Youth Participation and Peaceful Elections in Kibra Sub-County, Nairobi City County, Kenya

[1]Samuel Nyanchoga, [2]Charles Ndirangu Maina, & [3]Johnson Nzau Mavole
[1,2,3] The Catholic University of Eastern Africa. Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
P. O. BOX 62157 - 00200 Nairobi, Kenya
Corresponding author: Email: cnmaina@gmail.com

Abstract

Most nation-states have lost much of their control over matters that have significance in the lives of their citizens, which means that politicians are not able to authentically represent their interests. . As much as engaging in politics is important for the development of the country, youth are still not encouraged enough to be part of the change process. The youth are mostly used to campaign and execute violence during elections. The main objective of this study was to explore youth political participation and their role in promoting peaceful elections. This study employed survey and phenomenological study designs. The target population consisted of all the youth in Kibra sub-County aged between 18 and 35 years. A total sample size of 144 youths was randomly picked from the sub-County. This research was triangulated in terms of data collection methods and instruments. The researchers employed more than one data gathering strategy to achieve their objectives. Data analysis was undertaken in line with the research questions beginning with a thorough analysis of the raw data collected from the field. The study revealed that strategies used to empower the youth were statistically significant to youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya. The study concludes that strategies used to empower the youth are positively related to youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya. The study found that youth unconventional and conventional participation status is positively related to the general youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya. The study also found that the conceptualization of political participation is positively related to youth participation and peaceful elections in the country. The study recommends that the management of the election exercises should incorporate strategies that improve youth participation in peaceful elections in Kenya.

Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

Politicians particularly in Africa have been historically hesitant to effectively engage young people in political affairs yet the youth occupy a distinctively strategic position in every society and especially in political debates about the future development of any country. In many countries, especially those that have recently endured conflict, elections are marred by violence and young people are on the frontlines. The taxonomies of empirical research threw light on the changes in, and expansion of, the range of institutionalized participation modes.

Until the early 1960s, political participation was primarily understood as involvement in political decision making and decision processes within the scope of institutionalized modes of participation, such as elections and political parties. Later, a distinction was made between conventional and unconventional forms of participation (Barnes et al., 1979). The latter includes protest campaigns, demonstrations, boycott campaigns, political strikes and participation in petitions, and has come to be seen as a 'normal' form of political articulation. In a majority of cases, these campaigns are planned as temporary ones to address a specific problem; they are therefore often referred to as 'problem specific'. Differentiation by degree of legality is possible for activities on the fringe of legality, or illegal activities such as unauthorized demonstrations, wildcat strikes, occupying of houses, etc. As long as such activities are non-violent, they can also be referred to as 'civil disobedience' to distinguish them from campaigns that endorse damage to property or that lead to personal injury (Schneider, 1995, Uehlinger, 1988).

The definition of 'youth' is contextual depending on cultural, social, political and environmental factors. The concept has been operationalized in different contexts therefore, its definition varies from country to country and from organization to organization adding to the list of fluid terms in the development arena (Zeb, 2008). It is important to note that the youth are not a homogeneous block. The differences arising due to the non-homogeneity are largely respected (Zeb, 2008).

These differences are marked by the needs of the group: sex, physical, and mental capabilities, the geographical location one is in, and whether they reside in rural and urban areas, among others; making it a socially-constructed term. The fact that some people in their mid-thirties and forties may still be in school and without jobs should not be ignored. This fact does not necessarily qualify them as youth. The United Nations (UN) defines youth as "people between the ages of 15 and 24". However, youth are, in reality, a very heterogeneous group. According to this study, youth is a transitional state between childhood and adulthood and is highly dependent on the socio-cultural environment involved. Arenas for youth involvement in political, and more broadly public life, appear to be more numerous in Europe than ever before, yet few claim that this has resulted in the widespread and effective participation of young people. On the contrary, many lament a dramatic decline in the political involvement of younger generations .Decreasing levels of youth participation in elections, political parties, and traditional social organizations provide ample evidence of this.

Individualization within education and work has led to weaker mechanisms of political socialization, and job insecurity and neo-liberal ideology alienates young people from the political system. At the same time, young people's own forms of identification are becoming less fixed, more long term, and less singular, as they grapple with the individualization of the life course, and the shift away from structured pathways to adulthood. The challenges of establishing economic security in conditions of globalization and de-industrialization also emerge as a significant barrier to participation, as young people's overwhelming priority is to take charge of their livelihood in unprecedented ways and to focus on study and work (Andres & Wyn, 2010; Lagos & Rose, 1999). The political elite in Kenya use the youth as a means to achieving political loyalty. This is characterized by youths being used to perform roles such as campaigning and executing violence during elections.

Recent events in Kenyan politics, including the post-election violence in 2007, the 2010 enactment of a new constitution (*Kenya Constitution,* 2010), and the national general elections in 2013 and 2017, have left many wondering about the position of the youth in building and strengthening Kenya's democracy. This question is in line with the generally accepted fact that the youth are an indispensable and dynamic part of the Kenyan population (Njonjo, 2010). It is also true that there are many factors that hinder their participation in building the Kenyan democracy (Njonjo, 2010). Therefore, this study focuses on the most contested concepts in the development of Africa i.e. participation, with particular focus on understanding the role of Kenyan youth in electoral processes. Although the 2013 election was not characterized by

violence, the researcher was troubled by the vile hatred and ethnocentrism perpetrated by young people. This study is centered on the youth because the researchers believe that it is the population segment that holds the key to sustainable democracy and leadership. Historically, the youth have been used to mobilize political support for old leaders therefore making them important actors in the democratization process in Africa and elsewhere. Understanding how young people think and participate in Kenya's democracy is critical in analyzing Kenyan politics and the concept of democracy. This is besides understanding how their creativity and participation can be tapped to promote positive and revolutionary political change.

1.2 Study Objectives

Main Objective

The main objective of this study was to explore youth political participation and their role in promoting peaceful elections.
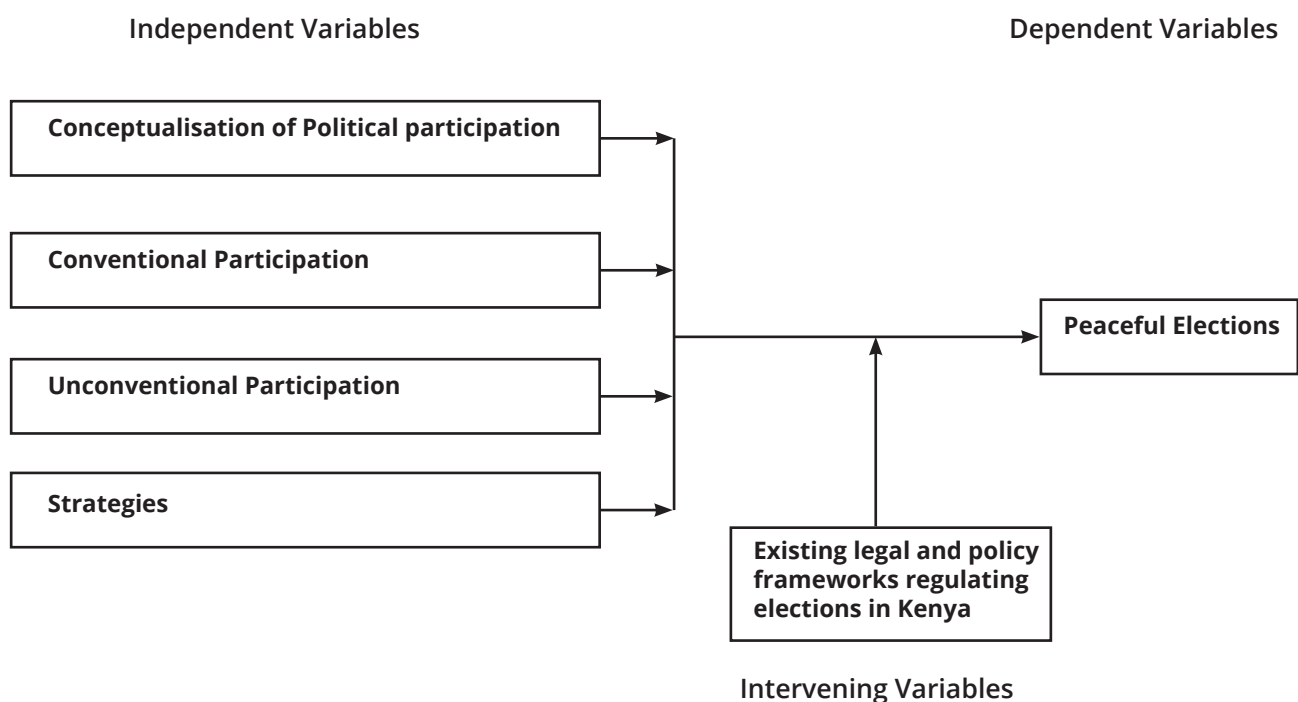
Specific Objectives

The study was guided by the following specific objectives:

a) To assess the conceptualization of political participation by the youth and peaceful elections in Nairobi County, Kenya.
b) To explore youth conventional participation and peaceful elections in Nairobi County, Kenya.
c) To examine youth unconventional participation and peaceful political elections in Nairobi County, Kenya.
d) To explore the strategies used to empower the youth for political participation in Nairobi County, Kenya

1.3 Conceptual Framework

Figure 1 | Conceptual Framework

Independent Variables

Dependent Variables

- Conceptualisation of Political participation
- Conventional Participation
- Unconventional Participation
- Strategies

Peaceful Elections

Existing legal and policy frameworks regulating elections in Kenya

Intervening Variables

Source: Researcher, 2017

From the Fig. 1 above, it is conceptualized that, youth participation in the study area is a great determinant of a peaceful election process and thereafter. Their understanding (conceptualization) of participation is manifested through communication and action towards the registration process as voters, registration as members of political parties, participation in elections and awareness, understanding of the electioneering laws and policies, as well as engaging in discussions that enlighten the need for citizens to participate in elections.

Theoretical and Literature Review

2.1 Theoretical Framework

Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation

According to Arnstein (1969) on the ladder of citizen participation, a typology of eight levels of participation may help in the analysis of youth participation in relation to peaceful elections in Kibra sub-county. For illustrative purposes, the eight types are arranged in a ladder pattern with each rung corresponding to the extent of citizens' power in determining the end product, in this case, peaceful elections. The bottom rungs of the ladder are (i) Manipulation and (ii) Therapy. These two rungs describe levels of "non-participation" that have been contrived by some to substitute genuine participation. Their real objective is not to enable people to participate in planning or conducting programs, but to enable the powerholders to "educate" or "cure" the participants. Rungs (iii) and (iv) progress to levels of "tokenism" that allow the have-nots to hear and to have a voice: (iii) Informing and (iv) Consultation. When they are proffered by powerholders as the total extent of participation, citizens may indeed hear and be heard. But under these conditions they lack the power to ensure that their views will be heeded by the powerful. When participation is restricted to these levels, there is no follow-through, no "muscle," hence, no assurance of changing the *status quo*. Rung (v): Placation, is simply a higher level of tokenism because the ground rules allow have-nots to offer advice, but retain for the powerholders the continued right to decide with the powerholders.

Further up the ladder are levels of citizen power with increasing degrees of decision-making clout. Citizens can enter into a (vi) Partnership that enables them to negotiate and engage in trade-offs with traditional powerholders. At the topmost rungs, (vii) Delegated Power and (viii) Citizen Control, have-not citizens obtain the majority of decision-making seats, or full managerial power.

Obviously, the eight-rung ladder is a simplification, but it helps to illustrate the point that so many have missed - that there are significant gradations of citizen participation. Knowing these gradations makes it possible to cut through the hyperbole and to understand the increasingly strident demands for participation from the have-nots as well as the gamut of confusing responses from the powerholders.

Though the typology uses examples from federal programs such as urban renewal, anti-poverty, and Model Cities, it could just as easily be illustrated in the relationship between the youth participating in political matters and how this impacts peaceful elections in Kibra sub-County. The central issue of contention is power and how different people making decisions decide to use the youth for their own political benefits. From the side of the youth, they have a commanding power of trust from their peers. The youth have expectations from political leaders that when they get into power, their issues will be taken care of, either immediately or in the long run. The politicians have equally short and long-term goals in engaging the youth to participate…to win elections and garner youth support during their term of leadership. Youth participation currently faces the challenge of manipulation from all sides and at the end of the day the benefits and costs earned from both sides do not yield equilibrium relationships.

While public participation provides the youth with the opportunity to be involved in the electoral process, the extent of their participation is an important factor in determining the level of empowerment within the decision making process. However, researchers have identified many cultural factors that hinder youth participation in the process, including a lack of education about planning issues, a lack of confidence in their ability to provoke change, and a lack of interest in participation (Albrechts, 2002). Additionally, without access to resources that provide information about politics, political issues, and the technical aspects of planning, youths will be less likely to actively participate in the election process that can result in peaceful co- existence (Jonsson, 2005).

Theory of Socio-Economic Status

Milbrath & Goel, (1977) points out that Socio-economic Status (SES) is positively related to conventional and unconventional political participation. Further, they argue that 'social status' and socio-economic factors are the principal forces structuring participation. According to the culture of poverty (Lewis, 1966), the poor are considered culprits of poverty and they are susceptible to the sub-culture of hopelessness, despair, and fatalism. The poor seek immediate gratification so this gradual adaptation to life impedes the poor's incentive to improve life. As a result, inter-generational downward mobility perpetuates across generations. Apart from the culture of poverty, another school of thought postulates poverty as a result of the structural strain of the economy. As the poor are constrained by low human capital and discrimination, they face the difficulty to locate jobs. These two schools of thought share commonalities, but nuances can still be found. While the culture of poverty postulates that the poor lack the incentive to undergo socialization, they are ineligible for jobs because of low education. Education arises as one key component affecting the wellbeing of the poor.

The theory of SES assigns special attention to three different variables: education, income, and occupation. Again, the relationship between each of these and political participation is positive. Therefore, an increase in any of them will statistically increase the likelihood for political participation. More interesting however, is the fact that, the correlation between any of these three factors upon the predisposition for political participation varies considerably. According to the theory of socio-economic status, this person would most certainly vote.

2.2 Empirical Review

From a study that was done by the European Commission, findings indicated that in 20 EU Member States, the majority of respondents from the study have voted in a political election in the past three years. Voting among young people is particularly high in Malta (76%), Belgium (73%), and Italy (71%).In many countries, especially those that have recently endured conflict, elections are marred by violence and young people are at the frontlines.

It has frequently been suggested that exceptionally large youth cohorts, the so-called "youth bulges," make countries more susceptible to political violence. There is an expectation that youth bulges provide greater opportunities for violence through the abundant supply of youth with low opportunity costs, and with an expectation that stronger motives for violence may arise as youth bulges are more likely to experience institutional crowding, in particular unemployment. Some contextual factors have been suggested to potentially enhance the effect of youth bulges. Political participation generally means those activities performed by citizens alone or together with others, which they voluntarily engage in to influence political decisions' (Kaase, 2002).

Popular culture, academics and public figures often claim that young people are politically apathetic and lack any political awareness. There is an emerging body of evidence that compared to older citizens, young people have less interest, involvement, or knowledge of traditional party politics (Furlong & Cartmel 2007, Bennet, 2008). Most of the analysts on youth issues among them Obonyo (2013), Msigwa and Kipesha (2013) paint a dire picture of youth unemployment in the continent. According to them, the youth bulge worsens the state of affairs in these countries. Lack of effective public policies and non-responsive youth programs have been mentioned as among the major causes of under-development especially based on how the youth participate politically. Urdal (2012) links the youth bulge to political violence and political dissatisfaction amongst the youth.

Another theme that features the discussion of youth and political participation is generational conflict. Generational conflict in African politics has repeatedly featured in almost all of the post-colonial States (Abbink, 2005). Urdal (2012) questions the theoretical and practical claims that political violence mostly occurs as a result of competition between the youth and their older counterparts in power. His study concludes that the risk of political violence can only be reduced if youths are provided with better economic and educational opportunities. Though most of authors have portrayed the youth as described above, analysts such as Olopade (2014) try to rewrite the African story from an Afro-optimist perspective. She considers the youth in the continent as undivided and intolerant of old habits of poor performance but very optimistic. Though she tries to portray a positive picture of Africa, she reinforces what some of the experts on the topic of unemployment have concluded. She refers to the state of the youth in Africa as that in "Waithood" whereby they wait for their time to shine economically and politically, giving rise to a lot of resentment and despair amongst them.

The literature review done by Resnick and Casale (201l) reveals that scholars have devoted most of their time researching on how the voter turnout among the youth is, hence concentrating more on the institutionalized participation of the youth in strengthening democracy. Therefore, all the more needful this research was, in order to find out what the youths do apart from voting. Evidence from these studies suggests that voter turnout amongst the youth is low compared to the older generation. Resnick and Casale (2011) reinforce these findings by claiming that the youth in Africa, like other parts of the world, are less interested in voting. Unemployment and socio-economic deprivation have been named as among the most highly relevant factors that make the youth participate in politics. This research claims that this particular trend is not likely to change in the future. The study believes that questioning the legitimacy of electoral processes is the best way of addressing the manner in which youth participate. Resnick and Casale (2011) also observe that nationalist leaders through history have been seen to rely on the youth to legitimize their regime. Additional evidence from Resnick and Casale (2011) suggests that youth compared to their older counterparts are less likely to practice partisan attachments in politics. In addition to this kind of participation, the youth are also involved in collective action, protests, and other forms of informal participation like attending community meetings and contacting their local political/party representative (Njonjo, 2010).

In matters of age and politics, national leadership is mostly in the hands of the older generation. This contrasts with the fact that the African population has been considered as being youthful. State representatives have been recycled over and over again in elections. In one of the Afro-barometer studies done in 19 countries in Africa, only 3 presidents were younger than 60 years (Resnick, 2010). Examples that still puzzle many are President Yoweri Museveni who has been in power since 1986, Robert Mugabe who had been in power since the 1980s and who did his level best to prevent Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai who is also past 60 years of age from ascending to power. In the Kenyan context, elections held in 2007 saw Mwai Kibaki (76 years) assume presidency against Raila Odinga, who was then (62 years). The above political leaders show a generational disconnect between the median age of the populations in Africa and the age of its leaders. Such developments have been made on the assumption in most African cultures that 'with age comes wisdom'.

There are various studies on political engagement globally. Literature is currently divided into two: research on "conventional" and "unconventional" participation (Milbrath, 1965; McFarland & Thomas, 1996; Goldstone, 2003; Heaney & Rohas, 2006). The term "unconventional" is used to distinguish protests and other activities that are outside the two-party system or are extra-institutional" (Meyer & Tarrow, 1998). Scholars who have researched into "unconventional" political activity have recorded a shift opposite to that of conventional participation (Klingemann & Fuchs, 1995; Norris et al., 2005; Finkel & Opp, 1991; Putnam, 2000; Schussman & Soule, 2005).

Political actions are the driving force of democracy and its vitality. Following normative democratic theory, civic citizens should be interested in and engaged in politics and public affairs (Almond and Verba 1963) and participate in the political life of their countries. The idea starts off with democracy as government, or rule by the people; every citizen being affected by a decision, should have equal opportunities to implement or put the rule into force. Of course, even in the countries where democracy is consolidating, not all citizens participate in the political arena. Many factors encourage citizens to participate, but many others make them cynical towards politics. In this perspective, intention to become active can be related to resources and incentives (Teorell 2006) or people's disengagement from politics. As Verba et al., (1995: 26) suggested, citizens do not participate because 'they can't; because they don't want to; or because nobody asked'. In sum, political participation appears to be a multidimensional concept where social, economic, and political factors play an important role. In regimes where democracy is stable, it is possible to register an appreciable level of political participation, which is higher than within those countries where democracy is still developing. However, there are some exceptions.

Materials and Methods

This study employed Survey and Phenomenological study designs. A Mixed-Methods approach was used. The qualitative research method was preferred because it allows the researcher to study aspects of social life through the study of human behaviour and the rationale behind such behaviour (Bryman, 2008). The epistemological position of the interpretive paradigm was adopted for this study, which allowed the researcher to understand the social world of participants through their own interpretation (Bryman, 2008). The main assumption of the interpretive paradigm is that realities are constructed

through the participants' experiences or views of their social world thus aiding the researcher in arriving at conclusions on the subject being studied (Berg & Lune, 2012).

In this research, the study population consisted of all youth in Kibra sub-County and the target population consisted of all the youth in Kibra sub-County who fall within the range of 18 to 35 years of age and are either in colleges, self-employed, or in formal employment. The estimated youth population in Kibra sub-County is approximately 100,000 youths aged 18 – 35 years in accordance to Kenya Open Data website. The sample frame was a representation of this population of the research proposal. Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) state that when the population is over 10,000 individuals, the sample size recommended is 384. Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) recommend a formula for calculating a sample size as follows nf = n/ 1+ n/N. By using a simple random number generator, the research proposal comes up with a sample size that is suitable for the total number of the target population by following the rules of probability of any individual unit selected in the process. A total sample size of 144 youths was randomly picked from the sub-County to represent the 5 wards in the sub-County.

The data was collected using self-administered questionnaires to the sampled youth on participation in politics. Semi-structured interview guides were also utilized to seek in-depth data from respondents. FGD's were also conducted to groups of six members per group for triangulation purposes. An observation checklist was helpful in enabling the researcher to capture specific items in an organized manner.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was undertaken in line with the research questions beginning with a thorough analysis of the collected raw field data. Emerging themes were coded to highlight thematic categories mainly related to the research questions and guided by the literature review process. Some quotations were included in the findings in Swahili and slang languages that were frequently used by respondents during interviews and focused group discussions. Quantitative data was analyzed using statistical techniques with the help of SPSS Version 23. Qualitative data was thematically organized and presented in narration.

Results and Discussions

Descriptive Statistics

Strategies Used to Empower Youths

The respondents were asked to give their opinion on whether strategies used to empower the youth influence youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya. From the findings, 75% of the respondents agreed that strategies used to empower the youth, influence youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya while 25% disagreed. This implies that strategies used to empower the youth influence youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya. These results were supported by UNDP (2013) which confirmed that a youth-friendly legal framework is crucial in enabling youth political participation. Participation is a fundamental democratic right. It should be an end in and of itself to remove existing barriers to youth political participation. From a more purely pragmatic perspective, if young people have the perception that formal political processes are not accessible and/or attractive for them; this can shape their attitudes for a lifetime, with potentially long-lasting negative impacts on a country's political culture. It has been found that in new and emerging democracies, the inclusion of youth in formal political processes is important from the start. Through their active contributions, democratic values can come to life, paving the way for the overcoming of authoritarian practices. In countries where youth-led protests have forced authoritarian regimes from power, significant frustration is likely to arise if youth are not included in new formal decision-making procedures. This might have a destabilizing effect on democratization.

The respondents were requested to indicate the level of agreement with the following statements on strategies used to empower the youth that influence youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya in organizations. The results were as shown in Table 1. According to the findings, the respondents agreed that the youth have a voice in strengthening democracy in Kenya as shown by a mean of 3.826; unemployment and social-economic deprivation in one's county makes

one participate in politics as shown by a mean of 3.733; many Kenyan youth are seen as problematic, vulnerable, and disadvantaged both politically and economically as shown by a mean of 3.650; to be able to secure social justice especially in scenarios where their futures are threatened by the regime in power, one can join rebel movements as shown by a mean of 3.633; and increasing numbers of youth in the African continent are extremely focused on negativity and radical scenarios as shown by a mean of 3.596.

Table 1 | Strategies Used To Empower Youths and Youth Participation

Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Moderate	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	STDV.
Increasing numbers of youth in the African continent are extremely focused on negativity and radical scenarios.	9	8	10	61	12	3.596	0.980
Many Kenyan youth are seen as problematic, vulnerable and disadvantaged both politically and economically	9	8	12	50	21	3.650	0.809
Youth have a voice in strengthening democracies in Africa	5	8	9	55	23	3.826	0.912
To be able to secure social justice especially in scenarios where their futures are threatened by the regime in power, one can join rebel movements	11	8	10	47	24	3.633	0.771
Unemployment and social-economic deprivation in one's county makes one participate in politics	3	8	10	71	8	3.733	1.170

Source: Researcher, 2017

Unconventional participation of the Youth

The respondents were asked to give their opinion on whether youth unconventional participation has an influence on youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya. From the findings, 59% of the respondents agreed that youth unconventional participation has an influence on youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya while 41% disagreed. This implies that youth unconventional participation has an influence on youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya.

The respondents were requested to indicate the level of agreement with the following formal declarations on youth unconventional participation that influence youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya within organizations. The results were as shown in Table 4.3. From the findings, the respondents agreed that there is a downward trend in participation levels among their fellow youths with time as shown by a mean of 3.929; one assumes that their candidate will deliver the best way possible as shown by a mean of 3.850; one engages in the electoral system through voting for their political candidates as shown by a mean of 3.786; and one supports their candidate campaigns by attending rallies, donating money and volunteering as shown by a mean of 3.651. These findings concur with (Conway, 2000) who attempts to explain the change. Some researchers cite a shift to staff-run advocacy organizations reliant on memberships who contribute money but do not engage otherwise.

Table 2 | Influence of Unconventional Participation on Youth Participation

Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Moderate	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	STDV.
You engage in the electoral system through voting for your political candidates	3	5	9	77	6	3.786	1.295
You support your candidate's campaigns by attending rallies, donating money and volunteering	6	6	11	71	6	3.651	1.184
Youth have a voice in strengthening democracies in Africa	3	6	10	58	24	3.929	0.964
There is a downward trend in participation levels among your fellow youths with time	5	5	10	60	20	3.850	0.990
You assume that your candidate will deliver the best way possible	3	8	10	71	8	3.733	1.170

Source: Researcher, 2017

Youth conventional participation

The respondents were asked to give their opinion on whether youth conventional participation has an influence on youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya. From the findings, 65% of the respondents agreed that youth conventional participation has an influence on youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya, while 35 % disagreed. This implies that youth conventional participation has an influence on youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya.

The respondents were requested to indicate the level of agreement with the following on youth conventional participation that influences youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya within organizations. The results are as shown in the Table 3 below. According to the findings the respondents agreed that voting and protests are complementary forms of political expression by the youth as shown by a mean of 3.929; the youth in their locality who they think will not participate in elections are few as shown by a mean of 3.850; those who do not engage in the conventional activities of voting donate money as shown by a mean of 3.786; and those that believe that there exists an association between youths who are participating in voting and those who do not take part in the election process are shown by a mean of 3.651. This is in line with the finding of Milbrath who observes that protest as a form of political engagement is not related to the other activities in his Guttman scale of more conventional engagement. This claim is supported by other authors even though they focused on the more conventional participatory actions of voting and campaigning.

Table 3 | Influence of Youth Conventional Participation

Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Moderate	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	STDV.
You do not engage in the conventional activities of voting, donating money	3	5	9	77	6	3.786	1.295
The youths in your locality who you think will not participate in elections are few	5	5	10	60	20	3.850	0.990
There exists an association between youths who are participating in voting and those who do not take part in election process.	6	6	11	71	6	3.651	1.184
Voting and protests are complementary forms of political expression by the youth.	3	6	10	58	24	3.929	0.964
You assume that your candidate will deliver the best way possible	3	8	10	71	8	3.733	1.170

Source: Researcher, 2017

Conceptualization of political participation

The respondents were asked to give their opinion on whether conceptualization of political participation has an influence on youth participation and peaceful elections in Kibra Sub-County, Kenya. From the findings, 63% of the respondents agreed that conceptualization of political participation has an influence on youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya, while 37% disagreed. This implies that conceptualization of political participation has an influence on youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya.

The respondents were requested to indicate the level of agreement with the following on conceptualization of political participation that influences youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya within organizations. The results were as shown in the Table 4 below. According to the findings, the respondents agreed that Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and political parties could review and discuss the legal framework for youth participation as shown by a mean of 3.857; identification and addressing of context-specific legal barriers to youth participation will facilitate the registration of youth-led organizations as shown by a mean of 3.830; the government should introduce youth and women's quotas in electoral laws that are favorable to them as shown by a mean of 3.666; and a youth-friendly legal framework is crucial in enabling youth political participation as shown by a mean of 3.652.

Table 4 | Influence of Youth Unconventional Participation

Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Moderate	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	STDV.
A youth-friendly legal framework is crucial in enabling youth political participation	3	8	9	77	3	3.652	1.307
The government should introduce youth and women's quotas in electoral laws that are favorable to them.	6	8	10	66	10	3.666	1.087
Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and political parties could review and discuss the legal framework for youth participation	4	7	11	58	21	3.857	0.947
Identification and addressing context-specific legal barriers to youth participation will facilitate the registration of youth-led organisations	3	5	10	71	11	3.830	1.177
You assume that your candidate will deliver the best way possible	3	8	10	71	8	3.733	1.170

Source: Researcher, 2017

Regression Analysis

Model Summary

Model summary is used to analyze the variation of dependent variables due to the changes of independent variables. The study analyzed the variations of youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya due to strategies used to empower youths, youth unconventional participation, youth conventional participation and conceptualization of political participation. Adjusted R squared was 0.629; this implies that there was 62.9% variation of youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya, due to the changes of strategies used to empower youth, youth unconventional participation, youth conventional participation and conceptualization of political participation. The remaining 37.1% imply that there are other factors that lead to youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya, which were not discussed in the study. R is the correlation co-efficient which shows the relationship between the study variables. From the findings, the study found that there was a strong positive relationship between the study variables as shown by 0.799.

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.799[a]	0.638	0.629	0.00437

Analysis of Variance

The analysis of variance ANOVA is used to determine whether the data used in the study is significant. From the ANOVA statistics, the processed data, which are the population parameters, had a significance level of 0.001, which shows that the data is ideal for drawing a conclusion on the population's parameter as the value of significance (p-value) is less than 5%. The F calculated was greater than F critical (190.943 <2.410), this shows that strategies used to empower youths, youth unconventional participation, youth conventional participation and conceptualization of political participation significantly influence youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya.

Analysis of Variance

Model		Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	18.454	4	4.614	190.943	.002[b]
	Residual	5.678	235	0.024		
	Total	24.132	239			

Coefficients

The regression equation was $Y = 0.934 + 0.465 X_1 + 0.779 X_2 + 0.589 X_3 + 0.665 X_4$

The equation above reveals that strategies used to empower youth, youth unconventional participation, youth conventional participation, and conceptualization of political participation constant, significantly influence youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya as shown by constant = 0.934 .

Strategies used to empower youth and youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya

Strategies used to empower the youth are statistically significant to youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya as shown by ($\beta = 0.465$, P = 0.019). This shows that strategies used to empower the youth had significant positive relationship with youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya. This implies that a unit increase in strategies used to empower the youth will result in an increase of youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya.

Youth unconventional participation and youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya

Youth unconventional participation is statistically significant to youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya as shown by ($\beta = 0.779$, P = 0.003). This shows that youth conventional participation had a significant positive relationship with youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya. This implies that a unit increase in youth conventional participation will result in an increase in youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya.

Youth conventional participation and youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya

Youth conventional participation is statistically significant to youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya as shown by ($\beta = 0.589$, P = 0.008). This shows that youth conventional participation had a significant positive relationship with youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya. This implies that a unit increase in youth conventional participation will result in an increase in youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya.

Conceptualization of political participation and youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya

Conceptualization of political participation is statistically significant to youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya as shown by (β = 0.665, P = 0.001). This implies that conceptualization of political participation had a significant positive relationship with youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya. This shows that a unit increase in conceptualization of political participation will result in an increase in youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya.

Coefficients

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	0.934	0.186		5.022	0.010
	strategy,	0.465	0.104	0.231	4.471	0.019
	Unconventional	0.779	0.113	0.303	6.894	0.003
	Conventional	0.589	0.088	0.186	6.693	0.008
	Conceptualisation	0.665	0.096	0.219	6.927	0.001

Conclusion

The study revealed that strategies used to empower the youth were statistically significant to youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya. The study concludes that strategies used to empower the youth are positively related to youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya. The study found that youth unconventional and conventional participation is positively related to youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya. The study also found that conceptualization of political participation is positively related to youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya. The study recommends that the management of the election exercises should incorporate strategies that improve youth participation in peaceful elections in Kenya.

Recommendation

The study recommends that the management of the election exercises should incorporate strategies that empower the youth in their organization. This will help the youth to grow their skills and increase their knowledge, will ensure that the youth are working to maintain peaceful elections and will improve youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya. The management should enhance that the youth are considered in making election decisions. This will ensure that youth are informed and feel part of the country and ensure good youth participation and peaceful elections in Kenya.

References

Adamson, G. (2006). Immigrants and political participation–Background, theory, and empirical suggestions. *London school of economics and political science.* AFROBAROMETER survey, 2013, Political Participation in Kenya

Albrechts, L. (2002). The planning community reflects on enhancing public involvement. Views from academics and reflective practitioners. Planning Theory and Practice, 3(3), 331-347.

Almond G.A. and S. Verba (1963), The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five nations, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Barnes, S. and Kaase, M. et al. (1979) Political Action: Mass Participation in Five Western Democracies, London, Sage.

Brunton-Smith, I. (2011). Full Technical Report of PIDOP Work Package 5: Modelling Existing Survey Data. Unpublished paper, The PIDOP Project.

Caiazzo, T., & Marsh, R. L. (2011).*Third-party Presidential Politics in America: The Institutional Obstacles Such Candidates Face.* Edwin Mellen Press.

Clive, B. (1991). Participation and Political Protest: A Causal Model with Australian Evidence." *Political Behaviour* 13.

Conway, M. M. (2000). *Political Participation in the United States.* Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press.

Ferrini, L. (2012). Why is Turnout at Elections Declining Across the Democratic World?.Downloaded, *10, 2015.*

Freire, P. (1970). *The pedagogy of the oppressed.* New York: Seabury Press.

Henderson, W. (2011).Civic engagement among registered citizens and non-registered eligible citizens. *The Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning and Engagement.*

Kanyinga, K. & Njoka, J. (2002). "The Role of Youth in Politics: the Social Praxis of Party Politics among the Party Lumpen in Kenya", African Journal of Sociology, Vol.5, No. 1, pp. 89-111.

Kanyinga, K. (2014). *Democracy and Political Participation: A Review by AfriMAP, Open Society Initiative for Eastern Africa and the Institute for Development Studies (IDS),* University of Nairobi, Open Society Foundations, Nairobi.

Milbrath, L. W. (1965). *Political Participation: How and Why do People Get Involved in Politics?* Chicago: Rand McNally.

Musick, M., Wilson, J. and Bynum, W. (2000) 'Race and formal volunteering: The differential effects of class and religion', Social Forces, 78(4):1539–70

Njonjo, S. (2010). Youth Fact Book: Infinite Possibility or Definite Disaster? Elite PrePress Limited, http://www.ieakenya.or.ke/publications/doc_download/16-kenya-youth-fact-book [12 December 2014].

Nzomo, M (2014) Women in political leadership in Kenya: access, agenda setting & accountability on https://ke.boell.org/sites/default/files/uploads/2014/01/women_in_political_ leadership_in_kenya-_access_influence-.pdf. Accessed on 9th September, 2017.

Ongoya, E & Otieno, W (2012). *A Handbook on Kenya's Electoral Laws and System: Highlights of Electoral Laws and System Established by and under the Constitution of Kenya 2010 and other Statutes,* Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa, Nairobi.

Republic of Kenya, (2010).*The Constitution of Kenya 2010.* Government Press, Nairobi.

Republic of Kenya, (2011).*The Elections Act 2011,* Government Press, Nairobi.

Republic of Kenya, (2011).*The Political Parties Act 2011.* Government Press, Nairobi.

Sherry R. Arnstein (1969) A Ladder Of Citizen Participation, Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 35:4, 216-224, DOI: 10.1080/01944366908977225

Teorell, J. (2006). "Political participation and three theories of democracy: A research inventory and agenda", European Journal of Political Research, 45(5): 787–810

United Nations Development Programme, (2013). Enhancing Youth Participation Throughout the Electoral Cycle: A Good Practice Guide, UNDP, New York.

United Nations, (2012). United Nations System-wide Action Plan on the Youth Survey Results, United Nations, New York.

United Nations, Youth Political Participation and Decision-Making, www.un.org/esa/socdev/ documents/youth/fact-sheets/youth-political-participation.pdf [March 25 2015].

Upright, C. (2004) 'Social capital and cultural participation: spousal influences on attendance at art events', Pœtics, 32:129–43

Utter G.H. (2011). Youth and Political Participation: *A Reference Handbook,* ABC-CLIO, LLC, Santa Barbara.

Van Deth, J. W., Montero, R. J. and A. Westholm (eds.) 2007. Citizenship and involvement in European Democracies: a Comparative Analysis. New York: Routledge.

VanDeth, J. (2001) 'Studying political participation: Towards a theory of everything?', Paper for delivery at the Joint Sessions of Workshops of the European Consortium for Political Research Workshop "Electronic Democracy: Mobilisation, Organisation and Participation via new ICTs", Grenoble, 6–11 April 2001 [online], available from: http://www.essex.ac.uk/ecpr/events/jointsessions/paperarchive/grenoble/ws3/deth.pdf [accessed 3rd June, 2017].

Verba, S., K.L. Schlozman, and H. Brady (1995), Voice and equality. Civic voluntarism in American politics, Cambridge: Harvard University Press

Wallerstein, N., Sanchez-Merki, V. & Dow, L. (1999). Freirian praxis in health education and community organizing: A case study of an adolescent prevention program. In M. Minkler (Ed.), Community organizing and community building for health. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Wallerstein, N., Sanchez-Merki, V. & Verlade, L. (2005). Freirian praxis in health education and community organizing: A case study of an adolescent prevention program. In M. Minkler (Ed.), Community Organizing and Community Building for Health, 2ⁿᵈ ed. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Wilson, J. and Musick, M. (1997) 'Doing well and doing good who cares? Toward integrated theory of volunteer work', American Sociological Review, 62(5):694–713.