The Effects of Evaluative Attitudes on Voter Behaviour: A Case Study of the 2017 Party Primaries in Nyeri County in Kenya

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KELVIN WAMBUGU

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## DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my entire family – The Wambugu Ndegwa family. Raising and educating me was a concerted effort that you all partook with immense love. To my late grandfather who instilled in me the belief that no one is wealthier than a well-educated person, I now understand what you meant. I also dedicate this to the younger generation in the family all who deemed me as their role model. I had to complete this, if for no other reason, so that I don't let you down. Thank you all for the inspiration.

Most importantly, this one is for my son Ndegwa Wambugu.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

# LIST OF TABLES

# LIST OF FIGURES

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

MCA     Member of County Assembly.

US/USA    United States of America

## ABSTRACT

The factors that influence the decision of Kenyan voters to choose the candidates they elect remain largely misunderstood. Random inquisition about what determines voters' choice almost always returns the same answer: ethnicity. The objective of the study was to assess the effects of evaluative attitudes on voter behaviour using the case of the 2017 party primaries in Nyeri County and therefore illustrate that the average Kenyan voter is more rational than they get credited for. Specifically, the study sought to determine the effects of responsiveness evaluations, performance evaluations and integrity evaluations on voter behaviour. By selecting a largely ethnically homogeneous study area and by using the case of party primaries, the study eliminated ethnicity and dominant political parties as variables that may influence voter behaviour. The study relied on primary data collected by surveys.

The rational choice theory was adopted for this study. In its application to the study, the theory assumes that voters are rational beings, that individuals are opportunity maximizers and that individuals are self-interested who make decisions based on cost-benefit analysis.

Study findings lead to the conclusion that voters in Nyeri County are rational actors. It was found that positive evaluations of the candidates' performance, their ability to respond to the needs of their communities as positive evaluations of their integrity lead to reward at the ballot by the voters while negative evaluations lead to electoral loss for the unfortunate candidates.

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY.

### 1.1 Background to the Study

Voting is one of the most important aspects of democracy. By casting their votes in free and fair elections citizens get a democratic means of recruiting leaders to represent them in institutions of governance (Wanyande, 2006). Whether it is at the local or national levels of representation, or even at the intra-party level of selecting ticket bearers, the legitimacy of elected political leaders is guaranteed only when the choices of the voters are respected. When the elected officials fail to meet the expectations of the population that elected them, they are always at a risk of being replaced by competitors who promise better policies (Fiorina, 1981; Key, 1966).

Further, voting offers citizens a means for arriving at collective political decisions while giving them an avenue for regulating and controlling the actions of the governors (Campbell, Converse, Miller, & Stokes, 1960; Dye and Zieglar 1990). In other words, voting is not limited to recruiting leaders but also involves selecting policies because every candidate presents a manifesto containing a set of policy agenda that they will implement for the betterment of the lives of the citizens once elected to office. Voting is also important during referenda where citizens collectively go beyond deciding not only who should govern them but also how they should be governed and what system of governance best suites them. In addition, voting has moral significance because the way a person votes, or whether they fail to vote makes governance better or worse, and in turn makes the lives of other people better or worse (Brennan, 2011). For instance, in very closely contested elections, the failure by an individual, or a segment of a community could result in an outcome that is unfavourable in the long run.

Existing studies on elections and voter behaviour tend to neglect Africa. As explained by Nyong'o (1989), the disintegration of the nationalist movements that ushered in independence in Africa led to the emergence of one-party civilian authoritarianism and military dictatorships. This situation greatly compromised electoral politics in the region because under the single party systems and military rule, political support for the politicians was based on patronage and therefore electioneering processes -where they existed - did not give the voters much voice in the presidential vote (Lindberg & Morrison, 2008) and also in party primaries. It was not until the early 1990s

1

when multi-partism re-emerged in most African countries, and Kenya in particular, that we begin to see a new wave of scholarship focusing on elections and voter behaviour on the continent.'

However, the emerging studies tended to focus mainly on national level of presidential and parliamentary elections. Additionally, they were concerned with the quality of the elections but not so much on voter behaviour. It is worth noting that the focus on national level elections is not limited to Kenya and Africa alone. For instance, in the USA, where study of voter behaviour originated and is most developed, both the socio-psychological theorists and the revisionist theorists mainly focused on voter behaviour at the presidential level.

Globally, studies also tend to focus on the general elections at the expense of party primaries more so at the subnational level. Galderisi, Ezra, & Lyons (2001) observed that even in the USA, congressional primaries get only marginal attention from academics and the media. This reality is more pronounced in emerging democracies such as Kenya where the political parties are fragile institutions. Primaries are an important part of the electoral process because they foster internal party democracy (Sandri, Seddone, & Venturino, 2015). They also allow political parties to narrow down on candidates who will contest with opponents from the other parties in the general elections. Once candidates are selected by the voters, political parties can then coalesce their policies around this candidate to ensure victory.

In Kenya, where elections are largely seen as revolving around identity politics – whereby ethnic identities flourish (Oloo, 2010; Oloo, 2015), it is important to seek better understanding of voter behaviour during party primaries at the subnational level especially in homogeneous constituencies. As observed by Kurtbas (2015), "…local elections are sui generis in terms of their resources, pressure groups, political dynamics, voter preferences and the factors influencing those preferences." One of the distinguishing factors of sub-national electoral units in Kenya is that they are largely comprised of members of one ethnic community. It is therefore important to understand the dynamics of elections and voter behaviour at this level.

## 1.2 Statement of the Research Problem.
Generally, there has been an overreliance on social and institutional structures in explaining voter behaviour. For a long time, the dominant theory of explaining Africa's electoral politics has been the ethnic census theory, which argues that voters elect their leaders based on ethnic identities and

loyalties. In Kenya, it has been pointed out that during elections, politicians always retreat back to their villages to rally their kinsmen to vote for them (Mutiga, 2017). This assertion is supported by vast volumes of academic literatures. For example, Horowitz (1985) concluded that elections in ethnically diverse polities are nothing more than ethnic censuses whereby demands of a person's security within their ethnic identity group predetermines their vote and also acts as a very effective mobiliser for high voter turn-out to protect the interests of their ethnic groups. Kanyinga, Okello & Akech (2010) point out that voter behaviour in Kenya is greatly influenced by the politics of being an 'insider' or 'outsider' of an ethnic group. The trio explains that this arises due to the fact that the competing political elites come from varying ethnicities who end up dominating positions in public sector which they use to demarcate rights [to resources] based on who should belong and should not belong to a community and even locality.

Research also shows that although new identities such as gender, youth and religion continue to grow in relevance, the ethnic identity still trumps them all in its effectiveness as a basis for mobilising voters during the 2007 and 2013 election (Oloo, 2010; Oloo, 2015). Asingo (2015) demonstrates that owing to the scarcity and ambiguity of political information, voters in Kenya tend to resort to social identities, particularly ethnicity, for heuristic cues on how to vote. Since the leaders tend to provide electoral choices based on how they sense voters appear likely to vote (Horowitz, 1985), Kenyan leaders also resort to ethnic identities as the basis for forming political voters and mobilising support for their parties and the cycle continues.

While the ethnic census theory maintains relevance in explaining national level electoral politics especially the presidential elections, it is unable to account for local level elections especially where almost everybody comes from the same ethnic group. Voter behaviour in such contexts of homogeneity must be influenced by other factors than ethnicity. Often, partisanship has been the other dominant explainer of voter behaviour. Surveys show that African voters tend to support the political parties that promise them patronage (Bratton, Bhavnani, & Chen, 2011). However, in party primaries where voters choose among candidates within the same political party, especially where only one party is dominant, partisanship is eliminated as a factor influencing voters' behaviour. The tendency to rely on ethnicity as a social structure and political parties as institutional structures to explain voter behaviour therefore leaves us with a gap in knowledge as to what factors influence voter behaviour during party primaries in ethnically homogeneous

polities.

This study therefore sought to fill this gap by assessing the effects of evaluative attitudes on voter behaviour using the case of the 2017 party primaries in Nyeri County. While no county can have 100% ethnic homogeneity, the researcher believes that the population of people outside the dominant ethnic group in the selected study area is statistically insignificant. Moreover, the researcher contends that by choosing the ward level which is the most basic level of elections, other identities such as clannism are also eliminated as variables because wards are mostly habited by people of the same clan.

## 1.3 Research Questions.

### 1.3.1 Main Question.
What are the effects of evaluative attitudes on voter behaviour in sub-national electoral units in Kenya?

### 1.3.2 Specific Questions.
 i. What are the effects of evaluations of candidates' policy responsiveness on voter behaviour?
 ii. What are the effects of evaluations of candidates' performance on voter behaviour?
 iii. What are the effects of evaluations of candidates' integrity on voter behaviour?

## 1.4 Objectives of the Study.
### 1.4.1 Main Objective.
The main objective of the study was to determine the effect of evaluative attitudes on voter behaviour at the sub-national electoral units in Kenya.

### 1.4.2 Specific Objectives
 i. To determine the effects of evaluations of candidates' policy responsiveness on voter behaviour.
 ii. To establish the effects of evaluations of candidates' performance on voter behaviour.
 iii. To establish the effects of evaluations of candidates' integrity on voter behaviour.

**1.5 Justification of the Study.**

**1.5.1  Academic Justification.**

This study contributes to better understanding of what informs voter behaviour in subnational elections in Kenya particularly in party primaries. It also contributes to the development of theory on voter behaviour. Firstly, the study empirically challenges the ethnic census theory by proving that it is a limited paradigm of understanding voter because it can only be applicable in ethnically heterogeneous constituencies and at the national level of elections. Indeed, even at the national level during the era of broad coalitions that bring together principals from different ethnic communities, the ethnic census theory collapses. Although this study took place at a sub-national level, it is hoped that some of its key findings can be extrapolated to the national level. The study findings contribute to proving that voters are rational actors who evaluate their candidates using more variables beyond ethic identities and loyalty to political parties.

Secondly, and in line with the earlier observation that voter behaviour at the local level is understudied globally (Alsamydai & Khasawneh, 2013), this study contributes some new knowledge to help fill that gap. While we currently have some studies that have analysed elections at the constituency level (Asingo, 2013), there still remains a gap in understanding intra-party competition particularly at the sub-national level. Thirdly, the findings of the study sought to prove that voters are rational actors with evaluative capacity to make choices based on their self-interests and in the interest of the people close to them. Fourthly, the study emphasises the importance of local contexts as explainers of social phenomena which Agnew (1987) lamented had been devalued when studies focus on the national level only.

Although this study was carried out in Nyeri County, the findings will offer a theoretical basis for explaining voter behaviour in all other mono-ethnic counties. This study contributes the initial body of knowledge upon which other studies can build.

**1.5.2 Policy Justification.**

The findings of the study have important policy justifications: Firstly, the findings will contribute to the improvement the quality of party primaries by giving recommendations of the type of candidates that political parties should front for elections in order for them to win and maintain majority of seats. Since the study hypothesis were found to be true, party officials reading the study

findings will be sure to front candidates who have integrity, are responsive to policy problems of the voters and are known to be good performers. The findings should help in emphasising the need to ensure free and fair party nominations where voters get to select candidates whom they have evaluated and have gained their trust. Candidates evaluated to have integrity, to be responsive to the policy problems faced by the citizens and who are perceived to be capable of performance will appeal to voters and parties must not interfere with that. Failure to adhere to voters' preference will lead to party splits, defections and independent candidature which weaken the party in the legislature.

In addition, it is expected that the study findings and recommendations will contribute to entrenching a culture of party politics in Kenya. Political parties across the world are the custodians of ideologies and policies and by maintaining their traditional stands on issues, they help offer voters a starting point in evaluating the quality of leaders and in conducting a cost
benefit analysis when choosing between candidates from two different parties. This helps with rational voting and might contribute to minimising ethnic voting. Lastly, studies such as such as (Blair, 1979; Samson, 2007; Bensel & Sanders, 1979) have indicated that there is a co-relation between voting behaviour and electoral rules. Hence, that the findings of this study are an important empirical resource for reference during policy formulation and development of legal frameworks for electoral management.

### 1.6 Scope and Delimitation of the Study.

The study was undertaken in Nyeri County which is one of the 47 counties established by the Constitution of Kenya, 2010. The location was randomly selected as explained in the methodology section. Specifically, the study focused on the Jubilee party primaries for the Members of County Assembly in 2017. This scope was informed by several reasons. Firstly, focusing on party primaries instead of general elections not only helped to hold the political party variable constant in seeking to understand voter behaviour, but also helped give the researcher an opportunity to contribute new knowledge in an area that is largely understudied. Secondly, the 2017 primaries are the most recent in Kenya. Since, data collection required respondents to remember how they voted during the primaries, selecting the most recent event helped reduce the recall problem. Generally, the more recent an event occurred, the more likely people are to remember their role and decisions they made during the events. Thirdly, unlike 2013 when there were several strong

parties in Nyeri, Jubilee was the single most dominant party in 2017.

The MCA contest was selected over national parliamentary or gubernatorial positions because it helped to contextualise the study to the most basic sub-national level of elections which, as mentioned earlier, is largely understudied. Thus, by conducting the study at this level, the researcher explored a new area of study. Moreover, the researcher was aware that elections in mono-ethnic constituencies in some parts of Kenya may still be influenced by clannism. Focusing on MCA position overcame this challenge because most wards end to be habited by members of the same clan where clannism may be an issue. In addition, the MCA candidates are in closest proximity to voters which makes it easier for voters to evaluate them with greater accuracy compared to the others elective positions. Issue voting where evaluation is important is also most likely to be pronounced at the ward level where policy issues are similar and evaluation of policy responsiveness would be easier.

In essence, Nyeri County offered a good case study to help in developing of theory of voter behaviour. This is because in the party primaries leading to the August 2017 General Elections, all incumbent MCAs who sought primaries for Jubilee Party in the county lost the contest. In a county where losing primaries of the strongest party is synonymous with losing the general elections, it was important to understand why voters in Nyeri decided that all MCAs were, in the words of Fiorina (1981), 'rascals' who need to be thrown out.

The researcher anticipated several challenges during the data collection phase. These included logistical challenges. For instance, traversing rural locations such as the expansive Gatarakwa was hampered by rains which made the roads impassable, mobility was expensive and the researcher was unfamiliar with the location. To overcome the challenge of unfamiliarity with study area, the researcher hired a local guide hence adding extra financial cost of conducting the study. Accommodation was also an extra expense. Another challenge that was anticipated was data availability because the respondents were to be drawn from populations that engage in fulltime labour especially on farms. However, this challenge was not encountered because respondents were willing to participate in the study as they went ahead with their work. However, surveys in such instances took a lot of time to complete. The researcher had expected to be faced with the challenge of respondents' inability to recall the choices they made more than two and a half years

prior to the surveys. However, by skillfully framing the questions, the challenge was averted. There was also the concern that the voters' attitudes towards the candidates they had voted for in 2017 might have changed negatively. This was controlled by emphasising that respondents think back to the nomination period and no later than that.

Another challenge arose when interpreting some concepts in the questionnaires into a language understood by the local population of the study area. It was anticipated that some meaning and conceptualisation of these concepts might get lost in translation. To surmount these challenges, the researcher sought the services of research assistants who were well versed in both the English and Kikuyu languages to help with translations.

**1.7 Literature Review.**

**1.7.1 Overview.**

This section is subdivided into three subheadings each corresponding the outlined objectives of the study. The first subtitle looks at the how policy responsiveness by candidates affects voter behaviour. The second subtitle discusses how evaluations of performance influence voter behaviour while the last one discusses how evaluations of candidate integrity influence voter behaviour. Under each subtitle, the researcher reviews existing literature by stating their strengths and weaknesses, while outlining the gaps in literature and how this study will fill those gaps.

**1.7.2 Policy responsiveness evaluation and voter behaviour.**

Initial studies of voting behaviour had found voters incapable having the rationality to form coherent attitudes towards issues affecting them or to evaluate these issues Vis a Vis the candidates' and parties' framing of the same. In the influential study on voter behaviour titled The American Voter, Campbell, Converse, Miller, & Stokes (1960) argued that American voters formed lasting psychological attachments to either the Democratic or Republican Party and that these attachments became the main determinants of attitudes and perceptions of all political issues affecting them and therefore influenced their electoral choices. They also added that once formed, these party identities tend to be stable and resistant to alternative influence. In addition, the authors found that policy considerations and policy issues were not important to voters when making electoral choice with a paltry 12% exhibiting any traits of ideological cognition. They argued that political information and ideological reasoning were far less widespread in the public than

imagined by elite political commentators.

Key (1966) offered the first real refutation of The American Voter. He illustrated that voters were fluid with their electoral choices from one election to the other. He identified a type of voters he called 'switchers' who readily changed their minds about parties and candidates based on their (voters) policy preferences as framed by the competing candidates or parties. It is their rationality and evaluative capabilities that enabled these switchers to change their minds about candidates. Key successfully aggregates statistical data from numerous surveys from 1936 – 1960 to present a hitherto unknown image of the voter in the U.S. Most importantly, the author offered a theoretical foundation to guide future studies including thus proposed one. Just as Key debunked the socio-psychological account of voting behaviour; this study seeks to challenge the ethnic voting theory account of voting behaviour in Kenya. The gap in Key's study is that it did not address voter behaviour during party primaries and neither does it address the subnational level of voting. Therefore, it fails to adequately fit in explaining voter behaviour in Kenya's party primaries particularly in mono-ethnic constituencies.

Nie, Sidney, & Petrocik (1976) also refuted the claim that voters are ignorant of major policy issues. By use of a political history method to trace political events over two decades they presented a causal relationship between these political events and the change in attitudes and character among the electorate towards issues affecting their lives. Emergence of major issues in American national politics such as the civil rights struggle, the Vietnam War, urban crisis, Watergate and an economic recession acted as political stimuli among the citizens. Political parties and candidates took different positions on these issues and mobilised voters accordingly. The authors also observed that new, younger and better educated generations were more cognisant of the political world and capable of attaching values to their policy needs and current events. The government's reaction and treatment of these issues determined its incumbents' survival in office.

While these authors'' work is of great value in the study of voting behaviour, its universality may be called to question because the data analysed is drawn from only the USA a country whose political socialisation and institutions differ greatly from an emerging electoral democracy. The character of American voters may be very different from that of rural constituents in Kenya. It also means that while the methodology can be universalised, the finding that voters change with time

and with emergence of issues might not. More importantly, my study did not seek to account for a change in voting behaviour over time but to specifically find out how evaluative attitudes of voters towards candidates influence their voting behaviour during party primaries. The study will be different in that it addresses a new space and time that hasn't been tackled before.

Tomz & Houweling (2008) used an experimental survey method using a single policy issue of federal healthcare policy to illustrate the nexus between the policy positions of candidates and the choices of voters. The method enabled them to combine theory and tests to determine which of the three theories of proximity, directional and discounting voting best account for how voters judge the policy positions of candidates. The study found that voters vote for the candidates whose policy positions are closest to their policy preferences and that they focus on the policies which they believe a candidate can actually deliver more than the policy positions that the candidates espouse. Whereas their findings are in tandem with the hypotheses of the current study, the current study found that the findings cannot be generalised to Nyeri County because the study neither focused on party primaries nor did it take place at the subnational level of voting especially the lowest electoral seat. In addition, they used an experimental method because they wanted to test different theories. This study used only one theory and data was collected using simple surveys.

Lindberg & Morrison (2008) seek to determine the extent to which voting behaviour in Africa's new democracy is influenced by evaluating policy stands of political parties and their candidates, compared to the influence of non-evaluative rationales of proxy voting and clientalism. Using surveys of voters in two different Ghanaian elections, the authors found that 90% of voters in the 1996 elections, and 86% in the 2000 elections were rational voters who evaluate the policy promises made by candidates and align themselves with politicians whose issue frames are of closest proximity to theirs. The shortcoming of the study is that the representativeness of their data set is questionable firstly because it was collected from only six out of 230 constituencies but most importantly because the six constituencies were not randomly sampled. This means their finding may not be extrapolated to reflect the national level leave alone all African emerging democracies. The proposed study will address this challenge by focusing in only one county and using random sampling of study area and respondents. Secondly, the duo used group level data which raises the risk of attributing individual behaviour from groups. It is therefore difficult to account for what really influences an individual's choice. This study collected data at individual level only and used

10

that data to project what groups are likely to do. Moreover, Lindberg & Morrison studies were conducted during General Elections while the current study focused on party primaries.

Mbote (2015) discusses the importance of the land question as an issue that voting. She posits that land remains at the centre of political contestation in Kenya and also plays an important role in the country's social, political and economic development. She adds that land affects voting in that t becomes a major factor of politics of inclusion and exclusion. Accordingly, the land issue assumes two dimensions in Kenya's elections: on the one hand, there are blocks of voters who vote for the candidate who will protect their land interest by protecting the status quo of land ownership, while on the other hand there are voters who will vote for the candidate(s) who promises radical land reforms especially in favour of those dispossessed off their lands and the landless. Mbote's study gives much credence to the argument that issues determine and influence voters' choice. However, her analysis focusses on the effect of the land question on voting at the national level. The land issue is unlikely to arise at the civic level of elections of MCAs. This study is methodologically different in the sense that it did not use a single issue as a case study. On the contrary, it let voters identify the prevalent problems and measure how they evaluate candidates' ability to deliver on the policies that solve those problems.

### 1.7.3 Performance Evaluation and Voter Behaviour.
Downs (1957) was a pioneer work in the study of voter behaviour using the rational choice theory. He averred that in order to make the best decision the rational voter exercises their evaluative character and looks at the performance of the incumbent party and/or candidates. In other words, due to lack of sufficient information, the voter looks at past performance and uses that as a retrospective cost-cutting method of predicting the future. The voter compares the utility they derived from the incumbents over the term coming to end with what he thinks the alternative party or candidates would have delivered under the exact conditions. If they think that the alternative party or candidate would have delivered greater utility, they choose this alternative over the incumbent whose performance they feel was underwhelming. Downs also posits that the voter looks at trends. If they believe that the incumbent has been getting better with time, the voter will most probably excuse the incumbent's shortcomings and give them another chance in office. Downs work is important because it provided a foundation for the rational/spatial model of voting behaviour. The voter could no longer be summed up as a non-evaluative being incapable of

forming attitudes towards governance and making electoral choice based on reason.

Fiorina (1981) advanced and refined the performance voting argument. He argued that retrospective voting entails forming policy expectations for the future by evaluating the past policies by the incumbent regime. Most importantly, Fiorina added that voters were more interested in the outcomes of policies than the policy instruments. In addition, he was able to offer a rational account for partisanship and explain why it remained stable. Rather than treating partisanship as a function of socialisation, Fiorina saw it as a tally of how a party or candidate treats the individual voter. Consequently, party identification will remain stable or change depending on how best it serves the interests of the individual voter.

Fiorina's provides rational/spatial theorists a blue print upon which to base future works albeit with need for some adjustments to fit contexts and address new realities. In addition, the author provides some robust methodological insights. For instance, he discusses the strengths and weaknesses of the various survey questions that were used by past researchers of voting behaviour particularly Campbell et al. who propagated the socio-psychological model. However, as the title of the book suggests, Fiorina's work addresses American national politics and no other context. Alongside the stated objectives of the current research, we should also be able to gauge the extent to which Fiorina's findings can be universalised to account for voting behaviour at a sub-national level in a budding democracy.

Kinder & Kiewet (1981) offered an issue specific evaluation of performance voting. Using the case of economic performance, they found that socio-tropic judgements of the incumbent party's competence in handling economic problems had an effect of congressional voting, presidential voting as well as strength in party identification in the U.S. In congressional elections, they found that Democratic candidates benefitted greatly, in the 1972, 1974 and 1976 elections, from the perceived incompetence of the incumbent Republican Party to handle the economic challenges represented by inflation and unemployment. Similarly, the incumbent Republican Party's presidential candidate was punished at the ballot due to the administration's poor ratings in handling the economic problems. When it came to party identification, the authors found that although voters did not switch from Republicans to Democrats or vice versa based on their judgement of the parties' competence, the strength of support was affected. While these scholars

devolved the study of voting behaviour to the congressional level which corresponds the sub-national level that the current research focuses on, it focused on party popularity among voters and not on candidates. The current study fills that gap by focusing on party primaries using the case of one dominant party in a specific location.

In the African context, Bratton, Bhavnani, & Chen (2011) found that voters in Africa are motivated by rational socio-tropic intentions. By testing the ethnic, economic and partisan variables of voting they found that ethnicity was the weakest variable especially for voters who do not share ethnicity with the incumbent president. They also add that voting for the opposition depends on whether the individual feels that they are discriminated by those in power. If they feel that they and their ethnic group are treated fairly by the incumbent, they will vote for the incumbent ethnic differentiation notwithstanding and vice versa. Evaluations of government performance in macro-economic policies such as job creation and inflation however had a big influence on voters' choices across 16 African where data was collected.

Voters used their evaluation of economic performance to guide them in prospective voting whereby positive evaluation increased intention to vote for the incumbent by 37% - twice as large an influence as any of the aspects of ethnicity analysed in the study. However, the study also found that partisan identification increased support for ruling party by 32%. A difference of 5% points makes it difficult to authoritatively declare that performance evaluation is superior to partisanship. This failure to sufficiently prove the strength of performance evaluation was addressed in this study simply because partisanship is held constant by focusing on party primaries. In addition, patronage as an incentive for ethnic voting and partisanship remains dominant in the study of presidential elections. Studies of party primaries in local contexts such as this one eliminates promise of patronage.

Hoffman & Long (2013) use the case of Ghana's 2008 presidential elections to illustrate that these elections were not mere ethnic headcounts. They ran probit tests for the parliamentary and presidential votes. The models were ran such that ethnicity variable, ethnicity plus demographic variable, performance variable were all tested separately and another test with all variables together was also ran. The tests showed that ethnicity had some relevance among some voters, the more significant determinants of vote choice were evaluations of the political parties especially

the performance of the incumbent. In fact, adding data on ethnicity variable did not reduce the coefficient of the performance variable but adding data on performance, and party views reduced the coefficient of ethnicity meaning ethnicity was the weaker variable. In addition, the authors easily deconstruct that the notion that two main parties in Ghana, the NPP and NDC are Asante and Ewe parties respectively. They show that the two ethnic groups account for only 28% of the population and the presidential candidates fronted by the parties came from two ethnic minority groups that account for 16% of the population combined. They also assert that there was no evidence of ethnic alliances formed around the Akan and Ewe people which means the remaining 72% of the population had rational reasons to support either party.

While the Hoffman & Long's study bears similarities with the proposed study, a few shortcomings are revealed. Firstly, the study only proves that ethnicity is unimportant for the majority of voters, it fails to prove the same for the Asante, Ewe and Fante groups. The first two are perceived to be the owners of the two main parties while the third presented a leading contender for the presidency. In addition, the study was conducted in at a national ethnic diverse and therefore cannot be generalised to answer the questions that the proposed study seeks to answer.

Ellis (2014) seeks to assess the evidence for performance voting in democratic electoral systems. He postulates that retrospective voting, operationalized in a broad, social and economic sense of incumbents, is a powerful explanation for recurring incumbent support in light of macroeconomic booms occurring throughout the continent since the mid-1990s. The analysis draws largely from Afrobarometer survey data, which was analysed using a logit regression model exploring the voting motivations of more than 22,000 respondents drawn from thirteen Sub-Saharan African countries. The study found out that African voters are retrospective. As such, as perceptions of the government's general performance or handling of particular social and economic issues improves, so does the likelihood of incumbent support, and vice versa. Ellis therefore opines that retrospective voting in Africa points out to micro-level voting behaviour, which is linked to macro-level economic performance. Like many studies on voter behaviour, Ellis' is concerned with national level elections. The main challenge with his study is that by using data from multiple countries, the findings may not be sufficient to explain voter behaviour in cross-sectional contexts. Certainly, the findings cannot be applied to much localised contexts as the proposed study seeks to explore. Moreover, Ellis looks at only one variable while this study looks at three thus making

it more informative.

Barkan (1976) uses a sample of eleven constituencies to illustrate that voters in the rural parts of Kenya were more rational actors than conventionally assumed at that time [and even to date}. Barkan concluded that these voters had a robust conceptualisation of the roles their members of parliament should play and this role expectations formed the basis of evaluating the performance of their MPs. The study also found that low evaluations of incumbents' performance by voters led to an increase in challengers who were well versed in the sentiments of the voters. This in turn sent the message to incumbents that they either conform to the expectations of their constituents or be replaced by challengers. While Barkan's study is highly aligned with the proposed study, it does not help in fulfilling the objectives of this proposed study. Firstly, the study scrutinises civic culture but does not concern itself specifically with what factors affect voter bahaviour. Secondly, its context is the national assembly vote while the current study seeks to understand voter behaviour at the ward level and most importantly in party primaries. By going a level lower than Barkan's study, this study is more qualified to shed light on voter behaviour at the most rural level. In addition, the study is more specific with its independent variables while Barkan's was much broader.

Gibson & Long (2009) sought to compare and understand how performance, policy issues and ethnicity influenced voting behaviour during the 2007 general elections in Kenya. They found that majority of voters who supported the two main opposition candidates in the presidential contest evaluated the incumbent poorly and were voting for change. According to the study, the main opposition candidate, Mr. Odinga, drew a lot of attention to the incumbent President Kibaki's poor performance as perceived by opposition voters. The study also found that President Kibaki's supporters evaluated him positively for the nation's economy but evaluated him negatively for their family's economic situation. This finding would suggest that Kibaki supporters were sociotropic voters and not egotropic. The importance of performance evaluation was affirmed at the parliamentary level of elections, where the study found that 75% of the voters had negative evaluations of the incumbent members of parliament and this evaluation was reflected in the defeat of 65% of the incumbents.

The weakness in the Gibson & Long study is that it focused only on the national especially the presidential ballot where performance is hard to evaluate given the heterogenous nature of the Kenyan population. For instance, the study cannot sufficiently prove that Kibaki's support was not largely ethnic. Even though Mr. Odinga had more support beyond his ethnic group and region according to the exit poll data used, he too had relied on alliances with prominent and influential leaders of the ethnic groups that supported him. It may be argued that voters from these ethnicities were merely following their leaders. The current was able to completely control for ethnicity variable and was therefore did not have such a problem of data validation. Gibson & Long also ignored the civic elections where performance is easy to conceptualise and measure among voters unlike the national level where performance is expressed in macro-economic terms. In another publication, Long & Gibson (2015) use the same data they collected in an exit poll on the polling day of the 2007 General Elections compare the role of ethnicity and performance in determining voter behaviour. They come to the conclusion that the strength of performance evaluation is conditional and depends on whether the voters are evaluating a co-ethnic candidate [one who comes from the same ethnic community as the voters].

When evaluating the performance of Mwai Kibaki, his co-ethnic voters were more willing to overlook his shortcomings than the non-co-ethnic voters. While this distinction of when performance evaluation is strong is an important one, it is insufficient and opens itself to simple deconstructions. Firstly, the authors do not point out that Kibaki was the incumbent and therefore to his co-ethnic voters, retaining the presidency might have had more psychological importance than performance. Even if Kibaki had failed to deliver on expectations of majority of Kenyans outside his Kikuyu community, the Kikuyus might have benefitted from patronage and biased resource allocation. Therefore, they may not have seen any shortcomings when it came to Kibaki's performance. Most importantly, the study treated ethnicity as a core variable as the scope of the study rightly allowed. However, the conclusions of the study are misleading and perpetrates the conventional wisdom that ethnicity plays a role in all Kenya elections. To overcome this challenge, my study held the ethnic variable constant together with party variable as explained earlier.

### 1.7.4 Candidates' Integrity Evaluation and Voter Behaviour.
Bittner (2011) sought to understand the extent to which evaluations of leaders [character and personality] affects voters' choices. Similar to the proposed study, Bittner's ran an analysis of

whereby vote choice was the dependent variable and candidate traits was put among other independent variables. The author began by observing that as the media continues to play a dominant role in coverage of campaigns, voters are getting more and more primed to base their attitudes more on the character of leaders than other sociological factors. The study found that in the context of partisanship, the political party of the candidate may have predisposed the voter to evaluate the character party leader and candidate favourably.

However, using the vote for the Republican Party in the US as the dependent variable, the author was able to show that evaluations of character were more important than evaluations of competence. The main challenge with Bittner's study is that it was both cross-national in seven countries and longitudinal cutting across several years. This methodology tends to reduce the strength of short-term forces whose impact is felt at specific time and spaces. The methodology also leads to complications in controlling for multiple long-term and stable forces such as party identification, gender, ethnicity among others. By using a cross-sectional design, this avoided these challenges: the party variable is eliminated because the study focuses on intra-party competition within a specific political party, in an ethnically homogenous polity and in one occasion only.

Hardy (2018) observes that "most human transactions require trust and a level of confidence regarding how others will act… [and] …the identification of personality traits in others fosters interpersonal relationships because, by forecasting future behaviour, trait ascription minimizes uncertainty, risk, and doubt." In voting, evaluations of candidates' traits are useful because voters use these traits to predict the future quality of leadership by the candidates when they get elected. In addition, candidates' traits offer voters shortcuts to evaluate the performance of the contestants without much investment in following their stands on issues. t is the importance of traits evaluations that leads candidates to attack the integrity, honesty, and leadership credentials of their rivals. Citing several quotes from voters, the author illustrates that John McCain won the Republican primaries because voters including those that did not agree with his policies considered him to be an honest and trustworthy person. He also argues with examples that to some extent Obama's re-election was as a result of poor evaluation of Mitt Romney's character. The main shortcoming of the study is that it does not granulate the concept of traits. It is not clear how a particular trait influences voters' choice, or what the strength of some traits would be compared to several others would be. My study cures this by focussing on the integrity trait only. Future

researchers can therefore have a reference point for the importance of this trait which was identified by Kinder (1986) as one of the four content dimensions of candidate traits.

McAllister (2016) argues that evaluation of candidates' character has become more pronounced leading to personalisation of politics and political systems becoming more leader-oriented. The author attributed this personalisation of politics to three main factors: first, the declining impact of social structure on the vote; secondly, voters have drifted away from their traditional party attachments; and thirdly, there is decline in the mass membership of political parties. Traditionally, the design of political institutions has shaped the level of attention that candidates receive as is the case is two-party systems as the United States. In such cases, a candidate gains relevance for being either Republican or Democrat before voters start evaluating them as individuals. Conversely, he argues that electoral systems with fewer parties are more likely to focus voters' attentions on candidates when compared to systems with dominant parties. In addition, weak party organizations can also alter the role and profile of candidates with voters querying their candidates' integrity more. In such electoral settings, candidate preference is reduced to two overarching qualities; namely, character and competence. The challenge with McAllister's work is that it solely reviews literature contextualised in the Global North which might not necessarily be replicated in country scenarios such as those of the Global South where strong party systems will always obscure the strength of short-term forces. This current study resolves this by adding to the limited literature on how evaluations of personal traits, candidate integrity in particular, affects voter behaviour.

**1.8 Theoretical Framework.**

**1.8.1 Overview.**

The study used the rational choice theory. This theory can be traced back to Adam Smith's theory of moral sentiments and the Wealth of Nations where he concluded that in spite of self-interest, people also take into considerations what is good for the wider society and make choices that are not selfish. Down (1957) introduced a rational choice approach to the study of voting behaviour as outlined in the previous section. He contended that people behaved the same way in politics as they did in economics. The researcher agrees with the assertion that the Rational Choice Theory "…can explain everything in social sciences" (Coleman, 1987). Wallestein (2001) posits that the only theory in comparative politics today that is sufficiently powerful and general to be a serious contender for the unified theory is rational choice theory.

## 1.8.2 Assumptions and Limitations of Rational Choice Theory.

In its application to voting and electoral studies, the theory assumes that: firstly, individuals are rational actors. Rationality simply put is the ability to measure the cost and benefit of making one choice instead of the other. This is guided by a set of reasons over and above a person's socialisation or their genetics (Lupia, McCubbins, & Popkin, 2000). Rationality also implies that a person is aware that they cannot always get what they want in a world of competing interests. Such rational people are therefore expected to trade-off [on some of their positions, beliefs and preference] (Tetlock, 2000). In the study of voter behaviour in an ethnically homogeneous space and intra-party competition which eliminates for obvious informational shortcuts, this definition of rationality is well suited.

Another assumption of the theory is that people are generally self-interested actors. This is to say that people are inward looking and are primarily concerned with outcomes that work to their advantage. Thirdly, the rational choice theory assumes that people always seek to maximise the utility of the outcomes of their choices (Olson, 1965). This Utility is maximisation is derived from a gross estimation of electing a particular candidate and depending on the level of satisfaction they expect, go ahead to vote for the candidate. It is a form of expected utility because it is based on benefits one expects to derive from taking an action whose impact will be felt in future. In other words, a voter's decision to vote for a certain candidate is an investment and not consumptive. Secondly, the theory assumes that decisions in collective action are motivated by a desire for collective good either for group members or for the wider society" (Asingo, 2018). A voter realises utility and satisfaction when their candidate wins the electoral contest and brings about policies and programmes that the voter wished for (Downs, 1957; Ordeshook & Zeng, 1994; Morton & Williams, 2001)

Whereas this theory is best suited for this study, it has a number of general limitations worth pointing out. Firstly, rational choice is dependent on availability or access to information. If the decision maker lacks sufficient access to information, they are likely to resort to informational shortcuts such as rumour or misguided opinions of people they look up to. Secondly, human interactions are quite complex (Ogu, 2013) and motivations towards act towards the same subject may also be too numerous. This challenge is however surmountable by use of factor analysis in data analysis. Another limitation of rational choice theory is that of setting boundaries. In many

cases, the limit of what to be considered as rational behaviour may be so broad that nearly every human action can be argued to be rational (*ibid*).

These challenges notwithstanding, the rational choice theory was best suited to address the variables adequately. Other potential variables such as the socio-tropic or egotropic theories were deemed limited economic variables only.

**1.8.3 Application of the Rational Choice Theory to the Study.**

The theory was suitable for the study because party primaries entail a competition among candidates exceeding two in number. The probability of rational voting behaviour in order to maximise the utility of one's ballot arises in such a case (Ordeshook & Zeng, 1994). In particular, the assumptions of the theory as outlined above helped answer all three specific research questions First, it helped answer the performance evaluation question as outlined above. Voter rationality enables them to evaluate past performance of incumbents thus giving them reason to either punish them by electing competitors or reward them by giving them their votes. In this study, the theory had both retrospective and prospective perspectives. Retrospectively, voters tend to punish incumbents who performed poorly and continue rewarding those that perform well (Key, 1966; Fiorina, 1981). Prospectively, voters tend to evaluate candidates based on what they have achieved in their past occupations and hope that they will bring the same good performance when serving in electoral offices.

Key (1966) argued that voter decisions in elections were based on whether they ''like or don't like the performance of government. Fiorina argued that even the expectations of future performance of both incumbent candidates and their challengers were nothing more than extrapolations from the past and current trends. Voters' self-interestedness and need to be utility maximisers will help answer the responsiveness evaluation question. Since voters listen to the policy propositions of the candidates and measure these questions against the problems facing them and their communities, a candidate whose policy proposals indicate that they understand the problems facing the voters is likely to be elected over a candidate who proposes policy solutions for non-existing or non-pressing problems. Thirdly, rationality, self-interestedness and utility maximisation will guide voters to vote for a candidate who has a reputation for integrity. The assumption here is that a person of integrity will deliver on the policies they promised in their manifestos as well manage

public resources with integrity so that resources go to intended purposes. A person evaluated as lacking integrity would be detrimental to self-interest of voters and therefore there is no rationality in voting for them.

## 1.9 Definition of Concepts.

**Candidate Integrity Evaluation:** Refers to the perceptions of the candidate's personal traits. Candidate integrity has multiple indicators as explained by Miller & Shanks (1996). In this study, Candidate integrity encompasses perceptions of honesty and trustworthiness.

**Evaluative Attitudes:** refers to voters' judgement of candidates and parties along specified parameters. These judgements inform what voters think and feel about the candidates and dispose the individual voters to either vote for or reject the candidates. In this study, evaluative attitudes shall mean the cognitive, affective triggers that lead to voters making the choices they make at the ballot.

**Performance Evaluation:** Dalton (2013) has noted that "Performance Evaluations are judgements about how political actor (party, candidate, or government) has been doing its job." In the proposed study, performance evaluation will be both retrospective and prospective. Retrospective performance evaluation refers to the voters' perception of the incumbents' ability to put in place mechanisms for solving the problems that the voters faced before they came to office as well how well they dealt with new problems that required action from the elected officials. Prospective evaluation refers to the expectation that voters have of challengers to deal with problems facing voters.

**Responsiveness Evaluation:** Refers to the capacity of political systems, through the elected and appointed officials, to respond to the issues affecting the citizens and expressed through public opinions (Manza & Cook, 2002). The responsiveness is expressed through public policies that are congruent to the problems faced by the citizens. In this study, the concept refers to the policies that candidates promise to put in place ones they get elected to office. A prerequisite for proposing policies is having knowledge of the problems that need policy intervention.

**Sub-National Elections:** The constitution of Kenya 2010 established a devolved system of governance comprised of the National and County governments. The Members of County Assembly are elected at the level of County government as a measure to giving powers of self-governance to the people and enhance their participation in making decisions that affect them, and also provide proximate and easily accessible services in all parts of the country (Article 174). This

study terms the elections at this devolved level as sub-national.

**Voter Behaviour:** Balogun and Olapegba (2007) posited that voter behaviour has to do with the motivations and determinants that inform a voter's choice at the ballot. For this study, voter behaviour refers to the voting decisions made by voters in terms of whether to vote for the incumbent or another candidate.

**Measurement of the Dependent and Independent Variables.**

The table below illustrates how the variables specified in the research hypothesis and questions will be measured and operationalised for the purpose of this study.

**Table 1.1: Operationalisation of Variables**

| Variable Type | Variable Name | Specific Variables | Variable Indicator |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dependent Variable | Voting Behaviour | Voting Behaviour | The candidate voted for during the party primaries |
| Independent Variable | Evaluative Attitudes | Responsiveness | The degree of congruence between candidate agenda and voters' preferences |
| | | Performance | Performance index developed from responses to a battery of survey questions on candidate's perceived ability to initiate and complete projects as reported in survey responses |
| | | Candidate integrity | Perception of honesty of the candidates<br>Perception of Trustworthiness of the candidates |

**1.10 Research Hypotheses.**

**1.10.1 Main Research Hypothesis.**

Voter's evaluative attitudes influences voter behaviour in sub-national electoral units in Kenya.

**1.10.2 Specific Research Hypotheses.**

i. Positive or negative evaluations of candidates Responsiveness affects voter behaviour.

ii. Positive or negative evaluations of candidates Performance influences voter behaviour.

iii. Positive or negative evaluations of candidates Integrity affects voter behaviour.

## 1.11 Methodology.

This section deals with the research design, data collection and data analysis.

### 1.11.1 Research Design.

This used a cross-sectional research design. This design is used for studies that collect, and analyse data from a sample at a specific point in time. For this study, the design was suitable because the study focused only on the 2017 Jubilee party primaries in Nyeri County. The design is also suitable for studying groups who share similar significant characteristics. An overwhelming majority of voters in Nyeri are of the same ethnicity and Jubilee party was the most popular party in 2017 hence the suitability of the cross-sectional design. Moreover, a cross-sectional design is suited for illustrating causal relationships (Ethridge, 2002). This study focused on how evaluations of candidates cause the voters in Nyeri to behave in a certain way towards the candidates hence the applicability of this design.

### 1.11.2 Data Collection.

The study mainly used both primary which was collected using surveys. For the survey, mixed questionnaires that have close and open questions were used. This enabled the researcher to limit responses for some questions while allowing the respondent to freely express their views in other questions.

### 1.11.3 Sample and Sampling Technique.

A sample size of 71 respondents was used. These were obtained from 17 villages as outlined in the table below. These villages were selected using multistage sampling technique as outlined below. This technique was preferred because of its effectiveness in collecting data in geographically expansive locations among hierarchical structured populations. The researcher used face-to-face interviews to obtain data from the respondents. The technique also helped to cut on costs and time because samples are reduced to small clusters that ease data collection. For this study, three constituencies Mukurwe-ini, Tetu and Kieni were selected randomly within Nyeri County. The distribution of respondents was as outlined in the table below. From each of the 3 constituencies, two rural wards were selected using random sampling. From each of the 2 wards, the researcher further selected three villages and from these villages, respondents were selected using the systematic sampling technique which allowed the researcher to spread the sample more

evenly by gender, and age. Due to the homogeneity of the area, the researcher expected to attain saturation in responses quickly and therefore believed that this sample size was sufficiently representative.

The study area was Nyeri County, which was randomly selected from a pool made of counties that are largely habited by single ethnic communities and that were also supporting only one major political party during the 2017 elections. This condition helped hold the ethnicity and party variables constant. The County is subdivided into 30 wards each represented by a Member of County Assembly who sits in the County Assembly of Nyeri alongside 17 nominated MCAs and a Speaker (Government, n.d.). Specifically, data was collected from three of the six constituencies within Nyeri County those being Mukurwe-ini, Tetu and Kieni Constituencies. These locations are randomly selected.

**Table 1.2: Distribution of samples**

| Constituency | Wards | Village | No. of Respondents |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mukurwe-ini | Muhito | Gatura | 5 |
| | | Thiha | 5 |
| | | Murunduini | 5 |
| | Rugi | Mweru | 5 |
| | | Mihuti | 5 |
| | | Ngamwa | 5 |
| Tetu | Aguthi/Gaaki | Gichira | 4 |
| | | Gatitu | 4 |
| | | Ithe Kahuno | 4 |
| | Dedan Kimathi | Kigogo - ini | 4 |
| | | Njogu-ini | 4 |
| | | Ihururu | 5 |
| Kieni | Mwiyogo | Muthuini | 4 |
| | | Mwiyogo | 3 |
| | | Labula | 5 |
| | Gatarakwa | Watuka | 3 |
| | | Kiaraga-ini | 1 |
| Total | | | 71 |

## 1.11.4 Data Analysis

Data analysis process began with data cleaning to ensure that questionnaires were well completed. The next step was data coding. All data was coded and given numerical values to enable the researcher run the data on a software. Data presented on the ordinal scales was given numerical

equivalents. For example, on a scale of 'strongly disagree, somehow disagree, not sure, somehow agree and strongly disagree' numerical values of 1 to 5 were given respectfully for each ordinal measure. The spearman's Chi-Square correlation was used to determine the relationship among the ordinal scale variables. The statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) software was used to test the correlation between variables using analytical tools such as Pearson's (r), spearman rank-ordered correlation tests, and gamma measure of association. The findings were presented in graphs and tables as well as explained in narratives.

# CHAPTER TWO

# HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY OF VOTER BEHAVIOUR AND OF PARTY PRIMARIES.

## 2.1  Background to the Study of Voter Behaviour

The history of studies in voter behaviour coincides with the behavioural revolution. It began with the investigations of American electoral behaviour before being exported to the study of the topic in other western democracies later on. An examination of the literature indicates a classification of the studies and understanding of voter behaviour into two: social-psychological model and a rational issue-based model.

## 2.2  The Socio-Psychological Model of Voter Behaviour.

Antunes (2010) and Bartels (2010) posit that studies into the topic began in 1940 with sociologists from Columbia University. The studies are famously known as the Columbia studies and were led by Paul Lazarsfeld in the 1940s. They found that the political homogeneity of social groups was so strong that regardless of media and campaign rhetoric, the voter hardly deviated from their original predisposition to a political party. The researchers concluded that, "a person thinks, politically, as he is socially [and therefore] social characteristics determine political preference (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1968). Hence, voter behaviour could easily be explained using three simple factors – socio-economic status, religion and area of residence (Antunes, 2010). In this case, voters were persuaded to vote for a candidate more by the pressures from the community they belonged to than by their analysis of where candidates stood on various issues affecting the life of the voter.

In another study, Barelson, Lazarsfeld & McPhee (1954) observed that the personal attachment of voters to activities of such socialisation groups as labour unions led to a more sustained partisanship. It had been observed that the more union members were "committed to unionism… the more the more Democratic their vote." Partisanship was acquired through socialisation within specific primary groups such as family and peers, and remained stable throughout an individual's life. Hence, an individual's identification with a party was an affective 'group-objective'.

The Columbia Studies inspired another group of scholars called the Michigan Studies led by Angus Campbell. The Michigan group produced *The American Voter*, which is arguably the most iconic piece of literature on the socio-psychological influences of voter behaviour. From their studies, Campbell, Converse, Miller, & Stokes (1960) found that American voters formed lasting psychological attachments to either the Democratic or Republican Party and these attachments became the main factor influencing their electoral choices (Campbell et al., 1960). The authors treated party identification as psychological ties that guide a voter's attitudes and perceptions of all political issues that they are faced with. They also added that once formed, these party identities tend to be stable and resistant to alternative influence. In addition, the authors found that policy considerations and issues were not important to voters when making electoral choice with a paltry 12% exhibiting any traits of ideological cognition. They argued that political information and ideological reasoning were far less widespread in the public than imagined by elite political commentators. They however acknowledged deviations in partisan voting in instances where evaluations of candidates came into play in the decision making. For instance, Eisenhower's victory in the 1952 elections was not as a result of popularity of the Republican Party, but due his idiosyncratic appeal to voters across the partisan divide in the USA.

The importance of socio-psychological influences on voter behaviour is reaffirmed by studies on voter behaviour in Canada. Although class voting was found to be none-existent in Canada, other socio-demographic factors were of importance. These included regionalism, religion and gender (Anderson & Stephenson, 2010). The Conservative Party was found to be favourable among voters in Canada's western province by up to 15 points, more preferred by men compared to women and less favoured by the catholic voters. On the other hand, the liberal party was the dominant party in Canada's Atlantic Provinces, among women and most notably among Catholics. An important observation of voter behaviour was the fact that partisanship was not as stable as it is in the USA (Elkins, 1978). Clarke, Leduc, Jenson and Pammett (1979) found that there are two types of partisanship in Canada: stable partisanship and flexible partisanship. Flexible partisans were defined as those who were easily swayed by other factors such as issues and candidate evaluations from one election to another.

Further evidence of the socio-psychological voter behaviour is found in the UK where Heath and Khan (2012) found that the black and ethnic minority (BME) voters largely remained supportive of the labour Party at 68% preference compared to 16% support for the Conservative Party. This overwhelming support for the Labour Party may be understood as a psychological and affectionate connection to the party owing to its historical legislative agenda in support of the rights of the ethnic minorities e.g. the Race Relations Acts 1965, 1968 and 1976, Race Relations Amendment Act 2000 and Racial and Religious Hatred Act 2006; all these passed while the Conservative party was seemingly hostile to non-white immigration to the UK (Sanders, Fisher, Heath & Sobolewska, n.d).

However, in spite of their huge support for the Labour Party, BME voters are not a unanimous bloc. Mortimore and Kaur-Ballagan (2006) found that class differences were more pronounced in voter behaviour of the BME than among the broader population hence reaffirming the importance of Campbell et al.'s groups of socialisations. Bone and Ranney (1963) argued that a voter's perception and attitude towards political events, political parties and candidates are as a result of cognition of his social and political environment. People observe a myriad of political activities and form perceptions about them depending on how those activities affect their lives. In addition, voters will generally respond positively to political activities that bring group benefit.

Although the socio-psychological model was widely adopted and even exported to studying voter and explaining voter behaviour outside the USA, several revisionists sought to challenge the model's treatment of voters as fools.

## 2.3 The Revisionist Model of Voter Behaviour.

Issue orientation among voters is one of the most important indicators of rational voter behaviour. A voter is said to be issue oriented if the "question of governmental policy are of paramount importance" and perceives political parties and candidates as through which government action through public policy will be enacted, based on the promises they make for coping with major problems facing them (Campbell, Gurin, & Miller, 1954). Hence an issue-oriented voter votes for the party or the candidate only to the extent that the party or candidate represents policy positions that the candidate wishes to see put in place. According to Campbell, et al (1954), issue orientation embraces the following two components: "sensitivity to differences in party positions on issues

related to governmental action [and] involvement in issues which are perceived as being affected by the outcome of an election."

While Campbell, et al. offer an easy understanding of issue orientation, it was Anthony Downs' 'An Economic Theory of Democracy' that is reputed as the pioneering work in treatment of the voter as a rational actor. Downs argued that a perfectly informed voter would weigh the utility of having an incumbent regime continue in office against the prospective utility of having the opposition party in government. But since the voter cannot tell what the future holds, they measure the utility they derived from having the incumbent in government during the ended term in office against what they think the opposition would have delivered under the same conditions (Downs, 1957). The voter also evaluates whether the incumbent is getting better or worse in performance, and if they feel that the opposition might not have done a better job during that term and that the incumbent is actually getting better with time, they vote for the incumbent and vice-versa. He added that if the voter feels that either the incumbent or the opposition would have performed relatively the same and using similar approaches, that voter would most likely abstain from the ballot. This became the theoretical foundation of subsequent theories on retrospective voting.

In discussing partisanship and party ideologies, Downs observed that voters are individually wired in a 'uni-dimensional' continuum and that it is based on these continuums that parties frame issues and policies. Voters in turn elect those parties whose policies are of closest proximity to their ideological stands. Nevertheless, Downs' model is challenged by the fact that the amount of information that reaches the voters is very little. It also assumes that the level of political sophistication among voters to be higher than it actually is. In places where the media – be it radio, television, internet or newspapers – are largely a luxury for many, the applicability of the model might be called to question. In cases where the prospective voter can be reached by the policy information, their ability to attach political values to the policies cannot be trusted especially in situations where the voter is swayed largely by how the politicians package their message and persuade voters on an issue.

Key (1966) is another iconic work that refuted Campbell et al.'s argument that the voters were ignorant on policy issues, and categorically declared that "voters are not fools." He differentiated between what he called 'switchers' and 'stand patters. According to Keys, 'switchers' were those

voters who readily changed their minds about parties and candidates based on their (voters) policy preferences as framed by the competing parties (Key, 1966). It means therefore that for the voters to switch their support, they must be rational actors with an evaluative capacity. Hence, the popularity of Franklin Roosevelt owing to his handling of the Great Depression as a policy issue as well as the World War 2, endeared millions of voters to the Democratic Party to the disadvantage of the Republicans. Likewise, Eisenhower's idiosyncratic appeal to American voters saw many Democrats vote for him despite being a Republican.

Nie, Sidney, & Petrocik (1976) further emphasise voter rationality. They attributed the change of voter behaviour in the USA to two key factors: emergence of new policy issues and entry of new generations in American electoral process. On issues, the authors observed that over and above the socio-psychological factors, voter behaviour is also influenced by issues of the day, and how parties and candidates respond to those issues. Hence, the emergence of major issues in American national politics such as the civil rights struggle, the Vietnam War, urban crisis, Watergate and an economic recession lead to greater dissatisfaction with political processes among American public of the 1970s compared to the dormant 1950s when there weren't any major issues. They therefore concluded that issue voting was on the rise while partly identification was diminishing. Another important observation made by Nie, et al. (1976) was that as new generations of younger and better educated people got into electoral politics, there was growth in relevance of political matters to personal life. It was observed that eligible voters were more capable of conceptualising the political world and attaching the values to their policy needs and current events.

In addition, to these literatures, Morris Fiorina in 1981 advanced the theory of retrospective voting where he explains both partisan stability and changes. Quite similar to Downs' argument, Fiorina averred that retrospective voting entails forming policy expectations for the future by evaluating what the past policies by the incumbent regime. Most importantly, Fiorina added that voters were more interested in the outcomes of policies than the policy instruments. Hence rather than treating partisanship as a function of socialisation, Fiorina saw it as a tally of how a party treats the individual voter. Consequently, party identification is expected to change from time to time (Fiorina, Retrospective Voting in American Elections, 1981). Fiorina also distinguished between simple retrospective evaluations (SRE) and mediated retrospective evaluations (MRE). The SREs are those evaluations that a voter does based on their personal experience e.g. their living

conditions, financial status, employment status and so on. MREs on the other hand are those evaluations based on information relayed to the voter by other parties such as the media, which the voter might not have personally experienced but are important policy issues.

## 2.4 Voting Behaviour in Kenya and Emerging African Democracies.

Numerous publications have been produced and conducted to explain voter behaviour in Kenya and Africa at large. Ethnic identity and performance evaluation have been identified as the main factors that inform voting behaviour in emerging democracies of Africa (Long & Gibson, 2015). Owing to the uncertain electoral environment in the continent, ethnic identity easily became the most important source of information about the likely conduct and character of politicians (Long & Gibson, 2015). In a continent characterised by low literacy rates and limited access to independent political information from free mass media, ethnic identity provides "a simple, low-cost guide to voting decisions (Norris & Mattes, 2003). Moreover, ethnicity serves as a shortcut for evaluating the unobservable traits of candidates such as their competence and trustworthiness (Fafchamps 2004; Foster & Rosenzweig 1993). The influence of ethnic identity on voter behaviour and support for political parties is stronger in societies comprised of many ethnic groups such as Nigeria and South Africa, and less significant in largely homogenous societies such as Botswana (Norris & Mattes, 2003).

The disintegration of the nationalist movements that ushered in independence in Africa (Nyong'o, 1989) led to the emergence of one-party dictatorships or military regimes, a situation which greatly compromised electoral politics in the region. Under the single party systems and military rule, political support for the politicians was based on patronage which meant that the formulation and implementation of public policies, as well as the distribution of public resources was [and continues to be] anticipated based on ethnicity (Chandra 2004; Jonyo 2003). Under these systems, electioneering processes did not give the voters much room for evaluation of incumbent's performance especially in the presidential vote (Lindberg & Morrison, 2008).

The colonial construction of provincial administration remains most liable for entrenchment of ethnoregionalism and clientalism in Kenyan politics. The provinces as constructed by the colonial regime and revised by KANU were all characterized by a dominant ethnic group (Wanyande, 2006). As the post-colonial leadership entrenched patronage and particularly privatizing state

resources and goods to reward their ethnic and political strongholds, ethnic consciousness was heightened which further led to formation of political parties that appealed to voters from ethnic communities that had been side-lined by the incumbent regimes (Bratton & Kimenyi, 2008; Wanyande, 2006).

In the multi-party era, elections became a manifestation of fear by the ruling ethnic community that the acquisition of state control by the opposition would mark the end of privileges they enjoyed while in power (Oyugi, 1997). Hence political alliances assumed an ethno-regional dimension to either protect the privileges of incumbency. For instance, in 1992, ethnic communities indigenous to the Rift Valley formed the KAMATUSA alliance (an abbreviation of Kalenjin, Masai, Turkana and Samburu communities. This alliance was formed to protect KANU from the opposition made up of ethnic groups from outside the region. Indeed, evictions of people deemed to be opposition supporters solely based on their ethnicity became rampant prior to the 1992 and 1997 elections (Oyugi, 1997).

Oloo, (2010) emphasises the centrality of ethnicity in Kenyan elections pointing out that whereas new identities influencing voting patterns have emerged, the ethnic identity triumphs and flourishes above them all. As a result, Politicians attract support based on the electorate's perception of the politicians' ability to defend ethnic interests rather than on their ideologies or issue framing (Oloo, 2015). On their part, voters seek to instal 'their men' to political offices based on the perception that 'their own' would enhance access to public goods (Oloo, 2015; Mbote, 2015).The monodimensional orientation of party ideoplogy along the notion of social democracy have left political parties without distinguishable attributes along which to campaign and win voters' affection. Politicians therefore result to social cleavages for mobilising support (Young, no date; Oloo, 2015).

In addition, Kenyan politics easily passes as clientelistic, a concept well defined by Van de Walle (2001) as a situation where acquisition of political power "is based on the giving and granting of favours, in an endless series of dyadic exchanges that go from the village level to the highest reaches of the central state." It can further be understood as a relationship where the patron (i.e. politician) provides material rewards to the clients (prospective voters) in exchange for their loyalty (Lindberg, 2003).

(Archer, 2009) illustrated three factors that can be used to explain voter behaviour in Kenya, while trying to draw similarities and parallels with European voter behaviour. He discusses social structures, long term predispositions and short-term factors. In regard to social structures, he argues that other important social cleavages such as religion and social class are of little or no importance to Kenya voters. He found that although the interviewed Muslim sample indicated that their religion was a more important identity marker than their ethnicity, it did not lead them to prefer a Muslim national leader from a different part of the country. Likewise, the ever-widening gap between the wealthy and poor Kenyans had not led to formation of political parties to fight for class interests as had been experienced in Europe for many years. The study therefore concluded that ethnicity remains the most important social structural group and it is the basis upon which majority of Kenyans base their support for a political party or Partly Leader.

Long term predispositions such as party identification, ideology and value orientations are also used to examine voter behaviour in Kenya. KANU as the only political party to have operated in Kenya from 1964 to 1992, both de facto and de jure, had led to some identification with a significant majority of voters who believed in the party's vision and ability to bring significant change in their lives at independence; and many had come to accept the party's rhetoric that multi-partism was bad for the country (Archer, 2009). However, since KANU lost power in 2002, and owing to the fluidity of political parties, Party identification cannot adequately account for voter behaviour in Kenya presently

Ideology and value orientations, which are the "prescriptive beliefs which individuals would like to see in the political system, and the forms of political participation by which individuals seek to influence politics" (Knutsen & Kumlin, 2005), are also some of the factors that may be used to explain voter behaviour in Kenya. Whereas it is common to hear people claim that political parties and leaders lack ideologies, evidence to the contrary can be found. It is difficult to point out a clear left-right division in Kenyan politics. However, economic values relating to distribution of national resources have always influenced formation of political parties and recently, the formation of party coalitions and the overall conduct of politics of inclusion and exclusion (Archer, 2009). An ideological perception that Presidents Mwai Kibaki and Uhuru Kenyatta are conservatives who prefer a free-market oriented distribution of resources and a centralised system of government, while Former Prime Minister Raila Odinga prefers interventionist distribution policies and a

devolved system of government are clear indications that voters are to some extent influenced by ideological standpoints of the leaders. In addition, important issues such as the land question in Kenya, Devolution and the plight of the marginalised communities are some important ideological issues that Kenyans are well cognisant of.

Attempts to prove that the Kenyan voter is a rational actor are based more on the prospective model. Bratton & Kimenyi (2008) aver that Kenya although Kenya voters vote defensively along ethnic lines, to protect primordial interests from those they consider a threat, they see themselves as non-ethnic actors on the ballot. In addition, the duo found that the voters put important policy issues such as devolution, corruption and living standards into consideration. An important observation however is that although individuals see themselves as non-ethnic, they distrust Kenyans form other ethnic communities and do not trust their ability not to organise ethnically for political expediency. From this finding, it would be difficult then for us to believe that the same Kenyan who thinks themselves non-ethnic will not be drawn by the same ethnic sympathies they denounce to counter the potential ethnic organisation of those they fear and distrust. While Bratton and Kaimenyi's study is an important milestone in testing rationality of Kenyan voters, their methodology does not adequately deal with ethnicity as an important variable.

## 2.5 A Background to Party Primaries.

Elections serve as a mechanism for ensuring that politicians serve the interest of the public. In party-politics democracies, primary elections help to narrow down on the group of politicians from whom the people will choose their representatives (Ichino & Noah, 2012). The study of the importance of party primaries is old. For instance, Patterson (1894) is a classical account of the quality of primaries in the American South and their importance its white supremacy undertones notwithstanding. He acknowledged that "the party primary is the fountain of representative government" and observed that 'impure' primaries compromise public service, injures the legitimacy of the concerned political party as well as its members. Patterson added that understanding the manner in which primaries are or ought to be done was [is] is central to the formation of party-based governments. Owing to their microcosmic nature, party primaries for municipal politics have boldly been said to be the one aspect of modern politics that resembles the pure Athenian democracy (Patterson, 1894). This assertion is plausible even in the 21st century local elections especially in rural constituencies with low populations and significantly small

electoral units and proportional polling stations. Free and fair party primaries at the grassroot level are therefore the closest we can get to capturing the true will of the people.

There are two types of party primaries: direct and indirect (Remsen, 1894). This study section of the study dispensed off the indirect method because it does not fit in the Kenyan context. However, it is important to highlight that the indirect method is used for selecting candidates for public offices in large territories with more complex government structures such as the federal level in the USA. In such cases, party members elect delegates at the primaries. These delegates form conventions that proceed to nominate the flag-bearer for the party such as the presidential candidates for the Republican and Democratic parties. In some cases, the delegates are themselves selected by other delegates at a lower level depending on the complexity of the government structures. As expected, the further a method of choice is removed from the primary voter, the less satisfactory it becomes since it may be prone to manipulation by party elites along the way.

Upon close scrutiny, the US Electoral College appears like indirect election of the president (Remsen, 1894). In recent years the method has been termed as undemocratic such as following the 2016 US presidential elections outcome where the winner got fewer popular votes but won the college vote, or in the 2000 presidential contest where the Florida State votes were contested in court with vote rigging claims being rife.

Seemingly, the direct nomination is the most democratic method of conducting primaries and most relevant to this study. Kurlowski (2014) observes that the adoption of direct primaries has over the years led to greater citizen participation as well as reduction in electoral malfeasance during the nomination process. Violence and influence of party bosses has also been reduced by direct primaries. Party leaders have increasingly opened their parties to contested primaries as the democratic method of nominating candidates. This democratisation has been attributed to the pursuit of 'primary bonus (Carey & Polga-Hecimovich, 2006). This means that when political parties hold primary elections in conditions that mirror the general elections, they are able to nominate candidates of high quality and skills to win the contest in the general elections. In addition, parties gain a reputation for transparency and also strengthen their internal cohesion. For example, the centre-left coalition in Italy in Italy decided to use primaries to "strengthen and legitimise their candidate" ahead of the Prime Minister contest against the incumbent Silvio

Berlusconi in 2013 (Pasquino, Valbruzzi, & Weaver, 2012).

Primary elections can be traced back to the year 1866 particularly in the American states of California and New York where they were used to nominate candidates for local offices before they were increasingly adopted by numerous other states later in the that century (Corcoran & Kendall, 1992). In 1904, the state of Florida held the first ever "presidential preference primaries" followed by Wisconsin in 1908. By 1916, twenty states had adopted the primaries method of nominating presidential candidates. Thereafter, however, the primaries' method experienced a steady decline fluctuating between 12 and 15 states up to the 1970s. Between 1917 and 1949, a presidential primary law had been enacted only by the state of Alabama and after 1948 their importance was insignificant across the country (ibid). However, by the early 1970s, 'party bosses' had gained too much influence on nomination of candidates, a situation that was deemed open to abuse and undemocratic. Hence, the Democratic Party developed guidelines to ensure free, fair and open selection of delegates who'd then choose the party's nominee. The Republican Party followed suite shortly thereafter. This led to adoption of new or revised presidential primary laws and by 1988, thirty-seven states were conducting presidential primaries up from fifteen in 1968.

Surprisingly, dominant political parties in major western democracies lagged by over one and a half centuries in their adoption of primaries. For instance, it was not until the 1993 Labour Party conference that the one man-one vote system was adopted for the selection of parry leader and parliamentary candidates. This led to great electoral success for the labour party in ensuing elections most notably the landslide victory of 1997 (Alexandre-Collier & Avril, nd). In 1998, the Conservative Party, in reaction to the Labour Party's success, instituted reforms that paved way for ordinary party members to select their party leader (ibid). In Italy, primaries were inducted into elective politics only in 1995 but did not gain traction until the year 2005 when they were used to nominate candidates for the regional elections.

The rise in party primaries can be attributed to several factors. For example, there were strong anti-party and pro-candidate sentiments in US electoral politics. Voters were getting more and more inclined to evaluating individual candidates and their valence than they cared for party loyalty. Political parties had little option therefore than to let the people decide for themselves and give the parties candidates who could compete with the opposing party's candidates. In addition, party

elites adopted the party primaries as a way of cultivating a positive image of their parties and gaining greater legitimacy among members of the public. Among the southern states, some of which are practically one-party states, direct nominations were gladly accepted as a method of ensuring fairness in the elections.

Some literature argues that party primaries are often used by weaker political parties leaving party leaders of the dominant parties to select the candidates themselves (De Luca, Jones & Tula, 2002). Whereas party primaries have existed for many years in various forms and for different roles in advanced democracies, academic accounts of the processes began in the mid to late 19th Century.

# CHAPTER THREE.

## DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION.

### Introduction.

The study of voter behaviour continues to elicit a lot of interest among Social Scientists. While it has been extensively, but not exhaustively, studied in the global north particularly the USA, there is need and room for a lot more research on the topic in the developing countries such as Kenya. Many African countries are young nation states and even younger multiparty democracy having been plagued by either military or one-party authoritarian rule for over three decades after independence. This chapter analyses the data collected on voter behaviour and answers the research questions for the purpose of contributing to the understanding of voter behaviour at the sub-national level of elections in Kenya's ethnic homogeneous constituencies.

### 3.1 Presentation of Data and Study Finding.

### 3.1.1 Response Rate.

The study sample size was 90 respondents distributed among 18 sub-locations. The 18 sub-locations were drawn from three rural constituencies within Nyeri County. Two wards from each of the 3 constituencies contributed 3 villages each. The total number of respondents who took part in the study was 71 accounting for 78.9% of the sample. The 71 respondents were distributed as shown by the figure below:

**Figure 3.1: Distribution of Respondents by Constituency.**
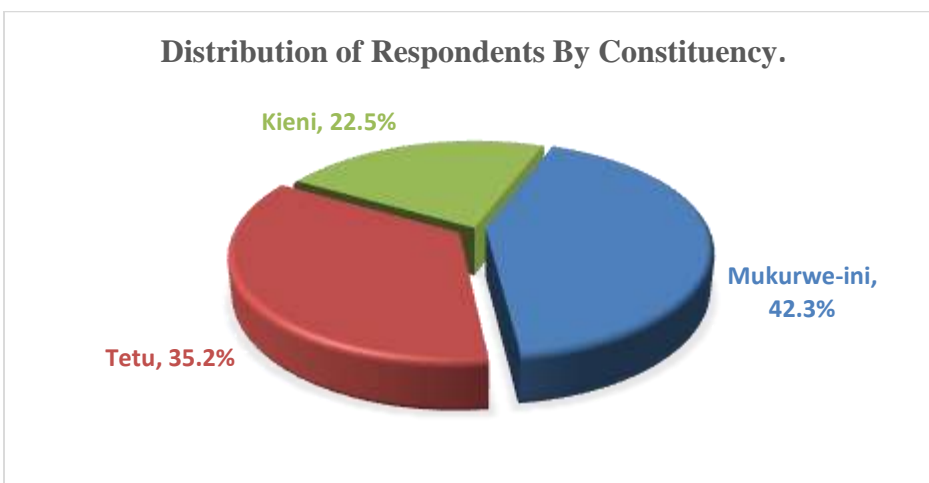


Source: Field Research, Year 2019.

The targeted number of respondents per constituency was 30: Mukurwe-ini constituency realised 100% of this target and accounted for 42.3% of all respondents to the survey in the three constituencies. In Tetu constituency, there study got 25 out of the targeted 30 respondents and this accounted for 35.2% of all respondents. Kieni Constituency registered the lowest response rate at 22.5%. The low response rate in the constituency was as a result of very few surveys carried out in Gatarakwa ward where only 4 out of the targeted 15 respondents participated. Movement was hampered by heavy rainfall that made roads impassable as well as prohibitive costs of traversing the vast territory of the ward.

**Demographic Information.**

This section analyses the socio-demographic characteristics of voters. The factors covered here include the distribution of the respondents by gender, age, the level of education attained, and the occupation.

**Gender of the Respondents.**

Data analysis revealed that majority of the respondents were male at 54.93% while female respondents were 45.07%. The findings are presented in the figure below:

**Figure 3.2: Distribution of respondents by gender for the study**
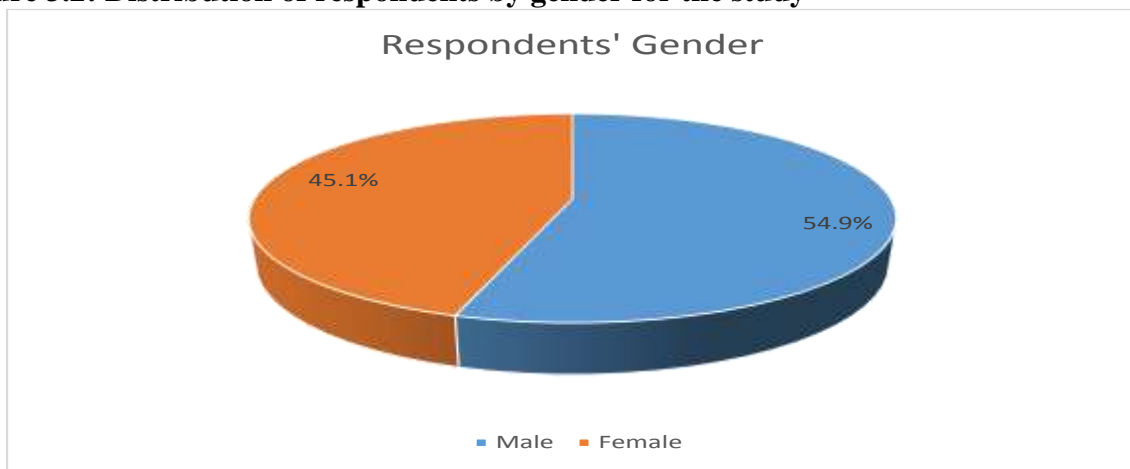


Source: Field Research, Year 2019

**Age of the Respondents.**

The distribution of the respondents by age indicated that the majority of the respondents at 27.14% were aged 41-50 years. Those aged 21-30 years accounted for 24.29%, those aged 31-40 accounted for 18.57%, while the respondents aged between 51 – 60 accounted for 18.57%. Only a small

proportion of the respondents (11.43%) were aged above 60 years. Based on the findings, the data collected was representative of all the age categories. However, the majority of the respondents were young aged between 21-40 years. Below is a graphical representation of the age distribution:

**Figure 3.3: Distribution of Respondents by Age**
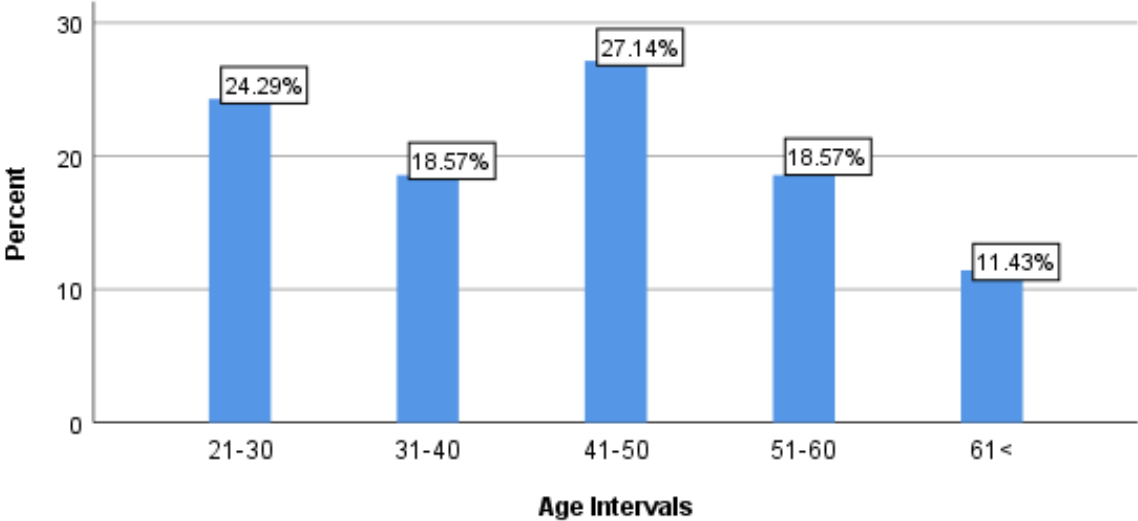


Source: Field Research, Year 2019

**Education Level**

The study also sought to determine the distribution of the respondents by their education level. It was important to collect this information because the surveys touched on human behaviour. Such studies often have an underlying presumption that levels of education may affect the ability to evaluate social phenomena. The distribution of the respondents by their education level shows that the majority of the respondents (49.30%) had secondary education, 25.35% had college/university education and 23.94% had primary education. Only a small percentage of the respondents (1.85%) had not attained formal education. These findings were interpreted mean that majority of the respondents had the capacity to rationally evaluate the study phenomena. Findings are presented on the figure below:

**Figure 3.4: Education level.**
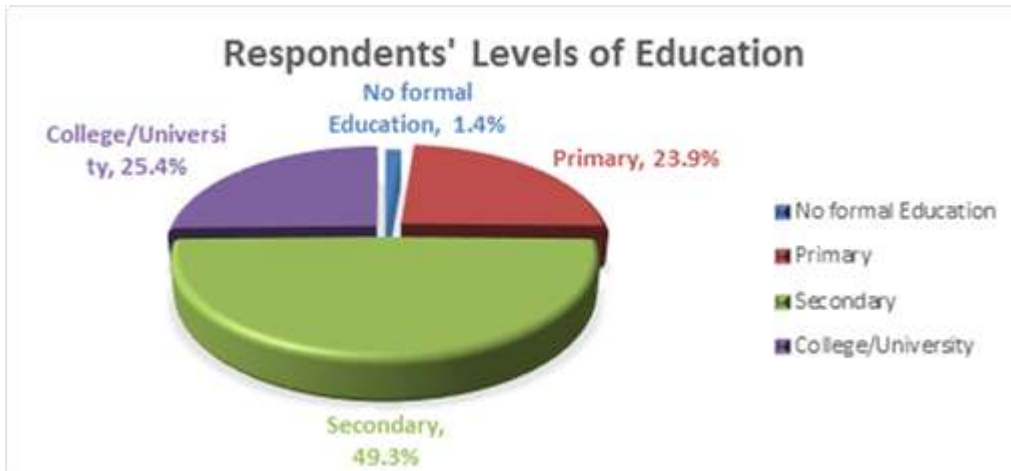


Source: Field Research, Year 2019.

**Distribution of the respondents by their occupation**.

This was important in determining that the respondent had long term and fulltime residence in the study area which would enhance their viability as respondents. From the analysis, the majority of the respondents (42.25%) were involved in farming, 28.17% were involved in business, and 15.49% were involved in formal employment, while 14.08% were involved in other occupations such as the transport sector and casual workers. Farmers and businessmen and even formally employed respondents such as teachers and civil servants were found to be fulltime residents who would be well knowledgeable with the community problems and the candidate's responses to the problems. The findings are presented in the figure below:

**Figure 3.5: Respondents' Occupation**
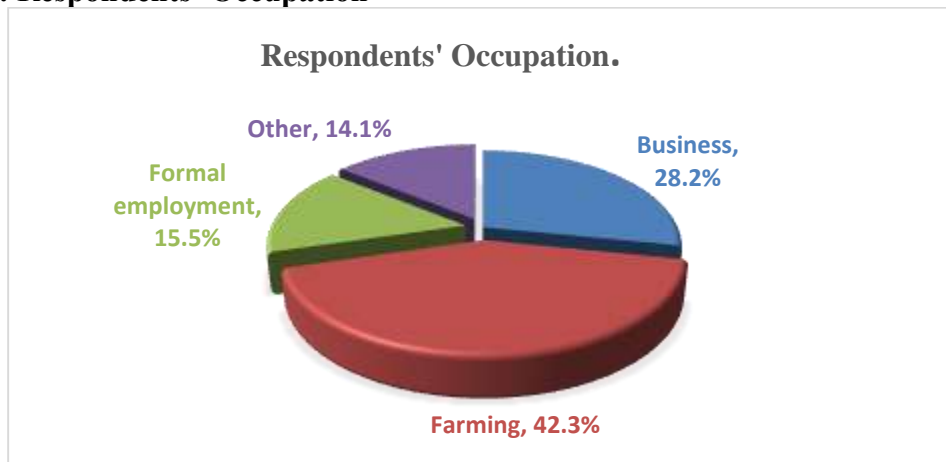


Source: Field Research, Year 2019

**Participation in the Jubilee Party Primaries**.

The Jubilee Party was the most dominant party in the study area and across the region commonly referred to as Mount Kenya region and expectedly, 70 out of the 71 respondents (98.6%) said they participated in the Jubilee party primaries. The one respondent that did not participate had acted as a party agent during the primaries and their survey had consequently been discontinued as soon as that information was revealed. Of the valid 70 respondents, it was only a small minority of 15.71% that had nominated the sitting MCA while a significant majority of 84.3% said they had nominated a challenger. This majority was split into 68.6% for the challenger who went ahead to win the nominations and 15.7% for the challengers who lost as illustrated below:

**Figure 3.6: Candidate voted for**
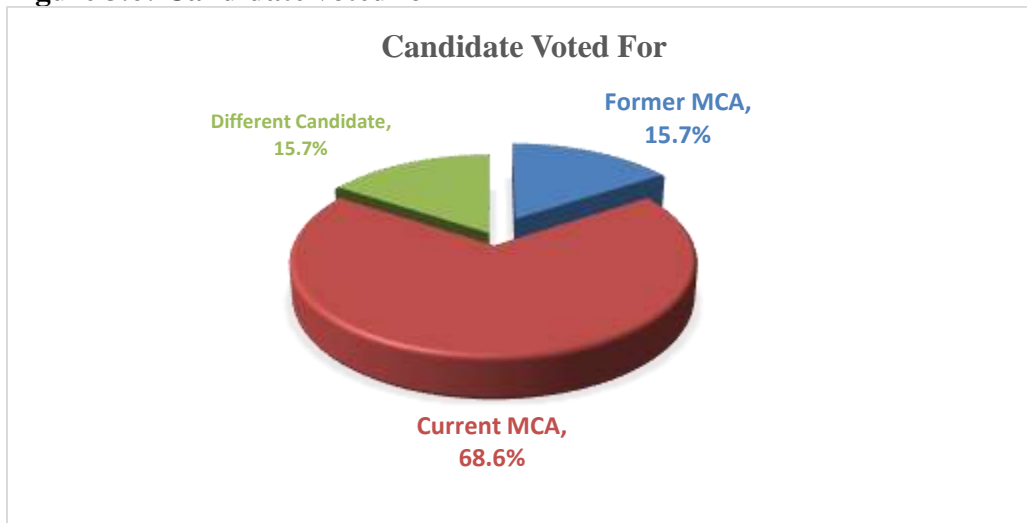


Source: Field Research, Year 2019.

**Reasons for Candidate Winning:**

Victory for the winning candidates was attributed to several reasons with a majority of the respondents at 42.1% reporting that the candidates won due to good electoral promises. The researcher interpreted this to mean that the voters believed in the promises of the winners because the incumbent had failed to deliver per expectations of the voters otherwise, they would not have sought to replace them. Other reasons included good reputation of working hard in past occupation (19.7%), incumbent's poor performance (14.5%), humble/approachable/sociable personality (7.9%), youthful age (6.6%), good education and capability to set agenda, and due to religious reasons (1.3%). The findings are presented in the table below:

**Table 3.2: Reasons why the candidates won**

$winreason Frequencies

| | | Responses | | Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | N | Percent | of Cases |
| Reason for winning[a] | Good electoral promises | 32 | 42.10% | 66.70% |
| | Humble/approachable/Sociable personality | 6 | 7.90% | 12.50% |
| | Incumbent's poor performance | 11 | 14.50% | 22.90% |
| | Good reputation of working hard in past occupation | 15 | 19.70% | 31.30% |
| | Youthful Candidate | 5 | 6.60% | 10.40% |
| | Well educated - capable of setting agenda | 1 | 1.30% | 2.10% |
| | Gave money to voters | 3 | 3.90% | 6.30% |
| | Need to change long serving leaders | 2 | 2.60% | 4.20% |
| | Religious | 1 | 1.30% | 2.10% |
| Total | | 76 | 100.00% | 158.30% |

Source: Field Research, Year 2019.

**Reasons for Candidate Losing:**

Numerous reasons were given for candidates losing the party primaries. Poor performance on the part of the incumbent candidates was the most dominant reason as reported by 22% of the responses. Other reasons such as voter bribery, need to change long serving leaders and candidates not being known accounted for 14.8% each. A combination of reasons such bad family reputation, low voter turn-out, vote splitting among too many candidates in one area and were grouped together and accounted for 22.2%. The least important reason for candidate losing was their gender which was only given by 3.7% of respondents. The findings are as represented below

**Table 3.3: Reasons why the candidates lost**.

$LoseReasons Frequencies

| | | Responses | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Reason | N | Percent | Percent of Cases |
| Reasons for losing. | Poor performance as incumbent | 6 | 22.20% | 28.60% |
| | Voter bribery by winner | 4 | 14.80% | 19.00% |
| | Need to change long serving leaders | 4 | 14.80% | 19.00% |
| | Candidate was not well known | 4 | 14.80% | 19.00% |
| | Lack of money for strong campaign | 2 | 7.40% | 9.50% |
| | Candidate Gender(women not favoured) | 1 | 3.70% | 4.80% |
| | Other | 6 | 22.20% | 28.60% |
| | **Total** | **27** | **100.00%** | **128.60%** |

Source: Field Research, Year 2019.

In Nyeri County, winning the Jubilee party primaries was synonymous with winning the seat during the General Elections as the data indicates below. In the study area specifically, 90% of respondents reported that they voted the winner of the party primaries during the general elections. The findings are presented in the chart below:

**Figure 3.7: Whether voters elected the winner of the primaries during the General Election.**
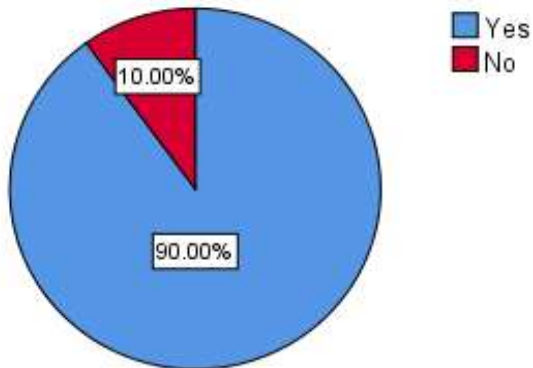


Source: Field Research, Year 2019

The study further had interest to determine whether the voters would still vote for the person they voted during the 2017 primaries if fresh elections are held now. The findings are presented in the chart below;

**Figure 3.8: Chances of the candidates being voted again**
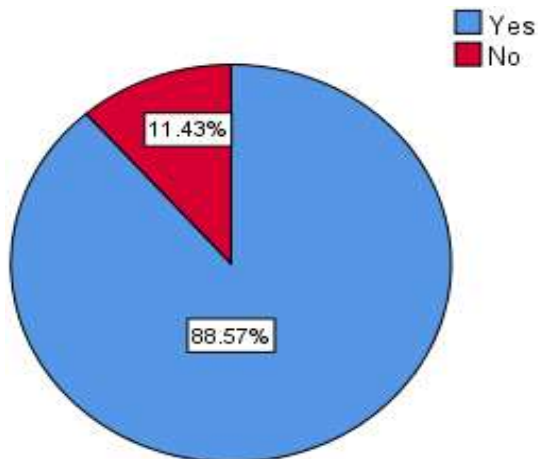


Source: Field Research, Year 2019

Based on the analysis, the majority of the respondents at 88.57% reported that if fresh primary elections were held at the time of the study survey, they would still vote for the candidates they voted in 2017 elections. When asked why they would vote for the same candidate, respondents cited good performance and responsiveness by the candidates as most dominant reasons with 52.7% and 20.9% respectively.

**Table 3.3: Reasons for nominating same candidate again.**

| $SameCandNomination Frequencies | |
|---|---|
| **Reason for Nominating Same Candidate Again** ▼ | **Percent** ▼ |
| Good performance | 52.7% |
| Candidate is responsive to our problems/needs | 20.9% |
| Candidate is reachable//sociable | 6.4% |
| Candidate has good personal reputation/Reliable/Keeps his word | 5.5% |
| Has/had integrity in office | 4.5% |
| Candidate is from my area / Relative | 3.6% |
| Winner is not reachable | 2.7% |
| Winner is not performing | 1.8% |
| Youthful | 1.8% |
| **Total** | **100%** |

Source: Field Research, Year 2019

Only a small proportion of 11.43% reported that they would not vote for the candidates they voted for during 2017 elections.

### 3.1.2 The effects of evaluative attitudes on voter behaviour in Kenya.

The study of voter behaviour in Kenya has been dominated by the ethnic census theory which argues that voters elect their leaders based on ethnic identities and loyalties. Although this theory has some degree of relevance in explaining national level electoral politics especially the presidential elections, it is unable to account for local level elections especially where almost everybody comes from the same ethnic group. More specifically, through literature review, this study revealed that there was a gap in knowledge on what factors influence voter behaviour during electoral contests where the political party and ethnicity variables are held constant such as in Party primaries for the dominant party in Nyeri County. The main hypothesis of this study was that

evaluative attitudes of the voter influence their voting behaviour in sub-national electoral units in Kenya and surveys were conducted to test the hypothesis and answer the research questions. The findings of the surveys are outlined below.

**3.1.2.1 Integrity Evaluation and Voting Behaviour.**

Evaluations of a candidate's integrity was one of the variables selected to represent the concept denoted as evaluative attitudes. To start with, the study sought to determine whether the voters the character of their candidates. The study assumed that if the voters know their candidates' characters, they would competently evaluate their integrity. The findings are presented in the figure below:

**Figure 3.9: How well did you know the character of the candidates?**
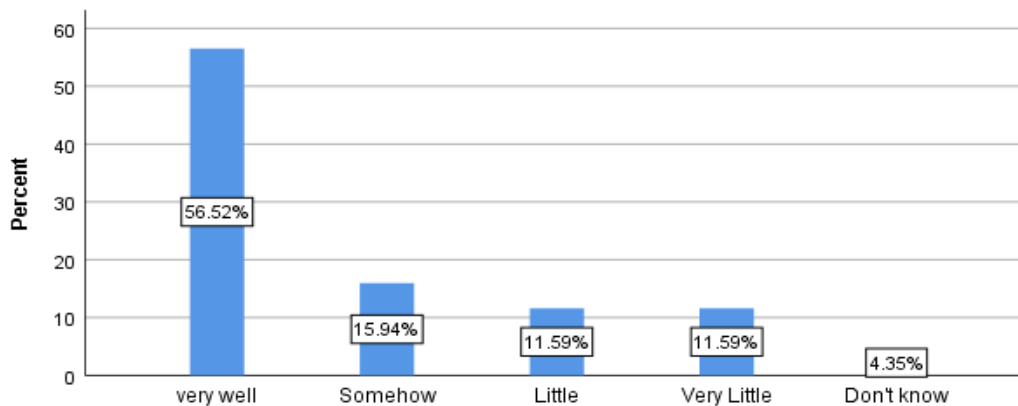


Source: Field Research, Year 2019.

A 56.52% majority of the respondents reported that they knew the character of the candidates very well. A small proportion of the respondents at 15.94% reported that they somehow knew the character of the candidates, 11.59% reported that they had very little knowledge about the character of the candidates, 11.59% reported that they had little knowledge about the candidates, and 4.35% reported that they did not have any knowledge about the character of the candidates.

Analysis was also done to determine the degree of importance of the various candidate characteristics – honesty, reliability, corruptibility, religiosity, wealth and clan - to the voters as well as to illustrate how the voters used these characteristics to evaluate the candidates and make their choice of candidates during the Jubilee party primaries of 2017. The findings show that

46

honesty, reliability and low perceptions of corruption in a candidate were more important to the voters than a candidate's religion, clan and wealth as illustrated by the mean scores on the table below:

**Table 3.4: Candidate characteristics in determining the candidate voted**

| Candidate characteristics in determining the candidate voted | N | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|---|---|---|---|
| Rating Importance of Candidate Honesty in determining voter's choice | 70 | 3.87 | 0.448 |
| Rating Importance of Candidate Reliability in determining voter's choice | 70 | 3.86 | 0.46 |
| Rating Importance of Candidate Integrity in determining voter's choice | 70 | 3.8 | 0.58 |
| Rating Importance of Candidate Religiosity in determining voter's choice | 70 | 1.93 | 1.094 |
| Rating Importance of Candidate Wealth in determining voter's choice | 70 | 1.1 | 0.386 |
| Rating Importance of Candidate's Clan in determining voter's choice | 70 | 1.01 | 0.12 |

Source: Field Research, 2019

**Evaluations of the Former MCA:**

Further analysis to establish the effects of integrity evaluations on voter behaviour revealed that poor negative evaluations of the incumbent MCAs integrity led to electoral loss during the primaries. Rating of former MCAs who lost the party primaries returned a low mean of 2.20 on perceptions of low corruptibility and even lower means of 1.94 on both honesty and reliability as shown on the table below.

**Table 3.5: Former MCA characteristics**

| Rating Candidate Characteristics | N | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|---|---|---|---|
| Rating Former MCA Integrity (perception of corruption) | 69 | 2.20 | 1.279 |
| Rating Former MCA Reliability | 69 | 1.94 | 1.247 |
| Rating Former MCA Honesty | 69 | 1.94 | 1.199 |

Source: Field Research, 2019

**Evaluation of the Challengers**

On the other hand, data revealed that the candidates who won the primaries had received positive evaluations of their integrity as shown on table 4.3 below. On the evaluations of integrity, the winning candidates was evaluated positively with a mean of 3.94 for integrity expressed as low perception of corruptibility, 3.91 for honesty and 3.90 reliability.

**Table 3.6: Winning Challenger Characteristics**

| Winning Candidate Characteristics | N | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|---|---|---|---|
| Winner Candidate Religiosity | 70 | 4.40 | .891 |
| Winner Candidate Integrity (perception of corruption) | 70 | 3.94 | .976 |
| Winner Candidate Honesty | 70 | 3.91 | .847 |
| Winner Candidate Reliability | 70 | 3.90 | .783 |
| Winner Candidate Wealth | 70 | 3.70 | 1.951 |

Source: Field Research, Year 2019

The findings are in line with the results of McAllister (2016) who concluded that the integrity of the candidates play a key role in determining the voting behaviour. According to the McAllister, evaluating of the candidate's personality and character has become more pronounced which has led to personalisation of politics and the political systems becoming more leader-oriented. Similarly, Hardy (2018) postulated that the candidate's character is crucial as it offers voters a short cut to evaluate the performance of the contestants without much investment in following their stands on issues.

On the relationship between integrity evaluation and voting behaviour, the study established that integrity of the candidate is a significant determinant of whether a candidate is voted or not. From the analysis, the Pearson Chi-Square value obtained 13.076 was significant since the p value 0.042 obtained was less than 0.05 as illustrated in the table below:

**Table 3.7: Correlation between integrity evaluation and voting behaviour**

| | Value | Df | Asymptotic Significance (2-sided) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pearson Chi-Square | 13.076a | 6 | .042 |
| Likelihood Ratio | 13.401 | 6 | .037 |
| N of Valid Cases | 71 | | |

Source: Field Research, Year 2019

### 3.1.2.2 The effects of responsiveness evaluations on voter behaviour.

As outlined in the literature review section, voters evaluate the ability of candidates to respond to the problems that affect their communities and that require policy interventions before choosing their candidate. Since the advent of devolution, the MCA seat is the one closest to voters and therefore voter rationality is expected to be most concentrated at this level. From analysis of data, the study affirmed the hypothesis that evaluations of the ability to respond to the voters' problems

has an effect on voter behaviour. Positive evaluations of a candidate lead to support of the candidate at the ballot while negative evaluations lead to punishment of the incumbent candidates deemed incapably of responding to the voters' problems.

To start with, data analysis was done to determine the key challenges facing the people. This was achieved using factor analysis. From the analysis, the first category indicated the most pressing problems facing the voters in the areas covered by the study. This is because the first component accounted for highest variance of 48.669%.

**Table 3.8: Factor Analysis**

| Component | Initial Eigenvalues | | | Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | % of Variance | Cumulative % | Total | % of Variance | Cumulative % |
| 1 | 1.460 | 48.669 | 48.669 | 1.460 | 48.669 | 48.669 |
| 2 | 1.040 | 34.673 | 83.342 | | | |
| 3 | .500 | 16.658 | 100.000 | | | |

Source: Field Research, Year 2019

The top three major problems facing the respondents were found to be Poor roads as reported by 57.14% of respondents, lack of water (18.57%) and lack of electrification (7.14%). Other problems reported included lack of access to school bursaries, youth unemployment, insecurity, and famine.

**Figure 3.10: Major Problems Facing the Residents of the Study Area**
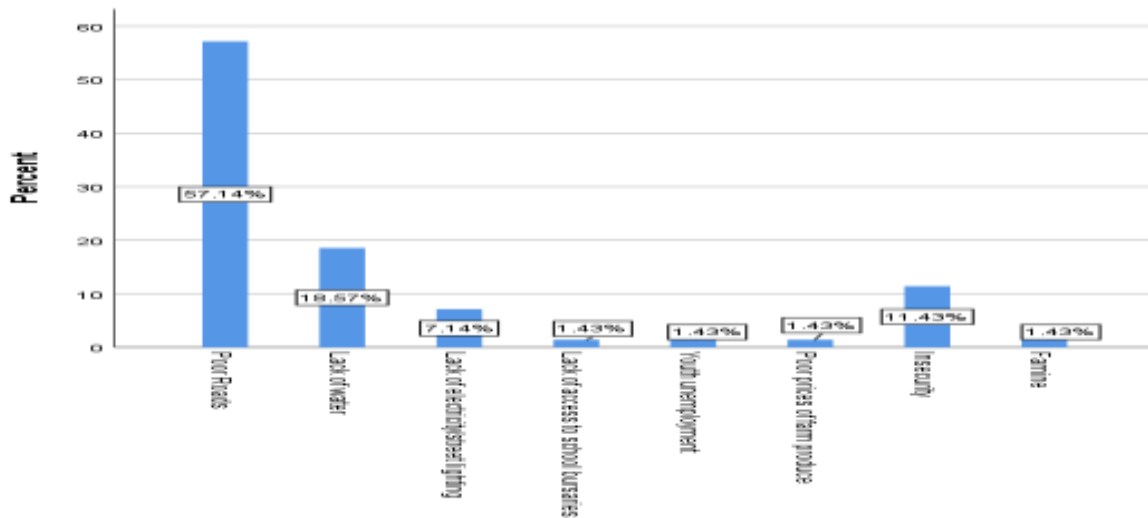


Source: Field Research, Year 2019

**Evaluations of the Former MCA:**

During the survey, respondents were asked to rate the responsiveness of the MCA who was incumbent during the primaries, MCA based on three criteria: projects initiated to solve problems facing them before the 2017 elections, projects completed and legislative bills sponsored in the County Assembly. In all three bases of evaluation, the incumbent candidates were found to be poor at responding to the problems faced by the voters and were therefore given negative evaluations: the incumbents had poor records of responsiveness to problems through legislative bills sponsored to address pressing problems (Mean=2.50, Std=1.816), they had got poorer evaluation for their responsiveness to problems through projects initiated to solve pressing problems (Mean=1.81, Std=1.146), and very poor evaluations of their responsiveness to problems through projects completed to solve pressing problems (Mean=1.57, Std=0.971) as shown in the table below:

**Table 3.9: Evaluation of the Incumbent MCA's Responsiveness.**

| The Responsiveness of the Former/Incumbent MCA | N | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|---|---|---|---|
| Rating Incumbent's responsiveness to problems through legislative bills sponsored to address pressing problems | 70 | 2.5 | 1.816 |
| Rating Incumbent Responsiveness to problems through projects initiated to solve pressing problems | 70 | 1.81 | 1.146 |
| Rating Incumbent's responsiveness to problems through projects completed to solve pressing problems | 70 | 1.57 | 0.972 |

Source: Field Research, Year 2019

The findings are consistent with the fact that all the candidates that were incumbents during the primaries lost the Jubilee Party primaries and went ahead to lose their seats during the General Elections. The findings imply that voters did not tolerate incumbents who started several projects without capability to complete them as per the voters' expectations a phenomenon that was common in the few months leading up to the nominations.

A chi-square analysis to establish the relationship between the incumbent responsiveness and the voting behaviour established that there was a statistically significant relationship between the challenger's responsiveness and the chances of being nominated. This is because the p value obtained 0.000 was less than 0.05 as shown in the table below:

**Table 3.10: Correlation between incumbent responsiveness and voting behaviour**

|  | Value | df | Asymptotic Significance (2-sided) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pearson Chi-Square | 22.639a | 4 | .000 |
| Likelihood Ratio | 22.742 | 4 | .000 |
| N of Valid Cases | 71 |  |  |

Source: Field Research, Year 2019

**Evaluation of the Challengers' Ability to Respond.**

The respondents were asked to rate the challengers' responsiveness to the problems facing the people based on three criteria: responsiveness to problems through legislative bills promised to address pressing problems, responsiveness to problems through perceived concern for residents' wellbeing, and responsiveness to problems through projects promised to solve pressing problems. From the findings, the challengers were deemed to have had the ability to respond to the voters' problems: analysis of evaluation of ability to respond to problems through legislative bills promised to address pressing problems returned a Mean=3.99 (Std=0.970), evaluation of ability to respond through perceived concern for residents' wellbeing returned a Mean=3.77 (Std=.618), and good responsiveness to problems through projects promised to solve pressing problems returned a Mean=3.83 (Std=0.564).

The findings are illustrated in the table below:

**Table 3.11: Challengers Responsiveness**

|  | N | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|---|---|---|---|
| Rating challenger's responsiveness to problems through legislative bills promised to address pressing problems | 70 | 3.99 | 0.97 |
| Rating Challenger's Responsiveness to problems through projects promised to solve pressing problems | 70 | 3.83 | 0.564 |
| Rating Challenger's responsiveness to problems through perceived concern for residents' wellbeing | 70 | 3.77 | 0.618 |

Source: Field Research, Year 2019

To establish the relationship between the challenger's responsiveness and voting behaviour, a Chi-square analysis established a statistically significant relationship between the challenger's responsiveness and the chances of being nominated. This because the p value obtained 0.037 was less than 0.05.

**Table 3.12: Correlation between the challenger's responsiveness and voting behaviour**

|  | Value | df | Asymptotic Significance (2-sided) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pearson Chi-Square | 6.590a | 2 | .037 |
| Likelihood Ratio | 7.043 | 2 | .030 |

Source: Field Research, Year 2019

### 3.1.2.3 Performance Evaluation

The purpose of the study here was to determine whether the past performance of the candidates influenced the voting behaviour. To start with, analysis was done to determine how the respondents rated the incumbent's performance in relation to the problems facing the voters as well as the challenger's performance. The findings are resented in the table below;

**Table 3.13: Incumbent's Performance**

| Incumbent's performance | N | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|---|---|---|---|
| Rating Incumbent's Performance based on known legislative bills sponsored to address pressing problems | 70 | 2.44 | 1.815 |
| Rating Incumbent Performance based on welfare initiatives undertaken to solve pressing problems | 70 | 1.89 | 1.198 |
| Rating Incumbent Performance based on projects initiated to solve pressing problems | 70 | 1.79 | 1.128 |
| Rating Incumbent Performance based on projects completed to solve pressing problems | 70 | 1.54 | 0.973 |

Source: Field Research, 2019

From the analysis, the respondents reported that they were dissatisfied with performance of the former MCAs. Respondents' reported that the performance of the former MCAs based on known legislative bills sponsored to address pressing problems was poor (Mean=2.44, Std=1.815); performance based on welfare initiatives undertaken to solve pressing problems (Mean=1.89, Std=1.198). Performance based on projects initiated to solve pressing problems was poor with (Mean=1.79, Std=1.128) while performance based on projects completed to solve pressing problems was very poor (Mean=1.54, Std=.973).

A Chi-square revealed that was significant relationship between the incumbents' performance record and the voting behaviour. This is because the P value obtained was 0.001 which was less than the significance level of 0.05. The findings are presented in the table below:

**Table 3.14: Relationship Between the Incumbents' Performance Record and The Voting Behaviour**

| | Value | df | Asymptotic Significance (2-sided) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pearson Chi-Square | 21.470a | 5 | .001 |
| Likelihood Ratio | 23.078 | 5 | .000 |
| N of Valid Cases | 71 | | |

Source: Field Research, 2019

As for the evaluation of the challenger, the respondents reported that the challenger had very good performance record based on previous occupation (mean=4.34, Std=0.759), had good performance record based on known participation based in welfare activities (mean=3.71, Std=0.903), and good performance rating based on known community projects they initiated before elections (Mean=3.87, Std=1.179). The findings are presented in the table below;

**Table 3.15: Challenger's Performance Evaluation**

| | N | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|---|---|---|---|
| Rating Challenger's ability to performance based on known performance in previous occupation | 70 | 4.34 | .759 |
| Rating Challenger's ability to performance based on known participation in welfare initiatives before elections. | 70 | 3.71 | .903 |
| Rating Challenger's ability to performance based on known community projects they initiated before elections | 70 | 3.87 | 1.179 |

Source: Field Research, Year 2019

Regarding relationship between the performance evaluations of the challenger and the voting behaviour, the study established that the challenger's known past performance had significant relationship with the voting behaviour. This is because the p value obtained 0.003 is less than 0.05. This implies that in this region, the performance record often plays a significant role in choosing the candidate to vote for during nominations. The findings are presented in the table below;

**Table 3.16: Chi-Square Results**

| | Value | df | Asymptotic Significance (2-sided) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pearson Chi-Square | 17.954a | 5 | .003 |
| Likelihood Ratio | 19.271 | 5 | .002 |
| N of Valid Cases | 71 | | |

Source: Field Research, Year 2019.

**Conclusion.**

The objective of this chapter was to analysis the field data and use it to answer the research questions while testing the specific research hypotheses. To achieve this, the study analysed the responses pertaining to each independent variable and compared responses directed towards the candidates who were incumbent MCAs as at the party primaries day, against responses about the challenger candidates who went ahead and won the primaries. From the data analysis, it is clear that the respondents applied their rationality in making their choices. Across all three independent variables, the respondents gave very low scores to the incumbent candidates and therefore went ahead to deny them the Jubilee party ticket. On the other hand, they identified challengers who were deemed to be of high integrity, were known performers or had a reputation for good performance and also illustrated the ability to respond to voters' policy needs. These candidates were given the votes needed to win the primaries and went ahead to win the general elections for the MCA seats in the study area. Therefore, the study confirmed all the three specific hypotheses.

The chapter also illustrated that there was high commonality of experiences that required policy action and integral candidates. Factor analysis of the major problems reported as affecting the residents of the study area confirmed this commonality and this confirmation validated the suitability of the rational choice theory in guiding the study.

# CHAPTER FOUR
# SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STUDY

## 4.1 Introduction.

The objective of the study was to determine the effects of evaluative attitudes on voter behaviour in sub national electoral unites in Kenya. Specifically, the study sought to understand how evaluations of a candidate's integrity, responsiveness to the problems faced by their constituents and performance affects voter behaviour. The study findings affirmed the hypothesis that all three variables affected voter behaviour. To address the research objectives, the study used quantitative methods which relied on survey data collected from various places in Nyeri County. In this chapter, the study presents a summary of the key findings, the conclusions and the recommendations. The study also suggests areas for further studies.

## 4.2 Summary of Findings

### 4.2.1   Integrity Evaluation and Voter Behaviour in Nyeri County.

Based on the analysis, the study found out that the majority of the respondents reported that they knew their candidates very well. It also found that voters in Nyeri County punish candidates who are found to lack integrity by voting them out. All the candidates who were incumbent MCAs during the party primaries lost the party tickets and went ahead to lose their seats during the General Elections owing to negative evaluations of their integrity.  These candidates were evaluated as being corruptible, as well as lacking in honesty and reliability. On the other hand, the challengers who were evaluated as having high integrity won both the party primaries and the subsequent General Elections. Factors such as a candidate's religiosity, wealth and clan were found to have had no effect on voter behavior. Chi-sqaure analysis revealed a significant relationship between integrity evaluation and voting behaviour.

### 4.2.2   Responsiveness Evaluations and Voter Behaviour in Nyeri County.

The study found that voters evaluate the ability of candidates to respond to the problems that affect their communities and that require policy interventions before deciding to vote for candidates.  The study established that voters evaluate the ability of the candidate to initiate and implement projects

that solve problems facing the community, considers the projects completed by the candidate that aims at solving various challenges facing them, and considers the legislative bills sponsored by the candidates in the County Assembly that seeks to solve the problems facing them. The Chi square analysis indicated that there was significant relationship between the candidates' responsiveness to problems facing the voters and the voters' behaviour. Voters were intolerant to incumbents who started several projects without capability to complete them as per the voters' expectations. They voted them out and gave the chance to other candidates.

### 4.2.3 Performance Evaluation and Voting Behaviour in Nyeri County.

Performance evaluation is another factor that determines the voting behaviour in the sub national elections. In this study, the study established that the performance of the candidates based on projects initiated to solve pressing problems, projects completed to solve pressing problems, welfare initiatives undertaken to solve pressing problems, and known legislative bills sponsored to address pressing problems were key determinants of voting behaviour in the areas covered by the study. The incumbent MCAs during the primaries lost the Jubilee primaries on account of negative evaluation of their performance. The challengers on the other hand were evaluated more positively on their ability to perform better and therefore got the votes.

### 4.3 Conclusion of the Study.

The purpose of the study was to evaluate the influence of evaluative attitudes on voter behaviour in Kenya in the party primaries in Nyeri County. The specific focus of the study was to determine how integrity evaluations, responsiveness evaluation and performance evaluation determines the voters' choice of candidates.

As far as the influence of evaluations of candidates' integrity was concerned, the study concludes the voters deemed to be corruptible, dishonest and lacking in reliability were not found unfit to serve as MCAs. The study also found that people did not depend on social cues such as clanship and religion as shortcuts to determining candidates' integrity.

Regarding responsiveness evaluations, the study concluded that the ability of the candidates to respond to the different problems facing the voters increases the chances of being elected. The study concludes that the voters vote for the candidates who have the ability to come up with policy interventions that can solve different challenges facing them, those who have the ability to initiate and implement different projects aimed at responding to the problems facing the voters, and those who have the ability to identify different problems facing the voters that require policy interventions. Generally, the study concludes that the voters do not tolerate the candidates who do not have the capability to identify the challenges facing the voters and those who cannot initiate projects to solve the voters' problems as per the voters' expectations.

When it came to performance evaluation, the study concludes that the voters consider the candidates ability to implement various projects to solve the voters' needs and the ability of the incumbents to complete the various projects started to solve the different problems facing the voters. The voters also considered the welfare initiatives started and implemented by the candidates to benefit the voters, and whether the candidates had any known legislative bills sponsored to address pressing problems facing the voters.

## 4.4 Recommendations of the Study.

The study has several recommendations. In light of proposed constitutional amendments by the Building bridges initiative, the study recommends an expansion of the role of MCAs beyond the current legislative and oversight roles. This is recommendation is informed by two findings of the study: firstly, voters hold MCAs directly accountable for development in their wards. MCAs' performance and responsiveness to voters' problems are evaluated not so much on their contributions in the County Assembly chambers but more on roads they improved, bursaries they were expected to ease access to, water they are expected to make accessible to communities and such other infrastructural roles. The study proposes that development funds similar to the Constituency Development Fund be established and disbursed as Ward Development Funds to be managed by the MCA's offices. The study postulates that close proximity to the voters coupled with more direct pressure for performance would limit opportunities for embezzlement and misappropriation of public finances for development.

Secondly, the study has confirmed that there is a higher degree of rationality among voters at the subnational level in homogeneous constituency. Such voters choose their elected leaders based on rational evaluations as opposed to ethnic, clan or other primordial loyalties. The study therefore recommends that role rationally elected MCAs should be expanded to that of delegates to elect higher executive seats such the Governors and the President.

Thirdly, recommends that political parties should at all times ensure free and fair primaries to ensure that only those candidates that are rationally evaluated and endorsed by voters get the party tickets. As observed in electoral units that are characterized by one dominant political party, winning the primary is synonymous to winning the seat during the General elections. Therefore, political parties that adhere to free and fair primaries will be guaranteed of their candidates winning the seat and therefore maintain loyal majorities in the County Assemblies.

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59

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# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX 1: INTRODUCTION LETTER.

My name is Kelvin Wambugu, and I am a Graduate student at the University of Nairobi, Department of Political Science and Public Administration. My project is titled **"THE EFFECTS OF EVALUATIVE ATTITUDES ON VOTER BEHAVIOUR: A CASE STUDY OF THE 2017 PARTY PRIMARIES IN NYERI COUNTY".** The study seeks determine the effect of evaluative attitudes on voter behaviour at the sub-national electoral units in Kenya.

As a resident of the study area, you have been selected to be a respondent to a set of survey questions. I would appreciate if you could spare a few minutes to answer a few questions. Your identity will remain confidential as well as everything you tell me. Data gathered will be used for academic purpose only and no other purpose. Your cooperation is highly appreciated.

Thank

**Demographic information.**

1. Please state the name of your:

     i.  Constituency_____

    ii.  Ward _____

    iii. Village _____

2. Gender

    ☐ Male

    ☐ Female

3. Please indicate your age in years _____

4. Please state your level of formal education

    ☐ No formal education

    ☐ Primary

    ☐ Secondary

    ☐ College/ University

5. What is your occupation? _____

**Participation in the 2017 Party primaries.**

1. Did you participate in the 2017 party primaries?

    ☐ Yes

    ☐ No

2. If yes, which party primaries did you participate in? _____

3. Did you vote for the incumbent MCA or for a challenger during the party primaries?

    ☐ Incumbent

    ☐ Challenger

4. Did your candidate win? (If no, proceed to Q5).

    ☐ Yes

    ☐ No

5. If response to Q4 is No, then in your opinion, what do you think made your candidate to lose?

6. _____

7. Did you vote for the winner of the Party primaries during the General Elections?

   ☐ Yes

   ☐ No

8. If fresh party primaries are called today, would you still nominate the person you chose during the 2017 primaries?

   ☐ Yes (Give reason)

_____

_____

   ☐ No (Give reason)

_____

_____


## Determinants of voter behaviour

9. Were evaluations of the following factors important in your choice of candidate?

   **i.** Responsiveness to the problems you faced as a resident of this village

      ☐ Yes

      ☐ No

   **ii.** Past performance of the candidate

      ☐ Yes

      ☐ No

   **iii.** Integrity of the candidate

      ☐ Yes
      ☐ No

10. Please rank the three factors in order of importance:

   **iv.** Most Important: _____

   **v.** Second most important: _____

   **vi.** Third most important: _____

**Integrity Evaluation:**

1. How well did you know the character traits of the nomination candidates?

| Very well | Somehow well. | Little | Very little | Don't know |
|-----------|---------------|--------|-------------|------------|
|           |               |        |             |            |

2. Rate the candidates you voted for under the flowing criteria:

| Candidate Characteristics | Very poor | poor | good | Very good | Don't Know |
|---------------------------|-----------|------|------|-----------|------------|
| **Incumbent** | | | | | |
| Integrity | | | | | |
| Honesty | | | | | |
| Trustworthiness | | | | | |
| Religiosity | | | | | |
| Wealth | | | | | |
| **Challenger** | | | | | |
| Integrity | | | | | |
| Honesty | | | | | |
| Trustworthiness | | | | | |
| Religiosity | | | | | |
| Wealth | | | | | |
| **The Winner** | | | | | |
| Integrity | | | | | |
| Honesty | | | | | |
| Trustworthiness | | | | | |
| Religiosity | | | | | |
| Wealth | | | | | |

3. Please rate the importance of the following candidate characteristics in determining which candidate you voted for. Please tick only one box for each characteristic.

| Candidate Characteristics | Not important | Slightly important | important | Very important | Don't Know |
|---------------------------|---------------|--------------------|-----------|----------------|------------|
| Integrity | | | | | |
| Honesty | | | | | |
| Trustworthiness | | | | | |
| Religiosity | | | | | |
| Wealth | | | | | |

4. Please rank the above characteristics in the order you prioritized them:

| Ranka | Characteristic |
|---|---|
| 1 | |
| 2 | |
| 3 | |
| 4 | |
| 5 | |

**Responsiveness Evaluation:**

1. In your opinion, what were the three most pressing problems facing the residents of this village before the 2017 General Elections?

   i. _____

   ii. _____

   iii. _____

2. How important was it that the candidate you voted for showed the ability to respond to the problems you identified?

| Not important | Slightly important | important | Very important | Don't Know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | |

3. Rate the candidates' responsiveness to the problems you identified under the following criteria:

| Incumbent | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Candidate Responsiveness | Very poor | poor | good | Very good | Don't Know |
| i. Projects initiated to address problems | | | | | |
| ii. Projects completed to solve problems | | | | | |
| iii. Legislative bills sponsored to solve problems | | | | | |
| **Challenger** | | | | | |
| i. Bill promised to sponsor or support in the County Assembly | | | | | |
| ii. Perceived concern for residents' wellbeing | | | | | |
| iii. Projects promised | | | | | |

4. To what extent did your evaluation of candidates' responsiveness important in determining which candidate you voted for?

| important | Slightly important | important | Very important | Don't Know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  |  |  |  |

## **Performance Evaluation.**

1. Rate the candidates' responsiveness to the problems you identified under the following criteria:

| Incumbent. | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Performance | Very poor | poor | good | Very good | Don't Know |
| i. Projects initiated |  |  |  |  |  |
| ii. Projects completed |  |  |  |  |  |
| iii. Welfare initiatives |  |  |  |  |  |
| iv. Known legislative Bills sponsored |  |  |  |  |  |
| Challenger | | | | | |
| i. performance record in previous occupation |  |  |  |  |  |
| ii. Participation in welfare initiatives |  |  |  |  |  |
| iii. Initiated community projects |  |  |  |  |  |

2. To what extent do you agree that a candidate's past performance influenced your choice of candidate during the 2017 Jubilee party primaries?

| Strongly Agree | Agree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  |  |  |  |