



Role of electorates' culture in parliamentary Elections: case of webuye constituency, Kenya

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ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received: 28 April 2012;

Received in revised form:

22 December 2012;

Accepted: 28 December 2012;

Keywords

Culture,
Election,
Constituency,
Newspapers.

ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the extent to which the electorates' culture plays a role in parliamentary elections in Webuye Constituency, Kenya. The main assumption is that the electorates' culture influences peoples' attitudes and choices. Three objectives form the basis of the paper. These are: to assess the role of the electorates' moral values in parliamentary elections, to examine the role of electorates' patriarchal values in parliamentary elections and to investigate the impact of electorates' oral traditions in campaigns and voting patterns during parliamentary elections. The Interaction Interpretive theory is the main tool used to probe various aspects and elements of politics. The paper is organized into three sections. Section one covers the background information to the paper, statement of the problem, objectives of the paper, literature review and theoretical framework. Research methodology, results and discussion are in sections two, three and four respectively. Primary data is collected from oral interviews, observation and questionnaires while secondary data is collected mainly from written materials like published books, periodicals, newspapers, journals and Internet. The target population is randomly and in specific cases purposively sampled. The findings are presented according to each research objective mainly using tables. Percentages are computed to give a clear statistical picture of the state of issues under investigation.

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Introduction

General Background

Sir E. B. Tylor (1832-1917) defined culture as that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, customs and other capabilities and habits acquired by a human being as a member of society (Sordar 1997:4). In short, culture is the way of life of a people (Wanjama 2006:22).

Many policymakers now acknowledge that the social and cultural norms that people observe influence their attitudes and choices, and that people need not – and in many societies often do not – act autonomously (Moncrieffe 2004:1). Pursuing multicultural policies also encourages democratic processes because they accommodate diverse groups and extend their cultural freedoms thus helping to minimize exclusive and conflicting political identities and preventing or helping to end violent conflict (United Nations Development Programme 2004:47). Despite this acknowledgement, most scholarship on the role of culture in parliamentary elections tends not to incorporate cultural issues systematically into discussions of the informal practices of social control that influence elections. However the problems caused by Members of Parliament (MPs) who are elected because of the electorate's culture are threatening to add another obstacle to Kenya's development efforts since for instance, they have frequently succeeded in blocking initiatives geared towards the modernization of the Kenyan family and marriage legislation that still dates from the colonial period (Muteshi 2009). Also there has been continuous outcry from the electorate that most MPs after being elected to parliament, abandon them and do very little to mobilise people to alleviate problems like poverty, disease and insecurity that

afflict them (Benchmark 2007). Also, the quality of life of the electorate is directly affected in many ways by government policies and decisions, which MPs participate in making. Therefore it is inevitable that MPs who are not mindful of their electorates' culture and welfare have not only become an impediment to development at the local level but also at the national level. The continued role of the electorates' culture in Kenyan parliamentary elections is also critical because it has led to a very limited number of women being elected to parliament as shown in Table 1.1 below.

The limited number of women elected to parliament makes them to form a very low percentage of the total number of MPs elected to parliament not only during the one party system but also after the return of multiparty politics. This low percentage of women elected to parliament makes Kenya to languish near the bottom of the IPU rankings for women's representation. IPU which monitors the participation of women in governments, ranked Kenya at position 103 out of 187 countries (IPU 2009). In Africa, only Niger, Gambia, Ghana, Botswana, Algeria, Nigeria, Libya, Somalia, Chad, Egypt, Mozambique and Namibia had smaller percentages of women in parliament. Unfortunately, this trend is unlikely to change in the near future unless critical measures are taken by the government, the various communities and women in particular to address the problem

Statement of the Problem

The overall research problem addressed in this paper is that in parliamentary elections, there is always a correlation between traditional moral values and parliamentary candidates' attributes

(Katumanga 2005:236-270). This correlation interests this study to an extent that it intends to establish how such correlation influences the voting behaviour of different ethnic communities in parliamentary elections. In addition, dominant patriarchal values in the rural areas that regard politics and public life as a male domain and those that force illiterate female voters to seek permission and advice of their husbands or fathers on voting and voting choices as articulated by Wanyande (2006:75); Charney et al. (2004:63-65) and Tuulikki (2002:286-290), interest this paper because they leave some pertinent questions unanswered. Such questions include: Are the husbands or fathers also illiterate? What about literate women, do they also need advice and permission to vote? Do literate husbands or fathers insist that their wives or daughters get their permission and advice before going to vote or making their voting choices? This paper seeks to answer these pertinent questions.

It is also documented that oral traditions like songs and narratives transmit campaign messages, party ideologies and construct visions about the future for mobilisation purposes (Katumanga 2005:225). This contention raises questions like: Are these the only oral traditions that play a role in parliamentary elections? Are there any other uses of oral traditions in parliamentary elections? Indeed such questions reveal that there is a dearth in the literature on the role of culture in parliamentary elections.

This issue of the role of culture in parliamentary elections raises concern about the extent to which it influences parliamentary elections. If its influence is not effectively interrogated and understood, opportunities that would have otherwise been available for disadvantaged segments in the society like women to advance socio-economically and politically would be foreclosed due to unfair competition. This in the long run will make it difficult for Kenya to achieve equality for all in national development.

Objectives of the Study

The specific objectives of the study are:

To assess the role of the electorates' moral values in parliamentary elections.

To examine the role of electorates' patriarchal values in parliamentary elections.

To investigate the impact of electorates' oral traditions in campaigns and voting patterns during parliamentary elections.

Rationale of the Study

This study was undertaken with the belief that understanding the role of culture in parliamentary elections is important in solving some of the political and socio-economic problems facing Webuye Constituency and most developing countries. It also intended to explain political interactions that take place in multi-ethnic/sub-ethnic constituencies. The findings on the relationship between traditional moral values and parliamentary candidates' attributes and voting patterns of the electorate of different cultural identities not only fill the existing knowledge gap on the role of culture in parliamentary elections but also help the electorate elect leaders who are mindful of their welfare. Types and uses of oral traditions during campaigns also fill the existing knowledge gap and can be employed by campaign organisers during election campaigns. Policy makers on the other hand, are able to establish the magnitude of the influence of patriarchal values on women's participation in politics and formulate policies that can reverse the situation. The government also finds out how culture affects elections and

formulate multicultural policies to regulate it and encourage democratic practices.

Literature Review

The literature reviewed reveals that culture has a significant impact in parliamentary elections. Prewitt and Hyden (1967:304-305) examined the 1965 general elections in Tanzania and found out that 'keeping in touch' (which is not only paying visits to the electorate, but also identifying with the people from whom a parliamentary candidate sprung) is very important in parliamentary elections. Parliamentary candidates who are proud, selfish and dishonest are judged harshly, as well as those who adopt the symbols of a different way of life. This paper however differs from Prewitt and Hyden's study in the sense that instead of counting the number of visits the incumbent makes to the constituency; it examines other methods that Incumbent Members of Parliament (IMPs) and other parliamentary candidates use to keep in touch with the constituents. It also attempts to find out how CDF is used to keep in touch with the electorate and how its usage affects voting behaviour with special focus on the 2007 parliamentary elections. Moreover, it analyses how the methods used by parliamentary candidates to keep in touch with the electorate influences development, cultural identity and voting patterns.

Cowen and Kanyinga (2002:159) intimate that wealth alone cannot make a parliamentary candidate win elections but how he/she uses the wealth to boost development in his/her constituency. They also point out that familial neglect of the first wife after marrying a second wife from another ethnic community causes parliamentary candidates to lose elections. For purposes of this paper, familial neglect of the first wife after marrying a second wife from another ethnic community is taken to mean a parliamentary candidate being disloyal to the prophecies of the electorates' culture concerning how they should relate with other communities politically. The paper also examines how such loyalty or disloyalty to the prophecies affects voting behaviour of parliamentary elections with the 1992 through the 2007 elections as case studies.

Katumanga (2005:236-270; 2001:513-516) and Tuulikki (2002:286-290), argue that a candidate's attributes influence parliamentary elections. Attributes like honesty, ability to arbitrate and defend the people's interests and rights, financial ability, generosity and being principled are very important in winning elections. Also a parliamentary candidate who lacks a house in the constituency is considered as a stranger who is not generous and his wife as being unwilling to cook for people. Furthermore a parliamentary candidate who identifies with the dignity and welfare of the electorate, for instance by initiating development projects like construction of bridges, fundraising for schools and women projects is more likely to win elections. Katumanga also holds that traditionally, the head of the clan in Luhya culture has to be the eldest member of the clan who is rich, honest, generous, articulate, courageous, intelligent counsellor and arbitrator. He also contends that the Luhya culture demands that those who go to visit a leader take him some gifts in the form of food. This expectation from the leader and the led in Luhya-land explains why Luhyas vote for both radical and ultra conservative politicians.

The candidates' attributes discussed by Katumanga and Tuulikki are similar to the traditional moral values that the culture of the electorate considers worthwhile; and the fact that they influence parliamentary elections make them relevant to this study. However, Katumanga and Tuulikki do not examine

how such candidates' attributes relate with the electorates' traditional moral values. Also, they do not examine how the electorate know about the candidates' attributes. Consequently, they do not make an attempt to find out whether those traditional moral values help get good MPs or not. Katumanga also do not take into consideration that people of other ethnic communities like the Luo, Kikuyu, Teso and Kalenjins work, reside and vote during parliamentary elections in Luhya-land constituencies like Webuye. Therefore this paper analyses how the traditional moral values of voters from different ethnic communities relate with those ones of Luhya sub-ethnic communities on one hand and parliamentary candidates attributes on the other.

Katumanga (2005:225-235) further finds that songs/dances and narratives transmit campaign messages, party ideologies, and construction of visions about the future for mobilisation purposes. The songs/dances point to the level of development, hopes and aspirations of the people. To him local languages unite differentiated social classes and also act as a medium through which national issues are analysed. He also asserts the collective dignity of the people and their legitimate right to chart out their own destiny. This literature reviewed reveals that other oral traditions used during campaigns like proverbs have not been analysed. Also little has been done to find out types of songs/dances and narratives used and their uses. Consequently, the musical instruments, dancing styles and ululating accompanied with oral traditions like songs during campaigns have not been looked at. This paper therefore fills this knowledge gap.

Tuulikki (2002:292) also posits that most illiterate women in the Maasai community of Tanzania were forced by their husbands to vote for their candidate or the candidate that the traditional local leader had openly announced he will vote for. This acknowledgement that male voters influence female voters' choice make Tuulikki's study important to this study because it explains how the electorates' patriarchal values influence parliamentary election outcomes. However, it can be noticed that the influence of husbands on literate women in parliamentary elections has not been analysed. Also, whether literate women vote for the candidates their husbands vote for has not been examined. Nevertheless, other methods that husbands use to make women vote for their candidates have not been examined. Also, whether husbands forcing their wives to vote for the parliamentarians they vote for lead to election of good MPs has not been analysed. This paper seeks to fill this knowledge gap.

Charney et al. (2004: 63-65), conducted a public opinion poll in Afghanistan regarding the country's election that was held in October 2004 and found out that women needed permission from husbands, fathers or male elders to vote in the elections. Men also advised women on their voting choices. The survey also found out that 26.7% of women were not going to be allowed to vote. Such refusal to allow wives and daughters to vote was more often voiced by illiterate men. Other reasons reported by women for not going to vote included not understanding how elections work, not understanding politics, not knowing enough about parties and candidates and fear of violence and intimidation.

The study by Charney recognises the impact of dominant patriarchal values on the voting behaviour of women by indicating that illiterate men usually don't allow their wives or daughters to vote or dictate whom they vote for but leaves us wondering whether the women whose voting rights are violated

are also illiterate or not. Also just knowing that the men and women are literate or illiterate is not enough. It is of more importance if their level of education and occupations are known so that it is found out who interferes with the voting rights of women most.

The Armenian Association of Women with University Education (2007:43-5) and Armah (2003:2), just like Charney et al. (2004), explain reasons that limit women participation in politics. The Armenian Association of Women with University Education use focus groups, round-table discussions, analysis of statistical data on women and interview methods and find out that the moral and psychological barriers for women's political participation are often as a result of self-discrimination. Women do not participate in politics because they feel it is not easy to be heard or be appreciated. They also establish that there are a number of attributes that are forced upon women by society. The most common among women-politicians is the attribute of losing femininity. Women always find it hard to do things that male leaders do without any effort. The study also analyses stereotypes and find out that politics is not a woman's business and that women don't vote for their fellow women. On the other hand, Armah (2003) posits that women seeking to venture into politics find that the political, socio-economic and socio-cultural environment is unfriendly and hostile to them. She points out that discrimination against girls in education makes it difficult for many women to find their way into positions where they are likely to move easily into the political limelight.

From this literature, it is deduced that the reasons that lead to women marginalization in politics emanate from culture which undermines women by viewing men as superior to them. This paper fills knowledge gaps in the role of culture in parliamentary elections by finding out other factors emanating from the African culture that undermine women thus limiting their participation in parliamentary elections.

Muteshi (2009), Wanyande (2006:75), and Barasa (2003:2) also explain factors that emanate from the culture that favour men and not women thus limiting women participation in politics. Muteshi points out that in Kenya, the low number of women MPs is due to gender stereotypes, lack of funds and threats of violence that women encounter during elections. Wanyande states that it is due to the dominant patriarchal values in the rural areas that regard politics and public life as a male domain. Barasa contends that men use violence to deny women a fair chance to compete in Kenyan elections. She points out that all political parties contravened nomination rules in the 2002 elections and that in almost all cases, parties favoured men at the expense of female candidates who were considered too weak to survive the electoral experience.

This paper also examines the impact of patriarchal values on political party nomination in parliamentary elections. It analyses the effect of patriarchal values on voter turnout in both party nominations and general elections, and also attempts to find out if patriarchalism leads to election of good or bad MPs. Moreover, it seeks to find out other methods (other than violence) that men use to make women not aspire for parliamentary seats.

Ojwang and Kisia (2007) contend that prophecies influence voting behaviour of the electorate. They point out one prophecy by the prophet and freedom fighter, Elijah Masinde which state that the Bukusu ascendance to Kenyan national leadership will come from Lake Victoria through the Luo. It is for this reason that the majority of the Bukusu of Bungoma and Trans Nzoia

backed Jaramogi Oginga Odinga who vied for the presidency on FORD-K ticket in the 1992 general elections.

This paper also notes that prophecies are important aspects of oral traditions because just like narratives and proverbs they are highly valued in most societies and influence voting behaviour in parliamentary elections. It analyses the voting patterns of voters from different ethnic communities in Webuye Constituency with an aim of finding out how they vote for various parliamentary candidates who vie for the Webuye Constituency seat on different party tickets with presidential candidates of different ethnic affiliations as from 1992 to 2007.

In a nutshell, there are knowledge gaps as pertains to the role of culture in electoral politics. It is revealed that IMP's use of CDF to keep in touch with the electorate has not been examined. It is also clear that loyalty of parliamentary candidates to the prophecies of the electorates' culture and the relationship of the electorates' traditional moral values and the parliamentary candidate's attributes have not been analysed. More so the influence of husbands on literate women, their level of education, gender stereotypes and other forms of discrimination that emanate from culture and affect women's participation in parliamentary elections has not been systematically analysed. The role of oral traditions as a campaign strategy in parliamentary elections has also not been effectively examined. This paper therefore attempts to fill these existing knowledge gaps.

Theoretical Framework

Studies on voting behaviour in elections are mainly guided by the Socio-psychological Model, the Rational Choice Model, the Instrumentalist Model and the Interaction Interpretive Model. The Socio-psychological Model focuses on individual attitudes to explain voting behaviour. It utilises scientific polls to study voting (Bond 2001:296). At the core of Socio-psychological Model is party identification. Factors like socio-economic status, religion and gender are distant influences on voter choice but have a big effect on party identification. This model contends that individuals start to acquire party identification, learning it in large part from their parents through the process of political socialization. Party identification in turn influences attitudes about issues and candidates later in life and combine with the specifics of a particular campaign to explain the immediate voter choice. Butler and Stokes in 1963 interviewed 2, 009 UK electors in 80 constituencies and found that 75 percent who identified with the Conservative Party came from homes where both parents were Conservatives, and 81 percent of voters who identified with the Labour Party came from homes where both parents were Labour supporters (Morgan 1999:97). Roubaud utilised this model in his study of the 1996 general elections in Madagascar but found ambivalent and questionable results (Maupeu et al.2005:34). The results reveal that party identification is not mainly learnt from parents through party socialization. Rose and McAllister also argue that people are forced to choose which party to vote for in every election because parties they previously voted for no longer exist or have changed radically (Cited in Shaun 2002:250).

The Rational Choice Model on the other hand is based on the assumption that individuals make decisions for the purpose of providing themselves the greatest possible benefits (McNabb 2004:26-27). Citizens decide whether to vote, and then decide which candidate to vote for on the basis of individual rational calculation (Bond 2001:298). In most cases, they vote if the benefits outweigh the costs, and vote for the candidates who are

closest to sharing their views on issues they consider important. Likewise, politicians make rational calculations as they take positions on some issues; they calculate what will give them the best returns (Roskin 2000). The rational choice model has various variants that are used to study elections. Two of them are the Downian Expected Utility Model and Minimax Regret Model.

The Downian Expected Utility Model was formulated by Downs (1957) and extended by Tullock (1967) and Riker and Ordeshook (1968). Its hypothesis is that if there is a low probability that an individual voter brings about the victory of a candidate or issue, rational self interested individuals would not vote. Kimenyi and Gutierrez (2008:2), however, note that this outcome contradicts the observed behaviour of voters since many voters vote even in elections where the probability of one's vote being pivotal is miniscule (that is when the number of voters is large such that the probability of a voter being decisive is almost zero). It also entails an exaggerated belief in the ability of the human mind to determine in all situations the uniquely rational cause of action. Moreover, it doesn't describe reality accurately since it ignores all forms of irrationality and subconscious behaviour even though they play a vital role in real world politics (Parsons 2005:26). The limitations of the Downian Expected Utility Model are mitigated by the notion of 'bounded rationality' as advanced by Herbert Simon. In this notion, Simon points out that individuals attempting to maximize utility in their decisions are likely to be unable because of lack of all the information necessary to make rational decisions, mental incapacity to process all alternatives or all the consequences that follow each alternative, the constraints of time within which a decision has to be made and lack of resources to arrive at the optimal decision (Simon 1957; Wikipedia 2011). Accordingly, human beings simply engage in 'satisficing' behaviour rather than arriving at the optimal decision.

Chester Barnard further adds another limitation of the Downian Expected Utility Model by pointing out that decisions that an individual makes as a member of an organization are quite distinct from his personal decisions (Barnard 1938:77). He posits that personal choices may determine whether an individual joins a particular organization or not but as a member of that organization, that individual makes decisions not in relation to personal needs and results but in an impersonal sense as part of the organizational intent, purpose and effect. Even organizational inducements, rewards and sanctions are all designed to form, strengthen and maintain this identification.

Minimax Regret Model was proposed by Frerejohn and Fiorina (1974) to rescue the Downian Expected Utility theorists from the embarrassment of not fully explaining the paradox of voting. They argue that voters cannot assign probabilities to outcomes under uncertainty. Instead they compute regrets associated with different strategies and choose the strategy that minimizes the maximum possible regret. Therefore, in this formulation, the voter is motivated to vote in order to avoid regretting should a less preferred candidate pass as a result of the voter abstaining. The Minimax Regret Model, however, is not even better in explaining voter participation because of its extreme assumption of complete uncertainty concerning probabilities of electoral outcomes which is not always the case (Kimenyi and Gutierrez 2008:2). It also lacks strong empirical support.

The Instrumentalist Model of voting contends that people who think the government has handled issues badly will vote to turn it out of office, in order to see if the opposition can do better. Rose and McAllister (1990) utilize this theory to analyse the UK 1987 elections and find that voters do not vote depending on how the government handle issues. If voters have voted according to their rating of their government's handling of issues, then the Conservatives would have lost the 1987 elections, for only 35% of voters gave the conservatives a positive rating (Rose and McAllister 1990:131; Shaun 2002:250). Rose and McAllister hold that according to the 1987 British election survey, the government's handling of issues accounted for only 2.5% of the variance in the vote.

Finally, the Interaction Interpretive Model contends that both less expressive factors (the political loyalties acquired during childhood) and instrumental factors (calculation of benefits which will result from particular government policies) influence voting choices (Morgan 1999:101). In other words, electoral choices are not solely inherited from childhood socialisation but also a parliamentary candidate with credible leadership, image of unity and convincing attributes would win new support.

Bates (1998:1-23) utilizes Interaction Interpretive Model to explain the conditions that made United National Independence Party (UNIP) or Kaunda's regime to remain in power from 1964 to 1991 and those ones that unseated it. Bates establishes that Kenneth Kaunda, whose rule was marked by repeated urban riots, retained power by responding to the riots with food subsidies thus making dissidents to refrain from challenging him during elections. Bates also observes that continued subsidies made the economy of Zambia to decline thus bringing about unemployment and decrease in the value of the regime to its constituents which potentially resulted in a rise in political alienation. The alienated urban Zambians communicated their disaffection to dissidents to rise and challenge the incumbent regime by taking costly actions like burning the symbols of the UNIP which distinguished itself from other riots thus transforming it from the normal political turbulence occasioned by Zambia's economic decline into a defining political moment that led to the electoral defeat of the regime (Bates 1998:9).

Bates argues that urbanites of all types in Zambia feared repression and if the urban masses were dissuaded from acting when alienated, the dissidents themselves fearful, would not risk a challenge to Kaunda's regime. Also, Kaunda believed that repression would not significantly alter the strength of the coalition between the dissidents and the urbanites and thus that meant repression was of minimal utility to him. Moreover, Bates states that from qualitative accounts, Kaunda's Christian upbringing, his humanistic values, and ultimate fear that the army would turn on him rather than its own citizens made him not to use repression.

Since Webuye Constituency has less-settled politics like in Zambia and culture plays a greater role unlike in relatively stable politics of advanced industrialized countries, Interaction Interpretive Theory is more appropriate than the Sociological Model, the Socio-psychological Model, the Rational Choice Model, the Class De-alignment Model or the Instrumentalist Model which if used might offer very little insight. The Interaction Interpretive Theory is used to qualify the fact that the preferences of parliamentary candidates of Webuye Constituency are necessary to explain election outcomes, but they are not sufficient. To be sufficient, other very precise

conditions ought to be fulfilled. Their parliamentary candidates' personal attributes generate outcomes only when in interaction with the specific choices and behaviours of other strategic actors. The parliamentary candidate's preference of 'keeping in touch' only leads to winning elections when in interaction with the electorates' traditional values, cultural attachments and ethnic attachments.

The Interaction Interpretive Theory is used to interpret events and actions of the electorate and parliamentary candidates. Just as it was used to interpret the Zambian case of rioting alone as meaning dissatisfaction with the regime policies and burning the UNIP shrine as urban dwellers' anger and alienation, it is used to interpret parliamentary candidates' traditional values and voting patterns of the electorate. Furthermore, it is utilized to explain how ideas affect the way the electorate interpret their world via the likelihood they accord alternative possibilities. In this study it is held that for an idea (a traditional value) to have an effect in parliamentary elections, it must not only be announced, said or narrated; but also it must somehow gain external validity.

The Interaction Interpretive Theory is also utilized in this paper to analyse and interpret the performance of parliamentary candidates who neglect the electorates' traditional culture and the impact on voting patterns in parliamentary elections. The fall in the number of votes cast for the IMP is explained in terms of his/her neglect of the electorates' traditional culture and poor political performance but not as a result of weakening ethnic attachments.

Research Methodology

The research design employed in this paper is descriptive field survey. Both primary and secondary data was collected. Primary data was collected from oral interviews, archival materials, observation and questionnaires. Secondary data was collected mainly from written materials like published books, unpublished theses, periodicals, maps, newspapers, dissertations, Internet and scholarly journals.

The study area is Webuye Constituency, Kenya. Webuye Constituency was created from the split of Bungoma East Constituency in 1987 and is occupied by the Bukusu, Tachoni, some other Luhya sub-ethnic groups and other ethnic groups like the Teso, Kikuyu, Luo, Kamba, Kisii and Kalenjin who have either bought land and settled there, do business or work in Webuye Pan-paper Mills or are public servants. The constituency is 401.4 kilometres squared and has three Divisions: Webuye, Ndivisi and Bokoli. Webuye Division has four locations – Webuye, Sitikho, Sirende and Misikhu. Ndivisi has four locations: Namarambi, Ndivisi, Lukusi and Chetambe. Bokoli has two locations: Bokoli and Miendo. Its first MP was Joash wa Mang'oli on a KANU ticket (1988-1992) who lost to Musikari Kombo in 1992 on a FORD-K ticket. In 1994, Saul Busolo won in a by-election on a FORD-K ticket after the court nullified Kombo's election in November 1994 on grounds that Kombo organized and administered traditional oaths on voters (All Africa 2007). However Kombo recaptured the seat on a FORD-K ticket in 1997. Kombo was the MP of Webuye Constituency up to 2007 when he was defeated by Alfred Sambu of Orange Democratic Movement (ODM).

Sampling

Stratified random sampling technique was used. The unequal sizes of sub-locations in the constituency made this technique suitable since it helped achieve desired representation of the sub-locations. Purposive sampling technique was used to

select respondents per sub-location and non-Luhya respondents. The sample comprised 7 sub-locations. The constituency has 3 divisions with 12 sub-locations in Webuye, 11 sub-locations in Ndivisi and 4 in Bokoli Division. Three sub-locations from Webuye Division, three from Ndivisi Division and one from Bokoli Division were selected using purposive sampling.

In every selected sub-location, 18 respondents are involved in the study: that is 4 stakeholders (who are 3 male clan leaders and 1 female village leader), 2 female aspirants/leaders and 12 church members (4 from every church: Catholic, Friends and any other Protestant church). Also 4 stakeholders from other non-Luhya ethnic communities are involved in the study. Moreover 14 local musicians (6 from Webuye Division, 6 from Ndivisi Division and 2 from Bokoli Division) and 14 head-teachers/medical officers (again 6 from Webuye Division, 6 from Ndivisi Division and 2 from Bokoli Division), participated in this study. Furthermore, 16 respondents from Webuye Division, 16 respondents from Ndivisi Division and 9 from Bokoli Division, who were registered voters with a record of participation in parliamentary elections, were randomly selected to be involved in this study. For respondents from Webuye and Ndivisi divisions, 6 were incorporated among stakeholders, 6 among church members and the remaining 4 among female aspirants/leaders. And for respondents from Bokoli division, 2 were incorporated among stakeholders, 2 among church members, 2 among female aspirants/leaders and 3 among head-teachers/medical officers. This made a total of 199 respondents for questionnaires. In addition to these respondents of questionnaires, the CDF manager of Webuye constituency was interviewed thus making a grand total of 200 respondents.

In this research, self administered questionnaires, oral interviews and observation lists were used to collect data from stakeholders (clan leaders, village leaders and respondents from non-Luhya ethnic communities) and female aspirants/leaders, CDF manager of Webuye Constituency, local musicians and head-teachers/medical officers of selected institutions.

Literature Review as part of Data Collection Method

Throughout the study, the researcher reviewed relevant studies that were carried out in Kenya and other parts of the world on the role of culture in parliamentary elections. As section 1.4 above shows, these earlier studies provided some useful information.

Questionnaires

199 structured questionnaires were used to collect primary data. Five different types of questionnaires were used to collect data. They are: stakeholders' questionnaire which was given to clan/village leaders and respondents from non-Luhya ethnic communities, female aspirants/leaders' questionnaire, church members' questionnaire, local musicians' questionnaire and head-teachers/medical officers' questionnaire. Some questions in stakeholders' questionnaire, female aspirants/leaders' questionnaire and church members' questionnaire are the same because the researcher wants to know age and ethnic/sub-ethnic group of the respondents before analyzing and interpreting their voting behaviour. All the respondents had voted at least once during primary and/or general elections in Webuye Constituency. The fact that they had voted placed them in a good position to give reliable information on the role of culture and cultural identities in parliamentary elections.

The questionnaires consisted of both open and closed ended questions. Open ended questions were used to get opinions from respondents while closed ended questions were used to gather

specific information. They were administered by two research assistants who had been taken through a short training on important elements of the study and research ethics.

Oral Interviews

Oral interviews were carried out on 10 respondents. 9 were on those with questionnaires (3 stakeholders, 2 female aspirant/leader, 2 local musicians, 3 head-teachers and 2 medical officers so as to have in-depth information about particular cases). Another one was on CDF Manager of Webuye Constituency so as to establish how CDF was used by the former MP to keep in touch with the electorate in every sub-location.

Observation Checklist

The researcher also used an observation checklist to collect data on the MP's use of CDF in schools and health centres in selected sub-locations. Only schools and health centres constructed using CDF were considered in this study because they are the most important public social amenities in the society. In particular, schools are found in every sub-location which is our level of study. This data supplemented the information gained from interviewing the CDF Manager of Webuye Constituency, head-teachers and medical officers.

Data Analysis and Presentation Plan

The primary data collected by oral in-depth interview, archival materials, observation and questionnaires were combined with secondary data which was collected from the various libraries and online sources. Information on past parliamentary elections' outcomes was gathered from Kenyatta University's Library and Kimilili National Library Services. The Nation Media Group Library and the Internet were also used to collect data on the MP's use of CDF to keep in touch with the electorate; loyalty or disloyalty of parliamentary candidates to the prophecies of the electorates' culture; the relationship of the electorates' traditional moral values and the parliamentary candidate's attributes; the influence of husbands on women voters, their level of education, gender stereotypes and other forms of discrimination that affect women's participation in parliamentary elections; and the use of oral traditions as a campaign strategy. Recorded music of local musicians which is normally used during campaigns was used to collect data on the types and uses of oral traditions and musical instruments accompanied with oral traditions like songs.

The oral interview data and oral traditions were, where necessary, translated. Then the mass of raw data collected was coded so as to establish any common aspects from the various responses before being analysed together with the secondary data. The questionnaires were qualitatively analyzed with particular attention paid to the reasons for the responses given. Textual critique was done on secondary data gathered to test for authenticity. Also, appraisal of text origins was done to test the relevance and accuracy of those documents that were identified as appropriate for the study. Findings are presented according to each research objective. Frequency tables, bar charts and a line chart with corresponding explanations are presented. Also percentages and ranges were computed to give a clear statistical picture of the state of issues under investigation.

Results

This section undertakes an analysis of data on the electorates' culture in parliamentary elections as derived from questionnaires, oral interviews and observation. The objectives are:

To assess the role of the electorates' moral values in parliamentary elections.

To examine the role of electorates' patriarchal values in parliamentary elections.

To investigate the impact of electorates' oral traditions in campaigns and voting patterns during parliamentary elections.

Electorates Moral Values in Parliamentary Elections

Moral values refer to patterns of conduct which are considered worthwhile by the electorate and they include cooperation, hospitality, honesty, obedience, generosity, loyalty, courageousness, thankfulness, being hardworking, being respectful and being articulate. This section does not only examine the impact of moral values in parliamentary elections; and the relationship between parliamentary candidates' attributes and moral values of the electorate. It also examined the traditional moral value of 'keeping in touch' which does not only mean the parliamentary candidate paying visits to the electorate, but also the parliamentary candidates identifying with the people they sprung from. Therefore, it examined other ways including use of CDF that IMPs use to 'keep in touch' with their constituents and how the use of CDF affects voting behaviour with particular focus on the 2007 parliamentary elections.

The data obtained when respondents were asked to choose five candidates' attributes amongst eleven, which they expect their parliamentary candidate to have and five moral values out of eleven that are considered most worthwhile in their community revealed that there is a relationship between parliamentary candidate's attributes and moral values of the electorate. This relationship is vindicated in the high percentage preferences for attributes like being: cooperative (84.6%), honest (76.9%), hardworking (84.6%); and again high percentage preferences for the electorates' moral values like cooperation (74.4%), honesty (84.6%) and hardworking (74.4%). The high percentage preferences reveals that the electorates' moral values of cooperation, honesty, and hardworking greatly influence voting behaviour in parliamentary elections. They influence by helping the electorate to know the parliamentary candidates who have the attributes that are considered worthwhile in the community since the parliamentary candidates' attributes seem to be derived from the electorates' moral values. Likewise low percentage preferences for parliamentary candidates' attributes like being: obedient (25.6%), generous (33.3%), loyal (35.9%), thankful (23.1%), and articulate (10.3%) are also represented with low percentage preferences for electorates' moral values like obedience (35.9%), generosity (15.4%), loyalty (28.2%), thankfulness (18%) and talkative (7.7%). This low percentage preferences, vindicates the view that moral values of obedience, generosity, loyalty, thankfulness and talkative have little influence on voting behaviour in parliamentary elections. Khakame (Oral Interview 13/8/2010) further explains that the corresponding low percentage preferences show that voter education had not made the electorate aware of the importance of the relationship between parliamentary candidate's attributes and the electorates' moral values in electing MPs. Tables 3.1 and 3.2 present the summary of the data obtained

From Tables 3.1 and 3.2 it can also be observed that a different picture emerges when we look at the percentage preferences for the parliamentary candidate's attributes: respectful (38.5%), hospitable (30.8%) and moral values: respect (79.5%) and hospitality (51.3%). The data reveals that respect is highly valued in the electorates' culture while hospitality is moderately valued and they also have an impact on voting behaviour in parliamentary elections but not as high as the moral values honesty, cooperation and hardworking. From these data,

it can be deduced that voter education might not have been insisting on the importance of respect and hospitality in electing MPs who respect their fellow citizens and public property. Khakame (Oral Interview 8/08/2010) said there is a likelihood that the electorate believe that children are the ones who should respect adults. Another reason is that the electorate and parliamentary candidates live in different worlds and thus the electorate lack opportunities to learn some innermost attributes/characters of parliamentary candidates. This factor featured when respondents were asked to account for the question: Did the MP(s) you elected between December 1992 to December 2002 fulfil your expectations? 22.6% either said, "Our MP disappeared to Nairobi and became inaccessible" or "The MP was playing national politics and thus forgot his constituents."

When the respondents were asked about how they always learn about the attributes of parliamentary candidates, 10.7% said they learn about candidates' attributes by visiting their homes. This low percentage of the electorate who visited their parliamentary candidates' homes to learn their attributes clearly confirm that IMPs and other parliamentary candidates disappeared to towns and became inaccessible after elections thus denying the electorate an opportunity to compare and contrast their attributes and corresponding moral values. Parliamentary candidates' homes would have provided the best environment for such learning because programmes in homes are informal unlike in fundraisings, funerals and campaigns where most voters do not even get an opportunity to greet a parliamentary candidate. Moreover, those who went to campaigns (24%) and funerals (37.3%) to learn parliamentary candidates' attributes mainly relied on the luring speeches which the parliamentary candidates gave but if it would have been in parliamentary candidates' homes, they would have just seen the attributes and moral values at work. Also the 28% that relied on fundraisings to learn parliamentary candidates' attributes might have found it difficult because not only have fundraisings attended by parliamentary candidates reduced since the introduction of CDF in 2003, but also attending fundraisings mean donating money which the majority of the electorate do not have.

Given the apparent influence of electorates' moral values, the relationship between parliamentary candidates' attributes and electorates' moral values, and the minimal opportunity for the electorate to learn the parliamentary candidates' attributes, it was of interest to determine to what extent electorates' moral values assisted in electing good MPs. The researcher asked the question: In your opinion does knowing the attributes of a parliamentary candidate help in electing a good MP? The responses were presented in table 3.4 below and revealed that 71.8% and 20.5% of the respondents felt that parliamentary candidates' attributes and moral values of the electorate influenced in electing good MPs (when added up it gave a grand total of 92.3%). Only 7.7% felt that the two variables did not help in electing a good MP. Using the Interaction Interpretive theory, it means that 92.3% of the electorate were in most cases denied an opportunity to learn the parliamentary candidates' attributes through interaction in informal settings which need to be compared and contrasted with the moral values of the electorate so as to be in a good position to choose a good MP. Khakame (Oral Interview 13/08/2010) further insisted that the 7.7% reveal that some voters were denied voter education that could help them make good choices during parliamentary

elections. This denial of voter education according to the results of this research cost the electorate a great deal.

To find out the cost of denying the electorate voter education and opportunities to learn and appreciate the attributes of their parliamentary candidates and the electorates' moral values, the respondents were asked the question: Did the MP(s) you elected between December 1992 to December 2002 fulfil your expectations? The data obtained reveal that the expectations of only 5.9% of the electorate were fulfilled. Four respondents who were in the 5.9% said, "The MP is my relative" and the remaining five either said, "My MP used CDF to build market centres, schools, dispensaries and roads," or "He contributed money in a fundraising". These reasons are however watered down by the 41.2% and 52.9% (a total of 94.1%) of the electorate who felt that their expectations were partially fulfilled or not fulfilled. The unsatisfied 94.1% complained of poor roads, incomplete CDF projects due to poor monitoring, the MP disappearing to Nairobi and becoming inaccessible, the MP playing national politics and forgetting his constituents, the MP using CDF to benefit himself, his relatives and political cronies, the MP being convicted of election malpractice, the MP not turning up for fundraisings, the MP doing very little to the plight of farmers, inequitable distribution of CDF, concentrating on ministerial post and forgetting the constituents and the MP lacking transparency and accountability.

The fact that the electorate complained of misuse of CDF made it important to establish how the IMP of Webuye constituency used the CDF to 'keep in touch' with the electorate from the time when the CDF was introduced in 2003 to the time of the 2007 elections and how it affected the voting behaviour of the electorate. The data was as recorded in Table 3.4 below.

The data shows that public institutions in Ndivisi Division got more CDF money than public institutions in Webuye and Bokoli Divisions. Also, there was one school out of four in Bokoli Division and one school out of 5 in Webuye Division that did not get CDF but all the schools in Ndivisi Division got CDF. Another notable observation is that one school in Webuye Division instead of being given CDF, was given 24 desks only. Biketi (Oral Interview 6/10/2010) said, "Each desk was valued at Ksh 1, 000 while the market price was Ksh 250."

This data implies that the IMP who was the patron of the CDF committee was using CDF to 'keep in touch' with the electorate. Secondly the CDF was used to reward some sections of the constituency depending on how much they supported the IMP in the 2002 elections or to punish some sections depending on how much they didn't support the IMP in the 2002 elections and this resulted in poor distribution of CDF in the constituency. This is seen in differences in the amount of money allocated to various schools in different sub-locations. Even some schools in Bokoli and Webuye Divisions did not get any CDF money or desks.

Lastly, the CDF was used to entice some sections of the constituency that had not been voting for the IMP so that they could vote for him in the next elections. This is deduced when we observe the allocation of a lot of CDF money to schools in Ndivisi Division than Webuye and Bokoli Divisions; and when respondents were asked to state the political parties they voted for during the general elections of 1992, 1997, 2002 and 2007, Musikari Kombo who won the 1992, 1997 and 2002 elections got only 30.6% of his votes from Ndivisi Division in 1992, 33% in 1997 and 42.2% in 2002. Given that by 2008 Bokoli Division had not been hived from Webuye Division, Musikari Kombo

was getting a high percentage of his votes in Webuye Division. But since his performance was dwindling in Webuye Division and improving in Ndivisi Division, it seems he thought he could improve further by enticing the electorate of Ndivisi Division with more CDF.

It is also found out that CDF money was mainly used to construct new facilities. The constructions as from budget year 2003/2004 to 2007/2008 are as shown in Table 3.5.

The data reveals that CDF was better used in Bokoli Division than in Webuye and Ndivisi Divisions. But this is not the main concern of this study. The main concern is to establish why Ndivisi public institutions were given a higher amount of CDF money, Ksh 2, 901, 000 but they constructed only 18 rooms, 10 with cracks while Bokoli public institutions were given less CDF money (Ksh 1, 985, 000) and yet they constructed 26 rooms, 3 with cracks. Again why is it that Webuye Division public institutions were given Ksh 1, 300, 000 and they only managed to build 9 rooms of which 7 had cracks? A number of reasons were given to explain these.

First and foremost, was that the community of Bokoli Division stepped in to finish the projects when the CDF did not complete. Another factor was that some projects have remained incomplete up to date. This second factor was reported by both questionnaire and interview respondents from Maloho Primary School - Mulanda (Oral Interview 8/08/2010), Mahanga Secondary School - Ombonyo (Oral Interview 8/08/2010) and Bokoli Sub-district Hospital - Seif Fatuma (Oral Interview 6/09/2010). These two factors that hinge on stalling projects speaks a lot as pertains to the traditional moral value of 'keeping in touch.' To the electorate it means neglecting them and thus not having good moral values and leadership qualities. When it comes to rooms having cracks, it was due to use of poor quality sand, poor rationing of sand and cement, watering the floor and walls, poor workmanship and lack of enough materials. The CDF Manager of Webuye Constituency, Shibanda (Oral Interview 11/09/2010) and the Medical Officer of Sinoko Dispensary, Masinde Jacinta (Oral Interview 25/09/2010) also reported that the CDF committee lacked knowledge of implementing projects and was not consulting government technical departments. The electorate however could not go into such details on seeing rooms with cracks. They just conclude that the leadership is corrupt and thus should be done away with. The factors discussed above mean a lot in politics. Rewarding and enticing some sections of the constituency while punishing others which we discussed earlier, could be interpreted to mean leadership that encourages nepotism and discrimination. Over-costing of desks, more money building lesser rooms than little money and cracks in the rooms mean that the leadership is corrupt and colludes to mismanage public funds. Stalling projects on the other hand shows that the leadership has abandoned the people. These factors combined forces and on the eve of the 2007 elections, they had alienated Musikari Kombo from most voters thus making him to lose the parliamentary elections despite the fact that he was FORD-K party chairman and minister of Local Government.

Patriarchal Values in Parliamentary Elections

Patriarchal values refer to beliefs, actions or form of conduct that make females feel less appreciated or valued than males. They include discriminating against girls and female voters seeking permission from their husbands, fathers or males to vote in parliamentary elections.

Table 1.1: Women participation in Kenya's parliamentary elections from 1969 to 2007

Year of elections	Women nominated to run	Women elected	Total MPs elected	% of women elected
1969	06	01	158	0.6
1974	13	02	158	1.3
1979	15	03	158	1.9
1983	07	02	158	1.3
1988	06	02	188	1.1
1992	18	06	188	3.2
1997	50	04	210	1.9
2002	44	08	210	3.8
2007	269	15	210	7.1

Source: Wanyande 2006:75; International Parliamentary Union (IPU) 2009; Muteshi 2009; Kiruthu 2004:180

Table 3.1: Preferences for parliamentary candidate's attributes by the electorate. N = 39 (Respondents)

Candidate's attributes	Responses				
	Bokoli Divisi-on	Web-uye Divisi-ion	Ndivi-si Divisi-ion	To-tal	%
Cooperative	07	11	15	33	84.6
Hospitable	01	04	07	12	30.8
Honest	07	13	10	30	76.9
Obedient	01	04	05	10	25.6
Generous	01	04	08	13	33.3
Courageous	03	08	08	19	48.7
Hardworking	05	13	15	33	84.6
Loyal	03	09	02	14	35.9
Thankful	02	05	02	09	23.1
Respectful	04	07	04	15	38.5
Articulate	00	01	03	04	10.3

Table 3.2: Preferences for worthwhile moral values of the electorate by the electorate. N=39

Moral values of the electorate	Responses				
	Bokoli Divisi-on	Webu-ye Divisi-on	Ndivi-si Divisi-ion	To-tal	(%)
Cooperation	06	12	11	29	74.4
Hospitality	03	08	09	20	51.3
Honesty	06	13	14	33	84.6
Obedience	04	05	05	14	35.9
Generosity	00	04	02	06	15.4
Courage	02	05	05	12	30.8
Hardworking	04	12	13	29	74.4
Loyalty	02	05	04	11	28.2
Thankfulness	01	01	05	07	18.0
Respect	07	11	13	31	79.5
Talkative	00	02	01	03	7.7

Table 3.3: Attributes and moral values and electing a good MP. N= 39 (Respondents)

Options	Responses				
	Bokoli Divisi-on	Webuye Division	Ndivisi Divisi-on	To-tal	%
Yes it greatly helps	05	10	13	28	71.8
Yes it somehow helps	02	03	03	08	20.5
No it doesn't help	00	03	00	03	7.7
Total	07	16	16	39	100

Table 3.4: CDF money given to schools and health centres during budget years 2003/2004 – 2007/2008. N=06

Type of Institution	Amount (KSH)		
	Bokoli Division	Webuye Division	Ndivisi Division
Health centre	800, 000	500, 000	800, 000
School one	300, 000	Nil	700, 000
School two	185, 000	350, 000	400, 000
School three	700, 000	150, 000	400, 000
School four	Nil	24 desks	301, 000
School five	—	300, 000	300, 000
Total	1, 985, 000	1, 300, 000 + 24 desks	2, 901, 000

Type of Institution	Number of Rooms		
	Bokoli Division	Webuye Division	Ndivisi Division
One Health centre	14	05	05
School one	02	00	05
School two	02	02	02
School three	08	00	02
School four	00	00	02
School five	—	02	02
Total	26	09	18
Rooms with cracks on walls	00	02	01
Rooms with cracks on the floor	03	05	09

Options	Responses				
	Bokoli Division	Webuye Division	Ndivisi Division	Total	%
Yes, they greatly influence in electing a good MP	01	00	00	01	4.35
Yes, they somehow influence in electing a good MP	00	04	01	05	21.74
No they don't influence in electing a good MP	03	05	08	16	69.57
Don't know	00	01	00	01	4.35
Total	04	10	09	23	100

Factor	Responses				
	Bokoli Division	Webuye Division	Ndivisi Division	Total	%
Discrimination of women when it comes to inheritance of land and property	01	05	06	12	18.75
Early/forced marriage for girls and not boys	01	04	02	07	10.94
A lot of family work for women	03	08	04	15	23.44
Discrimination of women in education	03	04	07	14	21.88
Religious discrimination	00	01	04	05	7.81
Discrimination in employment	03	04	04	11	7.19
Total	11	26	27	64	100

Gender stereotypes	Responses				
	Bokoli Division	Webuye Division	Ndivisi Division	Total	%
Politics and public life is male domain	03	05	04	12	18.2
Women cannot make good leaders	02	05	03	10	15.1
Women are weaker vessels	03	08	07	18	27.3
Women cannot own land and property	00	02	03	05	7.6
Wives, children, land and property belong to a husband	00	05	04	09	13.6
A woman's place in the society is in bed the kitchen	04	04	04	12	18.2
Total	12	29	25	66	100

Function/ Use	Songs/ Dances	Narratives	Prov-erbs	Total	%
Entertain	12	06	08	26	72.2
Correct evils like corruption	11	06	12	29	80.6
Educate/Teach	10	07	11	28	77.8
Praise political leaders/the community	12	06	07	25	69.4
Pray to God	05	07	08	20	55.6
Console	11	06	10	27	75
Awaken/mobilise people politically	12	09	12	33	91.7
Remind people their culture and historical/political events	11	12	09	32	88.9

To get more data concerning the cultural oriented sets of constraints, educated female respondents were asked to state their level of education, the level of education of their spouses and whether they had ever voted for the same parliamentary candidate with their spouse or not. It was found out that those women who have university, middle level college and secondary school education get married to husbands who are as educated as them and that 91.3% of the literate women have once voted for the same parliamentary candidate with their husbands. Only 8.7% have never voted for the same parliamentary candidate with their husbands. These results show that either men influence their spouses to vote for their parliamentary candidates or vice versa. However, since this chapter is interested in finding out how patriarchal values have made men to influence the voting behaviour of women and not how they have made women to influence the voting behaviour of men, it therefore examines why the 91.3% voted the way they did. The respondents were asked: What made you vote for the parliamentary candidate your husband voted for? The data reveals that 73.7% of the respondents discussed with their husbands and agreed to vote for the same parliamentary candidate while 17.3% voted for the same candidate with their husbands by coincidence. Therefore women with university, tertiary and secondary education in Webuye Constituency are not forced by their husbands to vote for their favourite parliamentary candidate but are influenced through discussions (73.7%). The high percentage of 73.7% reveals that the Webuye Constituency electorates' culture give husbands an upper hand in vote choice at family level. Masinde Rose (Oral Interview 20/08/2010) further explained that educated women feared being mistaken by their husbands.

The 8.7% of the respondents who had never voted for the same parliamentary candidate with their husbands were also asked why they voted the way they did and 4.35% of the respondents answered that their husbands tried to convince them to vote for their candidates but they didn't while another 4.35% answered that their husbands told them to vote for their candidates but they didn't. From this data it could be concluded that only 8.7% of women with university, middle level college and secondary education were not influenced by their husbands in making their vote choices.

Apart from that, the research establishes that various methods are used by husbands to make their wives vote for their favourite parliamentary candidates. They include threats to divorce, keeping voting documents, harassing/beating the women, coming with money and *lesos* and talking nicely about their preferred parliamentary candidate.

What the information in the above paragraphs implies is that husbands always influence or try to influence women's voting decisions in parliamentary elections. In order to determine whether the influence of husbands lead to election of good leaders, respondents were asked: Do husbands influencing their wives to vote for the parliamentary candidates they voted for lead to the election of good MPs? The results are as reported in Table 3.6 below:

The respondents who said: Yes, husbands greatly influence in electing a good MP and don't know did not have any reason to support their answers. 21.74% who said: Yes, husbands somehow influence in electing good MP point out that some women are illiterate, so they need direction. They also explain that husbands understand the family history of the aspirants better because they are born and have stayed longer than their wives in the constituency. Natembeya Elizabeth (Oral Interview

23/08/2010) further explain that men are more accessible to information than women and thus are well placed to help women in deciding who a good leader is. 69.57% who said: No, they don't influence in electing a good MP, explain that just as men, women have a democratic right of choosing leaders. Another explanation they gave is that some husbands are just bribed to influence their wives while in the real sense the corrupt parliamentary candidates cannot make good leaders. Given that 69.57% said: No, husbands influence on their wives to vote for the parliamentary candidates they vote for doesn't lead to the election of good MPs and only 26.09% said, "Yes," it can be concluded that husbands' influence on their wives' vote choice does not lead to election of good MPs.

Another set of constraints that limit women participation in parliamentary elections and emanate from patriarchal values perpetuated by the electorates' culture as revealed in the literature review is discrimination of women in the society and/or gender stereotypes. It is important however to note that not all discrimination of women in society and/or gender stereotypes emanate from patriarchal values and this chapter only deals with those ones that emanate from patriarchal values perpetuated by the electorates' culture. When respondents were asked to give types of discrimination that emanate from patriarchal values and limit women participation in parliamentary elections, the results obtained are as tabulated in Table 3.7 below

From the data in Table 3.7, it can be deduced that a lot of family work for women (23.44%) limit them most when it comes to participation in parliamentary elections/politics. As mothers they have a lot of work to do at home and thus lack time to engage in politics. Furthermore despite the increasing salience of gender equality within the women's empowerment movement and within government programmes, most political parties continue to adopt traditional positions that highlight the centrality of women as nurturers of the family and children (Hrycak 2006:15).

A lot of family work for women is followed closely by discrimination of women in education (21.88%), discrimination of women when it comes to inheritance of land and property (18.75%) and discrimination when it comes to employment (17.19%) respectively. The research establishes that women who are illiterate see no need of having national identity cards and thus end up not voting. Discrimination of women when it comes to inheritance of land and property together with discrimination of women in education and employment combine to impoverish women thus making them lack a financial base to support them in campaigns.

Early/forced marriage for girls and not boys (10.94%), make most women to lack time to look for national identity cards because after marriage, women become overloaded with family work. Since a national identity card is a very important document required in order to get a voter's card, such women end up not participating in the electoral process through voting. 7.81% of the respondents indicated that religious discrimination affects women when it comes to participation in parliamentary elections/politics. Also two respondents (that is 3.13%) mentioned that discrimination along ethnic lines affect their participation in politics. Women married to husbands from other ethnic groups cannot think of vying in parliamentary elections because they know they would not be voted for. However, these two factors have less impact on women participation in parliamentary elections.

Table 2.10: Voting patterns by party in Webuye Constituency parliamentary elections from 1992 to 2007. 1992 N=131, 1997 N=134, 2002 N=140, 2007 N=151

Year	Party	Responses				
		Bokoli Divis-ion	Web-uye Division	Ndivi-si Divis-ion	Total	%
1992	FORD-K	19	31	22	72	55
	DP	02	20	24	46	35.1
	FORD-A	01	00	02	03	2.3
	KANU	01	01	08	10	7.6
Total		23	52	56	131	100
1997	FORD-K	21	46	33	100	74.63
	KANU	02	09	16	27	20.15
	FORD-P	00	00	02	02	1.49
	DP	01	00	03	04	2.99
	NDP	00	01	00	01	0.75
Total		24	56	54	134	100
2002	NARC	22	56	57	135	96.4
	KANU	02	01	02	05	3.6
Total		24	57	59	140	100
2007	PNU	15	39	12	66	43.7
	ODM	10	23	49	82	54.3
	RPK	00	00	03	03	2.0
Total		25	62	64	151	100

Table 3.11: Voting patterns by candidate in Webuye Constituency parliamentary elections from 1992 to 2002.

Year	Party	Parliamentary candidate	Votes	%
1992	DP	Alfred Sambu	12 036	37.4
	FORD-K	Musikari Kombo	13 580	42.31
	KANU	Wa Mang'oli	5 439	16.9
1997	FORD-K	Musikari Kombo	25 935	67.7
	KANU	Alfred Sambu	12 354	32.2
2002	FORD-K	Musikari Kombo	17 895	55.0
		Alfred Sambu	12 318	38.0
		Wa Mang'oli	2 135	7.0

Source: Maupeu, Katumanga and Mitullah (2005:258-259)

They emanate from patriarchal values in the sense that religion biblically view a woman to have come from a man's ribs on one hand and on the other hand the African culture discriminates women socially, economically and politically.

As already seen in the above paragraphs, patriarchal values have made women not to be treated on equal terms with men in Webuye Constituency which implies that there are gender stereotypes amongst the electorate of Webuye Constituency which view women as inferior to men. To determine those gender stereotypes, the 23 female aspirants/leaders were asked to choose three out of six gender stereotypes that limit women's political participation and the data obtained is as shown in Table 3.8.

The data shows that the gender stereotype, women are weaker vessels (27.3%), affects women most when it comes to their participation in parliamentary elections/politics. It is followed by the notion that politics and public life is a male domain (18.2%), a woman's place in the society is in the kitchen (18.2%), women cannot make good leaders (15.2%), wives, children, land and property belong to a husband (13.6%) and women cannot own land and property (7.6%). Women are affected by these gender stereotypes in their participation in parliamentary elections/politics because they promote the culture of intimidation and violence against women whenever they announced their candidature. Awori (2007:14) corroborates that the 2007 election campaign was characterized by violence directed at women as evidenced by attacks on Orié Rogo

Manduli, aspirant for Kasarani Constituency, Flora Tera Igoki, aspirant for North Imenti and Catherine Amayo, aspirant for Nambale.

The gender stereotypes also make most women to feel inferior and submissive thus they do not think of vying for parliamentary seats since they know they are not valued and therefore cannot be voted for. On the other hand, they make the majority of the electorate to view women as people who cannot deliver in case they are elected as leaders. These two arguments are supported by Juma (2003:1) who gives an example of Zipporah Kittony, a nominated member of the seventh parliament and a relative to the Retired President Daniel Moi who came out openly to chide the first woman ever to contest the presidency, telling Charity Ngilu that Kenyans still needed the fatherly guidance of the then President Daniel Moi.

After determining how the African culture views and affects women in politics, it is important also to determine how literate African women view themselves. The data obtained reveals that all the 23 respondents (100%) did not view women as weaker vessels. Masinde Rose (Oral Interview 20/09/2010) says:

This view that women are weaker vessels was derived from the biblical myth that a woman came from a man's ribs. But the strength of a person should not only be determined by his/her physical strength but also by his/her intellectual power; and when the strength of a person is measured in those terms, it is found that women might be weaker than men physically but stronger mentally...

Even in fields like agriculture women provide the largest labour force in Africa. Natembeya Elizabeth (Oral Interview 23/08/2010) also supports this argument by contending that women are more honest and transparent than men when it comes to managerial fields.

Apart from the foregoing, respondents were asked to give other reasons that make them not to be favoured in party nominations. They still mentioned the African culture which they said has very low opinion about women. Masinde Rose (Oral Interview 20/09/2011) further lamented that, women are enemies of their own since many women who live in rural areas do not like their fellow urbanites. Furthermore the women lamented that party nominations are prone to fraud and corruption and women do not have wealth like men to corrupt the nomination process. This lamentation is a clear indication that obstacles which women face in other Kenyan constituencies like Makadara, in which Karen Magara was sidelined by her FORD-P party after winning the party nomination in the 2002 elections, are a replica of those in Webuye Constituency. Karen Magara for instance missed the nomination certificate because her brother James Magara had won nomination in their up-country constituency. With her political ambition thwarted by unfair means, she said:

Women are mistreated in all the parties. I won the nominations by queue voting but they dismissed me because I am a woman. They thought I could not wage a fight. I was sacrificed because of my brother James. (Barasa 2003:2)

The respondents also lamented that party nominations are prone to violence which women do not like participating in. Parties therefore give preference to male ability to withstand the violence and chaotic nature of electioneering while ignoring one important factor in politics: the factor that legislators do not get elected to fight physically but to represent the interests of their constituents (Barasa: 2003:2).

When the respondents were asked to tell whether preferring men to women parliamentary candidates affect voter turnout or not, the 23 respondents accepted that they always affect voter turnout. It affects voter turnout by making voters to lose interest in politics and making most informed women to boycott voting because their choice is rigged out during party nominations.

Finally, the 23 respondents were asked to pick three out of four methods that are mostly used by men to make women not participate in parliamentary elections. The following pattern of answers emerged: threats to harm women candidates (100%), starting violence during elections (95%), kidnapping members of the families of women aspirants (65.2%) and raping women aspirants or their daughters (34.8%).

What do these different patterns reveal? They reveal that men use threats to harm women candidates more than other methods like starting violence during elections, kidnapping members of families of women aspirants and raping women aspirants or their daughters. The respondents also mentioned other methods that were not captured in the answers. They mentioned: heckling when a female aspirant was on the platform during campaigns, abusing the female aspirant with obscene words, threats to burn houses and destroy the property of female aspirants, organizing robbery into their homes or homes of their supporters, corruption and burning ballot boxes with votes especially in female aspirants' strongholds.

Musical Instruments and Oral Traditions in Parliamentary Elections

Oral traditions are electorates' influential or artistic words which are spoken or performed through word of mouth and passed from one generation to another. Examples include songs and dances, narratives, proverbs/sayings and prophecies. Prophecies in this are categorized under oral traditions because they are influential words just like words used in songs, proverbs and narratives. Due to the fact that singing is always accompanied with musical instruments, it was important to start by examining how often various types of musical instruments are used while singing in parliamentary election campaigns. The data in obtained from musicians in Webuye constituency: 6 from Webuye Division, 4 from Ndivisi Division and 2 from Bokoli Division, reveal that the musical instruments (lyre, stick-zither, bowed lute, ordinary drum, notch flute, ankle bells, side blown horn, rattles, chiming metal pieces and wooden arch) are used during election campaigns. The difference only comes in how often or the frequency of use. The lyre (100%), bowed lute (100%) and ordinary drum (100%) are more frequently used than the wooden arch (91.7%), rattles (75%), ankle bells (58.3%), chiming metal pieces (58.3%), stick Zither (41.7%), notch flute (33.3%) and side blown horn (25%). The local musicians said that the musical instruments were used during parliamentary election campaigns to make the music more appealing and also control the dancing styles.

Apart from the musical instruments used in parliamentary election campaigns, this section also examined how often different dancing styles exhibited during parliamentary election campaigns are used and finds out that women back shaking style, 'kimikongo' (100%) and shoulder shaking – 'kamabeka' (100%) are mostly exhibited in parliamentary election campaigns when compared with rapid shifting of feet by two partners facing each other – 'kumuchenje' (33.3%). It also establishes that warriors popular jumping style – 'singorio' is not exhibited in parliamentary election campaigns. Nevertheless, all the 12 respondents (100%) confirm that women always ululate while singing during parliamentary election campaigns. The dancing and ululating shows the joy and happiness associated with parliamentary election campaigns.

Given that musical instruments, dancing and ululating are mainly accompanied with singing or vice versa, the respondents were asked about the frequency of use of various types of songs during parliamentary election campaigns and the different responses were as reported in table Figure 3A.

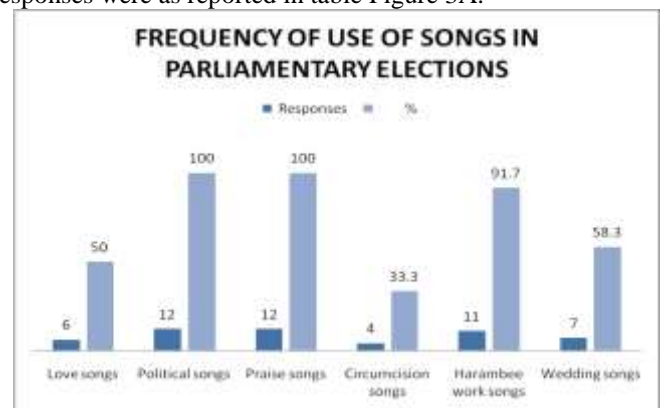


Figure 3A: Frequency of use of songs in parliamentary elections N=12

From the data in figure 3A, political songs (100%) and praise songs (100%) are mostly used in parliamentary election

campaigns. Examples of such songs include titles like, *namwima ya munane* (Kibukusu) or the eighth parliament (English), *esimbo entoro yasinine* (Kibukusu) or a young politician has come up (English) – it refers to Eugene Wamalwa who has risen to the political limelight after the death of his brother, Michael Wamalwa Kijana, *kutalangi* (Kibukusu), a big lion (English) – it praises the Luhya politicians as heroes, *khurume liusi khukharuma khoro tawe* (Kibukusu) or let us send a pigeon not a crow (English) – a pigeon would come back but the crow would not.

The political and praise songs are followed by harambee songs (91.7%), wedding songs (58.3%), love songs (50%), and circumcision songs (33.3%). Harambee work songs have a high percentage of use because winning elections just like excelling in other socio-economic activities require joint efforts – as the saying goes unity is strength. The fact that wedding, love and circumcision songs are used in parliamentary election campaigns reveals that kinship and cultural ties play a role in parliamentary elections as will be examined in detail in the next chapter.

Besides types of songs, the respondents were asked about the frequency of use of various types of narratives during parliamentary election campaigns. The answers were as reported in Figure 3B below:

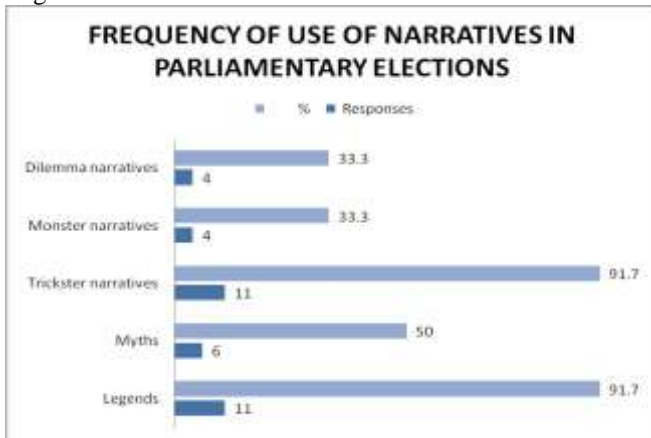


Figure 3B: Frequency of use of narratives in parliamentary elections N=12

Legends (91.7%) and trickster narratives (91.7%) enjoy the lead. One reason to explain this is that legends carry a lot of the history and culture of the electorate which, as already established and perhaps will continue being established, play a very important role in parliamentary elections. An example of the narrative (legend), *Mwambu ne Sela* (Kibukusu) or Mwambu and Sela (English) which was given by the respondents clearly brought on board moral values like respect, courage, honesty, hard work and cooperation which are very much valued by voters. Another reason that explained this lead was that IMPs did not fulfil their promises and thus were described by their opponents as liars. Myths (50%) also have more use than monster narratives (33.3%) and dilemma narratives (33.3%) because of their historical and cultural content.

The respondents were also asked to choose proverbs used during parliamentary elections and the responses reveal that proverbs that caution (100%) and on cooperation (100%) are mostly used in parliamentary election campaigns. It shows that different parliamentary candidates use proverbs to caution the electorate about voting for their opponents. It seems the parliamentary candidates also persuade the electorate to have common political interests and goals. Examples of proverbs like *babantu kimiantu* (Kibukusu) or people are wealth; *buambani*

bwombakha (Kibukusu) or cooperation builds; *nandakambila kakona khu mwanda kwe njoli* (Kibukusu) or that one who doesn't heed advise doesn't end well; and *sie mumusiru sikhoya embwa* (Kibukusu) or what is in the bush requires a dog; that were given by the respondents really affirm these explanations.

Proverbs on greed and selfishness (91.7%) and proverbs warning against pride (83.7%) reveal that our IMPs/some other parliamentary candidates are corrupt, selfish and proud. Proverbs on speech and communication, on the other hand, reveal that during campaigns, some politicians, campaigners and the electorate in general use hate speech but there are some good citizens who always warn them against it while those ones on fate/God (66.7%) reveal that the rights of some citizens who participate in the electoral system (like women parliamentary candidates as already seen) are violated and thus turn to God for consolation.

After examining the frequency of use of various types of songs, narratives and proverbs, uses of these oral traditions were also examined. The answers obtained were as shown in Table 3.9.

The data reveals that songs/dances, narratives and proverbs have a number of functions in parliamentary elections. Their main function is awakening and mobilising people politically (91.7%). Oral traditions are very instrumental in galvanizing both the old and young generations to support a particular parliamentary candidate. They speak to the deep yearning for change and also awaken the electorate's sense of optimism. The examples of songs, proverbs and narratives already highlighted also speak to the electorate in their language and thus make them feel invincible and encourage cooperation. These important aspects of oral traditions make them very instrumental in reporting on current affairs, spreading propaganda, and moulding public opinion during parliamentary election campaigns.

Oral traditions as a mobilising force also remind people of their culture and historical/political events (88.9%). Since culture and the historical/political events of a people are important symbols of identity that help them understand the present and the future, such reminding is helpful to the electorate in making voting decisions during parliamentary elections. Such reminding also evokes feelings that stand in a historical relationship of identity with feelings the electorate had in the past.

The data also reveals that songs/dances, narratives and proverbs correct vices like corruption (80.6%), and educate/teach (77.8%). By making the electorate aware of such vices like corruption during campaigns, they always appeal to the electorate to make wise decisions during voting so that they elect MPs who have good morals and who can defend their interests. As pertains to educating/teaching, songs, narratives and proverbs play a very important role in articulating an idea whose time has come. For instance in the song, *esimbo entoro yasinine* (Kibukusu) or "a young politician has come" which we said referred to Eugene Wamalwa who has risen to the political limelight after the death of his brother, Wamalwa Kijana, "we want change" can be taken as a new idea which is being articulated to the electorate using the song.

Besides that, oral traditions console (75%), entertain (72.2%) and pray to God (55.6%). Two local musicians, one from Mahanga sub-location, Kakai (Oral Interview 8/09/2010) of Sinani Band, and another one from Sirende sub-location, Mvumilivu (Oral Interview 14/08/2010) of Mvumilivu Band

said that songs are always used to console, entertain and pray to God before parliamentary candidates make their speeches during campaign rallies while narratives and proverbs are used during their speeches.

Apart from the foregoing, oral traditions are used to praise political leaders/the community (69.4%). The song like *Kutalangi* in Kibukusu or a big lion in English glorifies Luhya political leaders like Kombo, Mukhisa Kituyi, Moses Wetang'ula and others.

Songs also play the hegemonic role which is associated with social, political and bureaucratic control by incumbents seeking to maintain the political status quo (Kitche 2011, Gamze 2011). The song *Kutalang'i* in the above paragraph only glorified IMPs at the time it was sang. Therefore it is a good example of a hegemonic song just like the patriotic songs the Moi regime used to perpetuate itself by spreading systematic propaganda to mould public opinion.

Finally, this research explains why some functions of songs have higher percentages of use than others and why different types of oral traditions are used for various purposes during parliamentary election campaigns. The main reason that seems to explain the variation in the percentages is that the environment of elections dictates which functions to give first priority. Under normal circumstances the environment of elections gives functions that are more related to politics first priority. As pertains to the second question concerning the different types of oral traditions used for various purposes during parliamentary election campaigns, Negus's argument about songs gaining different meanings offer a good explanation. Negus states that any political content of a song has to be understood in terms of processes of mediation which it undergoes and then be connected to various political agendas (Gamze 2011). It is such transformative potentials that provide illustrations of how different types of oral traditions can be used for various purposes. That is why for instance wedding songs and proverbs that caution can be used during weddings and political campaigns.

When it comes to prophecies, it is established that Elijah Masinde Wanameme prophesied on how the Luhya community should interact politically with the Luo. 53.8% of the 39 respondents stated that Wanameme prophesied that Luhya leadership will come from Lake Victoria after the presidency would have been cleansed by the Luo.

Then the question: Has the prophecy/prophecies been affecting voting patterns in parliamentary elections? was asked and the results show that 69.2% (greatly been affecting 25.6% and somehow been affecting 43.6%) of adult voters in Webuye constituency believed in the prophecy and are sure it has been affecting them in voting intentions during parliamentary elections. 7.7% of the electorate on the other hand are not sure whether the prophecy has been affecting them during voting in parliamentary elections or not. It is only 23.1% who are sure that the prophecy has not been affecting them in making voting choices during parliamentary elections. The fact that 7.7% of adult voters were not sure whether the prophecy has been affecting them during voting or not means that the effect of the prophecy among adult voters might be more than 69.2%.

The voting patterns of voters from different ethnic communities in Webuye constituency are therefore analysed with an aim of finding out how they voted for various parliamentary candidates who vied on different party tickets that had presidential candidates of different ethnic affiliations as

from 1992 to 2007. To get data, respondents were asked to answer the question, "Which political party did you vote for during the general elections of the following years: 1992, 1997, 2002 and 2007?" The answers to this question are as shown in Table 3.10 below:

The data in Table 3.10 shows that in 1992 four major political parties contested in the general elections in Webuye Constituency. They were FORD-K, DP, KANU and FORD-A with Jaramogi Oginga Odinga (a Luo), Mwai Kibaki (a Kikuyu), Retired President Daniel Moi (a Kalenjin) and Kenneth Matiba (a Kikuyu) as presidential candidates respectively. The majority of the respondents voted overwhelmingly for the parliamentary candidate who vied on FORD-K ticket that Jaramogi Oginga Odinga was a flag bearer for the presidential seat. Data in Tables 3.10 and 3.11 indicate that the FORD-K parliamentary candidate was voted for by 55% of the respondents and 42.31% of the electorate in Webuye constituency. His immediate follower came from DP that had Mwai Kibaki, a Kikuyu, as a presidential candidate and garnered 35.1% of the respondents' votes and 37.4% of the votes cast in Webuye constituency. The other parliamentary candidates who vied on KANU and FORD-A tickets garnered 7.6% and 2.3% of the respondents' votes respectively. This political scenario was repeated in 2007 as indicated in Table 3.10, when the parliamentary candidate who vied on ODM ticket that Raila Odinga, a Luo was a presidential candidate emerged a winner with 54.3% of the respondents' votes while his closest opponent on a PNU ticket followed with 43.7%. The fact that respondents and the electorate of Webuye Constituency voted overwhelmingly for the parliamentary candidates who vied on party tickets that Luos were presidential candidates than parliamentary candidates of parties that had presidential candidates from other ethnic communities confirms that prophecies combine with other factors like ethnicity, religion, candidates' attributes, electorates' moral values and party affiliation to shape the choices made by the electorate in parliamentary elections.

The fact that prophecies combine with other factors to shape voting choices can be noted when we examine the results of the 1997 general elections which show that NDP that had Raila Odinga, a Luo as a presidential candidate who only got 0.75% of the respondents' votes while FORD-K emerged winner with 74.63% of the respondents' votes and 67.7% of the electorates' votes in parliamentary elections. The electorate of Webuye Constituency seem not to have voted for Raila's party (NDP) because they saw him as a spoiler of the famous Masinde's prophecy that was almost coming to fulfilment. Raila's father Jaramogi Odinga had played a role in fulfilling this prophecy (Luhya leadership will come from Lake Victoria) by making the Late Wamalwa Kijana the Second Vice Chairman. After his death, a unanimous decision was passed within FORD-K that the late Kijana Wamalwa should ascend to the leadership of the party since Paul Muite had resigned from the post of First Vice Chairman (Maupeu et al. 2005). Despite the unanimous decision, the Late Wamalwa Kijana ascended to the leadership after a fierce leadership struggle with Raila (Wanyande: 2006:72). Later, Raila led his faction to decamp from FORD-K to NDP.

Nevertheless, the electorate of Webuye Constituency seem not to have voted for NDP, because they had their own presidential candidate, the Late Wamalwa Kijana who vied on a FORD-K ticket. According to the prophecy, time for their own son to rule had come and he could only rule smoothly with

majority MPs in parliament. Therefore, they expected Luos to vote for their son (as it is always said by the Bukusu, "returning our votes that we gave Jaramogi" and for FORD-K MPs in their home constituencies, just as they did in 1992 when Jaramogi Odinga vied for presidency.

Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

This study set out to establish the extent to which the electorates' culture plays a role in parliamentary elections in Webuye Constituency, Kenya. The main assumption of the study was that the electorates' culture influences peoples' attitudes and choices. Three objectives formed the basis of the study. These were:

To assess the role of the electorates' moral values in parliamentary elections.

To examine the role of electorates' patriarchal values in parliamentary elections.

To investigate the impact of electorates' oral traditions in campaigns and voting patterns during parliamentary elections.

The Interaction Interpretive theory was the main tool used to probe various aspects and elements of politics in Webuye Constituency.

Based on the data collected and analysed, the following summary, conclusions and recommendations are presented. First, it is noted that moral values of the electorate affect voting behaviour and that there is a relationship between parliamentary candidates' attributes like being cooperative and honest and the electorates' moral values like cooperation and honesty. This relationship necessitates that the electorate learn, compare and contrast the moral values and the candidates' attributes so as to be able to elect a good MP. The electorate however is denied opportunities to learn and compare and contrast candidates' moral values and the parliamentary candidates' attributes. For instance, the parliamentary candidates as already established always disappear to towns and become inaccessible thus making it hard for the electorate to learn their attributes and compare and contrast them with their moral values. To deal with this problem, the aspiring parliamentary candidates and IMPs should increase their contact hours by attending local functions like burials, fundraisings and education days. Likewise the government should provide a framework for NGOs, CBOs and other civil society organizations to freely conduct voter education with the goal of informing the relationship between moral values and parliamentary candidates' attributes.

Secondly, it is noted that the IMPs of Webuye Constituency use CDF to 'keep in touch' with the electorate by allocating CDF to public institutions like schools and health centres to construct physical infrastructure. The CDF is however inequitably distributed and sometimes mismanaged. That is why this research finds out that some parts of the constituency have more CDF projects than others and that in other parts the CDF money does not go to the intended projects thus ending up with unfinished or low quality projects. This scenario can cause inequality in development and/or underdevelopment if not addressed. Therefore there is need that the media's role as the public's watchdog be enhanced so that corrupt MPs and CDF committees are exposed. This can act as a catalyst for deterring mismanagement of public funds. Civic education should also be enhanced with an aim of condemning corruption and urging the electorate to question their MPs on what they are doing with CDF. More so, those responsible for mismanagement of CDF must face criminal prosecution to deter such conduct in future. Moreover CDF officials should be consulting the Ministry of

Education while identifying learning institutions that urgently need physical structures so as to avoid a situation where some learning institutions continue getting CDF money to construct unused facilities while others have learners learning under tree shades. CDF officials should also liaise with other government and technical departments like district quality and quantity surveyors who are versed and experienced in monitoring, evaluating and implementing projects.

Thirdly, patriarchal values which emanate from the African culture are noted as affecting women participation in parliamentary elections/politics. The patriarchal values give men an upper hand in influencing their wives' vote choice since for instance they allow men to beat their wives whenever they do things contrary to their expectation. It also views women as nurturers of the family and overburdens them with a lot of family work without rewarding them with property rights like ownership of land thus denying them time and the economic base that are vital for anyone venturing into politics. Moreover these patriarchal values promote the culture of intimidation and violence against women which makes them fear contesting parliamentary seats. An aggressive civic education is therefore needed to help people accept gender equality. The government policies should also empower women by ensuring that the girl child gets education and employment so as to reduce poverty that significantly limits women participation in politics. Likewise, men who use male chauvinism to intimidate or violate women's rights thus killing their political ambitions or violating their political rights should be prosecuted in court to deter such conduct in future.

Fourthly, it has been found out that oral traditions (like various types of songs, narratives, proverbs and prophecies) play a very important role in parliamentary elections. The oral traditions not only mobilize people politically but also play a hegemonic role which is associated with social, political and bureaucratic control by the IMP seeking to maintain the political status quo. Songs when sang are accompanied by various traditional musical instruments (like the lyre, bowed lute and the drum) and various dancing styles (like women back shaking and shoulder shaking). The dancing and ululating during parliamentary election campaigns always show the joy and happiness associated with campaigning. The government should therefore encourage the collection and storage of oral literature/traditions since they are the basis of our political culture and are in danger of being lost due to modernization and globalization. In a nutshell, these studies effectively address the research objectives and thus advance our understanding of the role of culture in electoral politics.

Finally, it is hoped that researchers will consider the following suggestion for further research. Research should be done on the role of other oral traditions like riddles in parliamentary election campaigns.

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