7	1
Lives and property are exposed to physical threats during electioneering times	168	4.27	0.97	51	35	5	7	2
Ethnicity undermines the electoral process and national security in the country	168	4.28	0.97	52	34	5	7	2

From Table 4.7 above, 52% of the respondents strongly agreed, 33% agreed, 6% not sure, 7% disagreed and 2% strongly disagreed that economic security had been threatened by the outcome of flawed elections (Mean=4.24; Std. Dev=1.01). This aligns with Mueller (2008), who argues that political instability resulting from contested elections creates an uncertain economic environment, discouraging domestic and foreign investments and slowing economic growth.

54% strongly agreed, 29% agreed, 7% not sure, 8% disagreed and 2% strongly disagreed that social security in Kenya was weakened during contested elections (Mean=4.23; Std. Dev=1.05). Annan (2013) highlights that election-related disputes often lead to civil unrest, population displacement, and a breakdown of social cohesion, further undermining national stability. 57% strongly agreed, 30% agreed, 6% not sure, 7% disagreed and 1% strongly disagreed that political actors undermined national security through the manipulation of the electoral process (Mean=4.36; Std. Dev=0.90). Juma (2018) explains that electoral fraud and manipulation by political leaders intensify ethnic and political tensions, leading to security threats such as violence and heightened law enforcement challenges.

51% strongly agreed, 35% agreed, 5% not sure, 7% disagreed and 2% strongly disagreed that lives and property are exposed to physical threats during electioneering times (Mean=4.27; Std. Dev=0.97). Ochieng et al. (2023) state that election-related violence often results in loss of lives, destruction of property, and the displacement of populations, affecting national security and economic stability. 52% strongly agreed, 34% agreed, 5% not sure, 7% disagreed and 2% strongly disagreed that ethnicity undermined the electoral process and national security in the country (Mean=4.28; Std. Dev=0.97). Higashijima and Kerr (2023) emphasize that ethnic-based voting and political alliances fuel post-election conflicts, erode democratic principles, and compromise national security by deepening societal divisions.

Respondents were required to indicate how outcome of a presidential election affected national security in Kenya. Respondents noted that when citizens were dissatisfied with election results, protests and demonstrations frequently erupted, disrupting peace and stability. Norris (2014) highlights that flawed elections undermine government legitimacy, fuel political tensions, and can result in mass protests or civil unrest. Additionally, respondents pointed out that when an elected president was perceived to favor a particular tribe or community, it created divisions that threaten national unity. Munene (2020) argues that Kenya's democracy is deeply influenced by ethnic politics, with elections often exacerbating tribal divisions and undermining national cohesion. Furthermore, contested elections frequently result in violence, destruction of property, and loss of lives, as observed in the 2007 post-election crisis. Abuya (2009) asserts that high-stakes presidential elections in Kenya have historically triggered unrest due to perceptions of rigging and ethnic favoritism, leading to national security threats.

Respondents also highlighted that electoral manipulations by political actors, such as vote rigging and voter suppression, contribute to tensions that escalate into violence. Jovanović (2021) describes electoral violence as a key security challenge, manifesting in protests, harassment, and intimidation that threaten the stability of a state. Moreover, economic activities are disrupted during election disputes, affecting livelihoods and national development. Mueller (2008) notes that political instability following elections creates an uncertain economic environment, discouraging investment and slowing economic growth. Respondents emphasized that ethnic alignments in Kenya's politics contribute to election-related conflicts, as communities feel alienated when their preferred candidates lose. Higashijima and Kerr (2023) explain that ethnic-based voting and political polarization weaken democratic institutions and increase the likelihood of post-election violence.

Interviewees were asked about the implications of a flawed electoral process in Kenya's national security. They explained,

“Political parties and their supporters lose trust in democratic institutions, leading to protests, violence and destruction of property.”(ORPP01). “The judiciary is viewed as the last resort in resolving election disputes, and if courts are not perceived as independent, public confidence in legal processes is eroded. Disputed elections weaken government legitimacy, making it difficult to implement policies effectively and maintain social order.”(SJ01).

Interview respondents were required to indicate how the electoral process could be enhanced to promote national security.

“Strengthen legal frameworks to close loopholes that allow electoral malpractice... invest in secure election technology to prevent vote tampering and ensure accurate results transmission. Electoral dispute resolution mechanisms must be improved to ensure that grievances are handled fairly and transparently.”(IEBC02). “Early warning systems should be established to identify and mitigate potential threats before they escalate. Security forces should work closely with other agencies to ensure that perpetrators of electoral violence are punished.” (NPS02)

Chapter 5: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a summary of the results and conclusions. The chapter then outlines recommendations.

5.2 Summary

This section provides a summary of results as per the research objectives that is to: evaluate the role of the institutional frameworks in upholding electoral integrity and promoting national security in Kenya's presidential elections (2002 - 2022), assess the influence of political culture on electoral integrity and national security in Kenya's presidential elections (2002 - 2022) and explore the extent of foreign interference in Kenya's presidential elections and its implication on electoral integrity and national security from (2002 - 2022).

The study evaluated the role of institutional frameworks in upholding electoral integrity and promoting national security in Kenya's presidential elections (2002 - 2022). Strong electoral institutions, such as the IEBC and the judiciary, ensure fair elections and maintain public trust in electoral processes. However, political interference, corruption and gaps in legal enforcement have undermined their effectiveness. The Elections Act was identified as an important regulatory tool for promoting transparency, but its implementation remains inconsistent. Judicial oversight has been important in resolving electoral disputes. There are concerns over the independence and integrity of electoral institutions, hence the need for greater accountability and reform.

The study assessed the influence of political culture on electoral integrity and national security in Kenya's presidential elections (2002 - 2022). Kenya's political culture is largely influenced by ethnic affiliations and historical voting patterns, which contribute to electoral disputes and instability. Political actors manipulate electoral processes through bribery, coercion and misinformation, hence undermining public trust in democratic institutions. Civic education and adherence to national values were key factors in promoting electoral integrity and reducing electoral violence. A culture of rejecting election results and engaging in post-election violence poses a serious threat to national security. Strengthening political institutions and promoting issue-based politics were recommended as strategies to promote a stable electoral environment.

The study explored the extent of foreign interference in Kenya's presidential elections and its implications on electoral integrity and national security from (2002 - 2022). There was a general perception from the respondents that there is indirect foreign interference in the presidential election, especially in the case of biometric kits and the introduction of the technology. The case of the main server being hosted outside the country and the provision of electoral technology services by multinationals, which is viewed as the pro-incumbent presidency. Foreign financial support for political parties and candidates was critical, with external factors influencing electoral outcomes to serve their geopolitical interests. Dependence on foreign-backed electoral technology was a security risk, with cyber threats and hacking attempts compromising the integrity of election results. Disinformation campaigns on social media, caused by foreign entities, manipulate voter perceptions and incite political divisions.

5.3 Conclusions

This study concludes that institutional frameworks, when effectively enforced, enhance free and fair elections. However, political interference and weak legal enforcement limit their effectiveness, allowing electoral malpractices that fuel instability. Strengthening electoral institutions, ensuring their independence and promoting transparency in electoral processes are essential for safeguarding electoral integrity.

The study concludes that ethnic-based voting patterns, voter manipulation and a culture of post-election violence undermine electoral integrity, leading to security risks. Civic education and adherence to democratic principles can enhance political stability, but addressing political divisions requires systemic reforms that promote inclusivity and issue-based politics.

The study concludes that external financial influence, cyber threats and disinformation campaigns disrupt democratic processes and erode public trust in electoral institutions. Implementing stringent regulations to curb foreign involvement in elections, enhancing cybersecurity measures and strengthening public awareness are critical in promoting electoral integrity.

5.4 Recommendations

Policymakers should enforce stricter penalties for electoral offences and improve transparency in campaign financing. The government should establish a permanent national dialogue framework involving political parties, EMBs, civil society, and security agencies to address electoral matters before and after every election. Strengthen conflict early warning mechanisms to identify and address hotspots before violence escalates. Finally, address unemployment and marginalisation that make youth vulnerable to political manipulation.

EMBs must leverage technology for real-time results transmission while safeguarding against cyber threats. All presidential candidates should sign a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with EMBs, committing to accept and abide by constitutional rules and regulations in the event of a contested election. Security forces should receive specialized training on managing electoral violence impartially. Civil society organizations should intensify voter education, particularly in hotspot regions. Media outlets must uphold ethical reporting standards to counter hate speech and misinformation. The Ministry of ICT, in collaboration with security agencies, should invest in cybersecurity infrastructure to safeguard electoral data from foreign manipulation. Additionally, the Communications Authority of Kenya should enforce strict measures to detect and counter misinformation that could incite unrest or manipulate voter perceptions.

Future research should explore emerging threats to electoral integrity, such as digital disinformation and the weaponization of social media. Another critical area is the intersection of youth unemployment, political mobilization, and electoral violence.

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Appendix II: Ethical Clearance Confirmation



22nd January 2025

Mr Gekura Tuguro,
samson.tuguro@strathmore.edu

Dear Mr Gekura,

RE: Electoral Integrity in Kenya's Presidential Elections and Implications on National Security (2002-2022)

This is to inform you that SU-ISERC has reviewed and **approved** your above **SU-masters** proposal. Your application reference number is **SU-ISERC2536/24**. The approval period is from **22nd January 2025 to 21st January 2026**.

This approval is subject to compliance with the following requirements:





- i. Only approved documents including (informed consents, study instruments, MTA) will be used.
- ii. All changes including (amendments, deviations, and violations) are submitted for review and approval by SU-ISERC.
- iii. Death and life-threatening problems and serious adverse events or unexpected adverse events whether related or unrelated to the study must be reported to SU-ISERC within 72 hours of notification.
- iv. Any changes anticipated or otherwise that may increase the risks or affected safety or welfare of study participants and others or affect the integrity of the research must be reported to SU-ISERC within 72 hours.
- v. Clearance for the export of biological specimens must be obtained from relevant institutions.
- vi. Submission of a request for renewal of approval at least 60 days prior to the expiry of the approval period. Attach a comprehensive progress report to support the renewal.
- vii. Submission of an executive summary report within 90 days of completion of the study to SU-ISERC.

Before commencing your study, you will be expected to obtain a research license from National Commission for Science, Technology, and Innovation (NACOSTI) <https://research-portal.nacosti.go.ke/> and obtain other clearances needed.

Yours sincerely,

Mr Ambrose Rachier,
Chairperson; SU-ISERC

Appendix III: NACOSTI Research Permit

 <p>REPUBLIC OF KENYA</p>	 <p>NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION</p>
Ref No: 756108	Date of Issue: 04/February/2025
RESEARCH LICENSE	
	
<p>This is to Certify that Mr., Gekura Samson Tuguro of Strathmore University, has been licensed to conduct research as per the provision of the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 (Rev.2014) in Nairobi on the topic: Electoral integrity in Kenya's Presidential elections and implication on National Security (2002 - 2022) for the period ending : 04/February/2026.</p>	
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See overleaf for conditions	

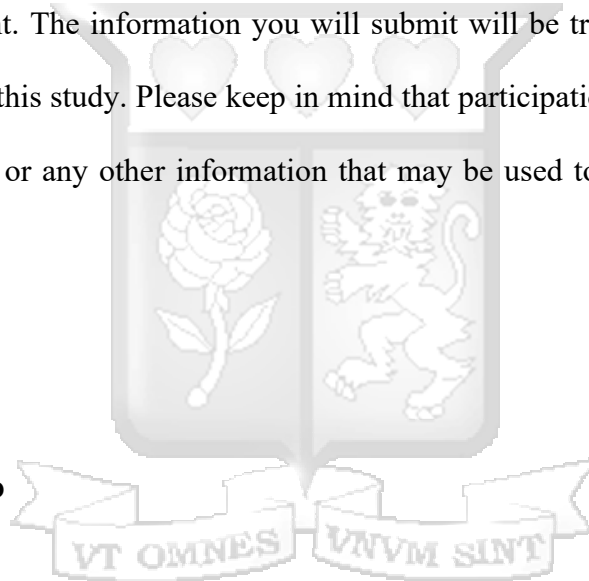
Appendix IV: Letter of Introduction

I am Gekura Samson Tuguro, a student at Strathmore University, pursuing a Master's in Diplomacy, Intelligence and Security (MDIS). I am carrying out a research study entitled: **Electoral Integrity in Kenya's Presidential Elections and Implications on National Security (2002-2022)**. The study's objectives will help assess institutional framework, political culture and foreign interference in Kenya's electoral integrity and national security during presidential elections. These will contribute to a comprehensive understanding of the electoral system and national security in Kenya. I am requesting that you participate in the study by responding to the data-collecting instrument. The information you will submit will be treated with confidentiality and used exclusively for this study. Please keep in mind that participation in this study is entirely optional, and your name or any other information that may be used to identify you will not be included in the study.

Thanks in advance.



Gekura Samson Tuguro



Consent Form for the Participants

Date.....

Electoral Integrity and National Security Survey Form

The purpose of this form is to ask for your consent as a practitioner/policy maker/expert/author in the area of electoral integrity in Kenya's presidential elections and its implications on national security. The information obtained will be confidential and we shall not divulge any personal information. No monetary compensation will be given for responses provided. The study does not foresee any major risks in providing the information and we are not going to ask for any personal information which can easily be traced back to the respondent. Feel free to respond or not to respond to the information requested. The information will be destroyed once the specific data have been aggregated.

Respondent's Consent;

I, hereby agree/ don't agree (tick the appropriate box) that I am giving the feedback freely.

Full name.....

Contact

Signature.....

(In case you have further enquiries, you can reach out to the contact person below, for more information. Contact: *****)

Appendix V: Questionnaire to Political Party Officials

Kindly respond to the questions and tick as appropriate.

Part A: Demographic Characteristics

1. Indicate gender. Male () Female ()
2. What is your level of education? Secondary () Diploma () degree () Post Graduate ()
3. How long have you been an official at the political party? Less than 5 years () 5-10 years () Above 10 years ()

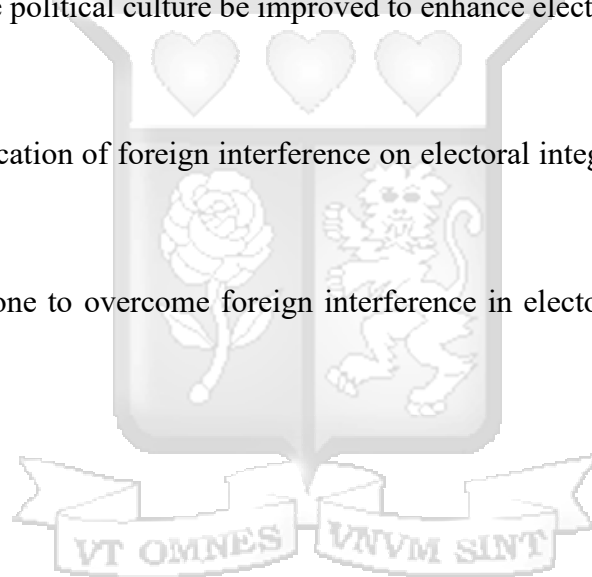
Part B: Institutional Framework

In this section, and the subsequent sections, use the below scale and tick (✓) the score that you agree with most scale: *5=strongly agree, 4= agree, 3=not sure, 2=disagree and 1=strongly disagree*

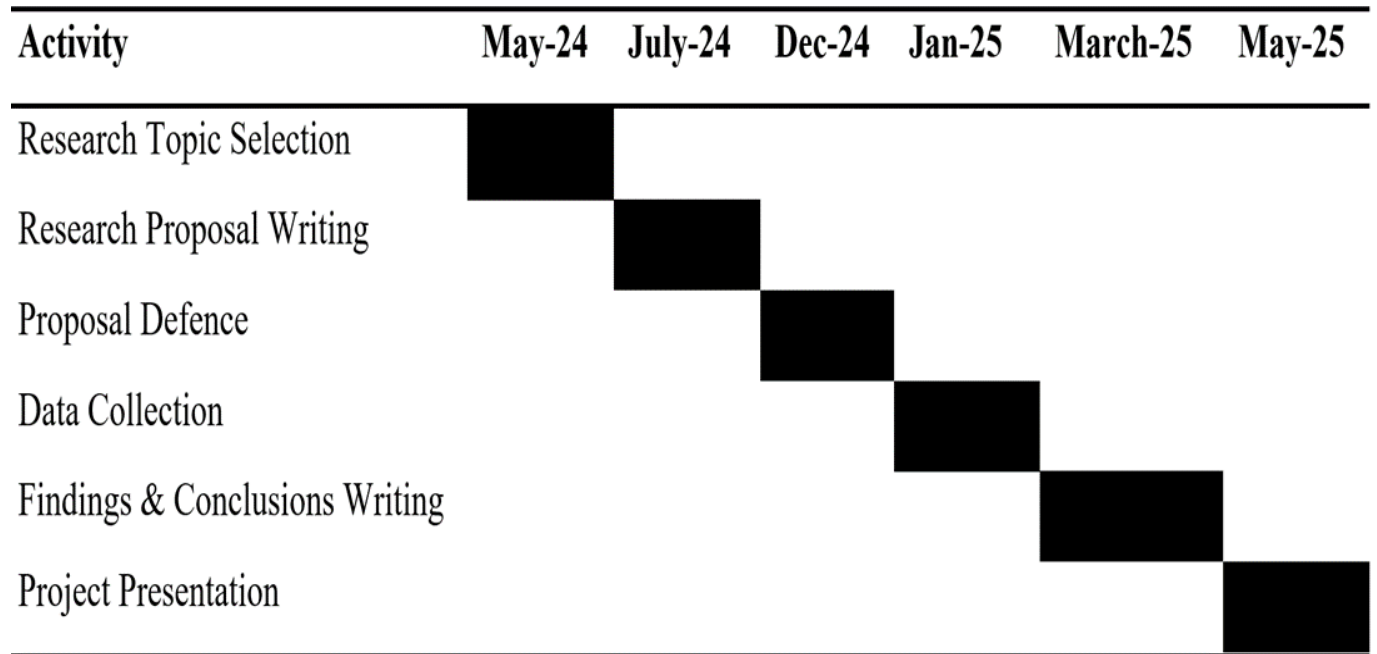
Statement	5	4	3	2	1
Kenya's institutions promote electoral integrity and enhance national security.					
The judicial system contributes to the electoral process and national security.					
Political parties in Kenya promote electoral integrity and national security.					
The Elections Act promotes the integrity of elections and the well-being of citizens.					
The IEBC evaluate the integrity and credibility of the election before the announcement of results.					

Appendix VI: Interview guide for officials from the IEBC, SCOK, KPS and ORPP

1. What is the implication of a flawed electoral process in Kenya's national security?
2. How could the electoral process be enhanced to promote national security?
3. What is the role of institutional framework in promoting electoral integrity and national security in Kenya?
4. What could be done to enhance the institutional framework of elections?
5. How does the political culture influence electoral integrity and national security in Kenya?
6. How can negative political culture be improved to enhance electoral integrity and national security?
7. What is the implication of foreign interference on electoral integrity and national security in Kenya?
8. What could be done to overcome foreign interference in electoral integrity and national security?



Appendix VII: Workplan



Appendix VIII: Budget

Item(s)	Quantity	Rate	Cost (Ksh)
Printing			
Research proposal	3	420	1,260.00
Copies of research project	3	420	1,260.00
Questionnaires	162	50	8,100.00
Binding			
Research proposal binding	3	230	690.00
Research project binding	3	230	690.00
Stationery			
Note book	3	320	960.00
Ball pens	3	35	105.00
Reams	5	1400	7,000.00
Researcher's subsistence	10	9500	95,000.00
Mileage and fares	10	7800	78,000.00
Data analysis	1	20000	20,000.00
TOTAL			213,065.00

