



International Journal of Social and Development Concerns

Vol. 2, Article 9/12 | March 2018

ISSN : 2524-1478

Chief Editor

Web: www.ijscd.org

Email: info@ijscd.org

Editing Oversight

Empiris Creative Communication Ltd.

Web: http://www.empiriscreative.com

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Vol. 2 | Social and development concerns in Africa

Ethnicity and Voter Behaviour in Presidential Elections under the New Constitution: A Case of the 2013 Elections in Kajiado County, Kenya

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Abstract

The aim of this study was to investigate the influence of ethnicity on voter behaviour in presidential elections in Kenya under the new Kenya Constitution, 2010, in reference to the 2013 elections in Kajiado County. The study adopted the Utilitarian and Rational Choice theories as the theoretical underpinning for this research. A descriptive research design was adopted. The population of the study was registered voters in Kajiado County. The target population for the study was registered voters from Kajiado West, Kajiado Central, and Kajiado South Constituencies, totalling 60,293 people. Krejcie and Morgan (1970) sampling formula determined the sample size of the study as 382 respondents. Structured interviews were used in data collection, guided by 321 questionnaire(s) and key informant guides representing a response rate of 84%. Inferential statistics (multiple regression) and frequency tables were used to analyse the data. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was used in this analysis. The findings revealed that ethnicity and sub-ethnicity did not have significant influence on voter behavior in the study area. However, constitutional reforms and campaign practices were found to have positive and significant effects on voter behaviour. The study concluded that constitutional reform had a minimal effect on Maasai voter behaviour in Kajiado County in 2013, and that campaign practices had the greatest effect on Maasai voter behaviour in the County. The study recommends that there is need for civic education and public awareness on the 2010 Constitution among the Maasai community to improve their knowledge on the electoral process. There is also need for enforcing the electoral laws and procedures as enshrined in the 2010 Constitution. The study also recommends for the strengthening of bodies mandated to enforce ethical political practice during election periods in order to reduce election malpractices by political candidates.

Key Words | Kajiado, Maasai, ethnicity, voter behavior, political reforms, civic education, and campaign practices

Background to the Study

The concept of ethnicity and voter behaviour is a phenomena experienced around the globe. The researchers examined a few select cases for purposes of this study. Madrid (2008) while studying the concept of ethnicity and voter behaviour in Bolivia, observed fear ethno-populist parties operate like ethnic political parties in the country. Since they originated from a single ethnic groups but recruited many of their supporters from other ethnic groups. The leadership of the parties portrayed themselves as the legitimate representative of that ethnic group in a manner that also portrayed the party as a national one through engaging in inclusive politics. To underscore this scenario, he examined one such ethno-political party, the 'movimiento al socialismo' (MAS) party which originated from Quenchua ethnic group and attracted a large membership from the Ahmara ethnic group (Madrid 2008). The party took advantage of the 1994 constitutional reforms that changed the electoral system from proportional representation to a centralized system and increased its popularity under the leadership of Evo Morales. The party eventually captured the leadership of the State with Morales as the president.

Kalaycioglu studied the issue of ethnicity and voter behaviour in Turkey and observed that the phenomenon plays a key role in presidential elections (Kalaycioglu 2015). He further observed that during the 2014 elections, one of the presidential candidates Selhattin Demirta exploited the politics of ethnicity and ethnic nationalism to gain popularity and win voters through championing the rights of the Kurdish and Turkish ethnic groups who were marginalized and discriminated against by the right wing political establishment (Kalaycioglu, 2015). Studies on ethnicity and voter behaviour during presidential elections in Malaysia indicate that the concept greatly influences the manner in which voters make their choices during elections (Mohd et al., 2015). This is enhanced by the fact that the Malaysian society is characterized by diverse ethnic communities and religions making it fertile ground for advancing ethnic interests.

Nwachukwu (2014) examined the phenomenon of ethnicity and voter behaviour in the Nigerian Society and observed that ethnicity is perpetuated through the existence of ethnic-based political parties, which exploit the perceived ethnic differences to gain support from their ethnic communities. For instance, he noted that NPN (National Patriotic Party of Nigeria) is for the Hausa and the Fulani people; the UPN (United People's Party) is for the Yoruba, while the NPP (National People's Party) is for the Igbo people. The existence of ethnic-based political parties implies that ethnicity permeates the Nigerian socio-political and cultural life and thus greatly influences voter behaviour during elections. It was observed that in some cases the decision to vote for or not to vote for a particular candidate or party is made by the community political leaders while the voter just votes like a machine (Kehinde, 2015). This clearly shows that ethnicity greatly influences voter behaviour in Nigeria.

The reintroduction of multiparty Democracy in Kenya ushered in a new era where new political parties were formed based on ethnic groups (Oyugi 1997, Wanyande 2006). KANU (Kenya African National Union) party was dominated by the Kalenjin peoples; FORD-K (Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-Kenya) was dominated by the Luo; and FORD-A (Forum for the Restoration of Democracy – Asili) and the DP (Democratic Party) were for the Kikuyu people. The first multiparty elections of 1992 demonstrated the influence of ethnicity in voter behaviour when the Kalenjin voted for the KANU candidate, the Luo for the FORD- K candidate, while the Kikuyu voted for the FORD-A and DP candidates (Kimenyi & Ndungu, 2005, Wanyande, 2006).

The existence and operation of ethnic-based political parties polarized and divided the country along ethnic lines, which led to inter-ethnic clashes, as witnessed during 1992 and 1997 (Kimenyi, 2005). The worst form of tribal clashes occurred during and after the 2007 elections where thousands of people lost their lives and property worth millions was destroyed (Njoroge & Kirori, 2014). In an effort to find a lasting solution to the problem of negative ethnicity, the country drafted and promulgated a new Kenya Constitution, 2010, with the intent and purpose of addressing the causes of intertribal animosity.

The major changes in the country's governance as enshrined in the new constitution were aimed at taming the phenomena of ethnicity and negative ethnicity in the country. However, the 2013 presidential elections, which were held under the new constitution turned out to be a reflection of the previous elections in terms of the electoral outcome. This is because most ethnic communities voted along their tribal and regional cleavages in a way that the electoral results were akin to an ethnic census especially for large ethnic groupings who had a formidable presidential candidate (Wanyande, 2006, Njoroge & Kirori, 2014). The foregoing demonstrated that ethnicity and negative ethnicity have great influence on voter behaviour

globally, during presidential elections. This study therefore attempted to establish the extent to which the new constitution impacted voting behaviour of the Maasai community during the 2013 presidential elections.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Kenyans are generally perceived to vote along tribal lines during presidential elections (Wanyande, 2006, Owuochi and Jonyo 2002, Mbatia, Bikuru, & Nderitu, 2009). During the 2007 elections, the Maasai community voted for PNU candidates former President, Mwai Kibaki and ODM Candidate Hon. Raila Odinga in equal measure. However, during the 2013 elections, the Maasai had one of their own, Prof James Kiyiapi as presidential candidate yet they voted overwhelmingly for both Jubilee's coalition candidate President Kenyatta and CORD coalition's candidate Raila Odinga. Only few only voted for Kiyiapi. We should also note that the Luhya did not vote for one of their own, Hon Musalia Mudavadi, and the Somali did not vote for Abduba Dida during the same election.

It follows that the 2013 presidential election outcome went against the commonly held view that Kenyans vote along tribal lines in respect of the above three communities. This scenario poses the following questions. Are there other factors that play a major role in influencing presidential election outcomes other than ethnicity? How accurate is the perception that Kenyans vote along tribal lines? What impact did the constitutional reforms 2010 have on voter behaviour during this election?

It is against this background that this study embarked on investigating the impact of the new constitution on the voting patterns of the Maasai community during the 2013 presidential election.

1.1.1 Research Objectives

- i. To assess the role of Maasai sub-ethnicities on voting behaviour during the 2013 presidential election in Kajiado County
- ii. To assess the influence of constitutional reforms 2010 on the 2013 presidential election in Kajiado County
- iii. To assess the influence of campaign practices on voting behaviour during the 2013 presidential elections in Kajiado County

1.1.2 Research Questions

1. To what extent did Maasai sub-ethnicities influence voting behaviour during the 2013 general elections among Maasai ethnic groups in Kajiado County?
2. To what extent did constitutional reforms in 2010 influence voting behaviour during the 2013 general elections among Maasai ethnic groups in Kajiado County?
3. To what extent did campaign practices influence voting behaviour during the 2013 general elections among Maasai ethnic groups in Kajiado County?

1.2 Justification of the Study

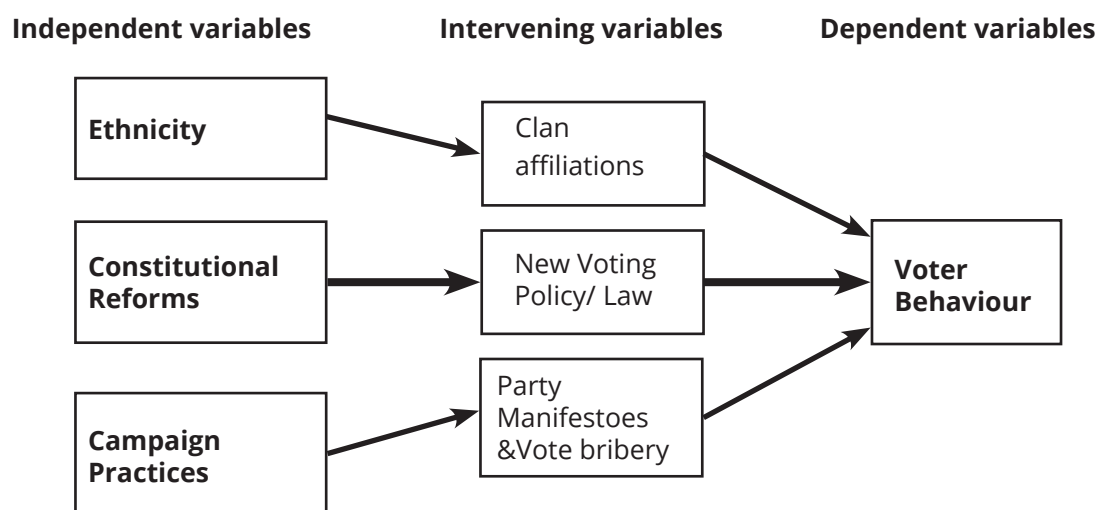
The issue of voting requires that the electorate take part in the election from an issue-based perspective. In this regard, it boils down to issues of development as well as representation for all. It has however been observed that there has been a consistent trend that has seen the electorate overlook this and move to electing leaders based on ethnic lines as compared to the above-mentioned. The voter behaviour means that there is need to understand why this is the case in Kajiado County. The study is timely as it answers this question and gives prescriptions on how to alter any misinformed perspectives and perceptions that influence voter behaviour.

1.3 Conceptual framework

The independent variables of the study are ethnicity, constitutional reform, and campaign practices. The ethnicity of the community is assumed to have an influence on voter behaviour as well as the changes to the constitution and what these

had on voter behaviour in the 2013 general elections. The campaign practices refer to the conduct of political candidates during the campaign periods and how this affected the behaviour of voters.

Figure 1 | Conceptual Framework Model



Source: Researcher, 2017

Review of Empirical Studies

A literature review is the researcher's appraisal, reflection, and assessment of the works and texts already done covering opinions, assertions, and affirmations regarding the subject under investigation (Mvumbi & Ngumbi 2015). It is the systematic identification, location, and analysis of material containing information related to the subject under investigation (Mugenda & Mugenda, 1999). An empirical review enables researchers to identify knowledge gaps that need to be filled after thoroughly reading the works already done in the area of interest, and understanding the extent and depth of the research already accomplished. In undertaking the review, we shall adopt the pyramid model, starting with the global and regional perspective and then the national review, guided by the various objectives of the research. The section is presented in line with the three study objectives and is aligned from a global, regional, and local context to each objective.

2.1 Role of Ethnicity on Voter Behaviour

There is a plethora of research that has shown evidence supporting the argument that ethnicity and sub-ethnicities play a critical role in presidential elections in many countries around the globe. In the United States, Kim (2014) studies voting behaviour of minorities (Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians) during the 2008 and 2012 elections. The study revealed that most minorities got involved in presidential campaigns in 2008 and supported Barack Obama. During the 2012 campaigns even more minorities supported Obama's re-election bid under the Democratic Party (Kim, 2014). The study further revealed that cultural and socio-economic factors influenced how minorities voted during those two elections. Cultural and racial factors particularly influenced how minorities voted, given that they supported Barack Obama who they considered to be one of their own because of his African origin. This clearly demonstrated the influence of ethnicity and racism in the voting behaviour of minority races in the United States.

In Turkey, Kalaycioglu (2015) studied the impact of ethnicity on voter behaviour in Turkey and observed that ethnicity plays a key role in presidential elections. During the 2014 elections, one of the presidential candidates, Selahattin Demirtaş exploited the politics of ethnicity to gain popularity and win voters. He championed the rights of the Kurdish and Turkish ethnic groups who were marginalized and discriminated by the right wing political establishment. He exploited the political

discrimination of the Kurds and Turkish people using ethnicity issues in his bid to win voters. Kalaycioglu explains how Demirta exploited ethnicity to gain support and votes during the 2014 elections.

In Malaysia, Mohd et al., (2015) studied ethnicity and voter behaviour in Malaysia and observed that ethnicity greatly influences voting during elections. The Malaysian society is characterized by diverse ethnic communities and religions making it fertile ground for furthering ethnic interests and jingoism, which are catalysts for ethnic nationalism. In this political climate, political issues are often addressed through negotiation based on ethnic lines, and voting behaviour is largely influenced by ethnicity. Malaysian society therefore operates politically speaking, in the same way as other divided societies where ethnicity determines the political course of the State. The author, however, examine the influence of ethnicity on voter behaviour under a new constitution. Our study will attempt to address this aspect.

In South Africa, Anyangwe (2012) study on race and ethnicity, voters' party preference in South African elections interrogated the behaviour of South African voters using a qualitative analysis of available studies covering the national and provincial elections held in 1994, 1999, 2004 and 2009, as well as the municipal election of 2011. The study concluded that the race issue, however weak some might suggest it is, still looms large and is a dominant factor despite some researchers denying this fact. Second, in contrast to what occurs in many African countries, ethnic identity has only a marginal influence on South African voters.

In Nigeria, Kehinde (2015) conducted a study on the influence of ethnicity and ethno-regional cleavages on voter behaviour during the 2015 Nigerian Election. The study revealed that ethno-regional sentiments play a major and prominent role in determining voter behaviour and political participation in all regions and ethnic groups in the State. He further observed that during the 2015 election, the current president and deputy received 90% of votes from their ethnic communities, while the immediate former president (Good luck Jonathan who had won) received numerous votes from his ethnic group. This clearly demonstrates how ethnicity played a prominent role in determining voter behaviour during presidential elections.

In Kenya, research conducted on the voting patterns during the 2007 elections reveal that there is a strong relationship between voters' ethnicity and their chosen candidates, and that the ethnic identity of candidates is a major determining factor influencing voting. (Dercon & Gutierrez-Romero, 2010) Ethnicity and sub-ethnicities have been observed to be the most determining factors influencing elections in emerging democracies while in developed democracies, voters are motivated by economic factors, and the election of leaders is dependent on their economic policy guidelines (Romero, 2010). We should note, however, that Romero conducted his study before the 2007 elections and was based on voters' expression of intention rather than on voting preference.

2.2 Influence of Constitutional Reform on Voter Behaviour

Several studies and scholars have documented strong evidence that the constitution has an influence on voting behaviour. This influence is driven by the notion that the constitution provides the regulatory framework for conducting elections. This section of the study focuses on empirical studies done in different nations and regions of the globe on voting behaviour. Kunicova' and Rose-Ackerman (2005) conducted research on electoral rules and constitutional structures as constraints to corruption in different countries. The study was a secondary data study that showed the relationship between constitutional reform processes on voting practices in selected countries and how these reforms lead to less corrupt behaviour in general elections. The study concluded that constitutional reforms had a positive effect on manipulative behaviour of political candidates. Constitutional reform was found to increase voter education and awareness, which when high, led to lower manipulative behaviour by political leaders during electioneering periods.

In the United States, Berinsky (2005), conducted research on the perverse consequences of electoral reform. The study noted that in the past three decades, a series of electoral reforms had been enacted that were designed to increase turnout by easing restrictions on the casting of ballots, including voting-by-mail (VBM), allowing early voting, the relaxing of stringent absentee balloting procedures, and allowing Internet voting. These reforms were aimed at increasing the demographic representativeness of the electorate by reducing the direct costs of voting, thereby increasing turnout among groups of lower socio-economic status, who were more likely to change their voting behaviour in elections.

In a Fiji (Ratuva, 2014) study on shifting democracy: Electoral changes in Fiji argued that a constitution created different outcomes based on: the type of voting system, how constituency boundaries are designed, and how the electoral

system is manipulated by political parties and candidates to their advantage. The study focused on the constitutional reforms since independence these being the 1966, 1970, 1990, 1997 reforms. The introduction of the Open List Proportional Representation (OLPR) system was part of the post-2006 political revolution to transform the socio-political landscape by eradicating ethnic mobilisation and consciousness. The results of the 2014 elections appear to show that Fiji's political culture has shifted away from ethnic polarity towards moderation, indicating a positive influence of constitutional reforms on voter behaviour.

In Colombia, Ferguson and Vargas (2013), studied voter behaviour under a new constitution in Colombia. They observed that Colombia enacted constitutional change that allowed universal suffrage for males. This brought to an end the previous electoral system that allowed only wealthy and educated males to vote, while slaves, illiterate males, females and the poor were not allowed to vote (Ferguson and Vargas, 2013). This state of affairs precipitated political violence during the electoral period. The study concluded that in municipalities where male voters participated in elections relative to their population, less violence was witnessed after the electoral reforms (Ferguson & Vargas, 2013).

In Nigeria, Nwobashi and Itumo (2017), research on ethnicity, voter behaviour and resurgence of separatists, agitations by some ethnic groups reported how the 1999, 2003, 2007 and 2011 presidential elections showed relative decline in the manifestations of ethnicity in voter behaviour. The study alluded that voter behaviour along ethnic lines was as a result of the Clifford Constitution of 1922, Richard Constitution of 1946, and Lytleton Constitution of 1954, which did not entrench or promote ethnic inclusiveness in voting patterns. The 1979 Constitution introduced a presidential system, which mandated the then electoral body - the Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) - to register only parties that reflected a national outlook in their memberships. This constitutional reform has seen the voting behaviour of Nigeria become less entrenched along ethnic lines.

Another institutional factor that has been identified as a possible influence on voter turnout, is the nature of electoral reform. The argument here is that electoral reform that promotes voter confidence in electoral institutions, processes, and outcomes can engender a high level of turnout, and vice versa (Omotola 2011; Schaffer 2002). The turnout will be higher if political parties and candidates are able to take advantage of electoral reforms for effective mobilisation. If not, the reforms may have only a marginal effect on turnout. Omotola & Aiyedogbon's (2012), research on political participation and voter turnout in Nigeria's 2011 elections, noted that the electoral reform process, which boosted public trust in electoral institutions and processes, influenced voter turnout in the 2011 general elections.

The United Republic of Tanzania has enacted several constitutional reforms notably in 1985, 1988, and 2011, focusing mainly on the realm of the electoral system. The 1985 constitutional reform introduced two positions of vice presidents: The 1st Vice-President was to be the president of Zanzibar, while the 2nd Vice-president was to be the Prime Minister of Tanzania. This was aimed at taming the concerns of the people of Zanzibar who wanted some measure of autonomy, multiparty politics, and political space. This led to political competition (Katundu & Kumburu, 2015). Since the re-introduction of multiparty democracy in Tanzania, opposition leaders have been losing elections and most, if not all, attribute their failure to lack of free and fair elections due to the inadequate of independent institutions, including an independent Judiciary. Presidential elections in Tanzania once announced cannot be contested in the courts.

In Kenya, Ferree et al., (2013), research on voting behaviour and electoral irregularities in Kenya's 2013 election showed evidence that constitutional reform affected voter behaviour for presidential candidates. For instance, in the 2007 election, the topic of constitutional reform differentiated Odinga from Kibaki and influenced some Kenyan votes. Ferree et al., found evidence that constitutional reform was a significant issue influencing voter behaviour. Several scholars (Okoth-Ogendo, 2012; Wafula, 2014) have also discussed the role of constitutional changes on the electoral process and their effect on voter behaviour. Kanyinga and Long (2012), noted that the delivery of a new constitution was a major factor influencing the choice of political candidates in two general elections.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

2.3.1 Utilitarian Theory

Utilitarianism Theory was developed by Jeremy Bentham (1748—1832), and later advanced by John Stuart Mill (1806-1873). It is a normative theory which holds that right and wrong depends purely on the consequences of taking one action, and guided by an act of utilitarianism instead of other actions. The theory embraces universal interests for the whole society by going beyond the scope of narrow personal interests. It further holds that pleasure is the consequence of right actions and pain is the consequence of wrong action, thereby equating pleasure with good and pain with evil. The theory, however, assumes that the summation of individual interests or pleasures will lead to universal pleasures. This is not normally the case due to the presence of different interests and pleasures, for instance, an individual may get pleasure from taking a beer while another may get pleasure from editing a book. Such individual interests cannot be summed up to bring about a universal interest/pleasure. In essence, the summation of individual interests may not necessarily lead to a universal good; equally the attainment of a universal good/pleasure, may not necessarily lead to the fulfillment of individual interests/pleasures. The theory attempts to derive what people ought to do from what they in fact do, thereby confusing ideal situations with reality, hence it offends the naturalistic fallacy.

This theory is significant for this study as it assumes that voters are more likely to vote for an outcome that presents benefits for them. That by voting for a particular candidate, the voter will look at satisfying their interests. However, the model assumes that these interests are common which is not true. These interests vary among voters. Despite this limitation, the theory is appropriate to show the motivation for adopting certain voter behaviour during elections.

2.3.2 Rational Choice Theory

The study also used the Rational Choice Theory which is a general theory of action. A pioneering figure in establishing Rational Choice Theory in sociology was George Homans (1961), who set out a basic framework of exchange theory, which he grounded in assumptions drawn from behaviourist psychology. There has been successfully adopted in political sciences by several scholars (Downs 1957; Buchanan and Tullock 1962; Riker 1962). The theory explains social phenomena as outcomes of individual choices that can, in some way, be construed as rational. Choices are “rational” if they meet some consistency criterion as defined by a decision theory, and are suitable to achieve specific goals, given the constraints of the situation. Being a general theory of action, the theory can explain social phenomena in almost any sub-field of the social and behavioral sciences (Gintis, 2016).

Research Methodology

3.1 Research Design

According to Kothari (2004), research design is an arrangement of procedures for collection and analysis of data in a way that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy procedure, therefore giving structure in which the research is conducted. It includes the collection, measurement, and analysis of data. The study adopted a descriptive survey research design; descriptive design can be categorized as observational, or as a survey study. This design is concerned with describing the characteristics or behavior of a particular subject. For the descriptive survey design, participants answer questions administered through interviews or questionnaires. The research was designed to focus on the voting behaviour among the Maasai community. It was therefore conducted in three constituencies: Kajiado West, Kajiado Central and Kajiado South, which are inhabited predominantly by the Maasai. The other two constituencies in the county, namely Kajiado North and Kajiado East, were left out because they are largely cosmopolitan in nature.

3.2 Description of Study Site and Target Population

The study was conducted in Kajiado County in the republic of Kenya. The county has five constituencies: Kajiado North, Kajiado East, Kajiado West, Kajiado Central and Kajiado South. The county covers an estimated 21,774 square Kms with a population of 687,312 as per the 2009 census report. Major towns of the county include: Ngong, Kitengela, Ongata Rongai, Kiserian, Isinya, Sultan Hamud, Namanga, Kajiado, Magadi, and Loitokitok. The county is inhabited by several ethnic groups, the major one being the Maasai, as well as the Kikuyu, the Kamba, the Gusii, the Luhya, the Kalenjin and the Somali. The population in this study was registered voters in the county who participated in the 2013 presidential elections. In this case 304,346 voters as per the IEBC register. However, the study focused on voters from the three constituencies under study in Kajiado West, Kajiado Central and Kajiado South who had 43,833, 39,538 and 43,218 registered voters respectively. The target population was Maasai registered voters in the three (3) constituencies.

Table 1 | *Maasai population by Constituency*

Constituency	Population
Kajiado West	29,250
Kajiado South	23,909
Kajiado Central	7,134
Total	60,293

Source: Kenya National Population and Housing Census, 2009

3.3 Sample and Sampling Technique

The study adopted the Krejcie and Morgan (1970) sample size table to obtain the sample size of the study. According to this table (Appendix C), the sample size for the study was 382 respondents assuming a population of 0.5 and 95 % confidence level. The study adopted the stratified random sampling procedure. This means that the target population was categorised into different strata and a sample was randomly selected from each of the strata until the sample was achieved.

3.4 Methods and Instruments of Data Collection

The study adopted both quantitative and qualitative methods to collect data. The advantage of this approach is to strengthen the weaknesses of either approaches. The questionnaire was the quantitative technique and the key informant interview guide were the qualitative strategy.

3.4.1 Questionnaire

A questionnaire is a data collection technique that is used to collect data from a relatively large sample. The sample for this research was 382 respondents and a questionnaire was appropriate to collect data from respondents. The questionnaire was designed with four sections. These sections included the background information of the respondents, influence of ethnicity on voter behaviour, influence of constitutional reform on voter behaviour, and the influence of campaign practices on voter behaviour. The questionnaire comprised of close-ended and open-ended questions. Open-ended questions allowed respondents to use their own words to respond while close-ended questions had predetermined responses that the study participants selected.

3.4.2 Key Informant Interview Schedule

A key informant interview schedule was designed to collect data from key informants of this study. 'Key informants' refers to people in a population who have in-depth information on the subject under study. The key informants for this study were chiefs. The choice to select chiefs as key informants was informed by the fact that a chief has to be a resident of the

community for a long duration and therefore has in-depth knowledge of the community. The study targeted a chief from each of the constituencies during the data collection exercise.

3.5 Research/ DataCollection Procedures

Members of the community were mobilized to small village meetings using chiefs, assistant chiefs and village elders. During such meetings, participants were told the purpose of the research and then requested to fill in the questionnaires. Illiterate participants were assisted by research assistants. Similar meetings were organized by women group leaders where we attended and requested to interview members who subsequently filled the questionnaires through the assistance of research assistants. Alternatively, we interviewed community leaders (chiefs, assistant chiefs, village elders, local politicians) using open-ended questionnaires/interview schedules: This is also in addition to interviewing members of the public in urban centres and market places. The researcher sought and obtained secondary data from the IEBC and the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics website.

3.6 Data Analysis

The first step of the data analysis was to ensure that the questionnaires were completed. This was then followed by the coding of responses and capturing this into statistical software. The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to analyse the data. Descriptive statistics was used to analyse the data and was limited to the use of frequencies and percentages. The researcher also used regression analysis to measure the influence of independent variables (sub-ethnicity, constitutional reform, and campaign practices) on the dependent variable (voter behaviour). In order to perform a regression analysis, the researcher created a dummy variable for each of the variable response groups. The data was presented in figures, charts, and tables and an interpretation given of each finding.

4.7 Findings of the Study

As revealed in Table 1 below, 21.9 % were 25-34 years, 18.6 % were aged 35-44 years, 15.0% were 55-64 years, 13.4 % were 19-24 years, 12.0 % were 65-74 years, 10.9 % were 45-54 years and 8.1% were 75 years and older. This finding supports the County Integrated Development Plan (CIPD) 2013-2017, which estimated that by 2017 the ages of 15-64 would have the largest number of persons in Kajiado County. The estimates also indicated that the lowest number of persons would be in the aged population of 65 and above.

Table 2 | Respondent's Age Group

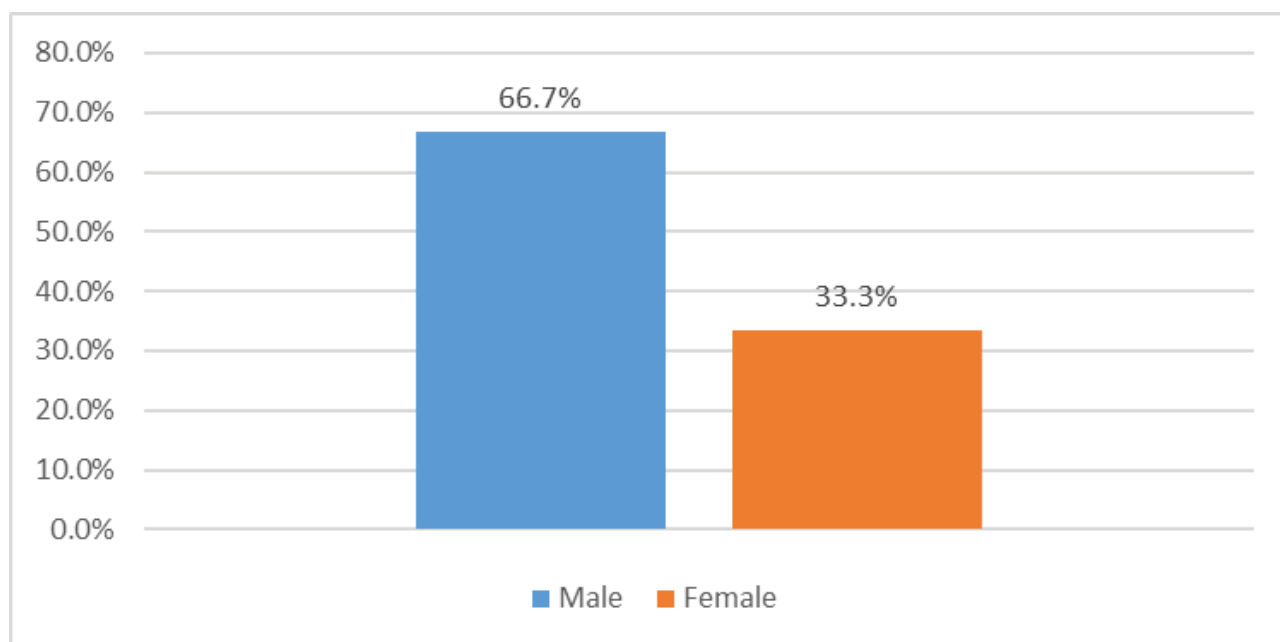
Age categories	Frequency	Percent
18-24 years old	42	13.4%
25-34 years old	70	21.9%
35-44 years old	59	18.6%
45-54 years old	35	10.9%
55-64 years old	48	15.0%
65-74 years old	39	12.0%
75 years or older	28	8.2%
Total	321	100.0

Source: Study Findings, 2017

4.8 Respondents' Gender

The study findings reveal that majority of the respondents were male and accounted for 66.7 % of the sample compared to 33.3 % who were female as shown in Figure 4.1. This finding was attributed to the large sample of male voters in Kajiado County.

Figure 1 | Respondents' Gender



Source: Study Findings, 2017

4.9 Level of education

Table 4.2 shows that 24.4 % of study participants had no formal education while 21.6 % had a primary level of education. Further findings show that 17.5 % had a university level of education, 17.0 % had a secondary level of education, 12.3 % had a college level of education, and 7.2 % had a polytechnic level of education.

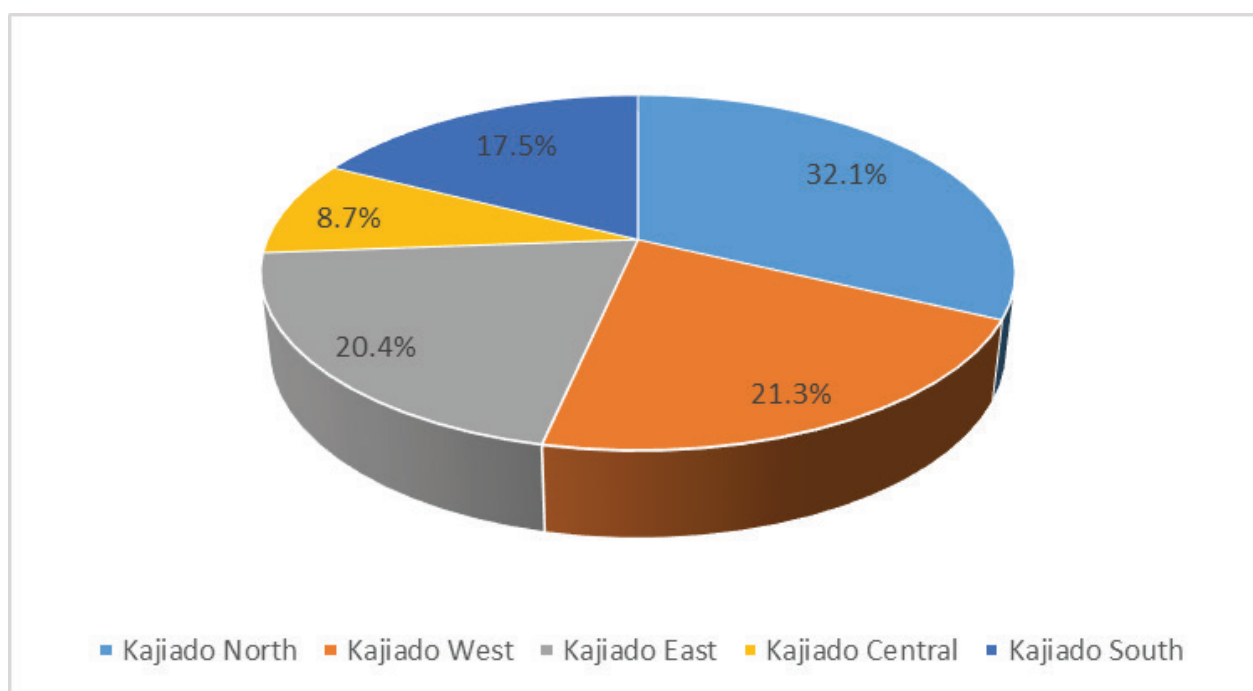
Table 4.2 | Respondent's Education level

Education levels	Frequency	Percent
No formal education	78	24.4
Primary education	69	21.6
Secondary education	54	17.0
Polytechnic education	23	7.2
College education	39	12.3
University education	58	17.5
Total	321	100.0

4.10 Constituency

The majority of the respondents were from Kajiado North, represented by 32.1 %, 21.3 % were from Kajiado West Constituency, 20.4 % were from Kajiado East Constituency. 17% were from Kajiado South and 8.7 % were from Kajiado Central. The CIPD 2013- 2017 reported that there were limited employment opportunities in the county and efforts need to be intensified to create off-farm employment through establishment of small-scale enterprises and livestock diversification.

Figure 2 | Respondent's constituencies



4.11 Occupation

With regard to their occupation, the findings show that casual employment was mentioned by 29.0%, formal employment was cited by 27.0 %, 12.1 % cited being not employed, 11.8 % were homemakers, 10.9 % mentioned being a student and 9.2 % were in non-formal employment, as presented in Table 3 below.

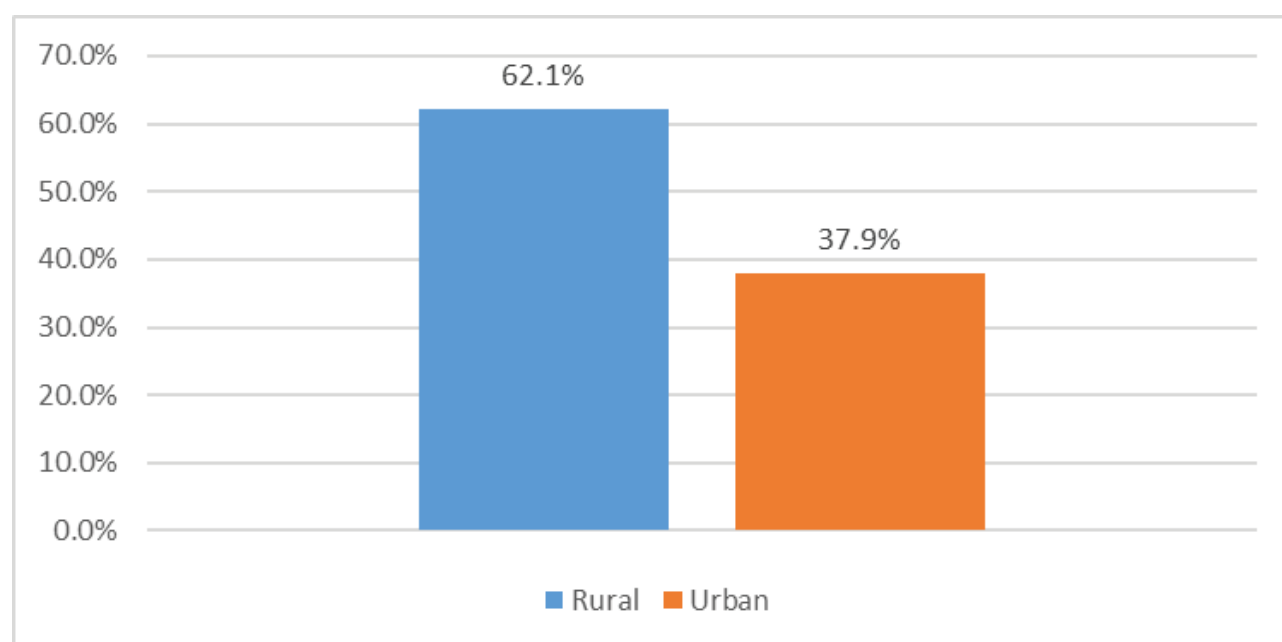
Table 3 | Occupation of study participants

Occupation categories	Frequency	Percent
Not employed	39	12.1
Formal employment	87	27.0
Non-formal employment	30	9.2
Casual employment	93	29.0
Student	35	10.9
Homemaker	37	11.8
Total	321	100.0

4.13 Locality

With regard to the locality of the study participants, the results show that 62.1 % were from a rural setup and 37.9 % were from an urban setup as depicted in Figure 4.3. This finding is attributed to the target population of the study which was Maasai sub-ethnicities. The majority of the population from the urban settings of Kajiado County is from different ethnic groupings and was not targeted in this study. However, urban respondents from the Maasai sub-ethnicities were purposively targeted for this research, thus this outcome of locality of respondents. According to the CIPD 2013–2017, majority of the population in Kajiado County is in the rural areas.

Figure 3 | Locality of respondents



Source: Study findings, 2017

4.3 Role of ethnicities on 2013 presidential election voting behaviour

The first objective of the study was to examine the influence of ethnicity/sub-ethnicities on voting behaviour among the Maasai in Kajiado County in the 2013 general elections. This objective intended to establish the sub-ethnicity of respondents, political party of respondents, participation in the 2013 general elections, and preferred political candidates.

Conclusion

The first objective of the study was to assess the role of Maasai subethnicities on voting behaviour during 2013 presidential election in Kajiado County. The findings showed that there was a negative and insignificant influence of sub-ethnicity on voter behaviour. This was evident as neither presidential candidate who received the majority of votes in Kajiado County was from the Maasai community. This study therefore concludes that sub-ethnicity of the Maasai has no effect on voter behaviour.

The second objective of the study was to assess the influence of the Constitutional reforms 2010 on the 2013 presidential election in Kajiado County. The findings showed that constitutional reform had a minimal and insignificant effect on voter behaviour.

Recommendations

Although the study revealed that majority of the respondents knew about constitutional change 2010, it emerged that different categories of respondents based on age and gender understood the constitutional change in different perspectives. Men of middle age and the elderly perceived constitutional change to mean 'Majimboism', women indicated that it meant empowerment to women, while the youth understood it to mean giving power to people with more power. In this scenario it is recommended that the National Government and County Government should initiate mechanisms to institute intensive and extensive civic education regarding the contents of the new Kenya Constitution 2010.

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