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DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION

DETERMINANTS OF VOTING BEHAVIOR AMONG THE YOUTH IN

KAJIADO COUNTY, KENYA

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Declaration:

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

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Supervisor:

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

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to my husband, Samuel I Kigamba who believes in self-reliance and finding solutions to our problems. It is also dedicated to the youth in Kenya who seek better governance.
Acknowledgement

This research work would not have been possible without the support of my family. I take this opportunity to thank them for their contribution in ensuring I had all the necessary school requirements and beyond that for their encouragement when the going was tough. Special thanks to my caring and supportive husband whose encouragement and sacrifice has enabled me to complete this journey.

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Abstract

Voting behavior has been a factor of interest in political science studies. With the youth making the largest percentage of the population and registered voters in Kenya and the world, they still remain underrepresented in leadership spheres and their participation in governance is minimal. This study sought to understand their voting behavior considering how cultural factors, ethnicity, intergenerational factors, political ideologies and legal literacy determined voting behavior of the youth in Kajiado County, Kenya. Kajiado county has a demography with a high population of youth and is inhabited by various ethnic communities. The study considered how eligible youth voters decided on their choices on various aspects in the county. The study identified the extent of the influence the determinants had on voting behavior among the youth in Kajiado county. The researcher purposefully sampled Kajiado county by targeting the youth in Universities and Technical and Vocational Education Training (TVET) Institutions in the County. The research sampled one hundred (100) youth registered as voters in Kajiado county. A Questionnaire was used to collect quantitative and qualitative data by including closed and open-ended questions. The quantitative data collected was analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) while the qualitative data was analyzed using thematic analysis. The findings were presented in form of tables, percentages and bar charts. The researcher adhered to ethical provisions of the study and ensured the respondents were aware of their rights and that the data collected was only used for the study. The findings revealed that the youth in Kajiado county were to an extent influenced by culture in their voting patterns. The patriarchal nature of the communities in the county determined voting behavior in that mostly men were voted in. The level of literacy influenced voting behavior whereby, those in leadership and literate had a great influence on the choices made by the less literate. It also emerged that the youth would like a generational change in leadership with preference for young leaders. They however did not trust the electoral process and management. On the basis of these findings, the research recommended increased dialogue and leadership training programs for the youth. In addition, favorable terms for party membership entry and participation for youth including, transparent and inclusive nomination principles. Efforts to reclaim credibility of the electoral system and process should be made by the government and IEBC through proper implementation of laws and civic education. Facilitation of inter-cultural interaction, festivals and inter-marriage to counter negative ethnicity.
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Operational Definition of Terms

Cultural Factor- The set of beliefs, moral values, traditions, language, and regulations held in common by a nation, a community, or other defined group of people.

Ethnicity- The state of belonging to a social group that has a common cultural tradition.

Intergenerational factors- Aspects that occur between different generations. They can be intentionally transmitted through learning or can be acquired by association. The generations refer to family relationships including parents to children, grandparents to grandchildren and different age-group relation.

Legal literacy- Knowledge and information on the Laws and regulations which must be adhered to or complied with, before during and after elections.

Policies- A course or principle of action adopted or proposed by the government to address a problem in the society.

Political Ideologies- Political ideologies are certain set of political opinions, principles, doctrines, myths or symbols of an individual, a social movement, institution, class or large group that explains how society should work. They include Capitalism, communism, socialism, and Marxism.

Voter turnout- The percentage of eligible voters who cast a ballot in an election as compared to the registered number.

Voting Behavior- The manner in which eligible voters are able to express their approval or otherwise of public choices especially on government, leadership and policy.

Voting Trends- Emergent or ongoing patterns of voter turnout including voter apathy.

Youth- A person aged between 18 and 35 years who is eligible to vote as per the Kenyan Laws and regulations.
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1.0. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the study

As at 2015, the world’s population stood at 7 billion people with the figure expected to balloon to nearly 8 billion in 2018. Of this population 14% consist of the youth (FAO, 2015). The population of the youth in Kenya is among the highest in the world (Business Daily, 2017). This continued growth in population of the youth has led to several challenges of limited opportunities for employment, poor pay and limited entrepreneurial ventures (FAO, 2014). In Kenya, the demographics are no exception, the youth constitute the largest proportion of the population. They however tend to be marginalized and underrepresented in leadership spheres (Mutuku 2009).

There are various definition of the composition and age bracket that constitute the youth (The Youth Congress 2015). In Kenya, Article 260 of Kenya’s Constitution the youth who are between the age of 18 and 34 (Constitution of Kenya, 2010) constitute the largest sector of Kenya’s population as per the 2009 country census. The youth consisted of 36.2% of the total population (United nations Populations (UNFPA), 2013). With this majority however, their representation in the formal institutions of the government, the state as well as the newly devolved units within the counties is minimal. So is their involvement in political parties and thus the need to empower them for better involvement as opposed to using them as just a means to an end every five year that the electoral cycle comes through. With their increased involvement in the process, it would be expected that they would positively impact the government and governance in the country.
Moreover, the youth are rarely actively involved in active politics nor do they have permanent party standings. While the levels of civil engagements such as civil education could be attributed to the low participation, more on the same needs to be investigated. The strength and modes of participation are pertinent variables in political scrutiny (Robertson, 2009). Humans’ voting conduct is an essential feature and a gateway of understanding the willingness of respondents. In democratic and egalitarian societies, voting is a significant instrument providing opportunities to the respondents to become vibrant citizens instead of inactive subjects.

To recognize on what grounds one candidate wins or loses an election; can only be understood by identifying voting behavior. Sociologists have long focused on the affiliation of individuals with their own ethnic group, social background as the key determinants of voting behavior while political scientist in the past have argued on the influence of party membership and voting conduct.

Eldersveld, (1951) in his article “Theory and Method in Voting Behavior Research” define the term “voting behavior” as an area of study that scrutinizes the political phenomena that has been ignored for quite some time. While it investigates records and statistics of votes, it also considers the computation of electoral swings and shifts. Moreover, it considers the analysis of the individual voter’s psychological process which relates to the emotions, motivation and perceptions of the voters. All this is related to the political actions, institutional patterns and the impact on election and the process of communication.

On their part Biea and Bratucu (2016) describe voting behavior as a study field that is concerned with how people vote in a public election and the reasoning behind this. This part of the definition
has been expanded to look into the human political behavior while in the context of public electoral voting. The study seeks to examine the human mind in relation to the political process of voting and thus constitute an integral part of political science theory which political scientist seek to qualitatively and systematically test and measure.

Several factors on voting behavior have been highly researched on. The youth have been found to vote along the same lines as their parents as Rundio (2008) concluded, parental political influence is high on the youth with them voting on the same line as their parents. In this case, if the parents are American Republicans, their children are more likely to vote on the same line. This thus tunes to the direction of party affiliations as some of the strong factors that could be guiding the voting behavior of the youth only that it is highly influenced by the parents’ party affiliations.

Bennett (1997) associated the voting behaviors of the youth to the low trust levels that the United States youths have on the politicians. This thus calls for the politicians’ direct appeal to the youth to increase their likelihood of getting votes from the youth. This led to candidates having to struggle to directly appeal to potential youth voters, as was the case with former President Bill Clinton, who appeared on a television show in an effort to appeal to the young voters (Ifill. 1992).

Sherrod, (2003) also noted that the involvement of the youth in civic affairs is more likely to influence the youth’s involvement in the electoral process. This is more so when the youth become involved in civic engagements while at a lower age, grooming them to become civically active adults. While this may start from the lower ages such as during the high school age, there is no assurance that the same will continue with time to their adulthood. This balancing act
becomes delicate as even the previous studies have not identified a clear line of what exactly affects the youth engagement in the electoral process or one that could explain their voting behavior.

Universal suffrage which entails the ability of all eligible adults to vote has also contributed significantly to shaping voting behavior in the world and in Africa. The fact that voting was only allowed based on particular social aspects per region has influenced voting conduct. There was a time when only affluent males could vote. This later moved to include other males but not females. Eventually, women acquired the rights to vote although there are places where this is yet to be fully functional, (Miller, 2008).

Kajiado County is a county within the former Rift Valley Province of Kenya with a population of 687,312 as per the 2009 country census. It borders the larger Nairobi County and the Republic of Tanzania to the south. The county has its capital in Kajiado town. Kajiado county is highly reliant on wildlife tourism although other income generating activities are practiced; like agriculture and trading. Its proximity to the capital Nairobi and the stretching to the Tanzanian boarder makes the county unique. Kajiado county is populated by diverse ethnic groups which mainly include the Maasai, Nandi, Kisii and Kikuyu and factions of other tribes who have over time moved into this county due to varying reasons. It has a high percentage of youth in its demographic composition. It is these unique characteristics of the county that attracts the interest of this study (The County Government of Kajiado, 2017).
1.2. Statement of the Problem

While studies have shown the role of the youth as a dynamic portion of the Kenyan population, there are several challenges that could be hindering them to be actively involved in political participation and the building of democracy in Kenya (Njonjo, 2010).

The Kenya youth policy is reviewed every now and then. The government sought to address the issues that affected the youth in Kenya. The progress on the achievements of the same have been slow and focused more towards social economic activities. Representation of the youth in parliament and sound engagement in civic activities had not been consistent and progressive despite the numbers they command (Republic of Kenya, 2006); (Constitution of Kenya, 2010). There has been significant effort on the part of the government to address challenges faced by the youth by use of the youth policy and building up on it through the creation of the National youth council and further, the youth strategic plan 2007-2012. The consistent allocation of development funds to the youth and lack of equal change among the youth could be addressed in a multi-faceted approach including civic involvement and empowerment which was not well addressed.

The study on how the youths vote has been a point interest for political scientists as notes Armstrong (2008). On his side, Bennett, (1997) felt that the youth were left out in politics and less engaged. He noted that in 1972 in the United States, the youths who had just attained the legal voting age of 18 were expected to show up in large numbers and vote in the elections. They were expected to have been affected by the policies in place especially the Vietnam war which would push them to change the existing policies. They however, to the surprise of many scientist,
showed up the lowest turnout. This brought out the idea of disinterest in politics among the youths and the generation.

Moreover, the other challenge that the electoral cycle in Kenya faced was voter apathy and political alienation. Voter apathy which is the perceived decline in interest or caring among the voters is characterized by lower than normal voter turnout (Kelley, Phillips & Blackman, 1977) had been the characteristic case in Kenya. The worst case was in the October 2017 repeat presidential election which saw a turnout of less than 34%, (BBC, 2017). Political alienation may also have played part in the repeat election where a section of the voters felt discriminated against by the current political system, (Shannon, 2011). Such could have been the case with the Kenyan youth where some could feel underrepresented as argued out by Glasberg & Shannon, (2010) on their case on political alienation where the victims feel that their interest and concerns are not put into consideration. The Kenyan youth could have had the same feeling.

Their major involvement in the electoral process would be unmistaken and unavoidable during the campaign period. They formed majority of the people who were actively involved in the campaign process. Makori (2015) noted other major events that the youths were instrumental in was during the 2007 Kenyan post-election violence as well as the 2010 promulgation of the New Constitution 2010. Muhula (2009) noted that the participation of the Kenyan youth was central to all the violence that happened. They may not have been as participative in the electoral process as they were in the violence, one cannot therefore ignore their involvement in the whole process.

This study sought to conduct an inquiry on the voting behavior of the youth in close analysis. The researcher believed that the youth constituted a very important role in the whole economy
of the country. Voting was a means through which the citizens express their opinion on the kind of leadership they want till the next electoral cycle. This study sought to understand why the youths voted the way they did in Kajiado County. It sought to determine since ethnic, cultural, integrational, political ideologies and legal aspects were some of the factors that determine individual’s voting behaviors, to what extent if any did these factors influence the youth of Kajiado County.

1.3. Objectives of the study

The researcher was guided by the following objectives:
1. To examine how cultural factors, determine voting behavior among youth in Kajiado County.
2. To establish how ethnicity, determine voting behavior among the youth in Kajiado County.
3. To establish how intergenerational factors, determine voting behavior among the youth in Kajiado County.
4. To establish how political ideologies, determine voting behavior among the youth in Kajiado County.
5. To examine how legal literacy, determine voting behavior among the youth in Kajiado County.

1.4. Research Questions

The following research questions were used to guide the study:
1. How did cultural factors determine voting behavior among youth in Kajiado County?
2. How did ethnicity determine voting behavior among the youth in Kajiado County?
3. How did intergenerational factors determine voting behavior among the youth in Kajiado County?
4. How did political ideologies determine voting behavior among the youth in Kajiado County?
5. How did legal literacy determine voting behavior among the youth in Kajiado County?
1.5. Justification and Significance

The youth in Kenya form the largest part of the population as such, the study aimed to assess the extent to which voting behavior of the youth in Kajiado county, Kenya was determined by cultural factors, ethnicity, political ideologies, intergenerational factors and legal literacy. The information obtained from the research would lead to a better understanding of the aspects that most influence voting behavior of the youth and therefore provide informed ground to address the needs of the youth.

The findings of this study will be of value to various parties which include: the government and other policy makers, the management of several bodies that are involved in the electoral process such as the funding bodies, most importantly to the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) and the existing literature.

This study will thus act a guide to the stakeholder in the electoral process to assist in the management of the electoral process. It will start by identifying the key factors that affects the youth voting behavior with an aim working on the factor to increase their involvement in the electoral process.

To the scholars it will shed more light on the youths’ voting behavior adding more resources to the existing materials on it. The scholars will be able to understand the unique behaviors that guide a Kenyan youth. Every election cycle, there is a reported increase in the voter turnout in the Kenyan parliamentary elections since the multiparty elections. This can be noted from the increased recorded from 58.84% in 1992 to 85.91% in 2013. While there was notable decrease in the turnout in 2002, the total number votes cast in the elections increased (International
Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2015). Such increase in the voter numbers and turnout is expected to be reflection of the increase in the youths’ turnout.

Further, this study will help in coming up with measures that can be taken to assist in the management of local electoral process, owing to the unique nature of the county of study, it expected that peculiar habits are likely to be identified in through this research that are specifically unique to Kajiado county. This study will act as a guide from the lessons obtained here to guide the next electoral process. Specific recommendations can be employed by the county IEBC head to increase the level of youth involvement in the process.

1.6. Scope and Limitations

This study narrowed its scope to determining the factors that influenced the voting behaviors of the youth in Kajiado county. It did not look at the whole country in general but was limited to Kajiado county. This was guided by the diversity among Kenyan communities in the county. Understandably, it was difficult for the researcher to obtain data from all over the county owing to its extensive size but with relatively sparse population. However, the study sought to obtain data that will be highly representative of the county.
2.0 CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction - Review of Related Literature

This chapter presents a review of related literature, the theoretical framework and the conceptual framework related to the factors affecting voting behavior. The chapter also discusses the gap in knowledge that makes it necessary for this study to be carried out. The conceptual framework is presented to show the relationship between the variables.

2.1.1 Voting behavior

Hazarika (2015) explains that “voting” is a term used in contemporary democratic politics and this practice has had increasing popularity in democratic theory and practice to become a household name. This he explains has become the way through which adult citizens are able to express their approval or otherwise of the government’s decision, programs and policies. Through this process also various individuals seek to obtain the status of being representatives of the people. On the other hand, Malkopoulou (2016) explain that through voting, individual citizens make a choice of government and its policies, developing or maintaining allegiance or disaffection to a constitutional regime, expresses their emotions and to some people it’s both emotionally or politically insignificant.

Voting behavior is studied as a whole looking at the electoral behavior with the aim of understanding and trying to explain why individuals and public decision makers behave the way they do while exercising their voting right and responsibility. This is a key area of concern for the electorate, political scientists as well as the other stakeholders in the electoral process. Voting
behavior is studied from both the political science as well as the human psychology point of view which has brought up the idea of political psychology in an attempt to understand these political behaviors (Cottam, 2010).

In the 1940s to 1960s, most of the electorate were strict followers of specific political parties in the United States and many other parts of the world. They were strict followers of the party ideologies with party loyalty being correspondent to the social class, but this changed strongly in the 1970s, and since then the change is quite notable (BBC Bitesize, n.d.). several factors have changed over time, and different parts of the world have seen this. Before the election of Donald Trump as the 45th President of the United States, Michelson, (2005) had expressed concern of his ticket and the various factors that probably would work against his ascend to not even his presidency but his run for the Republican ticket. He would later go against all these odd and the poorly rating opinion polls to become the president of United States.

Looking at the African region, the behavior has had its fair share of changes. Political analysts and strategist can no longer consider the older methods and expect them to work today. South Africa and Zimbabwe are looking forward to new heads of state after the resignation occasioned by the public pressure of the heads of states (Mahr, & Sieff, 2018). With 2017 having had several elections in Africa, one could have expected a change at the helm of the government of Rwanda, but Paul Kagame won with over 98% (BBC, 2017) while Liberia saw Africa’s first female President leave the office for the 51-year-old former footballer George Weah. George Weah was running against a more seasoned politician 73-year-old Joseph Boakai (Al Jazeera, 2017). Perhaps an indication of the changes in voting behavior was the notable low voter turn-out during the runoff election which was delayed by electoral petition by the third candidate.
The 2013 Kenyan elections elicited mixed reactions from the local voter with the process and the results ending up at the Kenyan Supreme court and an affirmation of Uhuru Kenyatta’s win by the Country’s Supreme Court. Data obtained after the election showed that there were two central themes in the 2013 election: electoral process credibility and the individual voter’s choice. The respondents who voted for Raila Odinga associated him more with the fight against corruption, constitutional implementation and employment while those who voted for Uhuru Kenyatta resonated more with security and the International Criminal Court (ICC) process, (Ferree, Gibson, & Long, 2014). This process was then followed by an equally unique 2017 election. With the Supreme court nullifying the August election, the September election saw less than 40% voter turnout with the larger Nyanza region having not participated in the repeat election following the opposition’s call for an electoral boycott (BBC, 2017). Such unique behavior of the average Kenyan voter where a country can have one region with zero voter turnout, while the other had over 90% in the same election motivates this study.

Man is a social being and is at the center of the voting process. His behavior, while voting is affected by various factors and this study looked at the voting behavior as the dependent variable of several factors. The factors which included cultural factors, intergenerational factors, ethnicity, political ideologies and legal factors are investigated in detail to understand how these factors affect individual’s voting behavior. It is during this period that several records have been set in countries such as the United States has had a Black native president, Barrack Obama and then followed by another highly controversial and rather native White-American-conservative Donald Trump. Austria in 2017 saw its youngest Chancellor Sebastian Kurz assume office.
2.1.2. Cultural factors and voting behavior among the youth

Voters are influenced by various cultural factors which include occupation, education, gender, religion, geography family amongst other psychological factors that relate to their cultural association. Cultural factor refers to those factors that relate to the voters personal or their group affiliations qualities and can influence an individual’s voting behavior. In the United States, for example, higher income individual, individuals with high levels of education, Protestants, and voters above 30 years generally tend to vote Republican. Democrats, on the other hand, are mostly voted in more by women, Latin-Americans, Catholics and Jews, and the African Americans (Volkomer, 2013).

Geography is also known to be a major influence on the voting patterns. In the US for example, Southerner used to vote more like Democrats, but with time this has shifted to more of a Republican wing. City dwellers are known to vote for Democrats while the rural and suburbs voters favor Republicans (Mckee & Shaw, 2003). These claustral geographical voting blocks are made up of people who share a common social and cultural background. It’s the effect of these background at play when most of the people from the same background end up voting in a similar manner. The Obama election is reported to have had the highest number of minorities voting in the US (Kinder, & Dale-Riddle, 2012). one major driving force to this kind of voting relates to the social economic and social-cultural factors.

The voting process is a long and gradual process that starts with the voter registration. For an individual to take part in this whole process, one or several motivations must come into play. Straits, (1990) notes that the eagerness with the voting process cannot be easily explained economically but rather the best way would be to consider the social-economic characteristics
where the social environment plays a major role in determining the voting behavior. This social aspect of voting is what places the burden and responsibility of the government that is in place to social responsibility and agreement with the voters. The voters, therefore, feel that their leaders owe them service delivery for they choose them over the competitors (Keefer & Khemani, 2005).

Religion has equally not been left behind. In Kenya, over the past, the mainstream churches and the Islam have been used to hosting social services through their expansive networks. This method has been known to cut across age, class, ethnic backgrounds and localities to reach the voter with the aim of socializing Kenyans into some political ideas. Such infrastructural use has been the backbone of the democratization process (Pattie & Johnston, 2000:42; Haynes, 2005; Mantilla, 2010). Cultural background has equally been a principle basis of the voting process in Kenya notes Bratton, Bhavnani & Chen (2011). An ideology of voters and leader reciprocity they note has driven voters to hind behind their cultural beliefs. It’s no surprise therefore when cultural leaders are approached by individuals seeking political offices for their backing. With the country still hanging on some cultural leadership, the words of these leaders in some areas of the country are almost final.

One would not investigate the social-cultural aspect without considering the effect of gender, and more so women and their participation in the political process and their voting behavior. The women have been highly empowered by the Kenyan 2010 Constitution and the laws that followed. Although various elective posts are yet to achieve the two thirds single gender maximum, the women have increasingly gotten more political posts. Gone are the days when as per Dower (1982) one would only communicate through men. While culture is still pulling back the women participation in the electoral process, significant steps have been made in the right
direction. Their primary roles are mothers, and the domestic responsibilities are however still pulling them behind (Simbine, 2006).

2.1.3. Intergenerational factors

Muna, Stanton and Mwau, (2014) notes that for a long-time politics and political leadership have been left for the older generation. Most of the political leaders in the continent have been reasonably old with the continent being home to some of the eldest and longest serving president in the world. The issue of kingship and social structures were identified by Whyte, Alber & van der Geest (2008) as some of the defining elements of economic, social and even political realities in the continent. There has however been effort to have the young generations take up leadership role in the country and Kenya has been no exception.

Children are known to take after their parents on several aspects and their political attitudes and behaviors are no exceptions. Studies have shown parent-offspring’s correlations on their political orientation as well as the party identification and association (Jennings, Stoker & Bowers 2009) Plutzer (2002); Jennings et al (2009) were also able to relate and report significant intergenerational transmission of political participation as well as voter turnout while undertaking their studies. There have been several interesting studies which have tried to understand the human behavior relating to voting and the intergenerational characteristics of individuals. There have been two explanations relating to the transmission of the human characteristics.

The first is the perceptual pathway (Westholm 1999) which operates whenever parents directly transfer values to their children through processes such as imitation and education. The second
is the social-milieu pathway (Jennings et al., 2009) and produces parent-child resemblance indirectly because parents transmit social characteristics such as social class or religious identities to their offspring. These characteristics subsequently have downstream effects on political attitudes and behaviors.

Recent years have witnessed the launch of a new field of inquiry on the genetic basis of political attitudes and behaviors. Studies have repeatedly shown that monozygotic twins exhibit greater similarity than dizygotic twins on a wide range of political attitudes and behaviors (Funk, and Hibbing 2005; Fowler, Baker, and Dawes 2008). On their part, Hatemi et al. (2007, 2009, 2010) have attributed genetic factors to the larger part of the sharing of these variations in the political variables. This explains the phenomenon where the offspring of politically active members of the political spheres tend to end up in the political limelight.

Looking into the Kenyan political environment, one would not expect different results from this. As Oskarsson, Cesarini & Johannesson (2014) resonates there are several pre-birth factors that could be used to explain the generation of political families and the hereditary political generations. The fact that the leadership of the 2018 political environment can be related to the older generation leadership can be used to explain this. The president, Uhuru Kenyatta is the son of the Kenyan founding president, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta while the opposition leader is the son of the renowned politician and country first vice-president Jaramogi Oginga Odinga. This, however, does not prevent newcomers in the political spheres such as the current Deputy president who may not have had a political leadership family background.
There has been however a different approach to intergenerational relationship in Kenya where it has been pitted as a conflict between the young and the old. The young are perceived to be drivers of change with new ideas while the old are presented as holding on to power and resisting change. In the broader African context, the intergenerational aspect has been manifested as having the old guards approve the leadership and determine who should be doing what while the young are to await their turn. These aspect of push and pull has been common in the Kenyan campaign trails where the young view a new election as their time to present their ideas in the greater representation arena and for the old to retire but the old play the card of wisdom, experience and tried and tested (Muna, Stanton and Mwau, 2014) The continuation of this perspective has seen divided the votes between the youth and the elderly with each supporting their own. It has also influenced generations on voting where one could vote in accordance with their age group.

Sacerdote (2011) notes that such genetic characteristics could also be learned through “genetic confounding” where individual gains them by relating to families that have these traits. This could relate to the studies that have been conducted by psychologists and sociologists working in the behavior genetic tradition. This paper, therefore, seeks to understand the extent if any of the influence of intergenerational factors on the voting behaviors of the individual voters.

2.1.4 Ethnicity and voting behavior

Bratton & Kimenyi (2008) explained the “ethnic census” in relation to elections as one where racial, tribal and linguistic solidarities are so strong that one can use them to predict the voting behavior by just the headcount of the identity groups. This is the effect that ethnicity has on the voting behavior of ethnic groups. Chandra (2003) notes that in India the ethnic group size that a party, politician or an individual patronizes can be used a means to determine the popularity of
the individual or party. This is no different even in the developed countries such as the United States where race is a key determinant of the political following and the voting behavior. Bratton & Kimenyi, (2008) note that this factor extends in almost all world regions with African countries having no exception. Identity voting is exercised with the strongest pillar in most African countries being ethnicity. A reason that has made most of the minority ethnic group have little or no chance on the electoral leadership.

Regionalism, ethnicity and/or clan, influence have a bearing on how the social bonds shape voting behavior. Reviewed literature revealed that ethnicity or clannism as one of the most enduring and entrenched characteristics of Kenyan politics since independence in 1963 (Okumu, 1975; Van Walraven & Thiriot 2002:70; Elischer, 2008:179). As a result, ethnicity has always been a major determinant of the presidential choices across the board as well as parliamentary positions in urban constituencies. On the other hand, clan matters in rural constituencies. This is especially so for the bigger roles including the president and the county role.

Ethnic voting blocs have also emerged due to constitutional requirements for one to be a president, which as of now is that one must acquire 50 plus 1 vote. The majority votes must be cast for one to win. Given that the ethnic groups in Kenya constitute varying percentages, they form alliances to enable their preferred candidate to clinch the coveted position. The emergence of voting blocs like the Gikuyu, Embu and Meru Association (GEMA), the affiliation of the Luo and Luhya communities in support of one presidential candidate show that there can be negotiated understanding so long as the target is similar.
Patterns of political mobilization, resource allocation and most importantly public service appointment starting with the Cabinet is one of the strongest pointers to the extent of the effect ethnicity has on the voting patterns (Kimenyi 1997; Orvis 2001; Apollos 2001). This effect dates to the introduction of the multiparty democracy and politics which instead translated to ethnic politics within the country starting in 1991 (Kimenyi 1997; Muigai 1995). Since then political parties have followed ethnic alignments. This has moved from democratic competition into some sort of ethnic competition.

The run to the much debated and historic 2007 elections was not any different. Parties were ethnically aligned, and the country became highly ethnically polarized. The frontlines in the elections made their first appeal to the supported by the ethnic compilation. It was thus very easy to determine the strongholds of individual candidates just based on their ethnic composition (Bratton & Kimenyi, 2008). The dispute on the election after a highly polarized and sharply dividing campaign period thus easily triggered the ethnic-post-election violence. The country could have escaped the reoccurrence in the 2012 and 2017 election, but it's not to mean that the country was any safer from the ethnic division. Perhaps it could have even been work in the wake of social media that drove the two elections.

This ethnic ideology in South Africa is used when making political voting decisions where individuals use information on the assumed ethnic identities of parties while they are casting their votes with the hope of someone who will best defend their interest. This does away with the ideal situation which is expected to be policy-based interest voting (Erdmann 2007). With such information, one would expect that this factor is a major determinant of the voting behavior of the youth in Kajiado county. However, with the continued calls to the youth to shun ethnicity,
this could be different for the youth. It's on this point that this study sought to understand and
determine how ethnicity is influencing voting behavior.

2.1.5. Political ideologies and voting behavior

Political parties make up the main intermediary institutional structure between the individual and
the government in a democracy (Checkel 2005). A political party is an institution with set rules,
standards, and norms which are well set out and are generally accepted by the party members
with the intention of restricting the individual interest for the sake of maximizing the overall
good of the group (Haan, 2007). For a stable democracy, it is important to have major parties
that have strong bases and support among the voters. This helps such parties have strong policies
and outlive their leaders. Its such strong basis that has seen the Republican party in the US outlive
the depression years in the 1970s together with the Watergate scandal. Strong loyalties make
parties exist when they are not based on factors beyond personal, ethnic-regional, religious or
institutional imperatives (Osaghae, 2004)

Political parties have evolved over time. The initial political parties were rooted in civil society
organizations and trade unions, church organizations, labor organizations as well as the law
society (Van de Walle, 2003). This has however changed with time to a period when ideas and
common interest are the main drivers of these political parties. With time, however, this has
evolved to ethnic-regional politically motivated with other groups. These political parties and
especially in Kenya are highly ethically based as with time there have been difficulties, groups,
trusting individual from a different ethnic background, perhaps driven by the number of
Memorandum of Understanding that has been broken after the formation of political parties and
their ascent or failure to ascend to power. Starting from the first Multiparty election, political parties and more to the opposition has had difficulties uniting to forge a common united force and voting block save for the 2003 election (Kagwanja, 2009).

After the disputed 2007 election and the formation of a coalition government, the story of coalitions has been the norm rather than the exception. Each political period brings about a new political coalition that seems like a coalition of convenience rather than issue-based coalitions. Coalitions that do not live to see the next general election before some political fallout and with a new name and yet with some common names. The Orange Democratic Movement has remained to be the oldest strongest and politically active party. While KANU and others older parties still exist, most of them have been reduced to briefcase parties where select few individuals own the party and make unilateral decisions for the part (Willis, Lynch & Cheeseman, 2018). Well, depending on the political party one is supporting, the other party or coalition seems baseless, ethnic and without an agenda or manifesto. These parties and coalitions join the presidential race a few months to the race and become very strong determinants of the voting behavior.

With targeted campaigns and smear campaign each party seeks to paint the other in bad light. With most of the Kenya voters being techno-savvy and driven by high internet connectivity level, the 2017 campaign saw political parties push their campaigns online. Here the youth were directed targeted through social media and the instant messaging platform WhatsApp (The Star Kenya. 2017). This was aggravated further by reports that a notorious “big data” firm was working for Uhuru Kenyatta on the online campaign. The firm which prides itself as a leader in data management and manipulation promises on the mission statement that it “uses data to
“change audience behavior” was reported to be working for President Uhuru Kenyatta (Bright, 2017). Such strong campaigns are all aimed at influencing the behavior of the voters on the voting day.

2.1.6. Legal literacy and voting behavior

Electoral democracy is one where a legal, constitutional and civilian system of the legislature and the executive leaders are put in place through a competitive, regular multiparty election which is strictly done in accordance with the law (Diamond, 1999). This conception limits democracy to participation through universal suffrage, and contestation understood as free and fair elections where representatives compete over citizens’ vote (Ongoro, 2013). The political context will be conducive if the electoral body managing the elections is competent and independent from undue influence from partisan quarters, and the following actors are neutral: the police, the military, judiciary and the media (Lansner, 2006).

Various countries have laws that govern the electoral process. These laws are put in place to ensure that the electoral process is free fair, credible and verifiable. In Africa, the ecology of electoral laws has undergone tremendous improvement to make elections a viable vehicle to democracy as seen in the reforms targeting constitutive and regulative democratic instruments including constitutional reforms, civil service reforms especially the police and judiciary and above all reforms in the electoral systems and governance structure as seen in Kenya (Laws of Kenya, 2010; Adar, 2001).

The situation has been no different in Kenya which has had several calls for a free and fair election every electoral cycle. The electoral process is a long process which is highly guarded by law and hugely left in the hands of an independent regulatory agency, the Independent
Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC). The commission was founded in 2011 through an act of parliament as was one of the Independent Review Commission, (2008) report otherwise known as the Kriegler Commission had recommended and as per the 2010 constitution’s recommendation. The commission is charged with the management of the election and the determination of boundaries among other mandates (IEBC. n.d.).

The Constitution of Kenya 2010, The Elections Act, 2011, The Political Parties Act, 2011 and The Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission Act, 2011 are the main laws that governed the August 2017 elections (Elisha & Otieno 2012). It was after the election, and the Successful petition in the Supreme court that the August 2017 election was declared null and void and a fresh election was called for that the majority party passed the Election Laws (Amendment) Bill 2017 (Parliament of Kenya, 2017). Termed controversial the opposition coalition opposed the bill which other stakeholders felt was an amendment of the laws while the elections were in progress, the amendment came into force after the president decided not to assent to the bill or return it to parliament for amendments (Kenya National Commission on Human Rights 2017).

Kenya has seen two presidential elections under the 2010 constitution with the two ending up with an election petition at the Supreme Court. In 2013 the supreme court affirmed Uhuru Kenyatta’s win, but perhaps the August 2017 presidential electoral petition is what caught the world by surprise after the court annulled the presidential election by a majority of the jury. The court was very specific that the fresh election must be held within the confines of the law. From this basis the opposition coalition tried negotiating certain aspects of the elections with the IEBC, but which did not have a conclusive end leaving the opposition to boycott the repeat election.
The opposition insisted on some factors changed before the election, but most of the demands were not met leaving five counties having not conducted the fresh elections in the strongholds. The results were equally petitioned in court, but this time the court confirmed the Uhuru Kenyatta’s win (Reliefweb. 2018).

Citizens queue to vote with the intention to have their vote count as a ballot when the total vote count is done. For a democracy like Kenya where a presidential winner is only declared as such after obtaining a 50% plus one vote, each vote counts and has a difference to make. This vote is expected to be guarded strongly by the law. When the law is not properly implemented, the desire to vote and the impact of the vote is highly questioned. The main question however that needs to be put is the extent of the impact of the law on individual voting behavior. During the repeat election, the voter turnout was reported to have been below 40% with some regions having no elections at all. The main area of concern here is whether those who choose not to vote were following political rhetoric or the push for a more lawfully enshrined election.

2.2 Theoretical Literature

This section will look into three theories that support the concept of the voting behavior namely: Economic theory of democracy, Sociological Theory of Voting and the Altruism theory of voting

2.2.1 Economic Theory of democracy

Voting can be explained from a different perspective with economic voting coming closest to the issues approach, although it differs in that it emphasizes one issue—the economy it is one of the oldest theories of voting and which Lewis-Beck, Nadeau, & Foucault, (2012) feels have come of age. What holds economic voting theory together is the notion that voters pick candidates
based on their economic influence. Downs (1957) a political scientist wrote on An Economic Theory of Democracy. In the testing for the viability of the results, Downs advocates for thorough testing of theoretical models rather than the realities of the assumptions as advocated for by Friedman, (1953).

This economic theory received enough empirical support from the ideology that voter reward the incumbent for good times and punish them with the votes for negative times. Here the vote comes in as a reward for their past performance. Their expectations of the future thus guide the individual’s voting behavior. Lewis-Beck, Nadeau, & Foucault, (2012) notes that this theory is based on the classic reward-punishment model thus treating the economy as the valence issue. However, the theory has its own shortcoming with possibilities of there are three claims that have been leveled against it and which include instability, endogeneity and unidimensional nature of the theory. The first claim argues that the magnitude of the economic voting coefficient varies greatly across time, place and context, implying it has no fundamental existence. The second claim argues that the economic voting coefficient finds its source in partisan bias, having no independent existence of its own. The third claim, a new one, argues that economic voting theory has narrowly restricted its attention to valence issues, thereby excluding the important dimensions of policy position and patrimony.

This economic voting theory could be one of the reasoning behind the voting behavior exhibited by the Kenyan youth. However, critics such as Okumu, (1975) notes that while voting is expected to be a social economic contractual review-time between the electorate and the elected, most of the time this is not the case in Kenya. The economic voting theory could apply to some people albeit a few, but other factors are related to the voting behavior. Through this study while
fulfilling the five research questions, one will be able to understand the underlying factor for the voting behavior and as such test the viability of this theory with the Kenyan youth.

2.2.2 Sociological model’s theory on voting

The assumptions of the sociological model of voting behavior are defined in three essential works: The People’s Choice (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1944), Voting (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, & McPhee, 1954) and Personal Influence (Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955). Lazarsfeld group hypothesized that the act of voting is an individual act, affected mainly by the personality of the voter and his or her exposure to the media. The results of their research, however, contradicted this hypothesis to the extent that it revealed that voting was more affected by the social group the voter belonged to than media exposure (Bartels, 2008). The association between social groups of a voter and his or her voting decision was so strong that they concluded that voting behavior could easily be explained using three factors, namely; religion, region and socio-economic status (Eldersveld, 1951).

Demographic groups such as ethnicity, socio-economic status, region, religion and corporate actors (primordial and purposive) are key determinants of voting behavior because differences in social positions are associated with different concerns and political interests (Quinn, Martin et al., 1999). However, none of the three theories is sufficient in explaining the complexity of the nature of voting behavior in a country such as Kenya with a certain section of the study being true for some areas and not applicable in other. Economically, the economist fails to understand why a person would be so interested in voting, yet they are sure that their vote will not change the election outcome. This is however explained by a sociologist from the belief that voting is not an individual action based on calculations of costs and benefits, but an event embedded in
the normative assumption voters share with others they interact with (Moody & White, 2003). It is, therefore, prudent to say that efficiency or efficacy of voting behavior is dependent on the social environment in which it is embedded.

Looking into theory, one would expect that there are several social factors that affect the way the Kenyan youth votes. This study looks into ethnicity, party affiliations, intergenerational and social factors that could be affecting the way the Kenyan youth votes. With a hypothesis that these factors are strong factors shaping the way the Kenyan youth votes, then it would mean that this theory applies for the Kenyan youth voters. On the other hand, if the study finds that there is no relation, then theory would not be applicable.

2.2.3 Altruism theory of voting

The altruism theory of voting model states that potential voter is motivated by weak altruism on their decision to vote in an election or abstain. Jankowski, (2007) brought out this rather new theory with an effort to explain the seemingly irrational voting behavior. The theory explains that it is irrational for voters to vote or even be informed about politics. The author bases the reasoning on Myerson, (2000) that low voter turnout is only possible when the voters are driven by self-interest. On his explanation, the author notes that the weight of the self-interest while voting is overridden by the overall good of the society done by voting. In a direct comparison, Jankowski, (2002) compared voting to purchasing a lottery ticket which has very low chances of winning but one which promises to help the less fortunate. The possible high win and the help of the less privileged pushes one to purchase a lottery ticket.

Through strong altruism, one must fulfill obligations regardless of their personal cost. It is this theory that explains why voters choose to vote irrespective of the high personal costs in
comparison to the individual benefits they are likely to enjoy. This is used to explain the paradox of voting on the cost of voting normally exceeding the expected benefits, yet people still invest in voting with relating the voting process to some achievement of some sort of personal utility from the voting. The greater good of the entire population is at the center of this personal utility (Fowler, 2006).

Kenyan makes one of the countries with peculiar voting habits. While there have been serious efforts to automate and make the voting process more electronic with the biometric voter identification, there are still more manual work to be done. This makes the whole process from registration to voting tedious and involving. Kenyans have to brace long ques under adverse weather conditions to cast their ballot. Owing to the 2007 post elections chaos, most of the voters are registered in the rural background where they feel “safe” in the event of post-election chaos reoccurrence (The Carter Center, n.d.). With such difficulties, Kenyans still vote with reasonable voter turnout. This study will seek to understand their motivation which could be related to this Altruism theory of voting.

2.3 Conceptual Framework

A study’s conceptual framework comprises of the dependent and independent variables that explain the various relationships in the study (Morariu, 2007). This study’s conceptual framework is based on the relationship between the voting behavior and the factors that affect it. Voting behavior forms the independent variables while the social-cultural factors, intergenerational factors, ethnicity, political ideologies and the law and legal factors are the independent factors.
Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework
3.0 CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The main purpose of the study was to examine how cultural factors, ethnicity, intergenerational factors, political ideologies and legal literacy determined voting behavior among youths in Kajiado County. This chapter is divided into various sections. These include: research design, target population, sample design, data collection methods, data collection instruments, data analysis and presentation.

3.2 Research Design

According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), research design refers to the structure, plan and strategy to be adopted to answer various research questions. The researcher adopted the descriptive research design since it allowed the researcher to describe the population of interest. Gerring (2012) explains that descriptive research studies were designed to obtain information concerning the current situation and other phenomena and wherever possible to draw valid conclusion from the facts discussed. A descriptive survey attempts to describe or define a subject often by creating a profile of a group of problems, people or events through the collection of data and tabulation of the frequencies on research variables or their interaction as indicated (Mungai, 2014). The design enabled the researcher to describe the voting behavior of the Kenyan youth through a survey of the youth in Kajiado County. The research also considered cultural factors, ethnicity, intergenerational factors, political ideologies and legal literacy influence on the voting behavior among youth in Kajiado County.
3.3 Variables

A variable is a measurable characteristic that assumes different values among subjects. It can either be an independent variable; one that is assumed to be the cause or a dependent variable where the changes from the cause are manifested (Kumar, 2011). Voting behavior among the youth in Kajiado county was the dependent variable while determinants was the independent variable. During the study, these determinants were cultural factors, ethnicity, intergenerational factors, political ideologies and legal literacy.

3.4 Site of the Study

This research targeted the youth voters in Kajiado County. To carry out the research, one would have been required to visit the whole county obtaining data from the various corners of the county. As this was not practical with limited resources available for this study, including time, the research was carried out in tertiary institutions within the county. The county had 16 Private and Public TVET (Technical and Vocational Education and Training) institutions as outlined in Appendix A 2. The county also had 6 public and private universities and campuses. The students from these institutions who came from the county were the main subjects of the study. As such, the study took place in these institutions in Kajiado County. The students in these Universities and TVET Institutions were locally sourced and from different parts of the county and therefore made part of the eligible youth voters in the County.

3.5 Target Population

Kothari (2004) describes a target population as the sum of respondents in a field area under study. On the other hand, Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) describe a target population as the population to whom the research findings were generalized. According to Trochim & Donnelly
(2006) target population refers to the entire group of individuals or objects to which researchers are interested in generalizing the conclusions. In this case, the target population was the registered youths in Kajiado county. Kajiado County number 034 had 411,193 registered voters and 797 polling stations. Of these, there were 111,831 female and 119,939 male voters aged between 18 and 35 years totaling to 231,770 voters and composing 56.4% of the total registered population (IEBC, 2017).

3.6 Sample and Sampling Procedures

Manion (2001) observed that the quality of a research is largely dependent on the appropriateness of the research methodology, data collection instrument and the suitability of the sampling strategy used. Sampling technique provides a range of methods which enables reduction of data to be collected, by focusing on data from a sub-group rather than all cases of elements (Mungai, 2014).

The sample was obtained by calculating the sample size from the target population by applying Yamane Taro, (1967) assuming the confidence level of 95% and 10% precision level.

\[
n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}
\]

Where: \( n = \) Sample size, \( N = \) Population size, \( e = \) Level of Precision.

\[
N = \frac{231,770}{1 + 231,770 (0.1)^2}
\]

\( n = 99.9569 \)

\( n = 100 \)
The researcher selected a sample size of approximately 100 registered youth voters from the Universities; campuses and TVET Institutions in Kajiado county.

A non-probability sampling technique was employed, and purposive sampling was adopted in selection of the sample. This was useful in selecting those who would provide the best information to achieve the objectives of the study (Kumar, 2011) The researcher also constituted the sample while considering proper representation of the whole population. This sampling method allowed for inclusiveness in terms of gender and representation.

**3.7 Research Instruments**

The questionnaire comprised both closed and open-ended questions. These types of questions were accompanied by a list of possible alternatives from which respondents were required to select the answer that best described their situation while the others were open to the opinion of the respondent. According to Bowling (2005) a self-administered questionnaire is the best way to elicit self-report on people’s opinion, attitudes, beliefs and values. In this case therefore a self-administered questionnaire was used for data collection.

**3.8 Data Validity and Reliability**

Joppe (2000) defines reliability as the extent to which results are consistent over time and an accurate representation of the total population. A study is referred to as reliable if the results of the study can be reproduced under a similar methodology. Bernard (2006) observed that data validity is the measure of research instrument’s accuracy when measuring variables of the study. Data validity is used to indicate whether the research instrument really measures what it purports to measure. The data collection guide was subjected to thorough and logical evaluation process
in order to ensure that the collected data was valid. This was done through peer and expert review of the data collection guide.

Data reliability refers to the consistency of the research findings if the same data is subjected to repeated trials. A research instrument is deemed reliable if its output gives consistent results even after repeated trials (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). The data collection guide was designed to ensure the data collected would be the same even if a different researcher used the same to replicate the study.

3.9 Data Analysis and Presentation

According to Zinkmund (2000), the process of data analysis involves several stages: the completed questionnaires are first edited for completeness and consistency, checked for errors and omissions and then coded to of Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Data is then analyzed using descriptive analysis such as descriptive statistics mean scores and standard deviations frequencies distributions and percentages. The results are then presented in tables. The data collected is checked for consistency and then analyzed with the help of Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) for analysis. Descriptive statistics such as mean and standard deviations are the descriptive techniques that were used in this study. The findings of the study were presented in form of graphs, tables, percentages and bar charts.

The qualitative data was analyzed using thematic analysis. Thematic analysis involves examining texts, identifying common themes through coding and refining the themes where the coded patterns have an overarching common theme. This was be applied on the open-ended question (Gibbs, 2007). This analysis provided for a wide variety of opinions for the respondents
and gave leeway for them to express more opinions than were provided for in the closed questions.

3.10 Ethical consideration

The study was conducted in an ethical manner. The respondents were informed on the purpose of the study and assured that the information given was treated as confidential and their identities never disclosed. From this, the researcher was able to obtain informed consent from all the participants that agreed to participate. The researcher personally administered the questionnaire to the respondents and requested their consent. Research approval was sought from the concerned authorities including Kenyatta University, National commission for Science Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI), The target Universities’ administration and the administration authority at the TVET institutions.

Their confidential information was only accessed by the researcher and the supervisor. The respondents were not required to provide any identifying details such as their names. After the study was completed and a final report written, the tools used to collect data were destroyed.
CHAPTER IV: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.0. Introduction

Voting in Kenya is a civic duty and a right to every adult aged 18 years and above. Citizens are expected to willingly register and participate in the process of elections as a way of exercising their democratic right of choosing leaders that represent them in the government. As such, the process is definitive of the country’s leadership and has a huge impact on the economic wellbeing of the country (Kenya Law, 2017). Like many other African countries, the youth represent the largest segment of the population. However, as observed earlier, the young people are underrepresented in the government and are less likely to participate in national elections. During the study, the researcher sought to identify the determinants of voting behavior among the youth in Kajiado County, Kenya.

The findings were presented based on the following objectives:

1. To examine how cultural factors, determine voting behavior among youths in Kajiado County.

2. To establish how ethnicity, determine voting behavior among the youth in Kajiado County.

3. To establish how intergenerational factors, determine voting behavior among the youth in Kajiado County.

4. To establish how political ideologies, determine voting behavior among the youth in Kajiado County.

5. To examine how legal literacy, determine voting behavior among the youth in Kajiado County.
The findings of the study were as presented below.

4.1. Descriptive Analysis

4.1.1. Demographic Information

During the study, the researcher gathered data from 100 respondents. Out of the 100 questionnaires that were issued during the study ten were not filled completely by the time the researcher collected the questionnaires from the respondents. Consequently, these questionnaires were excluded from the analysis.

The respondents were required to provide demographic information that provided a general overview of the study sample. First, the respondents were required to indicate their gender identity. From the study findings a majority of the respondents (57.8%) were male while the female population in the study amounted to 42.2%. The distribution of the population by gender was slightly different from the national statistics in which the proportion of women was higher than that of men. In patriarchal communities such as the Maasai who are the main occupants of Kajiado County, the men are likely to be more forthcoming when it comes to engagement in matters of leadership. However, the margin of variation between the number of female and male responds was small and hence permissible. In addition, the researcher sampled from a population of young people between the ages of 18 and 34 years. There were no major differences between the various age groups although most of the participants were between the ages of 18 and 25 years.

Also, the researcher was interested in establishing the levels of education attained by the various respondents. According to the study findings majority (37.8%) of the respondents had acquired a diploma. Participants with a post-graduate degree had the highest academic level attained. In
addition, the researcher was interested in finding out the number of national elections that each of the participants had engaged in prior to the time of the study. This would help determine the rate at which young people in Kajiado participated in national elections.

According to the research findings, a large number of the participants had taken part in at most two national elections. The proportions significantly decreased with the number of national elections with the group that had taken part in at most four elections being the smallest. Even so, the proportion of people who had not participated in any election was significantly large with 21 out of the 90 respondents stating that they had not participated in any national election. A number of those that had not participated in any national election cited compliance issues such as age, lack of a national identity card or voter’s card. Besides, some stated that they had other matters to attend to during the election period hence their failure to acquire the required documentation. Figure 4.1 below illustrates the demographic information as collected during the study.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
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<tr>
<td>Age</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22-25 years</td>
<td>34</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34 years</td>
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<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level of Education</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
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<td>32.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Three</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Four</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.1. Demographic Information
4.1.2. Youth participation in National Elections

During the study, the respondents answered to the question of how many national elections they had participated in followed by an explanation for their level of participation. The main focus was to establish the factors that prevented the youth from participating in national elections. The researcher also observed that corruption, mismanagement of elections and bias associated with the electoral body was a significant determinant of youth participation in the national elections. It was the view of many respondents that the conduct of the electoral body in Kenya over the years sent a message of misappropriation and undue influence by specific candidates. A trend of perceived rigging of elections in the past decade made it difficult for the youth to trust the process as many believed that the most influential candidate will always win regardless of their participation.

Respondents 029 said, “…being influenced that even if you participate in elections there will be no free and fair elections thus makes one to have a fixed mind regarding the cheating in elections.”

As such, most of the youth tended to neglect their civic duty as they believed that elections in Kenya had not been free and fair over the past few years. For instance, youth in Kajiado county preferred to graze their cattle over taking part in the national elections. Another reason why youth failed to participate in elections was failure to meet the necessary requirements including documentation. A number of respondents indicated they failed to participate in elections since they had not acquired an identification card and or a voter’s card both of which are mandatory requirements for an individual to participate in elections. Otherwise, voters that were eligible for the voting process stated that they failed to meet the set deadline for renewing their voter’s card which is done every five years. Besides, given that the youth were often not involved in matters
of politics in the country, many did not see the need to vote unless the contestants understood and were willing to attend to their needs.

4.2 Effect of Culture on Voting Behavior

During the study, the researcher identified various cultural factors that influenced voting behavior among young people in Kajiado County. According to the study findings, majority of the respondents indicated that literacy and the overall community literacy average significantly influenced the voter behavior. In addition, majority of the respondents stated that income had a significant impact on the voting behavior. These two factors are closely linked since poverty takes a toll on access and equity in education (Haruna, 2009). As such, poor people are less likely to access formal education which impacts their political intelligence. People with low levels of literacy are less likely to criticize the opinions of politicians which predisposes them to undue influence.

Gender was also a significant determinant of voting behavior. Given that most communities in Kajiado County are patriarchal, women have limited control on decision making processes in the community. This means that major decisions including which candidates are most viable are made by men. The fact that women do not play a major role in decision making means that they are likely to follow decisions made by elders regarding elections and suitability of candidates without question. Other factors were also identified as illustrated in figure 4.2 below.
Further, the researcher asked the respondents to share their views on whether culture had an impact on voting behavior. A majority of the respondents stated that truly, the culture of the people living in Kajiado County significantly influenced the voting behavior in the region.

Figure 4.2. Cultural Factors

Figure 4.3 Below illustrates the proportions.
4.2.1. Influence of Culture on Voting Behavior

During the study, respondents gave their views on the main cultural factors that had an impact on their voting behavior. According to the study findings, the main occupants of Kajiado county were the Maasai. The Maasai are a patriarchal community that still holds on to its traditions. For instance, many of the respondents were of the opinion that the cultural view of women among the Maasai had a significant impact on the voting behavior. The researcher observed that based on their traditions, the people of Kajiado county were less likely to vote for a female candidate since they believed that men were the natural leaders and women were followers.

From the study findings, the researcher observed that given the conservative nature of the communities residing in Kajiado county, morality was a major determinant of the voting choices. The Maasai follow a strict code or set of norms which means that the leaders they elect must respect their traditions.

Figure 4.3. Effect of culture on voting behavior
Respondent 023 stated that, “the culture affects who we may vote for. We elect a person who is less likely to interfere with our culture.”

Besides, the communities in Kajiado county held their local leaders to a high regard and there was a tendency for a large number of people to disregard the national elections. Even so, there were a number of people that shared the opinion that culture was not an important determinant of voting behavior. In their opinion, Kajiado county was quickly becoming metropolitan which means that many of the people were disregarding some of their cultural beliefs due to exposure to modernity.

4.2.2. Cultural Factors that Impact voting Decisions

The researcher also sought to establish the main cultural factors that influenced a voter’s decision during elections. According to the study findings, the age of the candidate was a major factor. Many of the respondents stated that an older candidate was likely to be voted in since older people were considered wiser and better leaders in the Maasai community. It was also observed that the elders in the community influenced the decisions of youth with regard to which candidate they would vote for. The vision, skills and manifesto were cited as significant influence on a voter’s decision to elect a particular candidate. Besides, a few of the respondents stated that the behavior or morality of the candidate had a significant impact on the voters’ decision to elect him/her. Lastly, gender was also isolated as a factor that influenced the decision to vote. Male contestants were highly preferred as opposed to female contestants given the patriarchal nature of the communities in Kajiado county.
4.3. Ethnicity

4.3.1. Impact of Ethnicity on Voting Behavior

During the study, the researcher also wanted to investigate the impact of ethnicity on voter behavior and decision making. The researcher established a number of variables representing the dynamics of ethnicity when it came to making decisions about political candidates. According to the study findings, the promise to a tribe and the ethnic composition of leadership were identified as the main factors that impacted a voter’s choice during an election. However, a significant number of the participants stated that tribal grouping and clan influence were not a major concern given that Kajiado county has over time become cosmopolitan. Besides, it became evident that the youth were taking a rather different approach towards voting unlike their parents as a result of education and greater exposure to other communities. Figure 4.4 below is an illustration of the study findings on the impact of ethnicity on voting behavior.
The researcher wanted to find out whether the people of Kajiado county had voting blocs. According to the study findings, majority of the respondents stated that they belonged to certain voting blocs. Voters joined voting blocs that had a high likelihood of helping them address major social and economic issues. In essence, voting blocs were mainly cultural where people paid allegiance to one of their own. Voting blocs also emerge when people unite under similar factors.
and seek each other out so as to support a particular cause (Wafula, 2014). This appears to be the case among the youth in Kajiado county when they join other clans, tribal groups and team up to vote either for a candidate or for a cause. Even so, some participants expressively stated that they were not members of any Voting blocs as they believed that voting was an individual’s choice and a person was free to elect a leader of their choice without the influence of others.

4.3.3. Solutions for Tribal Voting

According to the study findings, civic education was identified as one of the main solutions to tribal voting. Majority of the respondents believed that it was necessary for the government to institute civil education aimed at breaking the negative ethnic affiliations that impacted voting decisions. In addition, the researcher observed that inter-marriages between people of different tribes were considered a major solution to tribal voting. Many believed that through inter-marriage, people would gain exposure to the practices and believes of other tribes which would give them a wider perspective of what makes a good leader.

4.4. Intergenerational Factors

4.4.1. Impact of Intergenerational factors on voting behavior

During the study the researcher wanted to find out how intergenerational factors affected voting behavior of residents of Kajiado county. The researcher explored a set of variables with the aim of shedding light to the topic. During the study, the researcher wanted to find out if the respondents supported generational change in the leadership of Kajiado county. Majority of the respondents (51 of 90) stated that they supported generational change in the county. Even so, there was consensus in the number of respondents that believed that certain generational factors did not impact their voting behavior. According to the study results, many of the respondents did
not agree to being influenced by parents’ voting decisions (38 of 90), following the family opinion when choosing among candidate (38 in 90), considering the leader’s family history (29 of 90) and existence of homogeneity in the family opinions regarding electoral decisions. A number of the respondents cited the lack of youth mentorship (28 in 90) and the lack of generational change (24 in 90) amongst the leaders in Kajiado county. Figure 4.5 is an illustration of the participants’ opinions regarding how the identified generational factors impacted voting behavior within Kajiado county.

Figure 4.5. Intergenerational Factors

4.4.2. Preferred generation of Leaders

During the study, the researcher wanted to find out which generation of leaders was preferred by the youth in Kajiado county. From the study results, the researcher observed that majority of the
respondents (70%) stated that the young generation of leaders was highly preferable within the County. Given the nature of the Kenyan political leadership, the results indicated the youth’s need for change to facilitate inclusion of the youth who have been on the sidelines for decades. This outcome is corroborated by Muna, Stanton and Mwau, (2014) who argue that the young generation would prefer a young leader whom they feel understands their point of view better than an elderly leader. Youths are the immediate victims of the consequences of bad governance facing challenges such as poverty, unemployment and the lack of infrastructure. Figure 4.6 is an illustration of the respondents’ opinions regarding which generation of leaders was preferable.

![Preferred Generation of Leaders](image)

**Figure 4.6. Preferred generation of leaders**

Further, the researcher asked the respondents to explain their views regarding which generation of leaders was preferable. In explaining why, the younger generation was preferable, majority of the respondents cited reasons such as familiarity with the issues affecting the youth, desire and ability to work as well as the fact that young people are visionary.
Respondent 01 said that, “…because a young mind is prone to be active and yearns to learn and this will improve the status of many youths in the country…”

“Young leaders understand the challenges the fellow youth are going through, and they are vibrant. Solving community problems will be easier for them” stated respondent 03

However, the great support for young leaders meant that certain respondents expressed a different opinion. Those that stated that older members of the community made better leaders cited experience as their main reason. Experience obtained through many years in various leadership positions gave the older generation a better standing as regards suitability to leadership.

“I prefer the older generation of leaders because they have an experience of the past factors” said respondent 27.

4.4.3. Youth and Competitive Politics

The researcher also examined the factors that would increase the involvement of youth in competitive politics in the country. According to the study findings, majority of the respondents cited mentorship as one of the ways through which youth participation would be increased in Kajiado county and the country as well.

Respondent 46 said, “create nurturing forums for them and educate them more on the same”

In addition, civic education was cited as another method that would be used to increase the participation of young people in competitive politics. This could be done by creating seminars to facilitate access to information about leadership among the youth of Kajiado County. Through seminars, young people would understand the relevance of their active involvement in
leadership. Furthermore, organizing seminars would enable the passing down of information and knowledge obtained by the older generation of leaders over time to the young people allowing them to make better leaders. Makori (2015) noted that youth participation could be increased through purposive dialogue as was advocated in the study findings.

“Civil education to the public on the importance of generational change in leadership”, stated respondent 80.

“Increased civil education to the youth to take up leadership positively and the old people to trust the youth. Reduce blocking requirement that may be blocking the youth.” Respondent 89

4.5. Political Ideologies

4.5.1. Impact of Political Ideologies on Voting Behavior

During the study, the researcher wanted to establish whether political ideologies determined the voting behavior of the youth in Kajiado county. The respondents were asked whether they had any specific political affiliations. Most of the respondents (28), stated that they had specific political party affiliation. In addition, a number of the respondents (27) stated that they followed the campaign strategy of a specific party. Besides, some of the respondents stated that political party manifestos (21) and individual ideologies (33) had a major impact on their voting behavior as illustrated on figure 4.7 below.
4.5.2. Political Party Membership

The researcher wanted to find out whether the participants were registered members to any political parties or whether they subscribed to the ideologies of a party or coalition. A minority of the respondents (36%) stated that they were members of a political party or coalition. Majority of the participants did not admit to being members of political parties or coalitions in the country. In addition to being members of a political party, the respondents were asked to enlist some of the strongest party themes that made them subscribe to the parties. According to the study results, some of the respondents stated that they were likely to subscribe to a democratic movement. This meant that a party that sought to pursue democracy on election was likely to receive greater membership or affiliation. Figure 4.8 illustrates the state of political membership among the residents of Kajiado county.
Peace, love, justice and development were also identified as some of the strongest party themes that compelled them to join a political party.

“Peace, love, unity, justice and development…”, said respondent 19.

“Fight corruption and support democracy and stop the government from being corrupt”, said respondent 73

4.5.3. Problematic Party Ideologies

During the study, the researcher also wanted to find out whether there were any party themes that the respondents did not agree with. Forty percent of the respondents stated that they disagreed with a few party ideologies presented by parties or coalitions with which they were affiliated. Figure 4.9 illustrates the responses given to the question whether participants disagreed with party or coalition ideologies.
According to the study findings, majority of the respondents said that many of the politicians made promises that they did not live up to after election. For instance, politicians promise to provide job opportunities to the youth, but they end up giving the same jobs to the senior leaders.

“Having a perfect manifesto that is never implemented, ethnic direction of the party politics, failure to accord the youth their rightful position”, said respondent 100

“Economic development and empowerment of the other people other than the youth who are the great majority in our country” stated respondent 24.

In addition, majority of the participants were dissatisfied with the high levels of corruption, nepotism and tribalism in government.
4.5.4. Improving Party Management

The researcher wanted to find out viable methods of improving management of political parties. According to the study findings, majority of the respondents believed that political parties should be inclusive of women and young people who are mostly excluded from the political process. Further, the researcher established that political party management would be improved by ensuring that the elections were free and fair. Besides, the researchers recommended that it was important for the electoral body to establish a fair nomination process. Reducing the nomination fees would mean that more young people would be able to enter competitive politics hence increasing inclusivity. Setting the fee too high means that only the well-off can participate in the election. Besides, it is important for the electoral board to probe the character of the participants more than their ability to afford nomination process.

“All party nominations should be available to any Kenyan without considering their wealth” stated respondent 78.

Respondents 59 said that, “More youth should join political parties and be trained to be leaders”

4.6. Legal Literacy

4.6.1. Impact of Legal literacy on Voting Behavior

Further, the researcher wanted to find out how legal literacy impacted the voting behavior of participants. First the researcher wanted to find out how legal literacy affect the voting behavior of respondents. First, the respondents were asked to state whether they understood the electoral
law in Kenya. According to the study findings, majority of the researchers indicated that they understood the electoral law in Kenya in general. Many of the respondents indicated that they were aware of the requirements and qualifications of candidates by law. The researcher established that the law was not being applied strictly to ensure smooth engagement in the electoral process. Figure 4.10 is an illustration of the findings on the impact of legal factors on voting behavior.

![Impact of Legal Factors on Voting Behavior](image)

Figure 4.10. Impact of legal factors on voting behavior

### 4.6.2 Improving electoral process management and credibility

The researcher sought to find out what electoral laws the youth in Kajiado county would change to better manage the process. Further, the researcher probed on who was to take credit or blame for management of the elections. A majority of the respondents were of the opinion that the Independent Electoral and Boundaries commission (IEBC) was to blame and credit for the elections. Many respondents cited the fact that the commission was in charge of overseeing the
elections it was wholly to blame or credit for outcomes. However, a few of the respondents blamed everyone who participated in the elections including the voter, the political candidates, IEBC and the law.

Most respondents did not have a particular law they needed changed but they advocated for better management of the election process. A number of the respondents proposed purposive voter education, embrace and use of biometric kits everywhere and proper prosecution of electoral law offenders.
5.0 CHAPTER V: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Summary of the findings

The aim of the study was to find out how cultural factors, ethnicity, intergenerational factors, political ideologies and legal literacy determine voting behavior among the youth in Kajiado County, Kenya. Various studies have investigated on determinants of voting behavior with varying conclusions. This study found out that voting behavior of the youth in Kajiado is influenced by cultural factors, ethnicity, intergenerational factors, political ideologies and legal literacy, all to varying degrees. The patriarchal nature of the communities living in Kajiado has influenced voting trends of the youth where candidates tend to be more male than female. Literacy influenced understanding of government and voting behavior where those with little knowhow followed elders of the communities. Literacy is influenced by education and level of poverty which limits access to information and learning.

The study established that ethnicity influenced voting behavior when it came to collaboration between different ethnic group so that a candidate could get the required votes. The youth were not very concerned with the ethnicity of the candidate as they were with the promise of what the candidate would accomplish. The youth in Kajiado would vote in a candidate who understood them and worked towards improving the standing in society.

Generational change in leaders was supported by majority of the youth indicating that they would like to partake in leadership. Mentorship programs and civic education were adversely mentioned as welcome channels for the youth to engage in active political participation. The
youth did not, however trust the electoral process and the institutions in charge of overseeing the elections. There was also not too much commitment in participating in elections for the lack of trust and other social situations that put one at a disadvantage like work.

It emerged that the youth did not trust the electoral process to be free and fair. They cited mismanagement of the electoral process by IEBC and the perceived rigging of elections which rendered their efforts to participate null. There was lack of incentive arising from diminishing credibility and trust has influenced voting behavior of the youth in Kajiado county.

5.2. Discussion and Conclusion

Equal representation is the core principle on which democracy is built. This means that a country that is effectively democratic must advocate for equal opportunities for all citizens to engage in competitive politics. Participation in the electoral processes by voters and candidates contributes significantly to the success of the democratic process. While Kenya abides by the principles of democracy that guarantee political freedom for all, constitutionalism and liberalism, there has been instances that compromise democracy greatly and for the long haul. In any democracy, participation is at the core of allowing and exercising political freedom. According to Glasford (2008), when the free participation by all citizens is compromised, the entire democratic process becomes problematic.

Helal & Hamza (2015) observed that while there existed a wide discrepancy in the voter turnout among various groups in the United States, the young people registered the lowest turnout. Comparatively, Kenya suffers a similar problem based on the fact that the young people also register a low voter turnout as compared to other groups. The low engagement in competitive politics through voting and candidacy has led to low representation and hence alienation of the
young people from development projects and growth opportunities. Glasford (2008) highlights a number of challenges in addition to the exclusion of young people from major decisions on governance including the fact that the lack of engagement in the electoral process by significantly large groups of people compromises the integrity of the democratic process.

For instance, if only 50% of the young people participated in a given election, the majority requirement under the democratic process does not imply a majority of the population in question. Another problem associated with low turnout among the youth is that there is a low likelihood that their engagement will increase with age. When young people fail to realize the essence of participating in elections at a young age, they are likely to carry on the habit which inevitably results in problematic participations in the subsequent elections.

According to Boonen, Meeusen & Quintelier (2014), unfavourable attitudes are known to contribute to the unwillingness of young people to engage in the electoral process. Experiences with past elections significantly impact the likelihood that young people are going to take part in the subsequent elections. During the study, the researcher sought to establish the rate of engagement in national elections among young people in Kenya and the reasons attributed to their behaviour. As established during the study, mismanagement by the electoral body and perceived recurrent rigging of elections create negative attitudes which lead many young people to invalidate the democratic process in Kenya. According to Glasford (2008), elections in a democratic country are expected to be free and fair hence providing equal opportunities to all participants as well as voters.
The perception that certain people influenced the voting process reduced the willingness of the youth to engage in the electoral process. Various behaviour models can be used to explain the lower voter turnout, particularly among youths. The theory of planned behaviour and the theory of reasoned action have been used by scholars in the past to explain electoral behaviour. This means that the decisions not to engage in elections can often be as a result of the intention to behave a certain way following a series of clear observations and sound reasoning. For instance, having observed misappropriation of authority and disregard for the process among the official's young people are compelled to disengage from the process since it does not deliver the expected results. Behavioural models explain the voting behaviours of young people regarding their involvement in the voting process and hence are used to predict and navigate the intentions of young people towards active participation. This can be done, by designing the electoral process in a way that involves and benefits the young people which give them better reasons for engaging in the process. For instance, creating a fair and free electoral process would motivate young people to vie and vote for their fellow youth leaders hence increasing the inclusion of young people in the government.

The theories on which the study operated: the economic theory of democracy, the sociological model’s theory and the Altruism theory of voting did not alone explicitly explain the voting behavior of the youth in Kajiado county. These theories all contributed in explaining the voting behavior as observed in the study. The sociological model’s theory however took the majority of the determinants upon which the youth in Kajiado voted. Cultural factors, ethnicity, intergenerational factors, political ideologies and legal literacy all determined the voting behavior of the youth in Kajiado county to varying degrees.
5.3. Recommendations

The researcher recommended a revision of the guiding laws, statutes and conduct of the electoral body. There is a need for the government to invest in reclaiming the image of the electoral body in order to restore confidence among the young voters as well as those of other voters’ groups. Requiring full transparency and instituting consequences against the mismanagement of the authority could facilitate a freer and fairer electoral process in the country.

Provide leadership training programs for primary, secondary and university students as a form of introducing young people into the responsibilities and roles of governance in the country. Understanding the processes of government will ensure a well-informed approach to governance and leadership. This will counter the dependency of those who are limited by poverty to access information since it will be available from an early age. There should be media outreach to inform people on elections, their purpose and the work of government under civic education and encouraged non-partisan participation. Training youths also makes them better voters while reducing the level of influence of local and national leaders on the voting decisions.

Law makers should develop favourable nomination requirements to ensure greater inclusivity of young people in the electoral process. Setting high fees limits the involvement of young people majority of whom lack a stable source of funding owing to the high unemployment rates. This way, candidates can compete on the grounds of their vision for the country rather than their wealth and social status. Parties should also have increased responsibility to members in enlightening them on their manifesto and vision so that there can be greater understanding and loyalty.
The government should invest in cultural events to facilitate cultural awareness and allow people to appreciate the diversity in the country. Tribal conflict in Kenya can be attributed to the lack of cultural awareness that renders people to think of their own culture as superior to others. Freedom of association and expression should be extended to everyone since there are laws that protect all the tribes from prejudice and slander to individuals. This will facilitate an increase in dialogue in person or through social media outlets to connect people more and make them informed on other cultures. Inter-cultural associations and marriages should also be encouraged.
REFERENCES


Makori C, M (2015). *Youth perception of and Participation in electoral Democracy in Kenya* Norwegian University of Life Sciences


APPENDICES

A 1: Introductory Letters

Maureen Gathoni Githae
Kenyatta University
Cell Phone: 0718040921,
Nairobi.

27th February 2018.

Dear Sir/ Madam,

RE: REQUEST FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE RESEARCH STUDY

I am a student at Kenyatta University, taking a Master’s in Public Policy and Administration (MPPA). I am undertaking a research study on “Factors Influencing Voting behavior among the youth in Kajiado County, Kenya”

I would like to kindly request that you spare some time to complete the attached questionnaire. The information provided is solely for the purpose of this study. It will be treated with confidence.

Thank you for your assistance.

Yours Sincerely,

Maureen Githae,
MPPA Student- Kenyatta University
27th February 2018.

To Whom it may concern

Dear Sir/ Madam

RE: REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AMONG THE STUDENTS IN YOUR INSTITUTION

I am a master student from Kenyatta University, department of Public policy and Administration. I am undertaking a research project on Factors influencing voting behavior among the youth in Kajiado county, Kenya. My sample population will be from the youths in Universities and Technical and Vocational Education Training Institutions in Kajiado county.

I am hereby requesting your permission to be able to distribute questionnaires among the students in your Institution. The information gathered will be treated with utmost confidence and will only be used for the purpose of this research.

Your assistance will be greatly appreciated and will go a long way in making this research a success.

Yours Sincerely,

Maureen Githae
Kenyatta University-MPPA Student
A 2: Questionnaire

PART A: General Information

1) What is your gender? (tick one)

| Male | Female |

2) What is your age bracket? (tick one)

| 18 -21 | 22 -25 | 26- 29 | 30 -34 |

3) State your highest level of education?

| Basic/Primary | Secondary | Certificate | Diploma | Undergraduate | Postgraduate |

4a) How many election elections have you participated in?

| One | Two | Three | Four | None |

4b) In a few words, kindly elaborate on why you have never participated in any national elections.

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5) Are you a registered member of a political party? (tick one)

| Yes | No |
SECTION A: CULTURAL FACTORS

1. Using a Likert 1-5 scale, with 1 being „to no extent at all”, 2 being „to a small extent” 3 being „to some extent”, 4 being „to a high extent” and 5 being „to a very high extent”, to what extent do the following socio-cultural factors determine the voting behavior of the youth in Kajiado county. Please tick (□) all as appropriate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role of Religion religious leaders and religious institutions to the voting decision.</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To what extent does Poverty levels of the community affect your voting decision</td>
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<tr>
<td>Your current occupation and your career progression</td>
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<tr>
<td>The income level and the amount of disposable income</td>
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<tr>
<td>The voters’ level of education, literacy level and overall community literacy average</td>
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<tr>
<td>To what extent do you consider gender while voting during the elections</td>
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<tr>
<td>Does social class of the leader and their followers affect your decision to vote</td>
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<tr>
<td>Does the effect of cultural leader’s decision affect your voting decision</td>
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<tr>
<td>Do you consider your geographical location from where the leaders hail from while deciding on whom to vote for</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

2. a) According to your own views, does culture affect voting behavior among the youth in Kajiado County

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
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</table>

   b. briefly explain your answer above

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3. Which other cultural factors do you consider before making your decision on your voting during elections if any other than the ones listed in question 1 above

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73
SECTION B: ETHNICITY

1. Using a Likert 1-5 scale, with 1 being „to no extent at all”, 2 being „to a small extent” 3 being „to some extent”, 4 being „to a high extent” and 5 being „to a very high extent”, to what extent do the following ethnicity factors influence the voting behavior of the youth in Kajiado county. Please tick (□) all as appropriate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do you follow your tribal grouping while making a choice for an elected leader?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Does the home region in terms of county of origin affect your choice of elected leader</td>
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<tr>
<td>Do you consider the clan influence of the candidates during elections</td>
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<tr>
<td>Do you consider the promises to a specific tribe during your voting</td>
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<tr>
<td>Does the language of the leader you vote for affect your voting decision?</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ethnic composition of the leadership and close people to the candidate</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. a) Do you consider yourself to be from a particular voting bloc in Kajiado County?

   Yes  |  No

   b. briefly explain your answer in (a) above
   ............................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................
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3. What is your suggested solution to reduce the tribal voting among the youth?

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SECTION C: INTERGENERATIONAL FACTORS
Using a Likert 1-5 scale, with 1 being “to no extent at all”, 2 being “to a small extent” 3 being “to some extent”, 4 being “to a high extent” and 5 being “to a very high extent”, to what extent do the following intergenerational factors influence the voting behavior of the youth in Kajiado county. Please tick (□) all as appropriate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do you support a generational change among the elected leaders in Kajiado county?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>The party’s or coalition’s view of the young generation?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Do you follow your family’s opinion when choosing among candidates?</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you consider your elected member’s family history while making electoral decisions</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you follow the decisions of your parents while making electoral decisions?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Do you have similar electoral decisions and opinions as the rest of your family members</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are the youth being mentored into leadership positions during elections</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is there generational change amongst the leaders</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

2. Would you prefer the younger generation of leaders or the older generation of leaders?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Young</th>
<th>Older</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b. briefly explain your answer in (a) above</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. What do you think would increase the number of youths elected into competitive political positions?

<p>| |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
</table>
SECTION D: POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

1. Using a Likert 1-5 scale, with 1 being „to no extent at all” 2 being „to a small extent” 3 being „to some extent”, 4 being „to a high extent” and 5 being „to a very high extent”, to what extent do the following political ideologies influence the voting behavior of the youth in Kajiado county. Please tick (□) all as appropriate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do you follow a specific political party affiliation</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Do you follow the campaign strategy of a specific political party</td>
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<tr>
<td>Do you consider your individual ideologies</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Does political party manifesto influence your voting choice</td>
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<tr>
<td>Do you campaign for your candidate of choice before elections</td>
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<tr>
<td>Do you think the political parties’ nominations are free and fair?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

2. a) Are you a registered member of any political party or do you subscribe to the ideologies of a particular political party or coalition?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. a) Are there any party ideologies that you do not agree with party or coalition stand?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. What could be done better in regard to the political parties’ management?
SECTION E: LEGAL ASPECTS

1. Using a Likert 1-5 scale, with 1 being „to no extent at all”, 2 being „to a small extent” 3 being „to some extent”, 4 being „to a high extent” and 5 being „to a very high extent”, to what extent do the following legal factors influence the voting behavior of the youth in Kajiado county. Please tick (□) all as appropriate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do you understand the current electoral laws in Kenya?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The requirements and qualification of the candidates as per the law</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does the whole Electoral process affect your view and subsequent voting during election.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you understand the electoral laws in Kenya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you think strictly follow the electoral laws</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. What would you want changed in the laws to see better management of the electoral process?

3. Who is to blame or takes credit for electoral management of the elections?
A 3: Universities and TVET Institutions in Kajiado County

1. Private and Public Universities in Kajiado County

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution Name</th>
<th>Campuses</th>
<th>Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adventist University of Africa</td>
<td>Adventist University of Africa</td>
<td>Private University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa Nazarene University</td>
<td>Ongata Rongai Campus</td>
<td>Private University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KCA University</td>
<td>Kitengela Campus</td>
<td>Private University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maasai Mara University</td>
<td>Kajiado Campus</td>
<td>Public University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The East African University</td>
<td>Kitengela Campus</td>
<td>Private University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umma University</td>
<td>Kajiado Campus</td>
<td>Private University</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Private and Public Technical and Vocational Education Training

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution Name</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Registration Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANK Training Institute</td>
<td>TVC</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>TVETA/PRIVATE/TVC/0113/2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hair Masters College of Hairdressing and Beauty</td>
<td>TVC</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>TVETA/PRIVATE/TVC/0124/2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Path Institute of Technology and Entrepreneurship</td>
<td>TVC</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>TVETA/PRIVATE/TVC/0134/2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centre for Training and Development</td>
<td>TVC</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>TVETA/PRIVATE/TVC/0115/2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embulbul Educational and Counseling Centre</td>
<td>TVC</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>TVETA/PRIVATE/TVC/0188/2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foresight College</td>
<td>TVC</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>TVETA/PRIVATE/TVC/0022/2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isinya Vocational Training Centre</td>
<td>VTC</td>
<td>Public</td>
<td>TVETA/PUBLIC/VTC/0092/2017</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kite Institute of Professional Studies,</td>
<td>TVC</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>TVETA/PRIVATE/TVC/0217/2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitengela Institute of Management Studies</td>
<td>TVC</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>TVETA/PRIVATE/TVC/0039/2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitengela Institute of Management Studies</td>
<td>TVC</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>TVETA/PRIVATE/TVC/0100/2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maa Institute of Professional Studies</td>
<td>TVC</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>TVETA/PRIVATE/TVC/0101/2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marengoni Vocational Training Community College</td>
<td>TVC</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>TVETA/PRIVATE/TVC/0028/2017</td>
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<tr>
<td>Masai Technical Training Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>Namelok Youth Polytechnic</td>
<td>VTC</td>
<td>Public</td>
<td>TVETA/PUBLIC/VTC/0061/2017</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sterling Quality Management College</td>
<td>TVC</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>TVETA/PRIVATE/TVC/0277/2016</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vision Empowerment Training Institute</td>
<td>TVC</td>
<td>Private</td>
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</table>
A 4: Map of Kajiado county
# A 5: Study Timeline

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>2018</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Months</strong></td>
<td>Jan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proposal writing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defending of Proposal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approval from relevant authorities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Collection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Analysis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Report writing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project submission</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Letter from Graduate school

KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

E-mail: dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke
Website: www.ku.ac.ke

P.O. Box 43844, 00100
NAIROBI, KENYA
Tel. 810901 Ext. 4150

Internal Memo

FROM: Dean, Graduate School
DATE: 19th September, 2018

TO: Maureen Githae
C/o Public Policy & Public Administration Dept.

REF: C153/CTY/PT/38189/2016

SUBJECT: APPROVAL OF RESEARCH PROPOSAL

We acknowledge receipt of your revised Research Proposal as per our recommendations raised by the Graduate School Board of 22nd August, 2018 entitled “Determinants of voting behaviour among the youth in Kajiado County, Kenya”.

You may now proceed with your Data Collection, Subject to Clearance with Director General, National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation.

As you embark on your data collection, please note that you will be required to submit to Graduate School completed Supervision Tracking Forms per semester. The form has been developed to replace the Progress Report Forms. The Supervision Tracking Forms are available at the University’s Website under Graduate School webpage downloads.

Thank you.

ANNBELL MWANIKA
FOR: DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL

C.c. Chairman, Department of Public Policy and Public Administration

Supervisors:

1. Dr. Wilson Muna
C/o Department of Public Policy and Public Administration
Kenya University
Research Permit

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:  

MS. MAUREEN GATHONI GITHAE  
of KENYATTA UNIVERSITY, 0-620  
NAIROBI, has been permitted to conduct  
research in Kajiado County  

on the topic: DETERMINANTS OF  
VOTING BEHAVIOR AMONG THE YOUTH  
in KAJIADO COUNTY.  

for the period ending:  
24th July, 2019  

Permit No. : NACOSTI/P/18/85962/23821  
Date Of Issue: 24th July, 2018  
Fee Received: Ksh 1000

[Signature]

Applicant’s  

[Signature]

Director General  
National Commission for Science,  
Technology & Innovation