

Abstract

This study investigates the relationship between education and voting in Kenya. I test whether formal education and the length of education have an impact on voting in Kenya. Since the impact of education on voting has not been studied in Kenya, I review literature that explores the relationship between education and voter turnout in America. America is an older democracy whose education system serves as a model to the current education system in Kenya, and I wanted to see how the literature between education and voting in America applies to the Kenyan context. Analyzing data from rounds 2 to 5 of the Afrobarometer, I show that acquiring formal education and spending more years in school do not increase the likelihood that Kenyans will turnout to vote. Surprisingly, Kenyans who did not receive formal education reported to have voted more than those with formal education. These results indicate that education does influence whether Kenyans vote, but in a different way than I had hypothesized. Finally, I conclude the study by evaluating explanations for these stunning results.

Keywords: Voting in Kenya, Voting, Voting and Education in Kenya, Education, Kenya, Political Participation, Political Participation in Kenya

Education and voting in Kenya

An exploration of the link between education and voting in Kenya

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Glossary

FIDA	Federation of Women Lawyers
FORD	Forum for the Restoration of Democracy
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KCPE	Kenya Certificate of Primary Education
KCSE	Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition-Kenya
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party
LNC	Local Native Councils
NES	American National Election Study
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
PNU	Party of National Unity
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UIS	UNESCO Institute for Statistics
TSC	Teachers Service Commission

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Chapter I

Introduction

In a democracy, voting is the essential form of political participation and is shaped by several factors. Scholars have shown that education influences voting, but these studies draw largely from examining the American electorate. Typically, American citizens with more education are more likely to turn out to vote in an election. Does education have a similar impact in Kenya?

In Kenya, the number of people enrolling in school has been increasing steadily. The gross enrollment ratio for both female and male students for primary school education was 36% in 1995, 50% in 2005, and 60% in 2012. The secondary school enrollment rate for both genders was 39% in 1999, 48% in 2005, and 67% in 2012. The enrollment in tertiary institutions, including technical institutes, polytechnics, and colleges, has been rising as well. In 2002 the gross enrollment rate for both genders was 2.75%, 2.97% in 2005, and 4.05% in 2009 (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2016).

Alongside these increases in education enrollment has been an increase in voter turnout in Kenya. Since the return to multiparty democracy, voter turnout for parliamentary elections rose from 58.84% in 1992 to 85.91% in 2013. Even though voter turnout in parliamentary elections in 2002 decreased, the total number of votes between 1997 and 2002 increased by 65,625 votes. We see similar increases in voter turnout for presidential elections. The proportion of the eligible voter population participating in the 1992 election was 66.81% and 85.91% in 2013. Even though the percentage of voter turnout decreased slightly in 2002, the total number

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of votes in presidential elections between 1997 and 2002 increased by 1,702,315 votes (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2015).

Aggregate trends in Kenyans' schooling and in voting in parliamentary and presidential elections thus suggest a relationship between education and voter turnout. My thesis explores the relationship between education and political participation at the individual level in Kenya. Using data from Afrobarometer on respondents' voting behavior in presidential elections and educational experiences, I test whether the length and the type of education influence voting. Ultimately, I find that respondents with more education do not vote more than those with less. Additionally, respondents without formal education turned out surprisingly to vote more than those with formal education.

Chapter Review Summary

In Chapter 2, I review two relevant literatures: (1) the scholarship on the relationship between education and voting; and (2) research on the factors that increase or decrease the likelihood to vote in Kenya. These literatures lead me to two testable hypotheses: first, Kenyans with formal education might turn out to vote more than those without. Second, Kenyans who pursue lengthy education are more likely to vote than those who attend school only for a few years. Chapter 2 also includes the definitions for technical terms used in this study and provides background information on voting in Kenya. I introduce dependent and independent variables used to measure the outcome, voting. Finally, I state my contributions to this field of study.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of Kenya's history of ethnic and educational segregation since pre-colonial times. I also describe the various education systems implemented in Kenya

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and the goals targeted by each system. Moreover, I examine voting trends among Kenyans and how politicians have influenced voter turnout in Kenya. Additionally, I explain my research methods and my use of Afrobarometer data from four survey rounds collected between 2003 and 2011.

Chapter 4 presents and discusses my results. My concluding chapter raises questions to be explored further that might complement or challenge this study.

Chapter II

Theory and Literature Review

This study draws on several literatures including those on education, social environments, learned behaviors, and political participation in order to determine how and whether education may affect voter turnout. Political participation consists of all activities that aim at influencing government's actions either directly or indirectly (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995, p. 38). Such activities may include voting, attending community meetings, contacting government officials, serving as church leaders or traditional rulers, and participating in protest marches or demonstrations. However, this study and the forthcoming literature review focuses primarily on voting, the most basic form of political participation, to investigate how education may affect voting.

Literature Review on Education and Voting

Presumably, the more education one has, the more likely they are to vote. However, scholars have not come to a consensus on whether there is a causal relationship - in other words, whether greater education directly produces more voter turnout. A study in America by Verba, Schlozman, & Brady (1995) shows that education is a strong predictor of voter turnout because it increases an individual's political interests and understanding of political issues. Education and schooling also expose people to resources that help them make informed decisions and avoid complications over voter registration, develop a sense of civic responsibility and civic skills, and increase their knowledge about government (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, p. 305, 315, 349-354, and 358-360; Wolfinger & Rosenstone, 1980, p. 18). Wolfinger and Rosenstone (1980) established a strong relationship between voter turnout and years of education, finding an

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increase in the level of education increased the likelihood that a person will vote (p. 24). In 1972, 91% of those who had attended graduate school for at least one year turned out to vote, 86% of college graduates voted, 69% of high school diplomas holders turned out to vote, and 38% of those who attended school for five years voted (p. 17-18).

Education has a strong influence on political behavior and the more people get educated the higher the likelihood that they will turnout to vote. Converse (1972) theorized that the increasing levels of mass education ensure that the upcoming generations will be more educated than older generations. To prove this idea, Burden (2009) analyzed the American National Election Study (NES) in presidential elections between 1952 and 2004. He found that in 1952, 85% of respondents had attained high school education and less than 10% had earned a college degree. In 2004, 40% of the respondents had completed high school only while one-third had also attended college. Burden shows that the respondents' completion of college education correlates with an increase in voter turnout since the 1980s. Non-graduates with some college education turned out to vote less than college graduates, but more than those with only a high school diploma (Burden, 2009). Lewis-Beck, Jacoby, Norpoth, and Weisberg (2008) had comparable results relating to formal education and voting for president in 2004: 51.4% of respondents with only junior high education voted, 78.4% of high school graduates; and 92% of college graduates (p.350). These results correspond to earlier data on the strong relationship between education and political participation (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995; Wolfinger and Rosenstone, 1980; Mayer, 2011). Lewis-Beck, Jacoby, Norpoth, and Weisberg (2008) affirms, "In more ways than one, effective participation depends on the operation of a nation's

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educational system. Moreover, education is the key ingredient of any relationship between socioeconomic status and voting turnout” (p.102).

Higher education increases intellectual ability that seems to stimulate political interests. According to Dee (2004), education increases cognitive ability and understanding of democracy, and hence leads to higher levels of civic engagement. Ra (1975) affirms that education is the “most important determinant” in voting because of its psychological gratification to an individual. The length of education, especially after high school has been shown to increase the likelihood of voting (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995; Mayer, 2011). Berinsky and Lenz’s (2010) study shows that the likelihood of voting for individuals born between 1935 and 1959, and who had some college education, increased by 19%. Although their study suggests that education may not definitely cause increased voting, they do, however, establish a probable relationship between voting and education.

Scholars debate whether the length of education relatively or absolutely determines civic engagement. Pelkonen (2010) concludes that additional years of education do not increase civic engagement; however, Perssons (2012) demonstrates that higher education causes greater political participation. Schooling has been shown to positively influence voter turnout and voter registration since individuals are trained to be politically involved (Tenn, 2007). Barry C. Burden (2009) investigated respondents who had not completed high school: they had a 50% chance of voting. Their likelihood to vote increased to 80% if they completed college education or attended college courses. Burden also studied respondents whose education level was below high school and who had 50% chance of voting. Their likelihood to vote increased to 70% if they received high school education. However, some scholars argue that prolonged education does not much

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increase voter turnout and voter registration. Tenn (2007) and Carpini and Keeter (1989) agree that increased years of education do not necessarily increase political knowledge (p.108). Even though the number of people going to school longer has greatly increased in the last decades, political participation in general only has slightly improved (Nie, Junn, & Stehlik-Barry, 1996; Carpini, 1997). In fact, some have observed a decline in voter turnout as education level increases (Nie, Junn, & Stehlik-Barry, 1996; Carpini 1997; Brody, 1978, p. 297). These contradictions underlie the debate on the causal effects of education (Berinsky & Lenz, 2010).

Some scholars argue that education is not a strong predictor of voter turnout, noting that the collective voter turnout has not changed in America despite increased educational achievement (McDonald & Popkin, 2001). Berinsky and Lenz (2010) show that education has a positive but small effect on voting because political participation has failed to rise as the levels of education rise. To support this theory, Kam and Palmer (2008) conclude that education is a proxy for pre-adult characteristics that encourage political participation, which should therefore not be credited solely to education. People who do not attend college can build their civic skills or be motivated to become active in politics through attending churches, affiliating with labor and other organizations, and being involved in their workplace (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995, p. 337-339). Therefore, the relationship between education and political participation is slight (Pelkonen, 2012).

However, people who complete college are more likely to vote and are more likely to have parents who are well off. Wealthy families can afford to buy reading materials such as newspapers, books, and magazines, which increase the likelihood to read and discuss politics at home. Children, who grow up in such families and who pursue education, are introduced to

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politics early in life and they learn how to handle political information (Wolfinger & Rosenstone, 1980). They also have much more at stake in controlling or shaping political discourse and outcomes. Tenn (2007) provides counter-arguments against civic education theory, where education is believed to help develop skills and knowledge that have positive effect on voting (Tenn, 2007, Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995). He claims that living in an educational environment, rather than spending many years in school, is the predominant effect of education on voter turnout (Tenn, 2007).

Behaviors developed in educational environments increase the likelihood of civic engagement. Sears and Funk (1999) state that some attitudes developed before adulthood serve as “predispositions” to greater political socialization. Behaviors shaped at home, school, and church have great influence on adulthood behaviors in political participation, such as voting, since they serve as training (Andolina, Zukin, & Keeter, 2003; Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995; Persson, 2012). Factors affecting early socialization attitudes and behaviors such as parents’ political orientation and engagement, and family environment shape attitudes and behaviors toward political engagement and determine one’s education level (Andolina, Zukin, & Keeter, 2003; Achen, 2002; Perssons, 2012).

A decrease in voting in relation to education can happen because of several reasons. A change in curriculum where children are taught different skills and subject matter using different styles might change students’ ability over time. This change could happen depending on the political abilities that the curriculum puts more emphasis on.¹ Additionally, a change in politics

¹ Kenya has implemented 2 education systems since independence. Refer to the Kenyan Education System section below.

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that affects the accessibility of education and requirements placed on people to vote might affect voter turnout (Burden, 2009).

Although there are varied arguments about how education affects voter turnout, the consensus is that ultimately education in countries such as the United States has a positive impact on encouraging political participation. I will assess whether this holds true in the Kenyan context in two ways: by examining the influence of formal education, as well as the effects of the length of education, on voter turnout. Do Kenyans who received formal education vote more than those who did not? In addition to this question, I will determine whether Kenyans who attend school for longer years are more likely to vote than those with fewer years of education.

First Hypothesis: Does Formal Education Increase Voting?

I hypothesize that Kenyans who received formal education are more likely to vote than those who did not receive formal education. Coombs and Ahmed (1974) define formal as “the highly institutionalized, chronologically graded and hierarchically structured ‘education system,’ spanning lower primary school and the upper reaches of the university.” Formal education increases one’s skills to process information in subjects like politics (Ra, 1981). These skills enable people to follow political campaigns and news on mass media, which might create the interest to participate in politics. Additionally, formal schools emphasize the duty to vote and foster a sense of citizenship. This increases the moral pressure to vote.

My data analysis does not examine Kenyans with informal education separately. Instead, I lump together all people with informal education and those without any education, and compare their likelihood to vote with that of those with formal education. Informal education in pre-colonial Kenya fits part of the definition described above; it was hierarchically and

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chronologically organized depending on the season and the age of the individual. Children were first educated within the family, followed by local groups, and finally within the entire tribal organization where they went through initiations that helped shape their character. In the Gikuyu community, young people were provided with specific skills and knowledge at different stages in life, which allowed them to gain membership to certain groups that they had to remain loyal and show devotion to (Kenyatta, 1965, p. 111). Young people were also given the right to own property and taught the importance of unity in a community (Kenyatta, 1965, p. 115). During the initiation ceremonies, “graduation” to adulthood, the youth were also taught to help their country and obey elected leaders (Kenyatta, 1965, p. 106). The emphasis on social and economic responsibilities, as well as duties toward the country might trigger interest in participating in politics and influencing decision-making processes that affect the people. Informal education prepared Kenyans to become responsible and self-sustained members in society as older people, with learning and practical skills passed to children and adolescents (Kenyatta, 1965). However, it should be noted that education provided in pre-colonial period was the formal education at the time.

Second Hypothesis: Level of Education

The American studies reviewed earlier invite the hypothesis that Kenyans with more advanced education will be more likely to vote than those with less education. The Embassy of the Republic of Kenya reports that level of education is usually measured by number of years in school: primary or elementary school, secondary or high school, post-secondary institutions (e.g., from vocational and technical training institutes), university, and postgraduate advanced degrees.

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Typically, a university graduate would have spent 16 years in school; 8 (primary); 4 (secondary); 4 (university) (Embassy of the Republic of Kenya).

Literature Review on Voting in Kenya (Africa)

The scholarly literature on voting in Kenya and Africa more broadly has identified characteristics increasing the likelihood that people will turn out to vote, as well as obstacles to voting. These characteristics include age, gender, geographical location, party identity, religion, and socioeconomic status; each in turn are detailed below.

Voting in Kenya

Ethnicity and tribalism have been deemed to influence various civic actions in Africa, such as voting and rioting. Nelson Kasfir (1989) argues that ethnicity could be a motivation for political actions. Nnoli (1989) argues that tribalism requires common sentiment of being “one in relation to other groups,”(Nnoli, 1989, as cited in Oyugi, 1997). Even though the term tribalism is the most commonly used in Africa, the application of the term ethnicity is more general and less likely to trigger negative connotations (Kasfir, 1986). Some authors argue that tribalism is a natural condition in Africa that will continue to exist, while others argue that tribalism is an ideology that needs to be repudiated (Legum, 1970; Mamdani, 1976, p. 3).

Ethnic groups in Kenya are divided among ethnic-based political parties. Tribalism, which is used as a political and economic tool, influences the behavior of both voters and politicians (Nnoli, 1978, 1989 as cited in Oyugi, 1997). The electoral process is influenced by regimes that use elections to defeat certain ethnic groups, which often present themselves as “victims of ethnic ideology.” This behavior fosters ethnic political rivalry in Kenya (Mueller,

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2011; Oyugi, 1997). However, whenever Kenyan leaders are united by common goals, some of which are geared toward benefiting them in the long-run, they mobilize citizens to participate in politics. In 1992, the majority ethnic groups, which were led by leaders who formed the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD), united to eliminate Moi's dictatorship and establish multipartyism. The government responded by detaining these leaders. This triggered political opposition and a group of leaders created an alliance through which they mobilized people for change (Daily Nation, as cited in Oyugi, 1997; Oyugi, 1997).

The Constitution was amended to end one-party rule and allow multipartyism. Unfortunately, the unity among FORD leaders did not last since ethnic interests started influencing the party's agenda. Political leaders separated and registered political parties, none of which sought national support (Oyugi, 1997). During the presidential elections, the Kalenjin and co-ethnic groups voted to protect the privilege they enjoyed from having a Kalenjin President. They also voted to ensure that they continued receiving favors from the president (Posner, 2013; Oyugi, 1997). For the Gikuyu, the 1992 elections were viewed as an opportunity for them to regain political and economic power, which shifted to other ethnic groups after Moi became president. The Luo and Luhya perceived the 1992 elections as their opportunity "to eat." The Luo, political opponents of the Gikuyu, also wanted to demonstrate their numerical strength as the second largest ethnic group in the country (Oyugi, 1997).

Vote-buying is a very common practice in Kenyan politics. This behavior is not only practiced by new democracies, but has existed in old democracies such as Britain and the United States. In Kenya, voters who support the most competitive political parties on one hand, and

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those who support weak or less competitive political parties on the other hand, are the most vulnerable to vote-buying. According to Bratton (2013), individuals who have been in contact with vote buyers are 15% more likely to vote than those who were not approached. People with less education are also more likely to be persuaded by vote buyers than those with more education. Vote buying increases in the weeks leading up to elections. In most cases, poor citizens, who cannot afford basic needs are influenced by vote buyers through the distribution of material benefits including food, money, and gifts (Bratton, 2013, p. 103-108). Media in Kenya have reported cases whereby politicians dish out money to supporters in exchange for their votes (Nzioka & Munene, 2011).

Age

Young adults are less likely to vote in most African countries. The population of young adults in Africa aged between 15 and 35 years is over 35%. However, the engagement in political and economic affairs of this population is very low (World YWCA, 2013). This lower turnout is common in young adults who have attained voting age after their country's transition to democracy. Voter turnout of youths in democratic countries in Africa is also influenced by the number of years an incumbent party has been in power and their success in creating jobs. Additionally, some young adults abstain from voting due to corruption that they witness in politicians. Others do not seem to have a basic understanding of the government and politics (World YWCA, 2013). On the other hand, older voters are more likely to be discouraged from voting by the quality of democracy in their countries rather than the number of years a regime has held power (Resnick & Casale, 2011). Due to lower voter turnout of the young people in

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Botswana, the voting age was reduced from 21 to 18 during the democratic transitioning process in 1997. But this did not increase the youth vote in the following national election (Bratton, Mattes, & Gyimah-Boadi, 2005; Resnick & Casale, 2011; Molomo, 2000). In 1974 Kenya also reduced the voting age from 21 to 18 to encourage youth's participation in elections (Government of Kenya, 2010). And many young Kenyans did turn out to vote for the first time in the 2002 and 2007 historic national elections (Report of the Independent Review Commission, 2007). While lowering the voting age does not fully explain this improved turnout, the expanded franchise likely contributed to increased participation. Youth voter turnout remains low in democratic countries in Africa; however, the likelihood of voting increases by 4% each additional year a person lives (Resnick & Casale, 2011).

Difficulties in voter registration hamper the turnout of young adults more than that of any other age group. Adults 45 years or older are twice as likely to have a voter's card than those under 30. In Mali, Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda, and Tanzania, 23% of the younger generation was not registered to vote compared to 11% of the much older generation. In 2007, youth between the ages of 18 and 30 years composed 46.2% of the Kenyan population but only 32.1% were registered to vote (Report of the Independent Review Commission, 2007). Even though young adults may be as interested in public affairs as the older generation, institutional barriers, such as voter's registration, limit their participation (Bratton, Mattes, & Gyimah-Boadi, 2005).

Gender

In Kenya there is a very wide gap in voting between men and women. Kenya ranks 103rd out of 135 countries that were surveyed in 2012 by the Global Gender Gap Report (Hausmann,

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Tyson & Zahidi, 2012). Female voter turnout in Kenya is low because women are under-registered to vote (USAID, 2013). In 2007, women made up 51.4% of the Kenyan population versus 48.8% of male population in 2009 (Report of the Independent Review Commission, 2007; Mwatha et al. 2013). However, only 47.1% of women were registered to vote. In 1997, 47.9% had registered to vote, which means that their voter registration had been declining (Report of the Independent Review Commission, 2007).

Women's low voter turnout reflects their underrepresentation in the local and national government. Between 2008 and 2013, the parliament was comprised of 9.8% of women representatives in Kenya, which is below the global average of 18.8% for women members of parliaments. Women representation in Kenya is also low compared to such neighboring countries as Rwanda, where women's representation in the parliament is 56%, 36% in Tanzania, 35% in Uganda, 30% in Burundi, 26.5% in South Sudan and 24.6% in Sudan (USAID, 2013; Mwatha, Mbugua, & Murunga, 2013). A weak representation of women in the government is likely to discourage them from voting since they lack enough role models to inspire them to actively participate in elections. Additionally, lack of an equal representation of women and their needs might lead women to discount their influence on political issues and avoid voting. This is because males dominate important decision-making processes in political parties (Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) Kenya, 2013).

Various forms of actual discrimination and implicit expectations also limit women's voting. The Kenyan patriarchal culture favors men over women in terms of capital accumulation, political support, religious practices, and class division. During election campaigns, male

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political leaders often use violence to discourage female political contestants from vying for public office and intimidate their supporters (USAID, 2013; Hausmann, Tyson & Zahidi, 2012). Since women and children are generally more affected by violence than are men, some choose to abandon political responsibilities such as voting. Some communities, such as the Maasai, still believe that politics is an arena reserved for men: it is a curse to be led by women. Other religious groups still hold on to the stereotype that a woman's place is in the household (USAID, 2013). Bratton argues that housewives are less likely to vote than women who are not (Bratton, Mattes, & Gyimah-Boadi, 2005). In some cases, husbands and male relatives withhold females' identification or voting cards thus diminishing their chances to vote (Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) Kenya, 2013).

Geographical Location

People in rural areas are more likely to vote than those living in urban areas. This is common in most African countries except Botswana, Ghana, Malawi, and Nigeria, where there is little difference in voter turnout between rural and urban areas. Rural dwellers are more willing to engage in basic civic duties compared to urban dwellers. However, because of their poor access to mass media that might lead to a better understanding of political issues, rural dwellers are more easily manipulated to vote as a group than those living in urban areas. Lack of information also makes rural dwellers more easily misled to vote a certain way or be confused by political campaigns manipulating them to vote as a bloc (Bratton, Mattes, & Gyimah-Boadi, 2005).

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Party Identity

In Africa, belonging to political parties has the strongest influence on voter turnout. People who identify with a political party are 17% more likely to vote than those who do not. (Bratton, Mattes, & Gyimah-Boadi, 2005). People who feel closer to a certain political party are more likely to be persuaded to vote. On the one hand, mass electoral mobilization is very common in one-party African countries. In 2002, 33% of Kenyans identified with NARC (National Rainbow Coalition-Kenya), 12% identified with LDP (Liberal Democratic Party), and 10% with KANU (Kenya African National Union). In that election, NARC, the strongest party, had the highest voter turnout (Kramon, 2013, p. 108-109). People who identified with the NARC and LDP were more likely to vote than those who identified with KANU (Kramon, 2013, p. 112). Campaigns easily mobilize to vote those people who support political parties. In countries with influential political parties, people who attend community meetings, political rallies, or contact political leaders are more likely to engage in civic duties (Bratton, Mattes, & Gyimah-Boadi, 2005).

Religion

Solicitations delivered in some churches mobilize people to vote. Religious institutions that stimulate political participation empower individuals by proclaiming their power and possibility to achieve great things. These churches also affirm a sense of self-assurance among their followers (Marshall, 2009). Churches including Pentecostal, Charismatic and Renewalist, which have a high growth rate in developing countries, such as Kenya, preach self-affirming messages that indirectly stimulate individuals' will to participate in politics (McClendon &

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Riedl, 2015; Miller 2013; Ranger 2008). Such messages incite believers to take action or to get involved in crucial issues that might otherwise be intimidating (Hall, Zhao, & Shafir, 2013). The influence of self-affirming messages also triggers participation in those who attend the church regularly, rarely, or never attend (McClendon & Riedl, 2015). This kind of influence triggers voter turnout as well.

Religious groups that do not emphasize self-empowerment rarely encourage their followers to participate in elections. In contrast to sermons that affirm self-worth and capability are “social gospel” and secular messages that are less likely to boost political participation since they do not emphasize the potential and competence of an individual (McClendon & Riedl, 2015; Green, 2010). Scripture read in both Protestant and Catholic churches affirms a caring God and encourages individuals to endure earthly suffering (Pergament, 1997). Compared to affirming sermons provided by the Pentecostal, Charismatic and Renewalist, sermons from Catholic and Protestant churches are less likely to empower an individual to take civic actions. Catholics and Protestants promote instead pro-social behaviors that encourage concern for other people’s feelings, welfare, and rights. Messages that encourage people to care for others without affirming their self-worth first do not meet their goal (McClendon & Riedl, 2015; Shariff & Norenzayan, 2007). Such messages do not encourage voter turnout as well. Stimulating people to participate in politics is not part of Jehovah’s Witness and Sufi Muslim religious experience (Lawson, 1995; Sadowski, 2006; McClendon, & Riedl, 2015). For this reasons, these religious groups have lower numbers of active participants in politics (McClendon & Riedl, 2015).

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Socioeconomic Status

Some Africans are motivated to vote for electoral outcomes that might affect their economic well-being. A majority of voters in African countries have some source of income such as employment or a farm, or identify as middle class. These people, whether in rural or urban areas, are more attracted to voting on economic policies than are students, housewives, retirees, and the unemployed individuals. Policies that are more likely to create jobs can influence people to vote (Bratton, Mattes, & Gyimah-Boadi, 2005).

Contribution of the Study

Primarily my study examines whether Western studies on education and voting apply in the Kenyan context. My review of the literature did not reveal any studies showing whether formal education significantly influences voter turnout in Kenya. This is because the nature of the curriculum and educational system and practices are different in Kenya and in the U.S. Scholars have not explored the influence of formal education on civic engagement in Kenya; my original case study will demonstrate whether education shapes Kenyans' voting behaviors.

There are, however, studies that measure the influence of civic education programs on voter turnout. In new democracies, such as Kenya, civic education is provided to promote civic skills and understanding of democracy, and prepare citizens to participate actively by voting, contributing to legal reform process such as referendums, and shaping the political culture of a country (Finkel, 2002). Civic education can have great impact on democratic knowledge, civic engagement, political trust and tolerance, while overcoming inequalities and ethnic rivalries. While civic education is intentionally geared toward shaping values and civic engagement, these outcomes may or may not occur through formal or informal education. My study is distinct from

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these investigations in that it examines the influence of formal education on voting. More specifically, my study investigates whether the type and amount of education influences whether Kenyans turn out to vote.

Dependent and Independent Variables

In order to measure the dependent or outcome variable--voting, I will investigate the effects of formal and informal education and the length of education--the independent variables--among Kenyans. My goal is to find out whether the type of education individuals receive and the number of years spent acquiring knowledge in school influence voter turnout.

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Chapter III

Setting, Data, and Methods

Setting: Kenya

Kenya is a republic in East Africa, bordering the Indian Ocean, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, South Sudan, Ethiopia, and Somalia. Kenya occupies a total surface area of 580,370 square kilometers. Her total population is 45,925,301 people, of whom 22% are Gikuyu, 14% are Luhya, 13% are Luo, 12% are Kalenjin, and 11% are Kamba (Central Intelligence Agency, 2016). Kenya is a religious country: 75% of the population are Christians, 10% are Muslims, 10% indigenous religion, and 10% others (Chlopak, Leonard, Schechter, & Associates, 2010). English and Kiswahili are the official languages, but sizable populations also speak several indigenous languages. The currency is Kenya Shillings and the country's GDP is \$60.94 billion (ICANN, 2010; The World Bank, 2016). The capital Nairobi was founded by the British in 1899 as a terminal for the Mombasa and Uganda railway (ICANN, 2010). In 1920, Kenya became a British colony until December 12, 1963, when she gained her independence (Lonsdale, 1977, p. 841; Maxon, & Ofcansky, 2014, p. xxi).

Since independence, Kenya has had four presidents. The first, Jomo Kenyatta, is considered the founding father of the nation. Kenyatta died in office in 1978 and was succeeded by Daniel Toroitich Arap Moi, who ruled Kenya for 24 years under one-party rule (Omari, 2014; and Oloo & Oyugi, DPMF). Moi's regime, just like that of Kenyatta's, was marked by economic discrimination and political oppression (Oloo & Oyugi, DPMF). In 1992, multipartism was adopted but opposition parties remained weak until 2002, when Emilio Mwai Kibaki was elected

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the third president of Kenya (Throup, 2003). Kibaki led the country to adapt a new Constitution in 2010 and retired after a 10-year term in office (Kenyan Government, 2015). In 2013, Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta, the son of the founding father, became the fourth president of Kenya, winning elections with 50.07% of votes against the leader of the opposition, Raila Odinga with 43.31% of the vote (Elbagir, 2013).

The History of Ethnic and Education Segregation in Kenya

Educational segregation along ethnic and racial lines was reinforced in Kenya during the colonial era. The colonial government was interested in initiating social welfare that met the needs of settlers, and was only concerned about Kenyans' education whenever it lacked enough skilled manpower to develop the economy of the "superior race" and their political agenda (Eshiwani, 1990; Mart, 2011; Harik & Schilling, 1984). Education in Kenya was segregated according to racial differences among the Africans, Asians, Arabs, and Europeans. Since these groups were afforded varying politico-economic position in society, colonial curriculum was structured to prepare them for the various roles in society, which were racially discriminating (Eshiwani, 1990). In order for Kenyans to continue being a source of cheap labor for the Europeans, the colonial government forbade them to grow cash crops. Kenyans thus remained workers on the Europeans' farms. Asians, who were more privileged than Africans, worked as artisans and shopkeepers, and Europeans worked as civil servants, farm owners, and businessmen (Harik & Schilling, 1984; Sheffield, 1971).

Compared to other races, Africans were offered limited resources to pursue their education during the pre-colonial era. Africans, who constituted 97% of the population, received fewer educational resources, opportunities, and facilities compared to non-Africans who made up

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the other 3% (Eshiwani, 1990). In 1926, the colonial government spent \$33.40 for every African pupil per year, \$37.00 for every Asian pupil, and \$180.50 for every European pupil (Sheffield, 1971). As the colonial government and missionaries disagreed on the necessary level of Kenyans' education, the colonial government supported technical training for Kenyans, which paid lower wages and was less prestigious than academic education, which was offered to Europeans (Harik & Schilling, 1984).

During the interwar period, education became a political, economic, and social issue. For these reasons, the Europeans disagreed on the management, implementation, and focus of education for Africans. The Phelps-Stokes Commission on African education suggested that education be modified in order to meet the conditions and needs of Africans. This commission also encouraged the acknowledgement of language rights of the natives, the creation of an avenue for intertribal communication, and the introduction of health, sanitation, agriculture, and handicrafts in African schools (Ryan Jr., 1923). While the Phelps-Stokes Commission did not challenge the colonial government's idea of technical training in African education, their aim was to enable Africans to make better use of the readily available materials and resources and become self-reliant (Ryan Jr., 1923; Harik & Schilling, 1984).

Some Europeans endorsed an education that would foster equality among races and boost self-development. Lord Lugard (1933) advocated for public education to conserve African social life, and promote skill-building to enable Africans to become more efficient in managing their own affairs. According to Lugard, a good education should increase trust among the people, teach Africans to be proud of their own race, which was considered "inferior" by the Europeans,

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provide Africans with administrative training, and help create leaders who could rule people of their own race. Additionally, education should be accessible to the majority in order to avoid creating elites, who would imitate the European way of living. Lugard also wanted an education that would reduce the gap between educated and uneducated people in a community, and ensure the equal employment opportunities for educated Africans and Britons (Lugard, 1933).

Kenyans did not favor technical education because it did not prepare them to become self-reliant. Africans were trained to occupy low-paying jobs in economies dominated by the Europeans and had few chances of shaping policy to improve their situation. However, after World War I, Kenyans formed political groups such as the Young Kikuyu Association, East Africa Association, Kikuyu Association, the Kavirondo Taxpayers' Welfare Association, Kikuyu Central Organisation, and the Young Kavirondo, which contested the colonial government's expenditure on education and challenged the distribution of local authority by the colonial government. Local Native Councils (LNC), which were formed in 1924 in the most developed communities in Central and Western Kenya, advocated for Kenyans' interest in education and political development. The LNC were led by educated Kenyans including Harry Thuku, who had obtained a degree from Oxford University. These political leaders formed the ruling elite, the majority of whom were from Central Kenya (Schilling, 1976; Harik & Schilling, 1984).

Africans increasingly demanded better education, which the missionary and colonial government failed to provide. This led Africans to want to control their own education. They raised money and created independent schools through which they trained their own professionals such as lawyers, teachers, and doctors. These schools provided advanced education

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in English, which would enable Africans to fit in with the rest of the world, and become “powerful” like the Europeans. In addition, some ethnic communities, such as the Gikuyu, demanded that the British government recognize and legitimize higher education in Gikuyu land at university level (Ranger, 1965).

The active involvement of the Gikuyu in political and educational development in colonial times laid a strong foundation for their connection to political power today in Kenya. The settlers occupied most of the fertile areas in Gikuyu land where they established primary and secondary schools in Githunguri, Thogoto, Kikuyu, Limuru, and Kiambu. These schools including Alliance High School, Alliance Girl’s High School, Mang’u High School, which pioneered the aviation program, were pathways to top regional universities, such as Makerere, and remain top performers in Kenya today. Alumni from missionary schools created in Central Kenya achieved the highest positions including President, First Lady, Attorney General, celebrated authors, journalists, justices, Vice-Chancellor of public universities, and church leaders, among others. These people formed the Kenyan political and intellectual elite that influenced governance and external affairs regarding Kenya. Additionally, the missionaries established Thogoto and Kilimambogo teachers training colleges, which are the foremost schools in Kiambu. Moreover, the missionaries founded the Hunter Memorial Hospital at Thogoto, currently known as Presbyterian Church of East Africa Kikuyu Hospital, which is renowned for its dental and eye clinics (Mwagiru, 2011).

After independence, ethnic patronage and clientelism became the platform to access political power and state resources (Muhula, 2009). Jomo Kenyatta, the first president of Kenya,

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distributed most political, economic, and administrative power to his kinsmen, the Gikuyu. This was to ensure “his political survival,” reward his kinsmen for their political loyalty, and also establish political legitimacy (Munene, 2013). In 1956, the University of Nairobi, the first university in Kenya, was created near Kiambu, Kenyatta’s hometown. Kenyatta appointed Dr. Josephat Karanja from his home district as the university’s Vice Chancellor. The Gikuyu also occupied top administrative and executive positions in this institution. Through these actions, Kenyatta created and reinforced ethnocracy in institutions and in the government, which empowered the Gikuyu, in political and economic development. When Daniel Arap Moi succeeded Kenyatta, he shifted the distribution of state resources to his tribesmen in the Rift Valley Province and other minority ethnic groups in Kenya. Due to their newly acquired political power, people in the Rift Valley became more educated and their average lifespan increased (Munene, 2013). After losing a national referendum in 2005, President Emilio Mwai Kibaki improved universities for popular ethnic groups and neglected communities including the Luhya, Meru, Gikuyu, Gusii, Kamba, Somali population, and Coastal Ethnic groups. The aim was to consolidate political support of the targeted population and win followers from the opposition (Munene, 2013). Additionally, foreign aid was shared between Kibaki and Odinga, that is, between Kibaki’s Party of National Unity (PNU), the ruling party, and Odinga’s Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), the opposition (Jablonski, 2014). History shows that ethnic favoritism and change in the distribution of resources occur with the change in presidential powers or when a member of an ethnic or co-ethnic group has access to power (Kramon and Posner, 2012).

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Kenyan Education Systems

Since 1963, Kenya has implemented two education systems in which typically an individual would spend 16 years in school. After Kenyan independence in 1963, the country created the 7-4-2-3 education system that required students to spend seven years in primary education, four years in lower secondary, two years in upper secondary, and three years in university. This system was modeled after the British system with the aim of producing skilled workers to occupy positions previously filled by the British. In 1985, the revamped 8-4-4 system that required a student to spend eight years in primary school, four years in secondary school, and four years in university. This 8-4-4 system followed the U.S. model, with more attention to subjects such as mathematics, English, and vocational courses. Vocational training and emphasis on job-oriented courses prepare students who do not have the chance or aptitude to go on to university (Chalkboard, 2012; Embassy of the Republic of Kenya).

In 2013, Kenya proposed a new education system, 2-6-3-3-3, which would require students to attend formal schools for 17 years: 2 years of pre-school education, six years in primary education, three years in junior secondary, three years in senior secondary, and three years at university. The proposed education system aims at fostering early childcare and development, and skill building from childhood to adulthood or to upper levels of education. Even though Kenya is still implementing the 8-4-4 system of education, components of the new education system such as pre-school education, have been introduced in the country (Chalkboard, 2012; Kamau, 2015).

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Education Background

This section provides a description of education context in Kenya. I will be drawing from government reports, published literature, and my own field research in Kiambu County. In summer 2015, I studied whether political patronage undermines Kenyan education by interviewing 37 individuals about their educational and career experiences in Central Kenya. I also examined and analyzed the transformation of the education systems since the pre-colonial era to contemporary Kenya by looking at the different methods of knowledge transmission and distribution. Additionally, I examined the objectives, quality, and management of education in Kenya.

The majority of Kenya's institutions--from primary schools to universities--are found in Kiambu County; however, the performance of students in this county is worrisome. In 2013, Kiambu had 1,133 primary schools and 313 secondary schools, of which 213 are public schools (Kenya Information Guide, 2015; SoftKenya, 2012). 23 higher education institutions including universities, technical colleges, learning centers, and campuses are also located in this county (Study in Kenya, 2015). In the last decade, the number of educational institutions has been on the rise, totaling 79,641 in 2014 (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2015). This increase, however, has not matched Kenya's growing need for education. In Kiambu County, primary schools teachers complained about the overflowing classrooms, due to the free primary education program, and the lack of adequate resources and facilities (Kenyan Government, 2013; Kamau, 2015). This underfunding has led to poor performance in primary schools (Ogola, 2010; Kamau, 2015). In 2014, Kiambu's performance in KCSE was ranked 37 out of 47 counties, and

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parents criticized the poor performance trends in the last decade (Daily Nation, 2014; Kamau, 2015). Despite the poor performance, Kiambu sent the third highest number of students to public universities in Kenya, due its large population. Nakuru led with 4,889 students, followed by Nairobi with 4,797 students (Daily Nation, 2014).

The gender gap in education has been significantly reduced in recent years. In 2007, primary school enrollment and graduation rates were higher for male students than for female students in Kiambu County (Education Policy and Data Center, 2007). In 2014, the rate of female students sitting for the KCPE grew by 5.8% while that of male students grew by 4.0% (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2015). In 2007, the number of female students enrolled for secondary school education in Kiambu was slightly higher than that of male students (Education Policy and Data Center, 2007). Although more male students continue to graduate from secondary schools than female students nationwide, female students are expected to surpass male students in secondary and university education soon (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2015). According to a survey that I conducted in Kiambu, this decline could be attributed to the neglect of the male child, as the focus shifts to the empowerment of girls (Kamau, 2015). Additionally, child labor increases the number of male dropouts since they are more susceptible to underage work than female students in Kenya (Sigei, 2015).

University grade requirements for male and female students differ. In 2014, 4,162 students who qualified to join regular programs in public universities came from Kiambu. These students scored at least a mean grade of B plain (60 points) for males and B- (58 points) for female students in their Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE) (Daily Nation, 2014).

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These statistics show that it is easier for females to enter public universities with a lower grade. Even though male students make up to 59% of the student body at university level, female students dominate in courses such as nursing, dental surgery, environmental health, biochemistry, and pharmacy, with 57% percent. At the graduate level, however, female students make up 51% of the classes (Sigei, 2015). The dominance of female students in graduate schools could therefore be attributed to their lower grade requirement while entering university, and their concentration in courses such as dental surgery and biochemistry, which require more graduate education.

Some Kenyans describe the education system as unfair because students do not have equal opportunities. The Commission of University Education in Kenya considers the mean grade of C+ as the passing mark to enter university (The Commission of University Education, 2016). This score was supported by 29.1% of teachers interviewed in Kiambu. However, 20.8% of teachers suggested grade C as the passing mark. The mean grade of B+, B plain, and D+, was each suggested by 8.3% of teachers while 20.8% suggested a C plain and 4.2 % a C- (Kamau, 2015). Students who do not achieve the grade requirement that is determined by the Kenya Universities and Colleges Central Placement Service do not get entry to public universities, which are cheaper than private institutions. The standardized testing in Kenya therefore “discriminates against students who are below average academically,” (Njoroge as cited in Kamau, 2015). According to the survey conducted in Kiambu, 41.9% of the residents described the system of standardized testing as fair, okay, adequate, and good. 38.7% described it as unfair, inappropriate, non-effective, discriminating, problematic, and recommended its abolishment, while 19.4% described it as bad and recommended change or improvement. In order to take care

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of students who are not admitted to public university, but who are interested in pursuing further education, parents in Kiambu suggested the creation of tertiary schools, which might provide a bridge to university (Kamau, 2015).

Some students pursue various paths to secure education in private institutions, which weakens the quality of education in public universities. Some students who do not enter public universities enroll in private universities and colleges or join parallel programs that are offered by public universities (Daily Nation, 2014). Parallel programs have been an additional source of income to public universities, which lack enough resources due to reduced state funding. This affects the quality of education since public universities lack enough staff and facilities to cater for the overflowing classrooms (Mugwe 2011; Ng'ang'a 2011). The underperformance of public universities in Kenya is also demonstrated by their ranking below the top 1,000 universities in the world (Center for World University Ranking, 2014).

Some students, mainly from well-off families, go to universities in Western countries in search of quality education. According to UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS), 12,132 Kenyans studied abroad in 2013 (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2014). The number of Kenyan students studying in Western countries has been declining due to restrictive visa policies and the availability of cheaper education alternatives in East Africa (Clark, 2015). The increasing need for higher education in Kenya has led to the mushrooming of private institutions that lower the quality of education by offering unaccredited degrees courses not approved by the Ministry of Education (Mugwe, 2011; Sande, 2010; Matata, 2015; Kimani as cited in Kamau, 2015). Over 95% of teachers interviewed in Kiambu recommended public universities since they are

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consistent, well established, recognized by the government and in the job market, and are well known for specializing in various fields of studies. Additionally, some teachers argued that it is hard to identify whether private schools are for-profit or accredited (Kamau, 2015).

This section raises potential challenge to my hypotheses whether formal education or the length of education does indeed determine whether people vote in Kenya. These debatable issues include ethnicity, colonial legacy, and the curriculum offered in the various education systems in Kenya. The impact of these ideas on Kenyan history might shape conditions that probably affect how Kenyans respond to or participate in politics. I will further discuss these ideas in the conclusion and provide insight as to why information provided in the background might challenge my hypotheses.

Data

The primary data that I used came from the Afrobarometer. The Afrobarometer is an African-led research network that provides public opinion data on issues related to democracy, government, and economy in African countries. Afrobarometer conducts comparative surveys by collecting samples in multiple countries. All interviews are conducted face-to face and their sampling normally includes 1200 or 2400 respondents in each country. This sampling design provides every citizen, who has attained voting age in their country, with a chance to participate in the survey. For this reason, data collected by Afrobarometer is representative of the entire population in countries where surveys are conducted. Financed through public resources, Afrobarometer makes its data publicly available. This data has been collected in 37 countries in Africa (Afrobarometer, 2015). I analyzed data collected in 2003, 2005, 2008, and 2011.

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Additionally, I used data from the Government of Kenya websites and institutions that regulate education, including the Ministry of Education and the Commission of University Education. Because some of these sources provide data for public schools only (Education Policy and Data Center, 2007), my study will not focus on private schools for the most part.

During my summer fieldwork², I collected data and information through interviews and participatory observation on subjects related to objectives, quality, distribution and transmission, and management of education in Kenya. I used purposive sampling of teachers, church leaders, parents, staff members from Teachers Service Commission (TSC), and the Ministry of Education, as well as a random sampling of students over the age of 18. By interviewing participants from schools, churches, parents, and education officers, I was able to reach out to a bigger population of people from various regions and ethnic groups, who study, work or reside in Kiambu. Additionally, I interviewed people from various social and economic classes and levels and types of education. I participated and observed lessons in four primary schools and two secondary schools in Kiambu and compared the different methods of knowledge transmission and practices. Participation in this study was voluntary and participants were allowed to withdraw at any time in case they felt uncomfortable or refused to respond to any of the interview questions. I asked both closed and open-ended questions in English because my participants are students and professional workers, and are conversant in English. I manually took the notes on the site and regularly rephrased the ideas to confirm that I recorded the right information. Furthermore, I emphasized that confidentiality is guaranteed to all participants since

² See a description of the methods in the Appendix

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pseudonyms are used to protect their identity whenever their ideas are quoted. In this exercise, I conducted 260 hours of data collection, note taking, coding, and interviews.³

To complement this data, I extensively reviewed work by Kenyan scholars and journalists concerning education and politics and searched for trends that indicate the influence of education on voting. In addition, I examined scholarly sources from Google Scholar, journals, reviews, magazines, reports, surveys, and academic databases from LexisNexis, Education Resources Information Center, PAIS International, Web of Science, World report, World Bank, and AllAfrica.com. In my search, I used terms such as “KCSE or KCPE,” “Education and politics in Kenya,” “ethnic segregations, politics, and education,” among others. Moreover, I analyzed and coded data that I collected in Kiambu during the summer and compared it to the works of other scholars and official data. This procedure, I trust, allowed me to obtain credible information from quantitative and qualitative data. Finally, as a female Kenyan who pursued her primary, secondary, and college education in this country, my experiences gave me insight into the data I analyzed.

While measuring the relationship between voter turnout and the length of education, I classified my independent and control variables as shown in the table below:

³ A description of the methods is provided in the Appendix.

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Figure 1

Variable	How the variables are measured
Education	Whether the respondent had formal education or not Length of education
Political Participation	Whether the respondent voted in the last election

The type of education in this study is either formal or not. Formal education includes primary school education, secondary school education, post-secondary education or tertiary education, university education, and postgraduate education. I combine respondents who reported having informal education as a complementary group. Data from the Afrobarometer differentiated informal and no formal education by including Koranic Schooling as part of informal education. A respondent who did not receive both Koranic Schooling (or identified as Muslim) and formal education might have chosen no formal education because the previous two do not describes how they acquired their skills and knowledge. My interpretation is that respondents who chose no formal education might have received informal education from their elders or learned a skill or trade, such as carpentry, that did not require them to attend a formal school.

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Chapter IV

Results and Discussion

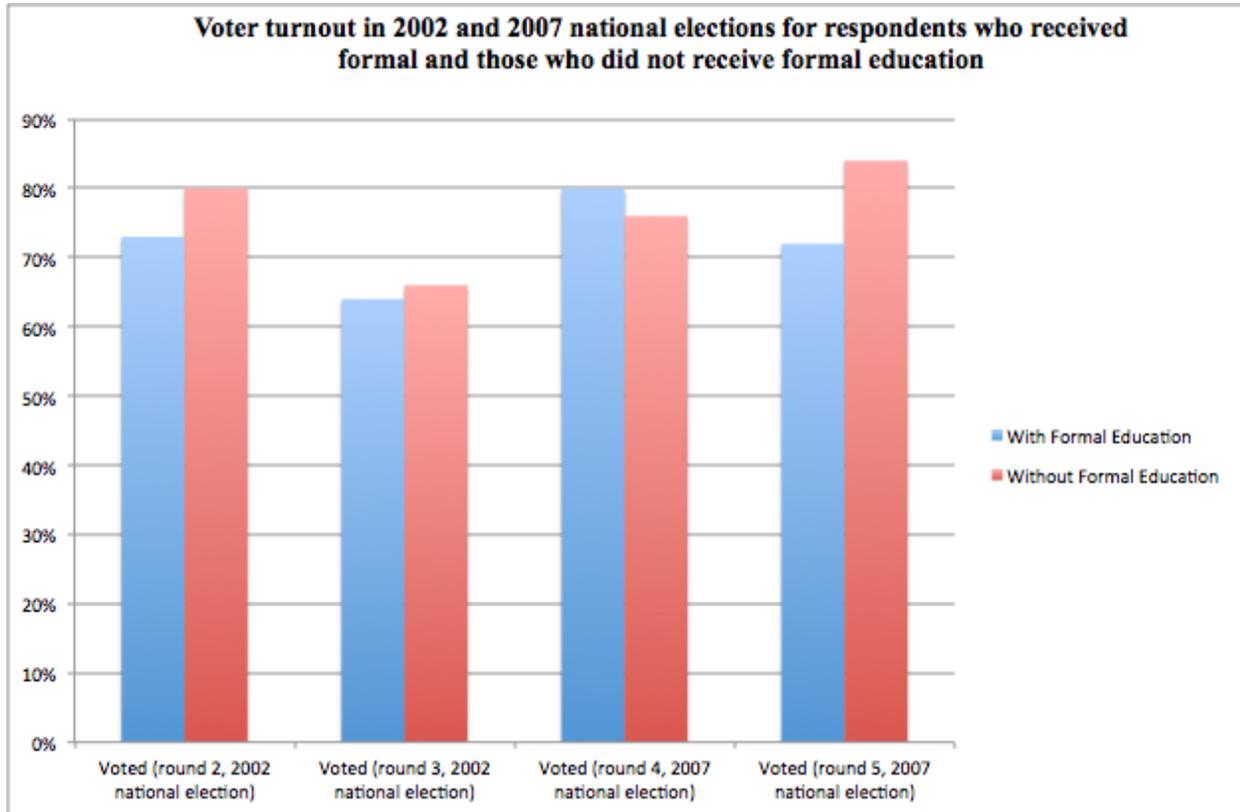
Results: Educational Experience and Voting

If the null hypothesis were true, there should be no association between earning an education and survey responses about having voted. To test my hypotheses, I analyze data from rounds 2 to 5 of the Afrobarometer survey conducted in Kenya. My analysis involves three stages. First, I identify questions from the Afrobarometer survey using a simple bivariate cross-tabulation method to describe and analyze the relationship between independent variables, (type of education and length of education), and the dependent variable (voting). My search uses phrases such as “level of education” and “national election.” Then, I create tables using Stata, a data analysis and statistical software. Finally, I report the percentage of voter turnout first by determining if the respondent received formal education or not and then by level of education completed. Eventually, I evaluate the association between education and voter turnout.

My first hypothesis stated that Kenyans who received formal education were more likely to vote than those who received no formal education. If the hypothesis is positive, we should see a higher population of Kenyans with formal education reporting to have voted more in the last national elections than Kenyans without formal education. The table below shows voter turnout in 2002 and 2007 national elections for respondents who received formal and those who did not receive formal education.

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Figure 2



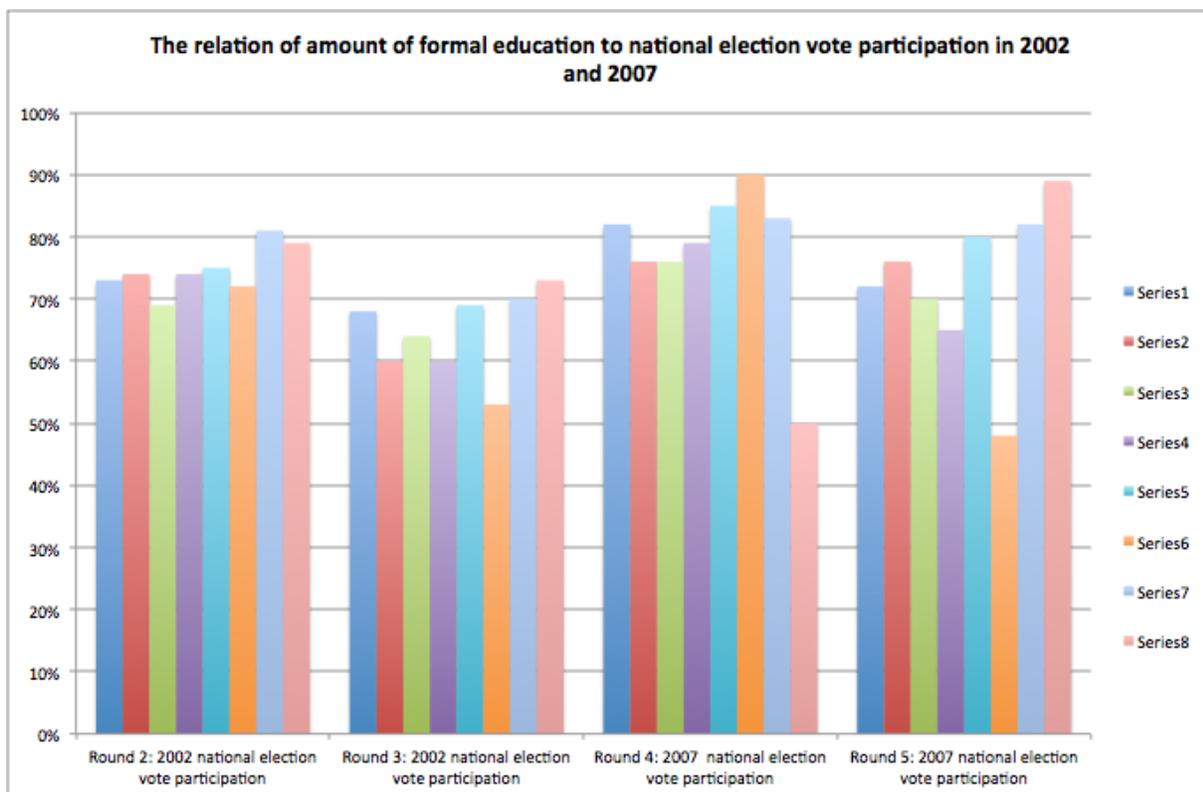
These results indicate that Kenyans with formal education turned out to vote at a higher percentage than those with no formal education only in round 4. These results do not match my hypothesis. Therefore, receiving formal education does not increase the likelihood to vote in Kenya.

My second hypothesis stated that Kenyans with more advanced education will be more likely to vote than those with less education. If the hypothesis is positive, we should see Kenyans with higher levels of education voting more in national elections than those with lower levels of education. The figure below shows the results of voter turnout based on the level of education.

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Series 1 in *figure 3* below represents respondents with some primary schooling, 2- primary school completed, 3- some secondary school/high school, 4- secondary school completed/high school, 5- post-secondary qualifications, not university, 6- some university, 7- university completed, and 8- post-graduate.

Figure 3



In all rounds, the results do not show that Kenyans with many years of formal education turned out to vote in higher percentages than those with less education. If the evidence supported the hypothesis, then we should see an upward trend in the bar graph for each round of Afrobarometer, but we do not. Instead the graph is inconsistent, which indicate that pursuing higher levels of education does not influence or increase the likelihood of voting in Kenyans.

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Results: Discussion

These results demonstrate that Kenyans who have formal education are not necessarily better prepared for adult political responsibilities than those who do not have formal education. Even though formal education does provide opportunities to develop skills that serve as “predispositions” toward adulthood behaviors in politics, in an educational environment that is not formal, people learn within their families, clans, age groups, and ethnic groups that traditionally formed the political structure of society. Regardless of schooling, early life engagement in political and social issues prepares individuals to become active members in society: this seems one advantage of no formal education over formal education.

These results could indicate that Kenyans’ voting behaviors are influenced by other factors such as ethnicity, poor political campaigns, proximity to ballot boxes, voter registration requirements or lack of emphasis on political participation in the school curriculum. One explanation for these results is that Kenyans, who received no formal education, are older and lived through the struggle for Independence and thus may feel more patriotic and more responsible to fulfill their voting duties than those coming of age after Independence. To prove whether this idea is true, it is necessary to find out the age of Kenyans who received no formal education and compare that to their voter turnout in all rounds. If the majority among them turns out to be 52 years and above, the age of independent Kenya, then it could be argued that their political and social experiences during independence influence their voting behavior. However, some Kenyans who are 45 years old and even slightly younger might be too young for this variable to much matter because they might lack conscious experience of the struggle.

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In *figure 2* above, Kenyans who received no formal education and who probably make up the older generation of the Kenyan population, might have refrained from participating in round 4 survey because of fear. Round 4 Afrobarometer interviews were carried out in October and November 2008, right after the 2007-2008 post-election violence. The fear of expressing and practicing their political beliefs at that time might have compromised the results. During the 2007-2008 violence, people were being killed or displaced, and their property burnt. In such conditions, only a few people, especially the old, would volunteer to participate in political surveys for fear of their lives. But in November 2011, Kenyans who received no formal education responded to having voted more in round 5 Afrobarometer interviews, which were done toward the end of 2008. At this period in time, political stability and peace was regained and expressing one's political beliefs and practices would have posed a lesser threat to one's safety, especially for the older generation. If this assumption is true, having no formal education in Kenya would be a strong predictor of voter turnout.

The content of education that Kenyans receive might be another determining factor in their voting behaviors. When receiving no formal education in the pre-colonial period, Kenyans and especially the Gikuyu were not allowed to undertake adult duties if they failed to prove that they were responsible. In part, the sense of responsibility for Kenyans aged 52 years and over could have translated into carrying out civic duties such as voting. Since independence, Kenya has implemented two education systems, 7-4-2-3 and 8-4-4, which, respectively, were modeled after the British and American systems of education. The curriculums in these two systems emphasize different skills: studying the importance of each one of them on voter turnout could shed more light on my thesis results.

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Chapter V

Conclusion

Using data from Afrobarometer, this thesis has examined whether having formal education and the length of education influence whether Kenyans turnout to vote. My results have shown that people with formal education are not more likely to vote than those without. I had hypothesized that Kenyans with formal education would be more likely to turn out to vote more than those without formal education but the results did not confirm my hypothesis. If my hypothesis were upheld, the results would have shown Kenyans with formal education reporting to vote more than those without. Education therefore seems to influence voting in a way that I had not expected. However, Kenyans without formal education turned out to vote more than those with formal education. The length of education also does not predict how Kenyans vote. I had hypothesized that Kenyans with higher education would be more likely to vote than those with less education. The results did not support this hypothesis either. If this hypothesis were affirmed, the results would have demonstrated highly educated Kenyans turning out to vote more than those with less education.

My findings suggest that factors other than education influence how Kenyans vote. Ethnicity and resource distribution could be some of those factors as my literature review in Chapter 2 suggests. Kenya has 42 ethnic groups and the Gikuyu have dominated politics and business since independence. Together with their co-ethnic groups including the Kamba and Meru, the Gikuyu have received favor from political leaders in Central Kenya, who make up a majority of government. After Independence, Kenyatta provided education in Central Kenya,

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where the colonial government had already established most of the schools. As a result, people from Central do not have to vote because they already have power. In other words, the more education Kenyans have, the less they *need* to turn out to vote. Future research could look at education alongside access to resources -- drawing on the literature about socioeconomic status reviewed in Chapter 2 -- to better tease out the impact of education on voting.

On the other hand, Kenyans from ethnic groups that do not have power and education might be drawn more to vote in order to gain favors from politician, obtain political patronage, or have a share of the national cake. During his reign, Moi's government shifted the allocation of resources to ethnic Kalenjins and co-ethnic groups. Throughout this time, the Gikuyu might have been drawn to vote more in order to regain power and favors that they were used to receiving from Kenyatta's government. As the literature review in Chapter 2 showed, rural and poor voters are more vulnerable to vote-buying or bloc voting. Future research could control for these variables and see what additive effect education has on turnout. Relatedly, a future study could examine contexts where vote-buying is uncommon; because in Kenya vote-buying is common during elections, it is difficult to isolate the impact of education on turnout.

The colonial government introduced resource, education, and power inequality through segregation in schools and centralization of institutions in Central Kenya. The Gikuyu demanded their own schools and finally led the fight for independence. As discussed in chapter 3, these experiences and their power over institutions immediately after independence gave the Gikuyu a strong start in post-independent Kenya. Since then, the Kenyan government, which has been dominated by Gikuyu, has continued to affirm the colonial legacy of unequal distribution of

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power, education, and resources. As a result, the Gikuyu might not feel the need to vote because they “own” the power and resources. On the contrary, their pride in leading Kenya to freedom or the need to protect what they own might motivate them to vote more than any other ethnic group. Even though the influence of colonial legacy on voter turnout in Kenya might seem far-fetched, a comparative study that elaborates how inequality that was introduced by the British affects or benefits the various ethnic groups in Kenya could explain how the colonial legacy shapes how Kenyans respond to politics or whether they feel patriotic enough to engage in civic duties.

Kenyan systems of education should also be studied to determine if they put more emphasis on the importance of political participation. Kenya has implemented two systems of education since independence. The curriculum in these two systems emphasizes different skills such as producing skilled laborers and enough workforce to develop the economy. If the curricula do not help Kenyans develop moral obligation or interest to participate in politics, then this could help explain why formal education does not influence whether Kenyans vote or not. Finally, this study should determine skills and knowledge that were provided in pre-colonial education, and which are not emphasized by post-colonial systems of education in Kenya. This information would clarify whether not having formal education prepared Kenyans to vote more than did formal education. This study would also help explain how the likelihood of voting is influenced by living through the struggle for Independence and by the type of education an individual received.

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Appendix

Afrobarometer Codebooks' Questions on Education and Voting

Data in round 2 was collected between 17th August and 23rd September 2003. I studied question number Q84 to determine respondents' type and level of education. On the codebook, the question is phrased as follows: "What is the highest level of education you have completed?" Additionally, I explored question number Q27C-KEN to determine voter turnout among Kenyans. The question reads as follows: "With regard to the last national elections in December 2002: Did you vote?" The sample size for this round is 2,400 participants.

Data in round 3 was collected between 6th September through 28th September 2005. I examined question Q90 on respondents' type and level of education, which is phrased the same as in round 2. I also analyzed question number Q30 to evaluate voting trends in Kenya. The question reads as follows: "With regard to the most recent, 2002 national elections, which statement is true for you?" The sample size for this round is 1,278.

Data in round 4 was collected between October 1st and November 20th 2008. I studied question number Q89 to investigate respondents' level and type of education. This question is phrased the same as in round 2 and 3. To measure voter turnout among Kenyans, I scrutinized question number Q23D that reads as follows: "With regard to the most recent, 2007 national elections, which statement is true for you?" The sampling size in this round is 1,104.

Data from round 5 was collected between November 2nd and November 29th 2011. I reviewed question number Q97, which is phrased the same as in round 2, 3, and 4. Finally, I

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researched question number Q27, which is worded the same as in round 4, to determine how Kenyans turnout to vote. The sampling size in this round is 2,400.

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