

# UNIVERSITY OF BAGAMOYO



THE EAST AFRICA HUMAN RIGHTS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE FELLOWSHIP

**TITLE:        *THE STUDY OF GRASSROOT SOCIAL MOVEMENT IN KENYA CASE  
STUDY OF: BUNGE LA MWANANCHI (PEOPLE'S PARLIAMENT)***

***BY***

***GACHEKE GACHICHI***

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**CERTIFICATION**

This is to certify that the undersigned has read and hereby recommends for acceptance by the University of Bagamoyo in partnership with Akiba Uhaki a research paper entitled *Study of Grassroot Social Movement in Kenya Case Study of: Bunge La Mwananchi (People's Parliament)*

for the award of The East Africa Human Rights and Social Justice Fellowship

Signature.....

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Signature.....

Date.....

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In the last six months during my continuous research in and study of grass root social movement in Kenya. I have received great assistance and comradely support from Members of Bunge La Mwananchi in documenting the struggle of our Movement, without their comradely solidarity and moral encouragement and intellectual debate; it would not have been possible for me to the research presented in this Paper.

The Social struggle of Bunge La Mwananchi and its social justice campaign has made this work possible, Special thanks to all them.

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The commitment and Passion to finish this work although with great challenges to meet the standard of academic paper is inspiration from the Late Dr. Sengondo Mvungi, who is father of Human rights movement in Republic of Tanzania, and who give us lecture on origin of human rights movement, and his passion to incubate the social justice movement in Bagamoyo university as home for alternative leadership that has made this grassroots based research possible.

Lastly I would like to thank Wangui Kimari for his intellectual support during report writing his contribution is more appreciated.

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATION**

- 1. BML : Bunge la Mwananchi in Kenya**
- 2. MWAKENYA:**
- 3. KANU : Kenya Africa National Union**
- 4. NARC : National Rainbow Coalition**



## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION

#### 1.0. Introduction

There is nothing uniquely to human as the meeting of the ordinary minds whose membership base cuts across different social groups and classes and is plural, diversified by gender, ethnicity, cultures, generations and physical capacities. The people meet for friendly debates regularly in an open space to critically discuss political and socio-economic events. A time comes when ordinary citizens stop complaining and take upon themselves the responsibilities of identifying their problems, coming together for consultative meetings, discussing the problems and proposing solutions.

This chapter will give out an introduction and background of the social movement Bunge la Mwananchi in Kenya (BML). The chapter will lay out main argument that Bunge La Mwananchi emerges out of the various post independence social struggles in Kenya such as the Mwakenya movement that gained prominence in alternative Kenya politics the late 80s until the early 1990s.

#### 1.1. Background of the study and the history of social movement in Kenya

Bunge La Mwananchi social movement established in early 1990s, is a civic and political space for debates and discussion and direct collective political action on social, political and economic issues by ordinary wananchi growing organically in form of organic peoples parliaments from the seeds of earlier social movement resistance, that shaped and organized social struggle in Kenya since the occupation of East Africa and colonial settlement in Kenya between the year 1884 and 1905 as the imperial statue of Her late Majesty queen Victoria statue manifest at Jeevanjee Gardens, which was presented to

town of Nairobi by A.M. Jeevanjee, and unveiled in 1906, by Duke of Connaught as symbol of British imperial expansion and occupation in East Africa and this public space today is original home of the Peoples parliament.

The imperial powers expansion and exploitation was resisted in East Africa by historical grassroots social movements. The first social resistance against the British imperialism was lead by Mekatilili wa menza a Giriama a women spiritual leader who organized uprising against the British colonial settlement which was the first recorded indigenous social resistance in Kenya in early 1900, Mekatilili in her anti-imperialist struggle urged the Giriama people not to cooperate with foreign occupiers, and refuse to pay taxes or work in the colonial settlement plantations, speaking in the peoples assembly( Bunge La Mwananchi) a Giriama African cultural village assembly (kaya) she mobilized and organized social resistance, against British occupation (*history of resistance in Kenya 1884-2002 Maina Wa Kinyatti*).

In 1921, another development on social movement was formation of a social-political organization named the East Africa Association (EAA), to resist and oppose colonial exploitation and it was organized in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania with the help of nascent working class that was evolving in East Africa, during the construction of east African railway. Where the EAA movement advanced the social struggle in opposing colonial occupation, exploitative taxation and forced labor it also formed political alliances with Indian anti-imperialist workers front and Young Baganda Association. In the region, while establishing international constituency for the EAA Movement, that made the movement to be invited to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Pan- African congress that was held in London in 1921, (*Kenyatti :1884-2002. Page 39*) where the EAA Movement

created political contact with Pan- Africans movement in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Pan- African congress that was key in supporting social and political liberation movement in Africa in and highlighting colonial massacre and human rights violations in East Africa region especially in 1922 during a second women lead resistance against forced labour and land occupation in 1922 which was lead Mary Muthoni Nyanjiru Uprising at Central police station in Nairobi during the detention of EAA leaders by British colonial government.

The British imperialism, with its superior weaponry and massacre of African people, using divide and rule tactics was able to enter in the Kenya mainland for the construction of the East African railway and colonial settlement to adverse the interest of British Imperial Company, from port of Mombasa to Lake, Victoria connecting to Buganda land where the British established the Uganda protectorate under British rule, the construction of East Africa railway through Nairobi , gave birth to Nairobi the commercial center which was one of the station of the East Africa railway line during the construction of the railway and hence the birth of Jeevanjee Gardens park set aside as for Indian traders and middle class that was working for East Africa Railway which today is the social-political space that have anchored Bunge la Mwananchi social movement in the terrain of alternative leadership in modern Kenya, and for the last one decade and half Bunge La Mwananchi has established itself as one of the most vocal and visible alternative grassroots social movement in Kenyan grass root politics. From it original base Jeevjee Gardens with daily public debates and moved across the city and the country in establishing more Bunges la Mwananchi chapters and networks.

## **1.2. Statement of the Problem**

In an article published in Pambazuka news, by Leila Van Rinsum, on NGOs and grassroots struggle, (Rinsum 2014) she argues that civil society that embodies Non Governmental Organizations in Kenya is under threat from increasingly repressive regime of Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto, due to being disconnected from the grassroots struggle. Similar to Van Rinsum (2014), I argue that the future of social struggle and democratic change in Kenya will be spearheaded by the grassroots movements such as Bunge La Mwananchi which has inspired this research on the role of grassroots social movement in democratic struggle.

## **1.3. Research Objectives**

### **1.3.1. Broad Objective**

- The study seeks to document and examine the role of Bunge La Mwananchi social movement in struggle for social change in modern Kenya.

### **1.3.2. Specific Objectives**

- To identify and document the contribution of Bunge La Mwananchi social movement towards constitutional and democratic struggle in Kenya.
- To examine challenges facing social movement building in Kenya
- To inquire and improve theory and practice of Bunge La Mwananchi social movement in nurturing alternative political leadership in Kenya.
- To examine and understand challenges facing human rights defenders and social justice activist in building grassroots political movement in Kenya

- To documents the social justice and human rights campaigns conducted by the Bunge La Mwananchi and Unga Revolution movement, and its affiliated community based resource centres.

#### **1.4. Research Question**

- 1.4.1. What are historical origins of Bunge La Mwananchi social movement?
- 1.4.2. How does bunge La Mwananchi mobilize its support during social protest?
- 1.4.3. Who are the people likely to participate in the Bunge La Mwananchi debates and social protest?
- 1.4.4. How does Bunge La Mwananchi frame its message to the masses in Kenya and how does Bunge La Mwananchi relate with other social movements?
- 1.4.5. What are challenges facing social justice and Human rights activist in Kenya
- 1.4.6. How are informal networks are constructed in Bunge La Mwanananchi
- 1.4.7. How is Bunge La Mwananchi human rights and political activities sustainable in creating alternative political leadership in Kenya
- 1.4.8. How is the collective action and collective identities socially constructed by Bunge La Mwananchi activist?

#### **1.5. Significance of the Study**

This study intends to document and improve theory and practices of existing grass root social movement in Kenya. The results of the study shall be used;

- 1.5.1. To evaluate how effectively social movement is contributing to democratic and social change in Kenya

- 1.5.2. Explore the possibilities of development and expanding of community resources centre as another wheel of social movement building and creation of livelihoods to support the movement
- 1.5.3. Have a book published on history of Bunge La Mwananchi social movement and its struggles.

## **1.6. Theoretical Framework**

As argued by Kimari and Rasmussen (2010) who are informed by Gramsci (1973) and other postcolonial scholars who discuss dissent in postcolonial spaces, Bunge la Mwananchi and other similar social movement in Kenya are waged in a counter hegemonic battle against the arbitrary dominance and violence of the Kenyan neo-colonial state. Some of this violence is phenomena such as the extra judicial killings, displacement, illegal arrest and surveillance of human rights defenders amongst others. In this regard, the Peoples Parliament is in diverse and contradictory ways resisting the hegemony of the neo-colonial state. This work on Bunge La Mwananchi ( the Peoples Parliament) is also informed by Mamdani (1999) who argues that civil society is not directly opposed to the state but emerges from within colonial institutions (Mamdani 1999). In this way NGOs reappropriate state and neoliberal mechanisms within their work, requiring that independent social movements such as Bunge La Mwanachi challenge their position.

## **1.7. Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have given a brief history of the context from which anti-colonial struggles emerged, and which later on paved the way for contemporary social movements such as Bunge La Mwananchi (BLM). In addition, I have conveyed the main research questions and objectives which inform this research activity. These questions target the mobilization techniques of BLM, and the objectives fulfill the goal of increased documentation and theorization of grassroots social movements in Kenya.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.0. Introduction

The Chapter goes through the various works that have documented social movements in Kenya and beyond. Therefore I review both literatures on social movements in general, as well as particular Kenyan and Pan-African social movement histories.

#### 2.1. Literature Review on Social Movement in Africa and Kenya

##### 2.1.1. Definition of Social Movement

My literature review start from a working definition of what is social movement from unpublished personal reflection from Willy mutunga 2010 on social movements building in Kenya where he quote Prof. Yash Tandon on definition of social movement that *“a movement is a complex phenomenon, it is dynamic, and it grows and grows as more and more people join the movement (if it makes sense to them, and involves them in its deepening and broadening it) movement is like small small rivecrs joining to form a massive torrent”*. And a another definition about Africa social movements is a book written by Prof.mamdani and Wamba Ndia Wamba on Social Movement and democracy in Africa, where they argue that Africa social movements is complex and broad with strong history of common thread due to the experience of the past oppression and constant social struggle for identity that encompass movement survival .



Social Movement idea as above definition can start with individual and broaden its objective as the ideas get embraced by the people who share a common ideal as it progressively inspire them and build to a collective social political platform.

## **2.2. History of Pan- Africanism Movement and Africa liberation movements**

The historical and ideological roots of Pan-Africanism movement began during the struggle of African people against holocaust of slavery and subsequent scramble for Africa and colonization in early 19<sup>th</sup> century as manifested by history of Bagamoyo and slave trade market. The historical social movement Pan- African Movement its roots is from social justice advocates during slavery and colonialism in Africa with collective identity of Africa as identity of black people who were exploited and enslaved, where there emerged resistance against this oppression and exploitation and social activist constructed a collective political identity under Pan- Africanism.

The Pan African Social Movement emerged as collective social and political platform in advance the struggle of the black people during end slavery and the scramble of Africa, the movement inspired a new Africa independent leaders as Kwame Nkurumah , Mwalimu Julius Nyerere , Amilcar cabral and Agostino Neto and many other with africa independent movements that spearheaded african liberation struggle .

Since 1990s with the introduction of neo- liberal globalization there has emerged civil society literature theory that is limited and biased on history of earlier social movement. This limitation of lack of case studies on social movements and its impact in the struggle of independent Africa movements have created a gap that has obscured the role of Africa historical social movement struggle.

The growing challenge on the lack of literature framing the existing Africa social movement has origin on the above neo-liberal globalization order , that limited the role of social movement in the civic and political spaces , With neo liberalism policies Pan – Africanism and social justice movement was attacked and its social activist demobilized using human rights discourse that embodied the neo-liberal contents which depoliticized the collective political and social economic agenda of mass grassroots social movement in Africa as Pan – Africa movement during the liberation struggle. The neo liberalism paradigm and civil society become the alternative to Africa social movements. Socially constructed collective identities..?

*“Amilcar Cabral has argued that devolvement of class, classes and class conflict...depend on two interdependent valuables, the Level of development of means of production and the system that is used to control the means of the production Cabral unity and struggle ...”*

History of social movement building and challenges is located in earlier anti-colonial resistance movement in Kenya, just as there can't be a revolution without revolutionary theory there cant also be a social movement without theoretical framework that guide the practice and the collective social political action of the movement in the struggle for social justice as agreed by Amilcar and development of class and class contradiction which build to emergence of social movement.

### **2.3. Kenya history of social political movements.**

During the national independent struggle the Mau Mau Movement made a great contribution as social movement that advanced the struggle for social change in Africa,

which enriched and inspired the practice and theoretical struggle of social movement organizing and planning resistance against colonialism in Africa,

Quote...Mamdani....The Peasant and Petty Bourgeois...social movement that emerged during Africa national independence resistance was weakened and destroyed by the British colonial administration through detention of Mau Mau organic intellectual cadres like Bildad Kaggia, and later the mass detention of the Peasant in concentration camps which was bedrock the the Mau Mau Movement resistance against British colonial administration rule. The detention of Mau Mau intellectual cadres and the peasants arrested the growth of the movement and prevented building of a formidable grassroots nationwide resistance movement with political and ideological clarity to capture political power and dismantle the British neo-colonial state that is today the political and economic character of oppressive Kenya the state.

#### **2.4. Literature Gap**

The literature about social movement studies in Africa is limited and the role of grassroots social movement and its impact in expanding democratic struggle is not well documented in Kenya which gives challenge in research on study of grass root social movement in Kenya.

## **2.5. Conclusion**

In this chapter I have reviewed the literature on social movements in Kenya and beyond. In addition, I have grounded the particular histories of Kenyan and Pan-African social movements. I have also indicated the gaps in this literature, such as the absence of more detailed studies of grassroots social movements and their important role in the post independence democratic struggles.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOGY**

#### **3.0. Introduction**

The chapter describes the methodology that was used within this research on Bunge La Mwananchi. It highlights the key conceptual tools that are necessary for researching social movements.

#### **3.1. Research design and Methodology**

##### **3.1.1 Research design**

The Study will apply case study desing because its has been found suitable to examine a specific phenomenon, It will help the researcher to obtain in-depth and rich data from informants because it involves analysis of characteristics of individuals unit so as to probe deeply and analyses intensively the multiple phenomena that constitute the life of the unit (Yin 1984) finds case study suitable for situations where it is impossible to separate the phenomenon variables from the context.

##### **3.1.2. Research Methodology**

Qualitative methodology will be major approach because of the nature of the study that needs inpretation rather than hypothesis testing it will allow a room for the research to explore discover and seek inner meaning to get new perspective. (Kothari) 2004 maintains that qualitative methodology put emphasis on the qualities , process and meaning that cannot be experimentally examined , moreover some qualitative analysis will be included

in the study because the design allow qualitative and Quantitative data

Will use Participatory action research as active member of Bunge La Mwananchi and data collection through recording, I Will use a qualitative research strategy by interviewing social activist within Bunge la Mwananchi and other grassroots social movement my qualitative study will draw on participant observation as a member of grassroots social movement I will record and participate in the Bunge la Mwananchi collective action movement, my qualitative study will draw on participant observation as a member of grassroots social movement I will record and participate in the Bunge la Mwananchi collective action in debates and direct Action.

### **3.2. The area of Study**

This study will be conducted at the following regions Nakuru , Nairobi Kisumu and Mombasa , these area is chosen specifically because Bunge La Mwananchi has well established active Bunge chapters across this areas and the study will focus on these areas to document , inform and show the role of the social movement in Kenya within the participatory action reasech with debates and direct political action that will be conducted by Bunge La Mwananchi in process of understanding how collective identity is constructed and negotiated socially and politically in the movement.

Another area of study will be on the Makueni county and Siaya County where two members of bunge la Mwananchi were elected in 2013 general election as county assembly representative in the county government.

### **3.3. The Target population**

Bunge La Mwananchi Leadership at Jeevanjee Gardens in Nairobi and Bunge La Mwananchi chapter in Mombasa ,Nakuru and Kisumu, where there are active Bunge chapters grassroots and community leaders.

Member of parliament and four county assembly representative elected in 2013 election who political origin is from Bunge la Mwananchi Social movement

The study will also target human rights defenders and social justice activist who organize under the movement in this area.

The study shall also target ordinary members of the social movement who are regular visitor in the Bunge La Mwananchi and attend its political debates and social protest who are potential recruit members of the movement

Another target population will be Human rights organization and Government agencies and media houses that organize civic education and public participation social political program with Bunge La Mwananchi movement

### **3.4. Data Collection Methods and instruments.**

#### **3.4.1. Bunge la Mwananchi reference Group Discussion**

I will conduct a focused group discussions with Bunge la Mwananchi and unga revolution grass root leaders to help in collecting information and documenting the history of the social movement (Kothari, 2004). Inform that focus groups are used for generating information on collective views, which collective action and collective form of leadership

is what characterizes the leadership of Bunge La Mwananchi and Unga revolution social movements, in shaping and negotiating the movement's social and political identity

In this study Bunge La Mwananchi focus group discussion will be used also to gather the information concerning the perception and attitude members of Bunge La Mwananchi have on the role civil society main stream human rights organization and its relation with the said civil society organization in the struggle for social justice and human rights campaigns that is conducted by Bunge La Mwananchi social movement. This will also focus on the knowledge and perception the members have with the government and civil society organizations on struggle for social justice and human rights campaign conducted by the grass root social movements

#### **3.4.2. Interviews**

Structured interviews of the members of Bunge La Mwananchi and human rights activist, elected county assembly representative from the movement in will be applied as also structured questionnaires will be used as a technique of data collection from human rights activist in the movement to generate information needed in the study of the social movement and its history Questions shall target to establish the role the Bunge La Mwananchi social Movement and its impact in defending human rights and challenges facing the human rights defenders in the social movement building in Kenya

#### **3.4.3. Documentary Review**

The research shall review documented history of bunge la Mwananchi social movement and TV and newspaper reports, human rights organization reports on the movements,



Courts cases that bunge la Mwananchi are involved in, written articles and journal on the movement

#### **3.4.4. Observation and fields Visit**

In the process of participatory action research shall make field visits to observe and participate in Bunge La Mwananchi debates and discussion in various chapters in Nakuru, Mombasa and Nairobi and Kisumu. Also participate in Bunge la Mwananchi collective planning action on its political activities in the 4 months of the research.

### **3.5. DATA ANALYSIS**

#### **3.5.1. Data Processing:**

Timely data processing shall be done. Data shall be summarized, edited and reviewed to check accuracy. Data will be edited so as to detect errors and omissions and hence make analysis on the recorded and history of the movement.

#### **3.5.2. Data Analysis**

Data analysis refers to the explanation of the information that been gathered in interview and making deductions and inferences. Qualitative and quantitative techniques shall be used to analyze data obtained by using questionnaires. The questionnaires shall specifically cover ordinary members of the movement and Human rights activist in the community members. The process shall employ descriptive and methods to analyze the human rights campaigns and its impact in democratic change in Kenya.

### **3.5.3. Presentation of Results**

The results shall be processed, analyzed and presented using narrative statements, and publishing a booklet on the history of Bunge La Mwananchi social Movement” *The Struggle of grass root movement in Kenya.*

### **3.5.4. Contribution of the study.**

The study is going to contribute on knowledge about social movement building in Kenya and the its impact in democratic change the study will also help to improve the theory and practice of the social movements organizing and inform the future struggle of the grass root social movements.

### **3.6. Conclusion**

The chapter described the methodology that was used within this research on Bunge La Mwananchi. It highlights the key conceptual tools that are necessary for researching social movements. Furthermore it conveys who the target population is and political geographical space.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

#### 4.0. Introduction

This chapter connects interview data with the literature review. Essentially this chapter ground the interview and the literature on social movements and discuss their connections. Furthermore, where there are gaps in the literature review, interview findings can expand and add to the literature on social movements in Kenya and beyond.

#### 4.1. Discussion of the findings

Social movement's collective action emerge in response to situations of inequality, oppression as happened in Kenya during the president's Moi dictatorship regime that had limited the social, political, economic and cultural life of people. Where underground social movement Mwakenya emerged and set to organise a political constituents pursuing a common agenda of social change (*Batliwala 2012:3*).

As part of my research methodology I engaged in semi structured interviews. In addition, I am also informed by my own personal activism within BLM. My own experience and from the interviews with comrades I have seen that, a society that does not have social movement is society that has deficit in democracy, The Interview findings and my personal observation, the organic debates of Peoples Parliament became popular in early 1990s with remnants of underground social movement( MWAKENYA, When the first and second multi-party elections and neo-liberal civil society failed to deliver on social liberation project. As Interview with David Khasa Marakaru Indicate the Moi regime afraid of the social mobilising power of the street public debates, the ruling regime infiltrated group of Kafiri movement at Agha Khan walk and sponsored inside rebellion

which led to the movement splitting. Bunge members relocated to the Jeevanje Gardens, a park with a history of democratic struggle in Kenya.



***JEEVANJEE GARDENS BUNGE BASE***

In 1990, the Late Nobel Laureate Prof. Waangari Maathai who was leader of Green Belt Movement and Friends of Jeevanjee Association had stopped the Park from being grabbed by the KANU regime which was planning to use it to build a car park. At that time, the park was a home to many street families and was associated with criminal activities with many cases of mugging and rape being witnessed. Islamic and Christian preachers also pitched tent in the park especially over the lunch hour. Over time Jeevanjee Gardens was transformed by Bunge la Mwananchi debates as members of Kafiri movement merged with other members of lumpen proletariats, street families, rehabilitated muggers and members of Jeshi la Mzee making a home in one corner of the park under a tree shade, where the seeds of social movement Bunge La Mwananchi evolved, and constructed a collective identity through a shared class and identity of lumpen proletariats.

#### 4.2. Building the Movement and Human rights campaigns

The coming to power of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) regime in the year 2003 and the opening of democratic freedoms helped the debates at Jeevanjee Gardens to organize better and have quality debates. This attracted the attention of local media houses such as *Citizen Television* station and *Radio Simba* began covering topical debates from Jeevanjee Gardens. This helped popularize the movement as a new alternative from the mainstream civil society and political parties. Bunge La Mwananchi's platform was in touch with people's politics in a localized platform that was participatory and within reach of ordinary Mwananachi. This differed with the corrupt and ideologically bankrupt political parties that were organized around tribal patronage, personality cult and distanced themselves from the masses. This distance was further pronounced by having most the political offices are located with middle class areas which are not easily accessible by the masses.



***BUNGE WOMEN MEETING KIAMAIKO***

With increase in media coverage of the debates at the Jeevanjee Gardens, the movement expanded organically by establishing Bunge La Mwananchi chapters within the Nairobi

environs including Mathare, Kibera, Githurai in Kasarani constituency and Huruma Kiamiko village in Starehe Constituency. At the Huruma Kiamiko village, Bunge La Mwananchi cadres organized community based assemblies called Starehe Mwananchi Congress to open space for community participation in political, social economic debates. This forum was particularly important in helping the community to discuss the challenges that members were confronted with after the 2008 post-election violence and their daily struggle to access livelihoods under difficult conditions of extreme poverty in slums. The Starehe Mwananchi Congress in Kiamiko ward created the seeds of formation of Bunge La Mwananchi in Kiamiko and a Women Base at and Ghetto Village where Chief Justice Dr. Willy Mutunga had the opportunity to visit and participate in one the debates. This particular grouping with the assistance of key community organizers, young women, and youth in slums has advanced the struggle to build the movement to new heights.



### *Right to food campaign*

It has brought on board new skills in grassroots political and social mobilization; the ability to conduct social audits; and civic education to build Social Movement (Interview: Ruth Mumbi, Emily Kwaboka ).

#### **4.3. Conclusion**

In this chapter I have sought to summarize the experiences of being in a grassroots social movement. These experiences are both personal and from ongoing documentation from Bunge la Mwananchi members as a part of documenting our history of social struggle. In these interviews and my own personal experience, I have found that social movements must be understood on its terms and the challenges that the movement is confronting.

Building social movement is a struggle of every day and it involves commitment and sacrifices for individuals in collective to share and shape the vision of the movement.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### RECOMENDATION AND CONCLUSION

#### 5.0. Introduction

This chapter concludes the entire work in progress and I will build on this foundation,

#### 5.1. Recommendations

5.1.1. My main goal in the paper was to argue ssimilar to Van Rinsum (2014), that the future of social struggle and democratic change in Kenya will be spearheaded by the grassroots movements such as Bunge La Mwananchi which has inspired this research on the role of grassroots social movement in democratic struggle. I have discussed this by giving the history of social movements and indicating the importance of Bunge La Mwananchi in the national struggle for democracy

5.1.2. That the research on grass root movements in Kenya is work on progress and the scope of this fellowship is limited to capture the history and level of development of social movement in Kenya to help answer the question that relate with the movement

#### 5.2. Conclusion

There should be increased documentation and theorization of grassroots social movements. These movements are often neglected in favour of civil society of NGOs which are not an embodiment of the actual grass root struggle. Furthermore, I recommend that for to help build democratic instution in Kenya social movement are key in implementing the constitution and hence the need to develop tools and strategy in building social movements as social political instruments for peoples in advancing democratic



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