DETERMINANTS OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS IN KENYA: A CASE OF MBITA CONSTITUENCY, HOMABAY COUNTY

BY

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DECLARATION

This research project report is my original work and has not been presented for the award of any degree in any other university.

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DEDICATION

This research project report is dedicated to my wife Evelyne Lucia Shitiavai and my children, Jamillah Yusuf, Hashim Yusuf and Malik Yusuf. My special thanks go to my Mother, Fatuma Saleh and my sister, Salima Chebii for their encouragement, prayers and support.
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<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
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<td>DAC</td>
<td>Development Assistance Committee</td>
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<td>DPA</td>
<td>United Nations Department of Political Affairs</td>
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<td>ECK</td>
<td>Elections Commission of Kenya</td>
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<td>ELOEP</td>
<td>Education Level On Electoral Process</td>
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<td>EMB</td>
<td>Electoral Management Body</td>
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<td>EOM</td>
<td>European Observer Mission</td>
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<td>EP</td>
<td>European Parliament</td>
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<td>EPD</td>
<td>Ethnic Political Divisions</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immune Virus</td>
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<td>IDASA</td>
<td>Institute for Democracy in Southern Africa</td>
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<td>IDP</td>
<td>Internally Displaced Person</td>
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<td>IEBC</td>
<td>Independent Electoral Boundaries Commission</td>
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<td>IED</td>
<td>Institute for Education in Democracy</td>
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<td>IIEP</td>
<td>Influence of Infrastructure on the Electoral Process</td>
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<tr>
<td>INEC</td>
<td>Independent National Electoral Commission</td>
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<td>KANU</td>
<td>Kenyan African National Union</td>
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<td>KNCHR</td>
<td>Kenyan National Commission on Human Rights</td>
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<td>KPU</td>
<td>Kenya Peoples Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>MDG</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goal</td>
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<td>NCST</td>
<td>National Council for Science and Technology</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
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<td>MP</td>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
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<td>SES</td>
<td>Socio-economic Status</td>
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<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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ABSTRACT

This study investigated the determinants of the electoral process in Mbita constituency of Homa Bay County. The extent to which elections are free and fair is of central concern particularly to countries struggling to democratise political life and establish multiparty political and electoral systems. Free and fair elections can only be achieved in situations where all the activities in the electoral circle are done as planned, without any hindrance. The study has the following objectives: to determine the influence of ethnic-political divisions on the electoral process in Mbita Constituency; to examine how socio-economic status influence electoral process in Mbita Constituency; to establish how socio-economic status influence the electoral process in Mbita Constituency and to examine how infrastructure influences the electoral process in Mbita Constituency. The study employed descriptive survey research design to establish the determinants of the electoral process in Mbita constituency, Kenya. Data was collected from 225 eligible voters in Mbita constituency, 35 IEBC temporary staff of 2010 (registration and polling officers) and 13 politicians (only those who had gone up to the ballot) and analysed using descriptive and inferential statistics, including Chi Square and Pearson correlation coefficient and presented the results in form of tables. It was established that ethnicity, socio-economic status, education levels of all the participants in the electoral process and poor infrastructure each affect the electoral process. It was concluded that Ethnicity is a key determinant of the electoral process in Kenya. This was manifested through party affiliations and also during elections. The study further established that respondents’ denominations or religion had no significant influence on the way people voted. Therefore, ethno-political divisions had a significant influence on the electoral process. Those who were endowed with resources are better placed to participate. These resources were highly correlated with socio-economic status. This explained why men participate more. They are in-charge and therefore own the family resources. The main reason why some people voted was because they expected to get some benefits from the candidates. Therefore, socio-economic status of respondents influenced the electoral process. Education level has influenced participation in the electoral process, with those who are better educated and more affluent participating more either as voters or politicians. The study findings pointed out that educational level of the eligible voters was crucial in determining electoral process as the influence of education level on electoral process had a highly significant association and finally, the constituency had no adequate roads, bridges, and electricity and safe boats. Therefore, infrastructure negatively influenced electoral process in Mbita Constituency. Therefore, the following recommendations were made: there is need to reinforce the Kenyan laws to make it difficult for every tribe to form ‘their’ party; the electoral body and the government need to organize programmes to equip the poor and the disadvantaged members of the community with civic education while at the same time striving to provide at least secondary education to all citizens and IEBC should be allowed to reject nominations of candidates who get nominated through unfair means or are handpicked. The findings of this study will be useful to the Electoral Management Body which is mandated to institutionalize a sustainable electoral process, political parties, Ministry of Planning, academicians, researchers and other stakeholders involved in the improvement of policies and practices on the electoral process.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

In the two weeks ahead of the much-anticipated Philippines congressional and local elections on 14 May 2007, the country’s chief of police operations, Wilfredo Garcia, reported that some 22 politicians had already been killed and about 80 election-related violent events had occurred in the four months of official campaigning that preceded the vote (EAB, 2007). Since the ‘people power’ movement launched democratization in the country in 1986, each subsequent election cycle has been fraught with widespread election-related violence.

In this example, observers attributed a pattern of election-related violence in the country to several interrelated factors, such as a history of intense rivalry among political clans, stark competition for government posts that carry the potential for power and access to resources and state largesse, and a broader culture of violence in which small arms are plentiful and often in use (Ellis, 2006). According to the police, powerful politicians often have their own private armies and some members of the security forces were also acting to protect or serve political bosses. Additionally, armed insurgencies in parts of the country stepped up attacks during the election process (Elklit and Jorgen, 1999).

When successful, electoral processes offer a means of channelling social conflict into respectful and constructive debate and common rules for choosing authoritative representatives of the people who can serve in executive, legislative, and other institutions. Today, it is widely understood that the ultimate guarantor of social peace is robust democratic institutions such as elections (Marco, 2006). Elections that give voice to the people are in essence a critical means of social conflict management through peaceful deliberations and decision-making processes in which ‘winners’ carry out promised policy initiatives and programs and ‘losers’ are given opportunity to serve as a loyal opposition, and to try again in future competitions.
Until the late 1950s, there was a strong belief that political results were almost completely determined by the institutional framework. Concerning electoral systems, the most important theoretical contribution to the institutional approach was made by Duverger (1951) – he emphasized the importance of electoral rules in explaining the nature of a country's party system. The growing influence of sociological methods and theories in political science in the 1950s called this view in question by emphasizing the role of social phenomena as the main determinants of party systems. Perhaps the most central work within the sociological approach is *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives* by Lipset and Rokkan (1967). According to the authors, there are four lines of social cleavage – center-periphery, state-church, land-industry and owner-worker – that explain the emergence of different party systems. Modern party systems are seen as a result of the kinds of cleavages that were present in society when political parties were organized, and how conflicts were managed. Electoral systems only modified socially determined party systems.

The emergence of political institutions is not, however, completely determined by sociopolitical forces. Geographical, cultural and colonial factors exert a great deal of influence on the evolution of political institutions (Lijphart, 1991a). An alternative set of explanations is offered by an approach that comprises different kinds of diffusion. According to this perspective, the choice of political institutions in a society is the result of influence from other societies rather than a response to societal needs and problems of its own. These approaches are not opposed to each other: an institutional choice may be rational as well as imitated.

Furthermore, the constitutional setting may determine the choice of particular institutions (Anckar and Karvonen, 2004). According to the institutional perspective – not to be confused with the institutional approach as opposed to the sociological approach mentioned above – some institutional choices follow logically upon others, whereas some other combinations tend to be inefficient and inappropriate. Given a specific institutional setting, some electoral systems may be more attractive than others. The influence of other
political institutions constitutes the third basic approach to the study of electoral system choice. This perspective also coincides with the rational perspective to some extent, since both are concerned with choosing an appropriate electoral system given some specific structural circumstances. However, the kind of contextual features differ: one approach is aimed at societal needs, whereas the other is concerned with the influence of other institutional choices.

There is consensus among theorists and development practitioners that one of the greatest challenges to the development of nations is political leadership. The progress, development and fortunes of many nations are tied to the type and quality of political leadership that they have had and continue to have. Several scholars have argued that the greatest problem confronting Africa is the political condition underscoring the importance of political leadership. According to Ake (2010), there are many factors offered to explain the apparent failure of the development enterprise in Africa: the colonial legacy, social pluralism and centrifugal tendencies, the corruption of leaders, poor labour discipline, the lack of entrepreneurial skills, poor planning and incompetent management, inappropriate policies, the stifling of market mechanisms, low levels of technical assistance, the limited inflow of foreign capital, falling commodity prices and unfavourable terms of trade, and low levels of saving and investment.

These factors are not irrelevant to the problem, alone or in combination they could be serious impediments to development. However, the assumption so readily made that there has been failure of development is misleading. The problem is not so much that development has failed as that it was never really on the agenda in the first place. By all indications, political conditions in Africa are the greatest impediment to development. It has been established that the best approach for the emergence of political leadership in modern world is through the electoral process (Igbuzor, 2012). Many countries all over the world are therefore constantly refining their electoral processes to ensure the emergence of the right kind of political leadership. In Nigeria, the process of refining the electoral process has been a recurrent one. Since the return to civil rule in 1999 after
many years of military rule, the electoral law guiding the conduct of elections has been amended after every election leading to the enactment of the 2001, 2006 and 2010 electoral acts (Igbuzor, 2012).

1.2 Statement of the Problem
Elections serve as the central political expression and exercise of power within democratic states, and conducting elections in democracies requires the translation of the political decisions of the distributed voting public into resulting “seat” representation of the various constituencies (Jones, 2010). Indeed contemporary election observers have the tendency to use the conduct of the electoral process as whole as a yardstick for measuring the extent to which elections are democratic. Free and fair elections can only be achieved in situations in which the various civil liberties commonly associated with liberal democracy are respected and protected and where all the activities in the electoral circle are done as planned, without any hindrance.

Kenya has held general elections every 5 years since independence. The electoral processes have kept on improving after every election and the disputed 2007 General Elections, which was castigated by external and internal observers as having fallen short of key international and regional standards for democratic elections was a wakeup call. The elections had very many reported cases of intimidation and violence directed against women throughout the electoral process, showing a lack of respect for the fundamental rights of women and minorities in Kenya, despite the presence of an active civil society. State resources were used for campaign purposes and state owned media were heavily biased in favour of certain political parties (EU EOM, 2008). The lack of transparency as well as a number of verified irregularities therefore cast doubt on the accuracy of the result of the election.

The strong ethnic-political divisions among the camps of the main presidential candidates led to a tense atmosphere in most parts of the country and were significant levels of
ethnically based violence, both during the campaign period and after election day. This made it difficult for some candidates and voters to exercise their democratic rights freely.

The Krieggler commission, which conducted an inquiry onto what went wrong and why it went wrong, failed to point out other factors which are unique from one constituency to another and which might have contributed to the poor standards. The commission went ahead to recommend the disbandment of ECK and pushed for the establishment of a new electoral body. This new electoral body is mandated to conduct free and fair elections and to institutionalize a sustainable electoral process. This is only possible if the new electoral body understands the determinants of the electoral processes in all the electoral units, some of which are unique and may vary from one constituency to the other. The new constitution also envisages that citizen participation in electoral activities should be without any hindrance. It is only proper to investigate the determinants of the electoral process so as to eradicate or minimize their influence on citizen participation.

Mbita is home to Suba People who have been marginalized and the constituency is highly characterised by poor road network as a result of the terrain. Therefore, the electoral standards which contribute to uniformity, reliability, consistency, accuracy and overall professionalism in the electoral process in Mbita constituency have been abandoned and hence, the study to establish the determinants that have influenced electoral process in Mbita constituency, Kenya.

1.3 Purpose of the Study
The purpose of this study was to establish the determinants of the electoral process in Kenya: a case of Mbita constituency.
1.4 Objectives of the Study
The objectives of the study were:

1. To determine how ethnic-political divisions influence the electoral process in Mbita Constituency.
2. To examine how socio-economic status influences electoral process in Mbita Constituency.
3. To establish how education level of voters influences the electoral process in Mbita Constituency.
4. To examine how infrastructure influences electoral process in Mbita Constituency.

1.5 Research Questions
The research questions of this study were:

1. How do ethnic-political divisions influence the electoral process in Mbita Constituency?
2. How has socio-economic status influenced electoral process in Mbita Constituency?
3. What is the influence of education level of voters on the electoral process in Mbita Constituency?
4. What is the influence of infrastructure on electoral process in Mbita Constituency?

1.6 Significance of the Study
Electoral processes offer a safe, predictable, rule-bound method for arbitrating political and social conflicts through the selection of representatives or the definitive resolution of questions before the community. When elections are credibly conducted, they imbue the government with legitimacy garnered by the consent of the people, improving the capacity of the state to ensure community security through legitimate authority under the rule of law, and to improve levels of human development through effective governance (UNDP, 2009). It is envisaged that the study findings will be of significant benefit to the IEBC, which is tasked with conducting a free and fair elections and to institutionalize a sustainable electoral process, NGOs, future researchers, academicians and policy makers.
It will give an insight into the determinants that influence electoral process in Kenya and globally. It will provide the policy makers with information on the determinants of electoral process and how credible elections can create legitimate governments that enjoy popular support for programs and policies. Therefore, the findings from this study will be useful in addressing the challenges that face electoral process in Mbita Constituency.

1.7 Limitations of the Study
The researcher encountered the following challenges: study respondents tried to withhold important information from the researcher and therefore the researcher had to assure the participants of their confidentiality so that they could freely open up to give the information; the findings might have been influenced by the researcher’s subjectivity and the researcher tried to address this through citing literary sources to support personal views to minimise subjectivity and the interviews that were used in the data collection although has many advantages, it is time consuming and costly and the researcher overcame this by setting timeframes within which the interviews were to be conducted to save time and reduce costs.

1.8 Delimitation of the Study
The study was delimited to Mbita constituency. The study only focused on determinants that influence electoral process in Mbita constituency of Homa bay county, Kenya. Secondly, the study confined itself to the electoral process in Mbita constituency only and did not involve electoral systems, contextual determinants of electoral system choice and the management of IEBC. The researcher also looked at the factors like ethnic-political divisions, social class and income levels and education levels. The study did not look at the role and influence of the EMB on the electoral process.

1.9 Assumptions of the Study
The study was based on the following assumptions: there are determinants that influence electoral process; the respondents would be co-operative and give voluntarily accurate information; all respondents would be honest, objective and would find appropriate time to fill the questionnaires and respond to interview schedules. It is also assumed that the
findings and recommendations of the study would be useful to Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), political parties, future researchers, academicians, policy makers and other stakeholders.

1.10 Operational Definition of Key Terms

**Election** refers to the selection by vote of a person or persons from among candidates for a position, especially a political office.

**Electoral Laws** are the set of rules governing the whole process of elections.

**Electoral System** is concerned with the final stage of the election process: how citizens vote, the style of the ballot paper, constituency structure, the method of counting, and the final determination of who is elected.

**Ballot Structure** refers to the design of the ballot paper to enable voters identify and choose their preferred candidates.

**Electoral Formula** determines how votes are translated into seats, that is, seats can be allocated to a candidate or a party winning a plurality of the vote, a majority of the vote, or proportionally among the competitors.

**Electoral Process** refers to all the activities in the electoral cycle like voter registration, voter education, nomination and election that lead to a credible electoral process.

**Electoral Thresholds** are usually expressed in terms of a minimum percentage of the total national vote that a party needs to win representation.

**Gerrymandering** is defined as the deliberate manipulation of district boundaries so as to favour or disfavour particular parties.

**Apparentement** implies the possibility for separate parties to declare themselves linked for the purpose of seat allocation.

**Ethnic-Political Division:*** include tribalism, ethnicity, party affiliation and religion.

**Sociological Factors** include social class, income, occupation, education, religion, ethnic background, primary groups, geography, sex, and age and these factors do affect voting process.

**Temporary IEBC staff** refers to officers recruited by IEBC on a temporary basis whenever there is an election.
1.11 Organization of the Study

Chapter one covers the determinants of the electoral process and the challenges electoral process face in discharging its duties, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, assumptions of the study, scope of the study, limitations and delimitations of the study and definitions of significant terms used in the study. Chapter two highlights the literature related to the electoral process. Chapter three presents the research methodology which will be used in the study. It describes research design, target population, sample size and sampling techniques, research instruments, their validity and reliability, data collection procedures, data analysis techniques, presentation and finally ethical considerations. Chapter four is presentation of the findings, the analysis of the data that was obtained from the interviewer-administered questionnaire and the face-to-face semi-structured interviews in relation to the research’s objectives respectively are presented within this chapter. The chapter is divided into four main sections as per the objectives. Finally, Chapter five is the discussion of the overall quantitative and qualitative data and findings, Conclusions, contributions and recommendations. This chapter aims to explain the findings and results that have emerged from the data presented within the context of the current study and also to summarize the conclusions for each objective of this research which emerged from the analysis.
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction
This chapter reviews the literature on the determinants of the electoral process in Kenya. The literature focuses on how the determinants like ethnic-political divisions, social class and income level, education levels and challenges facing electoral process.

2.2 An Overview of Electoral Process
The electoral process can be divided into three main phases: (1) pre-election phase: this phase includes activities such as delimitation, voter registration, registration of political parties, nomination process, campaign process, media and civic and voter education; (2) election phase: this phase has to with election day activities including polling stations, secrecy of ballot, ballot papers, ballot boxes, election materials, counting, election monitoring and observation and (3) post-election phase: This include announcement of results, post-election review and post-election disputes (Igbuzor, 2012).

When electoral processes are credible, approaching the ideal of free and fair, and when they are inclusive of all elements of society through a well-considered law of citizenship and of voter registration, the ‘mandate’ given by the people to victorious candidates and political parties imbues governance with legitimacy. Legitimate governments are more likely to manage conflict positively than illegitimate ones. As Derrick Marco of the Institute for Democracy in Southern Africa (IDASA) writes, “Credible elections must be understood as elections where the will...of the people (has) been expressed in an environment that is free of intimidation, violence, coercion, fully participatory and enabling for the voters to exercise their right to vote. The term credible provides a much broader framework for measurement including the environment in which the elections occurred than terms such as free and fair and legitimate. It also leaves the responsibility of declaring an election free and fair to the EMB (electoral management body) that is legally bound to make the final declaration on the outcome of the results and the elections generally” Fischef (2002: 4).
Good electoral processes do not pre-judge the nature of society and who should represent whom; indeed, electoral processes are about defining what is meant by ‘representation’. That is, a good electoral process will allow society on its own to determine the nature of its similarities and differences (Ellis, 2006). Representation may be geographic, ideological, identity-based (religion, ethnicity, or gender) or along other lines. Electoral processes help establish what issues are before the community. They help define which are priority issues, and present various options to respond to those challenges. Campaigns thus set agendas with candidates articulating their priority issues.

Electoral processes give voice to the citizens, ideally, in that they provide an opportunity for each individual in the political community to—on polling day—‘speak’ as political equals as they cast their vote. Each vote, and each person’s voice or view, is heard equally on that day. At the same time, in considering how they will vote, voters are ‘educated’ on policy issues by candidates. Ideally, voters learn about what political leaders think the key issues are, and they learn through debate and discourse about the range of possible public policy options and costs, consequences, and considerations for each (IDASA, 2009).

Election is crucial because it gives the procedure that allows members of an organization or community to choose representatives who will hold positions of authority within it. In any democratic system, it is crucial that elections be free and fair. Mackenzie (1967) identified four conditions for the conduct of a free and fair election for example: (1) An independent judiciary to interpret the electoral laws; (2) An honest, competent non-partisan electoral body to manage the elections; (3) A developed system of political parties 4) A general acceptance by the political community of the rules of the game (Igbuzor, 2012).

Another scholar Dundas (2007) argued that the assessment of an election as to whether it is free and fair or not can be done by answering the following questions: (1) is the legal framework adequate to ensure that the organization of free and fair multi-party elections
be achieved in a given situation?; (2) has the potential to contribute to the holding of free and fair multi-party elections been reflected in the provisions of the constitution and those of electoral laws?; (3) have the courts been given the fullest possible role in assisting aggrieved persons who complain about failures in the procedures of major election processes? and (4) are the election safeguards satisfactorily balanced with the facilitation measures in place and aimed at delivering high quality election services at cost effective levels?

Over the years, scholars have identified electoral standards which contribute to uniformity, reliability, consistency, accuracy and overall professionalism in elections. These standards include: (1) Constitutional provision that provide the foundation for the key elements of electoral framework including electoral rights and the basic principles of the electoral system. (2) Electoral law that guides the conduct of the elections including the powers of the electoral management bodies and governmental bodies; (3) the election administration must demonstrate respect for the law; be non-partisan and neutral; transparent; accurate, professional and competent and must be designed to serve the voters; (4) the electoral system should guarantee political inclusiveness, representation, frequency of elections and fairness in the organization of electoral units (Igbuzor, 2012). (5) The organization of electoral units is done in such a way as to achieve the objective of according equal weight to each vote to the greatest degree possible to ensure effective representation; (6) the legal framework should ensure that all eligible citizens are guaranteed the right to universal and equal suffrage as well as the right to contest elections without any discrimination and (7) the electoral management bodies are established and operate in a manner that ensures the independent and impartial administration of elections. (8) Voters registers are maintained in a manner that is transparent and accurate and protects the rights of qualified citizens to register, and prevents the unlawful or fraudulent registration or removal of persons. (9) All political parties and candidates are able to compete in elections on the basis of equitable treatment (Ake, 2000). (10) The electoral campaigns are organized in such a way that each political party and candidate enjoys the right to freedom of expression and freedom of association, and has access to the electorate, and that all stakeholders in the election process have an
equal chance of success. (11) All political parties and candidates have access to the media owned or controlled by the state and those privately owned and that no unreasonable limitations are placed on the right of political parties and candidates to free expression during election campaigns. (12) All political parties and candidates are equitably treated by legal provisions governing campaign finances and expenditures. (13) Polling stations are accessible and that there is accurate recording of ballots and that the secrecy of the ballot is guaranteed. 14. All votes are counted and tabulated accurately, equally, fairly and transparently. (15) There are representatives of parties and candidates contesting the election to observe all voting processes. (16) To ensure transparency and to increase credibility, there should be provision for election observers to observe all stages of election process, and (17) there should be compliance with and enforcement of the electoral law (Igbuzor, 2012).

2.3 Elections in Kenya

Kenya has held nine presidential, parliamentary and local/municipal elections since attaining independence in 1963. In between these elections the country has also held a number of by-elections occasioned by the loss of a seat by a sitting MP or councilor for a variety of reasons. In 1966 for instance, the country went through what is referred to as the ‘Little General Election which was occasioned by the resignation of several MPs from the then ruling party, the Kenya African National Union (KANU), to form the first opposition party in independent Kenya, the Kenya Peoples Union (KPU). The then vice president Jaramogi Oginga Odinga led the defections. The 1963, 1969, 1974, 1979, 1984 and 1988 elections were conducted under one party rule. The 1992, 1997 and 2002 elections, on the other hand, were conducted under a multiparty regime (Wanyande, 2006).

Under the one party regime, the ruling party sponsored all the candidates. Nomination of candidates was also controlled and conducted by a clique of powerful party politicians who ensured that only those politicians acceptable to the regime were nominated and subsequently elected. Voters therefore did not have much influence on who was nominated and who became a candidate for election to parliament. There was the
widespread belief that in some constituencies, the election was rigged in favour of pro-establishment candidates. Consequently elections turned out to be a mere formality conducted periodically to serve basically three functions. First they were instrumental in confirming ruling political elites in power and facilitating their bid to consolidate their power. It must be admitted however that on the whole the nominated candidates always engaged in a fierce electoral contest. The elections were thus mainly a selection exercise in which individuals considered to be politically acceptable to the regime were given the mandate to represent the people. The choice was even more restricted in the case of presidential elections. Only one presidential candidate was presented to the electorate. This was in line with the practice by which the party president would also be the party’s presidential candidate. There were no primaries for presidential candidates. No wonder that President Jomo Kenyatta was elected unopposed throughout his presidency and relinquished power only upon death in 1978 (Chweya and Ludeki, 2002).

Secondly, one party election served to legitimise what was to all intents and purposes an authoritarian rule: the leaders used the elections to claim legitimacy. This point ought to be understood against the background that every government irrespective of how it comes to power seeks to gain some legitimacy in the eyes of both the domestic and international community. Third, the regularity with which Kenya held elections was often cited by the pro-establishment politicians as proof of how democratic the country was. It did not matter that the elections were neither free nor fair as they were managed by civil servants on behalf of the government. As the Institute for Education in Democracy (IED) observed: By 1969, the role of the Electoral Commission had become blurred. Most of its functions, such as registering voters and supervising the conduct of elections, were placed under the control of the non-constitutional post of Supervisor of Elections in the office of the Attorney General. The Electoral Commission was renamed the Electoral Boundaries Review Commission and restricted to the role of reviewing electoral boundaries and determining the number of constituencies and their names. It is not clear how these changes emerged, but they had the effect of bringing the supervision of the electoral process under the control of the government (Wanyande, 2006).
Because of the undemocratic nature of elections under a one party regime, voters did not use elections to determine the quality of their representatives in terms of their performance. Thus even though several politicians lost their seats in various elections, there is no clear evidence that this was caused by voters’ voluntary decision to vote them out. Some of the losers may have been rigged out by the ruling party because they were considered no longer useful. In this regard I find plausible the observation by IED that ‘the use of the state’s administrative apparatus introduced partiality into the electoral process, especially against those considered by the government to be antiestablishment’ (IED, 1997: 11). The KANU government’s refusal to allow Oginga Odinga and his former KPU colleagues to contest the 1983 and the 1988 elections is a good example of how the voters’ right to choose was limited under the single party regime. Yet these politicians were very highly regarded in their constituencies but were barred from contesting the elections on the pretext that they had been disloyal to the Kenyatta regime. This was so despite the fact that Jomo Kenyatta had been replaced in 1978 (Wanyande, 2006; Jonyo and Fred, 2002).

2.4 Influence of Ethnic-Political Divisions on Electoral Process
Since the early 1990s, academic discussions of ethnicity in Africa have increasingly contextualised it in the process of democratisation. After a consensus on the desirability of democracy had been reached, the focus turned to its feasibility and those sociopolitical, cultural and economic variables, including ethnicity that might be obstacles to it (Nnoli, 1994; Ake, 2000). Initial discussions relied generally on anthropological and historical models of ethnicity, namely primordialism and instrumentalism, developed in the postwar period. These were used to explain how ethnicity works in contemporary politics (Geertz, 1973).

It has been argued that democracy thrives under conditions of individual political dynamics, but that Africans act in keeping with group dynamics (Nnoli, 1994). Democracy assumes that the individual, its basic unit of political activity, operates on the basis of specific iinterests and rights rather than fixed identities and that the intensity of an
individual's interests varies, both across a spectrum of interests and, within a given interest over time. Political society or civil society is necessarily independent of the state and built on flexible and fluctuating group interests, which themselves are aggregations of individual rational choices (Fatton, 1992).

Yet, Africa was described as possessing cultural incompatibilities with democracy largely due to the three defining elements of ethnicity: first, shared cultural attributes, such as language, kinship, ideologies, symbolic repertoires and modes of religious observation; second, an active consciousness of collective selfhood; and third, boundaries in which “they” constitute the “us” (Young, 2004). African society, the argument went, is largely characterised by communal living with deeply rooted primordial norms of relating. Africans are more inclined to think of their obligations to other members of the group rather than their individual rights and freedoms and to identify their individual well-being with group welfare. Ethnicity, as an inherited, rather than chosen identity, pre-empts the free formation of civil society because it endows individuals with group membership and an accompanying set of interests. Additionally, the problems of liberal democracy in Africa are complicated by the partial displacement of the state by informal communities such as ethnic groups which are not formed rationally (Ake, 2000). In other words, ‘the intellectual bricolage that frames the crafting of democracy is premised on the ontological priority of the individual. Ethnicity fits but uneasily with the ontological premises of democratic institutions’ (Mozaffar, 1995).

Following that, it has been argued that democratisation processes, by their very nature of mobilising greater participation through increased political competition, and through placing the question of control (and sharing or redistribution) of state power and resources on top of the political agenda, exacerbate ethnic conflicts and tensions and therefore make their management a critical matter (Osaghae, 1994). Berman insists that “the informal clientelistic networks that dominate politics have involved hierarchical patterns of incorporation and exclusion of ethno-regional elites and communities within the state system of power” (Berman, Eyoh and Kymlicka 2004). This recalls Lonsdale's
argument that moral ethnicity gets perverted into political tribalism when ethnic groups collide in competition for resources in state-ordered arenas (Berman, 1998). Ethnicity and democracy speak seemingly different languages. Ethnic identity, though a social reality that has preceded democracy in all African societies, is viewed as a factor that must be at best managed and at worst repressed for the sake of democracy’s development (Osaghae, 1994).

There is consensus in the literature on the influence of ethnicity in Kenyan politics (Oyugi 1997; Jonyo 2002, 2003). According to Jonyo, the reference point in Kenyan politics is ethnicity disguised as party politics (Jonyo 2002). Oyugi (1997) who has conducted several studies on ethnicity and elections in Kenya observes that: ‘Many Kenyans believe that tribalism (read: ethnicity) is a cancer which is deeply lodged in the Kenyan body politic. Yet the same people are usually reluctant to make it a subject of discussion across ethnic boundaries because of its emotive force: it is always other people’s problem and not ours’ (Oyugi 1997). The effect of ethnicity on voter behaviour and consequently election outcome is most evident in presidential elections, in parliamentary elections held in constituencies encompassing settled areas, (Hyden and Lesslie, 2003) and in urban constituencies. Ever since the restoration of multiparty politics in 1992 virtually every major ethnic group (Institute for Education in Democracy, 1997) has fielded a presidential candidate and gone on to vote for one of their own. This has been driven mainly by the belief that having one of your own as president increases the community’s chances of attracting more public resources for development. As Jonyo (2003) observed:

“The ethnic elites from the president’s ethnic group are assured of plum jobs from which huge kickbacks are drawn and lucrative government contracts won. Moreover, these elites can borrow big loans from state owned banks and other friendly banks without the threat of penalties for defaulting on the repayment, since they enjoy protection against drastic recovery mechanisms (Jonyo 2003).”
The power of ethnicity in Kenyan elections was perhaps best demonstrated in the ethnic clashes that rocked parts of the country in the run up to the 1992 and 1997 elections. In 1992 members of the Kikuyu, Luo and Luhya communities living in some parts of the Rift Valley Province were violently evicted from their settlements by the Kalenjin and Masai communities who claimed to be the indigenous and therefore rightful owners of all lands in the Rift Valley. The rhetoric notwithstanding, that action was a politically strategic move designed to displace the so-called alien communities so that they would not register for the elections scheduled for December 1992. Rift Valley Province was home of the then President and also a KANU stronghold. By contrast, the target communities were mainly supporters of the opposition parties.

They had to be disenfranchised lest they voted against KANU’s Daniel Arap Moi to deny him the 25 percent of the votes cast in the Rift Valley province (Jonyo and Fred, 2002). One report indicates that ‘at least 300,000 Kenyans were displaced in the so-called KANU zones in the rift Valley and that most of them were not able to participate in the elections’ (IED Report 1997, Election: 181). The clashes in the Coast province in the run up to the 1997 elections targeted the upcountry people, primarily Kikuyu and Luo residents. These communities were viewed as opposed to KANU, and residing in an area which was then considered a KANU stronghold. As in 1992, the regime hardliners were behind the attacks, a fact that was underscored by orders to the army not to intervene (Chege and Barkan 1999)

2.5 Influence of Socio-Economic Status on Electoral Process

The foundational research on electoral participation emerges in the U.S. context and focuses on who participates, how they participate and why they participate. This line of work aims at identifying the socio-economic characteristics, attitudes and attributes of voters, and relies mainly on individual-level data from large public opinion and electoral surveys. One of the most consistent models produced by this research comes from the Columbia School and is known as the SES model (Rosenstone and Hanson, 1993; Verba and Brady, 1996), which states that the higher one’s socio-economic status (defined in terms of education, income, social class, employment) the more likely one is to
participate in the electoral process. In addition, several studies conclude that age also makes a difference: the older the individual the more likely he or she is to participate (Inglehart 1990; Dalton, 1998).

In trying to explain this set of empirical regularities, the literature offers arguments about resources and about elite mobilization (Rosenstone and Hanson, 1993; Verba et al., 1978). On the one hand, participation is costly, therefore only those who have sufficient resources (money, time, knowledge and social connections) will participate. These resources are highly correlated with socio-economic status. On the other hand, those who are mobilized by elites will participate, but elites mobilize those that are likely to have more time, money, knowledge and social connections anyway. Therefore more proximate explanations of participation are levels of individual political knowledge and political interest, whether individuals are part of a social network (church, soccer club), and whether they have a sense of political efficacy and a sense of duty.

In response to this socially deterministic model, the Michigan school introduced a set of psychological elements into the equation. These scholars argued that the relationship between social characteristics and voting behaviour is mediated by partisan attitudes, that is, beliefs and feelings about the candidates, issues and parties (Campbell et al., 1960). These partisan attitudes are strongly affected by what they refer to as party identification, a long-standing psychological attachment to one of the two parties (in the United States) (Bartels 1998; Miller, 1991).

Still other explanations have been advanced to explain voting behaviour in Western democratic societies. In addition to the above explanations, Verba et al. (1996) point to the importance of a democratic political culture in determining political behaviour (Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1996; Dalton, 2000). The literature on political culture argues that countries with more tolerant values and with positive orientations towards government and democracy are more likely to have higher levels of participation.
(Inglehart 1991; Putnam and Pharr, 2000). Current trends of skepticism in politics have been identified as the causes of declining levels of electoral participation (Dalton, 2000).

Similarly, Abramson and Aldrich (1982) explain the decline in turnout in the US by changes in long-term attitudinal variables some of which overlap with some dimensions of political culture. More specifically they argue that the decline in party identification and in external efficacy (the perception of the government’s ability to respond to its citizens and to solve pressing problems) account for this worrisome decline. This pattern has been found in Robert Putnam’s work, *Bowling Alone*. Putnam offers a social capital explanation, claiming that social engagement and civic participation are declining in advanced industrial societies leading to a decline in citizen participation in politics (Dalton, 2000).

Authoritarian rulers use elections to further solidify their base of support is a finding also advanced in studies that pertain to the Arab world and Latin America. For example, Lust-Okar (2006), Blaydes (2006) argue that in the context of the Arab world, elections manage political elite by bringing them into the political process. Therefore, elections keep elite accountable to the existing regime. Lust-Okar and Jamal (2002) find that authoritarian leaders tend to manipulate elections so that the electoral process results in outcomes that give domestic credibility and legitimacy to leaders in power. By uniting potential supporters and would-be opponents in an election context, Arab regimes are able to remain durable and stable across time.

Few studies, however, have actually examined the logic citizens employ in participating in elections under authoritarian circumstances. In one of the few studies that systematically examines citizen rationale, Lust-Okar (2006) finds that citizens in Jordan are more likely to participate if they feel they can derive *wastas*, or benefits, from candidates. Because legislative institutions remain weak in the Arab world, party identification and policy issues, she argues, matter less for voting behaviour than the possibility of receiving such *wastas*. Access to state resources thus becomes the primary
motivation for participation in elections. As she notes, “The distribution of state resources
trumps by far any role of elections as arenas for contest over the executive or critical
policies” (Lust-Okar, 2007). Thus, according to Lust-Okar, citizens don’t necessarily
possess democratic aspirations or policy preferences when they vote; rather; they hope to
leverage more benefits from existing regimes. This finding is also echoed by Blaydes

New research in the Arab world finds that people participate in electoral politics in order
to derive state resources and to secure clientelist access (Lust-Okar, 2006; Blaydes,
2006). Citizens who receive state perks and benefits are more likely to vote and
participate in election campaigns. In other words, people participate less for the purpose
of advancing particular issues or policies and more view a view toward supporting,
gaining access to, and eventually obtaining benefits from political leaders. The benefits or
resources being sought may be for one’s community, rather than for the individual, but
the motivation in either instance remains one of clientelism, described by the term *wasta*
in the Arab world. Although beyond the scope of the present inquiry, this clientelist
orientation may influence not only whether one engages in electoral activity but also the
choice of the candidates to support. To the extent that *wasta* increases the likelihood of
electoral involvement, one is also likely to favour candidates with the political
connections to extract resources from the political system.

Although this logic is appealing, research in democratic but less-developed countries
offers evidence that the explanatory power of variables related to social mobilization may
be limited in some political settings. For example, Ahuja and Chibber (2007) find that
poor people in India are just as likely to vote as more affluent individuals. They argue
that poor people view elections as a fundamental right and are therefore as likely as
others to exercise this right. Research in Latin America has also shown that SES does not
account for variance in voting behaviour (Fornos *et al.*, 2004).
Some EU- or EP-behaviour specific factors also affect turnout, but their effects are smaller. These factors are by nature such that they are difficult to change. For example, one of the functions of the EU is to redistribute resources from richer to poorer regions inside the EU area. This redistribution seems to affect turnout rates. Voters in the countries benefiting most from the EU subsidies turn out in the polls more actively than voters in the countries that pay these subsidies. However, this knowledge does not help much when one is considering practical options to increase turnout. Redistribution of money is always a zero sum game, at least in the short term (Mattila, 2003).

2.6 Influence of Education Level on Electoral Process

A large body of research in the last 30 years shows that schooling has a significant private return in terms of increased earnings. Yet, it is possible that education creates other benefits to society that are not reflected in the earnings of the educated. One potentially important example of such positive externalities of education is enhanced political behaviour. Economists, educators and politicians commonly argue that one of the benefits of education is that a more educated electorate enhances the quality of democracy. If this is true, then education has social benefits over and above the private return, and Pigouvian subsidies for education may produce more efficient education acquisition decisions (Dee, 2003).

Interestingly, the argument that education generates positive externalities through its effects on political behaviour is not raised only by those who support a larger role for the government. For example, the Center on Education Policy, a liberal think tank that promotes public schools, argues that "The survival of a representative democracy like the United States ultimately depends on having a large group of well-educated citizens." Schools prepare students to be good citizens in three ways: (1) teach students about the role of government in the United States; (2) uphold civic values by teaching students to be good citizens; (3) equip students with the civic skills they need to be effective participants in a representative democracy." The same argument resonates with noted advocates of a limited role for government, such as Friedman (1962). For example;

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Friedman (1962) argues that, "A stable and democratic society is impossible without a minimum degree of literacy and knowledge on the part of most citizens and without widespread acceptance of some common set of values. Education can contribute to both. In consequence, the gain from education of a child accrues not only to the child or to his parents but also to other members of the society. [...] Most of us would probably conclude that the gains are sufficiently important to justify some government subsidy."

Political Science research in Western democracies suggests that education, SES and other personal experiences that expand an individual's horizons lead to increased political participation (Rosenstone and Hanson, 1993; Verba, Scholzman, and Brady, 1996). The logic for this relationship is partly that these experiences increase information and awareness of the larger society of which one is a part, and that this in turn fosters both a sense of citizen duty and the motivation to help shape the way that society is governed. The logic for this relationship may also reflect interest calculations, as well as considerations of information and awareness. Those who are better educated and more affluent tend to have more opportunities and a greater stake in the prevailing political order, and thus to have an interest in activity that supports the political system.

Why might education affect political behaviour? The benefit of education may accrue either through the enhanced quality of participation by a given subset of citizens, or through broader participation among the citizenry. The first channel is important if education equips citizens with the cognitive skills they need to be effective participants in a representative democracy. In this case, education increases citizens' ability to select able leaders, understand the issues upon which they will vote, act as a check on the potential excesses of the government, and recognize corruption in leaders (Milligan, Moretti, and Oreopoulos, 2003).

The second channel is important if education improves citizens' interest and knowledge of political issues, their involvement in the political process and, ultimately, the effectiveness of their political participation. Economists commonly argue that education
provides important social benefits through enhanced civic participation. Hanushek (2002), among many others, makes this argument in his survey of public education. There are several theoretical models that suggest a link between education and civic participation. Verba and Nie (1972) argues that individuals with higher socioeconomic status may have higher cognitive skills, benefit from the higher effectiveness of their participation, possess more knowledge about the issues, or be influenced by peer effects from other high SES individuals. It is also possible that skills acquired from additional schooling may help an individual overcome the bureaucratic inconveniences and difficulties in registering to vote (Wolfinger and Rosenstone, 1980). Feddersen and Pesendorfer (1996) develop a political economy model in which low-education voters prefer to abstain so that the votes of better-informed voters will carry more weight. In their model, the non-voting of the low-educated is a result of their relative lack of education providing more education to them will only increase voting if the education level of the rest of society stands still. This approach contrasts with the emphasis in Verba and Nie (1972) and Wolfinger and Rosenstone (1980) on absolute levels of education.

We find a strong effect of education on voting in the US. More than half of the effect appears to be accounted for by differences in voting registration across education groups. Results from the UK, where persons are legally responsible and actively assisted to register, show little effect of education on voting. We also find strong and persistent effects of education on civic behaviour in both the US and the UK. Better educated adults are more likely to follow election campaigns in the media, discuss politics with others, associate with a political group, and work on community issues (Milligan et al., 2003).

A vast body of empirical research in political science has studied civic participation. Verba and Nie (1972) provide some of the first micro-empirical evidence of a strong link between socio-economic status (SES) and political participation. Wolfinger and Rosenstone (1980) break down SES into separate income and education effects and find the influence of education to be stronger than income. Powell (1985) suggests that the SES-participation link is stronger in the US than in other industrialized countries, a
finding appearing again in Blais (2000) and Wattenberg (2002). The empirical association between education and turnout is very well established.

How does registration affect voting? Registration raises the costs of voting, and particularly affects those who find it difficult to deal with bureaucratic hurdles associated with the process. Verba et al (1995) emphasize the 'resources' or 'civic skills' available to potential voters; concepts analogous to what economists think of as human capital. As well, procrastinators may also be affected by registration, as voters must plan to vote well in advance. If the low-educated are less motivated or less able to overcome these barriers, then registration is predicted to adversely affect their voting turnout behaviour.

Previous empirical analysis of these reforms suggests a modest effect on voter turnout. Knack (1995) analyzes the 1970s and 1980s variation in registration laws and finds a positive effect on registration, and that about half of the new registrants vote. Martinez and Hill (1999) looks at the 1992 and 1996 elections, finding little evidence that the 1993 federal motor-voter law increased turnout. Highton (1997) compares states with high registration barriers to states with low barriers, finding that the effect of the barriers is modest, but hits harder among low-educated voters. Flanigan and Zingale (2002) argues that if registration expansions lead to low-interest citizens becoming registered, little impact may be seen on voter turnout as the newly-registered may not turn out to vote.

Milligan (2003) found a strong and robust relationship between education and voting in the United States, but not in the United Kingdom. When the US sample is restricted only to citizens who are registered, the estimated effect of education on voting drops to less than a third of the effect for the full sample. In addition, our evidence on broader outcomes indicates that education increases citizens' attention to public affairs and to following politics. More educated citizens appear to have more information on candidates and campaigns. We find similar results across both countries. Overall, these results lend support to the notion that education has social externalities through the production of a better polity.
On the individual level, voting has often been related to socio-demographic factors like age, gender, education or income (Topf, 1995). For example, we know that older and well-educated people are more likely to vote than young and less educated people. The problem with using socio-demographic variables to analyse turnout is that they are more descriptive than explanatory. It is important to know that older people are more likely to vote than younger, but unless there is a convincing link between age and voting this information is largely theoretically irrelevant. The link is that we assume that old people have different attitudes or values than young people and this is why they participate more actively in elections. Or we can assume that older people are more dependent on the public sector (pensions and health care) and they have more to gain by voting. Consequently, a theoretically plausible explanation for participation must be linked with the motivations, values or attitudes of potential voters. These factors may or may not be related to socio-demographic variables (Mattila, 2003).

Individual level explanations of turnout in the EP elections in particular are usually related to the attitudes of European citizens. For example, trust in the EU’s institutions in general or in the European Parliament in particular may explain why EU citizens decide to vote or stay home. Studies on the effects of EU-related attitudes on turnout have produced somewhat contradictory results. Schmitt and Mannheimer’s (1991) study of participation in the 1989 EP elections showed that EU- or EP-related attitudes played only a negligible part in people’s decisions to vote. Later Franklin et al. (1996) came to the same overall conclusion in a study of the 1989 and 1994 EP elections. Blondel et al. (1997, 1998) studied the 1994 EP elections and came to a contrary conclusion. Their analysis showed that EU/EP attitudes affect turnout, even when controlled for contextual and socio-demographic variables. Consequently, the impact of EU/EP-related attitudes on turnout remains in doubt.

2.7 Influence of Infrastructure on Electoral Process

It is generally believed that the backbone of any sustainable development is physical infrastructure: roads and bridges, railways, ports and inland waterways, airports, electricity generation and network, irrigation and telecommunications. The improvements
in infrastructure will have a positive impact on both economic and social development, including education, health, tourism, and trade, as well as on a nation's integration with the region and the world (Map, 2009). Mbita Constituency in Homabay County still lacks physical infrastructure to promote such social and economic development. Infrastructure is a broad concept linked to every facet of the economy and human life. One aspect of infrastructure development is to build new assets and maintain the existing ones; another is to deliver infrastructure services. Transport, telecommunications, energy, and water have become part and parcel of human existence. These are central to the household life and economic production. It is difficult to imagine a modern world without them. A lack of such infrastructure facilities is considered to be a major structural weakness that holds back economic growth and development. It is often said that infrastructure can be considered as the "wheels" of economic growth. Furthermore, infrastructure also helps to spread the benefits of growth, which makes the development process more inclusive. Economic growth brings economic development, but the "inclusiveness" of development is an important issue for policymakers. There is no guarantee that the benefits of economic growth are shared by all, which consequently could have reduced poverty (World Bank Group, 2007 and Map, 2009).

While economic growth is a necessary condition for poverty reduction, it is not sufficient. Here, infrastructure plays a dual role: It supports high economic growth and strengthens the sharing of the benefits of growth (ADB, JBIC and World Bank, 2005). Mbita Constituency generally has less developed infrastructure than its neighboring constituencies because almost a third of the constituency are islands, poor road network as a result of bad terrain. This is a serious obstacle to the socio-economic growth of the constituency as physical infrastructure is important for realizing both sustainable economic growth and poverty reduction. Even access to community and villages is usually via rural roads which are poorly developed. Theses unpaved rural roads are covered with sticky, slippery black cotton soil and, in most cases, are hardly accessible or totally impassable during the rainy season, which often leads some parts of the constituency to remain isolated as well as to face economic marginalization. As a result, these people often become secluded during the rainy season, and the lack of access to
market and public services poses a major constraint. This has posed a great challenge to the electoral process, that is, voter registration, nominations, political campaigns, voter education and elections since water transport is usually very expensive. Telecommunication network is poorly developed and people only use mobile phones which often lack strong signals and mass media is through radio (IEBC, 2011). Therefore, credible elections can be compromised since not many people can actively participate in the electoral process (Fischer, 2002).

2.8 Challenges Faced by Electoral Process

Violent acts can be targeted against people or things, such as the targeting of communities or candidates or the deliberate destruction of campaign materials, vehicles, offices, or ballot boxes. How the election process and administration is designed, managed, and implemented has a strong bearing on electoral violence. Those elections considered to be free, fair, and transparent are less likely to experience electoral violence than those where allegations of mismanagement or deliberate cheating are prevalent (UNDP, 2009).

There are a lot of challenges with the conduct of elections in Nigeria from the 1922 election to the 2007 election. It has been documented that elections in Nigeria are constant tales of violence, fraud and bad blood. The challenges include among other things irregularities which put the credibility of the entire electoral process in doubt; problems with the legislative framework which puts constraints on the electoral process; several organisations are not playing their roles to ensure credible, free and fair election; the electoral system does not give room for inclusiveness; lack of independence of electoral commissions; long process of election dispute resolution; irresponsible behaviour by politicians and followers manifesting in thuggery and violence; lack of effective democratic institutions and monetisation of politics. It has been documented that money not only determines who participates in electoral politics but that money drowns votes and voices in Nigeria as "godfathers openly confess about shady deals, funding or
sponsoring elections for 'godsons and purchasing electoral victory. The end result of the challenges is that the votes of the citizens do not count (Igbuzor, 2012).

Challenges of free and fair election in any democratic setting could best be viewed against the structural setting of the environment, that is, the electoral management bodies involved in the conduct, supervision regulating and adjudicating over all elections in that jurisdiction. Election management bodies occupy a strategic position in the electoral process and by implication are decisive for the success of any democratic system of government. Since they are charged with the responsibility of organizing elections, their omission or commission could make or mar elections. The variables which determine a credible election management bodies are: independence, transparency and impartiality (Fayemi, 2010).

In recent history in Africa, we have seen what played out in South Africa and Ghana. In these countries, not only has the modern world seen that these two countries hold much promise for their people, but also that they have become a reference point as a model of transparent electoral process in African continent. For Nigeria, sadly one of the countries that gained early independence from colonial rule, the stories that have emerged are sad memories of electoral frauds, which had led to sudden changes in government with the succeeding governments posting worse results in the conduct of elections. For instance, while the Western Region parliament poll fraud led to a crisis that snowballed into the emergency rule that triggered further crisis in the First Republic that eventually led to the civil war, the Second Republic election that Nigerians thought would mark a beginning of electoral sanity turned out to be a veritable impetus for the military take-over of government. Massive electoral heists in various parts of the country and the backlash in people’s angst was what the military needed to sack the Second Republic (Fayemi, 2010).
What could have been a safety valve was truncated by the military when it annulled the freest and fairest election in June 1993. What followed were mere selections of candidates by godfathers in the primaries which further set the tone for desperation by the contending parties in which case the parties controlled by moneybags and vested interests always carry the day against the current of people preference, which further erodes the confidence of the people in the sanctity of the ballot box. For example in Nigeria in 2007, the Party that controlled the commending height of the Federal authorities made no pretence about its insistence on abridging the right of the people in the choice of their leaders. Votes were allocated to the candidates of the ruling Party at the detriment of more popular candidates in opposition Parties.

Litigations of the election tribunals clearly showed that things were not working according to the expectations of Nigeriapls who desired transparent process of electoral contests. Several years after the poll, those who fraudulently found their ways to the seat of power were illegally directing the affairs of their states using state funds to prosecute their cases at the tribunals. While impostors closed their eyes to the shame they have brought upon themselves and the nation, the highly partisan and irresponsible electoral umpire, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), did not help matters.

Some of the common understandings about the nature and attributes of electoral violence are the following findings from scholarly research and practitioner reflection: elections do not ‘cause’ violence. Instead, the root causes of conflict are often found in deep-rooted economic, social or political issues in dispute and in the allocation of power among various social forces that the electoral process affects; electoral violence is a sub-type of political violence in which actors employ coercion in an instrumental way to advance their interests or achieve specific political ends. Similarly, societies prone to experiencing election related violence are normally vulnerable to broader or other kinds of political violence. Colombia, India, Indonesia, Kosovo and Sri Lanka are examples of instances in
which electoral violence is embedded in a broader context of longstanding social conflict (Fischer, 2002).

Electoral violence includes acts, such as assassination of opponents or spontaneous fisticuffs between rival groups of supporters—and threats, coercion, and intimidation of opponents, voters, or election officials. Threat and intimidation are forms of coercion that are just as powerful as acts of violence can be. Indeed, one purpose of acts of broader intimidation—such as tossing a grenade into a crowd of rival supporters—is to induce fear and to intimidate (for example, to suppress mobilization or voting by that group) (Bjornlund, 2004).

There is a complex linkage between election violence and election fraud, or cheating (Damm, 2003). In one direction, the employment of coercive methods to gain votes or affect outcomes is itself a form of election fraud: On the other hand, massive cheating or fraud—such as conspiracies to bribe voters, tampering with ballots, fallacious counting, or other measures (such as releasing large numbers of prisoners to vote)—can be the stimulus for a violent reaction. Indeed, one of the common reasons for mass mobilization and violent resistance to state authority is allegations of stolen, cheating, or ‘façade’ democracy (de Zeeuw, 2005).

2.9 Conceptual Framework
This study has been guided by the following conceptual framework shown in Figure 1. Ethnic-political divisions, socio-economic status and education level are independent variables while electoral process, dependent variables. This relationship will be moderated by organisation factors like government policies, resource/financial base and the rate of corruption. Educational attainment is related to several measures of political interest and involvement. It is hypothesized that there is a strong and robust relationship between education and participation in the electoral process. Milligan, Moretti and Oreopoulos (2003) emphasizes the benefits of increased cognitive capacity among the common people, claiming that they are more disposed to examine, and more capable of seeing through, the interested complaints of faction and sedition, and they are, upon that
account, less apt to be misled into any wanton or unnecessary opposition to the measures of government. Similarly, socio-demographic factors like age, gender and income tend to affect electoral process.

According to Weaver (1994) there are well-established theoretical and actual relationships between turnout and the social characteristics of constituencies in Britain. The theoretical framework is based on the premise that inadequate ‘resources’ (material wealth, education, and skills and membership of organised groups) constrain or promote participation. It is the case that constituencies with a higher proportion of poor, socially deprived and unemployed areas will have lower turnouts. Arend Lijphart’s international comparative research found that low voter turnout means unequal and socio-economically biased turnout, with a ‘... near universal association between political participation and socio-economic status’ (Lijphart, 1997). Therefore, the study seeks to find out how ethnic-political divisions, socio-economic status and education level affect electoral process.
Independent Variables

Ethnic-Political Divisions
- Tribalism and ethnicity
- Party affiliation
- Religion

Socio-Economic factors
- Age
- Gender
- Income
- Marital status

Education Level
- Primary
- Secondary
- Tertiary
- University

Infrastructure
- Roads
- Water supply
- Electrical grids
- Telecommunications
- Schools and hospitals

Dependent Variables

Electoral Process
- Voter Registration
- Voter Education
- Nominations
- Elections

Moderating Variables

Constitutionalism
- Respect for rule of law
- Corruption
- Aids and other diseases

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework Showing Determinants of Electoral Process
2.10 Knowledge Gap
Electoral process begins with voter registration, voter education, nomination of candidates, elections and post-election reporting and evaluation. This electoral cycle is very tedious and costly and therefore suffers from many challenges. Therefore, the electoral standards which contribute to uniformity, reliability, consistency, accuracy and overall professionalism in the electoral process in Mbita constituency are often flouted. There is also limited information on the determinants of the electoral process in Kenya and more so in Mbita constituency. A third of it is an island with poorly developed infrastructure (Appendices 4 and 5) and its inhabitants are often sidelined. There is high rate of poverty and scorch of HIV and AIDS among the residents. This therefore, necessitated for a study to be carried on the determinants of electoral process in Mbita constituency, in Homabay County in order to have credible electoral process in Kenya.
CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction
Methodology refers to “how research should be undertaken, including the theoretical and philosophical assumptions upon which research is based and the implications of these for the method or methods adopted” (Saunders et al., 2007). Researchers should be careful when choosing the methodology which should be appropriate for the researcher’s objectives. The nature of the research’s objectives determines the design and strategy. This chapter identifies the main research methods used in this study and includes research design, target population, sampling procedures and sample size, research instruments, validity and reliability of research instruments, data collection procedures and data analysis techniques.

3.2 Research Design
Research design is the structure which is considered very important to both data collection and analysis. It is the plan for achieving the aims and objectives of the investigation. Oppenheim (1992) pointed out that the term research design refers to a basic plan or strategy of research and the logic behind it, which will make it possible and valid to draw more general conclusions from it. Kumar (1999) defined research design as a procedural plan that is adopted by the researcher to answer question validity objectively, accurately and economically. Understanding the philosophical issues of research design is of crucial importance because knowledge of research design philosophy can enable the researcher to clarify the research design, which provides important insights into what kind of evidence is required and how it is to be gathered, as well as providing answers to the basic questions being investigated in the research. It also helps the researcher to recognize which research designs might work and which might not. Saunders et al. (2007) mentioned that it is important to have a clear research strategy (design), a general plan of how the researcher will go about answering the research questions. Research strategy should contain clear objectives derived from the research questions; also, it should identify the sources from which the researcher intends to collect
data. Sekaran (2003) pointed out that research design involves a series of rational decisions. These are: identifying the purpose of the study, whether it is exploratory, descriptive or hypothesis testing; identifying the type of investigation; deciding the extent of the researcher’s intervention; identifying the study setting; deciding measurement and measures; deciding data analysis; deciding data collection methods; deciding time horizon; deciding sampling design; identifying the unit of analysis. Accordingly, the choice of research design depends on the research questions, objectives and research philosophy.

This study adopted a descriptive survey design. Descriptive survey research is a research method involving the use of questionnaires and/or statistical surveys to gather data about people and their thoughts and behaviours. A survey is an attempt to collect data from members of a population in order to determine the current status of that population with respect to one or more variables. Survey research is a self-report study which requires the collection of quantifiable information from the sample. Yin (1984) argues in favour of the use of descriptive surveys in fact-finding because they provide a great deal of accurate information. The intention of survey research is to gather data at a particular point in time and to use it to describe existing conditions. The descriptive nature of research was used in order to gain information on the determinants of electoral process in Kenya.

3.3 Target Population
Population refers to the group of individuals, events, organisations, or things that the researcher is interested in investigating (Cavana et al., 2001; Collis and Hussey, 2003). A target population on the other hand, can be defined as a universe or group of interest in gaining information and drawing conclusions (Anderson, 2004). According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), target population is a group of individuals or objects that the researcher wants to generalize the results of the study. The research was conducted in Mbita Constituency having the following major players in the electoral process: voters, IEBC consisting of 690 temporary staffs (registration officers, polling officers and voter
educators of 2010) and 49 politicians (those who have participated in the 2007 general election.

3.4 Sampling Procedure and Sample Size
The sampling procedure and sample size are given below.

3.4.1 Sampling Procedures
In order to ensure appropriate representativeness of all geographical segments of the study area the multi-stage sampling was adopted. The first stage involved cluster sampling aimed at allocation of specific numbers of respondents to each of the four categories. This included the voters and IEBC’s temporary staff of 2010. The second stage involved proportionate sampling aimed at allocation of specific number of respondents to each category according to the total number of respondents in each of the four categories.

3.4.2 Sample Size
The sampling procedure was guided by the general rule in most social science research which suggests that the use of the largest sample to facilitate generalization (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996). A study was carried out in all the four categories and purposive sampling procedure was used to involve all respondents from each category. Mbita constituency has a population of 60,162 eligible voters (over 18 years) but the number of registered voters was 31,189 when referendum was conducted in August, 2010. The sample size of presiding officers was obtained by using percentage of the population. Nassiuma (2000) asserts that in most surveys or experiments, a coefficient of variation in the range of 21% to 30% and a standard error in the range of 2% to 5% is usually acceptable. The researcher therefore used a coefficient variation of 30% and a standard error of 2%. The lower limit for coefficient of variation and standard error was selected so as to ensure low variability in the sample and minimize the degree of error. Sample sizes were determined as shown below:
Number of polling and registration officers:

\[ S = \frac{N(Cv^2)}{Cv^2 + (N - 1)e^2} \]

Where \( S \) = the sample size
\( N \) = the population size, 690 voter educators, Polling and Registration officers
\( Cv \) = the Coefficient of Variation, 30%
\( e \) = standard error, 5%

Therefore, the selected sample size will be:

\[ S = \frac{690(0.3^2)}{0.3^2 + (690 - 1)0.02^2} = 34.644 \approx 35 \text{ respondents} \]

Number of voters in five wards:

\[ S = \frac{N(Cv^2)}{Cv^2 + (N - 1)e^2} \]

\[ S = \frac{60,162(0.3^2)}{0.3^2 + (60,162 - 1)0.02^2} = 224.565 \approx 225 \text{ respondents} \]

54% represented the population of eligible voters (>18 years) as per Census Report of 2009. Therefore, proportionate sampling was used to select the number of voters from the five wards (Appendix 6): (Lambwe ward = 45, Rusinga Island ward = 49, Gembe ward = 38, Kasgunga ward = 40 and Mfangano Island ward = 53) as shown in Table 3.1. The voters in the five wards were selected by simple random sampling.
Table 3.1: Sampling Frame for voters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSONNEL</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Eligible Voters</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lambwe ward</td>
<td>22,315</td>
<td>12,050</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rusinga Island ward</td>
<td>24,275</td>
<td>13,109</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gembe ward</td>
<td>19,046</td>
<td>10,285</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasgunga ward</td>
<td>19,653</td>
<td>10,613</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mfangano Island ward</td>
<td>26,120</td>
<td>14,105</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>111,409</strong></td>
<td><strong>60,162</strong></td>
<td><strong>225</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All politicians the researcher or research assistants came across were interviewed. The rationale for such a 100 percent sample is supported by Gay (1996) who argued that, for small populations (N<100), there is little point in sampling, so that the researchers need to survey the entire population. Furthermore, the technique is consistent with the research objectives in that “statistical analysis usually requires a minimum sample size of 30” (Saunders et al., 2003).

Table 3.2: Sampling Frame for Key Informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Informants</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Politicians</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presiding officers and voter educators</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polling &amp; Registration officers</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>741</strong></td>
<td><strong>48</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.5 Data Collection Instruments

Oppenheim (1992) defines research methods as those used for data collection and generation. There are two methods of data collection that can be used by any research: secondary and primary. Secondary data collection methods are all sources that are available to a researcher in order to obtain the necessary information for a research problem. Using the typology put by Saunders et al. (2007), secondary data can be categorised as documentary versus survey. Documentary data include written (for example, books, journals, reports) and non-written (for examples, television programmes and CD-ROM). Primary data collection on the other hand, includes two main methods: questionnaires and interviews. As suggested by Silverman (2001), these methods must be understood in both approaches: quantitative and qualitative. Researchers who use a quantitative approach collect their data by using predetermined instruments, such as questionnaires that yield statistical data, while others who use a qualitative approach can collect data by words and observations.

Most management and business research uses a combination of both of them. This study combined two commonly used research methods: quantitative and qualitative method. In general, two methods are used to collect the data; namely, a survey questionnaire and unstructured interviews (interview schedules). The questionnaire aims at investigating the determinants of the electoral process in Mbita constituency of Homabay County, Kenya from the voters, whereas the interview schedules is mainly used to explain themes that have emerged from the use of a questionnaire and also to gather other challenges that affect the electoral process in Mbita constituency. The two methods are viewed as complementary to each other, and the strengths and weaknesses of each method are also considered.

The choice of multi-methods of data collection enables triangulation to take place (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001). Triangulation, according Saunders et al. (2003), is “the use of two or more independent sources of data or data collection methods within one study in order to help ensure that data are telling you what you think they are telling you”.
According to Creswell (2003), triangulation can achieve three advantages: it provides a kind of convergence of findings; it provides complementary between facts; it adds scope and breadth to a study. Semi-structured interviews can be a valuable way of triangulating data collected by other means, such as a questionnaire (Saunders et al., 2007).

3.5.1 Questionnaire

Questionnaire can be defined as “a reformulated written set of questions to which respondents record their answers, usually within rather closely defined alternatives” (Sekaran, 2003). Bryman (2004) stated that the questionnaire method will probably be the most appropriate form of gathering information from both staff and managers. Saunders et al (2007) classified a questionnaire according to how it is administered as either self-administered or interviewer-administered. Self-administered questionnaires are usually completed by the respondents. Such questionnaires are delivered and returned electronically (on-line questionnaires), posted to respondents who return them by post after completion (postal or mail questionnaires), or delivered by hand to each respondent and collected later (delivery and collection questionnaires). Responses to interviewer-administered questionnaires, which included telephone questionnaires and structured interviews, were recorded by the interviewer on the basis of each respondent’s answer. One drawback of interviewer-administered questionnaires was the difficulty in finding a suitable time for respondents.

Nearly everyone has had some experience completing questionnaires and generally it does not make people apprehensive. When respondents receive a questionnaire in the mail, they are free to complete it on their own time-table. The questionnaire is a convenient tool especially where there are large numbers of respondents to be handled because it facilitates easy and quick derivation of information within a short time (Kerlinger, 2004). The structured (closed-ended) and unstructured (open-ended) were used to get the responses from voters respondents and politicians and IEBC’s temporary personnel of 2010 respectively. The closed-ended questions provide a greater uniformity and more easily processed (China and Oteng’i, 2007). The structured questionnaires were accompanied by a list of all possible alternatives from which respondents selected the
suitable answer that described their situation by simply ticking (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). The questionnaires were administered by the research assistants who were trained by the researcher and this was done intentionally, so as to avoid misinterpretation of questions by ‘drop and pick’ technique. Questionnaires are easy to analyze, and most statistical analysis software can easily process them. The responses are gathered in a standardised way and questionnaires are more objective. Generally, it is relatively quick to collect information using a questionnaire.

According to Oppenheim (2000), the choice of the type of questionnaires can be influenced by three factors; research strategy; time taken to complete collection; size of sample and likely response rate characteristics of respondents. For this research interviewer-administered questionnaires are more preferable than self administered questionnaires for the following reasons: it is the most common and popular method of primary data collection used in Political Science and especially where majority of the respondents are illiterate; in interviewer-administered questionnaires response rate is usually very high as compared to self-administered questionnaires. It gains an almost 100% response rate; the interviewer-administered questionnaires can yield more responses, thereby minimizing cases of missing responses; the researcher or data assistants are physically present to explain or even interpret the questions in language the respondent can understand better; the use of on-line questionnaires requires respondents to have web sites or known e-mails, a condition that cannot be guaranteed in the case of Mbita constituency. Since most respondents are not computer literate and hence rarely use the e-mails. As a result, this type cannot be used. The use of postal (mail) questionnaires has little control in securing a response from specific respondents and cannot control the speed of responses (Churchill, 2001).

3.5.2 Interview Schedules
Interviews are also used to explore accurate information. An interview schedule is a set of questions that the interviewer asks when interviewing. An interview schedule makes it possible to obtain data required to meet specific objectives of the study. The researcher will use interview schedules since it provides face-to-face interaction with respondents
which will include IEBC personnel and politicians (mostly in active politics) and will enable the researcher to adapt the questions as necessary, clarify doubts and ensure that the responses are properly understood, by repeating or rephrasing the questions. The researcher will also pick up nonverbal cues from the respondent. This tool will also give the researcher an opportunity to get a chance to probe the key informants on issues which may not be captured in the questionnaire. Prior to taking part in the interviews, the researcher intends to give respondents an opportunity to prepare themselves adequately for the interview. It is anticipated that this will enable the interviewees to give accurate and relevant information. Telephone interview was also used, especially where the key informants could not be easily accessed.

3.6 Validity of the Instruments

Validity is considered as the degree to which an instrument measures what it is supposed or intended to measure (Oppenheim, 1992). According to Hussey and Hussey (1997) validity is the extent to which the research findings accurately represent what is really happening in the situation (Miller, 2003). Best and Khan (2005) suggest that the validity of the instrument is asking the right questions framed from the least ambiguous way and based on study objectives. Validity can be classified into two parts: external validity and internal validity (Creswell, 2003). External validity refers to the ability of the researcher to draw correct inferences from the sample to other people, other settings and past or future situations. He defines internal validity as the ability of the researcher to draw sound inferences from the data collected in an experiment.

To meet validity requirements and raise the level of the two data collection method in this research, the researcher followed many procedures: The use of different data collection method in this research ensures that data are really about what they appear to be about, telling you what you think they are telling you (Saunders *et al.*, 2000). Many questions which were asked in the questionnaire were re-explained in semi-structured interviews to ensure that the findings resulting from the questionnaire would be validated by the findings from the semi-structured interviews. The use of the entire population (in the case
of politicians) was targeted as the sample for this research which raised the external validity; furthermore, there was a high response rate, for the questionnaire (100%) and (80%) for the semi-structured interviews.

The pilot study for the questionnaire was conducted in three stages: colleagues, academic experts and voters in the neighbouring constituency, Gwassi. This test was to judge the content and face validity of the questionnaire. They suggested that the content validity of the questionnaire was established. An extensive literature review was undertaken to define and clarify the scales and the means of measures. In this research many questions used in the questionnaire were adapted from related studies, which place an emphasis on meeting the requirements of validity and reliability.

A questionnaire called a personally administrated questionnaire was distributed and collected by the researcher himself, which gave the researcher a good opportunity to explain and clarify any misunderstanding or ambiguity about questions and the way of answering; also, the researcher tended to check the questionnaire after collecting it from each respondent to make sure that the questionnaire was completed. Semi-structured interview validity, according to Easterby-Smith et al. (1991) refers to the extent to which “the researcher has gained full access to the knowledge and meanings of informants”. Saunders et al. (2007) added that the validity of in-depth and semi-structured interviews is very high; the flexible and responsive interactions give them an advantage which will be possible between interviewer and interviewee allowing the meaning to be probed to cover the topic from a variety of angles and questions to be made clear to respondents.

The researcher followed several procedures in order to encourage and stimulate the respondents to give the required data through good advanced preparation for the interviews. In addition, the researcher built a trusting relationship with all the respondents by making a personal visit to their offices to explain the importance and benefit of this research in the Mbita constituency context.
3.7 Reliability of the Instrument

Reliability of a measure indicates the extent to which it is without bias (error free) and, hence, ensures consistent measurement across time and across various items in the instrument (Sekaran, 2003). The researcher had undertaken several procedures to ensure that the data collection methods were error free and to minimise the biases of the instruments. The researcher avoided interviewer bias which would result from the comments, tone or non-verbal behaviour in order to create bias in which interviewees respond to the questions being asked. In this context the researcher tried to develop trust with the interviewees by a good introduction of the study which emphasized the confidentiality. He left the interviewees to talk in the manner they wanted and gained permission from them to record the interviews (Saunders et al., 2007).

The tools were pre-tested (pilot tested) with the respondents from Gwassi constituency and the data obtained was not included in the final analysis. The main purpose of pre-testing the research instrument was to identify any weaknesses and improve them. The pre-test is likely to give an indication of the time required to complete the tool. These respondents were retested a second time two weeks later and their consistency between the two sets of the score were computed using Cronbach’s Alpha Coefficient to ascertain if the alpha obtained was $\geq 0.7$ (Nunally, 1998). In this study, Cronbach’s Alpha Coefficient of 0.89 was obtained and the value was above the recommended alpha of 0.7, hence the research instruments were adequate in content and were reliable to achieve study objectives.

3.8 Piloting the Questionnaire

Questionnaire piloting is considered as an important issue in research. Malhotra and Birks (2003) strongly recommended that, prior to using a questionnaire to collect data, it should be pilot tested. Saunders et al (2007) stated that: “The purpose of the pilot test is to refine the questionnaire so that respondents will have no problems in answering the questions and there will be no problems in recording the data. In addition, it will enable you to obtain some assessment of the questions’ validity and likely reliability of the data.
that will be collected." In this research the pilot study was conducted in Gwassi constituency which neighbours the study area and hence likely to have characteristics that are close to those of the polling stations in the area. On the basis of the outcome of the pilot study, the data collection instruments were duly modified, standardized or retained for use in the main study in line with the recommendations of the Graduate School of the University of Nairobi. This is because according to Kothari (2003) the pilot study helps to identify weaknesses of the instruments so that improvement can be effected to standardize them.

3.9 Data Collection Procedure
The researcher proceeded to collect data from selected respondents after receiving a letter of introduction from the University of Nairobi, Department of Extra – Mural studies. The researcher sought permission and authority from the District commissioner, Mbita district in order to conduct the study in the constituency (District). The researcher then called the chiefs and their assistants to introduce to explain to them the purpose of the research and also to introduce the research assistants who were to collect data in their areas of jurisdiction. Data was then collected from the respondents by the research assistants. The researcher conducted 2 separate interviews with some politicians through telephone and using the interview schedule. The rest of politicians were interviewed by research assistants.

3.10 Data Analysis Techniques
After data collection, the items in the questionnaire and interview schedules were organized and coded.

3.10.1 Quantitative Data Analysis
In quantitative data analysis, the researcher used Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), an integrated computer package to process, analyse and present the data mainly using descriptive statistics such as frequencies, percentages and means as indicated under the operationalization Table 3.2. The nature of the data and the relationship between the
method and the research objectives are considered as the basis for selecting the right statistical methods. Therefore, this study used what is relevant to the research question and framework. The descriptive analysis of the data is the first statistical technique used to provide a summary of the respondents’ demographic characteristics using means, frequencies and standard deviations of the responses. Descriptive statistics, called exploratory statistics, involve the transformation of raw data into a form that will provide information to describe a set of factors in a situation. This was accomplished through ordering and manipulating the raw data collected and feeding it in a statistical package for social sciences and the outputs on frequency, tables and cross tabulation were generated. Data was then presented using tables.

Pearson’s correlation coefficient is the second statistical technique. It indicates the strength and the direction of the relationship between a pair of independent variables (Cohen and Cohen, 1983; Owdeh and Mallāwī, 1992; Bryman and Cramer; 2001). Bryman and Cramer (2001) argue that, a Pearson’s rank correlation analysis varies between -1 and +1, therefore, if the correlation between two variables was -1 or +1, it would refer to a perfect correlation. The levels of 0.01 and 0.05 were used as the criterion for accepting differences or relationship as statistically significant. Bryman and Cramer (2001) cited from Cohen and Holliday (1982), recommend the following: 0.19 and below is very low; 0.20 to 0.39 is low; 0.40 to 0.69 is modest; 0.70 to 0.89 is high; 0.90 to 1 is very high. Cross tabulation was used to determine how socio-demographic factors like age, gender, income affect electoral process in Mbita constituency. The Chi square test was used to show variations and associations between determinants of electoral process like ethnic-political, socio-economic status and education level on the electoral process.

3.10.2 Qualitative Data Analysis

Because of its nature, there is no standardised approach to the analysis of qualitative data (Saunders et al., 2003). Bryman (2004) noted, “Clear-cut rules about how qualitative data analysis should be carried out have not been developed”. As such, there are many
qualitative research traditions and approaches with the result that there are also different strategies to deal with the data collected (Saunders et al., 2003).

3.11 Ethical Considerations

The researcher ensured that respondents were treated with utmost respect and any data collected remained confidential. The researcher ensured that there was no discrimination. The researcher sought for approval and permission to conduct the study from relevant authorities before embarking on data collection. The researcher also sought for approval and permission at the National Council for Science and Technology (NCST). The respondents consent to participate was sought from them and they were informed that they had the right to decline participation. They were informed that the study was basically for academic purposes and not for any future considerations for any support and that they would be entitled to a summary of the outcome of the study if they so wished. The respondents were further assured that, the information collected from them will not at any time be pegged to a particular individual or organisation; instead it would be treated with anonymity and privacy. Confidentiality was observed throughout the study for respondents who did not wish to be known.
### 3.12 Operationalization of Variables

The operationalization of variables is shown in Table 3.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Objectives</th>
<th>Type of variable (independent)</th>
<th>Indicators</th>
<th>Measuring Scales</th>
<th>Tools of Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To determine the extent of ethnic-political divisions on electoral process in Mbita Constituency</td>
<td>Ethnic-political divisions</td>
<td>Tribalism, party affiliation and religion</td>
<td>Ordinal, interval and Likert</td>
<td>Mean, percentage, Pearson correlation coefficient and Chi Square tests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To examine how socio-economic status influence electoral process in Mbita Constituency</td>
<td>Socio-economic status</td>
<td>Age, gender, income and marital status</td>
<td>Ordinal, Likert and ratio</td>
<td>Mean, percentage, Pearson correlation coefficient and Chi Square tests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To establish how education level influences electoral process in Mbita Constituency</td>
<td>Education level</td>
<td>Primary, secondary, Tertiary, university</td>
<td>Ordinal, Likert and ratio</td>
<td>Mean, percentage, Pearson correlation coefficient and Chi Square tests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To examine how infrastructure influences electoral process in Mbita Constituency.</td>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
<td>Road network, Electrical grids, Schools and Hospitals, Telecomm unications</td>
<td>Likert, Ordinal and interval</td>
<td>Mean, percentage, Pearson correlation coefficient and Chi Square tests</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1 Introduction
This chapter presents data analysis obtained from both questionnaires and face to face interviews in relation to the research’s objectives respectively. The chapter, hence, is divided into four main sections. The first one aims to show how ethnic-political divisions influence the electoral process in Mbita Constituency. The second section deals with examining how socio-economic status influence electoral process in Mbita Constituency. The third section aims at establishing how education level of voters influences the electoral process in Mbita Constituency. Finally, the fourth section deals with examining how infrastructure influences electoral process in Mbita Constituency. It starts by examining the demographic characteristics of respondents. Data was analysed and presented following the research objectives of the study.

4.2 Questionnaire Return Rate
A total of 225 eligible voters, 35 IEBC's temporary staff of 2010 and 41 politicians were targeted for this study. The researcher dispatched 225 questionnaires to respondents (eligible voters) and 35 polling officers and 19 politicians interviewed. All the questionnaires meant for the voters were returned. Hence, the return rate was 100%. However, it was found that several sets of the questionnaires had missing responses. In this case, information from such questionnaires were excluded in subsequent data analyses so as to minimize inaccuracy. For politicians, the sample targeted the entire population because the research is small, as mentioned before. The questionnaire was distributed to twenty-seven politicians personally by hand, of which only 18 were returned completed and usable, while five questionnaires were ineligible. The response rate was 72.2% which was considered a good rate compared with other research in the same field according to Saunders et al, (2007). The response rate was calculated using the formula by Saunders et al (2007):
Total response rate = \[ \frac{\text{Total number of response}}{\text{Total number in sample} - \text{ineligible}} \]

\[ = \frac{13}{47 - 5} = 86.4\% \]

This formula shows that the response rate was adequate and high. The researcher gained this rate in accordance to the following recommendations which have been found by Oppenheim (1992) to increase the response rate: explanation of selection: explaining the method of sampling used and confidentiality, that is, assuring respondents that all information will be treated with total confidentiality;

A lot of effort was made in order to maximise the response rate. The following procedures were taken to increase the response rate. The researcher used data assistants who used interview-administered questionnaires. They went through all the questions with the respondents and at the end of the interview, they collected the questionnaires; a covering letter accompanied the questionnaire that incorporated the objectives of the research and conveyed the importance of responding for the success of the study; all the information provided by the participants and their answers was treated in confidence and did not mention neither their names or tribe/political parties they belong to; all the participants were given the right to withdraw from the research at any time they wished to; telephone calls, whenever possible, were conducted to invite participation and to interview respondents who could not be reached or were engaged elsewhere. The respondents were also reminded to answer the questionnaire; the researcher explained the importance of his study to the electoral commission and how it could help in improving the conduct and supervision of electoral processes in future and the questionnaire was short and easy to complete.

4.2 Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

The aim of this section is to describe the characteristics of the sample of the respondents, which is likely to have a bearing on their response to the research items. These characteristics have been broken down into five main groups: gender, age, level of
education, ward of respondent, duration stayed in the current ward and whether registered as a voter or not.

4.2.1 Age of Respondents

The study sought to find out the age brackets of the respondents influencing the electoral process in Mbita Constituency by asking them to state their age ranges. This was to help determine the age distribution for the respondents. Their responses are shown in Table 4.1. Results in Table 4.1 showed that most respondents were in the age brackets of 21-40 years had a score of 85.8% and those above 50 years had 7.1%. From this statistics it was clear that majority of the respondents were in the age bracket of 21-40 years. This meant that majority of the respondents were mature middle age people and understood the determinants influencing the electoral process in Mbita Constituency.

Table 4.1: Age Distribution of Respondents in Mbita Constituency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age distribution in years</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21-30 years</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>53.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40 years</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50 years</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 50 years</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is the age group carrying the highest proportion of the population that is actively engaged in the electoral process in Mbita Constituency. Older workers were thought to be more reliable and to have better skills than average workers. On the other hand, older workers had higher health care costs, lower flexibility in accepting new assignments and then may be less suitable for training. Age alone was found to be a poor predictor of
individual performance. There were wide variations although older workers were generally considered to be more consistent, cautious, and conscientious.

### 4.2.2 Gender of Respondents

The study sought to find out the gender distribution among the respondents in Mbita Constituency. The respondents were asked to indicate their gender and the results were recorded in Table 4.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>56.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>43.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** 225 100.0

From the results in Table 4.2, majority of the respondents were males accounting for 56.9% while the rest were females with a score of 43.1%. It was an indication that more males participated in the electoral process in Mbita Constituency than females.

### 4.2.3 Working Experience

The study sought to find out the experience of the respondents this was aimed at determining the number of working years and in turn know how much experience they had been exposed to concerning the electoral process in Mbita Constituency. The results are shown in Table 4.3. The results illustrated that 11.6% of the respondents had been in the current ward for less than 5 years, 14.7% had been in the current ward for a period of 5-10 years, and 10.7% had been in the current ward for 10-15 years, 16% for 15-20 years and 47.1% for more than 20 years. This indicated that most respondents had enough experience, knowledge and skills concerning the determinants influencing the electoral process in Mbita Constituency.
Table 4.3: Number of Years in Current Ward in Mbita Constituency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 5 years</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-10 years</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-15 years</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-20 years</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 20 years</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>47.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>225</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.3 Educational Level
The study sought to find out formal educational levels of respondents in Mbita Constituency. This was to determine whether educational levels of respondents had an influence on the electoral process in Mbita Constituency. To help understand this, respondents were asked to state their formal educational level. The results are recorded in Table 4.4. Results in Table 4.4 point out that 61% of respondents had certificates, 28.3% had diploma education level, 6.2% had degree education level, 0.8% had masters' degrees while 0.4% of respondents had PhD education levels. This showed that the majority of the respondents of Mbita constituency had attained at least a certificate hence to some extent, they understood the determinants influencing the electoral process in Mbita Constituency.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational level</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Others (Certificates)</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>61.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>28.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor's degree</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masters</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PhD</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>122</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Results in Table 4.5, illustrated that 83.1% of respondents were registered voters while 11.6% were not registered voters. The number of eligible voters in the wards was distributed as follows: Gembe (16.9%), Lambwe (20%), Kasgungu (17.8%), Rusinga Island (21.8%) and Mfangano Island (23.6%). Results further showed that 76.1% of respondents had at least voted more than once.
Table 4.5: Other Socio-demographic Characteristics of Respondents in Mbita Constituency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ward</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gembe</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambwe</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasgunga</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rusinga island</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mfangano island</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>23.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>225</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registered as voter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>83.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>213</strong></td>
<td><strong>94.7</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of times voted</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 years</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>51.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-6 years</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 7 years</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>186</strong></td>
<td><strong>82.8</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3 Ethnic-Political Divisions and Electoral Process in Mbita Constituency

The first objective of this study was to determine how ethnic-political divisions influence the electoral process in Mbita Constituency. To achieve this objective, eligible voters were asked to react to several statements intended to describe how ethnicity influences the electoral process in Mbita constituency. These statements are: ethnicity plays a key role during elections; people vote based on denominations or religion; voting patterns are guided by party affiliations; Shared cultural attributes, such as language, kinship, ideologies, and symbolic repertoires affect elections.
The respondents stated their agreement or disagreement with the given statements related to influence of ethnicity on the electoral process on a five-point Likert scale (1= strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3= neither agree nor disagree, 4= agree, 5= strongly agree). The average of the Likert scale is 3 ((1+2+3+4+5)/5), therefore, a mean above 3 shows an agreement with the statements while a mean below 3 show overall disagreement.

Table 4.6: Ethnicity Plays a Key Role during Elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESPONSE</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>strongly agree</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>42.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>38.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undecided</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strongly disagree</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>225</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With reference to Table 4.6, the results show that majority of respondents (80.9%) agreed that ethnicity played a key role during elections, 1.3% were undecided and 17.8% disagreed. Ethnicity therefore, was a key determinant influencing electoral process in Mbita Constituency.
Table 4.7: People Voted Based on Denominations or Religion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>strongly agree</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>50.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strongly disagree</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>34.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Results in Table 4.7 pointed out that religion was not a key factor that determined electoral process in Mbita Constituency: 13.3% of respondents agreed, 3.2% were undecided and 85.3% of respondents disagreed.

Table 4.8: Voting Pattern Guided by Party Affiliation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>strongly agree</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>42.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>38.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undecided</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strongly disagree</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the results in Table 4.8, 80.9% of respondents agreed that voting pattern in Mbita Constituency was guided by party affiliation, 1.3% were undecided and 17.8% of respondents disagreed.
Table 4.8 shows that, the extent to which ethno-political division influences the electoral process in Mbita recorded a moderately high rank. The role of ethnicity during elections in Kenya recorded the top element rank with the highest mean of 3.95 which shows that ethnicity is really a key factor in the electoral process. The results in Table 4.9, indicates that there were no variations in the response to this statement across all the wards. Table 4.9 further shows that people’s religion or denominations play no role and has no influence on voting. The statement that was meant to measure this had a 2.028, which is below the average (3 marks). Party affiliations on the other hand have an influence on the voting process and had a mean of 3.780. Shared cultural attributes, such as language, kinship, ideologies and symbolic repertoires affect elections and had a mean of 3.930. The overall mean of 3.422 indicates the respondents’ agreement to the statements in relation with the influence of ethno-political divisions on the electoral process in Mbita constituency of Homabay County.

Table 4.9: Influence of Ethnic political divisions on the Electoral

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Ethnicity in Kenya plays a key role during elections</td>
<td>3.95</td>
<td>1.247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>People vote based on their denominations/religions</td>
<td>2.028</td>
<td>1.272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>The voting patterns are guided by party affiliations</td>
<td>3.780</td>
<td>1.179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Shared cultural attributes, such as language, kinship, ideologies and symbolic repertoires affect elections</td>
<td>3.930</td>
<td>0.853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Average – EPD</strong></td>
<td><strong>3.422</strong></td>
<td><strong>1.138</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.10: Correlation between Ethno-Political Division and the Electoral Process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Level Variables</th>
<th>Pearson Correlation Coefficient, r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Was ethno-political division a key factor that influenced</td>
<td>-0.834 (0.02)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>electoral process</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Constant/predictor variable: Ethno-Political Division**

**Dependent Variable: Electoral Process in Mbita Constituency**

*Levels of significance, p-value for correlation coefficients are in parentheses.*

*r is significant if p-value is ≤0.05*

Results from Table 4.10 show a strong significant negative correlation coefficient of -0.834 (p≤0.05). This suggests that a high degree of relationship between ethno-political division and the electoral process. Therefore, ethno-political divisions among the respondents in Mbita Constituency were a key influencing factor on the electoral process.

### 4.4 Influence of Socio-Economic Status on Electoral Process

The second objective of this study was to examine how socio-economic status influences the electoral process in Mbita Constituency. To achieve this objective the researcher measured this factor by five questions on a five-point Likert scale. All the respondents were asked to state to what extent they agree or disagree with the given statements intended to describe how socio-economic status influences the electoral process in Mbita constituency of Homabay County. These statements were: Age is a determinant factor during election; Males participate more in the elections; People who have sufficient resources like money, time, knowledge and social connections participate more in the electoral process; Countries with more tolerant values and with positive orientations towards government and democracy are more likely to have higher levels of participation in electoral process; People are likely to vote if they will get benefits (money) from the candidates.
The responses to the given statements related to influence of socio-economic status on electoral process were measured on a five-point Likert scale (1= strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3= neither agree nor disagree, 4= agree, 5= strongly agree). The average of the Likert scale is 3 ((1+2+3+4+5)/5), therefore, a mean above 3 shows an agreement with the statements while a mean below 3 show overall disagreement. Table 4.11 gives a summary of the results.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age is a determinant factor during elections</td>
<td>102(45.3%)</td>
<td>68(30.2%)</td>
<td>6(2.7%)</td>
<td>38(16.9%)</td>
<td>11(4.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males participate more than female in the electoral process</td>
<td>75(33.3%)</td>
<td>75(33.3%)</td>
<td>14(6.2%)</td>
<td>57(25.3%)</td>
<td>4(1.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People who have sufficient resources participate more in the electoral process</td>
<td>71(31.6%)</td>
<td>92(40.9%)</td>
<td>16(7.1%)</td>
<td>31(13.8%)</td>
<td>15(6.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People vote if they will get benefits (money) from the candidates</td>
<td>44(19.6%)</td>
<td>79(35.1%)</td>
<td>7(3.1%)</td>
<td>65(28.9%)</td>
<td>30(13.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Countries with more tolerant values and with positive orientations towards government and democracy are more likely to have higher levels of participation in electoral process</td>
<td>87(38.7%)</td>
<td>77(34.2%)</td>
<td>33(14.7%)</td>
<td>16(7.1%)</td>
<td>12(5.3%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square test on influence of socio-economic status on electoral process: $\chi^2 = 43.583$, $p = 0.000$, df = 16

Key: SA = strongly agree, A = agree, U = undecided, D = disagree and SD = strongly disagree
With reference to the results in Table 4.11, respondents indicated that age was a determinant during electoral process: 75.5% of respondents agreed, 2.7% were undecided and 21.8% disagreed that age was not a determinant during electoral process. On the question asked on whether males participate more than female in the electoral process, 66.6% agreed, 6.2% were undecided while 27.1% disagreed. Further results on the whether people who have sufficient resources participated more in the electoral process, 72.5% agreed, 7.1% of respondents were undecided while 20.5% disagreed to the fact that people who have sufficient resources participated more in the electoral process. When respondents were asked whether people voted if they will get benefits (money) from the candidates, 54.7% of respondents agreed, 3.1% were undecided and 42.2% disagreed. Majority of respondents (72.9%) further indicated that countries with more tolerant values and with positive orientations towards government and democracy were more likely to have higher levels of participation in electoral process. Correlation results on the influence of socio-economic status and the electoral process, showed a highly significant ($p<0.01$) association between the two key variables ($\chi^2 = 43.583, p = 0.000, df = 16$). Therefore, from the study findings it can be concluded that there was a relationship between socio-economic status and participation in the electoral process.
Table 4.12: Influence of Socio-Economic Status on Electoral Process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Age is a determinant factor during election</td>
<td>3.908</td>
<td>1.267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Males participate more in the elections</td>
<td>3.694</td>
<td>1.217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>People who have sufficient resources like money, time, knowledge and social connections participate more in the electoral process</td>
<td>3.769</td>
<td>1.028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Countries with more tolerant values and with positive orientations towards government and democracy are more likely to have higher levels of participation in electoral process</td>
<td>3.938</td>
<td>1.138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>People are likely to vote if they will get benefits (money) from the candidates</td>
<td>3.187</td>
<td>1.385</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average – SES: 3.699, 1.207

Table 4.12 reveals that the “Countries with more tolerant values and with positive orientations towards government and democracy were more likely to have higher levels of participation in electoral process” was ranked the highest with a mean of 3.938, while “People are likely to vote if they will get benefits (money) from the candidates” statement had a mean of 3.187. The average mean of the whole section is 3.699, which indicates an overall agreement with the SES statements. Table 4.12 shows how the respondents reacted to the same question across the five wards. Most of the respondents, 72.5% supported the statement. Moreover, the respondents in all the wards reacted in the same way to the statement that people with resources are likely to participate more.
4.5 Influence of Education Level on Electoral Process

The third objective of this study was to establish how education level of voters influences the electoral process in Mbita Constituency. To achieve this objective, eligible voters were asked to react to several statements intended to describe the influence of education level on the electoral process in Mbita constituency. These statements are: education enhances political behaviour towards electoral process; schools prepare students to be good citizens and participate more in the electoral process; those who are better educated and more affluent tend to participate more in the electoral process; education increases citizens' ability to select able leaders and understand the issues upon which they will vote; education can help to check on the potential excesses of the government and recognize corruption in leaders.

The respondents stated their agreement or disagreement with the given statements related to influence of education level on the electoral process on a five-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neither agree nor disagree, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree). The average of the Likert scale is 3 ((1+2+3+4+5)/5), therefore, a mean above 3 shows an agreement with the statements while a mean below 3 show overall disagreement. Table 4.13 shows a summary of the results.
Table 4.13: Influence of Education Level on Electoral Process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education enhances political behaviour towards electoral process</td>
<td>85(37.7%)</td>
<td>106(47.1%)</td>
<td>12(5.3%)</td>
<td>18(8.0%)</td>
<td>4(1.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools prepare students to be good citizens and participate more in the electoral process</td>
<td>99(44%)</td>
<td>92(40.9%)</td>
<td>12(5.3%)</td>
<td>12(5.3%)</td>
<td>10(4.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those who are better educated and more affluent tend to participate more in the electoral process</td>
<td>76(33.8%)</td>
<td>111(49.3%)</td>
<td>9(4.0%)</td>
<td>26(11.6%)</td>
<td>3(1.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education increases citizens' ability to select able leaders and understand the issues upon which they will vote</td>
<td>113(50.2%)</td>
<td>99(44%)</td>
<td>1(0.4%)</td>
<td>8(3.6%)</td>
<td>30(13.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education can help to check on the potential excesses of the government and recognize corruption in leaders</td>
<td>93(41.3%)</td>
<td>108(48%)</td>
<td>6(2.7%)</td>
<td>15(6.7%)</td>
<td>3(1.3%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square test on Influence of Education Level on Electoral Process: $\chi^2 = 78.296$, $p = 0.000, df = 16$

Key: SA = strongly agree, A = agree, U = undecided, D = disagree and SD = strongly disagree

When the respondents were asked whether education enhances political behaviour towards electoral process, 84.8% of respondents agreed, 5.3% were undecided while 9.8% of respondents disagreed. On the question whether schools prepared students to be good citizens and participate more in the electoral process, 84.9% of respondents agreed, 5.3% were undecided and 9.7% of respondents disagreed. Those who were better educated and more affluent tended to participate more in the electoral process (83.1% of respondents agreed). In relation to the question asked whether education increased citizens' ability to select able leaders and understand the issues upon which they voted, 94.2% of respondents agreed, 0.4% were undecided while 16.9% of respondents
disagreed. Majority of respondents (89.3%) were of the opinion that education could help to check on the potential excesses of the government and recognize corruption in leaders. The study findings pointed out that educational levels of the eligible voters was crucial in determining electoral process as the influence of education level on electoral process had a highly significant association ($\chi^2 = 78.296$, $p<0.01$).

**Table 4.14: Influence of Education Level on Electoral Process**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Education enhances political behaviour towards electoral process</td>
<td>4.099</td>
<td>0.949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Schools prepare students to be good citizens and participate more in the electoral process</td>
<td>4.146</td>
<td>1.045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Those who are better educated and more affluent tend to participate more in the electoral process</td>
<td>4.027</td>
<td>0.978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Education increases citizens' ability to select able leaders and understand the issues upon which they will vote</td>
<td>4.375</td>
<td>0.819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Education can help to check on the potential excesses of the government and recognize corruption in leaders</td>
<td>4.213</td>
<td>0.885</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Average – ELOEP**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.172</td>
<td>0.935</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.14 shows that, education increases citizens' ability to select able leaders and understand the issues upon which they voted recorded the highest rate of 4.375 while education can help to check on the potential excesses of the government and recognize corruption in leaders obtained the second highest rate of 4.213. The average mean of the whole section was 4.172, which indicated an overall agreement with the ELOEP statement. The results in Table 4.14 revealed a value of the observed chi-square as 78.296. This is greater than the critical value (5.991) for an alpha level of 0.05 and 16
degrees of freedom. Therefore, it is concluded that there was a relationship between education level and participation in the electoral process.

4.6 Influence of Infrastructure on Electoral Process

The fourth objective of this study was to examine how infrastructure influences electoral process in Mbita Constituency. To achieve this objective, respondents were asked to react to several statements intended to describe the influence of infrastructure on the electoral process in Mbita constituency. These statements are: the road network in the constituency is not good and does not encourage participation in voter education and elections; wooden boats are not very safe and cannot facilitate easy movements across the islands during voter education and elections; constituency has poor telecommunication in terms of mobiles' network and accessibility to mass media (radio, newspaper, TV); Constituency lacks adequate schools and other public institutions for use during voter registration and elections.

The responses in Table 4.15 below were measured on a five - point Likert scale; that is; 1= strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3= neither agree nor disagree, 4= agree, 5= strongly agree and the average mean of the responses to all the statements supporting a factor obtained. See Table 4.15 for summary of the results.
Table 4.15: Influence of Infrastructure on Electoral Process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Road network does not encourage participation of voter education and elections</td>
<td>64(28.4%)</td>
<td>100(44.4%)</td>
<td>1(0.4%)</td>
<td>41(18.2%)</td>
<td>19(8.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wooden boats are not very safe and does not facilitate easy movements across the islands during voter education and elections</td>
<td>50(22.2%)</td>
<td>101(44.4%)</td>
<td>16(7.1%)</td>
<td>42(18.7%)</td>
<td>16(7.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constituency has poor telecommunication infrastructure</td>
<td>34(15.1%)</td>
<td>87(38.6%)</td>
<td>13(5.8%)</td>
<td>73(32.4%)</td>
<td>18(8.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constituency has inadequate schools and public institutions for use during elections</td>
<td>96(42.7%)</td>
<td>73(32.4%)</td>
<td>9(4%)</td>
<td>33(14.7%)</td>
<td>14(6.2%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square test on influence of socio-economic status on electoral process: $\chi^2 = 0.738$, $p = 0.058$, df = 16

Key: SA = strongly agree, A = agree, U = undecided, D = disagree and SD = strongly disagree

With reference to Table 4.15, the results show that majority of respondents were of the opinion that road network did not encourage participation of voter education and elections: 72.8% of respondents agreed, 0.4% were undecided while 26.6% of respondents disagreed. When the respondents were asked whether wooden boats were not very safe and did not facilitate easy movements across the islands during voter education and elections, 66.6% of respondents agreed, 7.1% were undecided while 25.8% of respondents disagreed. On the question asked whether the constituency had poor telecommunication infrastructure, 53.7% of respondents agreed, 5.8% were undecided while 40.4% of respondents disagreed. Majority of respondents (75.1%) were of the view...
that constituency had inadequate schools and public institutions for use during elections while 20.9% of respondents disagreed.

Table 4.16: Influence of Infrastructure on Electoral Process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>The road network in the constituency is not good and does not encourage participation in voter education and elections</td>
<td>3.662</td>
<td>1.290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Wooden boats are not very safe and cannot facilitate easy movements across the islands during voter education and elections</td>
<td>3.786</td>
<td>1.365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Constituency has poor telecommunication in terms of mobiles’ network and accessibility to mass media (radio, newspaper, TV)</td>
<td>3.201</td>
<td>1.264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Constituency lacks adequate schools and other public institutions for use during voter registration and elections</td>
<td>3.904</td>
<td>1.286</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.16 shows that, Constituency lacks adequate schools and public institutions for use during voter registration and elections recorded the highest rate of 3.904 while wooden boats are not very safe and cannot facilitate easy movements across the islands during voter education and elections obtained the second highest rate of 3.786. The average mean of the whole section is 3.639, which is above the middle (3.0) mark of the Likert scale. This indicates that the respondents agreed with the statements in Table 4.10. The results in Table 4.11 further showed that there was a significant relationship between infrastructure and participation in the electoral process ($\chi^2 = 0.738$, $p = 0.058$, $df = 16$).
The results signified that improvement in infrastructure leads to more participation in the electoral process in Mbita Constituency.

Results from interview schedule also indicated that the following were factors that affected electoral process in Mbita Constituency: poor road network, ignorance of voters due to low levels of education, voter bribery, party affiliation, lack of identification cards and voting cards, few personnel involved in the electoral process causing a delay in the electoral process, incompetent electoral personnel, lack of security and inefficient tallying system. Interview guides further revealed the following electoral process challenges: poor road and communication network, lack of civic education, inadequate electoral staff, corruption, inadequate polling stations, undemocratic nominations, gender bias, electoral boundary disputes and spatial populations.

In regard to the above challenges, the respondents suggested the following solutions: provision of adequate and trained electoral personnel, enhanced voter education and registration, improved road network and communication systems, update of register, increased polling stations, prompt issuance of identification cards and voters' cards, enact strict electoral law and heavy penalty for those found flouting the rules, introduction of Biometric Voting Kits to monitor double registration of voters, employ electronic vote tallying system and define acceptable electoral boundaries.
CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction
This chapter presents summary of study findings, conclusions drawn, recommendations based on the conclusions and suggestions for further research.

5.2 Summary of Findings
The findings of this study reveal that ethnicity plays a key role during the elections. The effect of ethnicity is seen in party affiliations, nominations and even the polling process. The extent to which ethno political divisions affect the electoral process in Mbita constituency was measured by the following statements: ethnicity plays a key role during elections; people vote based on denominations of religion; voting patterns are guided by party affiliations; Shared cultural attributes, such as language, kinship, ideologies, and symbolic repertoires affect elections. According to the findings, most of the voters were of the views that ethnicity plays a key role during elections. The study further established that respondents' denominations or religion had no significant influence on the way people voted. However it was found that; voting pattern in Mbita constituency was guided by party affiliation. This was supported by majority of the respondents. The study also revealed that shared cultural attributes, such as language, kinship, ideologies and symbolic repertoires affected elections. Therefore, ethno-political divisions had a significant influence on the electoral process.

5.3 Discussions
These study findings are in congruent with what Hyden and Lesslie (2003) found out that the effect of ethnicity on voter behaviour and consequently election outcome is most evident in presidential elections, in parliamentary elections held in constituencies encompassing settled areas, and in urban constituencies. There is consensus in the literature on the influence of ethnicity in Kenyan politics (Oyugi 1997; Jonyo 2002,
According to Jonyo, the reference point in Kenyan politics is ethnicity disguised as party politics (Jonyo 2002). Oyugi (1997) who has conducted several studies on ethnicity and elections in Kenya observes that: ‘Many Kenyans believe that tribalism (ethnicity) is a canker which is deeply lodged in the Kenyan politics.

Results on the influence of socio-economic status on electoral process established that Counties with more tolerant values and with positive orientations towards government and democracy were more likely to have higher levels of participation in electoral process. The study revealed that people who were endowed with resources participated more in the electoral process. However, the main reason why some people voted was because they expected to get some benefits from the candidates. Lastly, whereas males participated more than females, most of the respondents said females were never sidelined during elections. In trying to explain this set of empirical regularities, the literature offers arguments about resources and about elite mobilization (Rosenstone and Hanson, 1993; Verba, Nie and Kim, 1978). On the one hand, participation is costly, therefore only those who have sufficient resources (money, time, knowledge and social connections) will participate. These resources are highly correlated with socio-economic status. On the other hand, those who are mobilized by elites will participate, but elites mobilize those that are likely to have more time, money, knowledge and social connections anyway. Therefore more proximate explanations of participation are levels of individual political knowledge and political interest, whether individuals are part of a social network (church, soccer club), and whether they have a sense of political efficacy and a sense of duty.

The findings on influence of education level on electoral process revealed that education enhances political behaviour and participation of respondents in Mbita Constituency. It was further illustrated that better educated and more affluent people participated more in the electoral process. Most of the respondents said that education increases ability to select and understand issues and also helps to check on corruption. The study findings pointed out that educational level of the eligible voters was crucial in determining electoral process as the influence of education level on electoral process had a highly
significant association. The findings were in agreement with what Topf (1995) noted that on the individual level, voting has often been related to socio-demographic factors like age, gender, education or income. For example, we know that older and well-educated people are more likely to vote than young and less educated people. The problem with using socio-demographic variables to analyse turnout is that they are more descriptive than explanatory. It is important to know that older people are more likely to vote than younger, but unless there is a convincing link between age and voting this information is largely theoretically irrelevant.

The Study findings revealed that road network did not encourage participation of voter education and elections. Majority of the respondents were in agreement with this statement, however, it was also revealed that wooden boats were not safe and adequate to facilitate movements across the islands during voter education and elections. Lastly, the respondents were of the opinion that the constituency did not have adequate schools and other public institutions for use during voter registration and elections. The constituency also had poor telecommunication infrastructure. Mbita Constituency generally has less developed infrastructure than its neighboring constituencies because almost a third of the constituency are islands, poor road network as a result of bad terrain. This is a serious obstacle to the socio-economic growth of the constituency as physical infrastructure is important for realizing both sustainable economic growth and poverty reduction. Even access to community and villages is usually via rural roads which are poorly developed. Theses unpaved rural roads are covered with sticky, slippery black cotton soil and, in most cases, are hardly accessible or totally impassable during the rainy season, which often leads some parts of the constituency to remain isolated as well as to face economic marginalisation. As a result, these people often become secluded during the rainy season, and the lack of access to market and public services poses a major constraint (World Bank, 2011).
5.4 Conclusions

The following conclusions were made:

Ethnicity is a key determinant of the electoral process in Kenya. This was manifested through party affiliations and also during elections. The study further established that respondents’ denominations or religion had no significant influence on the way people voted. Therefore, ethno-political divisions had a significant influence on the electoral process.

Wealth and money were the key indicators in order to participate in the electoral process. Those who are endowed with resources are better placed to participate. These resources were highly correlated with socio-economic status. This explained why men participate more in the process. They are in-charge and therefore own the family resources. This gives them an advantage over women. The main reason why some people voted was because they expected to get some benefits from the candidates. Therefore, socio-economic status of respondents influenced the electoral process.

Education level has been found to influence participation in the electoral process, with those who are better educated and more affluent participating more either as voters or politicians. Education equips the participants with the knowledge and information necessary for effective participation (to understand issues). The study findings pointed out that educational level of the eligible voters was crucial in determining electoral process as the influence of education level on electoral process had a highly significant association.

The constituency had no adequate roads, bridges, electricity and safe boats. All corners of the constituency were therefore not open for effective participation. The constituency also lacks enough schools and other public institutions for use as registration centers and polling stations. Therefore, infrastructure negatively influenced electoral process in Mbita Constituency.
5.5 Recommendations

Based on the study's findings and conclusions, the following recommendations were made:

1. Based on the objective on how ethnic-political divisions influence the electoral process in Mbita Constituency, ethnicity was found to be a major determinant of the electoral process and this was manifested in ethnic political parties. There is need to reinforce for the Kenyan government to enforce laws to make it difficult for every tribe to form ‘their’ party. Moreover, legislation relating to political parties should be redrafted and reinforced so that once a party leader makes an attempt to be president and becomes unsuccessful; the leader should relinquish party leadership to their deputies. This will go a long way to enhance democracy and even strengthen political parties. It will also help eradicate cases of party leaders owning parties and even dictating who vies on what seat or where.

2. The second objective sought to establish how education level of voters influences the electoral process in Mbita Constituency. There is a need, therefore, of civic education for those who are not learned (those who did not go beyond secondary school certificate) since informed electorate helps facilitate the work of the electoral management body and it is also to the best interest of democracy. The electoral body independent Electoral and boundaries commission (IEBC) and the government need to organize programmes to equip the poor and the disadvantaged members of the community with civic education while at the same time striving to provide at least secondary education to all citizens. Party nominations should also be done by IEBC. Also, IEBC should be allowed to reject nominations of candidates who get nominated through unfair means or are handpicked. Once such fraudulent nominations are detected, the concerned party should not be allowed to present a candidate for that seat. This will instill discipline in parties during the nomination exercise.

3. On the basis of the third objective on how socio-economic status influenced electoral process in Mbita Constituency, there is a need for the government of Kenya to give some assistance to people who were endowed with leadership skills and are interested in joining politics, but are disadvantaged. They can use these resources to market themselves by crisscrossing the wards or the constituency or the county. Some funds
should be set aside for very serious candidates without resources. Independent candidates should also be funded alongside political parties.

4. The fourth objective on how infrastructure influences electoral process in Mbita Constituency showed the need for the government of Kenya to open up most remote areas in the rural areas. There is also a need for the government to put up ferries in the small islands to facilitate free movements and hence flow of information. Infrastructural development is therefore paramount for effective participation by all in the electoral process.

5.6 Suggestions for Further Research
The following suggestions were made based on the study findings and discussions:

1. A study should be conducted to investigate how the economic activities of the residents of Mbita constituency affect the electoral process.
2. A study should be done to determine factors affecting the electoral process in Kenya with the main focus on the electoral body.
3. A study should be done to determine how the identified factors contribute to poor standards and manipulation of elections.
4. A similar study should be carried out on the influence of the role of government in enhancing free and fair electoral process in Kenya.
REFERENCES


ADB. (2005). *Proposed technical assistance to the Kingdom of Cambodia for the restructuring of the railway in Cambodia* (Financed by the Government of France).


Election Assistance Bureau (EAB, 2007). *In its report on the 2006 elections*: a civil society Initiative in Guyana emphasises the importance of good communication and information sharing, especially among volunteers, monitors and the election commission.


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Sage Publication Ltd: London


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Dear respondent:

I am a postgraduate student undertaking a Master of Arts degree in Project Planning and Management in the School of Continuing and Distance Education at the University of Nairobi. I am carrying out a study on the determinants of the electoral process in Kenya: a case of Mbita constituency. I am using the attached questionnaire to collect information for the study. It is my kind request that you fill the questionnaire, providing the relevant information to facilitate the study. Please use the space provided to fill in the information required as objectively and honestly as possible. The information provided will be treated with strict confidentiality for the purpose of this study only.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,

Yusuf A. S. Wasike
L50/65012/2010
APPENDIX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR VOTERS

INSTRUCTIONS
Tick in the relevant brackets and fill the blank spaces.

SECTION A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Name of the ward .................................................................

2. Please indicate your age bracket?

   18-30 years [ ]
   31-40 years [ ]
   41-50 years [ ]
   Above 50 years [ ]

3. Please indicate your gender

   Male [ ]
   Female [ ]

4. State the number of years you have stayed in your current ward.

   Less than 5 years [ ]
   5-10 years [ ]
   10-15 years [ ]
   15-20 years [ ]
   Above 20 years [ ]

5. Please indicate the level of your education

   PhD [ ]
   Masters [ ]
   Bachelor’s degree [ ]
   Diploma [ ]
7. Kindly indicate whether you are a registered voter

Yes [ ]
No [ ]

If not, please give reasons why
.................................................................
.................................................................
.................................................................

8. If the response to Q.7 is yes, then please indicate the number of times you have voted

1-3 times [ ]
4-6 times [ ]
7-9 times [ ]
More than 9 [ ]
None [ ]

9. If you have not voted, please give reasons why
.................................................................
.................................................................
.................................................................
.................................................................
.................................................................
.................................................................
.................................................................
SECTION B: DETERMINANTS OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS IN MBITA CONSTITUENCY

In this section, please tick (✓) the most appropriate response for each of the question in the table below. Use the following scale:

Strongly agreed (5), Agree (4), Undecided (3), Disagree (2), Strongly disagree (1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q.</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. People are prepared to exercise their right to vote through voter education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ethnicity in Kenya plays a key role during elections</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. People vote based on their denominations/religions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The voting patterns are guided by party affiliations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Shared cultural attributes, such as language, kinship, ideologies, symbolic repertoires and religious affect elections</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Age is a determinant factor during election</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Females vote more than males</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Males participate more in the elections</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Females are usually sidelined during electoral process</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. People who have sufficient resources like money, time, knowledge and social connections participate more in the electoral process</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Countries with more tolerant values and with positive orientations towards government and democracy are more likely to have higher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>---</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>levels of participation in electoral process</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. People are likely to vote if they will get benefits (money) from the candidates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Education enhances political behaviour towards electoral process</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Schools prepare students to be good citizens and participate more in the electoral process</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Those who are better educated and more affluent tend to participate more in the electoral process</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Education increases citizens' ability to select able leaders and understand the issues upon which they will vote</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Education can help to check on the potential excesses of the government and recognize corruption in leaders</td>
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<td>18. The road network in the constituency is not good and does not encourage participation in voter education and elections</td>
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<td>19. Wooden boats are not very safe and cannot facilitate easy movements across the islands during voter education and elections</td>
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<td>20. Constituency has poor telecommunication in terms of mobiles' network and accessibility to mass media (radio, newspaper, TV)</td>
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<td>21. Constituency lacks adequate schools and other public institutions for use during voter registration and elections</td>
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APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR POLITICIANS AND IEBC’S TEMPORARY STAFF

Introduction: Good morning or afternoon sir/madam. Thank you for having granted me permission to interview you. I would like to assure you that I will stick to all ethical codes of conduct with regard to conducting research as stated in my introduction letter.

The Interview Questions:
1. What are the factors that influence the electoral process (voter registration, voter education, nomination and election) in Mbita constituency?
2. What are some of the challenges faced by the electoral process in Mbita constituency?
3. What are some of the solutions available for electoral process improvement and optimal performance in Mbita Constituency?

Thank you for your time, I hope your responses to the questions will contribute a lot to my research work.
APPENDIX 4: MBITA CONSTITUENCY’S POLLING STATIONS
APPENDIX 5: MBITA CONSTITUENCY'S ROAD NETWORK

MBITA CONSTITUENCY ROADS MAP
APPENDIX 6: MBITA CONSTITUENCY’S COUNTY ASSEMBLY WARDS
APPENDIX 7: THE ELECTORAL PROCESSS (CYCLE)

VOTER REGISTRATION

VOTER EDUCATION

ELECTIONS

NOMINATIONS