

**THE IMPACT OF CIVIC KNOWLEDGE ON VOTER PARTICIPATION IN
INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN KENYA: A CASE STUDY OF KANGEMI
DIVISION**

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DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been presented for award of degree in any other University. I certify that this study does not incorporate, without acknowledgement, any material previously submitted for any degree in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge it does not contain any material which is formally published or written by any other person except where due reference is cited in this study.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to my family. To my mother Aireni Inambali Khwa Masika a special appreciation for being supportive emotionally and with prayers notwithstanding kind words of encouragement during my study. A special thanks to my siblings – Timothy Mwashu, Wycliffe Kaane, Patrick Katindi and my only sister Pauline Muyuka I thank you for encouragement.

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ABSTRACT

Kenya as a country has had a rich history of non state actors initiatives and activities around civic and voter education since multi-party politics was re-introduced in 1992. This study was motivated by the Constitution of Kenya 2010, Article 10 that deals with national values and principles of governance among them democracy and participation in all public decision making processes. The citizens' civic knowledge is central to democratic citizenship. The study sought to investigate the relationship between civic knowledge and voter participation of Kenyan citizens. The objectives of the study were; to establish the level of civil / political rights knowledge among informal settlement dwellers in Kenya, to investigate the effect of civic knowledge on voter participation in informal settlements in Kenya and to find out the level of civic competencies among voters in informal settlement in Kenya. The study was theoretically framed by the rational choice theory and social capital theory. A quantitative approach research technique was adopted for this study using a survey to investigate the relationship between civic knowledge and voter participation. The study population included all registered voters from Kangemi Division an urban area in Westlands Sub County of Nairobi City County. The study had a sample size of 144 voters. The study findings revealed that voters have a moderate knowledge of civil and political rights. Additionally, the study indicated that majority of the respondents had moderate levels of civic competencies while the remaining respondents had low level of civic competencies and high level of civic competencies respectively. The study also indicated that only civic knowledge, civic skills and civic action influenced voter participation ($p < 0.05$) while civic attitude had no influence on voter participation ($p > 0.05$). The study recommendations were: that the government at National and County levels, donor community and non state actors involved in promoting good citizenry need to invest more in civic education initiatives; that there is need for more focus to be placed on improving civic competencies of the voters; that civic knowledge for increased voter participation need to be targeted at younger adults as their formation around political socialization is manifested during early years and also they are the majority of the population of Kenya and lastly, that the civic knowledge content is an important intervening variable in increasing the political participation and therefore needs to be standardized. Thus the study recommends for increased civic education as a way to enhance voter participation in Kenya. Further, , the study confirms that there is a statistical significance in the relationship between civic knowledge and voter participation. The study concludes that civic knowledge positively influences voter participation.

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ACRONYMS/ABBREVIATIONS

CoK	Constitution of Kenya 2010
CSMSG	Civil Society and Media Support Group
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
GCP	Global Centre for Pluralism
GoK	Government of Kenya
IEA	Institute of Economic Affairs
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
IRI	International Republic Institute
KI	Katiba Institute
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
K-NICE	Kenya National Integrated Civic Education
MYFF	Multi Year Funding Framework
NGOs	Non Governmental Organizations
NCEP	National Civic Education Programme
PBOs	Public Benefits Organizations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

The discourse on governance and political development in Africa has continued to address the question of enhanced participatory democracy as many countries focus on expanding democratic space for citizen participation (Kanyinga, 2014). It has been observed that democracies require citizens with civic knowledge, civic competence and civic character for democratic politics. Additionally, it has been recognized that the anchor of democracy lies in participation of citizens in Public affairs (Kanyinga, 2014). Since Kenya attained independence in 1963, the development of democracy and public participation has been a challenging process of nation building, with the period after independence characterized with shrinking public participation in the political process. The diminished public space was attributed to the social and political changes that were witnessed during the governments of late Jomo Kenyatta and retired President Daniel Arap Moi (Klopp & Orina, 2002; Amutabi, 2002).

In the late eighties and nineties period Kenya was gripped with limited political participation in governance process following the introduction of 1988 *mlolongo* (queue voting). However, this period was short-lived as the trends were reversed after increased pressure from social movements and civil society in the 1990s. As a result of the campaign, increased political participation was enhanced through the re-introduction of the politics of multi-party in 1992 (Kayinga, 2014). Although the more political participation was achieved through multi-party re-introduction, renewed calls for more democratic space continued thereafter.

The promulgation of the new Constitution of Kenya on the 27th of August 2010 marked a significant moment in Kenya history, with the constitution strengthening civil and political rights of citizens. The Constitution of Kenya 2010 (CoK, 2010) enshrined democracy, good governance and public participation as the values and principles of governance running throughout this supreme law (Kayinga, 2014). It is assumed that citizens will gain knowledge in regards to their civil and political rights in line with the constitutions.

Unfortunately, the period after the promulgation of the Constitution of Kenya 2010, the Kenyan society was characterized with disinterest in civic matters and limited political participation. The educational indicators have been identified as key factors with reference to civic engagement and political participation among other variables. Ekman and Amnå (2012) point out that participation behavior and wishes are regarded as the outcome of knowledge on the significance of civic engagement. However, civic knowledge will yield desirable results on if it is driven by correct interpretation of political issues. When comprehension of politics is to an extent it is implied with appropriateness of political judgment. Therefore for the people to correctly understand the political information for suitable political judgment means they obtain basic civic knowledge and enough civic skills. Consequently, they will be able to positively contribute to decisions on public issues (Manning & Edwards, 2014).

Recent political participation research avails more opportunities to encourage individual level of engagement in political participation through civic education. Finkel (2014), much work has emphasized clearly the role of civic education on democratic participation in developing countries. Civic knowledge is viewed in the larger concept of civic education that looks at the continuum of the education to attain the competence by a citizen that can support call to actions as a result of the same.

Civic education is an important means for capacity development on the societal level by empowering people for effective civic engagement. The foundation of civic education lies in the values and principles of equity, empowerment, transparency, participation, responsiveness and accountability (UNDP, 2004). It plays a central role in helping the society to manage its own affairs in a democratic manner and sustainable way through individual and institutional capacity building. The participation in public affairs of a democracy requires equipping of citizens with knowledge, skills and attitudes as an important part of adult education to enable them to know their rights and discharge their responsibilities (Aroge, 2012).

It is said that it is relatively easy to produce technically competent people in a society (Stimmann & Quigley, 1984) but citizens want a society and strong democratic government, where respect for human rights is guaranteed, rule of law observed and responsible government to the needs of the citizens (K-DOP, 2003). Nevertheless, the kind of society in which the people want to live in and the kind of democratic mechanisms they want to have requires effort and commitment on the part of its citizens (Manning & Edwards, 2014).

Making the kind of society aforementioned is the challenge that faces government and citizenry, and to which civic education aim for. Thus civic knowledge seeks to allow for people's power and build their capacities of participating to the fullest in a democratic society (Branson, 1998). Civic knowledge therefore becomes critical intervention that promotes the rights and responsibilities associated with the practice of citizenship. In other words, civic knowledge assures the role of a learning curve for effective democratic participation at all levels of government (Lukman and Audu, 2014).

The civic and public education promotions have been acknowledged as key in the democratization process. Civic knowledge delivery to the public can take the form of education system, community empowerment initiatives or mass effective medium of mass communication, with faith based institutions and human rights organizations playing a major role in the delivery process.

In light of the promulgation of Constitution of Kenya 2010 (CoK 2010), the need for substantial civic knowledge among Kenyan arose, with many NGOs and religious organization engaging in civic education. Civic education carried out in Kenya after the passing of the new constitution was categorized into two approaches; one was focused on civic competence (*Kenya's National Civic Education Programme* (NCEP) while the other was focused on civic knowledge (*Kenya – National Integrated Civic Education (K-NICE) Programme*). In light of the civic programmes targeted at the citizens after the passing of the Constitution of Kenya 2010, there is need to investigate the contribution of civic knowledge on voter participation in Kenya.

1.2 Problem Statement

Kenya as a country has had a rich history of non state actor initiatives and activities around civic and voter education since the reintroduction of multi-party politics in 1992. The then National Elections Monitoring Unit (NEMU) in 1992 pioneered civic and voter education ahead General Elections. Since then the civil society has continued to play an important role in providing civic and voter education under several arrangements, including the *Daraja* Civic Initiative Forum in 1996, which provided impetus to Civil Society civic education initiatives to drive civic education for schools and colleges and political empowerment through civic education (Kibwana and Wambua, 2009).

Kenya's experience of the aftermath of the 2007/2008 post-election violence spawned a number of civic education initiatives in Kenya. These included a UNDP program - *Amkeni Wakenya* which supports grassroots civil society; USAID supported Pact Kenya (now Act! Kenya), the Kenya Civil Society Strengthening Programme (KCCSP) and the Kenya Transitional Initiative (KTI). National Civic Education Programme (NCEP I and II) launched in the run-up to 2013 general elections and eventually *Uraia* Trust Civic Education programme in 2014 were other initiatives. However, in the run-up to 2017 general elections the government banned civic education programmes by civic society and only allowed IEBC to conduct voter education (Katiba Institute, 2017).

The Constitution of Kenya 2010 does not overtly provide for civic education. But this is presumed through the provision that declares that sovereign power belongs to the people of Kenya. It further goes to outline that public participation is a national value and principle. This presupposes voter education as a way to improve democratic participation. Further, Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) is required to establish mechanisms where continuous voter education will be provided and prepare a curriculum for that purpose. Therefore the Constitution prioritizes voter education rather than civic education yet without civic and active citizenry voter education cannot be fully achieved (Bhatti, 2017).

According to IEBC statistics, the voter turnout for Nairobi City County was 81% for 2013 while for the August 2017 election the voter turnout was 72%. The voter turnout for the last two general elections manifests a decrease in voter participation despite the period being characterized by civic education of the voters. Despite the decrease in voter participation in last general elections, questions still abound as to how civic knowledge affects voter participation. It is against this background that this study sought to investigate how civic knowledge affects voter participation in informal settlements in Kenya.

The emerging evidence indicates that there is still low exposure to civic knowledge that has affected the democratic participation of the citizens which has resulted to low knowledge levels (UNDP, 2012). Information when availed to citizens can potentially enable them to demand better performance from their political leaders and strengthen monitoring of the delivery of public services by the citizens (Zhang, 2012). The citizens' civic knowledge is central to democratic citizenship (Galston, 2004). Research on participation has provided optimism on the influence civic knowledge can have on the individual's level of engagement with the political system (Finkel, 2014).

Despite civic education having been identified as an important intervention towards civic participation, it still competes with the literacy and math proficiency as other priorities and focus when it comes to education in general (Walsh, 2013). It is argued that civic knowledge does not guarantee civic engagement but it is necessary precondition for participation. What citizens need more beyond the mere information is to get contextualized information that is practical and addresses their immediate interests and needs (Cohen & Chaffee, 2013).

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 General Objective

The overall objective of the study was to investigate the impact of civic knowledge on the voter participation in informal settlements in Kenya.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the study were;

1. To establish the level of civil / political rights knowledge among informal settlement dwellers in Kenya.
2. To investigate the effect of civic knowledge on voter participation in informal settlements in Kenya.
3. To find out the level of civic competencies among voters in informal settlement in Kenya.

1.4 Research Questions

This study was guided by the following research questions;

1. Are informal settlement dwellers in Kenya knowledgeable about their civil/political rights?
2. In what way does civic knowledge affect voter participation in informal settlements in Kenya?
3. What is the level of civic competencies among voters in informal settlement in Kenya?

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study comes in the wake of a new social, economic, cultural and political organization after Kenya promulgated the 2010 Constitution (GoK, 2010). This was a momentous time when Kenyans ushered in what may be called a paradigm shift in the way Kenya was to be organized and governed. The new dispensation also came with increased democratic space and aspiration for constitutionalism, rule of law, good governance, public participation, democracy and recognition of culture as the cumulative civilization and foundation of the Kenyan people and nation (GoK, 2010). The civic knowledge and voter participation are also becoming areas of interest in Kenya after the promulgation of the CoK 2010 that has embedded public participation as one of the ethos (GoK, 2010). Yet Kenyan citizens haven't taken the public participation obligation seriously and how it affects them in democratic participation. This brings out the need for civic knowledge that becomes a necessity for influencing

democratic participation. Citizens who are knowledgeable on civic affairs are more likely to be active participants in the affairs of a country (Odera, 2013).

This study is important to Kenyans as they are in the process of fully actualizing the provisions of the CoK 2010 that has opened up space for meaningful public participation and entrenching the national values and ethos. The support for these democratic values is promoted by civic knowledge (Galston, 2004). By establishing what impact civic knowledge plays on influencing voter participation in political processes such as membership to political parties, attending political campaigns, voting, holding leaders accountable among others, this study would be aiding the implementation of the Constitution of Kenya especially article thirty eight (GoK, 2010).

The study will also generate knowledge and inform on the current situation of civic knowledge influence on voter participation of the citizens of Kenya in developmental and political processes. Walsh (2013) states that lack of civic knowledge and an understanding of how the government works then is a danger to the citizens and other people. The interplay between civic knowledge and voter participation is expected to contribute to peace in future elections, cohesion and integration of the various ethnic communities in Kenya (Aroge, 2012).

The study sought to establish civic competence focusing on inadequate or lack of meaningful participation by citizens. Through these findings civic education curriculum targeting the citizens can be improved further thereby allowing for more meaningful civic engagement. Through civic knowledge, members of the public are able to determine their interests as group members and individuals. As such, the more informed the members of the public become, the better their understanding of how their interests are affected by public policies and the more they can use the political process to promote their interests. The study will also ensure that we have political accountability based in public demand (Zhang, 2012). It is also hoped that other scholars will use the research findings as a point of reference since it will add to already existing but scarce literature.

The recommendations made at the end of the research will have profound impact to the policy makers both in National and County Governments, and Public Benefits Organizations (PBOs). This will help the above said entities to put in place proper measures to ensure that the rights and responsibilities of citizens and the integrity of the country is protected as we enhance the democratic participation at all levels.

1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study

The study focuses on establishing the level of civil / political rights knowledge among informal settlement dwellers in Kenya, investigate the effect of civic knowledge on voter participation in informal settlements in Kenya and assess the level of civic competencies among voters in informal settlement in Kenya. The focus on the CoK 2010 was critical as it provided the foundational and constitutional framework that entrenched citizen participation in all facets of one's daily life. These facets include the political, economic, social, technological, legal and environmental. This was compared to their democratic participation in social and political processes such as budget making cycle, community development meetings, participating in elections, attending political public rallies among others. All these contributes to some of the civic rights and responsibilities that each and every citizen is obligated to undertake as part of developing and taking part in a democratic space.

The target groups were eligible voters. These are individuals that meet the constitutional thresholds for one to be a voter in a particular political jurisdiction. The key requirements are one must have reached the age of eighteen years and also holds an identification card issued by the government. The geographical coverage of the study was the Kangemi division, one of the divisions of Westlands District. Kangemi Division covers three political jurisdictions at the ward level. These are Mountain View, Kitisuru and Kangemi wards. The selection and choice was based on the cosmopolitan characteristic nature of the area.

The researcher was limited to the primary target group of eligible voters. Also the researcher was limited to geographical coverage of Kangemi division covering Mountain View, Kitisuru and Kangemi wards as political units within the larger Westlands constituency. In conducting the research, the study was limited by finances and time. The civic knowledge and voter participation in this study as it is anchored within the larger civic education concept. That broadly brings out two key aspects namely the civic knowledge and civic competencies targeting the citizenship of a particular country which this study is concerned with.

1.7 Definition of Key terms

This section gives general definition of key terms that have been repeatedly used in this research.

Civic Knowledge refers to the subject matter in terms of content or what citizens ought to know so that they can in turn use the information to activate the civic engagement skills or call to action that will lead to a process of supporting a public decision making.

Civic content refers to awareness relating to specific issues on democracy.

Civic interpretation refers to those skills that are utilized in the comprehension of civic content.

Civic Skills – refers to ability of citizens to take an informed position based on civic content.

Political processes – these are activities that are in most cases political in nature. These processes include political parties' membership drives, voting in elections, input in policies and legislations development among others.

Voter participation – Voter Participation refers to the degree to which citizens exercise their right to engage in political activities either directly or indirectly. In this case, it refers to exercise of right to voting by an eligible citizen based on the conditions in a particular jurisdiction. This is part of the larger concept of democratic participation that has various involvement dimensions apart from elections.

Continuum of Civic Education - is the entire process of civic education to an individual or a group of individuals who undergo modules of civic knowledge, skills and dispositions.

Civic Competence – refers to citizens who have acquired a level of relevant information on public affairs and can be able to effectively use it to exercise their civic duties and responsibilities including constitutional obligations.

Civic engagement – this involves actions citizens initiate to influence public decision making and relevance to the society outside one's own family and close friends circle.

Civic dispositions mean traits acquired by citizens critical for democracy ideals to manifest in their actions such as ethnic and opinion tolerance, listening and civility in public debates, critical thinking and conclusions, and willingness to negotiate for a compromise.

Democratic participation – refers to actions by an empowered citizen in a democratic political society to influence decision making processes and structures. The participation is an adopted societal value that allows for decision making to be people centered.

1.8 Operationalization of variables

To establish the level of civil / political rights knowledge among informal settlement dwellers in Kenya.

Level of civic knowledge: knowledge on various provisions of the constitution regarding civil and political rights.

There is a relationship between civic knowledge and the voter participation in informal settlements in Kenya.

Civic knowledge was measured through civic education, civic attitude and civic skills.

Voter Participation: This was measured through participation in voter registration process and voting.

Towards finding out the level of civic competencies among voters in the informal settlements in Kenya.

Civic Competencies was measured through the indicators on the following levels: civic knowledge, civic attitude, civic skills and civic action.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature of other scholars in the relation to civic knowledge, civic skills and dispositions. This chapter also has outlined the theoretical framework for this study. Literature review is used to accomplish several purposes where it shares with the reader the results of other studies, relating the study to larger ongoing dialogue on the subject, filling the gaps and extending prior studies (Creswell, 2013). It covers the study objectives which include determining the level of knowledge of the citizens on provisions of the CoK 2010, determining the citizens' level of knowledge of the democratic participation mechanisms and establish level of citizens' engagement in democratic participation channels. The section also presents the theoretical and conceptual framework.

2.2 The role of civic education

Unlike democratic education, which seeks to replicate political structures, civic education aims to create civic consciousness that ensures that citizens become self-determined and politically mature (Yao, 2017). It is important for members of the public to determine their interests, be able to locate themselves within a plural society, form their opinion and the ability to participate in political debate (Lange, 2008). The motivation for political and civic engagement ensues from the intentions and interests of individuals to contribute to the public good.

Political socialization, determining how members of the public behave in these terms is a lasting process. Civic education, seeking an elevated political engagement among youths, must not create an impression that a conflict-free environment is required for political participation. On the contrary, civic education must emphasize that political engagement requires constructive management of conflict, open discussions and exchange of arguments (Zorwick & Wade, 2016). Nonetheless, standards and foundations of the political behavior for individuals are mainly established in the first

twenty years of life. The solidification of individual behavior depends on age; hence, the frequency and extent of political participation, which occurs in the life's course is determined during the early years of political socialization. Enlightened self-interest, which refers to the ability of linking particular public issues with individual or group interest and associating such matters with candidates that are better placed to promote and share their views and interests. The same is fostered by political knowledge (Finkel & Ernst, 2012).

The consistency of opinions across time and issues is increased through civic knowledge. A strong linear link exists between political attitudes, stability and political knowledge and voters who are more informed demonstrate higher ideological consistency levels on issues in comparison to persons who are less knowledgeable. For instance, citizens who are highly informed on political institutions and principles are more likely to support important democratic principles, beginning with tolerance. Tolerance for minorities that are unpopular as Bhatti (2017) points out is increased by knowledge of specific civil liberties and constitutional rights.

Popkin and Dimock point out that there is a difference between personal and political character. Political character focuses on the conduct judged in the specific context of institutions, political roles, responsibilities and issues. Officials are more likely to be judged by citizens that are less informed based on their personal character instead of their positions on important issues (Niworo, Gasu & Achanso, 2016). Political participation is promoted through civic knowledge. In fact, the quality and quantity of participation among citizens is highly influenced by political knowledge; for instance informed voters will mainly vote based on personal economic situations as well as the national economic conditions (Manning & Edwards, 2014).

Through civic education the citizens' independence and political maturity in a democratic system must be realized. Civic education focuses on four groups of citizens: the apathetic, the judicious and well informed the enabled and politically active people. The apathetic group refers to citizens who rarely get involved in politics and sparingly vote in elections. Such groups are considered as a challenge for civic training and

education. The judicious and well informed group, on the other hand, refers to individuals that show high interest in politics. Such persons are highly knowledgeable in regard to political life and cannot be manipulated easily. However, outside voting and elections, such individuals do not show any active political participation. Besides being aware of political participation opportunities, the enabled citizens can easily make sensible political decisions. Finally, the politically active citizens refer to those who actively engage in politics, have membership and get involved in political parties and interests and action group activities. At this point, Zhang and Fagan (2016) state that civic education and training plays a critical role in willingness.

Based on Peter Filzmaier (2007), there are three major distinct civic education dimensions. The first dimension: civic education focuses on knowledge impartation and deals with factual knowledge transfer as well as the understanding of the civic education pragmatic coherence. It further deals with comprehension of pragmatic coherences. The second dimension: civic education as participation promotion and as a freedom of expression focuses on support of the political opinions, attitudes and values support. This is expected to "support the development of political attitudes, opinions, and values." The third dimension: civic education as social competence. This dimension moves a step higher to include readiness of individual's uptake of responsibility where one can develop judgment and select 'predefined or development policy options'. Thus it can be concluded that civic knowledge works on aligning the individual to find a way into the socio-political and economic turmoil of political life.

Civic education in Kenya has become the catch word for Government, Civil Society, donors and commissions especially heading towards elections (Odera, 2013). This is done through civic education that equips them with knowledge and skills to effectively participate in a democratic society. This can only be achieved through the enlightenment of the citizens themselves and go further to articulate the knowledge acquired and imparted skills in their actions (Zhang, 2012).

In summary, therefore civic knowledge is an important aspect of enhancing participation of citizens in social and political processes. A recent research document has important links between basic civic knowledge and civic attributes. Resultantly, support for democratic values is promoted through civic knowledge. Equally, political participation is promoted through civic knowledge. Civic knowledge enables members of the public to understand their interests as group members and individuals. There is a rational relationship between the interest of individuals and a particular legislation. As such, more informed people defend and have an accurate connection with their interests in the political process. Through civic knowledge members of the public become informed on civic affairs. However, the knowledge acquired by citizens becomes effective once it's incorporated into an existing framework. Moreover, through civic knowledge the consistency of the views of members of the public as expressed on surveys on public opinions is enhanced.

2.3 Electoral Participation

Ekman and Amnå (2012) define political participation as the citizens' activities or actions that seek to influence the political results of a particular country or society. In particular, the definition focuses on four major dimensions: campaign activity, voting, political party organization and membership, communal activities, engaging in public officials and donations and organizations to political parties. On the contrary, Teorell, Torcal and Montero (2007) focus on five dimension of political participation. Based on their typology, electoral participation is first of the five dimensions. Consumer participation is the second dimension, which focuses on political consumption and boycotting, financial donations to not-for-profit organizations and signing of petitions. This implies that citizens assume the role of critical consumers. The third dimension is party membership, which includes voluntary financing of political parties through donations and active party membership. The fourth dimension in the typology is protest activity, which includes engagement strikes, public demonstrations and other protesting activities. Contracting civil servants or politicians is the typology's final dimension (Cohen & Chaffee, 2013).

Manifest political behavior focuses on actual political participation; which refers to the activities and actions that are geared towards influencing any political outcomes or any government decisions. Such actions which focus on tilting political results and decisions are rational or goal oriented and easily measurable and visible. The actions are known as representative democracy discourse or formal political participation. Consequently, political participation involves members of the public supporting particular candidates, parties, voting in an election or preventing others from gaining much political influence. Equally, similar activities, reasons or actions are witnessed when citizens participate in a referendum. However, some citizens are likely to refrain from such reasons, actions or activities to show their political dissatisfaction to the ruling class or political elite (Niworo, Gasu, & Achanso, 2016).

At the individual level, contact activities encompass another form of political participation as elucidated by various scholars. Despite the citizens' opportunity rights to civil servants and politicians aimed at tilting the political outcome or agenda, they can equally run for office. Political party, trade union or organization memberships are some of the examples of collective forms of political behaviour whose agenda is political. Examples of such membership include environmental organizations, advocacy groups for human rights and peace organisation. However, the traditional players within a framework or a country's formal political institutional framework may not be directly connected to political participation (Ekman, & Amnå, 2012).

Through unconventional political participation or extra-parliamentary acts members of the public can influence the political results or agenda. Some of the unconventional participation behavior includes striking, demonstrations or signing petitions. These are extra-electoral acts of political participation which may include both legal and illegal forms and to some they are no longer unconventional (Muthoni, 2015).

Through extra-parliamentary activity, supporters or members within network-based groups get an opportunity to act, take a personal stand and make a difference. For most individuals, the manifest political activities become concentrated to particular and not seldom spectacular events such as EU top meetings, counter-demonstrations at G8

meetings or the ESF (European-Social-Forum). Moreover, on the individual level, collecting or signing petitions, boycotting and dishing out political leaflets assumes the role of extra-electoral activism. Certain products or brands are purchased or refuted for ethical, ideological or environmental reasons. Equally, through this avenue ordinary citizens are able to directly influence people in authority (not particularly politicians), and thus create rational form of manifest political action (Micheletti, Stolle, & Berlin, 2014).

Latent participation, as pointed out by Schudson (1999) is one of the forms of electoral participation that has emerged in the recent past. According the advocates of latent participation, lack of political information or interest is not the main issue among most citizens; rather, most persons assume a deliberate anticipative position where they seek political information and remain interested. Latent participants become politically active and intervene when they feel it is really imperative. As such, such persons avoid traditional political participation channels; however, as monetized citizens they are politically involved (Bhatti, 2017). *Latent* forms of political participation refer to the types of engagement that can be referred to as standby or pre-political. This latency notion is based on the simple observation that citizens actually do a lot of things that may not be unequivocally or directly *categorized* as political participation. However, most of their activities are likely to have significant influence for future political participation that will assume the traditional approach.

A lot of citizen engagement in the contemporary democracies seems to be formally non-political or semi political on the surface, that is, activities not directly aimed at influencing the people in power, but nevertheless activities that entail involvement in society and current affairs. People in general discuss politics, consume political news in papers and on TV or on the Internet, or talk about societal issues. People have political knowledge and skills, and hold informed opinions about politics. Some people write to editors in local papers, debating local community affairs. Others express their opinions on-line (Ekman & Amnå, 2012).

In Kenya, the significant democratic participation of citizens is through the elections process where they directly elect their political leaders both at the national and local levels. Elections are always seen as a tool for legitimizing ruling regimes across a number of countries in Africa and a component of good governance (Nyanchoga et al, 2010). Furthermore, elections can be said to be a voice of the people. In Africa, it is reported that 75% of elections are flawed by the incumbent but the citizen participation has increased over years (Nyanchoga et al 2010). This increase in voter participation by the citizens in Africa is a clear indication that elections are a legitimate tool to choose democratic political leadership that draws mandate from the people. When looking at elections, the concept of citizenship becomes critical in democratization process. Democracy is a connection between forms of social and political power and also relationship between representation of the people and participation citizens in established governance institutions.

The reliance on electoral democracy is said to be an insufficient support for pluralism in Kenya. Global Centre for Pluralism (GCP) and *Katiba* Institute (KI) (2013) publication defines pluralism as referring to where we have an adoption of a policy advocated for in a multi ethnic or multi-cultural state. It is expected that this needs to be grounded in entities that promote political participation, political representation and political accountability (GCP and KI, 2013). It further demonstrated how politics and political parties in Kenya have continued to serve the interests of the tribal chieftains and ethnic elites. This shows that the voter participation of the citizens is influenced to some extent by the ethnic lens. This is well articulated by Karuti Kanyinga in a paper in the Global Centre for Pluralism and *Katiba* Institute (2013) publication where he states that:

Rather than enhancing democratic ideals and fostering tolerance and respect for other, political practices have exacerbated ethnic divisions and differences and caused social fragmentation. Under majoritarian rule, larger tribes can rely on their numbers to exclude others from the state and from access to resources (2013:11).

2.4 Civic Competence

There are four different types of competence and skills in the broader civic participation definition. These competencies and skills are first civic skills, second is civic understanding and knowledge, third is the civic identity, motivation and values and fourth is civic action. These contribute towards effective citizenry and identify different educational implication. The typical focus on providing knowledge that is accurate on democratic elements, institutions and processes of national history is being challenged by an increasing agreement that knowledge and understanding on community affairs, controversial issues, local processes and intergroup relations is also required (Carretero, Haste, & Bermudez, 2015). Moreover, there is growing agreement that responsible and active civic engagement cannot be fostered through civic knowledge alone. A relationship exists between voting and civic knowledge: most potential voters need to be more informed about political participation avenues, exercising responsibilities and rights, and monitoring the actions of the government (Cox, Jaramillo, and Reimers, 2015). Nonetheless, a civil society that is active must understand the principles and concepts, the skills for responsible and reflective action, commitment and readiness to engage in democratic values.

Understanding social and civic concept progresses in line with the development of conceptual thinking therefore various skills, which are divided into participatory, intellectual and socio-emotional are required for effective civil participation (Barrett, 2007). It is important for young persons' to participate in collective decision making processes, make sound political choices, be involved in conflict negotiation and resolution, discussion of political and social issues that are controversial and monitor government actions on behalf of the members of the public interests. Conceptual understanding and knowledge focus on the procedural civic skills. Cognitive skills refers to the capacities that can be used by citizens to synthesize and analyze arguments and information as well as examine, arrive at conclusions and assume and defend stands on issues affecting members of the public (Kirlin, 2003). For instance, cognitive skills focus on interpretation and interrogation of political communication, considering various perspectives and supporting positions with good argumentation and evidence. Participatory skills involve the capability to work as a group, seek consensus, build

coalitions, manage conflict and negotiate differences. There are communication skills (public speaking, protesting, lobbying and petitioning), organization (securing funds, mobilizing and leading meetings), and collective decision-making (evaluating alternative solutions and coordinating perspectives, among others) and also group membership and conflict resolution skills. Socio-emotional skills are the interpersonal capability for dealing with oneself in a democracy and amongst peers, family and community members. These interpersonal skills also feed into democracy as a way of life.

Development of identities, values and motives that position members of the public to effectively engage in democratic processes is the third civic learning dimension (Youniss and Levine, 2009). The strategies of civic education seek to instill the necessary attitudes and values for an upright citizen including helping others, taking the voting responsibility, monitoring contemporary issues on the media and upholding the law as well as concern with the welfare and rights and respect and tolerance for diversity (Selman & Kwok, 2010). Moral values play a critical role in civic action because they ensure that civic issues have become personally relevant and provide a sense of purpose for civic action particularly on single issues. Whereas youths show minimal concern in joining political parties or conventional politics, they are active in most environment and community issues.

Single issues are often viewed as morally charged; thus, they are experienced affectively, which in turn creates a sense of personal responsibility. The civic identity element is often absent when civic education is defined in terms of traditional macro political processes like voting instead of the actual motivators of behavior. To realize effective education, it is important to begin with the interest and concerns of youths as well as understand the various factors that motivate engagement. Collective and individual identities are continuously being significant features in the civic commitment and motivation definition. Consequently, identity is critical in terms of when, why and how citizens become engaged as well as the meaning that such engagements make in their specific social-cultural contexts.

Instead of being an individual's psychology fixed feature, civic identity is a psychological process that is fluid and active through which members of the public make sense of themselves in connection their social reality and negotiate their role and position within their civic communities. Civic practice, according to Kahne and Westheimer (2006) and Levinson (2012) is one of the methods of developing a positive sense of efficacy and agency. Civic competence is the fourth component of experiencing civic action. Before becoming formal political citizens, youths interact in various civic environments, which provide opportunities for relevant, age-appropriate and meaningful learning.

2.5 The role of Civil Society in facilitating the civic knowledge

To stimulate the political behavior of individuals, most advanced as well as emerging economies focus on the clear role of active mobilization (Rosenstone & Hansen, 1993; Verba, Scholzman & Brady, 1995). This is where people get involved because they have the required social-economic resources as well as they are requested to participate. The requests come from political parties, members of the immediate social circle, or groups that they are linked to. Such an emphasis is reverberated in the social movement participation literature as a significant predictor in virtually all empirical analyses of participation in movements concerning civil rights whether individuals are requested to participate, recruited or encouraged by others in the movement network (Carretero, Haste & Bermudez, 2016).

Secondary teams and associations like trade movements, religious and labour institutions as well as NGOs are the major forces that overwhelmingly conduct civil education (Carothers, 1999). Advocacy NGOs, for example, encourage people to get involved in group activities, and thus increase their influence and strengthen their membership in the political process as mediating interest groups. The impact of civic knowledge on voter participation is substantial because as the requests to participate in politics are amplified and augmented by the groups' dynamics and mobilization efforts.

In developing democracies, civic education is intimately bound up with processes of group political mobilization. The history of the CSOs is that they have been engaged in supplementing development agenda of the government and also imparting the soft skills such as civic competence, advocacy and leadership just to mention a few. The civil society groups have been observed to increasingly become active in influencing government policy-making (Kanyinga, 2014). The civil society organizations that have been established to pursue the agenda of democratic and governance reforms have supported efforts towards democratic participation of citizens in most cases (CSMSG, 2012). Such reforms have informed the level of engagement by the citizens or public in influencing policies and decisions that addresses their immediate, mid and long terms needs and priorities (Kanyinga, 2014).

The civil society is geared towards pushing for reforms of the political society that better represent societal interests within the state. The CSOs also pushes for reform of the state to enhance its capacity to provide services that are of quality and equitable (CSMSG, 2012). Civil society is and serves as platform for training for democracy. The CSOs have been a critical agent for change and supporting the citizens' capacity building to engage in democratic transition of Kenya. Citizens' participation in decision making processes plays a role in the development of the civil societies in Kenya (*Uraia & IRI, 2012*). This calls for the civil society to remain steady and focused in delivery of supporting the citizens to embrace democratic participation.

The capacity of the CSOs is a key factor that determines their role to bring about democratic transition. Three elements have been identified as indicators for assessing CSOs capacities. These are structural base, institutional strength of constituent elements and cultural presence. This means that there is a strong relationship that is manifested between the development of the capacity of the CSOs and levels of democratic participation of citizens (Loader, Vromen & Xenos, 2014). It is important to underscore the role of the international community in building the capacity of the civil society through increased funding to confront the government on matters of democratic space (Odera, 2013). When civil society sector is well-developed, it offers greater space

for citizens to influence political, cultural and socio-economic policy by providing opportunities for civic participation (Westminster Foundation for Democracy).

These CSOs include a wide range of civic formations that have been established to advance the closing of the gap between the government and citizens through efforts to attain a civic competent political community (Civil Society and Media Support Group, 2012). The role of CSOs cannot be over emphasized in increasing the democratic space for citizens to enjoy their rights and exercise their responsibilities through imparting civic knowledge and skills. Civil society institutions include women groups, religious organizations, trade unions, professional associations and social movements (Civil Society and Media Support Group, 2012).

In Kenya, such reformist groups include Constitutional and Reform Education Consortium (CRECO), Consortium for the Empowerment and Development of the Marginalized Communities (CEDMAC), Ecumenical Civic Education Programme, National Muslim Civic Education Consortium, *Amkeni waKenya* (UNDPs' Civil Society Democratic and Governance Facility), Community Agency for Change in Kenya (CACK), Human Rights Agenda (HURIA), *Magharibi* Human Rights (MAHURI), FIDA Kenya, Youth in Focus Foundation (YIFF), *Vihiga Emuhaya Sabatia Hamisi* (VESH) Initiative, Kenya Female Advisory Organization (KEFEADO), National Civil Society Congress among others.

Kenyans are yet to see evidence of a significant number of citizens taking advantage of such participation mechanisms to enjoy their democratic rights in governance structures and processes. Different methods and approaches have been used but it has been observed to have different results on the intended target group due to imparting of the civic knowledge based on interests generated. Despite numerous efforts by civil society organizations that were put in place to address the knowledge gap in terms provisions of the CoK 2010 that opened up the space for more participation of the people, much is yet to be realized.

2.6 Civic Education and Electoral Participation

Civic education seemed to have clearer positive influence on normative forms of political expression. Unfortunately, most scholars do not measure similar outcomes and composite results made it impossible to determine the impact on particular behaviours. The political voice composite measure focuses on issues like protesting or writing to a public official, was used by Bers and Chau (2010). According to Crawford (2010) civic education is not significantly correlated with the scale of public voice (items such as signing petition, visiting public officials/contract and boycotts were included).

Based on evidence from different research, various programs on civic education have minimal effect on voter registration or voting in spite of large national data sets. However, some research drawing on large samples indicate that political socialization effects at home can be enhanced through civic education and it also may enhance voter registration and voting for migrant children. Based on various studies, political expression can be modestly affected by civic education, however, it was difficult to determine the particular forms that were affected ? the study relied on composite outcomes.

Bers and Chau's (2010) conducted ACT (Active Citizenship-through-Technology) which is civic education based on the internet. The technology based program was conducted for three days as a pre-orientation exercise for students that were new at the university. The virtual campuses were presented to the community members and university in the semester immediately after the programme. Comparisons were conducted between Participants of ACT and other new students involved in other pre-orientation groups like faith and fitness and were investigated before and after the programme.

The effect of CACTUS (Citizen's Assembly on Critical Thinking about the United States) was investigated by Gershtenson, Rainey, and Rainey (2010) on a variety of political variables. The programme aimed to enable university students to become critical thinkers, develop participatory skills and political knowledge while addressing the issue of whether it was the appropriate time to change how the US president is

elected. Three broad phases are included in the programme: a public consultation phase where team listens from other faculties and students, a learning phase, and a deliberative phase where the team collaborates to develop a reformed Electoral College model and a popular vote alternative. The programme took place over one semester with weekly meetings. Based on the research findings, the level of political participation is increased through civic education.

2.7 Theoretical framework

This study was based on rational choice theory and social capital theory. A discussion of these theories is provided in the section below.

2.7.1 Rational choice theory (also known as Choice theory)

Rational choice theory was pioneered by sociologist George Homas in 1961 as the basis of understanding behavior exchanges. Rational choice is a process of determining available options and choosing the most preferred according to some consistent criterion (Levin & Milgrom, 2004). Rational choice theory is a supposition in social sciences that presume that human behavior and social life generally can be explained by rational choices of individuals. The theory assumes that all actions by individuals is primarily rational in nature but they calculate the investment in costs and accruing benefits before making a decision on what to do (Scott, 2000).

According to this theory, the motivation to an action by an individual is based on personal wants and goals and driven by personal desires or advantages. The individuals usually have different wants, goals and values in any given action they undertake (Ritzer & Gindoff, 1992). However, there are constraints to action including availability of resources, opportunity cost, societal expectations and lack of information among others which may be imposed on the actor by the larger social structures (Levin & Milgrom, 2004).

In this study, the rational choice theory can be applied to explain how the voter participation of the citizens is affected by the level of civic knowledge based on the choice to participate and accruing benefit. The underlying idea of choice theory is that

behaviour patterns in societies reflect the choices made by individuals as they aspire to maximize their accrual benefits and minimize their investment costs. This is to say that citizen decision making is based on how they should act by comparison of the costs and benefits of different actions. The individuals in this theory are seen as driven by the wants or goals that express their preferences.

As explained by rational choice theory, in this study the benefit is the entrenched voter participation of the citizens in public management affairs and the cost they have to pay to acquire the civic knowledge and skills sessions. Lack of this civic knowledge perpetuates problems such as bad governance and lack or inadequate civic knowledge that limits their voice in decision making processes and structures. Despite participation, good governance and democracy is entrenched in the CoK 2010. The citizens in this situation have the voluntary choice to identify the available choice which is to acquire civic knowledge to entrench the voter participation in all spheres to harvest benefits of existence of democratic ideals and good governance principles as outlined by the CoK 2010. Therefore citizen participation reflects the engagement at different levels depending on the primary objective of the individual.

2.7.2 Social capital theory

According to Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1988), capital, which was developed by Coleman and Bourdieu, is a concept that shows the link among persons and has positive impact on status attainment and education. Though different scholars define social capital differently, the researchers agree that it refers to the ability of players to secure benefits because they are members of social structures or networks (Portes, 1998). The social capital concept was developed by using the community rather than individuals as the unit of analysis (Putnam, 2000).

Social capital is defined by Putnam (2000) as social organization attribute that promotes cooperative behavior and thus improves social efficiencies. A community's social capital, which contains a network, the reciprocity norm and trust, deals with economic development, democracy, public health, security and happiness. Therefore- Social capital facilitates solving of communal problems, aids in community activities,

improves the community through the sharing of different experiences and shares information that is useful.

Putnam (2000) argues that through civic education, individuals form a collective network that results to civic skills and action thereby resulting to increased political participation. Thus to Putnam civic education is an important ingredient in enhancing political participation as it strengthens social capital among the citizenry. This study utilized Putnam's concept of social capital to answer the question of how civic education influences voting participation in Kenya.

2.8 Hypothesis

H1: There is a significant association between civic knowledge and voter participation among voters in informal settlements.

H2: There are civic competencies among voters in informal settlements.

2.9 Conceptual Framework

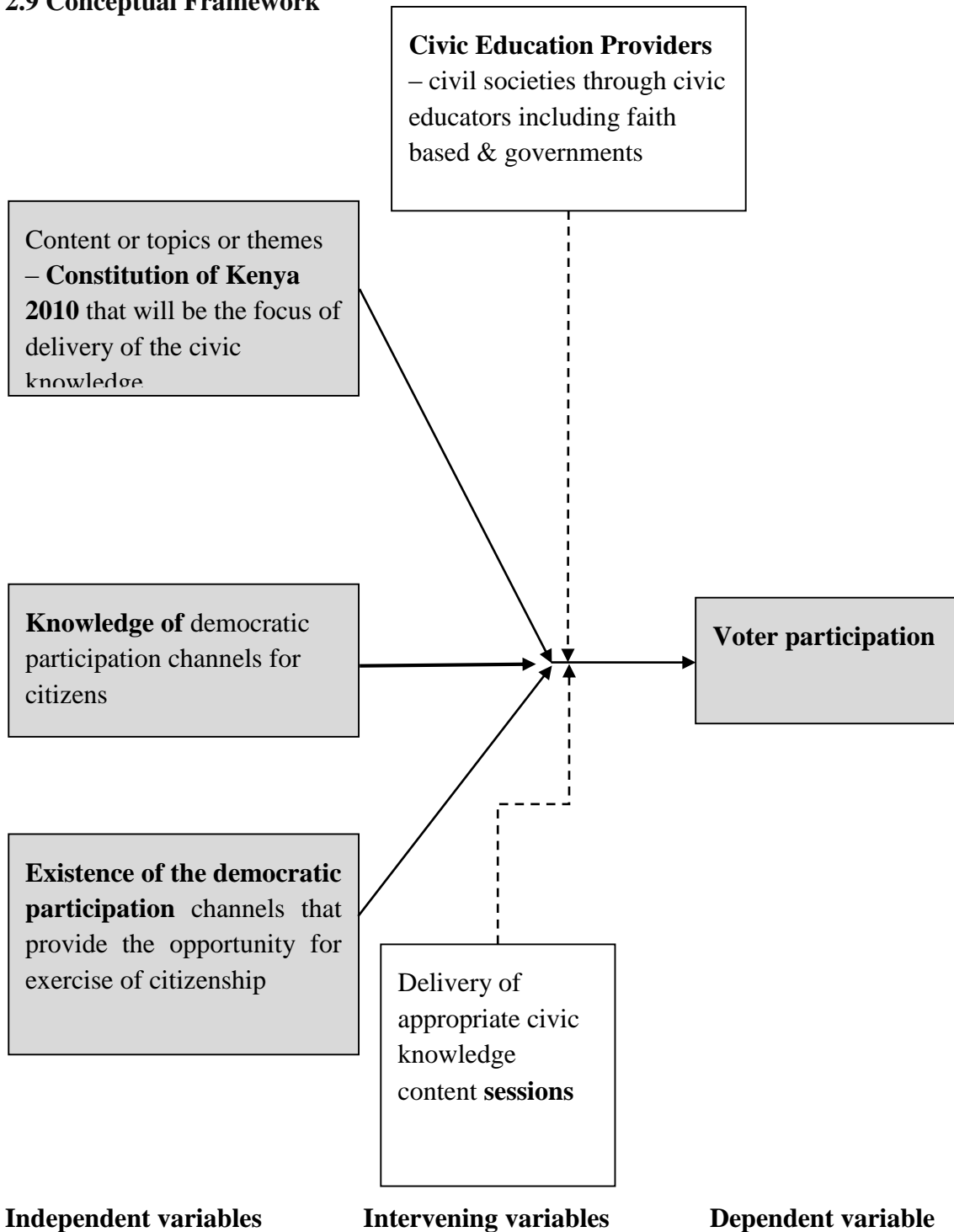


Figure 2.2. The Conceptual Framework. This details the independent, intervening and dependent variables of this study.

Source: Researcher, 2018

The conceptual framework above gives an illustration of the relationship among independent, intervening and dependent variables. Dependent variable – voter participation is the ideal result that is required to be achieved for meaningful participation of citizens in political processes like election. The independent variables that are critical to achieving the voter participation are knowledge of the Constitution of Kenya 2010, knowledge and existence of the democratic participation channels. The Constitution gives an outline of the national values and governance principles that a citizen ought to know for effective participation within the rule of law among other provisions thereof.

The knowledge and existence of the voter participation channels are variables that are also important for the citizen. These will be able to provide the opportunity for one to be able to identify and know how to engage in such channels. It is until this happens; the knowledge of the provisions in the Constitution will just be information with no value addition to the citizen. The combination of the three independent variables will be able to allow one to acquire the necessary knowledge to move to the next level of developing civic competence.

This process of development of civic competence requires intervening variable as they cannot just happen. The role of the civil societies as providers of civic education is paramount in the framework. The civil society organizations have to intervene by supporting the acquisition of civic knowledge by citizens to attain civic competence and eventually influence the voter participation. The receiver of this kind of knowledge is expected to exhibit a different and positive behavior change. The end result of such endeavour is to make the citizen inculcate values and approaches that exhibit strengthened voter participation culture.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This study is aimed at investigating the impact of civic knowledge on the voter participation in informal settlements in Nairobi City County. This chapter presents the research methodology used in the study. It provides information on the research design used, target population, sampling design, data collection instruments and data analysis methods employed in order to address the research questions.

3.2 Site Selection and Description

Kangemi division is an urban area in Westlands Sub County of Nairobi City County that comprises five wards. It is a cosmopolitan urban area in Nairobi City County. It is situated on the Western side of Nairobi City County, North West of the Kiambu County and covers a total area of 32.5 Km² that is equivalent to 45% of the Westlands Constituency/Sub County's total area of 72.4Km². This study focused on three of the five wards, that is, Mountain View, Kitisuru and Kangemi.

Kangemi division is estimated to have a population of 80,690 according to the Kenya Population Census of 2009. This was projected to grow at an annual growth of 4.3% (Integrated Urban Development Master Plan for the Nairobi City County 2014-2030, 2014). The majority of the population in Kangemi division is youthful meaning that they are aged between 18-35 years. According to IEBC the registered voters were over 112,000 for the 2017 General Elections. In the larger Westlands district Mountain View, Kitisuru and Kangemi wards are characterized by high population density. These three wards are characterized by low living status of residence comprised of numerous informal settlements.

Below is a map of the Westlands constituency which has five wards in which three were the study focus areas, that is, Mountain View, Kitisuru and Kangemi wards.

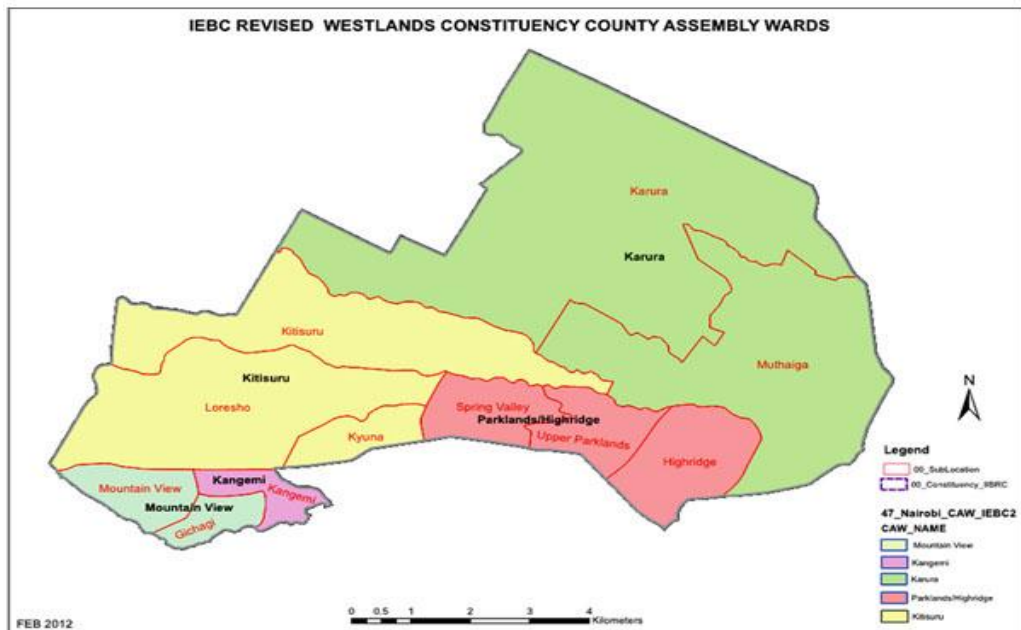


Figure 3.1. Showing the Map of Westlands Constituency. Kangemi division is the study area that comprises Mountain View, Kitisuru and Kangemi Wards.
Source: IEBC, 2012

In Kangemi division, there are noticeable social amenities namely a social hall and football pitch that are located centrally. These social amenities are ideal spaces for delivery of civic education sessions to the youth as they are readily available, leading to the influence of their level of participation in democratic activities. In addition, these facilities provide the youths with an alternative way to spend their free time rather than engage in social ills such as petty crimes and drug abuse.

This means that the key target of the civic education efforts and participation in democratic processes is mainly the youths. The issue of the youth is critical when discussion on the citizen participation and acquisition of civic knowledge ensues. The other reason for choosing Kangemi division is because my study focused on cosmopolitan settings and Kangemi division really satisfied this condition. This study sought to investigate the impact of the civic knowledge acquired on the level of voter participation within the division.

3.3 Research Design

Kumar (2011) defines research design as a framework that provides a road map on how data will be collected and analyzed to meet the research objectives. The study adopted a quantitative method study design. The quantitative methods research enabled the collection of data that met the objectives of the study.

3.4 Study Population

A study population is group of persons, elements and entities (Depoy and Gitlin 2011). They share common characteristics as defined or theorized by the researcher. A study population has similar characteristics from which samples are taken for observation (Kombo & Tromp, 2010). In case of this study, the population of interest was the registered voters from Kangemi division in Nairobi County.

3.5 Sampling and Sample Size

Kombo and Tromp (2010) define sampling design as the approach used to select cases for observation from the study population and is categorized into probability and non-probability sampling designs. The study calculated sample size based on proportion based sampling. According to *Uraia* Trust less than 10% of Voters in Nairobi County have participated in civic education programme in Kenya. This was used as the proportion in the study, represented by P while E was the margin of error in the study, given at 0.05

$$N = (2 / E)^2 P(1-P)$$

$$N = (2/0.05)^2 \times 0.1(0.9) = 1600(0.09) = 144 \text{ as the sample size of the study}$$

Using probability sampling specifically stratified sampling the researcher adopted apportioned the sample size across the three selected wards. The technique allowed the sampling size to be appropriated to the three selected words. Based on the stratified sampling technique, the study appropriated the sample size as shown in table below.

Table 3.1 Showing the Sample Size Distribution of voters in the three wards

Population Strata	Population	Sample Size
Mountain View Ward	36,126	47
Kitisuru Ward	31, 202	39
Kangemi Ward	45,500	58
Total	112,828	144

Note. Source: IEBC

The study thereafter, used purposive sampling to select the registered voters who participated in the study from each of the chosen wards who met the criteria of the study. Additionally this sampling technique allowed the researcher to minimize costs associated with time and finance.

3.6 Data Collection Tools

The researcher used various data collection instruments to acquire concise and concrete information based on the study objectives. In descriptive surveys the questionnaire is preferred due to its ability to involve the researcher and the respondent. The study used Questionnaires as the instrument to conduct the survey. A questionnaire with closed and open ended questions was administered through face to face interviews with the respondents. The questionnaire was administered by research assistants to 144 people over a period of two weeks.

3.7 Data Collection Procedures

Data collection is the process of gathering specific facts about an entity, object or individual of interest (Kombo and Tromp, 2010). Before initiation of the actual study, the researcher obtained an authorization letter to conduct the research from the University of Nairobi's, Faculty of Arts. Three research assistants were then recruited and trained on the administration of the questionnaire to the research subjects.

3.8 Units of analysis

The study unit of analysis was the registered voters in Kangemi division, Westlands district, Nairobi City County. This included both female and male voters. This was based on the study independent variables namely; content of the civic knowledge (for this study, the focus was on the Constitution of Kenya 2010), knowledge of the democratic participation channels and existence of the democratic participation channels that provide opportunity for exercise of citizenship.

3.9 Units of observation

The study unit of observation was the voter participation in Kangemi division in Nairobi City County.

3.10 Pilot Study

It is important that the research instruments are pretested as a way of fine tuning them (Wiersma, 1995). This is vital as it enables both the reliability and the validity of the instrument to be determined., A pilot study was carried out in a ward Highridge division which is in the same sub -county which was however, not included in the final study. The questionnaires were pretested two weeks before the actual data collection using identical sample and data to be collected. Any items in the research instrument found to elicit vague responses were removed in an attempt to improve the questionnaire.

3.10.1 Validity

Validity determines the extent to which the research instrument measures what it was supposed to measure (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999). In the current study, the researcher ensured valid instrument through adoption of question from previous studies, expert opinion from the supervisor and developing questionnaire from relevant literature. During the researcher validated the instrument by rejecting the inconsistent responses.

3.10.2 Reliability

Reliability refers to the level to which outcomes are consistent over time and provide an accurate representation of the entire population being investigated (Mugenda & Mugenda, 1999). In the context of the current research, reliability ensured that items in the research instrument provided similar outcomes across the two sample classes.

A reliability coefficient value of between 0.7 and 1 is sufficient enough Andy, (2014). SPSS program was used to calculate the reliability of the instruments. From the test, it was established that all the independent variables indicated a reliability score above 0.7 as shown in Table 3 below. As shown in Table 3.2 the overall coefficient alpha for all the variables was 0.813. Individually all the study variables had Cronbach value of 0.7 and above. Cronbach's Alpha values that are greater than 0.7 are acceptable while values greater than 0.8 are preferable and considerably highly reliable (Andy, 2014). The results in the table below indicated that all the study independent variables gave alpha value greater than 0.7 thereby proving the research tool as reliable.

Table 3.2 Showing the Reliability Results of the Research Tool

Variable	Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	Number of Items
Civic Knowledge	0.712	0.726	5
Civic Attitude	0.722	0.821	5
Civic Skills	0.731	0.803	5
Civic Actions	0.812	0.807	5
Overall	0.813	0.825	20

Note. Source: Researcher

3.11 Data Analysis and Presentation

The data collected were cleaned for analysis before transformation and thereafter analysed through descriptive and inferential statistics (Logit model). The data were analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 20.0 and presented in the report in the form of tables, bar charts and graphs.

The linear regression model used was as follows:

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \varepsilon$$

Where: Y voter participation

β_0 = Represents voter participation by voters when $(X_1, X_2, X_3, X_4) = 0$

X_1 = civic knowledge

X_2 = civic attitude

X_3 = civic skills

X_4 = civic action

β_1, β_2 and β_3, β_4 represent the coefficient of X_1, X_2, X_3 and X_4

ε represents the error term.

3.12 Ethical Considerations

Ethical standards were considered during the research. The researcher maintained honesty and avoided biases by ensuring that the investigators opinions were not included in the findings. Equally, the undue assumptions and manipulations were avoided during data presentation. Confidentiality and privacy was maintained throughout the research; for instance, personal information of respondents such as contacts and other identities were not obtained. The investigator was accountable in obtaining and representing all the information and data that were collected objectively. Official permission was also sought to carry out the research from the relevant authorities.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

The main objective of this research was to analyze the impact of civic knowledge on voter participation in informal settlements in Kenya. This was guided by examining three specific objectives, that is, to establish the level of civil / political rights knowledge among informal settlement dwellers, to investigate the effect of civic knowledge on voter participation in informal settlements and to find out the level of civic competencies among voters in informal settlement in Kenya.

The study targeted 144 voters from the informal settlements of Kangemi Division, Nairobi City County. As shown in Table 4.1, the response rate of 85% was achieved meaning that the data was good enough to be analyzed.

Table 4.1 Showing the Response Rate

Questionnaires Response	Frequency (n)	Percent (%)
Filled	122	85
Not filled	22	15
Total	144	100

Note. Source: Researcher

Respondents were distributed across the three wards in the Division. Majority of them (43%) were from Kangemi ward with 24% and 34% coming from Kitisuru and Mountain View wards respectively.

Table 4.2 Showing the Distribution of Respondents Based on their Wards

Ward	Frequency (n)	Percent (%)
Kangemi	52	43
Kitisuru	29	24
Mountain View	41	34
Total	122	100

Note. Source: Researcher

Among the respondents, 57% were male and 43% were female as shown in Figure 4.1.

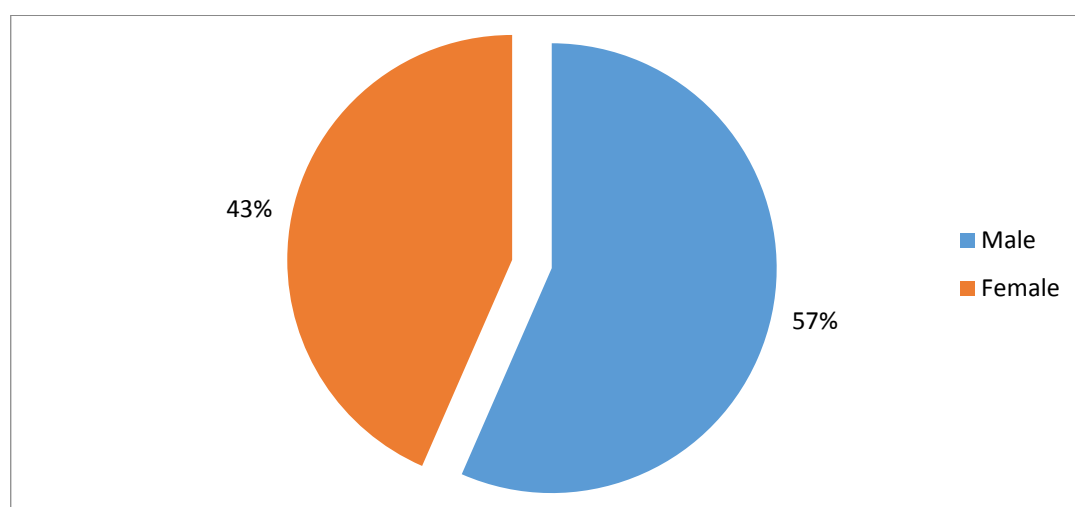


Figure 4.1: Showing the distribution of respondents based on gender.

Source: Researcher, 2018

As shown in Table 4.3, about half of the respondents (47%) were aged between 28 and 37 years, 33% were aged between 18 and 27 years old while 20% were aged above 37 years. All the respondents were eligible voters as set out in the Kenyan Constitution. In essence, cumulative 80% were between 18 and 37 years.

Table 4.3 Showing the Distribution of Respondents Based on their Age

Age	Frequency (n)	Percent (%)
18-27 years	40	33
28-37 years	57	47
Above 37 years	25	20
Total	122	100

Note. Source: Researcher

As shown in Table 4.4, the level of education of the majority (37%) of the respondents had secondary education, 26% had primary education and a cumulative 37% had post-secondary education.

Table 4.4 Showing the Distribution of Respondents Based on their Level of Education

Education Level	Frequency (n)	Percent (%)
Primary Education	32	26
Secondary Education	45	37
Post-secondary Education	27	22
University Education	18	15
Total	122	100

Note. Source: Researcher

4.2 The level of civil/political rights among informal settlement dwellers

In terms of civic education, 65% had not received any form of civic education while 35% had. These results show that majority of the respondents had received some form of civic education as voters.

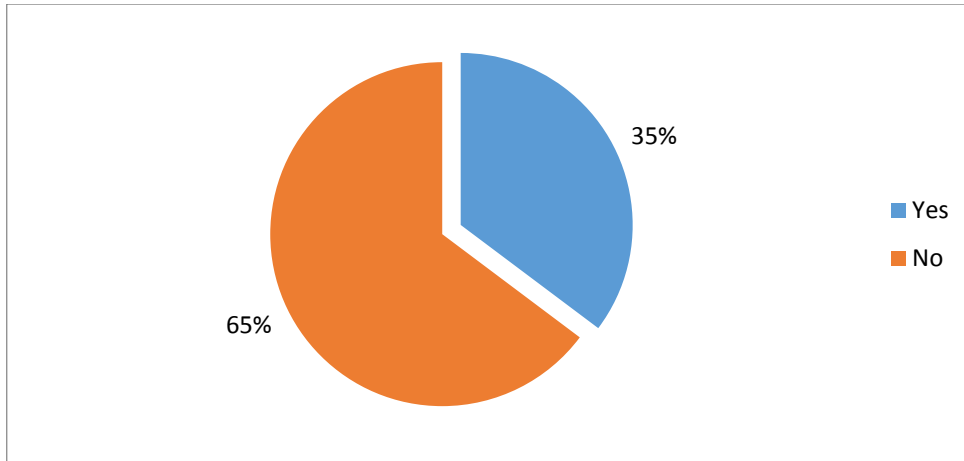


Figure 4.2. Showing the civic education. Source: Researcher, 2018

Civic Knowledge of the Voters

The first objective of the study was to establish the level of civil/political rights knowledge among informal settlement dwellers. In order to achieve this, a set of 5-point likert questions were asked to the respondents where 1 was none and 5 was completely conversant. The mean for each statement was computed and results presented as shown in Table 4.5. The results indicated that most of the respondents were very conversant with citizenship rights and freedom (mean=3.76).

In addition, the study revealed that the respondents were moderately conversant with the functions of both National and County Governments as established in the Constitution (mean 3.31 and 3.35 respectively) as shown in Table 4.5. Further, the respondents also agreed that they were very conversant with the electoral process. Finally, the study results revealed that the respondents were moderately conversant with the channels of citizen participation in both National and County Governments (mean=2.83). As shown in Table 4.5 these findings demonstrate that there is limited knowledge concerning institutions regardless to Bill of Rights and electoral process enshrined in the Constitution of Kenya 2010.

Table 4.5 Showing Respondents Knowledge of Civil Rights

Statement	N	Mean	SD
Citizen rights and freedoms found in the Constitution of Kenya 2010 (e.g. citizen rights, political rights, socio-economic rights)	122	3.76	1.19212
Functions of the National Government as established in the Constitution of Kenya 2010	122	3.31	0.99931
Functions of the County Government as established in the Constitution of Kenya 2010	122	3.35	0.83148
Conversant with electoral process (Registration, nomination of candidates, political campaigns, voting and tally process)	122	3.51	1.10411
Conversant with channels of citizen participation in both National and County Governments (e.g. budget planning process, county forums, legislation process)	122	2.83	1.0876
Average mean	122	3.35	1.0234

Note. N = total number of respondents. SD – Standard Deviation. Source: Researcher

4.3 Civic Skills of the Voters

The second objective of the study was to establish the civic skills of the voters. In order to achieve this, a set of 5-point likert questions were asked to the respondents where 1 was not at all and 5 was very well. As shown in Table 4.6 analysis of the likert questions indicated that majority of the respondents agreed that they can manage very well the conflicts arising out of political differences amicably as well as argue their points of views about a controversial political or social issues well (Mean=3.61 and 4.01 respectively). This suggests that respondents had strong conflict management skills and communication skills. Further, majority agreed that quite well they were able to write an opinion on a current issue in social media (Mean= 4.07). as shown in Table 4.6 the results also showed that the respondents are able to support their positions with evidence and good argumentation quite well (mean=3.82). These findings demonstrate that respondents had strong communication skills. Finally, the results revealed that the respondents were able to organize a group of residents in order to achieve community changes fairly well and able to interpret party manifestos correctly (mean = 3.47, 3.31

respectively). This finding implies that respondents have relatively low political mobilization and interpretation skills.

Table 4.6 Showing Civic Skills of the Voters in Kangemi Division

Statement	N	Mean	SD
Manage conflict arising out of political differences amicably	122	3.61	0.7777
Argue your point of view about a controversial political or social issue	122	4.01	0.75747
Organize a group of residents in order to achieve changes at community	122	3.47	1.03169
Able to interpret party manifestos/party campaign messages correctly	122	3.31	0.9735
Write an opinion on social media giving your view on a current issue	122	4.07	0.9376
Supporting positions with evidence and good argumentation	122	3.82	1.1351
Average Mean	122	3.71	0.8673

Note. N = total number of respondents. SD – Standard Deviation. Source: Researcher

4.4 Civic Attitudes of the Voters

The third objective of the study was to establish the level of civic attitudes of the voters. This was measured through a set of 5-point likert choices ranging from 1 strongly disagree to 5 which was strongly agreed. As shown in Table 4.7 the study revealed that majority of the respondents agreed that every Kenyan have the right to express their opinions freely as well as have the freedom to criticize the government publicly (mean = 4.12). The results also indicated that respondents agreed that citizens should always be free to criticize the government publicly (mean=4.01). Additionally, the study findings showed that the respondents agreed that citizens should make up their own mind on political issues (mean = 4.06). The study findings also demonstrated that the respondents agreed that men and women should have same political rights in every way (mean = 3.67). These findings imply that the voters had a positive attitude in regard to political issues.

Table 4.7 Showing Civic Attitudes of the Respondents in Kangemi Division

Statement	N	Mean	SD
Everyone should always have the right to express their opinions freely	122	4.12	0.6580
People should always be free to criticize the government publicly	122	4.01	0.8546
Men and women should have the same political rights in every way	122	3.67	0.9436
Citizens should be encouraged to make up their own minds on political issues	122	4.06	0.8734
Average Mean	122	3.95	0.8001

Note. N = total number of respondents. SD – Standard Deviation. Source: Researcher

4.5 Civic Action of the Voters

The third objective of the data analysis was to establish the level of civic attitudes of the voters. This was measured through a set of 5-point likert choices ranging from 1 strongly disagree while 5 was strongly agree. As shown in Table 4.8 the study revealed that majority of the respondents agreed that they have participated in campaign rallies (mean=3.84). Additionally, the result indicated that the respondents agreed that they have participated in nomination of candidates and demonstrations championing electoral reforms (mean = 3.68 and 4.02 respectively). The results also proved that the respondents were neutral on whether they are members of a political party (mean=2.96) while respondents also agreed to their participation in previous elections (mean=3.73).

Table 4.8 Showing Civic Action of the Respondents in Kangemi Division

Statement	N	Mean	SD
I have participated in campaign rallies	122	3.84	0.796
I am a member of a political party	122	2.96	0.852
I have participated in nomination of candidates	122	3.68	0.853
Participated in demonstration championing electoral reforms	122	4.02	0.65
I have participated in the past two elections held in this country	122	3.73	0.869

Note. N = total number of respondents. SD – Standard Deviation. Source: Researcher

4.6 Civic Competencies

The third objective of the study was to establish the level of civic competencies among the voters. Civic competencies score were established through transformation and computation of data on civic knowledge, civic attitude, civic skills and civic action through SPSS. Through computation a score was developed and categorized into low levels, moderate levels and high levels. As shown in Table 4.8 the results shows that 55% (67) of the respondents had moderate levels of civic competencies while 27% (33) and 18%(22) of the respondents had low level of civic competencies and high level of civic competencies respectively. These findings imply that there exists relatively low level civic mindedness among the voters in the informal settlement.

Table 4.9 Showing Voter Level of Civic Competencies in Kangemi Division

Level of Competencies	Frequencies (n)	Percent (%)
Low level of civic competency	33	27
Moderate level of civic competencies	67	55
High level of civic competencies	22	18
Total	122	100

Note. Source: Researcher

4.8 Logistic Regression Analysis

Before logit regression analysis was carried out, diagnostic tests were performed to ascertain the suitability of applying logit analysis in the study. Outliers and multicollinearity test were performed.

4.8.1 Multicollinearity Test

The multicollinearity assumption was tested with the correlation matrix and with 'Tolerance' and 'Variance Inflation Factor' (VIF). From the table below it was evident that multicollinearity assumption was met since the VIF factor is above 1 but less than 4 (Pallant, 2001). Table 4.10 shows that tolerance values are not less than the cut-off level of 1 and that the VIF values do not exceed 4 thereby showing absence of multicollinearity.

Table 4.10: Showing Multicollinearity Tests

Independent variable	F-Statistic	Significant
	Tolerance	VIF
Civic Knowledge	0.455	2.199
Civic Attitude	0.7	1.429
Civic Skills	0.575	1.738
Civic Actions	0.63	1.588

Note. VIF = Variance Inflation Factor. Source: Researcher

4.8.2 Checking for Outliers

In logistic regression involving categorical data, checking for outliers can be carried out by inspecting the residuals or by checking for outliers through data cleaning during data entry. The study used data cleaning to check for outliers since the dependent variable in the study were categorical.

4.9 Effect of Civic Knowledge on Voter Participation

Table 4.11 Showing Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients		Chi-square	Df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	15.452	4	0.004
	Block	15.452	4	0.004
	Model	15.452	4	0.004

Note. df = degree of freedom. Source: Researcher

The Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients gives us an overall indication of how well the model performs, over and above the results, with none of the predictors entered into the model. The Omnibus Test of Model allows for the ‘goodness of fit’ test to be carried out. The study results show that these sets of results are a fit for the model. This was indicated by p-values less than 0.05. Thus it can be concluded that the logic model is suitable in explaining the relationship between the predictor variables and voter participation.

Table 4.12 Showing Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell	
		R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	56.803a	0.201	0.309

Note. Source: Researcher

As shown in Table 4.12 on Model summary helps in explaining the overall contribution of civic knowledge on voter participation. The model as a whole explained between 20.1% (Cox and Snell R square) and 30.9% (Nagelkerke R squared) of the variance in voter participation can be explained by civic knowledge.

Table 4.13: Showing Regression Coefficients showing the Relationship between Civic Knowledge and Voter Participation

Variable	B	S.E	Wald	Df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Civic Knowledge	0.481	0.7583	15.199	1	0.000	1.103
Civic Skills	0.136	0.201	5.867	1	0.015	1.280
Civic Attitudes	0.145	0.1862	3.269	1	0.091	1.060
Civic Action	0.247	0.4451	5.212	1	0.031	2.341
Cons.	0.342	1.662	33.112	1	0.000	0.000

Note. Source: Researcher

Direct logistic regression was performed to assess the effect of civic knowledge on voter participation. The model contained four independent variables (civic knowledge, civic skills, civic attitudes and civic action). As shown in Table 4.13, only three of the independent variables made a unique statistically significant contribution to the model (civic knowledge, civic skills and civic action)

The strongest predictor of voter participation was civic action, recording an odds ratio of 2.341. This indicated that respondents who had participated in some form of civic action were over 2 times more likely to participating in the voting exercise. The lowest odds ratio in the study was established to be civic knowledge that only resulted into 1.103 likelihood of participating in voting exercise.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter summarizes the study findings in relation to the objectives outlined in Chapter one. It also presents the conclusion of the study together with the recommendations.

5.1 Summary

This study comes against the backdrop of the promulgation of the Kenyan Constitution after a long journey of reviewing the independent supreme law. The Constitution of Kenya 2010 (CoK, 2010) has identified democracy, good governance and public participation as some of the values and principles of governance running throughout the supreme law (Kayinga, 2014).

In this study, the civic knowledge has made reference to the citizens or citizenship, political education, civic education discourse as its part of this subject matter. The civic knowledge and voter participation in this study has been discussed in the context of the larger civic education concept. The study was concerned with investigating the relationship between the civic knowledge and the voter participation of citizens.

The research focused on the study objectives namely: to establish the level of civil / political rights knowledge among informal settlement dwellers in Kenya, to establish the level of civil / political rights knowledge among informal settlement dwellers in Kenya and to find out the level of civic competencies among voters in informal settlement in Kenya. These were to answer the research questions, that is, if the informal settlement dwellers in Kenya knowledgeable about their civil/political rights, in what way do civic knowledge affect voter participation in informal settlements in Kenya and what is the level of civic competencies among voters in informal settlement in Kenya?

The study made reference to literature related to civic knowledge and voter participation of citizens. The literature covered the overview of the role of civic education, electoral election. Literature on civic competence and the role of civil society in the facilitation of civic knowledge were also reviewed. The study's theoretical framework focused on perspectives of the provisions of civic knowledge and voter participation.

The theories that framed the study were rational choice theory and Social capital theory. The conceptual framework outlined variables that hypothesized an association between civic knowledge and voter participation. In this study, the independent variables were civic knowledge, civic action, civic skills and civic attitude. Among the three, that is, civic knowledge, civic skills and civic action were statistically significant while civic attitude was not statistically significant. Voter participation was the dependent variable in the study.

5.2 Summary of the major findings

The major findings posited by this study on the impact of civic knowledge on the voter participation on the citizens of Kenya include that generally the voters were moderately conversant in regards to their civil and political rights and majority of the respondents had moderate levels of civic competencies. The study revealed that only civic knowledge, civic skills and civic action influence voter participation. Therefore the findings indicate that there is a significant relationship between the civic knowledge and voter participation. Specifically, the major findings are as follows:

5.2.1 Are informal settlement dwellers in Kenya knowledgeable about their civil/political rights?

In terms of civic education, the study findings suggested that majority of the voters had received some form of civic education. Further the study revealed that generally the voters were moderately conversant in regards to their civil and political rights. Specifically, the results indicated that most of the respondents were very conversant with citizenship rights, freedom and the electoral process. Additionally, the study revealed that the respondents were moderately conversant with the functions of both

National and County Governments and the channels of democratic participation. These findings demonstrate that voters have some knowledge of their civic and political rights in Kenya.

5.2.2 In what way does civic knowledge affect voter participation in informal settlements in Kenya?

The study revealed that only civic knowledge, civic skills and civic action influence voter participation. Further the results also indicated that civic attitude had no significant influence on voter participation. Additionally, the findings demonstrated that civic action was the strongest predictor of voter participation while civic knowledge was the weakest predictor of voter participation.

5.2.3 What is the level of civic competencies among voters in informal settlement in Kenya?

The study findings indicated that majority of the respondents have moderate levels of civic competencies while the remaining respondents had low level of civic competencies and high level of civic competencies respectively. Concerning civic competencies, the study revealed that majority of the respondents agreed that they have civic skills and have participated in civic action. Further, the results indicated that majority of the respondents have relatively positive civic attitudes.

5.3 Conclusion

The study findings show that civic knowledge is critical in determining the level of voter participation of Kenyan citizens. The level and choice of the content in civic education programmes is also critical as it has to respond to the needs and responsibility of citizens and priorities of the country as outlined in the provisions of the CoK 2010 in order to promote voter participation.

There seems to be very little effort in regards to increasing citizen participation in national and county governments planning, budgeting, implementation, policy and legislation formulation. This can also be said of citizen's empowerment to hold elected

leaders and institutions accountable or even recalling them on account of poor performance, corruption, and nepotism among others.

The study concludes that voters in informal settlements have some civic competencies. The results suggest that the level of civic competence is driven by civic action, civic attitude and civic skills. Additionally, the results conclude that civic knowledge has a positive effect on the voter participation. This suggests that more civic education is more likely to result to increased voter participation.

5.4 Recommendations

The evidence reviewed here suggests that civic education programmes can be viewed as a vehicle for increasing voter participation registration/enrolment or voter turnout. The study recommendations are as follows;

- That the content or thematic concern of imparting the civic knowledge is an important component in increasing political participation. Therefore there is need for standardization of civic knowledge content to be imparted to citizens to affect their voter participation. There is need to develop an acceptable civic education curriculum that will be used to deliver to the women and men, girls and boys civic competence sessions for meaningful voter participation that is devoid of ethnic connotations and skewed.
- That the government at national and county levels, donor community and non- state actors involved in promoting good citizenry need to invest more in civic education initiatives. Given that the practices of civic education is central to an active and engaged citizenry, the government, donor community and key stakeholders involved in promoting citizenry should invest in civic education programmes
- There is need for more focus to be placed on improving the civic competencies of the voters. Civic education is delivered but there is need for more focus to be placed on improving the civic competencies of the voters thus making the citizens better citizens. This is based on the rational dimension towards political participation that is informed and free from coercion.

- That civic knowledge for increased voter participation needs to be targeted at younger adults so that their political socialization is solidified during the early years and they are the majority of the population of Kenya. The study location was characterized by younger population so the delivery of the civic knowledge sessions needs to be targeted at youths and children. It is during the early years of an individual's political socialization that determines to a significant extent if and how frequently political participation takes place during the course of life based on accruing benefits learnt (Zorwick & Wade, 2016).

5.4.1 Suggestions for Further Study

The following are some of the areas that could be considered for further research:

- Challenges that affect the delivery of the civic knowledge interventions by various actors – providers and beneficiaries.
- Roles civic education can play in eradicating the ethnic voting patterns witnessed in general elections.
- Current methodologies and approaches used to deliver the civic and voter knowledge to the citizens.
- The impact of civic education on tolerance with a view to eradicating negative ethnicity and political violence.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE

PRIMARY TARGET GROUP QUESTIONNAIRE

Study: *Impact of Civic Knowledge on Voter Participation in the Informal Settlements in Kenya: A Case Study of Kangemi*

QUESTIONNAIRE IDENTIFICATION DATA

Questionnaire identification number:

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INTRODUCTION:

My name is Masiga Asunza. I am student at the University of Nairobi undertaking a study to establish the **Impact of civic knowledge on voter participation in Informal Settlements in Kenya: A case for Kangemi Division**. This is a requirement as part of my partial fulfillment for a Masters of Arts Degree in Sociology (Rural Sociology and Community Development). The information collected will be used specifically for academic purposes and will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thank you,

INSTRUCTIONS:

1. For absolute confidentiality do not write your name anywhere on this paper.
2. Please feel free and be as honest as possible.
3. Please answer all questions; remember there is no right or wrong answer.
4. Tick the answer that best suits your response and/or briefly explain where necessary.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Table 1: Demographic Data

	Questions	Categories		
001	Sex of the respondent:	Male []	Female []	
002	Age	18-27 []	28-37 []	38 and above []
003	Education level	Primary []	Secondary []	Post- secondary []
		University []	Other (specify) _____	
004	Ward	Kangemi []	Kitisuru []	Mountain View []

CIVIC KNOWLEDGE ACQUISITION

Have you ever attended any civic education forum(s)?

Yes No

CIVIC KNOWLEDGE

Please estimate your knowledge about the following topics on a scale from 1(nothing) to 5 (very much).

Statement	1	2	3	4	5
Citizen rights and freedoms found in the new constitution (e.g. citizen rights, political rights, socio-economic rights)					
Functions of the National Government as established in new constitution					
Functions of the county government as established in new constitution					

Conversant with electoral process (Registration, nomination of candidates, political campaigns, voting and tally process)					
conversant with channels of citizen participation in both national and county government(e.g. budget planning process, county forums, legislation process)					

CIVIC SKILLS

To what extent do you think you are capable of doing the following activities? Indicate that on the scale from 1 (not at all) to 5 (very well).

Statement	1	2	3	4	5
Manage conflict arising out of political differences amicably					
Argue your point of view about a controversial political or social issue					
Organize a group of residents in order to achieve changes at community					
Comment on a controversial issue on social media					
Write an opinion on social media giving your view on a current issue					
Supporting positions with evidence and good argumentation					

CIVIC ATTITUDES

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Indicate that on the scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Statement	1	2	3	4	5
Everyone should always have the right to express their opinions freely					
People should always be free to criticize the government publicly					

Men and women should have the same rights in every way					
Citizens should be encouraged to make up their own minds on political issues					

CIVIC ACTION

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Indicate that on the scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Statement	1	2	3	4	5
I have participated in campaign rallies					
I am a member of a political party					
I have participated in nomination of candidates					
Participated in demonstration championing electoral reforms					
I have participated in the past two elections held in this country					

VOTER PARTICIPATION

Did you vote in the August 2017 general election?

Yes No

If No what was your reason for not participating. Please explain

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