Marking Boundaries: Managing Intra-Ethnic Competition in Africa

By

Matthew K. Gichohi

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Committee in Charge:
Professor Leonardo R. Arriola, Chair
Professor Pradeep Chhibber
Professor Tabitha Kanogo
Professor Eric Schickler

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explains why certain African politicians are able to create ethnic voting blocs whereas others fail. Challenging current wisdom, I argue that this ability is conditional on the level of "groupness" cultivated by ethnic elites through ethnic associations. These historically rooted associations are involved in defining ethnic boundaries through social and economic activities that cultivate a sentiment that encourages group members to see themselves as sharing not only cultural and linguistic characteristics but also as having life chances that are intertwined with those of co-ethnics (linked fate) and their co-ethnic political leaders. These associations then use these sentiments as the basis upon which the group is mobilized politically and the political elite coordinated under a single banner. The varying success with which these ethnic associations are able to carry out these tasks explains contemporary differences across groups in cohesion, party entry, turnout and party competition.

The argument's causal logic is developed — and its mechanisms highlighted — throughout the dissertation using evidence from Kenya's politically relevant ethnic groups. In the introductory chapter, I present the context in which ethnic associations operate in sub-Saharan Africa. This is followed by an exposition of the groupness theory and its composite parts in Chapter 2. I show how ethnic associations, with varying degrees of success, are responsible for marking the ethnic group's boundaries; influencing how individuals think of their position within the group and their relationship to both each other and their co- ethnic leaders; and politically mobilizing the group and its elite based on these perceptions. This theoretical discussion is accompanied by empirical case studies of each of Kenya's politically relevant ethnic groups —Kamba, Kikuyu, Luo and Luhya—, their history with ethnic associations and these associations' involvement in the creation and maintenance of groupness. The process tracing approach used in this chapter addresses the model's potential endogeneity problem. Use of the method allows me to show that despite emerging from and responding to similar historical events — the creation of ethnic associations that provided a social safety net and mediator in response to colonial rule—these associations have had varying levels of success in coordinating their co-ethnics, their political elites, and influencing the type of party competition experienced.

The third chapter then examines the theory's primary observable implication: if ethnic associations have historically exercised this power over ethnic group sentiment and political organization, then there ought to be observable and systematic differences in the level of groupness across groups. Using ordered logit models, the analysis not only reveals systematic differences across groups in the beliefs in groupness but also that these differences correspond to the particular ethnic group's history with ethnic associations.

The dissertation's remaining chapters shift the focus of analysis from the individual to the group. They explain how district variation in groupness —an indicator created using multi-level regression and post-stratification (MRP) — explains party entry, turnout and competition at the constituency level. In Chapter 4, I address the question whether of groupness influences the entry decisions made by politicians and their parties. I argue that parties are constrained by the level of groupness; that is, high groupness limits the political space for entrepreneurial co-ethnic politicians to emerge. The results of the quantitative analysis support the hypothesis: constituencies embedded in districts with higher levels of groupness tend to see lower candidate

entry rates for parliamentary seats.

Chapter 5 investigates the impact of groupness on individual turnout decisions. It argues that groupness, rather than mobilizing higher turnout, actually leads individuals to engage in vote approximation, which has a suppressive effect. That is, individuals believe that due to the high level of groupness within the group, political preferences among members will tend to be similar. Such a belief leads them to make the rational calculation, given the high costs associated with turning out to vote in these low information settings, that their co-ethnics will vote in a similar as they would, if they were not to cast a ballot. The results show that indeed places with higher levels of groupness, do experience lower turnout levels compared to areas with lower groupness levels.

The final empirical chapter considers how the concept of groupness and its variation across groups affects the level of party competition. The argument states that in places where groupness levels are higher, political competition will tend to be lower, as proxied by the vote margin with which the winner wins. This is because voters are and the political elite are coordinated both by their ethnic associations and the groupness sentiment that exists among them. As a result, voters are aware of the association's preferred candidate and party. The quantitative analysis reveals that areas where groupness levels are high, candidates tend to win with higher margins.

For J.C. *Moshi Moshi and Thank You!*

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The mechanisms through which ethnicity influences voting behaviour remains a puzzle. Our current understanding of the process relies on theories of trust and clientelism, which assert that politicians pay a low trust premium among co-ethnics (Robinson, 2013) and that individuals make the strategic calculation that having co-ethnics in office will increase their access to state goods (Chandra, 2007; Posner, 2004). Theory also holds that parties respond rationally to these realities by mobilizing blocs of co-ethnic voters who are perceived as "ready made clientele[s], waiting to be led" (Horowitz, 1985, p.380). Though compelling, these theories about the ethnic nature of politics in Africa contain two implicit assumptions: first, that ethnic groups are monolithic entities with internally uniform sociological and political preferences; and second, that ethnic elites are sufficiently coordinated to limit the political options available to their group members.

Empirical observation of legislative and presidential elections across the continent challenges these assumptions and reveals variation in the number of political options available to voters across ethnic groups. Certain ethnic groups are represented by single mono-ethnic parties while others often have multiple mono-ethnic parties vying for their support. In Kenya's Nyanza Province, for instance, where the Luo primarily reside, only one party has consistently managed to attract the group's support, whereas in Central Province, where the Kikuyu reside, there have been between two and three parties during each electoral cycle vying for the group's vote. In looking at the country's 2013 electoral cycle, for instance, Raila Odinga's Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) was widely accepted among the Luo as the only viable party. Co-ethnic Luo politicians like Raphael Tuju who tried to establish a rival party in the region were quickly disabused of this position by co-ethnic elites. Among the Kikuyu, however, Uhuru Kenyatta's The National Alliance (TNA) was challenged by co-ethnic led party outfits such as the Grand National Union (GNU), Kenya National Congress (KNC) and National Rainbow Coalition-Kenya (NARC-KENYA). Even among the Kamba, Charity Ngilu's National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) challenged co-ethnic Kalonzo Musyoka's Wiper Democratic Movement (WDM-KENYA) for the group's vote.

These differences suggest that ethnic group members do have heterogeneous political preferences and that their elites are not as coordinated as presumed. For scholars interested in the development of political parties and party systems in newly democratizing states, this variation begs for their assumptions and models on the effect of ethnicity on voting behavior and the options available to voters at the polls to be reconsidered. This dissertation, therefore, asks the following questions: why are some politicians able to create ethnic monopolies whereas others fail? Are there institutions that help them in this endeavor? If so, how do these institutions affect the political organization of the elites and masses within their ethnic groups?

I argue that the variation in political organization, behavior and competition across groups is a result of the sense of groupness cultivated by ethnic elites. Ethnic elites historically cultivated this socio-psychological sentiment, which taps into the level of commonality and linked fate individuals feel with their co-ethnic kin and leaders, through ethnic associations that define ethnic boundaries, politically mobilize the group

and coordinate the political elite. Today, these associations, relying on established practices and enduring identities, continue their mobilization efforts and facilitate elite coordination by serving as endorsers for co-ethnic candidates in the electoral arena. As the dissertation will show, the monopoly these associations exert on their ethnic communities goes beyond helping politicians secure a majority of the group's votes. They create enduring loyal ethnic voting blocs by affecting how individuals think of themselves and their position within the group, controlling the electoral campaign dynamics and the options that voters face at the ballot box. These associations have long been a key part of the party and voting dynamics observed in sub-Saharan Africa but have yet to be sufficiently incorporated into our academic models of these phenomena.

1.2 Background of the Problem

To date, much of the Africanist literature maintains its belief in the significant role played by ethnic identities in determining both political behavior and competition(Lipset and Rokkan, 1967). Theories of successful ethnic mobilization — the process by which leaders speak on behalf of their co-ethnics and engage them in political action — highlight the influence of group demographics (Posner, 2004), the inclusion of co-ethnics on electoral rosters (Chandra, 2007), and a lack of credibility or trust across ethnic groups (Horowitz, 1985; Keefer, 2010). Underpinning each of these theories is the heuristic nature of ethnic identities; that is to say, that these identities act as informational shortcuts that allow individuals to condition their expectations about the behavior of others(Ferree, 2006; Posner, 2005; Robinson, 2013). The ability of ethnic identities to play such a role is especially necessary in low information settings, where alternative sources of reliable information are missing and ethnic groups must develop various technologies to help them monitor and encourage within group cooperation.

In Africa, where ethnic geographic concentration is the norm, dense social networks – based on both proximity and similarities in language and culture – facilitate the easy flow of information regarding norms of reciprocity, the economic market and political arena(Mozaffar, Scarritt and Galaich, 2003). As individuals live in close quarters, they are easily monitored and credibly threatened with sanctioning. This embeddedness leads to better communication and coordination within groups than across groups (Taylor and Chatters, 1988; Fearon and Laitin, 1996; Miguel, 2004; Habyarimana et al., 2009). As a result, ethnic social identities encourage the development of shared and uniform world-views that lead to both high within group trust levels and political cohesion (Lewis-Beck, 2009; Miller et al., 1981; Simon and Klandermans, 2001; Robinson, 2011).

With individuals theoretically and observationally exhibiting such strong preferences for co-ethnics, politicians face few incentives to mobilize outside their core constituency. With non co-ethnic individuals and politicians being viewed as untrustworthy, the costs associated with overcoming this "outsider" label are quite high and detrimental to democratic building. According to Keefer and Vlaicu (2008), politicians in multi-ethnic societies rely on clientelism to signal their credibility as patrons capable of delivering goods once in office. The strength of ethnic identities coupled with the costs associated with establishing one's credibility outside core groups greatly reduces the political space available for political candidates to draw votes from different groups. As a result, one expects to observe lower candidate and party entry into the political arena as each ethnic group is expected to have a single party representative. Higher levels of national ethnic diversity have been shown to correlate with higher number of parties/candidates.

The circumscribed nature of the political system in ethnically diverse societies incentivizes individuals to turnout and vote for one of their own. Each group wishes to have control over the state's resources as this will improve or protect their life chances — ethnic groups having distinct policy preferences, that lead them to prefer to receive targeted goods from which they get primary benefit, rather than public goods whose gains are diffuse (Lieberman and McClendon, 2013; Miguel and Gugerty, 2005); while ethnic elite and politicians use ethnically charged rhetoric to mobilize the public as these identities provide politicians with a menu from which they can efficiently target whom to include or exclude from an electoral coalition (Bates, 1983; Chandra, 2007; Horowitz, 1985; Posner, 2005). As Franck and Rainer (2012) show, African life chances, particularly in the realms of health and education, are positively affected by having co-ethnic presidents in power. As a result, areas with high levels of ethnic heterogeneity will tend to experience higher

turnout levels.

Focusing solely on ethnic diversity and its effect on mobilization, behavior and competition provides us limited information on why some politicians are able to create ethnic monopolies whereas others fail. Though the current literature offers compelling mechanisms for why ethnic groups and their leaders may cohere, there has yet to be a systematic accounting for when or why this may not always be the case. The working assumption for a majority of these theories is that ethnic groups, despite their being —in most cases, recent — constructs, are homogeneous and monolithic entities whose members have similar political preferences. There remains a need to account for the historical development of these ethnic identities and their effect on political behavior, competition and organization. In taking into consideration their historical development, we will be able to trace not only how individuals come to understand their ethnic identities but also whether there are systematic differences across groups in these understandings to significantly affect their group's political behavior and competition.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

My argument's point of departure holds that despite individuals sharing a common ethnic identity, they do not all attach the same importance or value to the label. The historical development of the identity coupled with group and individual experiences matter for how individuals think of both themselves and their position within the wider ethnic community. I argue that it is these self-perceptions and their variation across groups that determines the observed differences in group political behaviour, competition and organization. When individuals within the group are more similar in their understanding of what it means to a member, leaders within that group will be more likely to have a monopoly over the group's political direction. Where there is little of this cohesion, politicians will be unable to exert a sufficient amount of control to guarantee their electoral dominance.

The measure I propose for this cohesion is ethnic groupness, which comprises three facets: individuals' beliefs and perceptions about their shared characteristics with co-ethnics, their belief in a sense of linked fate, and their belief in leader fate. When individuals believe they share common characteristics with co-ethnics, based on language or cultural heritage, they are more likely to see themselves as part of a collective group (commonality). This is complemented by a belief that their life chances are deeply intertwined with those of their co-ethnics, both at a social (linked fate) and political level (leader fate).[1]

Ethnic groupness, however, is neither static nor self-reproducing. It requires the constant attention of political and cultural elites to ensure its continued political and sociological relevance. In many African countries, ethnic associations, which trace their origin to the continent's colonial period, take on this role. In the colonial period, they were heavily involved in both ethnic identity formation and political organization. They carved out the ethnic group's boundaries, and promoted a moral ethnicity by carrying out social and developmental work, lobbying the government on behalf of the group and serving as a heuristic for the group regarding viable electoral choices. (Berman and Lonsdale, 1998). The activities advocated by the associations strengthened the link between identity and the political preferences of the group, minimizing the chances of group division, particularly in a political system that pitted ethnic groups against both the state and each other. Even with changes in regime type — colonialism, post-independence democracy, authoritarianism, and the re-introduction of multi-party democracy — these ethnic associations remain politically relevant and continue to affect the political organization and options available to their co-ethnic brethren.

The extent to which ethnic associations are able to tie this social identity to political action and preferences (identity-preference link) is key to the political indicators—candidate entry, turnout and party competition— we are interested in. By incorporating these ethnic associations into our analyses will better understand how the social flow of political information, particularly within largely homogeneous social networks, matters for preference formation (Huckfeldt and Sprague, 1987; Walsh, 2004). In taking a leading role in the articulation of the ethnic boundaries, including the development of cultural practice and moral

[1]Though initially constructed to explain African American racial consciousness and political behaviour, scholars have used the concept of linked fate to study other American minority groups: African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, American Muslims, and non-Hispanic Whites (Hutchings et al., 2011; Schildkraut, 2013; Bobo, Johnson and Suh, 2002).

responsibilities, these associations are best placed to be the transmitters of group policy preferences and priorities and providers of the psychological tools group members need to interact with the political environment(Kinder and Winter, 2001; Hall, 1987). As associations have significant power over the group's identity, preferences and organization, vocal dissent within the group is relatively uncommon, which in turn leads to an affirmation and reinforcement of mutual viewpoints (Mutz, 2002; Mendelberg, 2005). It is through ethnic associations that identity and political interests become mutually reinforced, which leads to more coordinated political action as electoral choices are made on the basis of their benefit to the group members(Fowler and Kam, 2007).

More than cultivating and reinforcing ethnic identities all the while linking them to the group's political preferences, ethnic associations are involved in the coordination of the group's political elite with the goal of limiting internal competition. Their ability to do this effectively is highly dependent on group members seeing themselves as having a lot in common and their fates intertwined with those of co-ethnics and co-ethnic leaders. When the association exerts significant moral claim over the identities and preferences of the group, due to their embeddedness in the daily lives of their constituents, it generates a public signal that allows the political elite to update and adjust their behaviour in accordance. As the political elite are embedded in the same ethnic networks as their co-ethnic kin, they also tend to be beholden to the association. The effect is that even entrepreneurial co-ethnic politicians will hesitate to challenge the status quo. They will fall in line and comply with the association's preference so as to avoid political disaster in the form of poor electoral performance.

One of the most reliable signals that ethnic associations use to coordinate the public and elite is public endorsements. Endorsements act as a heuristic that enables elites and masses to align their political behavior with the preferences of their associations. They communicate to the ethnic group whom they should support while conveying to the entrepreneurial co-ethnic political elite that the group's vote is not "up for grabs". Ethnic monopolies are likely to be maintained as long as associations are able to reduce uncertainty about the group's cohesion by maintaining a strong link between ethnic identity and political preferences.

At its core, my argument suggests that we need to account for how individuals understand their ethnic identity, the subjective importance they attach to the identity, and any feelings of belonging or interdependence they share with their co-ethnics (Lee, 2008; Masuoka, 2006). In so doing we will gain deeper insights into how political cohesion, or its absence, is based on the development of strong subjective identities (Huddy, Sears and Levy, 2013, p.15).

I develop this logic throughout the dissertation in the following manner: in the first part, I develop the theoretical framework and accompany it with a historical account regarding how politicians have, throughout history, relied on and been subject to the power of ethnic associations in their quest to create ethnic monopolies. This is discussion is accompanied by a demonstration of how individual perceptions of groupness will tend vary depending on their group's history with ethnic associations. Individuals who come from groups with histories of strong ethnic associations that worked to both create a cohesive ethnic identity and link it to the group's political preferences and leadership, will tend to express strong beliefs in the groupness factors. Where ethnic associations are unable to create these stable links, individuals will express lower levels of groupness.

In the second part, I shift the focus from the historical and micro-level manifestations of groupness and analyze the observable implications of the theory; namely, if ethnic associations have succeeded, or not, in creating this sense of groupness at the individual level, how do these differences across groups affect the political behaviour and competition at the constituency level? The analysis in this portion of the dissertation considers three outcomes: candidate entry, voter turnout and political competition. These three aspects capture the domain of influence groupness exerts over both the elite and the masses. In the analysis of candidate entry, I argue that as the level of groupness in a district increases, so do the costs faced by politicians who wish to contest for parliamentary office. The socio-psychological bonds imposed by groupness when coupled with the endorsements and coordination strategies employed by ethnic associations serve as effective deterrents to entrepreneurial politicians who may wish to split the group's vote. There is less ideological space for them to credibly mount a campaign against the group's anointed leader and party. We therefore expect to observe fewer candidate entries in high rather than in low groupness areas.

In addition to its influence on elite entry strategies, groupness is expected to affect the voters' incentives to turnout and vote. As individuals are embedded in networks that facilitate the flow of information regarding politics, the level of groupness within the ethnic group allows them to both asses the information's credibility and whether it is in their best interest to align their vote choice with those of the group. (Zaller, 1992; Huckfeldt and Sprague, 1987; Lazarsfeld, Berelson and McPhee, 1954). As alignment with group choice increases, individuals can be sure that their electoral choice will match those of co-ethnics at the ballot box. This, however, does not necessarily mean that these individuals will turnout on election day. With voting costs in sub-Saharan Africa are generally being considered as high due to the lack of readily accessible and credible information regarding parties and their candidates or the large distances individuals have to travel to reach their polling stations, individuals will tend to look for ways to reduce these costs. As such, if they are embedded in a high groupness setting, where their preferences and vote choices match those of co-ethnics then their incentives to vote are further reduced. The group's candidate will capture the vote regardless of their participation in the election. This in contrast to areas of low ethnic groupness, where preference congruence between co-ethnics will be low. Policies or candidates in these settings are judged on the basis of their potential benefit to the individual rather than to the group. This makes it difficult for voters to trust that their preferences will be reflected at the ballot box by those of their co-ethnics. Wanting to guarantee the expression of their preferences, voters in low groupness areas will tend to turnout at higher rates.

The final part of this analysis considers how groupness impacts the level of party competition at the parliamentary level. The manipulation of individual perceptions of ethnic unity and the coordinating strategies employed by the ethnic associations can either incentivize group members to split or concentrate their votes around particular parties and candidates. In high groupness areas, I argue that voters are more likely to coordinate their votes as they view their life chances as being closely intertwined —increasing the likelihood of similar political assessments— and the endorsements made by ethnic associations as credible and in the group's benefit. The expected effect is lower party competition. In low groupness areas, conversely, voters are less likely to view their life chances as intertwined or their ethnic associations as credible. Without a strong socio-psychological force exerting its linking effect and influencing on how voters and elites behave, the expectation is the presence of more vibrant party competition.

Overall, the dissertation's argument contributes to our understanding of how the manipulation of ethnic identities has enduring effects on the supply and demand of party politics in democratizing states. Ethnic identities largely being the result of conscious and deliberate construction on the part of elites, makes it likely that there exist differences across groups in the strategies employed and their efficacy. Such variation should affect the level of attachment individuals have to their identity and the demands they are able to place on their political elite. The approach, at its core, moves us away from treating ethnic groups as monolithic entities with homogeneous preferences and uniform political actions and towards one that takes seriously the diversity that exits within groups and how such diversity affects the group's political competition and behavior. In addition, by considering how the political elites are constrained by the group's socio-psychological make up, the analysis creates a more interactive process of the electoral dynamics on the continent. It is not just a top-down or bottom-up process. The political elite and voters respond to each other during every electoral cycle, updating their beliefs and acting accordingly.

The argument further contributes to the wider comparative politics literature on party organization and strategy, especially in newly democratizing societies. Conventional wisdom holds that African parties remain programmatically and organizationally weak institutions. The argument presented here offers a plausible explanation for the difficulty parties face when trying to establish themselves as credible institutions in places where ethnic institutions continue to exert a meaningful effect on individuals' political beliefs and behaviors. The success of parties in both fending competition and drawing electoral support is dependent on ethnic institutions and the socio-psychological make up of the various ethnic groups.

1.4 Research Strategy

I employ a variety of qualitative and quantitative methods to develop the theory and test its hypotheses. Given the study's sub-national focus, I first use a historical and sociological institutionalist approach to

trace the emergence of ethnic associations, the identities they create and their persistence in shaping the group's political environment. This process tracing approach allows me to not only examine how these institutions have (un)successfully functioned over time but to identity the mechanisms that ensured the institution's reproduction and interaction with different institutional orders. I complement this historical approach with information gathered during fieldwork in the country. Doing so allows me to generate a more nuanced theory that can be linked to contemporary actions on the ground. The cases studies are based on information gathered from in-depth semi-structured and unstructured interviews, archival research, and data from government sources.

For the empirical tests, I rely on original survey data gathered during Kenya's 2013 electoral period and both its electoral and statistical bureaus. The survey data measures the perception of groupness at the individual level with the goal of assessing whether there are systematic differences in the beliefs in groupness across ethnic groups. These survey data are also used to create district level estimates of groupness that will then be used as covariates in random intercept models that examine their effect on party/candidate entry, turnout, and political competition. The creation of the district level estimates is based on the multi-level regression and post-stratification (MRP) method, which relies on both survey and census data (Gelman and Little, 1997; Park, Gelman and Bafumi, 2006). Estimation of public opinion at the district level using MRP is preferred to disaggregation because it generates more accurate and reliable estimates.

Once the estimates are produced, I employ multi level analysis given the data's structure: groupness estimates at the district/county level (level 2) and the outcome variable at the constituency level (level 1). Using traditional linear models for such data would prove problematic as they rely on basic independence assumptions that would not be met because the observations are grouped into districts. Constituencies within districts share certain characteristics and tend to be more similar to others within their districts than to those in located in other districts. Constituencies in different districts may be independent, but constituencies *within* a district share many similar traits. Accordingly, a hierarchical linear model (HLM) that incorporates the multilevel structural characteristic of the data is appropriate. The multilevel modeling partially pools the group level parameters toward their mean. There is more pooling when the group level standard deviation is small and more smoothing for groups with fewer observations.

Kenya was chosen as the test site for this theory because its politically relevant groups share similar background conditions but differ on the values they take on the dependent and explanatory variables: political behavior/competition and level of groupness, respectively. The country also resembles several other African states in its historical, institutional, and sociological make up. Kenya's colonial history reflects that of other African British colonies. Though the British approach to colonial administration varied across both time and space, its general approach was comparable across countries. The British ruled "indirectly", seeking local intermediaries and allies and integrating them into the administration of the colonial regime. In most instances, this involved co-opting traditional leaders or installing them when existing ones either did not cooperate or previously exist.

Kenya also uses the modal institutional setup used in African democracies: a presidential system with single-member districts for electing members of parliament (Kuenzi and Lambright, 2005). Much like in other parts of Africa, the general perception is that power is concentrated in the hands of the president and as such much of the political contestation surrounds this office (Prempeh, 2008). The country also has weak parties that lack organization and are centered around personalities rather than ideologies or programs; a fact that is characteristic of a majority of African states (Baldwin, 2013). The effect has been high levels of party volatility with parties not surviving more than one electoral cycle, dis-incentivizing investment in strong party infrastructure.

Kenya is also a country that is made up minority ethnic groups. None of the country's ethnic groups make up a sufficient number to form majority. This trend is reflected in 31 sub-Saharan African states(Fearon, 2003). Furthermore, much like in other states, ethnicity remains highly salient issue that is used by politicians as a mobilizing tool and voters as a heuristic to guide their voting decisions(Berman, 1998; Throup and Hornsby, 1998; Branch and Cheeseman, 2009; Mueller, 2011; Posner, 2005)

1.5 Plan of the Dissertation

The logic surrounding the dissertation's argument is developed in the following manner. Chapter Two focuses on presenting the existing literature on ethnicity's links to political mobilization and competition while simultaneously showing how these models remain under specified. They fail to account for current variations in political organization and competition across groups living under similar institutional and nominally similar sociological settings. The chapter also more fully develops the dissertation's theoretical framework: of how ethnic associations, with varying degrees of success, are responsible for marking the ethnic group's boundaries; influencing how individuals think of their position within the group and their relationship to both each other and their co-ethnic leaders; and acting politically based on these perceptions. This discussion is accompanied by case studies of each of Kenya's politically relevant ethnic groups —Kamba, Kikuyu, Luo and Luhya—, their history with ethnic associations and these associations' involvement in the creation and maintenances of groupness. The process tracing approach reveals that despite starting from a similar point —the creation of ethnic associations that provided a social safety net and mediator in an oppressive system—these associations have had varying levels of success in coordinating their co-ethnics and their political elites.

This chapter is followed by an analysis of the argument's observable implication, which is, if ethnic associations have had the hypothesized effect, then one expects to observe systematic differences in the level of groupness expressed by individuals based on their membership in a particular group. The data used for this analysis comes from a nationally representative survey that asks individuals about their belief in the groupness facets: their belief in commonality, linked fate and leader fate. The data used also measures groupness both pre and post election to assess whether its salience is constant regardless of electoral dynamics underway. The quantitative analysis of groupness using logistic regressions not only reveals systematic differences in the beliefs in groupness across groups but also that these differences correspond to the particular ethnic group's history with ethnic associations. In addition, the results reveal that the salience of groupness is more pronounced prior or close to elections but in an unexpected direction: depending on the group's history, elections can expose divisions that lie dormant between elections making it harder for particular politicians to create outright winning coalitions within the group.

Chapter Four moves the analysis from the individual to the group and attempts to explain how district variation in groupness can explain the entry decisions made by candidates at the constituency level. In this chapter, I argue that the entry decisions made by politicians are determined by the level of groupness that one observes in a constituency, contrary to current explanations that focus heavily on ethnic diversity and electoral as explanations. Using hierarchical modeling techniques, I show that politicians and their decisions to enter the political race are constrained by the level of groupness in which their constituency is embedded. Where groupness levels are high, politicians are less likely to enter the race.

Chapter Five considers how ethnic groupness affects the political behavior of the individual. It seeks to explain how groupness negatively impacts the turnout decisions made by individuals. Using turnout rates as the variable of interest, the analysis shows that places with higher levels of groupness, tend to see lower turnout levels compared to areas with lower groupness levels. The final empirical chapter shows that ethnic groupness has an effect on the type of political competition one observes in a constituency. Using vote margin and winner proportion as proxies for political competition, and more specifically if it is a safe seat, I show that in areas where groupness levels are high, candidates tend to win with either a higher margin or with a larger proportion of the votes cast.

I conclude in Chapter Seven with a review of the findings and a discussion of the implications of the argument.

Chapter 2

A Theory of Ethnic Groupness

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter began by highlighting differences in the number of presidential options within ethnic groups, contrary to conventional wisdom. With ethnic groups varying in the number of co-ethnic presidential candidates available at the ballot box,— groups like the Luo having a single one and the Luhya having two or more—scholars need to look beyond electoral results if they are to understand precisely how ethnicity is linked to candidate/party entry and voter behaviour.

In this chapter, I argue that the variation in the political options available to group members is a result of the sense of groupness that ethnic elites cultivate through ethnic associations. These associations, which have been present since the colonial period have, with varying degrees of success: worked to define ethnic boundaries; used these identities as the basis for political mobilization; and facilitated elite coordination by serving as endorsers for co-ethnic candidates in the electoral arena. By explicitly accounting for the role ethnic associations play in shaping the nature of intra-ethnic competition, I provide a theoretical account of how ethnic groups continue to function as rational coalitions formed to "secure [the] benefits created by the forces of modernization" (Bates, 1983, p.152). This approach also provides a more comprehensive and nuanced picture of intra-ethnic political competition and organization in Africa's democratizing and multiethnic states.

More specifically I claim that ethnic associations cultivate groupness by creating and maintaining an identity-preference link among voters. This link reflects the degree to which voters' political preferences are shaped primarily by their ethnic identities, which in turn influence their patterns of partisanship and mobilization. By actively reaffirming the overlap between social identities and political preferences, ethnic associations cultivate groupness. They provide their constituents with the information necessary to evaluate the credibility of political competitors: information that typically emphasizes the importance of unity in support of a preferred candidate or party. Heeding this endorsement voters understand that they are acting in the group's best interest if they are to improve their lot economically, politically, and socially. Doing otherwise would be acting against both one's own self-interest and those of the group.

Parties that compete in ethnically segmented polities should, therefore, prefer stronger identity-preference links as this would reduce their mobilization costs. In these settings political issues will be judged through an ethnic-identity lens. Parties and their candidates have little incentive to take strong stands on all the potential issues that voters care about. Instead, they only need cue the group's ethnic identity and use rhetoric that emphasizes the need for and the importance of ethnic unity in voting, to ensure support. The ability of parties to effectively cue the ethnic identity, however, is not automatic. It is deeply rooted in the group's history and is facilitated by ethnic associations.

Ethnic associations further reinforce groupness by coordinating elite action. Associations not only use their political rhetoric to align the interests of co-ethnic elites and masses, but they also have the organiza-

tional resources to reward elites who fall in line and punish those who fail to do so. Ethnic association leaders tend to be wealthy and well-connected individuals who hold sway in their communities. They have the financial resources to influence both the incentives of political entrants and the behavior of their co-ethnic voters. Thus they effectively define the space available for political contestation within the ethnic group. Ethnic associations that maintain consistency in rhetoric and endorsements are more likely to contain intra-ethnic competition. I therefore hypothesize that fewer parties are likely to emerge when an association successfully creates a strong identity-preference link and coordinates elites in consistently endorsing a particular party.

The chapter will proceed in the following manner: I first present the theoretical framework for understanding the origins of ethnic groupness and the reasons behind its variant strength across groups. This discussion also connects the concept of groupness to expectations about intra-ethnic political competition. The chapter then tackles the history of ethnic associations in Africa prior to applying the theoretical framework to Kenya's four largest and most politically relevant ethnic groups: Kamba, Kikuyu, Luhya and Luo.

2.2 Ethnic Associations and Ethnic Groupness

Current explanations of successful ethnic mobilization campaigns — the process by which leaders speak on behalf of their co-ethnics and engage them in political action — highlight the influence of group demographics (Posner, 2004), the inclusion of co-ethnics on electoral rosters (Chandra, 2007) and low trust levels across ethnic groups (Horowitz, 1985). Voters under these theories are likely to act in unison whenever they are part of politically relevant groups — groups that are "significant participants in the competition over the country's economic [and political] policies" (Posner, 2004, p.855) — whose salience politicians are able to exploit for coalition building purposes. Political unity is further guaranteed by the presence of co-ethnics on party hierarchies and rosters because it signals to voters, who have limited information, but are engaged in strategic head counting, that their representatives will be able to deliver state goods once in power (Chandra, 2007). Each of these arguments is supported by the fact that non co-ethnic politicians are viewed as non-credible(Keefer, 2010).

These theories have advanced our understanding of successful ethnic mobilization strategies, but they have also left crucial assumptions unaddressed: group unity, its activation, and maintenance. Though individuals may be part of politically relevant groups, size and political cueing does not necessarily translate into identity becoming salient. As this chapter's empirical section shows, despite politicians' best efforts, they sometimes fail to make identity salient enough to ensure within group cohesion or fend off internal political competition. To understand how ethnic mobilization affects intra-ethnic party competition, we must address the reasons behind this variation in identity's salience across politically relevant groups.

Groupness is critical to the emergence of parties within ethnic communities. It is a concept that I define as comprising three facets: the extent to which individuals within the ethnic group feel they share a common lot (commonality); the extent to which they believe that their life chances are intertwined (linked fate); and the extent to which they believe that having a co-ethnic in power affects their life chances (leader fate). These three aspects, which collectively constitute and reinforce the level of groupness within ethnic groups, and therefore their level of political cohesion, vary considerably and result in differing levels of party competition and even participation.[1]

Groupness, however, is not static. It requires the constant attention of political and cultural elites to ensure its continued political and sociological relevance. In many African countries, ethnic associations take on this role. These institutions trace their origin to the continent's colonial period during which they were involved in both ethnic identity formation and political organization. They carved out the ethnic group's boundaries, carried out social and developmental work, lobbied the government on behalf of the group, and served as a heuristic for the group regarding viable electoral choices.

To delineate the ethnic group's boundaries, ethnic associations had to engage in discussions about the "core areas of social obligation and moral economy" (Berman and Lonsdale, 1998). Doing so established a framework of social trust that guided expectations of behaviour between group members with the effect of

[1] Their manifestation at the individual level will be explored in the next chapter.

producing social production, reproduction and security. Ethnic associations reinforced this moral ethnicity through their involvement in local economic development and political mobilization. Such activities were less about the group's identity, and more about its survival and resource acquisition in a system that pitted ethnic groups against both the state and each other. Berman and Lonsdale (1998) refer to this externally motivated organization as political tribalism. Despite changes in regime type — colonialism, post-independence democracy, authoritarianism, and the re-introduction of multi-party democracy — these ethnic associations remain politically relevant and continue to affect the political options available to their co-ethnic brethren. I argue that it is their varied success rate that explains the observable differences in intra-ethnic political competition.

Groupness influences party competition within ethnic communities to the extent that elites are able to shape political preferences. Koter (2013) shows that in Senegal voter mobilization depends on the efforts of intermediaries who exert moral claims over their dependent followers. The higher the level of moral authority and dependence, the better able intermediaries are to guarantee the chosen political candidate the group's electoral support. Complementing and extending Koter's logic, my argument suggests that electoral support not only depends on the extent to which elites shape voter preferences, but also on the extent to which elites are able to coordinate partisan preferences amongst themselves. The extent to which these ethnic associations are able to effectively tie the social ethnic identity to political action and preferences (identity-preference link) is key to the party competition question.

We currently know very little about these associations and their role in contemporary sub-Saharan politics. By incorporating them into our analyses we will be able to better understand how the social flow of political information, particularly within largely homogeneous social networks, matters for preference formation (Huckfeldt and Sprague, 1987; Walsh, 2004). Within such networks vocal dissent tends to be uncommon, leading to an affirmation and reinforcement of mutual viewpoints (Mutz, 2002; Mendelberg, 2005). As the interaction between group members increases, common identities are not only reinforced but also becomes a heuristic against which individuals are able to evaluate and form their preferences (Rahn, 1993; Sinclair and Plott, 2012). Not only are identity and interests mutually reinforced through these organizations, but political action also tends to be more frequent as there is a strong belief that coordinated action positively affects the entire group (Fowler and Kam, 2007).

These assertions point to the enduring effect of associational life in political behaviour and supply. Associations tend to link people together through economic, social and cultural activities that foster interdependence among members (Varshney, 2003, p.14). Associations often take a leading role in articulating a conception of an ethnic identity that includes the development of cultural practice and linking them to moral responsibilities. Not all activities, however, are created equal; the type and depth of activity matters. Activities that promote a thorough integration of members — vernacular literature, business associations, self-help groups, mutual aid societies — are far more likely to strengthen the link between members and their preferences, while reducing the chances of rupture from within (p. 57). Associations are, therefore, actively involved in creating identities that help individuals make sense of their political environment while giving them the resources necessary to interact with it (Kinder and Winter, 2001; Hall, 1987).

More than cultivating and reinforcing ethnic identities, ethnic associations coordinate the ethnic political elite with the goal of limiting internal competition. They are able to do this best when group members see themselves as having a lot in common and their fates intertwined. This can only come about if the association is actively involved in creating and maintaining the identity and is embedded in the daily lives of its constituents. When the association exerts such moral claims over the identities and preferences of the group, it generates a public signal that allows the political elite to update and adjust their behaviour in accordance. If the political elite are as beholden to the association as their co-ethnic brethren, then even those who are entrepreneurial will hesitate to challenge the status quo. They will fall in line and comply with the association's preference. Failure to do so could result in political disaster; that is, the absence of group support at the polls. It is in observing groupness and the association's actions that the political elite are able to tailor their behaviour.

One of the most reliable signals that ethnic associations use are public endorsements. Endorsements act as a heuristic that enables elites and masses to align their political behavior with the preferences of their respective associations. They communicate to the ethnic group whom they should support while conveying

to the entrepreneurial co-ethnic political elite that the group's vote is not "up for grabs". Intra-ethnic competition is likely to be contained as long as associations are able to reduce uncertainty about the group's cohesion by maintaining a strong link between ethnic identity and political preferences.

To summarize, I argue that ethnic associations affect levels of intra-ethnic political competition through three mechanisms: the creation and maintenance of a coherent ethnic identity that resonates with the group; the cultivation of an identity-preference link among voters; and the coordination of elite political behavior. As summarized in Table 1, this theoretical framework leads to the following expectations. Political competition and participation are expected to be low when there is a strong identity-preference link and elites are coordinated. Intra-ethnic political competition and participation is also expected to be low when the identity-preference link is weak, yet the elites manage to achieve high coordination. Intra-ethnic political competition and participation is expected to reach moderate levels where the identity-preference link is strong, but there is no coordination among elites. In such a scenario, entrepreneurial co-ethnic politicians who arise to split the group's vote will receive little support from the elite, which can lead to tensions between the masses and the elite. Politicians from other groups can also enter this political space to compete for the group's vote. Intra-ethnic political competition and participation is expected to be high when there is a weak identity-preference link and there is little coordination among elites.

	Identity Preference Link	
Elite Coordination	Weak	Strong
Strong	Low Party Comp./Part.	Low Party Comp./Part
Weak	High Party Comp./Part	Medium Party Comp./Part

Table 2.1: Impact of Groupness on Party Competition and Participation

To develop this theoretical framework, I rely on an historical and sociological institutionalist approach. Doing so enables us to trace the emergence of ethnic associations and their persistence in shaping intra-ethnic political competition and participation. This process tracing approach shows how these institutions are embedded in "concrete temporal processes"[2] and act as organizations that enable individuals to realize their interests (Ikenberry, 1994). In this case, the interests of the elites who wish to present an electoral voting bloc by limiting the political supply available within the group. How these elites manage to do this successfully over a significant period of time, requires an examination of not only the mechanisms that ensure the institution's reproduction (i.e. ethnic associations) but also its interactions with different institutional orders (i.e. regime type). I argue that the self-reinforcing mechanism is negative feedback. Negative feedback raises the costs to entrepreneurial politicians of challenging the status quo. In this, case ethnic associations that successfully prime ethnic cohesion while also coordinating the elite increase the costs of entrepreneurial politicians who wish to enter the political fray. The association's and the elite's use of rhetorical strategies to shape citizens attitudes, is crucial in highlighting the costs of change and the advantage of coalescing as a loss reduction strategy (Chong and Druckman, 2007; Nelson, Clawson and Oxley, 1997).

The process tracing also helps address questions of endogeneity. One could plausibly assume that groups with higher groupness levels are the same ones likely to have strong ethnic associations. In this instance, however, all the current politically relevant groups had no previous sense of groupness prior to colonization. In fact, they were all segmented and had internal wranglings that needed to be overcome in order for a sense of groupness to emerge. Colonial institutions, their extractive and divisive nature were the critical juncture — major events that disrupt the existing social, political and economic balance in a society —that allowed for each group's elite to try and define the group and organize it politically. These attempts, however, varied across groups leading to the current difference in within group competition. It is only through process tracing approach that we will be able to see how ethnic associations, the x variable in this context, led to the creation of ethnic groupness, the intervening variable, that then explains the differences in contemporary within group party competition, the y variable. Once groupness was created (or not), the reinforcing mechanisms established by the ethnic associations kicked in allowing for the reproduction

[2]This is to say that institutions emerge at different times and as responses to different political and social contexts (Orren and Skowronek 1994), Thelen (1999)

of the sentiment and its dampening effect on within group political competition. This small N-qualitative analysis will, in later chapters, be complemented with a large-N statistical analysis that will test whether an observable implication of the theory, in this case, groupness, explains party competition and organization.

2.3 Ethnic Associations in Africa

Many of today's most recognizable African ethnic identities trace their origins and political significance to the colonial period. The institutional order that accompanied colonialism assumed that local societies were organized along tribal lines. In response, previously local, segmented, fluid and clan-based identities consolidated into umbrella ethnic/tribal identities(Iliffe, 1979).[3] The identity creation process, however, was not organic. It required the guidance, tenacity and vigilance of ethnic elite and associations. In fact, without them, many of today's ethnic groups may not exist. Despite their presence and effect on contemporary identity and politics, little scholarly attention, especially in political science, has been dedicated to their study.

Hometown associations preceded ethnic associations. These typically urban elite creations, were a response to the influx of village/hometown members in cities as a result of colonial policies that sought to incorporate Africans into the formal economy as laborers and tax payers. It was in these urban spaces that the importance of a formal education to personal and group success became clear. Educated individuals were often the first recruited to government posts, which were well paid and granted them access to power. In response to this realization, hometown associations built schools that were an alternative to mission education, which required religious conversion. Associations also helped members cope with the social and economic isolation that accompanied forced migration(Abbott, 2002). They served as conduits for information about hometowns and families, helped fundraise for burials — the transportation of the deceased back to the hometown— and even provided scholarships. The scope of these activities helped create durable links between individuals who had similar local origins and allegiances. The associations essentially filled a gap in an institutional market that often ignored the local population's needs.

The nature of these hometown associations changed as individuals from the same region but different villages interacted. Interaction increased individual and group awareness of similarity of position and condition across villages and led to a desire for coordinated action in both politics and economic development. Such action required umbrella organizations that would represent the conglomeration of proximate villages or clans. As decisions about how to distribute development arose, so did tensions within the organizations; individuals preferred to have their own villages benefit first. In response to these squabbles, associations merged into larger unions that prioritized the creation of a common identity that would supersede those based on the clan, the hometown or the village. The identities were created for very instrumental reasons that included: ensuring the ethnic group's welfare, its autonomy, economic development and place in the political environment.

The identity creation process also required the formation and strengthening of enduring links between individuals from different villages. The unions relied on activities that not only created networks of association and dependence between members, such as through business associations, but also on activities that raised ethnic consciousness. The latter happened through the construction of cultural symbols, moral norms, and an emphasis on the group's status and progress, especially with respect to that of other groups. As unions succeeded in linking individuals, they came to represent the locus of a network of moral claims to aid and reciprocity (Abbott, 2002). Ethnic unions were integral to the process of turning ethnic awareness into ethnic consciousness and unity.

These associations continue to function in the multi-party era. Scholars argue that their resurgence is a result of two factors: the increase in competition for limited economic resources that accompanies multi-party politics and their manipulation by elites who wish to consolidate their personal economic and political positions (Woods, 1994, p.476). These studies, however, stop short of examining the effects these associations have on either intra-ethnic competition or political behaviour. What is clear, however, is that

[3]Identities prior to colonialism were quite fluid with individuals able to adopt new identities through marriage, commerce, enslavement and even migration.

they continue to be sites for civic and political engagement. They are heavily involved in maintaining those cultural practices they deem critical to the ethnic identity and the well being of their members. They engage in language preservation, the organization of social events such as ethnic festivals, and even the revitalization of traditional art.

Their involvement in the political arena is almost inevitable due to their close association with politicians and political parties. In Malawi, for instance, Presidents Bingu wa Mutharika and Joyce Banda created the *Mulakho wa Alhomwe* (for the Lomwe) and *Chiwania cha Ayao* (for the Yao), respectively (Gilman 2014). Mutharika's Mulakho wa Alomwe was ostensibly established to promote Lomwe culture, but many observers believe that the association was used as a recruitment tool for vacant government posts (Gilman, 10). The association doled out patronage, in the form of jobs, and created a loyal voting bloc. In Cameroon, hometown associations connect urban political elite with their rural homes. This involvement increases government interest in the local sphere as it wishes to create blocs of loyal voters through these associations (Nyamnjoh and Rowlands, 1998, p.320). Elites able to draw government resources to their hometowns, and as a result, command local respect, are also more likely to receive government support. In this way, these hometown associations have acted as alternatives to multiparty competition. They have undermined the development of oppositional politics by linking local development to allegiances to particular associations and their leaders (Geschiere and Gugler, 1998; Nyamnjoh and Rowlands, 1998; Bayart, 1993). This work on associations and their political involvement underscore the importance of studying ethnic associations in contemporary Africa and their influence on the political options and behaviour of those they claim to represent.

2.4 Case Studies

The following four cases studies, which focus on Kenya's most politically relevant ethnic groups, demonstrate the power (or lack thereof) of ethnic associations. They have the capacity to create ethnic identities, render them political heuristics and politically organize the community's elite to avoid division. The associations are not, as the case studies, reveal, always successful. Some effectively created a strong sense of group identity that not only exists today but also continues to influence the group's political allegiances. Other groups, however, were unable to foster such sentiments and continue to face political division within their ranks.

The sequence of events that leads to an open or closed political space matters significantly. As Table 2 shows, though Luo and Kikuyu ethnic associations both created a sense of common identity they ended up with different levels of intra-group competition: the Luo with low party competition and the Kikuyu with high party competition. Prior to establishing a strong-identity preference link, successive Luo associations focused on creating a sense of common identity. For the Luo, a common identity served as the foundation for a strong identity-preference link and thus limiting the number of identities entrepreneurial co-ethnics could cue and mobilize. Kikuyu associations, in contrast, first focused on organizing the community around political issues rather than around a unified sense of ethnic identity. By the time Kikuyu ethnic leaders attempted to create a strong ethnic identity, it was too late. Political identities based on education, religion, location, and even age had already taken hold and were difficult to supplant. Without a strong ethnic identity around which to mobilize the public or one that could serve as an informational shortcut for the group's political preferences, achieving coordination among the elite was equally as difficult. As a result, the Kikuyu, despite eventually reaching consensus on an ethnic identity advocated for by its own associations, today have high intra-group competition.

Luhya and Kamba ethnic associations also failed in their attempts to create cohesive ethnic identities or strong identity-preference links. The Luhya's association, the North Kavirondo Central Association (NKCA), failed to create an overarching identity that could replace sub-clan loyalties and suppress sub-clan rivalries. These sub-clan rivalries continue to plague the group's contemporary political configuration. The result is an ethnic group with a high level of party competition. Similarly, the ethnic associations that represented the Kamba took the presence of an ethnic identity, based on language, for granted and invested little in its reinforcement. As a result, the association created the Ukambani Members Association (UMA) was

focused on a single issue and done away with soon after. Later associations were either sponsored by the colonial government or used for political expediency. As a result, the community's ethnic identity was never cultivated, there were no strong preferences linked directly to the ethnic identity and the elite were not sufficiently coordinated. As a result, the party competition tends towards high levels.

	Ethnic Groups			
Ethnic Association	Luo	Luhya	Kamba	Kikuyu
Creates Sense of Ethnic Community	Yes	No	No	Yes
Establishes Strong Identity Preference Links	Yes	No	No	No
Coordinates Political Action of Elites	Yes	No	No	No
Intra-group party competition and participation	Low	High	Medium	High

Table 2.2: Groupness in Kenya's Ethnic Groups

2.4.1 High Groupness and Low Competition among the Luo

Successive Luo ethnic associations have historically managed to cultivate a high degree of groupness by fostering a strong ethnic identity, a similarly strong identity-preference link among its voters and tightly controlling which elites compete for political office. As a result, party competition has remained consistently low.

Luo ethnic associations managed to successfully create a homogenous ethnic identity among a group that was previously fractionalized into clans. The Luo, who are made up of multiple *Jii* (also referred to as *Dholuo*) speaking groups (the *Shilluk, Naath, Anuak, the Luo of Wau, the Acholi Alur, Jonam, JoPaLuo, Pari, Langi, Labwor* and *Jo Padhola*) also belong to twelve clans (*Nyakach, Kano, Kisumu, Kajulu, Seme, Asembo, Sakwa, Uyoma, Yimbo, Gem, Alego* and *Ugenya*) (Ogot, 1963, p.237-238).[4] Prior to colonization, these clans lived in decentralized patrilineal clans (*ogendinis*) that were led by the clan's jural political leader (*ruoth*) who was assisted by an appointed sub-chief, a council of elders, a peace-maker (*ogaya*), a tribal war leader (*osumba museony*), and a police force (*ogulama*). Despite this localized political organization, no political superstructure or federation existed to unite the twelve ogandas (Ogot, 1963, p.252). Each oganda was economically and politically independent.

These clan divisions and identities proved difficult for a colonial government that wished to impose uniform authority.[5] Each clan wanted one of its own appointed to a high position, for instance as a headman or as a teacher in a missionary school, or to have land boundaries drawn in its favor (Carotenuto, 2006). To overcome the administrative challenges posed by clan allegiances, the colonial government opted to work within the oganda system by appointing chiefs to correspond with each community's dominant lineage. Chiefs, rather than the ruoth, were now in charge and saw themselves as free from the constraints of traditional beliefs and obligations. This was compounded by their revered status which prevented their followers from opposing their rule even when they strayed from group norms.[6]

In the 1920s, clan identities continued to be relevant to Luos even as they migrated to urban areas

[4]Contemporary Luoland did not become part of Kenya until 1920, when the Kenya-Uganda border was drawn.

[5]This despite meeting little resistance upon their arrival; traditional Luo diviners instructed the community to welcome the missionaries and colonial administrators. Commissioner C.W. Hobley, for instance, had the support of local leader, Odera Ulalo; and later, the Provincial Commissioner (P.C.) Ainsworth received local support even when he introduced new agricultural and trade techniques to the area that altered traditional ones.

[6]Group acquiescence to the government-appointed chief and his administrative power was helped by a lack of religious competition in the area. Christian missions and their schools were seen as not only the best way to gain knowledge of the "white man's ways" but also as a way of attracting development. This was due to Church's involvement in education and industry. Luo Nyanza, unlike other areas, was under the control of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), tying their developmental fate to this single religious order (Ogot, 1963). The CMS's dominance was challenged in 1907 by John Owaio's *Nomia Luo Mission* and in 1913 by Onyunde Dunde's Cult of Mumbo. Both movements expressed a desire to do away with the paternalistic nature of the missions and the government. They wanted Africans to have a choice in their own affairs, particularly in education. The state came down hard on these movements by deporting their leaders to Lamu.

in search of employment. In their new urban settings, migrants established clan-based associations that provided safety nets for their brethren, especially where it involved burial rites, and raising development funds. These self-help associations were vital under a colonial regime that offered little, if any, help to local populations. The associations also served as the foundation for inter-clan associations, which came about as the number of migrants in urban centers increased and the need to coordinate action among individuals from proximate locations increased. There was a realization that a pooling of resources across villages, to build schools, for instance, would not only be more efficient -– yielding more contributors -– but would also allow for benefits to accrue to a larger portion rather than be concentrated in particular locales.

More than uniting disparate clans to achieve some goal, these inter-clan associations also came to play an important role in the creation of a collective ethnic identity (Carotenuto 2006, 57). The Luo Union, founded in the 1930s, is largely responsible for the ethnic identity that contemporary Luos claim.[7] The Luo Union's mission was the creation of a communal sense of "Luoness", mutual understanding and unity, which would be based on shared ideas of affinity, morality and obligation. The Luo Union pursued its goal of creating a strong sense of ethnic nationalism using several strategies: it was actively involved in educational projects — school building in Luo Nyanza, sponsoring the higher education of those going abroad, dancing events and even sporting events, especially football teams. The Luo Union also developed a business wing, in the form of Oginga Odinga's Luo Thrift and Trading Corporation (LUTATCO), a self-help business organization that primarily catered to the Luo throughout the region. Its purpose, as Oginga, stated was to promote "unity, common purpose and achievement" within the Dholuo speaking community (Ogot, 1967, p.71). It also carried a distinct ethnic identity that sought to reinvent the image of the Luo, as entrepreneurs rather than as lazy people (Ogot, 2003, p.13). The organization's legitimacy depended on the economic development it promoted.

The Luo Union's ethnic nationalism, however, was an urban experiment that needed expansion. It needed to reach co-ethnics throughout the region, not just the upwardly mobile, if it wished to create a communal identity that could be cued and mobilized for political action. One of the steps the Luo Union took was opening branches wherever large groups of Luo resided, including in the East African diaspora (Tanzania and Uganda). These branches were responsible for creating links with the local Luo population by sponsoring monthly meetings, social events and even football clubs and matches. By 1953, the Union had 60 branches throughout the region and 3,500 official members, though scholars consider this an underestimate of the actual number.

The Luo Union also created the vernacular bi-weekly publication, *Ramogi*. Founded by Ochieng Oneko and Zablan Oti, the paper provided the group's leaders and the general Luo public a platform on which to discuss the "meaning and modes" of being Luo (Carotenuto and Luongo, 2009, p.203). The cultural debates in Ramogi largely revolved around the adoption of western practices and their effect on the community's customs and traditions. Contributors wished to clearly carve out indigenous definitions of Luo tradition: for instance, the maintenance of dowry payments, which Christian converts wished to abolish; or the regulation of single women's migration into cities, which were seen as corrupting (women would become prostitutes in cities) and ursurping of male power (Peterson, 2012). *Ramogi's* message to readers was also to not forget their homelands but to continue investing in their economic development. The Luo Union supplemented Ramogi's work by establishing a Luo Language Committee in 1944 that worked to standardize the language and its orthography. The Luo Union encouraged its members to "study and select Luo customs that were decent and compatible with progress"(Peterson, 2012, p.457). The Luo Union also developed stronger ties with the colonial government during the Emergency. The colonial government published *Joho*, a newspaper that sought to keep individual informed of what was going on in their home districts during the volatile period.

Even when the Luo Union was challenged by the Ramogi African Welfare Association (RAWA) [8], it maintained its position as the group's leading cultural arbiter. This may have been due to its broader involvement in politics. It coopted RAWA's mission of policing women and group morality by, for instance,

[7]The initially elite and Nairobi based organization moved its headquarters to Kisumu in 1945, though this was not officially voted on by all branches until 1953. The Nairobi branch felt that since the union was founded in Nairobi its headquarters ought to remain there (Carotenuto and Luongo, 2009).

[8]It was formed in 1945 and dedicated itself to policing the morality of the Luo community, particularly women

instituting a rule that Luo women should only take employment in urban centers with its approval (Peterson, 2012).[9] Such regulation would prevent women whose husbands had migrated to urban centers from engaging in prostitution.

The Luo Council of Elders, which succeeded the Luo Union in the multiparty era, continues its involvement in fostering a strong ethnic identity through cultural practice. At the height of the AIDS epidemic, for instance, the Council intervened to protect the "wife inheritance" practice, which many argued was responsible for the high prevalence rate in the community. The Council argued for the practice to be maintained and that women would only be symbolically re-married to their brothers-in-law, so as to ensure their financial and social security. The Council of Elders also came to the defense of male circumcision in 2008 arguing that it is a vital part of Luo tradition and could not be done away with.[10]. This continued involvement by the Luo Council of Elders in marking the boundaries of Luo tradition signals not only the importance of a cohesive identity to the association's goals, but also its role in defining what comprises the identity.

Identity Preference Link Among the Luo

The associations that represented the Luo also fostered strong identity-preference links. At their beginning these inter-clan associations, which were formed by the missionary educated elite, sought to represent the community in front of the colonial authorities. In 1921, the Young Kavirondo Association (YKA) was formed by the Mission Boys (Jonathan Okwiri, Benjamin Ouwor, and Simeon Nyande) and it opposed increased taxation, missionary education, labour camps, and the newly introduced kipande system[11] (Ogot, 1963, p.261). Due to their lobbying the hut/poll tax amount was reduced and alternatives to government schools were approved for construction. The YKA was able to influence policy due to its close relationship with Archbishop Owen, who had taught the Mission Boys, and served as the organization's president. The Archbishop's involvement in the association lent it credibility with and earned it leniency from the colonial government.[12] Moreover, the YKA had widespread local support from each clan/administrative unit because it appointed all the chiefs as *ex-officio* vice presidents (p. 264).

Not all Luo associations had amicable relations with the colonial government. The *Piny Owacho* (voice of the people), for example, developed a contentious stance vis-a-vis the government as it agitated for the abolition of forced labour, and increased educational opportunities for Africans. It succeeded in getting the Governor to promise to not evict Luos from their land without compensation (Ogot, 1963, p.265). Its involvement in economic development through the promotion of self-help projects won the association wide community support, allowing it to present a unified opposition to the government and its policies.

Once the Luo Union was founded in the 1930s, it took over as the group's political representative, but not without challenge.[13] Its work in delineating the group's identity, its communal reach economically through LUTATCO and culturally through Ramogi, gave it a prominent role in the group's politics. So when former KTWA members attempted to revive the association in the 1940s as a direct challenge to the Luo Union's cultural and political dominance, they failed. The Luo Union received the support of the community's old guard, including surviving founders of the YKA and other members of the KTWA, who believed in its ability to represent the community before the colonial government and its wishes to expand

[9]The Luo Union played an active social welfare role. In 1954, it commissioned a census to "find out and record statistics on the total population of the [Luo people], with figures for those in towns and at the farms, those in business, and those loafing in towns" (Peterson, 2012, p.473). The Union also wanted information on infant mortality, planning to establish maternity homes in Kenya's cities and in the Nyanza countryside.

[10]The Council of Elders remained steadfast in their defense despite mounting scientific evidence on the effect circumcision has on HIV infection rates

[11]All men over the age of sixteen were required to carry an identification card (the kipande) that bore their name, fingerprints, employment history and current employer's signature. Failure to produce the card on demand could result in fines or prison (Elkins, 2005).

[12]Owen was also responsible for convincing the larger Nyanza area, which included non-Luos to the north, to unite and form the Kavirondo Tax Welfare Association. The KTWA served as a trade union, a welfare association and a political pressure group. It also established the Kisumu Native Chamber of Commerce in 1927. The Chamber's mission included ending the collusion between appointed chiefs and Indian traders and fighting policies that restricted African involvement in marketing boards (Ogot, 2003, p.12).

[13]The KTWA was defunct following its split, with Northern Bantu's in the region forming the NKCA, and its leaders becoming members of the civil service.

its base of operation beyond Kenya's borders. This support sealed the Luo Union's position as a political powerhouse. Additionally, when the Kenya African Union (KAU) attempted to challenge the Luo Union's dominance, it faced a similar fate to the revived KTWA. KAU could not shake its reputation as a Kikuyu-centric organization, and the Luo it recruited to represent it were viewed as unseasoned politicians. Ramogi, also denounced the party.[14] Despite these challenges to its authority as the group's political representative, the Luo Union managed to fend off competition and cement its supremacy.

By being a model for other ethnic associations and disavowing the Mau Mau movement, the Luo community did not face as harsh a governmental crackdown as others. The Luo Union's actions and stances created an association in the group's mind with less government oppression. At the height of the State of the Emergency, the Luo Union denounced the Mau Mau and its tactics. It called for its members to distance themselves from the movement and reassured the colonial government that it was not a political outfit. As a result, the Luo Union was able to recruit workers to fill positions previously held by Kikuyus. To cement its stance as being anti-Mau Mau, the Luo Union also encouraged its leadership to serve on the African Advisory Council, leading the government to call for other ethnic associations to model themselves after it.

Elite Coordination Among the Luo

These associations' supremacy —be it YKA, Piny Owacho, KTWA or the Luo Union —, was contingent on their coordination of elites. As the preceding discussion showed, their ability to fend of competition from either those who wanted to revive the KTWA or KAU and remain the group's representative, depended on having the elite rally behind the association. The elite's coordination behind the group's association extended to the group's political leaders. When Oginga Odinga resigned from his position as *ker*, the group's cultural leader in 1957 to pursue a career in elective politics, he was able to draw support from the leaders of the Luo Union. Ahead of the 1957 General Election, Odinga faced a challenge from B.A. Ohanga, a supporter of the multi-racial government created by the Lyttelton Constitution in 1954 and Minister for Community Development and Rehabilitation in the Legislative Council, for the leadership of the Central Nyanza Political Association (African District Association, ADA).[15] Oginga successfully captured the ADA by using his previous position as the Luo Union's *ker*, his close association with the formation of the Luo Union, and relying on the support of Union leaders. Union leaders conducted grassroots campaigns on his behalf linking their opportunity to be involved in government benefit from power to his electoral fate (Ogot, 1963, p.272). Once elected, Odinga captured the ADA and did away with its radical components.

By the 1960s, the Luo Union further cemented its position as the community's political arbiter, coordinating elites in the process of leadership selection (Carotenuto and Luongo, 2009, p.106). The association intervened to resolve growing divisions between Odinga and Tom Mboya, an ethnic Luo politician who had a large following in urban centers.[16] To quell these differences and continue presenting a unified ethnic political identity, the Luo Union's leader, Paul Mboya, convened a conference in Kisumu and invited both leaders to attend. At the conference, the politicians faced questions from the Union's leadership and were urged to work together for the sake of the community. The Union, however, was not able to resolve the division between the two leaders. Mboya, a trade unionist who mainly represented Nairobi workers, detested the ethnic nature of politics that the Luo Union and Odinga represented; this, despite being the serving as the Luo Union's Nairobi branch secretary. Mboya wished politics to transcend ethnicity.[17] This stance saw him actively support Ronald Ngala for the KANU vice chairmanship over Odinga. Despite this Odinga maintained the support of the Luo Union, the rural elite and the entire ethnic group, casting him as the group's *de facto* and undisputed leader.

[14]The party also failed to garner sufficient political support in Luo Nyanza due to a lack of infrastructure or presence; it had no offices in the area and when party leaders, Kenyatta, would schedule a meeting, they would fail to show up.

[15]Ohanga was Odede's replacement in the African Legislative Council and Odede was pushing for the Luo to become involved in the Mau Mau struggle. The issues of the election between Ohanga and Odinga was where they fell with respect to Odede's position. Ohanga saw the replacement as merited but Odinga saw that Odede would reclaim his seat upon release ((Atieno-Odhiambo, 2002, p.4).

[16]The tensions between these two politicians trickled into the cultural, when both politicians sponsored their own football teams that met on the field leading to a riot breaking out.

[17]In a 1957 election for a Nairobi constituency seat, Mboya was labeled as not being a "true Luo" by his opponent and co-ethnic, Arwings-Kodhek (Goldsworth 1982, 117).

The Luo Union encouraged the community and other ethnic leaders to stand behind Odinga even when he fell out of favor with the country's first president, Jomo Kenyatta. Oginga served as Kenyatta's vice-president but was soon dismissed due to his preferences for populist-styled policies whereas the government preferred a more laissez-faire approach to the market. These ideological differences led to Oginga leaving the ruling party and forming his own rival party, the Kenya People's Union (KPU). The party had broad support among Luos, including from Luo MPs who also defected from KANU. Kenyatta saw Oginga and his party as threats to the government.[18] During the 1966 election, Kenyatta sent Mboya to campaign in Luo Nyanza where he strongly urged his co-ethnics to vote for the ruling party if they wished to access state resources, such as the implementation of the Kano irrigation project (Bennett, 1966, p.432). Despite Mboya's top position in the government and his co-ethnic status, the KPU won all six seats in competition because the Luo Union and the group's elite rallied around Odinga.

The Luo Union itself, too, came into the government's crosshairs. Its lobbying activities on behalf of Oginga and the other KPU leaders were seen as acting against state interests and threatening to its political dominance. Mboya, for instance, actively organized the political harassment of KPU members causing the ethnic group to coalesce further behind Odinga. In 1968 all KPU candidates were disqualified because their nomination papers were found to be flawed giving KANU a clear victory (Hyden and Leys, 1972). As a result when the KPU was banned in 1969 their Kenya African National Union (KANU) replacements had significant trouble gaining the community's trust and support. The KANU representatives had to rely on the Luo Union for endorsements and intervention to gain community support. Candidate endorsement, however, was contingent on their being pro-Odinga. In South Nyanza, for instance, Onyango Ayodo and Odero Jowi, both won their seats only after receiving the Luo Union's and Odinga's endorsement. In Gem, a sitting minister, Isaac Omolo Okero, lost his seat to Aggrey Ambala, who had the Luo Union's and Odinga's endorsement.[19]

The ruling party did not take the Union's continued dominance in Luo politics lightly and wished to diminish it. In the 1970s, the Luo Union started fundraising to build a technical college outside Kisumu, the Ramogi Institute for Advanced Technology (RIAT), which finally opened its doors in 1979. During the 1978 elections, the Luo Union's Ker launched a campaign to raise Ksh 20 million to support the return of former KPU candidates into politics. Such displays of economic and political power, led the ruling government to deny it permits to conduct rallies or meetings. Student associations suspected to have links with the Luo Union were also denied registration. The ruling government even went so far as to replace the Luo Union's leadership with a caretaker committee and take over RIAT and the Ofafa Memorial Hall (Alila 1984, p. 3). Following Kenyatta's death in 1978, Moi released Luo detainees and made Odinga the Lint and Seed Marketing Board's leader. The Luo community perceived this as a positive change to their political fortunes but were quickly disabused of this when Odinga was banned from contesting KANU party elections (Alila, p. 4). Odinga's return was blocked by William Omamo, the Luo Union's KANU backed leader. Odinga assumed that upon his release and return to politics, Omamo would stand down and honor the Hippo Point Resolution, a pledge made by Luo politicians to stand down once KPU politicians were released (Weekly Review). Omamo, however, reneged on the pledge and used his position in KANU to frustrate Odinga's. In retaliation, Odinga backed Ougo who was running against Omamo, leading to Omamo losing his seat. Despite the active tactics by KANU to frustrate Odinga's efforts, the reputation of the Luo Union and its political clout ensured that those who are anti-Odinga do not get into office. Finally, in 1980, the Union, along with other ethnic associations were banned by the Moi government (Ogot and Ochieng, 1995).

The coordination strategies employed by the Luo Union and its predecessors over decades remained intact even after the return of multi-party politics. The Luo Union's successor was established as the Luo Council of Elders in the mid 1990s. The Council of Elders, much like its predecessor, continues to be involved in determining the ethnic community's political direction. And the Odinga family still dominates the political

[18] Many Luos point to these events as the reason why development stalled in their homeland. They created direct links between their stalled development and the fate of their co-ethnic leader. This marginalization only strengthened their unity as an ethnic community, given their history and colonial experience that made ethnic self-reliance necessary. This perspective was further reinforced when a Kikuyu assassinated Tom Mboya, the other popular Luo politician. Many Luos believed the assassination to be a direct attack on the group by the government (Goldsworthy, 1982). As a result, all those Luos who previously supported Mboya, rallied behind Oginga.

[19] Okero's defeat was a blow to the government as he repeatedly called for the community to recognize Kenyatta, not Odinga, as its messiah (Weekly Review, 1978)

landscape among the Luo. Oginga, and subsequently his son, Raila, received the group's endorsement to compete in successive presidential elections. Raila, having taken over for his father, consults the Council of Elders prior to making any political moves. For example, when Raila started cooperating with former ruling party in 1997, it was at the insistence of the Council. had Raila refused to comply with the Union's wishes, he would "have been rendered [politically] irrelevant" (Morrison, 2004, p.503) .

The Luo Council of Elders continues to coordinate the political elite in support of their chosen candidates. This is not to say that dissension does not occur. For example, former Luo Council chairman, Meshack Riaga Ogalo tried to challenge the Council's continued endorsement of Raila by publicly noting that the Lou could not "remain in political bondage forever since Raila [had] not brought any development to the area." Yet, despite such feelings, the Council has maintained its ability to restrict political contestation for its co-ethnics' votes. When Luo politician Rafael Tuju announced his intention to compete for the 2013 presidency, the Luo Council of Elders convened a meeting to discuss the announcement and its potential ramifications on both the group and Raila's chances of victory. Although the Council proclaimed its commitment to democratic values, it also actively discouraged the entrance of Tuju and other co-ethnic competitors by emphasizing the need for unity. Tuju's development track record and service as the Minister for Foreign Affairs did not give the Council pause. Instead, he was portrayed as a traitor who was in the pocket of the affluent elites from other ethnic groups and was therefore only interested in splitting the community's vote. Tuju dropped his presidential campaign as a result.[20]

The high level of coordination facilitated by the various Luo associations has resulted in an effectively closed political space. Co-ethnic competitors are unable to viably enter the political area and seek the group's vote. This is because the associations created a strong ethnic identity through literature that encouraged cultural debates and business associations that fostered economic interdependence and development. In addition to this ethnic identity, the various associations successfully lobbied the colonial government on the group's behalf. In the post-colonial period, the associations have succeeded in building a community of fate by drawing direct links between the ethnic identity and both government discrimination and neglect. As a result, policies or candidates endorsed by the ethnic association have a significantly higher chance of electoral success than those not endorsed.

2.4.2 Low Groupness and High Competition among the Luhya

Attempts by the Luhya elite to create strong ethnic associations that would develop a cohesive ethnic identity failed repeatedly and as a result attempts to create links between the identity and political preferences were unsuccessful. The situation was made worse by a fragmented elite that pledged allegiance to their respective sub-clans. The effect on the group's contemporary political configuration is a consistently high level of party competition and high voter participation.

The 17 clans and sub-tribes that make up what is today known as the Luhya ethnic group do not share any myths of a founding father, any shared historical descent, language or standard set of cultural practices. They are distinct entities that are united by their geographic proximity and concentration in Western Kenya. Their pre-colonial clans were fragmented and had little coordination or cohesion within them. Within the clans, it was the sub-clan that demanded allegiance. Sub-clans determined one's identity and social standing; they provided individuals with land and also imposed responsibilities upon them, such as participation in circumcision, wedding and funeral rites.

Once the colonial government arrived, it imposed a political structure that heightened the salience of sub-tribe identities. The government appointed chiefs to rule over areas that included several sub-tribes. The chiefs used their position to advance not only their status but also that of their kin, often at the expense of rival sub-tribes. Chief Milimu (a Makhaya) and Chief Odanga (a Kizungu), for instance, were both notorious for failing to collect taxes as rigorously from their kin; for failing to recruit their clansmen for public-works projects or for the carrier corps; and for appointing their kin as clerks in local courts (Bode 1978).

The opposition to the chief by other sub-tribes made it difficult for the government to impose an effective and uncontested governing structure. As a result, the government replaced the chiefs with headmen

[20]Tuju joined the Eagle Coalition led by Peter Kenneth, but did not seek to become his running mate.

who were subject to the ballot and were, theoretically, not to serve any particular group. This change in administrative leadership did not erode sub-tribe rivalries; instead, it made them even more pronounced. Sub-tribes began nominating and voting for one their own, leading to these headmen elections being little more than sub-clan censuses. Ruling headmen continued to favor their kin and the kin, associating headmen with benefits, failed to look beyond the identity. Losing sub-tribes would often appoint their own unofficial headmen to liaise with the official headmen.

Missionaries also contributed to the various North Kavirondo clans' failure to forge a common ethnic identity. Different religious orders established themselves among different clans. The Maragoli, for instance, worked closely with the American Quakers of Friends African Mission (FAM), which gave them the advantage in education over other clans. This advantage gave them the tools and the capacity to lobby the government, through the Maragoli Educational Board (MEB) for better educational opportunities and facilities.[21] The Tikiri, who present a sharp contrast to the Maragoli, adamantly opposed missionary presence and demanded the maintenance of indigenous beliefs and practices. Catholic missions worked closely among the Isuhuka and Idhako. Religious affiliation, much like having a co-tribesman as chief or headman, provided social and economic benefits: literacy a consequence of religious instruction, gave individuals the opportunity to acquire higher status wage employment, which could then be used to benefit the sub-tribe. Religion's near correspondence with sub-tribe identities further hindered attempts to create cross-tribe alliances.

In the aftermath of the Gold Rush (discussed more in-depth in the following section), North Kavirondo elites came together to define the ethnic group. They formed the NKCA in the 1930s with a desire to create a sense of cultural nationalism among the region's various clans. In 1935 the NKCA published *Abaluhyia-Kinship* marking the first time the group's contemporary name was used (MacArthur, 2012). The pamphlet outlined the group's historical origins and separated the identity from any particular ancestry. Instead, it focused on creating a singular political space for disparate and autonomous clans (Peterson and Macola, 2009; Lynch, 2011; Willis and Gona, 2013). The pamphlet's association with the NKCA gave the ethnic marker and the group's invented history legitimacy, especially among the youth and mission educated. The region's elders, however, rejected the NKCA's attempt to redefine the community as unitary and saw it as trying to usurp their power (Lonsdale, 1967, p.545).

Sub-tribe differences remained relevant even after the North Kavirondo Central Association voluntarily disbanded in 1941 (Ogot, 2012). Following their education abroad, many educated Luhyaa returned home with the goal of uniting the various groups through a standardized language, which was seen as necessary to achieving political goals. They created the Luhyia Language Committee and tasked it with producing an orthography for the community. Its first publication, however, was contested by the Bukusu and Maragoli, who found it partial to the Luhanga; they claimed cultural oppression. To overcome these linguistic differences and also represent all the various clans and subtribes, the leaders created the Abaluhyia People's Association in 1952. This time, however, the association did away with its idea of a standardized language and decided to have English serve as its official language, while Kiswahili would serve as the language that would create stronger and wider links within the community. All other Luhya dialects were considered optional (MacArthur, 2008). Competing linguistic projects challenged and, in the end, defeated the goals of Luhya unifiers and standardizers.

Identity Preference Link Among the Luhya

Sub-tribe loyalties were temporarily put aside in the 1930s due to the land crisis. The crisis was a result the gold rush and the settlement on prime land by white farmers. To address these issues, the colonial government created the Kenya Land Commission, where Africans could petition the government for redress. The appeal before the land commission inspired leaders of the sub-tribes to invest more strongly in a communal identity if they wished to protect their future position in society and have any bargaining leverage over the white miners, the government and encroaching European farmers (Willis, 1995; Ogot, 2003; Lynch, 2011; Carotenuto, 2006). The NKCA, by bringing together leaders from the different clans and sub-tribes, attempted to create a link between the various identities and political preferences.

[21] The MEB was made up primarily of university graduates, local chiefs, headmen, and other prominent community leaders.

The problem, however, was that they stood united as an unnamed group before the before the Kenya Land Commission in 1932, in response to the panning of gold in Kakamega in 1931.[22] The Kavirondo Bantu saw these events as potentially leading to their alienation from the Native Reserves, particularly given the government's actions. Once gold was found, the colonial government revised the laws that guaranteed the locals access to the reserved lands in perpetuity. Parliament passed an amendment that allowed the colonial administration to indefinitely appropriate land as it saw fit. The clans' land rights were in jeopardy. Gold, however, was not the only problem facing the Kavirondo Bantu; those living in Trans-Nzoia, were being displaced by white settlers who were attracted by the area's fertile soils. To gain more political leverage and increase their chances of victory, the Kavirondo Bantu organizers pressed for group title deeds that covered the entire area rather than individual title deeds.

Once the panning issue was resolved and the NKCA formed, not all clans and sub-clans supported the association, and in particular, the Bukusu. The Bukusu experienced displacement in a more extreme fashion than other groups and became squatters. This experience led to the creation of a semi-ethnic identity among the Bukusu and their pursuit of a separate strategy from the rest — the creation of the Bukusu Union and their own district, which later became Elgon Nyanza. The Bukusu Union raised funds to send Masinde Muliro to South Africa to pursue an education that they believed would make him become a more effective representative for the group on the Legislative Council (Ogot, 2012, p.106). Muliro did receive their vote in the 1957 Legislative Council elections. The Bukusu Union, eventually joined forces with KAU.

Elite Coordination Among the Luhya

The strength of clan and sub-tribe identities also affected the ability of the elite to coordinate their actions. They were unable to create a strong ethnic association that could facilitate the creation of an uniform ethnic identity that could be used as a mobilizing force to achieve political objectives. Instead, leaders from the various sub-tribes competed for political power. In the 1957 Legislative Council elections, for instance, the Logoli clan, made up of three sub-tribes, voted along tribal lines for the three candidates running for the seat. This elite division was also evident in the lead to independence. In the electoral contest between KADU and KANU, KADU won by a landslide in Elgon Nyanza, among the Bukusu, because Masinde Muliro was both a co-ethnic and the party's Vice President. KANU, however, received the support of the Logoli.

In the multi-party era, elite conflict based on sub-tribal affiliations continue to affect politics. The Luhya Council of Elders, created in the mid-1990s, was unable to create political unity among the political elite. Burudi Nabwera, a former cabinet minister and member of the Council, repeatedly stated that the Council had no intention of appointing a spokesman for the community; that this was both beyond its mandate and the Luhya being too diverse to have a single spokesperson.[23] Instead, he claimed, the Council's focus lay in assisting the community to gain economic empowerment and unity.

In 2001, however, the Council became involved in politics when it endorsed Ford-Kenya's Kijana Wamalwa as the leader of the Luhya, dismissing cabinet minister Musalia Mudavadi as a political lightweight. In public forums, Council leaders urged Musalia Mudavadi (a Maragoli) to give up his presidential dreams because he had failed to unite Luhya leaders, unlike Wamalwa. Weeks after these pronouncements, the Council reversed its endorsement following protests in Kakamega and Vihiga, which were Mudavadi strongholds. This time, they claimed that Wamalwa would receive its endorsement if Mudavadi decided not to run for the presidency. In addition, they asked him to drop his presidential bid and support Mudavadi. Wamalwa, however, refused to comply and maintained his party.

In 2012 the same divisions made themselves visible even though a section of Luhya Council of Elders asked the presidential candidates from the Western region —Mudavadi, Wetangula and Wamalwa — to shelve their ambitions and support Prime Minister Raila Odinga. They encouraged Wamalwa, for instance,

[22]Kenya Land Commission (KLC), tasked both with reviewing the Native Lands Trust Ordinance and with defining the boundaries of the White Highlands, provided the forum for the government to provide a solution to the land issue. With land playing such an integral role for the Africans, the Commission encouraged petitioners to defend their territories in ethnic terms that reduced the country to spheres of separate, territorially distinct communities.

[23]Other leaders of the Council included: former cabinet ministers Mr. Joseph Otiende and Mr. Nathan Munoko; Vihiga-based businessman and millionare, Mr. Abraham Ambwere, Zacharia Shimechero.

to abandon Uhuru Kenyatta and work with Prime Minister Raila Odinga. Though Wamalwa did heed the Council's advice, he did not support Odinga; instead, he supported Mudavadi's Amani Coalition. Wetangula, on the other hand, supported Odinga's Coalition for Reform and Democracy (CORD).

These divisions, which have their history in the difficulties associated with creating a unified identity in the colonial era, have led to the group always splitting its vote. The group is unable to link its developmental fate to a single co-ethnic politician and thus unified allegiances prove elusive. It is this lack of intra-group cohesion and loyalty that allows entrepreneurial politicians to provide their clansmen with political options. These parties, however, do not garner enough political support and often have their leaders coopted by bigger non co-ethnic parties.

2.4.3 Low Groupness and High Competition among the Kikuyu

The Kikuyu, despite having a shared language that could have served as the basis for a communal identity, did not think of themselves as a unitary group. Instead, individuals self-identified based on the property they possessed and cultivated; their role in production based on their demographic profile (gender, age group and clan); and their extent of self-mastery based on family wealth (Berman and Lonsdale, 1998, p.18). At a more aggregate level, political authority within Kikuyu society was decentralized; there were no kings or chiefs. Instead, a *kiama*, made up of male elders, settled legal disputes between kingroups.[24] Within each kin group, individuals owed allegiance to their age group (*riika*) and clan (*mbari*) because they acted as custodians of moral uprightness, cultural values and religiosity.

When the colonial government arrived, it sought to work within the kiama system but found it slow and plagued by personal rivalries. Other than adjudicating cases that had a very narrow and local focus, the council of elders had little experience in either administration or governance (Clough, 1990). As a result, the government appointed chiefs, whom they thought they could control, to act as their administrative proxies; but this new institutional configuration was rejected by the local population. To them, chiefs represented an illegitimate form of rule that was both partial and corrupt — chiefs often ruled in favor of those who paid the highest bribes and were often accused of stealing and intimidating individuals for land.

It was not until 1928, when the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) launched the ethnic publication *Muiguithania* ("the reconciler") that the community had an in-depth discussion about what it meant to be Kikuyu. Contributors to the publication tried to create a history of common origin for the group believing that such a narrative would unite the community, making it easy to mobilize politically. The problem with this approach was that the common ancestry advocated in the pages of the publication went against one of the core basis for Kikuyu identity: self-mastery. The myth of a common ancestry required individuals to think of themselves as embedded in and responsible for the larger ethnic community, rather than seeking to improve individual status through wealth. In addition to this call for a common ancestry, the publication considered readers, those with formal mission education and better placed in the new capitalist system, as the best suited to protect the group's ethnic identity (Berman and Lonsdale, 1998, p.20). Readers, as the following section will show, did not believe in the common ancestry. As such, there were two notions of Kikuyu identity — based on traditional self-mastery and a myth of common ancestry — circulating in the public domain.

The myth of a common ancestry once again gained traction in the 1940s as oaths of unity were administered among peasants and squatters. This sub-group, in an effort to fight and organize against changes in their socio-economic conditions, adopted an oath that emphasized an identity that was both mystic and rooted in a common ancestry (Kanogo, 1987). By taking the oath, individuals were initiated into the "home of Mumbi and Gikuyu", which ignored the traditions of kinship (the *riika* system) and freed them from European domination and foreign influences (Buijtenhuijs et al., 1982). They adopted the notion of shared ancestry that the KCA advocated almost a decade earlier in the pages of *Muiguithania* and used it in the recruitment and oathing ceremonies that took place resistance to settlers and the colonial government increased. This led to the myth of a common ancestry serving as the basis for the ethnic group and supplanted

[24] Women also had a council, the function of which was to deal with domestic concerns, matters of the farms, and the discipline of female social and ritual life. Women were excluded from politics and were usually prevented from holding rights in land.

self-mastery's previous importance. In fact, a majority of the Kikuyu currently base their identity on this common ancestry myth.

Attempts by the associations at creating a strong ethnic identity unfortunately did not immediately take. As a result, other identities rooted in political positions rather than ethnic identity took precedence. The reversal in the process — the development of identity-preference links prior to the formation of a strong ethnic identity — made it difficult to achieve a sufficient level of groupness that would limit the political options available to co-ethnics.

Identity Preference Link Among the Kikuyu

Attempts at creating links between the identity as it stood and political preferences were already underway in the 1920s. In Kiambu, Matthew Njoroge wa Kabete and Stephen Kinuthia, created the Kikuyu Association (KA) to lobby for legal land rights (particularly for the chiefs and large mbaris) following increased settlement by whites farmers (Clough, 1990, p.48). The KA, however, could not be said to represent all Kikuyus, as it only operated in Kiambu and Nairobi. Even then, there were mission differences between the two branches: the Nairobi branch concerned itself with fighting the registration of Africans through the Kipande system and the government's proposed wage reduction.

Harry Thuku, a Kiambu native, started the Young Kikuyu Association (YKA) in Nairobi in 1921 to encourage youth participation in politics. Prior to colonialism, politiking (loosely coined) was reserved for elders. The riika system marked one's progression through the ethnic hierarchy; and power and status were acquired as individuals advanced through the *riika* system. Colonialism and its structures changed the status quo and greatly affected the youth and their futures. By placing locals into reserves, the new regime threatened the youth's inheritance and also changed their labour prospects as they were now forced into the formal economy as a result of the obligation to pay taxes. Political apathy among the youth, according to Thuku, was not an option.

The youth-elder divide was exacerbated by mission education. Mission education offered non-entrepreneurial Kikuyu, especially the youth, an alternative route to power, status and ultimately freedom from the chiefs' control. In order to benefit from missionary education individuals had to abandon their traditional practices, which were labelled contaminating, and were required to reside on mission compounds. Readers saw mission education and its methods, particularly, cleanliness and literacy, as a new form of *ituika* — a way of restoring peace and prosperity to Kikuyuland.[25] Readers also believed that they possessed a divine sense of knowledge that allowed them to speak over elders and chiefs who had wrongly re-appropriated the world because their power and wisdom derived from property. The divide within the group became further entrenched when missions allowed their adherents to set up mission outposts, which pitted previous mission allies against each other. Outpost leaders faced scrutiny from those who remained in the missions because their living situation forced them to re-integrate into the life they had left behind. Outpost leaders once again became dependent on their age-set networks (*riika*) and co-ethnics for survival. Such integration also meant that outpost leaders could not take a hardline on traditional Kikuyu practices as the older adherents who still lived in missions.

Political and religious divisions within the Kikuyu community came to a head in the 1930s when the Church, with governmental support, attempted to ban female circumcision, *kirore*. Circumcision among the Kikuyu not only marked the transition from childhood to adulthood, but also determined one's *riika*. The desire to do away with such a crucial part of the culture was met with fierce resistance but also revealed the group's lack of ideological unity. Old mission adherents and chiefs supported the ban while mission outpost leaders, their local followers and the rest of the community opposed it. The reasons for supporting the ban differed between the mission adherents and chiefs: readers, saw kirore (the ban) as a new *ituika*, arguing that it would lead to more fertility, more progeny, and commerce among civilized people; while chiefs, supported the ban because they feared the influence of mission outpost leaders locally. Outpost opposition to the ban was also not unified. Some outpost leaders and members, despite their support of the practice, saw opposition to the ban as a threat to their educational prospects. In response to this, former adherents

[25]In the period prior to the world war and during the world war itself Murang'a and Nyeri suffered from famine and a plague that led to widespread death. Many in the area, therefore, wondered about the best way combat death and restore prosperity.

founded independent schools weakening the hold of missions within the community. This led to the Church, its missions and outposts experiencing an exodus (Boulanger, 2008; Clough, 1990; Peterson, 2012).

The kirore debate also became intertwined with land politics. The local population saw the ban and the missionaries support of it as evidence of their social and political greed: their desire to dictate local culture. The Progressive Kikuyu Party (PKP)[26], a Mathira based association of prosperous farmers, worried that the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA), which opposed the ban and promoted riika, would cause trouble with the *ahoi* (landless tenants) by organizing them and threatening their social standing (Peterson, 2012, p.165). By being in favour of government policy, the PKP hoped to earn the government's favour and consent to be the Kikuyu's spokes-organization in national politics. The PKP's stability, however, was always uncertain given its coalition with ahois who had become landowners. The large mbaris saw the ahois as potential threats and started alienating them from the party.

When the Mau Mau rebellion broke out, divisions within the Kikuyu intensified with loyalists on one side and rebels on the other. This division between the two groups was not as clear cut as often depicted Branch (2007) reminds us, were not always loyalists. Most were previous Mau Mau supporters who became disgruntled when they realized that the insurgency was unable to deliver on its promises of self-mastery through land. Furthermore, the threat of greater state led counterinsurgency made absolute allegiance to the movement untenable. Therefore, their abandonment of the oaths they took were a rational calculation. Others, like Christian missionaries and adherents failed to support the rebellion on ethical/moral grounds. The divisions within the community were further exacerbated politically when Kenyatta refused to link the rebellion with the Kikuyu nation. He believed that loyalists, who regained land and political rights, were closer to self-mastery and thus more worthy of leading the nation, than the Mau Mau rebels (p. 315)

In the post-colonial environment the group attempted to create an ethnic association that would protect the group's political supremacy at the national level. Following Tom Mboya's death in 1969, the Kikuyu leadership, made up primarily of Southern Kikuyu, perceived a threat from the Luo as rumors circulated that they (the Luo) planned to avenge Mboya's death, which was carried out by a Kikuyu. As a result, Kikuyu's began again and pledging that the presidency would never leave the "House of Mumbi" — the ancestral mother of the Kikuyu. The 1971 coup attempt exacerbated the group's fears leading to the formation and registration of the Gikuyu Embu Meru Association (GEMA) (Widner, 1993). GEMA's leadership was very political with ministers and the governor of the Central Bank, Duncan Ndegwa, acting as its vice-chairman. Kenyatta himself acted as the group's patron. In 1973, GEMA formed the investment company GEMA Holdings and started issuing bonds. Membership to GEMA however was restricted to members of the three ethnic groups and required a Ksh.2 annual fee.

GEMA proved to be an economic and political force: politically it replaced KANU as the most organized institution in the country. It held regular leadership elections every two years, had branches at the village level, and even bought land that was subsequently distributed to members. GEMA was famous for sending its delegates to harambees as a way of influencing electoral outcomes (Ng'ethe 1979). This was clear in Murang'a, for instance, during the 1973 elections. Kiano, who supported the government's plan to sell land rather than redistribute it to co-ethnics, wanted to be the leader of the Murang'a people. Despite aligning himself with the government's policy, Kiano was challenged by a GEMA picked candiate in the 1974 election. The rhetoric in the election soon took on debate of the 1920s: the southerners versus northerners. Kiano argued that GEMA, which was primarily a Kiambu outfit, was trying to take over local politics (Wanjohi, 1984, p.5). GEMA backed candidates, however, still won three of the five seats up for grabs. GEMA's unity was put to the test in 1979 in the Gatundu Constituency following Kenyatta's death. GEMA and its Gatundu representatives supported Zacharia Gakunju, a businessman and founding member of the Chamber of Commerce over Ngegi Muigai, Kenyatta's nephew. This division pitted the national party against one of its sub-branches —KANU supported Muigai. With KANU's financial backing and relationship with Kenyatta, Muigai beat Gakunju for the seat (Weekly Review January 1979).[27]

In 2009, the Kikuyu Council of Elders was inaugurated under the leadership of several religious leaders and businessmen.[28] Its leaders claimed that that the KCE was created in response to Kikuyus missing out

[26]The party was formed in 1928 to contest Local Native council elections

[27]Gakunju later in the 1988 elections beat Muigai for the seat.

[28]Archbishop John Mugecha, Archbishop David Maina wa Gaithuru and Bishop Joseph Methu, Mr. Ayub Wakaria and Mr.

on a forum sponsored by Gaddafi for community elders around the continent. They also pledged to abstain from politics. The Council's position was reversed as it involved itself more and more in organizing the group's political elite during elections. In 2011, for instance, the group came together and decided that the then Deputy Prime Minister, Uhuru Kenyatta, would be the region's presidential candidate. They also called for the Kikuyu, the nation's largest ethnic group, to vote as a bloc for Mr. Kenyatta in the upcoming elections. The group was urged to realize that it was made up of a single people with similar aspirations and needs. The Council's Chairman, Wachira Kiago, repeatedly called for his co-ethnics to "remember that [their] diversity [was their] strength and [it] should lead to unity. United we stand divided we fall." The reference to ethnic groupness here is unambiguous. The leader appeals to not only a sense of homogeneity with regard to policy preferences within the group, but also to the fact that that these preferences, which are couched in the language of aspiration and needs, bind the community together in such a way that any threats to the group's unity would lead to undesirable outcomes.

These associations were vehicles for individual religious and political preference formation and mobilization: the Kikuyu Province Association (KPA) and the PKP were in favour of the ban while the KCA against. The KCA presented itself as the straighteners of chiefs' and elders' corruption. The association also gained popularity among the landless, the land poor and those with little chance of inheritance, as it advocated for their individual land rights. Despite this popularity the KCA received mixed support in Nyeri area; for example it had widespread support in Tetu and Othaya, but not in Mathira (Peterson 2012). Given these ideological divisions within the ethnic community, achieving political consensus was almost impossible, even on issues that ought to have created unity within the group.

Elite Coordination Among the Kikuyu

The failure of the various associations to link the ethnic identity with political preferences was a result of leaders not being able to coordinate among themselves. They were unable to agree on the group's position or the association best suited to articulate the position. The KA and the KCA, for instance, had different spheres of influence: KA was dominant in Kiambu and YKA in Murang'a and Nyeri. The KA had the support of chiefs and wealthy landowners. It was also spared from government scrutiny due to the support it received from missionaries. With government and local elite support — chiefs and large land owners — the KA used its position in the Kiambu Local Native Council to ban any political organization or campaigning carried out by opposing associations. Such action suppressed overt public opposition to the KA.

The base of support for these two associations also made coordination between the two impossible. The KA, made up of chiefs and elders, saw the YKA, with its youthful leaders and followers as inexperienced. During a planned presentation of grievances by both associations to the government, for instance, Thuku left the meeting early with the drafted documents. He found the bureaucratic process frustratingly long given the urgency of their demands. The KA's representatives, however, preferred to follow the bureaucratic protocols set up by the colonial government(Clough, 1990). The chances of these two associations working together were further hindered by personal rivalries; one of Thuku's closest allies, former chief retainer Waiganjo wa Ndotono, was accused by the KA of forcing old men to work on his private projects and allowing his subordinates to harass young women.

Kiambu's closed political space forced Thuku's YKA to venture north into Nyeri and Murang'a (Fort Hall). The association's arrival in the area, however, was not well received. Thuku found it difficult to obtain the consent of local leaders on the grievances he wished to present to the Colonial Officer. The local leadership asserted that the grievance list Thuku drafted included items they were unaware of and that "Kiambu people should not presume to speak for all Gikuyu" (Peterson, 2012, p.116). There was a worry that Kiambu politicians wished to become paramount chiefs with power over all Kikuyu speakers. The YKA eventually gained the support of the youth and educated in Murang'a and Nyeri since their chiefs did not exercise as much control over individuals' lives as they did in Kiambu.

Wanting a larger multi-ethnic support base, the YKA became the East African Association (EAA) later in 1921. By 1924, however, the EAA had become the Kikuyu Central Association following the Chief

Joseph Muiruri (all from Central Kenya), Mr. Adin Njenga and Mr. Kamau Wainaina (Nairobi), and Mr . Akayo Maina, Mr Ambrose Wakaria and former Nakuru mayor Kimunya Kamana (from Rift Valley).

Commissioner of Native Affairs' desire to have the association's name to reflect its mainly Kikuyu leadership (Wa Kinyatti, 2008, p.48). [29] Sensing that the KCA could challenge its position, the KA petitioned for the exclusive right to represent needs and grievances of the people of Kiambu; and continued its calls for the detention of KCA leaders and activists. As a result, the KCA went underground in Kiambu, requiring new members to get the approval of three members, and moved its headquarters to Murang'a in 1928. (Clough, 1990, p.122). In Nyeri, KCA membership was often restricted to married men from elder grades (riika) who were entrepreneurs, shop owners, and industrialists unsure of their standing in the new commodity economy, not landowners (Peterson, 2012).

Thuku rejoined the KCA in 1930 following his release from detention but quickly came into conflict with its new party secretary, Kenyatta. Thuku's approach to politics was now more moderate compared to Kenyatta's more radical approach, which demanded better representation and education opportunities for Africans; and the lifting of restrictions on those who wished to grow cash crops. When Kenyatta went to England to lobby the government to address these grievances, Thuku took over the association's leadership. Thuku's leadership was, however, challenged by Kenyatta's supporters, forcing him to defect and form the Kikuyu Provincial Association (KPA). The KPA took with it a significant portion of the KCA's Murang'a and Nyeri representatives and the organization's financial resources and staff rendering the KCA defunct by 1935.[30] By 1940, the KCA was banned by the government.

Elite fragmentation was also evident in land politics. The differing approaches to land sale and inheritance between Kiambu (Southern Kikuyuland) and Nyeri and Fort Hall (Northern Kikuyuland), provided the colonial state an advantage in its quest to acquire land. In response, leaders from the two regions came together and attempted to present a homogeneous ethnic identity so as to avoid being displaced. In 1932, when the Kenya Land Commission (KLC), charged with investigating the land issue, gave the Kikuyu a chance to present themselves, the two associations, the KA (now the Kikuyu Loyal Patriots), and the KCA presented competing stances on the land question. The Kiambu based KLP insisted that they had purchased the land from the Dorobo and emphasized individual accomplishments and favoured individual tenure. The KCA, which represented the Murang'a and Nyeri community, argued that they had always occupied the land; there was no purchase of land from the Dorobo.

The divisions within the community, continued to exist in the post-independence era. Kanyinga (1994) and Throup and Hornsby (1998) note that in Kenyatta's government, the Kiambu elite benefitted first — political and economic opportunities —while those from Murang'a and Nyeri "accumulated the residues" (Kanyinga, 1994, p.73). These elite were also in play in determining Kenyatta's successor: the Kiambu political elite sought to amend the constitution so as to block the vice-president, Moi, from ascending to power in the event of Kenyatta's death. Moi, however, found support from Njonjo and Kibaki, both Kikuyus, who were considered outsiders by the Kiambu elite. The Kiambu-Murang'a divide also seeped into the Mayoral elections in 1977. Andrew Ngumo ran against incumbent Margaret Kenyatta, the President's wife, for the seat. Ngumo received Murang'a born Charles Rubia's endorsement leading to local politicians accusing him of trying to skew urban politics in favour of the Murang'a people. These regional imbalances, particularly where they concern the elite, do not serve to breed strong ethnic allegiances.

The community's leaders remained divided in the multi-party era as seen by co-ethnics competing against each other for the presidency or local dominance. In 1992, Matiba's Ford-Asili, competed against Kibaki's Democratic Party (D.P.) which divided the group's vote. Matiba was seen as a radical, who would stand up to the government and for the poor, while Kibaki, a collaborator and a coward due to his previous close relationship with the government. Had the two candidates coordinated their campaigns, they may have succeeded in toppling the incumbent. [31]

Leaders within the council, tried to force elite coordination by using the rhetoric of fear and ostracization during the 2013 election. The Council asserted that co-ethnics who compete against their chosen candidate are "traitor(s) and therefore treacherous person(s)." In reference to the Narc Kenya candidate, Martha

[29] The KCA leadership at the time was made up of Joseph Kang'ethe, Jessie Kariuki, James Beutah, John Mbuthia and Henry Mwangi

[30] The association experienced a brief revival in Kiambu after Chief Koinange's son returned from studying overseas. He advocated for independent schools and in 1939 helped build a teacher's college.

[31] Both candidates received a combined total of 46 percent of the vote while the incumbent received 36 percent.

Karua, the council's chairman once said, "We will slaughter a bull and send some emissaries to the young lady and ask her to support Uhuru. She can run for another political seat," adding that all co-ethnic competitors are "our children [but] cannot go for the same post." Here the Council leaders make clear that politicians within the group who wish to compete for the presidency need to abandon their presidential political ambitions lest they be labeled outsiders and traitors. This sentiment was echoed by Mary Kirika, a leader of women's section of elders, who said that the community had "resolved in unison that we have one presidential candidate, Hon. Uhuru Kenyatta. We know that there is what we call democracy and in this country we embrace democracy, but our unity is very, very important." It is interesting to note the appeal to democracy and competition in both statements but also the appeal to and importance of ethnic unity for the sake electoral victory. Furthermore, given the initial statement of unity within the group, the Council leaders warn co-ethnic competitors that they will receive little political support from the group due to their acts of treason.

The association's attempt to rally the political elite behind Uhuru Kenyatta, however, was not successful. Martha Karua, did not see the Council as being representative of either the Kikuyu, her ethnic group, or the nation's voting population. Karua believed that the political arena ought to be open and competitive, without any of the "reservations or advance bookings" made by the Council of Elders. Furthermore, she routinely questioned the Council of Elders' authority, independence and legitimacy. She believed that the ethnic group's council of leaders is invented since "there was no talk of elders in 1992 when Kenneth Matiba and President Kibaki ran for president; there were no elders in 1997, when President Kibaki vied for the second time. It never featured in 2002 [or] last year (2007). Gikuyu community has never been known to have a council of elders deciding political matters." Kanyinga (2011) is also quoted as stating that chiefs in the traditional Gikuyu society did not exist and as such did not have any such power. The candidate's statements ran contrary to the message of ethnically based unity and homogeneity advanced by the Council's leaders.

The elite's unity and the council's legitimacy however, came into question when it was revealed that a second one existed: the first, led by Wachira Kiago, and the second registered by James Njenga Karume in 2011. Karume's branch was established after the Kiago led Council refused to endorse his crowning as the community's ethnic leader stating that the community already had a spokesman and political leader in Uhuru Kenyatta. Karume's challenge to the Council may have been facilitated by the lack of a unified council: each district/county has its own branch with its own leadership. The presence of multiple councils creates a coordination problem, which makes elite cohesion difficult to maintain. If the elite are not cohesive, then there is potential political space for rival councils or politicians to emerge as is the case with either Karume or Narc-Kenya's Karua.

The group's divisions on several issues historically, leads us to expect that the sense of groupness will be low. In addition, the lack of a single leader upon whom the group can rest its developmental fate, leads one to expect a diversity of political options available to the public since the elite credibly believe they can cultivate a political following.

2.4.4 Complicated Groupness among the Kamba

Kamba associations that attempted to create strong groupness failed. They were unable to either build a strong link between the identity and political preferences or coordinate the group's political elite under a single banner. The difficulty for these associations can be traced to the lack of a systematic attempt to define ethnic boundaries, and in those rare instances where it did happen, mobilization was issue specific and often very temporal. Without clear ethnic boundaries or strong links tying the identity to various political positions, coordinating the elite proved difficult. This has had an effect on the current nature of political competition within the group, which is rather high when compared to that of the Luo.

The Kamba reside primarily in Kitui and Machakos, districts in the country's Eastern Province. Pre-colonially the group was united by language, but individuals identified more with their clans, lineages and families. As a result, clans lived in autonomous homesteads (utui) that were governed by councils of elders, rather than under a centralized political system. (Tignor, 1971*b*, p.341). There were instance of coordination between clans, however; clans came together to carry out cattle raids or defend themselves against attacks

from other groups, especially the Masaai nomads who lived nearby (Parsons, 1999, p.675).

Conventional wisdom on Kamba identity holds that it was neither a creation nor a response to colonial interaction. Instead the presence of a unifying language is sufficient to assume the identity's existence prior to colonialism. If indeed the Kamba thought of themselves as being united by language, yet prioritized clan allegiances, this could serve as an explanation for why their ethnic associations did not focus much on defining the group's ethnic boundaries. Colonial interaction, however, cemented the idea of Kamba speakers as members of an economic and martial ethnic group (Osborne, 2012). Kamba men were known for being fierce hunters, traders and fighters. In trade, for instance, the Kitui Kamba were known for trading in ivory, while the Machakos Kamba for their involvement in trade with the Zanzibaris and opening up region's interior to coastal trade. In hunting and war, the Kamba were skilled in using the bow and arrow and the constant raids between villages in search of women and cattle, on which their economies depended. Those who carried out these tasks with skill earned communal prestige and respect (Osborne, 2012)

Initial interactions with the colonial administration failed to have the adverse effects one would expect on the Kamba. As the colonial government cemented its hold on the country; moved many into reserves and forced them into the formal economy, the Kamba were able to avoid incorporation into the new regime, and in particular the formal economy, by relying on their cattle. They used cattle stock to pay their taxes (Parsons, 1999). Kamba resistance to the formal economy, however, quickly eroded as bride-wealth increased, hut and poll taxes were imposed and land became increasingly scare. Military and police service became a way for the Kamba to not only meet their financial obligations but also gain social status. Self-selection into the military became even more popular in the 1930s due to famine and the Depression. The famine obliterated cattle holdings while the depression reduced demand for locally produced goods such as beeswax and honey. Working in the security services brought with it the additional benefit of exemption from taxation and forced labour. During the early years of colonialism, there was little discussion of what it meant to be Kamba, especially within the group.

Identity Preference Link Among the Kamba

The 1930s brought about a political awakening of the Kamba. As the Ukambani reserves became overpopulated and overgrazed, the colonial government ordered a destocking and soil-reconditioning program.[32] In addition, the government needed access to a steady supply of cattle in order to honor an agreement with the Liebig Firm, a meat packing and exporting company. The destocking program became compulsory once the government failed to get the Machakos Local Native Council's cooperation (Tignor, 1971*a*, p.241-242). Many of the chiefs who sat on the council, especially those from Machakos, saw the program as threatening the very idea of being Kamba [33] and resigned their positions rather than force their communities to comply with government orders. Machakos leaders were more opposed to the program than those from Kitui because the area had more fertile conditions, which attracted more settlers.[34] The government in response to the public's reluctance was to institute forced cattle auctions in Kangundo and Matungulu, both in Machakos, and being complicit in the Leibig's firm offering farmers a fraction of the market price for their cattle (Parsons, 1999, p.681);(Tignor, 1971*a*, p. 243).

These actions led Muindi Mbingu, Elijah Kavulu, Isaac Mwalonzi and Simon Kioko to form the Ukamba Members Association (UMA), which would serve as a catalyst for group unity. The Association, led by Mbingu, mounted a passive resistance and refused to participate in the branding, resisted destocking and instituted oaths to ensure loyalty. The association also established branches throughout the districts to raise awareness on the destocking issue and raise funds to counter the government's actions. Ngelani, which was in Machakos, was the hub of the discontent, since its leaders tended to be more educated and wealthier than other areas and their displacement from the Mua Hills in the early 20th Century led them to feel particularly antagonistic towards the government and its policies. The other areas, particularly those in Kitui, were not as antagonistic towards the government. These differences led to variation in UMA branch activity: some

[32]Colin Maher, a prominent member of the Department of Agriculture in Kenya and expert on soil erosion wrote that the Kamba owned too many cattle (and to a lesser extent goats) for the land to support (Osborne, 2014, p.469)

[33]Cattle ownership signaled wealth and status

[34]Scholars put the number of registered settlers at 280.

collected membership dues, distributing membership cards, and instituted oaths to all members whereas other branches administered the oaths to only the most committed members. The organization's membership was primarily made up of young, married individuals with children who were just establishing their cattle stock. Membership in the organization was seen as the only way to protect against the threat to the social status they were building.

The association lobbied the government on behalf of the group. One of their demands was an audience with the Governor to air their grievances. The governor, however, did not grant the wish leading to greater political organization and antagonism between the government and the group. The leaders organized a protest march to Nairobi in order to demand an audience with governor (Tignor, 1971*a*, p.246). To journey to Nairobi was subsidized by UMA membership dues and contributions from members of the King's African Rifles soldiers, who were exempt from the destocking (Osborne, 2014, p.682). The journey to Nairobi, which was made on foot, ended with the 3,000 participants spending six weeks in the capital. Succumbing to the pressure and wishing to placate the movement, which had the support of Kamba military personnel, including Sergeant Major Nduba, the Governor appeared in Machakos. There he made concessions to stop the compulsory sale of stock and to reintroduce voluntary sales (Tignor, 1971*a*, p.246). Once government responded by ending destocking and returning cattle, resistance ended in Kitui and Southern Machakos. Northern Machakos youth, however, still agitated for more concessions from the government. Their demands, however, were never met due to the Second World War, which gave the youth a chance to gain status that their elders enjoyed. With war and conscripts away, government descended on UMA and shut it down in 1940.

It was difficult for UMA leaders to resuscitate the organization as it was issue specific: ending the government's destocking policy. Though it was modeled after the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA), UMA did not engage with questions of ethnic nationalism, educational and political representation grievances or economic exploitation. Their primary concerns were the loss of land and removal of unpopular chiefs that were sympathetic to the destocking program. Once the government ruled in favour of the Kamba, many branches in the area closed. The government's action to shut down the organization further solidified the organization's end (Tignor, 1971*b*, p.249).

Elite Coordination Among the Kamba

To prevent future political organization within Ukambani, the government focused on appeasing Kamba military personnel. The colonial government coopted them into the district administration as assistants and headmen and compensated them with salaries similar to those earned while in active service. In addition, the government preferred to appoint veterans to vacant chieftainships and police posts. Those not able to fill these positions were recruited into the Machakos Works Company to dig terraces for soil conservation projects (Osborne, 2014, p.687). By coopting this particular group of individuals, the government was able to tap into the deference and influence veterans were able to exercise over their co-ethnics. Co-ethnics sought the guidance of the veterans and associated them with the significant help they offered during the wartime famine and the destocking crisis. In 1947, for instance, the Kamba threw out all chiefs and all but three incumbents in the Machakos Local Native Council (LNC) elections, and replaced them with former soldiers (Osborne, 2014).[35] The soldiers also used their military background and local influence as leverage against the colonial government in order to get a larger share of the development funds. AsOsborne (2014) shows, a majority of the country's development funds went to the Kamba.

When the Mau Mau crisis erupted and resulted in a state of emergency, the government realized it needed to both stem the ideology's spread and maintain its control over the area. To do this, they created the Akamba Association (AA) in 1954, whose purpose was to "to unite the Kamba as a tribe and to provide social facilities for the Kamba working outside the district, particularly in Nairobi" (Luongo, 2011, p.254). Its constitution further emphasized its dedication to the improvement of the socio-economic status of the Kamba, particularly in agriculture, education and health. The colonial government was concerned that cities, which they believed eroded kinship networks, provided a breeding ground for immorality and therefore sympathy

[35]The LNC was the highest-ranking body of African representatives, and was comprised of prominent community members, and chiefs (p. 688).

for Mau Mau. In Nairobi, for instance, the government registered all residents who were Kamba with the AA and brought chiefs, most of whom had military backgrounds, from Ukambani to run the organization. Its President was Jospeh Mutiso, a member of the African District Council, its Vice-President was Chief Kasina and, its Treasurer was Chief Uku Mukima and Secretary, Chief Jonathan Nzioka. The government also set up a social hall in Kaloleni, an area in Nairobi, exclusively for the Kamba to use (Osborne, 2014). Despite the unity of Kamba leaders under a single banner, there were divisions between branches, Nairobi branch leaders were more inovlved in anti-Mau Mau activity, while those representing Kitui and Machakos, were more interested in growing their businesses, by taking advantage of the space left by Kikuyus.(Mutiso, 1977). As more and more of the Nairobi branch leaders left the country to pursue a higher education, the rural business leaders took over the organization.

It was these leaders who, in 1960, formed the New Akamba Union (NAU), which would both "pursue, encourage, develop and improve Akamba culture and good customs" and replace the AA. Mulwa Mutisya, NAU's leader, also intended for the organization to act as a political vehicle for those Kamba politicians who wished to become KANU representatives. He believed that having the backing of the organization, which had great cultural influence, would reduce the chances of rogue co-ethnics affecting the political chances of union members. A majority of Kamba leaders joined NAU. Paul Ngei's release from Kapenguria in 1961, however, distrubed the elite unity that NAU had cultivated. Given Mutisya's hold on Kitui, Ngei focused his energy on the Machakos Legislative Council seat which was occupied by Henry Mulli. Ngei's campaign strategy and rhetoric, which had NAU's secretary general's support, put him in direct conflict with Mwendwa. He used his incarceration in Kapenguria alongside Kenyatta and his previous military service to argue that he ought to be the Kamba's leader. In response, Mutisya publicly urged the Kamba to ignore Ngei who was trying dominate Ukambani politics and manipulate the people of Ukambani in order to make himself the prince of Ukambani. (Weekly Review). Mutisya also opposed Ngei's involvement in the Lancaster House negotiations.[36] Making matters worse for Ngei, KANU fully supported Mulli, leading to his refusal to give up his seat.

Ngei defected and formed the Akamba People's Party, which he later renamed the African People's Party (APP). He did so by advocating for both more traditional and ethnic nationalism within the group's leadership and the need for a political alternative to the cultural NAU . The move gained him the support of leaders from both Machakos and Kitui, including Mutisya, and highlighted the party's regional nature. The ethnic support Ngei received led KANU to believe that the APP would join KADU, threatening the dominance it was building prior to the 1963 elections. KANU candidates threatened a stop to development funding in Ukambani if APP were to win. The threats, however, did not work and the APP won the region's vote. Ngei's control over the Kamba community's vote inspired KANU to welcome him back in the fold and the APP was disbanded soon after the elections. Once back in KANU, Ngei started an active campaign to have NAU banned, even though a majority of Kamba parliamentarians were members of the Union. This lack of elite unity within the group is believed to have hindered the success of various projects such as the launch of the Ukamba Agricultural Institute or NAU Holdings, which was modeled after GEMA Holdings, and would offer 75,000 shares at Ksh. 20 to co-ethnics. Like other ethnic associations that existed during the single party regime, NAU was banned in 1981.

In the multiparty era, the Kamba Council of Elders came into being with its focus being charting the community's political future. When Kalonzo Musyoka was appointed the country's Vice-President in 2008, the Kamba Council of Elders, under the leadership of former cabinet minister, Ngala Mwendwa, supported of the politician. They, however, had difficulty, getting other elite Kamba candidates, particularly Charity Ngilu, who represented Kitui, to rally behind their chosen leader. They publicly urged the community to stand behind the candidate since he had attained the highest office in the community. They were worried that a tussle between the two candidates for supremacy among the Kamba would split the group's vote. Musyoka had a long history working in government while Ngilu was the first female presidential candidate in the country and a strong member of the opposition. The Council also stood behind Musyoka when he forsook ODM-Kenya. They also urged other Kamba politicians who publicly opposed Musyoka, like Kiema Kilonzo and Charles Kilonzo, to support him.

The Council, however, was unable to maintain elite cohesion. Ahead of the 2012 elections, Kamba

[36]It was in the Lancaster meetings that the nation's constitution and independence were negotiated.

allies of Uhuru Kenyatta convened a meeting to chart the community's political destiny without Kalonzo, who was forming a coalition with Raila Odinga. They wanted the Kamba to shift support from Kalonzo and instead support Uhuru for the top office. The top Kamba politicians, however, were supporting different parties/coalitions for instance, Johnstone Muthama and Mutula Kilonzo supported Raila's ODM; Charles Kilonzo and David Musila favoured a coalitional agreement with Mudavadi; while a third group made up Philip Kaloki and Gideon Ndambuki wanted Musyoka to be in the G7 alliance.[37] During this meeting Uhuru, Ruto and Ngilu were anointed Kamba elders. The Council, however, remained firmly behind Musyoka. In turn, he regularly consulted them on his political decisions, including before he formally announced the formation of CORD along with Raila. The political elite, however, did not manage to agree on Musyoka's candidacy or coalition in CORD. This was made all the more difficult with Ngilu joining forces with Uhuru's Jubilee coalition. This mission, though admirable, was a bit too late when compared to the work either the Luo or Kikuyu associations, which had spent decades working on developing the identity through unity/customs.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented an analytical framework to explain why party competition and participation varies across ethnic groups. The theory suggests that these two factors are conditioned by the role ethnic associations play in reinforcing an identity-preference link and coordinating ethnic elites. The case studies traced the creation of ethnic consciousness and ethic elite coordination from the pre-independence period to the current multi-party era. Analysis of the case studies shows that the success of ethnic associations in achieving both these goals depended on several factors: their embeddedness in their communities' political and cultural lives; their ability to present different issues around which the identity could coalesce; the efficiency with which they coordinate the ethnic elite; and their presence beyond elections in the multiparty era.

The following chapter will extend the theory presented here and apply it to the individual level. If ethnic associations are influential in crafting ethnic consciousness, as the theory presented here requires, then levels of "groupness" should be found to vary significantly across ethnic communities. The Luo, for instance, should be expected to exhibit higher levels of commonality, linked fate and leader fate, on average, when compared to the Kikuyu.

[37]The G7 alliance was a coalition initially formed by Kikuyu, Kalenjin and Kamba leaders and later sought to be more inclusive of the country's various communities.

Chapter 3

Ethnic Groupness: Individual-level Analysis

3.1 Introduction

This chapter empirically assesses an observable implication of ethnic associations on ethnic cohesion at an individual and group level. The guiding framework, outlined in the theoretical chapter, argues that current variations in intra-ethnic political competition are a result of ethnic associations actively encouraging the development of ethnic identities; linking these identities to political objectives; and coordinating the group's ethnic elite under a single banner. What remains unexplored is whether associations that are successful in these three aspects are also successful in influencing the way co-ethnics perceive of themselves and of their group.[1] Establishing this relationship gives us deeper insight into whether African ethnic groups really do exhibit the social and ideological cohesion often attributed to them in the literature.

Conventional wisdom emphasizes the strength of ethnic identities in shaping individual political thought and action (Chandra, 2007). Ethnic identities are said to act as credible heuristics – informational shortcuts – that help individuals condition their expectations about the behavior of others (Ferree, 2006; Posner, 2005; Robinson, 2013). This is especially relevant in low information settings, where without alternative sources of reliable information, ethnic groups tend to develop various technologies that help them monitor and encourage within group cooperation. Knowledge of these technologies is spread and maintained by the strong social ties fostered by the identity. In Africa, where ethnic geographic concentration is the norm, dense social networks – based on both proximity and similarities in language and culture – facilitate the easy flow of information regarding norms of reciprocity, the economic market and political area(Mozaffar, Scarritt and Galaich, 2003). As individuals live in close quarters, they are easily monitored and credibly threatened with sanctioning.[2] This embeddedness leads to better communication and coordination within groups than across groups (Taylor and Chatters, 1988; Taylor and Lockery, 1995; Fearon and Laitin, 1996; Miguel, 2004; Habyarimana et al., 2009). As a result, ethnic social identities encourage the development of shared and uniform worldviews that lead to both high within group trust levels and political cohesion (Lewis-Beck, 2009; Miller et al., 1981; Simon and Klandermans, 2001; Robinson, 2011).

Despite this literature's contribution to our understanding of ethnicity and its influence on individual and group behavior, there has been little exploration of the micro-foundations behind the observed cohesion and rarely any consideration of variation within and across groups.Furthermore, scholars often assume ideological homogeneity within groups that is not only based on reported levels of trust[3] but also believed

[1] Social movement scholars argue that group members grievances are manufactured by organizations and their leaders in an effort to mobilize potential members (Snow et al., 1986).

[2] Sanctioning is often reputational; that is, individuals are labeled by as not being loyal to the group or its values, and therefore not worthy of the group's support. Among the Borana, for instance, those who go against group norms can find themselves without financial or social help during famines or weddings or funerals (Author Interview Sept. 18 2015).

[3] The sharing of a common ethnic identity reduces the social distance between people that eventually leads to a strengthening

to result in out-group exclusion and fierce political competition as each group strives to implement its own policy positions (Rabushka and Shepsle, 1972; Lijphart, 1977; Geertz, 1963; Horowitz, 1985).[4] By taking this position, the literature ignores the fact that membership in a social group neither prescribes a specific political outlook nor demands political action on the group's behalf.

In addition, there is little accounting for how individuals understand their identity, the subjective importance they may attach to the identity, and any feelings of belonging or interdependence they share with their co-ethnics (Lee, 2008; Masuoka, 2006). In effect, the literature overlooks the possibility that political cohesion may be based on the development of strong subjective identities – knowledge of membership in a social group together with the values and emotional significance attached to that membership (Tajfel, 1981, p.255) – which may help explain why not all groups cohere politically (Huddy, Sears and Levy, 2013, p.15).[5]

I address this gap in the literature by systematically analyzing how individuals in sub-Saharan Africa understand their own identity, its contents, and the effects this has on the level of group cohesion. I do this by applying concepts of group cohesion not previously used in the African context and leveraging original survey data in an effort to expand our understanding of the extent to which individuals in these groups either conform to or diverge from what conventional theories predict. The findings will also have wider implications because they will give us a better understanding of the ethnic sources of trust and the continued ease (or difficulty) of coordinated political action within groups (Billig, 1995; Reicher, 2004; Huddy, Sears and Levy, 2013).

I argue that ethnic groupness, my proxy for ethnic cohesion, results from three things: individuals' beliefs and perceptions about their shared characteristics with co-ethnics, their belief in a sense of linked fate, and their belief in leader fate. When individuals believe they share common characteristics with co-ethnics, based on language or cultural heritage, they are more likely to see themselves as part of a collective group (commonality). This is complemented by a strong belief that their life chances are deeply intertwined with those of their co-ethnics, both at a social (linked fate) and political level (leader fate).[6] The dependent variable, ethnic groupness, is a latent concept that measures not just whether individuals identify with a particular ethnic group but also how adopting that identity influences their perception of the identity itself and how it affects their life chances. Groups are cohesive when they exhibit high levels on each of these three groupness sub-indicators.

The data used to test these claims come from two omnibus surveys carried out in Kenya eight months apart: the first in February 2013, a month before the presidential elections and the second in October 2013, following the election. The surveys were carried out on either side of the election so as to account for any changes in the salience of ethnic groupness caused by electioneering. Furthermore, by shifting focus to the sub-national level, I am able to conduct a controlled comparison of ethnic groups and their political development, minimizing the potential for unobservable national level factors driving or biasing the results.

I find that membership in a particular ethnic group does have a significant effect on how individuals perceive of themselves and their connection to co-ethnics. The results also reveal significant variation both within and across groups; groups with a history of strong ethnic associations reveal higher levels of ethnic groupness. The findings, particularly those regarding perceptions of linked fate or leader fate, are also conditional on electoral proximity; there is increased identity salience before the election but in an unexpected direction. Elections appear to bring to the surface within group differences that may otherwise remain unaddressed between elections. This finding echoes that of Eifert, Miguel and Posner (2010) who find that ethnic identities tend to be more salient around competitive electoral periods.

of trust (Zak and Knack, 2001).

[4]The reliance on generalized trust as an all encompassing indicator of cohesion is misleading since it is but one dimension of the concept (Hooghe, 2007).

[5]Linked fate, for instance, has proven a valuable heuristic for scholars interested in how the perception influences political behaviour. Among African Americans, for instance, a strong sense of shared racial fate is associated with support for Black nationalism (Block Jr, 2011), group solidarity, and even support for descriptive representation (Tate, 2003; Manzano and Sanchez, 2010; Schildkraut, 2013)

[6]Cameron (2004) argues that cohesion is based on a sense of belonging; positive feelings for the group and viewing membership as important to oneself. In addition, political psychologists propose four identity subscales that are important in the measurement cohesion: a subjective sense of belonging; feeling one's status is interdependent with that of other group members, and positive feelings for members of the group.

The chapter proceeds in the following manner: the following section presents the hypotheses, which will be followed by a description of the data and measures used in the analysis of groupness. The section after this presents the results and a discussion of the analysis on groupness.

3.2 Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: I expect individual expressions of a belief in shared characteristics — commonality — to correlate with the group's history with ethnic associations. Groups, such as the Kikuyu and Luo will express higher levels of shared characteristics with co-ethnics since their ethnic associations were heavily involved in creating a communal sense of identity. This is in contrast to the Luhya and Kamba whose ethnic associations were short lived, single-issue focused and did not invest much in the development of a sense of shared identity.

The sharing of common characteristics, however, is not restricted to ethnic groups; individuals may perceive themselves as sharing several characteristics with individuals from their adopted groups such as religious group, occupational groups, or even socio-economic class. The perception of shared characteristics – commonality – with a group is, therefore, insufficient to explain ethnic group cohesion. It is because of this that I argue that individuals must also perceive of their individual fates as being inextricably linked to those of the group: linked fate (Bobo, 1995). In this way, identity once again serves as a heuristic against which political thought and behaviour is based; however, in this instance, it is focused on *group* rather than individual benefits.

Among African Americans, for instance, a black utility heuristic exists to allow them to perceive of their individual fates as being intertwined. The black utility heuristic is a result of their experience with discrimination and disadvantage, the strength of black institutions — labour unions and churches —the influence of black elites and access to information about other African Americans. This linked fate allows group members to assess policies on whether they are consistent with protecting and promoting their broader group interests even when they may run counter to individual economic interests (Bobo, 1995).[7]

Hypothesis 2: I expect linked fate to be closely associated with the efforts and successes of the ethnic association in creating a sense of intertwined life chances among co-ethnics. In this case, the Luo, whose ethnic associations repeatedly linked the ethnic identity to the group's political and socio-economic fate, will be more likely to express higher levels of linked fate. Among the Kikuyu, however, the level of linked fate is expected to be low because they had multiple competing ethnic associations making it difficult to effectively link the identity with political outcomes and preferences. Among the Kamba and Luhya, I expect the lowest levels of linked fate as their ethnic associations focused so little on developing a sense of communal identity, that there was little room for any sense of linked fate to gain salience. In these three latter ethnic cases, group benefits are subordinate to individual benefits/preferences.

In addition to sharing common characteristics and a sense of linked fate, African ethnic groupness is maintained by a belief in leader fate; that is, the belief that having a co-ethnic win national office will affect both individual and group life chances. Africanists have repeatedly argued that individuals vote for co-ethnics out of a rational calculation that they are the ones most likely to deliver on goods. Patronage is used by co-ethnic politicians as an exclusionary device used to benefit co-ethnics; Franck and Rainer (2012), for instance, show that the president's ethnicity matters to the medical (mortality rates) and educational prospects of co-ethnics. These theories, however, overlook the reality of patronage distribution – politicians need to distribute resources to other groups in order to remain in power.[8] As a result, not everyone in the ethnic group, especially those on the lower ends of the social scale will benefit directly (De Mesquita,

[7] Though initially constructed to explain African American racial consciousness and political behaviour, scholars have used the concept to study other American minority groups: African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, American Muslims, and non-Hispanic Whites (Hutchings et al., 2005; Schildkraut, 2013; Harris, 2008; Bobo and Johnson, 2000). Scholars have also identified variation within groups, among Asian Americans and American Muslims, for instance, the sense of linked fate varies by nationality and religiosity, respectively (Lien, Conway and Wong, 2004, p.48-49); (Barreto et al., 2008; Haynes and Skulley, 2012).

[8] Arriola (2009) shows how African leaders systematically and strategically distribute cabinet positions to "big men" from rival ethnic groups so as to secure both their own leadership and the public's votes.

2005). Politicians must therefore rely on ethnic associations to help create links, through endorsements and communication about the group's chances being intertwined with the electoral success of a co-ethnic.

Hypothesis 3: Leader fate is, therefore, expected to run in the same direction as linked fate. Ethnic groups with ethnic associations greatly involved in creating a sense of linked fate were also greatly involved in coordinating the elite. They coordinated the elite in such a way that individuals associated group fate with the electoral success of the endorsed leader or party. In this case, the Luo are expected to express higher levels of leader fate compared to the Kikuyu, Kamba and Luo.

3.3 Data and Methods

The data come from two omnibus surveys carried out eight months apart—February 2013 and October 2013—and involved 39 out of the 47 counties with the sample broken down by district based on 2009 population census data.[9] Though a cross-section and not a panel, the data are from a random and nationally representative sample: the first with 6,000 respondents and the second with 2,000 respondents.[10] Once the sampling point was chosen, enumerators identified households to include in the study based on their proximity to a landmark. The first house was chosen using the date score and left hand rule (if the survey was carried out on the 12, for instance, the third house on the left from the landmark would be the starting point). In urban areas, four houses were skipped after a successful interview, while in rural areas 200 meters between houses were skipped. Respondents within houses, all of whom were over the age of 18, were selected using the kish grid. For the purposes of this study, I subset the data and keep only the Kamba, Kikuyu, Luhya and Luo.

The dependent variable of interest is ethnic groupness, operationalized using three variables: commonality, linked fate and leader fate. These variables tap into group consciousness in a way not previously done in studies of African ethnic groups. Commonality asks individuals how much they think they share in common with co-ethnics living in the area and the response options are on a four-point scale.[11] Linked fate is operationalized by asking individuals if they believe what happens in their lives is affected by what happens in the lives of their co-ethnics and response options to this questions are on a three-point scale.[12] Leader fate, much like linked fate, is based on a three-point scale that asks individuals whether they believe that their life chances are dependent on having a co-ethnic leader win national office.[13]. Each of the questions reference the dominant ethnic group in the interview region due to the geographic concentration of ethnic groups. Outside the two major cities, Nairobi and Mombasa, negligible numbers resided in non co-ethnic settings. The three models specified both pre-and post election are analyzed using ordered logit regressions due to their ordered and categorical nature.

The primary independent variable is ethnic identity rather than ethnic associations. This analytical strategy is driven by the belief that these ethnic institutions have, over a considerable amount of time, exerted their influence on the identity and its membership base. Evidence of their effect would therefore be observable in how individuals perceive of their ethnic group's "groupness". It is also reasonable to focus on ethnicity as the primary independent variable since such identities confer more on individuals than simple identity; it embeds them in networks that can influence their social and political thought and subsequent behaviour. In this case, the ethnic networks that individuals are embedded in have histories that are/were

[9]Counties are newly devolved administrative units based on the 1992 Districts that came into existence following the passing of the 2010 Constitutional reform.

[10]This should not pose a problem in the analysis or the results since the sampling process was the same in both rounds (February and October) and involved a large nationally representative sample of individuals.

[11]The question asked is:How much do you think you have in common with [INSERT NAME OF ETHNIC GROUP DOMINATING IN REGION OF INTERVIEW]? Response options are: 1. Nothing; 2. Only A Little; 3.A Fair Amount; 4. A Great Amount

[12]The question asked is: Do you think what happens to [INSERT NAME OF ETHNIC GROUP DOMINATING IN REGION OF INTERVIEW] in this country will affect what happens in your life?Response options are: 1.No; 2. Yes, A Little; 3. Yes, A Lot.

[13]The question asked is: Do you think that the ability of a [INSERT NAME OF ETHNIC GROUP DOMINATING IN REGION OF INTERVIEW] leader to win a national election will affect what happens in your life? Response options are: 1.No; 2. Yes, A Little; 3. Yes, A Lot

heavily influenced by each group's ethnic associations. It is this variation in the efficacy of ethnic associations that makes it possible for individuals within groups to express unclear attitudes the identity in ways that are in line with or counter to conventional wisdom. The analysis therefore focuses on an important observable implication of these ethnic associations on contemporary levels of ethnic groupness.

Controls in the analysis are primarily of a demographic and socio-economic nature; they include age, sex, education, occupation and economic situation. Education, measured as a count variable, is expected to have a positive relationship with groupness. It serves as a proxy for one's incorporation into the modern society, which grants individuals access to resources. Access to resources through education is important to consider because theories of moral ethnicity (Lonsdale, Kaarsholm and Hultin, 1994) and the *second public* (Ekeh, 1975)suggest that one's increased access to such resources increases her responsibility to the ethnic community. Ethnic communities invest much in each other and those who succeed as a result must pay this investment forward so as to ensure group development. Such interdependence reinforces the importance of the ethnic identity and the group because the effect is a more cohesive group identity that ties individual fates/successes to those of the group (Bates, 1974).

Occupation, coded as agriculturalist, employed, self-employed, or dependent is used as a proxy for one's economic vulnerability. Those living on the economic edge are more likely to express feelings of groupness; agriculturalist will be most likely to express this sentiment. Since it is a major source of income for a significant proportion of the population and is typically associated with low wages, those involved in the industry tend to be closer to poverty than others. Those who are self employed and employed, in contrast, may be financially independent enough to not rely on their ethnic social networks for help. Therefore, they will be less likely to express feelings of groupness. Those whose economic situation worsened or stayed the same are likely to express stronger feelings of groupness because they do not have the resources to move beyond a dependence on their co-ethnics for support. This is expectation is informed by the theories presented by Lonsdale, Kaarsholm and Hultin (1994); Ekeh (1975); Bates (1974).

Typically, perception of discrimination is measured using first responses on the most important issue facing the country. Experiences with tribalism can lead individuals to be more responsive to collective political efforts and mobilization (GARCIA and SANCHEZ, 2008; Bernal and Martinelli, 2005; Masuoka, 2006). Those who respond with discrimination as the most preferred choice are typically more likely to express ethnic groupness. The equivalent of the discrimination variable in the African context would be "tribalism" or "leader favoritism". Respondents were asked to mention the biggest development obstacle in the area. Those who responded tribalism or leader favoritism or leader greed received a score of 1 while all others were scored as 0. Inclusion of this variable, contrary to much of the literature on group consciousness, does not seem to matter to individual propensities to declare commonality, linked fate or even leader fate.

The following sections present the analysis and results by dependent variable: commonality, linked fate, and leader fate. Furthermore, the analysis looks at each dependent variable both pre and post elections.

3.3.1 Commonality

In looking at the February bar graphs (Figure 1), we see that a majority of the Kikuyu and Luo tend towards expressing higher levels of commonality compared to the Luhya, who are almost evenly spread across the four groups and the Kamba, who have show a great deal of variation. In October, the general trend holds, with the largest proportion of Luo and Kikuyu expressing higher levels of commonality and the Kamba and Luhya showing similar patterns of variation as previously (Figure 2).[14]

It is, however, in the statistical analysis that we get a better sense of the across group variation in commonality. The February data show that the group's overall response conforms to the expectations laid out: the Kamba and the Luhya are significantly less likely to see themselves as sharing much in common with their co-ethnics when compared to the Luo. The magnitude of this difference is best understood by looking at the average adjusted probabilities (Table 2), by each of the dependent variable's levels: the Luo are four percent and three percent less likely to claim they have nothing in common with their co-ethnics than the Kamba and Luhya, respectively. They (the Luo) are, however, six percent and five percent more likely to

[14]Tables showing the row proportions by group can be found in the appendix.

believe they have a lot in common with their co-ethnics than not. The Kikuyu, despite the coefficient being positive as hypothesized, are not significantly likely to believe in commonality when compared to the Luo, all else equal.[15]

Table 3.1: Commonality Across Ethnic Groups

Commonality	February	October
Kamba	-0.288***	-0.635***
	(0.100)	(0.194)
Kikuyu	0.0107	-0.450***
	(0.0838)	(0.174)
Luhya	-0.256***	-0.660***
	(0.0926)	(0.181)
Male	0.0862	-0.189
	(0.0624)	(0.121)
Urban	-0.198***	0.0552
	(0.0677)	(0.127)
Self Employed	-0.240***	0.0581
	(0.0831)	(0.159)
Dependents	-0.476***	-0.0896
	(0.175)	(0.308)
Employed	-0.105	-0.00907
	(0.0897)	(0.161)
Age	-0.00584	0.0887
	(0.0289)	(0.0571)
Education	-0.00912	0.00614
	(0.00868)	(0.0173)
Econ. Stayed the Same	-0.231***	-0.252
	(0.0722)	(0.195)
Econ. Worsened	-0.0863	0.275*
	(0.0792)	(0.163)
Econ. Unsure	0.243	0.627
	(0.325)	(0.776)
Constant cut1	-2.052***	-1.714***
	(0.156)	(0.320)
Constant cut2	-0.903***	-0.456
	(0.153)	(0.314)
Constant cut3	0.525***	0.473
	(0.153)	(0.314)
Observations	3,505	974
	Standard errors in parentheses	
	*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1	

Table 3.2: Average Adjusted Probabilities (Margins) for Ethnic Commonality

VARIABLES	Feb Nothing	Oct Nothing	Feb A Little	Oct A Little	Feb A Fair Amount	Oct A Fair Amount	Feb A Great Amount	Oct A Great Amount
Luo	0.160	0.115	0.214	0.195	0.336	0.219	0.290	0.472
	(0.0100)	(0.0158)	(0.0090)	(0.0181)	(0.0082)	(0.0138)	(0.0145)	(0.0345)
Kamba	0.203	0.195	0.240	0.261	0.323	0.221	0.235	0.323
	(0.0128)	(0.0231)	(0.0094)	(0.0181)	(0.0089)	(0.0137)	(0.0140)	(0.0302)
Kikuyu	0.159	0.168	0.212	0.244	0.337	0.224	0.292	0.364
	(0.0080)	(0.0162)	(0.0077)	(0.0160)	(0.0082)	(0.0135)	(0.0110)	(0.0242)
Luhya	0.198	0.199	0.237	0.263	0.325	0.220	0.240	0.318
	(0.0112)	(0.0206)	(0.0089)	(0.0170)	(0.0086)	(0.0136)	(0.0125)	(0.0261)
Observations	3,505	974	3,505	974	3,505	974	3,505	974

Separate from one's identity being a significant driver of one's belief in having things in common with co-ethnics, one's location and occupation are also influential in informing one's perceptions on the issue. Those living in urban areas are less likely, by four percent, to assert that they have a great deal in common with co-ethnics compared to their rural counterparts. This result may be a result of urban settlement

[15]The ethnic effect finding is robust to the dropping of all other variables except identity and the production of robust standard errors (Appendix Table 1). The sign of the co-efficient remains negative and significant for both the Kamba and the Luhya but positive and not significant for the Kikuyu.

exposing individuals to different groups, separate from ethnicity – religion, economic class or even social clubs – around which allegiance and commonality of interest can be based. Farmers – compared to those who are self-employed, dependent or employed – are, respectively, four percent, nine percent and two percent more likely to claim that they have a great deal in common with co-ethnics. This result may be driven by the economic vulnerability and the rural concentration that often accompanies this occupation. Compared to those whose economic situation improved, those whose economic situation stayed the same are four percent less likely to claim they have a great deal in common with co-ethnics, all else equal.

The hypothesized effect observed prior to the election remains in place in the post electoral period for both the Kamba and Luhya when compared to the Luo; they remain significantly unlikely to claim a belief in commonality. What does change is the magnitude of this relationship; the Luo remain four percent and three percent less likely to claim having nothing in common with co-ethnics than the Kamba or Luhya, but are now 15 percent and 16 percent, respectively, more likely to claim having a great amount in common with co-ethnics. The largest change is among the Kikuyu who are, following the elections, significantly less likely (11 percent) to claim having much in common with co-ethnics, all else equal. In addition, those whose economic situation worsened are now more significantly more likely (six percent) to assert a belief in commonality with co-ethnics than they were prior to the elections. Those whose economic situation stayed the same are, in the post-electoral period, significantly less likely to claim to have a great deal in common with co-ethnics.The findings hold even when the models are run to produce robust standard errors (Appendix Table 1).

What is particularly of note in these results is the observed electoral effect. Conventional wisdom leads us to expect that the salience of ethnic identities would increase with a unifying effect during elections; ethnic groups would express high levels of commonality during elections. This is because politicians prime the ethnic identity and often use rhetoric about the importance of group unity to ensuring that state goods and resources flow back to the group. This explanation, however, ignores that groups may have different conceptions of their unity in the period between elections that cannot be easily overridden for political expediency. The Kikuyu results are also interesting since they run counter to the specified expectations. The group is by implication of the results just as likely as the Luo to believe they have things in common with co-ethnics, but after the election they are significantly less likely to do so. This negative turn may be a result of electioneering. Politicians and their proxy councils of elders are no longer heavily involved in priming the ethnic similarities in the post-electoral period. This decreases the awareness and even incentive for group members to think of themselves as sharing things in common.

3.3.2 Linked Fate

A cursory look at the bar graphs of linked fate in February reveals that in each group, the tendency is towards the lower end of the scale: little or no interdependence of life chances with co-ethnics (Figure 3). With the exception of the Kikuyu, the majority believe that their life chances are a little intertwined. In October, the trend changes a bit with the Luhya and Kikuyu exhibiting similar trends as they did in February (Figure 4). The Kamba and Luo trends, however, are now similar; the number who express that their life chances are greatly intertwined with those of co-ethnics is now higher than those who believe that they are not intertwined.

The results of the statistical analysis of individual expressions of linked fate prior to the elections (Table 3), conform to the expectations laid out. In comparison to the Luo, the other three groups are less likely to believe that their life chances are intertwined but only the Kamba and Kikuyu reach statistical significance. The Luo are four percent and eight percent more likely than either the Kamba or the Kikuyu, respectively, to claim that their life chances are greatly intertwined with those of co-ethnics. The differences in magnitude lend support to the hypothesized relationship in that the differences between the Kikuyu and Luo are larger than the differences between the Kamba and Luo.

The analysis also shows that the only other variable that influences an individuals' belief in linked fate, is their belief in commonality with co-ethnics. Those who do not believe that they have much in common with co-ethnics are 44 percent more likely to not express a belief in linked fate than those who expressed a belief in having a lot in common, whereas those who expressed a belief in having a lot in common with co-

Table 3.3: Linked Fate Across Ethnic Groups

Linked Fate	February	October
Kamba	-0.213*	0.338
	(0.116)	(0.266)
Kikuyu	-0.511***	0.0403
	(0.103)	(0.245)
Luhya	-0.0819	-0.0367
	(0.112)	(0.243)
A Little	0.756***	1.327***
	(0.119)	(0.266)
A Fair Amount	1.092***	1.588***
	(0.115)	(0.276)
A Great Amount	2.088***	2.593***
	(0.126)	(0.273)
Male	-0.0991	0.368**
	(0.0770)	(0.172)
Urban	-0.0232	-0.348**
	(0.0835)	(0.176)
Self Employed	0.138	0.302
	(0.105)	(0.221)
Dependent	0.223	0.275
	(0.218)	(0.462)
Employed	0.111	0.373*
	(0.112)	(0.222)
Age	0.0510	-0.0282
	(0.0359)	(0.0787)
Education	-0.00296	-0.0213
	(0.0110)	(0.0249)
Econ. Stayed the Same	-0.0886	-0.0687
	(0.0887)	(0.274)
Econ. Worsened	0.194**	0.692***
	(0.0984)	(0.225)
Econ. Unsure	-0.0625	1.014
	(0.369)	(1.363)
Constant cut1	0.198	1.160**
	(0.209)	(0.454)
Constant cut2	2.292***	3.147***
	(0.214)	(0.471)
Observations	2,578	566

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3.4: Average Adjusted Probabilities (Margins) for Linked Fate

VARIABLES	Nothing	A Little	A Lot
Luo	0.286	0.438	0.276
	(0.015)	(0.009)	(0.015)
Kamba	0.327	0.434	0.239
	(0.017)	(0.010)	(0.015)
Kikuyu	0.389	0.418	0.193
	(0.014)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Luhya	0.301	0.437	0.262
	(0.015)	(0.001)	(0.014)
Observations	2,578	2,578	2,578

ethnics are 34 percent more likely to express a belief in linked fate than those who belief they share nothing in common with co-ethnics. This result conforms to the assertion that one's probability of expressing a positive sense of linked fate is dependent on their perception of having lots in common with co-ethnics. Without a

sense of sharing things in common with co-ethnics, then it is highly implausible that one could also imagine having his or her life chances being intertwined. Those whose economic situations worsened were also three percent more likely to believe in linked fate than those whose economic situation improved, all else equal. This finding may be a result of the economic vulnerability that this group of individuals experience; they may reason that their economic situation is worse is due to policies or practices that have negatively affected their group.

In October, the significant ethnic effect detected earlier for both the Kamba and Kikuyu not only washes out but also changes direction. One's expression of a belief in commonality remains significantly influential in their perception of linked fate. Those who do not believe that they have anything in common with co-ethnics are also 52 percent more likely to NOT believe that their life chances are intertwined with those of co-ethnics, when compared to those who assert that they have a lot in common with co-ethnics. Those who do not believe they have anything in common with co-ethnics are also 41 percent less likely to claim that they have a strong belief that their life chances are intertwined with those of their co-ethnics. Men are seven percent more likely to express that their life chances are greatly intertwined with those of co-ethnics than women. Those whose situation worsened are twelve percent more likely to believe that their life chances are greatly intertwined with those of co-ethnics than those whose economic situation improved. These results are robust as seen in Appendix Table 2; running the models to yield robust standard errors does not change the lack of an ethnic effect in the post-electoral period but the commonality variable remains significant. Furthermore, the lack of an ethnic effect remains intact even when the commonality variable is dropped from the model (Appendix Table 2).[16]

3.3.3 Leader Fate

The bar graphs of the distribution of people claiming to believe in leader fate in February shows that, with the exception of the Luo, there is a steady decrease as one moves from the "not at all" category to the "A lot" category (Figure 5). A majority of the Luo claim that having a co-ethnic politician win national office will have a little effect on their life chances. In October, the distribution changes with the majority in each group believing that co-ethnic politicians will have affect the life chances at least a little (Figure 6).

The results of the statistical analysis in the pre-electoral period support the hypothesized relationship (Table 5). In comparison to the Luo, all the three other groups are statistically unlikely to express having a belief that co-ethnics winning national office will affect their life chances. The Luo are three percent, five percent and one percent more likely to claim a strong belief in leader fate than the Kamba, Kikuyu or the Luhya. More than supporting the hypothesized relationship, this finding challenges the explanations offered by Africanists for why individuals vote for co-ethnic politicians. The literature often argues that voters rationally vote for co-ethnics because they are most likely to give them access to goods, which by implication matter for their life chances. Without a co-ethnic in power then they will not eat (Bayart, 1993; Wrong, 2010). The finding here shows that even though individuals may vote for co-ethnics this behaviour is not primarily driven by a belief that the leader will have an effect on their life chances.

[16] Running the model and not controlling for commonality and producing robust standard errors does not lead to large differences between the two sets of standard errors (classic and robust standard errors), which increases confidence in the specified model. What does change in February, however, is that not controlling for commonality leads to the Luhya group to reach statistical significance in their likelihood of not believing in linked fate, as per the hypothesized relationship. Not continuing to control for commonality, however, would make little substantive sense.

Table 3.5: Leader Fate Across Ethnic Groups

Leader Fate	February	October
Kamba	-0.553***	-0.0963
	(0.120)	(0.316)
Kikuyu	-0.841***	-0.452
	(0.108)	(0.288)
Luhya	-0.275**	-0.619*
	(0.116)	(0.318)
A Little	0.855***	1.550***
	(0.126)	(0.326)
A Fair Amount	0.974***	1.337***
	(0.121)	(0.349)
A Great Amount	1.499***	2.437***
	(0.129)	(0.330)
Male	0.0401	0.209
	(0.0791)	(0.202)
Urban	0.0438	-0.288
	(0.0871)	(0.219)
Self-Employed	0.0548	0.0651
	(0.109)	(0.269)
Dependent	0.236	1.004*
	(0.215)	(0.566)
Employed	-0.0988	0.356
	(0.116)	(0.277)
Age	-0.0466	0.0806
	(0.0369)	(0.0954)
Education	-0.0169	-0.0181
	(0.0111)	(0.0280)
Econ. Stayed the Same	0.146	-0.525
	(0.0912)	(0.343)
Econ. Worsened	0.241**	0.402
	(0.102)	(0.284)
Econ. Unsure	0.358	0.631
	(0.389)	(1.000)
Constant cut3	1.745***	
	(0.220)	
Constant cut1	-0.101	0.632
	(0.217)	(0.590)
Constant cut2	-0.0706	2.852***
	(0.217)	(0.605)
Observations	2,421	418
	Standard errors in parentheses	
	*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1	

Table 3.6: Average Adjusted Probabilities (Margins) for Leader Fate

VARIABLES	Feb Nothing	Oct Nothing	Feb A Little	Oct A Little	Feb A Lot	Oct A Lot
Luo	0.305	0.238	0.00607	0.433	0.404	0.330
	(0.017)	(0.037)	(0.001)	(0.025)	(0.010)	(0.044)
Kamba	0.424	0.256	0.00696	0.436	0.379	0.308
	(0.020)	(0.035)	(0.001)	(0.024)	(0.011)	(0.040)
Kikuyu	0.492	0.329	0.00711	0.438	0.351	0.234
	(0.016)	(0.030)	(0.001)	(0.024)	(0.010)	(0.029)
Luhya	0.362	0.346	0.00660	0.435	0.397	0.219
	(0.018)	(0.041)	(0.001)	(0.02)	(0.010)	(0.035)
Observations	2,421	418	2,421	418	2,421	418

As was case the in the analysis of linked fate, one's perception of commonality is a great predictor of their belief in leader fate: those who believe that they have nothing in common with their co-ethnics, are 35 percent less likely to believe in leader fate, while those who asserted a strong belief in commonality are 14 percent more likely to believe in leader fate than those who do not believe in leader fate. In addition to this, one's economic situation appears to be a significant predictor of one's belief in leader fate, especially if your economic situation worsened. This group of individuals is two percent more likely to believe in leader fate than those whose economic situation improved.

Unlike linked fate, the direction of the relationship in October by ethnic group does not change direction: the groups remain unlikely to express a sense of linked fate. The Luhya, however, are the only group to reach statistical significance; they are 13 percent less likely than the Luo to express a strong belief in leader fate. One's response to the question of commonality remains predictive of their perception of leader fate. Those who believe that they have a lot in common with co-ethnics are also 40 percent more likely to believe that co-ethnic gaining national office will have a significant impact on their lives, compared to those who believe that they have nothing in common with co-ethnics. In the post-electoral period, dependents are 18 percent more likely to express a strong belief in leader fate than farmers/agriculturalists, all else equal.

The cross group analysis shows that pre-electorally – when ethnic associations tend to make themselves visible and are most active through their council of elders – the results conform to the expectations laid out. The Luo and Kikuyu are the two groups whose members are most likely to express having a sense of commonality, where as the Kamba and Luhya are not. Furthermore, the three groups are less likely than the Luo, all else equal, to express a belief in either linked fate or leader fate. In the post-electoral period, the results for commonality and leader fate generally hold, whereas those linked fate did not conform to the expectations laid out. Conducting this pre and post analysis of groupness also reveals that elections have an adverse effect on groupness, particularly within groups that do not have a history of thinking of themselves as a unitary group or one whose members' life chances are intertwined. Ethnic groups without such a history, which is mediated by strong ethnic associations, have underlying tensions or differences that the electoral season brings to the fore. This may be because politicians try to emphasize aspects that their target audiences do not believe.

3.3.4 Within-Group Analysis

Do these differences across groups also track within groups; that is, are there particular demographic features that that make certain individuals within ethnic groups more or less likely to express high or low levels of groupness? Due to the lower sample size in October, this within group analysis only considers February.

Commonality

In looking at commonality, there does not appear to be any particular set of factors across all groups that make them more or less likely to express a strong belief in shared commonality (Table 6). Among the Luo, for instance, men appear to be nine percent more likely than women to express a strong belief in commonality. Luo rural dwellers are also 10 percent more likely to express a strong belief in commonality than their urban counterparts. This can be contrasted to Luhya rural dwellers who are seven percent more likely to express a belief in commonality than their rural counterparts. One's employment seems to matter depending on the group of belonging. Employed Luos are 6 percent less likely than agriculturalists to express a strong belief in commonality, whereas this very group among the Kamba, are seven percent more likely than agriculturalists to express a strong belief in commonality. Among the Kikuyu, those who are self-employed or dependent are eight percent and nine percent less likely to express a sense of commonality, all else equal. Luhya dependents are 11 percent less likely to express commonality. Separate from one's employment status, one's propensity to believe in commonality is also conditioned by their economic situation. Among the Kikuyu, for instance, those whose economic situation stayed the same or worsened, the likelihood of expressing a strong sense of commonality is eight percent lower than those whose economic situation improved. It should be noted that it is only among the Kikuyu that all the economic variables (job type and economic situation) are all in the negative direction; in the other groups there is variation in the direction of the relationship.

Table 3.7: Commonality Within Ethnic Groups

Commonality	Luo	Kamba	Kikuyu	Luhya
Male	0.456***	0.00431	0.198**	-0.290**
	(0.143)	(0.153)	(0.0998)	(0.130)
Urban	-0.524***	-0.101	-0.124	-0.160
	(0.163)	(0.168)	(0.108)	(0.136)
Self-Employed	-0.255	0.275	-0.432***	-0.207
	(0.190)	(0.222)	(0.133)	(0.163)
Dependent	-0.365	-0.113	-0.491*	-0.618*
	(0.397)	(0.413)	(0.298)	(0.336)
Employed	-0.338*	0.438*	-0.242	-0.0903
	(0.204)	(0.224)	(0.148)	(0.180)
Age	-0.0413	0.0114	-0.00385	0.0114
	(0.0634)	(0.0730)	(0.0484)	(0.0576)
Education	-0.00397	-0.0244	-0.0172	0.00882
	(0.0201)	(0.0211)	(0.0144)	(0.0173)
Econ. Stayed the Same	-0.189	-0.432**	-0.182	-0.159
	(0.166)	(0.173)	(0.116)	(0.153)
Econ. Worsened	0.124	-0.329	-0.398***	0.190
	(0.166)	(0.218)	(0.130)	(0.160)
Econ. Unsure	0.437	0.510	-0.368	0.664
	(0.714)	(0.519)	(0.603)	(1.127)
Constant cut1	-2.360***	-1.665***	-2.205***	-1.469***
	(0.315)	(0.370)	(0.246)	(0.281)
Constant cut2	-0.831***	-0.477	-1.167***	-0.391
	(0.302)	(0.364)	(0.239)	(0.276)
Constant cut3	0.532*	1.034***	0.438*	0.820***
	(0.302)	(0.367)	(0.237)	(0.276)
Observations	729	584	1,363	829

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Linked Fate

In considering linked fate, the only variable across all groups that is a predictor of their propensity to claim a belief in the sentiment is their previous expression of commonality (Table 8). Those who express a belief in commonality are also likely to believe that their life chances are intertwined with those of co-ethnics. There appears to be a linear increase and correlation between the two variables. Among the Luo, the only two other variables that prove predictive are gender and age: Luo men are five percent less likely to express a strong belief in linked fate than Luo women, all else equal, while the older one is, the more likely they are to express a strong sense of linked fate. This is contrast to the Kamba whose urban population is 10 percent less likely to express a sense of linked fate, a magnitude that closely matches that of those whose economic situation stayed the same– they are nine percent less likely to express a strong sense of linked fate. For those Kikuyu whose economic situation worsened the likelihood of perceiving of a strong level of linked fate is five percent lower than that of those whose economic situation improved. Kikuyu dependents are also 17

percent more likely to express a strong belief in linked fate. Among the Luhya, there are no variables that reach statistical significance.

Table 3.8: Linked Fate Within Ethnic Groups

Linked Fate	Luo	Kamba	Kikuyu	Luhya
A Little	1.046***	0.624**	0.792***	0.793***
	(0.277)	(0.263)	(0.213)	(0.236)
A Fair Amount	1.227***	1.313***	1.033***	1.177***
	(0.279)	(0.254)	(0.195)	(0.235)
A Great Amount	2.031***	2.104***	2.045***	2.512***
	(0.293)	(0.284)	(0.215)	(0.258)
Male	-0.291*	-0.0744	-0.167	0.173
	(0.175)	(0.177)	(0.127)	(0.165)
Urban	0.245	-0.651***	0.126	-0.0465
	(0.197)	(0.194)	(0.140)	(0.173)
Self-Employed	0.236	0.310	0.00968	0.141
	(0.233)	(0.257)	(0.180)	(0.213)
Dependent	0.567	0.0641	0.889**	-0.513
	(0.465)	(0.436)	(0.438)	(0.443)
Employed	0.173	0.286	0.00754	0.0294
	(0.251)	(0.261)	(0.194)	(0.225)
Age	0.185**	0.0642	-0.0255	0.0762
	(0.0776)	(0.0860)	(0.0619)	(0.0745)
Education	-0.0213	0.0321	-0.0204	0.0116
	(0.0252)	(0.0261)	(0.0187)	(0.0220)
Econ. Stayed the Same	-0.0717	-0.625***	0.140	-0.0391
	(0.198)	(0.202)	(0.149)	(0.192)
Econ. Worsened	0.342*	-0.0955	0.330**	0.00226
	(0.205)	(0.248)	(0.166)	(0.210)
Econ. Unsure	0.403	-0.273	-0.376	-0.134
	(0.862)	(0.588)	(0.717)	(1.280)
Constant cut1	0.477	0.353	0.438	0.625
	(0.453)	(0.471)	(0.340)	(0.388)
Constant cut2	2.862***	2.577***	2.360***	2.766***
	(0.470)	(0.486)	(0.349)	(0.406)
Observations	570	506	924	578

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Leader Fate

One's propensity to express a strong believe in leader fate is strongly influenced by their belief in shared commonalities with co-ethnics (Table 9). The stronger one's belief in commonality is, the stronger their belief in leader fate. Among the Luo, no other variable reaches statistical significance. Among the Kamba self-employed individuals are five percent more likely to express leader fate than others, all else equal, whereas among self-employed Kikuyu, this number is three percent less likely. It is also among the Kikuyu, that we see that urban dwellers are 3 percent more likely to express a belief in leader fate than their rural counterparts. Older and more educated Kikuyu are also significantly less likely to express a belief in leader fate.

Table 3.9: Leader Fate Within Groups

LEADER FATE	Luo	Kamba	Kikuyu	Luhya
A Little	0.751**	0.746***	0.857***	0.978***
	(0.292)	(0.279)	(0.230)	(0.244)
A Fair Amount	0.885***	1.355***	0.815***	0.851***
	(0.295)	(0.267)	(0.210)	(0.246)
A great Amount	1.428***	1.413***	1.228***	2.002***
	(0.308)	(0.291)	(0.224)	(0.261)
Male	-0.0532	-0.182	0.147	0.0586
	(0.180)	(0.179)	(0.132)	(0.174)
Urban	0.143	-0.111	0.281*	-0.307*
	(0.211)	(0.201)	(0.145)	(0.181)
Self-Employed	-0.152	0.617**	-0.0276	-0.0503
	(0.249)	(0.264)	(0.184)	(0.221)
Dependent	0.204	0.363	0.123	0.508
	(0.530)	(0.461)	(0.384)	(0.466)
Employed	-0.101	-0.0158	-0.0131	-0.286
	(0.259)	(0.270)	(0.204)	(0.240)
Age	-0.00528	0.0368	-0.147**	-0.0301
	(0.0817)	(0.0865)	(0.0649)	(0.0773)
Education	-0.00196	0.0118	-0.0628***	0.00493
	(0.0250)	(0.0256)	(0.0195)	(0.0229)
Econ. Stayed the Same	0.0919	-0.178	0.279*	0.209
	(0.210)	(0.205)	(0.153)	(0.200)
Econ. Worsened	0.215	0.180	0.239	0.319
	(0.211)	(0.265)	(0.176)	(0.214)
Econ. Unsure	0.797	0.302	0.172	-0.814
	(0.916)	(0.608)	(0.770)	(1.558)
Constant cut1	-0.150	0.893*	0.107	0.424
	(0.456)	(0.477)	(0.373)	(0.384)
Constant cut2	1.983***	2.859***	1.816***	2.124***
	(0.465)	(0.492)	(0.378)	(0.395)
Observations	508	488	873	536

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

3.4 Conclusion

The analysis demonstrates that ethnic groups do not exhibit the typically argued for level of cohesion. There is variation in the extent to which ethnic groups subjectively think of themselves as both having things in common and having their life chances intertwined. This variation also appears to correlate with their history with ethnic associations. Ethnic groups with associations that focused their attention on creating a coherent identity, such as the Kikuyu and Luo, are more likely than the Kamba or Luhya to express a belief in commonality. The Luo, however, remain the group significantly most likely to believe that their life chances are linked to those of both co-ethnics and co-ethnic politicians winning political office. This is because consecutive Luo ethnic associations worked to link electoral and policy outcomes to the identity and coordinated their political elite under a single banner. The other groups' ethnic associations were either multiple and divided (Kikuyu ethnic associations) or short-lived due to intra-regional or intra-clan differences (Kamba and Luhya) that this linking did not successfully happen.

The analysis also shows that the results conform to expectations laid out prior to and close to elections. Once elections are over, the results of linked fate and leader fate, by and large disappear. This may be because the political aspects of the identity, namely linked fate and leader fate, are primed more during elections rather than whether individuals within an ethnic community share certain characteristics in common. Feelings of commonality, or their absence, may be something individuals perpetually feel, rather than something that can be easily primed by politicians during elections. That the pre-electoral results conform to the expectations laid out demonstrates that elections in Africa do not always have the unifying effects attributed to them. Depending on the history of the group, they (elections) can expose divisions that lie dormant between elections making it harder for particular politicians to create outright winning coalitions within the group. In the next chapter, I argue that politicians are aware of these group divisions and exploit them for their own political purposes. This leads to intra-group political competition that varies depending on the location of the ethnic group and their history with ethnic associations.

Chapter 4

Ethnic Groupness and Candidate Entry/Supply

4.1 Introduction

In sub-Saharan Africa, where ethnic allegiances and electoral institutions are believed to predict elite and voter behavior — candidates will mobilize co-ethnics and voters will reward these co-ethnic candidates with their support— the observed variation in the number of political options available to voters during elections needs to be addressed. In Kenya, for instance, the Luo ethnic group has consistently had a single party credibly vie for its vote, whereas the Kikuyu and Luhya ethnic groups, have had two to three parties vying for their vote. At the constituency level, Luo dominated districts have also experienced lower candidate entry numbers on average — between 2.5 and 5.2 — than the Luhya or Kikuyu districts —between 5 and 16.25 — across multiple electoral periods. Given that these parties function under an institutional arrangement that offers similar rewards and exerts similar constraints — low entry costs, high benefits to office and the uncertain probabilities of victory given short political histories (Cox, 1997; Tavits, 2006), it is puzzling that voters face such stark differences in choice.

To investigate this phenomenon, I ask how the elites' self-interested motivations for pursuing political office, are moderated by the social environment in which they operate. With current explanations of either candidate/party entry or social cleavages failing to address this variation of party supply across groups, I propose that scholars ought to consider both how individuals understand/perceive of their ethnic identities and how these perceptions coordinate group members enough politically to shape the incentives politicians face when deciding whether or not to run for office. This socio-psychological sentiment, which includes a sense of commonality, linked fate, and leader fate, when strong leads individuals being more united in their political preferences and behaviour allowing for politicians to infer the amount of political space available for contest. Where ethnic groupness levels are high, fewer candidates will enter the electoral race than in areas with low groupness levels.

The effect of groupness, as the results reveal, on candidate entry is both mechanism and coalition specific. For the Jubilee Coalition, what matters for candidate entry is the area's level of commonality, whereas for the CORD coalition it is the level of leader fate. In both instances, the groupness mechanisms work to reduce/limit candidate entry, a finding that supports the proposed hypothesis. The finding holds even when controlling intra-coalition competition, which tends to significantly alter politicians' incentive structures. Overall, the results point to the importance of considering how different mechanisms function within ethnic groups to produce different political outcomes. The inquiry further contributes to our understanding of the factors that either promote or hinder the creation of stable party systems in democratizing states. If party entry is relatively easy and the system volatile with new and short-lived parties appearing at every electoral cycle, creating stable links and loyalties between parties and voters will be difficult(Mainwaring, Scully et al., 1995; Bratton and Van de Walle, 1997; Kuenzi and Lambright, 2001). Party institutionalization, in such

instances, will not be achieved.

The chapter is structured in the following manner: the next section discusses the current state of the field on party/candidate entry, alongside their limitations in explaining across group variation in supply. I then lay out my theory of ethnic groupness and its proposed effect on candidate entry. The following section presents the empirical framework used to test the theory while the final two sections discuss the results the findings' implications.

4.2 Current State of the Literature

The literature on African party systems often overlooks the factors that influence party entry. Instead, much of its focus is on party volatility and the effects of such volatility on the development of stable party systems. The variables used to explain this volatility, however, are also used in the wider comparative politics literature to explain party entry. It is for this reason that I do not distinguish between the two and simply rely on Cox (1997) theory of party entry being a function of the entry costs, benefits of office and the probability of receiving electoral support. Entry, modelled in this way, is the result of an interactive and iterative game between parties and groups.

The costs of entry are usually proxied using several institutional variables that include registration and electoral rules. Registration rules include the financial cost of registering a party, the number of signatures necessary to form a party and the availability of public funding for parties (Hug, 2001). The higher the resource threshold parties need to meet in order to register, the lower the number of entrants. Entry decisions are also influenced by the electoral system's proportionality: the more proportional it and the district magnitude are, the more likely new parties are to emerge. Proportional systems reduce the cost of entry by lowering the number of votes a party or candidate needs to win office. Cross-national analyses of this effect, however, yield mixed results: Golder (2003); Jackman and Volpert (1996); Redding and Viterna (1999); Tavits (2006), for instance, find in support of the hypothesis, while Harmel and Robertson (1985); Hauss and Rayside (1978); Meguid (2005); Van der Brug, Fennema and Tillie (2005) find minimal differences between electoral systems types and their relationship to new party success.

Politicians being instrumentally rational, are heavily influenced by the monetary reward and prestige associated with political office. In sub-Saharan Africa, these incentives are particularly salient, even after factoring in the cost of running a credible and successful campaign. According to Lindberg (2010) the cost of a parliamentary campaign in Ghana can be as high as $40,000; not an insignificant amount given the continent's level of economic development. Gaining political office, however, gives politicians access to state resources that they can then channel to their constituencies; in Kenya, for instance, Members of Parliament have access to and control over the committees responsible for the disbursement of millions of shillings in constituency development funds. Arriola et al. 2016, in fact, find that Members of Parliament are particularly adept a channeling these funds to discretionary sectors such as bursaries and administrative costs, which give them access to funds that they can use to maintain their clientelistic ties. [1]

Even if the costs of entry are low and the benefits of office are high, parties and their candidates must take into account their probability of electoral success (Cox, 1997). Calculations of electoral viability are determined by electoral histories: the longer a nation's history with democratic electoral practice, the better the information available to parties who wish to run for office. Where there is little or no electoral history, as is often the case in new democracies, it is unclear at the time of entry which parties are viable. Such uncertainty allows entrants to perceive themselves as having an equal chance of victory as their rivals, especially if voters are able to vote sincerely. One can argue that this is the situation in sub-Saharan Africa, even after several rounds of elections after the re-introduction of multi-party politics in the early 1990s. Credible information regarding parties remains scarce and pre-election polls are publicly mistrusted. This uncertainty is expected to diminish as more elections are conducted and as conditions for better electoral co-ordination emerge. With time and practice, parties establish histories of electability that allow instrumentally rational voters

[1] In addition to the electoral incentives, politicians may also care about influencing policy. In sub-Saharan Africa where parties are often devoid of programmatic policies, assessing the utility of running for office as a means of achieving policy preferences would be futile.

to vote for more viable alternatives. Such strategic behaviour on the part of the voter provides party elites with information with which they can update their expectations and modify their behaviour with respect to their electoral viability. Parties that survive several consecutive elections can expect to be more viable than newcomers in future elections.

The country's system of government can also influence party entry. Studies of Eastern European politics argue that the existence of a directly elected executive president may be seen as a more valuable and influential political office than a position in a legislature. Given that parties serve as the primary mechanism through which to launch a bid for the presidency, systems that have a directly elected president provide a higher potential benefit from forming a party than systems that do not have such an office. For this office to be worth pursuing, the directly elected executive should be more than a symbolic head of state. Systems with directly elected and powerful presidents are expected to increase the potential benefits of forming a political party, hence encouraging new entrants.

Despite their contribution to our understanding of the conditions under which new parties emerge, these theories, including those that factor in social diversity or homogeneity, fail to take into account the variation in the entry decisions of politicians within groups. Though homogeneous groups may have less space for the development of new issues around which new parties can organize and mobilize support, this may not always be the case. In the case of Kenya, as previously mentioned, the Luo ethnic group has consistently had a single party credibly vie for the group's vote, while the Kikuyu and Kamba have had two to three parties emerge to vie for office. This is particularly interesting given the groups exist within the same institutional and historical environment; that is, a presidential and First-Past-The-Post (FPTP) single member district electoral system that has similar benefits to office for those who win. The existence of such variation across groups, despite the similarity in institutional restrictions, means that we need to consider whether the cost of entry are influenced by some other factor not previously captured by existing models. To test this, the following analysis holds these variables constant.

4.2.1 Groupness and the Number of Candidates

My argument holds that the socio-psychological makeup of the ethnic group —the perceptions/understanding of the ethnic identity and their influence on behaviour — imposes entry costs, not previously considered, on candidates and parties. Groupness is a factor that is made up of three mechanisms: commonality (the belief that individuals within a group share a common lot in language, culture, history etc), linked fate (the belief that their life chances are intertwined with those of co-ethnics), and leader fate (the belief that their life chances are determined by having a co-ethnic politician win national office). Where these three are high, the expectation is for groups to be more cohesive as they view their life chances as intertwined and will therefore make political decisions based on their benefit to the group rather than to the individual. Politicians who come from ethnic groups where groupness levels are high have less of a chance of dividing the group's political allegiances as there are less issues domains upon which to credibly mount a campaign.

Politicians are made aware of (or reminded of) the level of groupness that exists within their ethnic group through the endorsements made by their community's ethnic associations, which act to coordinate both the public and the group's political elite. Endorsements are particularly useful in low information societies where alternative sources of news regarding the party or candidate and how they will be of benefit to the group are scarce. The endorsements act as a heuristic that enables elites and masses to align their political behavior with the preferences of their associations. They communicate to the ethnic group whom they should support while conveying to the entrepreneurial co-ethnic political elite that the group's vote is not "up for grabs". Intra-ethnic competition, and by extension high candidate entry, is likely to be contained as long as associations are able to reduce uncertainty about the group's cohesion by maintaining a strong link between the ethnic identity and political preferences.

Ethnic associations further reinforce groupness by coordinating elite actions. Associations not only use their political rhetoric to align the interests of co-ethnic elites and masses, but they also have the organizational resources to reward elites who fall in line and punish those who fail to do so. Ethnic association leaders tend to be wealthy and well-connected individuals who hold sway in their communities. They have the financial resources to influence both the incentives of political entrants and the behavior of their co-ethnic

voters. They even actively campaign for candidates: at the height of the single party era in Kenya, the Luo Union actively campaigned for particular candidates against those who were endorsed and supported by government; in the multiparty era, Arriola (2012) discusses how Kikuyu councils of elders within the Democratic Party (D.P.) were instrumental in fundraising for Kibaki's presidential bids. Ethnic associations and their leaders thus effectively define the space available for political contestation within the ethnic group. Ethnic associations that maintain consistency in rhetoric, endorsements and resource distribution are more likely to contain intra-ethnic competition. I, therefore, hypothesize that fewer candidates are going to enter where ethnic associations have been successful in cultivating ethnic groupness.

H1: High ethnic groupness — commonality, linked fate and leader fate — will be associated with lower candidate entry in constituency parliamentary races.

Prior to delving into the empirical strategy, the following section discusses how ethnic associations have attempted to coordinate their political elite and limit co-ethnic entry with varying success. Though the focus is on presidential candidates, I argue that their effect trickles down to parliamentary candidates whose political fates overlap with those aspiring for higher office. For brevity, I limit the discussion to four of the country's most politically relevant ethnic groups: Luhya, Luo, Kikuyu, and Kamba.

4.2.2 Ethnic Association Endorsements in Kenya

The role ethnic associations play in Kenyan politics is often understated in the academic literature. Over several electoral cycles these associations have, with varying degrees of success, managed to seal the fate of various aspiring co-ethnic candidates . The Luo Union (currently the Luo Council of Elders), for instance, has had a significant role in determining the electoral prospects of their candidates, even under non democratic electoral governments. During the single party Kenya National African Union (KANU) era, candidates endorsed by the ruling party had to rely on the Luo Union's endorsements and intervention to gain community support. The Union's support, however, was contingent on candidates being pro-Odinga, the Union's preferred candidate. In Gem constituency, for instance, a sitting minister lost his seat to a candidate who had the Luo Union's and Odinga's endorsement. The coordination strategies —active endorsements and campaigning— employed by the Luo Union and its predecessors over decades have remained intact even in the multi-party era. The Luo Council of Elders, much like its predecessor, is remains deeply involved in determining the ethnic community's political direction. Jaramogi Oginga, and subsequently his son, Raila, received the group's endorsement to compete in successive presidential elections. Raila, having taken over following his father's death, regularly consults the Council of Elders prior to making any political moves. When he started cooperating with former ruling party in 1997, it was at the insistence of the Council. Had Raila refused to comply with the Council's wishes, he would "have been rendered [politically] irrelevant" (Morrison, 2007, p.503). Even when Luo politician Rafael Tuju announced his intention to compete for the 2013 presidency, the Luo Council of Elders convened a meeting to discuss the ramifications such an announcement and action would have on both the group and Raila's chances of victory in the 2013 elections. The Council, despite proclamations of its commitment to democratic values, actively discouraged Tuju from running for office, emphasizing the need for group "unity". Council members also publicly described Tuju as a traitor who was in the pocket of the affluent elites from other ethnic groups and was therefore only interested in splitting the community's vote. Tuju eventually dropped his presidential bid as a result.

Unlike the Luo, the Luhya's Council of Elders has not had much success in controlling its political elite, leading to a proliferation presidential candidates and divided ethnic loyalties. Part of the reason is a lack of clarity regarding its mission: in its early years, Council leaders publicly stated that its mission was to bring economic empowerment and unity to the community rather than anoint the group's political leader. Appointing a group leader, given the group's internal diversity —several clans and sub-tribes— was seen as both untenable and beyond the Council's mandate. It was not until 2001 that the Council waded into the political arena and endorsed Ford-Kenya's Kijana Wamalwa as the Luhya leader, dismissing fellow co-ethnic and cabinet minister Musalia Mudavadi as a political lightweight.[2] Council leaders urged Musalia Mudavadi to give up his presidential bid because he had failed to unite other Luhya leaders, unlike Wamalwa, who

[2]One would expect the Council to favour the candidate with direct access to state resources as they would be able to credibly deliver goods and services to the group.

had done so by including them in his party's leadership. The Council quickly reversed its endorsement following protests in Kakamega and Vihiga, which were Mudavadi strongholds. This time, Council leaders claimed that Wamalwa would receive its endorsement if Mudavadi decided not to run for the presidency and urged him to drop his presidential bid in support of Mudavadi. Wamalwa, however, refused to comply and maintained his party. By being unable to coordinate the group's political elite, the council left the group's vote up for internal contest, and candidates able to affiliate with the co-ethnics parties. The effect is an increase in the number of political candidate/party options voters have.

Kikuyu political elite have repeatedly resisted their council's attempts to coordinate them under a single party banner. The Kikuyu Council of Elders often uses the rhetoric of fear and ostracization as an elite coordination strategy. It argues that co-ethnics who compete against their chosen candidate are traitors who must to abandon their presidential ambitions lest they be labeled outsiders. Council leaders have even gone as far to claim that through democracy is important "[their ethnic] unity is [far more] important." Furthermore, Council leaders warned co-ethnic competitors that they will receive little political support from the group due to their acts of treason. These threats bore little fruit when the council attempted to rally the political elite behind Uhuru Kenyatta in the 2013 election. Co-ethnic candidates, Martha Karua and Peter Kenneth, did not see the Council as being representative of either the Kikuyu, or the nation's voting population. Karua believed that the political arena ought to be open and competitive, without any of the reservations or advance bookings made by the Council of Elders. Furthermore, she asserted believed that the ethnic group's council of leaders to be a recent invention that had no business deciding political matters (Kanyinga, 2011).

The Kamba Council of Elders, much like other ethnic associations appeared in the multiparty era in an attempt to determine the community's political future. When Kalonzo Musyoka was appointed the country's Vice-President in 2008, the Kamba Council of Elders, supported of the politician. They tried to remedy differences between him and Charity Ngilu, two of the group's most prominent politicians: Musyoka had a long history working in government while Ngilu was the first female presidential candidate in the country and a strong opposition member. A tussle between these two political heavyweights would, in the Council's eyes, unnecessarily and with grave consequences, split the group's vote. They urged the community, including Ngilu's supporters, to rally behind the candidate since he had attained the highest office in the community. The Council also stood behind Musyoka when he forsook ODM-Kenya and urged other Kamba political elites to support him.

The Council, however, was unable to achieve the level of elite coordination they hoped for. Ahead of the 2013 elections, Kamba allies of Uhuru Kenyatta convened a meeting to chart the community's political destiny without Kalonzo, who was forming a coalition with Raila Odinga. They wanted the Kamba to shift their support from Kalonzo in favour of the non co-ethnic Uhuru Kenyatta for the presidency. A month after deeming Musyoka unworthy of their endorsement, the Council reversed their stance and endorsed him as the group's leader. The endorsement did nothing to rally the other aspirants to abandon their own bids and rally behind the council's preferred candidate. The political and council elite were also, divided on which coalition to back with some opting for Mudavadi's and others for Uhuru's Jubilee Coalition, leading to even further electoral division.

With ethnic associations varying in the extent to which their endorsements are deemed credible by the group's political elite, it is no wonder that there is variation in the political supply and entry across groups. When aspiring candidates are able to challenge the credibility of their ethnic associations by standing for office, they provide those seeking lower office with alternative vehicles with which to vie for office. The following section seeks to empirically assess the claim that ethnic groupness as cultivated by ethnic associations has an observable effect on the entry decisions made by candidates and their parties.

4.3 Empirical Strategy: Data and Measurement

The data used in this analysis come from original survey data gathered during Kenya's 2013 electoral period and both its electoral and statistical bureaus. These data are used to create district level estimates of groupness and subsequent analysis uses those very estimates as covariates in random intercept hierarchical

models that examine their effect constituency party supply, proxied by the number of parliamentary candidates in a constituency race. The hypothesis that is tested is whether the level of groupness — commonality, linked fate, and leader fate — at the district level will have an dampening effect on the political behavior of elites and their decisions to vie for political office at the constituency level; that is higher groupness levels will be inversely related to the number of candidates in a race.

The data's structure — groupness estimates at the district/county level (level 2) and the outcome variable at the constituency level (level 1) -– makes multilevel analysis useful because they help account for statistical dependencies that occur within clusters of the hierarchically organized data. The analytical approach also adjusts for the degrees of freedom associated with the number of aggregate units in the data. Using traditional linear models for such data would prove problematic as they rely on basic independence assumptions that would not be met because the observations are grouped into districts. Constituencies within districts share certain characteristics and tend to be more similar to others within their districts than to those in located in other districts. Constituencies in different districts may be independent, but constituencies within a district share many similar traits. Accordingly, a hierarchical linear model (HLM) that incorporates the multilevel structural characteristic of the data is appropriate. The analysis can be represented in the following manner:

$$Y_i = \alpha_{j[i]} + \beta x_i + \epsilon \tag{4.1}$$

$$\alpha_j = a + b_{uj} + n_j \tag{4.2}$$

where x_i and u_j symbolize predictors at the constituency and district levels; ϵ and n_j are independent error terms at each of the two levels.

The nested approach is informed by two facts: the history of political organization in the country and data constraints. In the pre-independence period, political organization occurred at the district level and it is at this level that ethnic associations mainly operated and mobilized co-ethnics. Their efforts were helped by the concentration of co-ethnics in district clusters. I also focus on groupness at the district rather than constituency level for methodological reasons. The survey data used to measure groupness were collected at the district rather than constituency level. Applying these district level measures directly to the constituency level would yield biased estimates since not all constituencies were sampled. The outcome variable of interest, measured at the constituency level, is the number of candidates.

Candidate supply is operationalized as the count of candidates who enter a parliamentary race in a constituency. I use this metric rather than the effective number of candidates, because it conveys information beyond which candidates voters thought were competitive. The raw count gives us a better sense of the candidates who decided to run, regardless of public perception of their viability.

The primary covariates are the groupness estimates, which are at the district level. Each of the model results presented assesses the impact of the particular groupness aspect on the candidate's entry decision. Controls included in the analysis are primarily constituency level indicators such as population size (logged), urban status, and newness i.e. if the constituency was created in 2010. Higher population levels may signal more diverse interests that need to be catered to in the political arena. As a result, candidates may feel that they have a higher probability of victory if they can appeal to even a small segment of the population. The log of the total population is included to proxy for the weight of a single vote whereby the larger the population the lower the weight. Urban constituencies may have more diverse interests in need addressing and therefore leading to an increase in the number of candidates. New constituencies may also be sites for fierce political competition as candidates and their parties wish to establish their dominance in a new arena. I, therefore, expect higher number of candidates in new constituencies.[3]

I also include the degree of ethno-linguistic fractionalization at the county/district level. The index

[3]The number of constituencies between 2007 and 2013 changed from 210 to 290. In some instances constituencies were split into two and in others entirely new constituencies were carved out of old ones. In both those instances I impute the data from the previous constituency to the newly constructed constituencies. Webuye constituency, for instance, was split into Webuye East and Webuye West. I therefore applied the population rate from 2007 to the new constituencies.

takes on values between 0 (homogeneous) and 1 (strongly fractionalized). [4] Controlling for the level of ethnic heterogeneity in each model allows us to test for its effect on candidate entry. Current expectations do not give us clear expectations regarding the effect of ethnic diversity on candidate/party entry. On the one hand, there is literature that holds linguistic homogeneity should increase the number of candidates (Hug 2001), while on the other there is literature that states heterogeneity should also increase the number of candidates.

It should also be noted that I do not include the lagged values of the number of candidates in the analysis. This is because previous candidate rates may have already been affected by the level of groupness and their inclusion would yield biased estimates.

4.3.1 Groupness Estimates in Kenyan Districts Using Multilevel and Post-stratification Regression

Prior to employing the random intercept model, I first use multi-level regression and post-stratification (MRP) to create district level estimates of groupness from survey and census data (Gelman and Little, 1997; Park, Gelman and Bafumi, 2006).

Estimation of public opinion at the district level using MRP is preferred to disaggregation because it generates more accurate and reliable estimates. Disaggregation requires several over time surveys asking about groupness, in equally similar ways, until each district has a sufficient number of observations from which to draw inferences (Erikson, Wright and McIver, 1993). Lax and Phillips (2009) and Warshaw and Rodden (2012), however, show that MRP outperforms disaggregation even when one uses cross-sectional surveys with smaller sample sizes within districts as is often common in nationally representative surveys— MRP places less weight on group-level variation as the sample sizes declines.

MRP has two stages: first, a hierarchical logistic regression, and second, poststratification. In the multilevel regression stage individual survey responses are modeled as functions of demographic and geographic typologies using a hierarchical logistic regression. In the poststratification stage opinion estimates for each district are weighted by the percentages of each demographic-geographic type using census data. Resulting estimates can then be used as explanatory variables in subsequent analyses; in this case, to explain political competition.

In the first step, a regression model for individual survey responses is fit given their demographic nature (sex, education, age) and geography (county):

$$Pr(y_i=1)=logit^{-1}(\beta + \alpha_j^{gender} + \alpha_k^{age} + \alpha_l^{edu} + \alpha_m^{district}) \tag{4.3}$$

Ethnicity is not included in the model because this information is not available from the 2009 Census. Given the geographic concentration of ethnic groups in districts — a majority of districts have ethnic fractionalization scores below .5— this may not pose a significant problem. The groupness estimates obtained would still reflect the perception of groupness in a given district that is dominated by a particular ethnic group. According to census data, only seven of the 47 counties/districts are considered multi-ethnic: Marsabit, Embu, Nakuru, Busia and Migori, Mombasa and Nairobi. With the exception of the latter two, the constituencies in each of the other five districts mirror the national pattern of group dominance. In Busia, for instance, two of its seven constituencies are dominated by the Teso and the other five by the Luhya. As a result, the derived groupness estimates reflect this diversity within districts.

The terms after the intercept are modeled effects for the various groups of respondents. Each is drawn from a normal distribution with mean zero and some estimated variance:

$$\alpha_j \sim N(0, \sigma^2 gender), \text{ for } i=1,2 \tag{4.4}$$

[4] The Herfindahl concentration formula is: ELF = 1-$\sum_{i=1}^{n} s_i^2$ where s_i is the share of group $i (i=1, \ldots, n)$.

$$\alpha_k \sim N\ (0,\ \sigma^2 age),\ for\ i=1,\ldots,4 \tag{4.5}$$

$$\alpha_l \sim N\ (0,\ \sigma^2 edu),\ for\ i=1,\ldots,7 \tag{4.6}$$

District effects are modeled as a function of the percentage of people who live in rural areas and the percentage of people who are poor.

$$\alpha_m^{district} \sim N\ (\alpha + \beta^{p.rural} * p.rural + \beta^{p.poor} * p.poor\ ,\ \sigma^2_{district}),\ for\ m=1,\ldots,47 \tag{4.7}$$

Finally,three outcome variables are estimated using the method: commonality, linked fate and leader fate. In each model, the outcome variable is recoded to be dichotomous: 1 indicating a strong belief in the measure and 0 opposition to the measure.[5] Those who offer no opinion are kept in the analysis since the post-stratification census data takes into everyone into account not just those with opinions on groupness.[6]

The model is fit in R using the LMER function. The multilevel modeling partially pools the group level parameters toward their mean. There is more pooling when the group level standard deviation is small and more smoothing for groups with fewer observations.

Once the logistic regression produces estimates for the probability of an individual's strong belief in one of the measures of groupness given their age, sex, education and district, I compute the weighted averages of these probabilities to estimate the proportion of such support in each district. This is done using the post-stratification file that contains demographic types of each person in each county. For example the number of males, aged 18-24, who have completed a high school education, in Kericho, is 1,376. The post-stratification file has 3,008 observations, each representing a particular person-type in every county/district. By specifying a set of individual demographic and geographic values, the results of the opinion model above allow us to make a prediction of strong belief in groupness. The resulting prediction in each cell is then weighted by the actual population frequency of that cell, followed by a calculation of the average response for each cell in every district.

I then calculate a weighted average of these three mechanisms —commonality, linked fate and leader fate — to come up with a measure of groupness for each district. The estimates vary from 38.66 in Kirinyaga to 73.11 in Isiolo (Table 1). The estimates derived from the MRP method are then entered into a multilevel model as group level predictors for political behaviour and competition.[7]

4.3.2 Alternative Explanations

An additional control that I include in the analysis is the occurrence of intra-coalition competition within each constituency. Failure to account for this phenomenon could yield potentially biased estimates, given the nature of the 2013 Kenyan elections. Any discovered effect of ethnic groupness on party supply at the constituency level, may actually be due to the occurrence of intra-coalition competition. During this election, four pre-electoral coalitions — JUBILEE, CORD, AMANI and EAGLE— formed in the months leading up to the election. These multi-ethnic pre-electoral coalitions conformed to convention by having their principals coordinate their national efforts, particularly for the offices of president and vice president. These coordination efforts, however, failed to trickle down to lower offices. That is to say, candidates from

[5]For reference the questions asked to measure tap into these sentiments are: How much do you think you have in common with [INSERT NAME OF ETHNIC GROUP DOMINATING IN REGION OF INTERVIEW]? Response options are: 1. Nothing; 2. Only A Little; 3.A Fair Amount; 4. A Great Amount; Do you think what happens to [INSERT NAME OF ETHNIC GROUP DOMINATING IN REGION OF INTERVIEW] in this country will affect what happens in your life? Response options are: 1.No; 2. Yes, A Little; 3. Yes, A Lot.; Do you think that the ability of a [INSERT NAME OF ETHNIC GROUP DOMINATING IN REGION OF INTERVIEW] leader to win a national election will affect what happens in your life? Response options are: 1.No; 2. Yes, A Little; 3. Yes, A Lot

[6]The district level estimates derived using MRP and the subsequent analysis do not change the meaning of the results when the variables are dichotomized differently; that is, when the the linked fate and leader fate "Yes, a little" and "No" options are coded as being opposed to the measure.

[7]A table with the derived scores is available in the chapter's appendix.

different parties but those allied to the same coalition were permitted to compete against each other for the same parliamentary seat; for example, candidates from two affiliated members of the CORD coalition, the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) and Wiper Democratic Movement (Wiper/WDM) competed against each other in Malava constituency. Intra-coalition competition occurred in 88% of constituencies.

Such competition can have altering effects on the calculations that candidates who wish to run for office engage in. Specifically, intra-coalition competition minimizes the costs that candidates face when deciding whether to cast their hats in the race. By pledging allegiance to the presidential candidate of the coalition but running under the banner of an affiliated party, the candidate continues to have a viable vehicle through which to win office. Presidential candidates effectively served as party leaders for all the parties within their respective coalitions. Co-ethnic operatives who would otherwise have lost the nomination and stayed out of the political race had their been joint nominations, now had viable exit options. They could join their ethnic group's endorsed and preferred coalition and still have a shot at winning the desired seat; the lack of coordination within coalitions lowered the entry costs for these lower office candidates.

If we assume that every party leader has candidates who pledge allegiance to her, then in societies where groupness levels are high, non-viable candidates will abandon their bids for office. This has the effect of eliminating the political aspirations of her local candidates/operatives. I argue that groupness will continue to work in a similar fashion even under conditions of coalition politics. The group's elite will coalesce around a particular coalition and the group's political entrepreneurs seek that coalition's nomination. If unsuccessful, they will stay out of the race because they realize that their chances of political victory by joining forces with an outside option are low. As a result, we should expect to see a lower number of candidates enter the race under conditions of high groupness.

Tsbelis' work on coalitions may give us insight into the dynamics surrounding the reasons why coalition would allow internal competition (Tsebelis, 1990). According to his theory, coalition cohesion is dependent on electoral dynamics; where the electoral contest between coalitions are expected to end in a tie, then intra-coalition unity is more likely (C(A)=C(B)). Coalitions will enforce discipline as they wish to win enough seats. If, however, there is potential for a tie to occur between members of the coalition, then within coalition cohesion is much less likely to occur (Party A v Party B within the coalition). Unfortunately, properly assessing these ex-ante probabilities of competition either within or between coalitions in the Kenyan context is difficult since reliable polling data is scarce.

Coalition leaders may also permit members to compete against each other if there is an asymmetry in information between them and masses and if they enjoy a monopoly over representing the group. Leaders must take into account whether the public has sufficient information about their action and if they support them. When the public knows, understands, and sympathizes with the reasons motivating the elites behavior, they will adjust their expectations and behaviour to match those of the elites. In such instances, the elite may allow intra-coalition competition and pursue a game of chicken as they are sure of the public's support at the polls. If, however, the masses are aware of the elites' strategy and disagree with it, the degree of freedom that the elites enjoy decreases significantly. This is because elites rely on the masses for political success and if there is disagreement between the two levels, then the elite must acquiesce to the public. In such cases, intra-coalition competition may be costly to the elite as the public may not rally around the coalition's leader leading to a splitting of votes between coalition members (Tsebelis, 1990, pg. 168-171).

Even with intra-coalition competition theoretically leading to an increase in the number of candidates/parties that enter a race, Tsebelis' logic when combined with the groupness argument should lead us to expect lower candidate entry. With coalition leaders having the support of ethnic associations in coordinating the public and other elite, they are assured of the group's vote and victory. In this case, they can permit coalition members to compete against each other because their party within the coalition is likely to win. If other coalition members are cognizant of this fact, they should strategically opt to not enter or drop out of the race. In low groupness areas, however, where ethnic associations are not effective in coordinating either the elite, coalition elites will be unable to credibly stave off their co-coalition members from running leading to higher numbers of candidates.

4.4 Analysis/Results

The outcome variable is a count of the number of candidates in each constituency and as such the data are not normally distributed. I therefore assume a poisson distribution rather than one with a negative binomial distribution as the discrepancy between the mean and variance is minimal (7.2 versus 9.2). As I am using hierarchical models to assess the impact of groupness on the number of candidates in a constituency, I compare the full model, which contains the variable of interest, in this case the groupness indicator, to the null model, where the variable is missing. Once this is done, I perform likelihood tests to assess whether there is a significant difference between the two models; significance implies that the variable of interest present in the full model contributes more to our understanding of the process in comparison to the null model. I present the results of models that include each of the groupness variables and one that has ethnic fractionalization as the primary demographic variable, which will serve as the null model.

	Groupness	Commonality	Linked Fate	Leader Fate	Ethnic Fractionalization
Groupness(wt. avg)	$-0.93^{\cdot}$				
	(0.53)				
Commonality		$-0.61^{\cdot}$			
		(0.33)			
Linked Fate			−0.31		
			(0.44)		
Leader Fate				−0.62	
				(0.44)	
Intra-Coalition Comp.	0.69^{***}	0.66^{***}	0.66^{***}	0.68^{***}	0.65^{***}
	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Ethnic Fractionalization	−0.45	−0.45	−0.35	−0.47	−0.36
	(0.31)	(0.31)	(0.33)	(0.32)	(0.33)
Population (logged)	−0.09	−0.10	−0.09	−0.08	−0.09
	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)
New Constituency	0.06	0.04	0.05	0.06	0.04
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Urban	−0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Intercept	$2.86^{\cdot}$	2.92^{*}	$2.56^{\cdot}$	$2.63^{\cdot}$	$2.43^{\cdot}$
	(1.49)	(1.48)	(1.49)	(1.48)	(1.47)
AIC	633.39	632.98	635.73	634.36	634.23
BIC	656.81	656.40	659.15	657.78	654.72
Log Likelihood	-308.70	-308.49	-309.87	-309.18	-310.12
Num. obs.	138	138	138	138	138
Num. groups: County	20	20	20	20	20
Var: County (Intercept)	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\cdot}p < 0.1$

Table 4.1: Determinants of Candidate Entry

The first four columns in the table display the results of the full models, that include the groupness variable of interests, that will be compared null model, whose results are listed on the table's final column. In the first model, with the weighted average of ethnic groupness, we see that the concept has a negative and significant effect. It lowers the number of candidates by 0.93 (χ^2= 2.83); p= 0.09). The results also show that intra-coalition competition, exerts the hypothesized positive effect on entry decisions. It increases the number of candidates by 0.69. No other variable in the model reaches statistical significance. It is interesting to note that contrary to much of the conventional wisdom, an area's level of ethnic diversity has a negative impact on the number of candidates who enter a parliamentary race. Even though we cannot be confident

in this finding, given that it does not reach conventional levels of statistical significance, the direction of the relationship, should at least give scholars pause when making assertions regarding the relationship between diversity and party entry.

The next column in the table reveals that much like the weighted average, commonality exerts a negative and significant effect on the number of candidates who run for office in a constituency. It lowers the number by 0.61 (χ^2= 3.25); p= 0.07). The results of this analysis also show that intra-competition does have a positive and significant effect on the number of candidates who stand for office: the number is increased by 0.66. None of the other variables reach statistical significance. Results of the analysis of linked fate and leader fate, listed on the table's third and fourth columns, reveal that these mechanisms exert the hypothesized negative effect on the number of candidates, but do not reach conventional significance levels. Intra-coalition competition continues to exert a positive effect by increasing the number of candidates by 0.66 and 0.68, when controlling for linked fate and leader fate, respectively.

These results, however, treat the coalitions as equal, which may be obscure crucial differences in how candidates respond to the socio-psychological makeup of their target constituency. Coalitions made up of parties and candidates who hail from high-ethnic groupness areas may be less likely to enter the race and compete against their group's preferred coalition. In the context of the present study, the multi-ethnic nature of the coalitions does not negate the theory's relevance. Even though coalitions were multi-ethnic, their component parts were very much ethnic. The Jubilee Coalition, for instance, was seen as being the Kikuyu and Kalenjin party, while the CORD coalition as the Luo and Kamba party. As the theory chapter and analysis of individual drivers of beliefs in these groupness factors showed, the Kikuyu were at the lowest end of the spectrum while the Luo were at the highest end. This leads to the expectation that where the CORD coalition is competing, groupness factors will reduce the number of candidates compared to where the Jubilee coalition competes.

	Groupness	Commonality	Linked Fate	Leader Fate	Ethnic Fractionalization
Groupness (wt. avg)	−0.57				
	(0.60)				
Commonality		−0.76*			
		(0.35)			
Linked Fate			−0.03		
			(0.48)		
Leader Fate				−0.23	
				(0.50)	
Jubilee Intra-Coalition Comp	0.23**	0.25**	0.24**	0.23**	0.24**
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.08)
Ethnic Fractionalization	−0.14	−0.17	−0.08	−0.13	−0.08
	(0.37)	(0.34)	(0.37)	(0.38)	(0.37)
Population (logged)	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05
	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)
New Constituency	−0.00	−0.02	−0.01	−0.01	−0.01
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Urban	−0.01	−0.02	−0.01	−0.01	−0.01
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Intercept	1.53	1.80	1.30	1.36	1.28
	(1.49)	(1.47)	(1.48)	(1.48)	(1.46)
AIC	641.25	637.81	642.10	641.90	640.10
BIC	664.67	661.22	665.52	665.32	660.59
Log Likelihood	-312.62	-310.90	-313.05	-312.95	-313.05
Num. obs.	138	138	138	138	138
Num. groups: County	20	20	20	20	20
Var: County (Intercept)	0.03	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.03

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\cdot}p < 0.1$

Table 4.2: Candidate Entry in Areas with Jubilee Intra-Coalition Competition

In analyzing the Jubilee coalition, the results indicate that the weighted average of ethnic groupness does not have a significant effect on the probability of candidates entering a parliamentary race. Though the coefficient is negative, 0.57, it does not reach significance. Intra-coalition competition, however, does increase the number of candidates by 0.22; a result that reaches statistical significance. No other variable reaches statistical significance.

An area's level of commonality, however, does appear to have a negative and significant effect on the number of candidates who run for office. Commonality — the belief that one shares common features with co-ethnics i.e. language, culture, history — reduces the number of candidates by 0.75 (χ^2=4.29); p= 0.03). Holding all other variables constant, reveals that intra-coalition competition among Jubilee members continues to have a positive and statistically significant effect on the number of entrants; it increases it by 0.25 (χ^2= 9.31); p= 0.00).No other variables in this analysis reach statistical significance. In analyzing the effect of linked fate or leader fate in affecting the number of candidates where the Jubilee coalition allowed coalition members to compete against each other, we find no effect. Rather it is the presence of such competition, among affiliate members, that positively influences the number of contestants who enter the race. Holding linked fate constant, for instant, intra-coalition competition increases the number of candidate by 0.23, while holding leader fate constant, increases the number by .22.

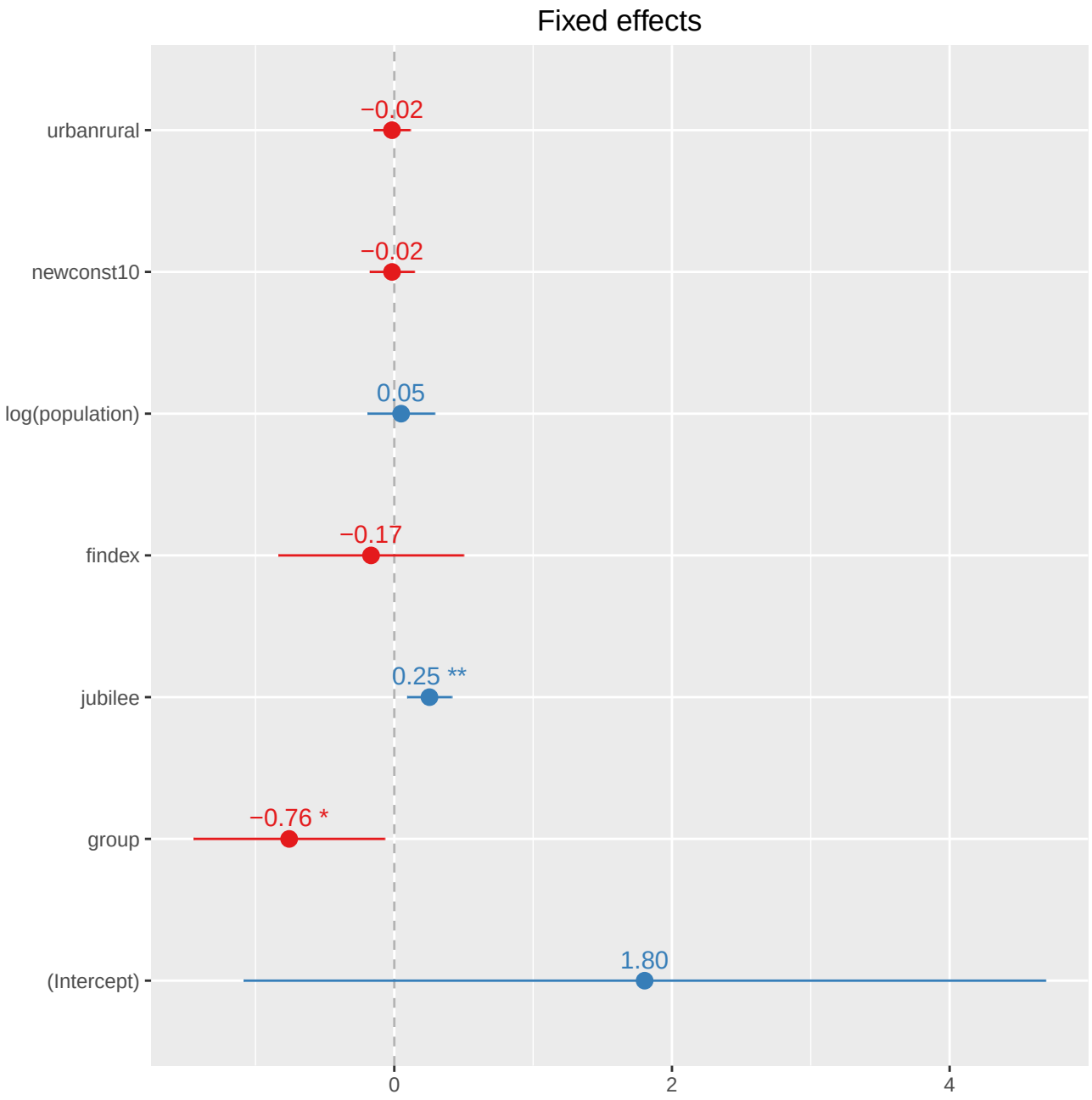

Figure 4.1: Candidate Entry in Areas with Jubilee Intra-Coalition Competition

	Groupness	Commonality	Linked Fate	Leader Fate	Ethnic Fractionalization
Groupness (wt. avg)	-1.48^{**}				
	(0.57)				
Commonality		-0.37			
		(0.38)			
Linked Fate			-0.76		
			(0.49)		
Leader Fate				-1.37^{**}	
				(0.48)	
CORD Intra-Coalition Comp.	0.34^{***}	0.24^{*}	0.32^{**}	0.38^{***}	0.27^{**}
	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.09)
Ethnic Fractionalization	$-0.54^{\cdot}$	-0.44	-0.37	-0.65^{*}	-0.39
	(0.31)	(0.35)	(0.34)	(0.31)	(0.36)
Population (logged)	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	0.00	-0.01
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.13)
New Constituency	0.02	-0.01	0.01	0.02	-0.00
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Urban	-0.02	-0.01	-0.01	-0.02	-0.00
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Intercept	$2.63^{\cdot}$	2.23	2.29	$2.39^{\cdot}$	1.96
	(1.47)	(1.48)	(1.48)	(1.45)	(1.46)
AIC	635.62	640.42	639.00	634.62	639.31
BIC	659.04	663.84	662.42	658.04	659.80
Log Likelihood	-309.81	-312.21	-311.50	-309.31	-312.66
Num. obs.	138	138	138	138	138
Num. groups: County	20	20	20	20	20
Var: County (Intercept)	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.01	0.03

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\cdot}p < 0.1$

Table 4.3: Candidate Entry in Areas with CORD Intra-Coalition Competition

For the CORD coalition, the weighted average groupness score has a significant and negative effect on the number of candidates who compete in a constituency's parliamentary race; it reduces the number by 1.47 (χ^2= 5.69); p= 0.01). The analysis also reveals that intra-coalition increases the number of candidates by 0.33. It is also in these results that we see ethnic fractionalization move in the negative direction and this time achieves statistical significant. The number of candidates who run for office is reduced by 0.54. In the analysis of commonality, it appears that only intra-coalition competition increases the number of candidates by 0.24, while in the analysis of linked fate, again only intra-coalition competition exerts the statistically significant effect of increasing the number of candidates by .32.

Leader fate, however, exerts a significant and negative effect on candidate entry. The higher the area's level of leader fate, however, the lower the number of candidates: candidate numbers are reduced by 1.36 (χ^2= 6.69); p= 0.00). It is also in this analysis of the effect of leader fate that we see the dampening effect of ethnic fractionalization on candidate entry. Areas with higher fractionalization scores lower the number of candidates by 0.64. Though these two demographic variables are exerting a strong effect on the number of candidates, their coefficients reveal that leader fate exerts a much stronger effect on candidate entry where CORD affiliate members are competing. The fact that ethnic fractionalization decreases the number of candidates, a consistent trend across models, deserves particular attention given conventional expectation of higher candidate entry. The finding may point to the importance of pinning the fractionalization measures at the sub-national level in order to better understand party system development, rather than at the oft used national level. Higher fractionalization scores may signal to candidates less open political space as individuals who already allied to co-ethnics may not be easy to convert. The reason underpinning this assertion, however, is part of the current study's focus.

The results, though mixed, give overall credence to the overall hypothesis that ethnic groupness will have

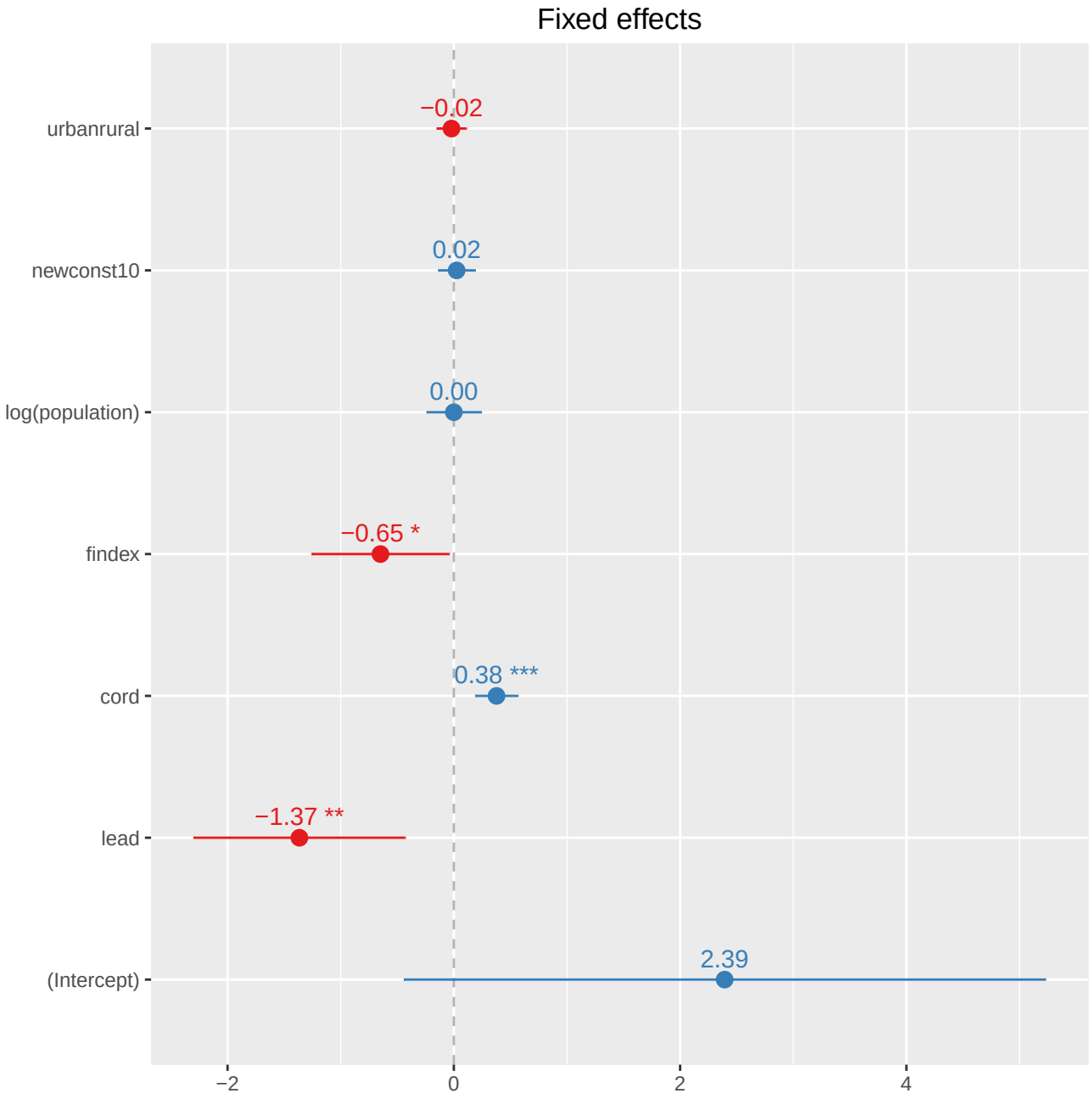

Figure 4.2: Candidate Entry in Areas with CORD Intra-Coalition Competition

a negative effect on the number of candidates who enter a parliamentary race. Even when their incentive structures are altered, we see that the sociological make up of the area of their area exerts an effect on whether they decide to run for office. The effect is, however, most prevalent among those politicians who hail from the country's politically relevant groups. I argue that this is because for these groups political victory is particularly important, and they tend to have histories of ethnic associations that have an interest in determining the group's political prospects. These associations, however, vary in the success that they are able to credibly coordinate the candidates.

In addition, the results also point to the coalition specific nature of the results and which groupness mechanism politicians from the respective coalitions respond to. For Jubilee, it is the level of commonality that matters whereas for the CORD coalition it is the level of leader fate within a community. If we consider the groupness indicators to be hierarchical, that is commonality at the bottom and leader fate at the top, it seems that Jubilee candidates respond to a lower threshold in determining when to run compared to their counterparts in the CORD coalition, who appear to respond to leader fate. It also may be that for the Jubilee coalition, which is primarily made up of the Kikuyu and Kalenjin, linked and leader fate have less credibility to politicians than the knowledge that their constituencies think of themselves as sharing a common lot. Among those candidates associated with CORD, however, linked fate and commonality may not be as effective in discouraging entry as leader fate. Leader fate may signal to this Luo and Kamba dominated coalition, that the groups' voters tend to align themselves with particular leaders and thus less political space for them to compete. Though for both coalitions certain groupness indicators do not reach significance, the fact that they move in the expected direction and are rather large coefficient points to their substantive importance. We may need to carry out the analysis in other contexts on the continent to get larger sample sizes of politically ethnic groups to gain confidence in how these mechanism work elsewhere.

The fact that the alternative explanation of intra-coalition competition also exerts a strong and meaningful effect on candidate entry, requires some further empirical and theoretical explanation. The following section moves away from the discussion of how intra-coalition theoretically competition leads to higher candidate numbers to an empirical discussion of the coalition dynamics surrounding the 2013 Kenyan elections and a short discussion of why these coalitions would permit such competition to occur.

4.4.1 Coalitions as Explanations

In 2013, coalitions were a viable option for parties as the new constitution implemented new electoral requirements: namely that even though the president still needed to win the popular vote, she additionally had to win 25 percent of the votes in 24 of the 47 counties. Given the geographical concentration of ethnic groups in different counties, the new rules made the formation of multi-ethnic pre-electoral coalitions necessary. For the larger parties, such coalitions would allow them to credibly tap into a voter base that would otherwise have been beyond their reach, while for the smaller parties joining such coalitions could potentially increase their chances of winning parliamentary seats and having access to state resources. The potential to win a parliamentary seat was especially attractive for candidates and their parties as the country's new constitution increased parliamentary powers (Capital News 24/12/2012).

Coalition negotiations were, however, contentious from the outset. The initial dispute was about which party leader would be the coalition's flag bearer. In Jubilee, for instance, there was resistance to Uhuru Kenyatta, TNA's leader, being the presidential candidate. There was a belief that having another Kikuyu serve as president would jeopardize the coalition's chances of victory; Musalia Mudavadi, a Luhya and leader of the United Democratic Front (UDF), was the preferred candidate. To resolve this dispute the coalition's principals publicly stated that there would be nominations to determine the leader. These nominations, however, never came to fruition. In a series of backroom deals between Kenyatta and Ruto, Kenyatta was chosen as the presidential flag bearer, forcing Mudavadi quit the coalition and form the Amani Coalition. Within the CORD coalition, however, the leadership tussle between Raila Odinga and Moses Wetangula was resolved at a primary where Raila was unanimously chosen to be the coalition's front runner.

Once these internal tensions regarding the flag bearer were resolved, attention turned to where the coalitions members would compete for office. There was an initial desire between the coalition principals to zone out certain areas as party strongholds. Zoning would help prevent coalition members competing

against each other and splitting the coalitions vote. Kisii County, for instance, was slated as a TNA zone within the Jubilee Coalition, while Nyanza was zoned as an ODM zone within CORD. The smaller parties, in each coalition, however, opposed this move. They argued that zoning was both unfair and undemocratic, and would deny party members the opportunity to select their representatives (Kenya Star 28/12/12, Kenya Star 01/01/2013). Other coalition members asserted that joint nominations, in their respective coalitions were akin to dictatorships and would lead to "an imminent fallout" (The Star 01/05/2013). In the hopes of maintaining coalition unity, parties within each coalition were allowed to conduct their own separate primaries.

Candidates who lost their primary bids in their first, and most likely preferred, party tended to label the process as being unfair and defected to other parties within the coalition. Without the restrictions that zoning or joint nominations would provide, and with the parties having no programmatic agenda through which to distinguish themselves, these disgruntled politicians had viable exit options within the coalitions. Smaller parties within the coalitions were only too glad to receive these defectors and in some cases even grant them direct nominations. Lt. Gen (Rtd) Augustine Cheruiyot , for instance, who was an ODM Nandi senator aspirant defected to the Federal Party of Kenya (FPK), after losing his bid to Industrialization Minister Henry Kosgey. Cheruiyot argued that because Kosgey had been handed the nomination, he had joined the FPK because it was part of the Cord coalition and knew that he would be elected senator (The Star 8/2/201, The Star 24/1/2013).

In response to these defections and the confusion the perceived defections could bring during the election, coalition principals called for six-piece voting. They encouraged voters to cast their support for the president's or vice-president's party, for all six offices listed on electoral ballots i.e. county representative, MP, women representative, governor and president. The argument presented to the public held that six piece voting would guarantee the coalition leader the numbers necessary to form a majority government. The call also served as an endorsement of the principals' parties and their candidates at the expense of their coalition partners. It is fair to consider the call for straight ticket voting for either of the principals' parties as an endorsement of local candidates because these parties were dominant in particular ethno-regional strongholds. For example, TNA was considered a Kikuyu party with a Central Province focus, while URP was labeled a Kalenjin party with a Rift Valley focus. Therefore candidates who were associated with the either of the coalition principals' parties were more likely to succeed in the elections. The endorsement signaled proximity to those who control state resources.

As expected, response to the six-piece voting initiative was negative among smaller coalition members. In Central Province, Grand National Union (GNU) —a Jubilee affiliate — leaders actively campaigned against the move by arguing that such voting would erase the significant headway in voter support they had in the region (The Star, 19/2/2013). Within CORD, the Farmer's Party candidate George Weda argued that Raila Odinga's call for six piece voting would lead to "voter apathy and lead to suspicion among coalition partners that would threaten its unity". The CORD coalition therefore created the Cord Effect Team whose responsibility, it often asserted, was to only campaign for the presidential candidate and were not interested in who became the MP or county representative so long as they were from the Cord-affiliated parties.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter investigates how ethnic groupness alters the incentives faced by politicians wishing to run for office. The argument put forth held that the socio-psychological make up of the group, in this case, ethnic groupness, will exert a dampening effect on the number of candidates seeking office. Using the raw the number of candidates as its variable of interest and hierarchical modeling to test this relationship, the overall findings conform to the hypothesis laid out: higher ethnic groupness levels do exert a consistently negative effect on the number candidates who run in a constituency. We can, however, only be confident in those findings that take into consideration the coalitions that politicians are embedded in, as these are the only ones that reach conventional levels of statistical significance. Candidates associated with the Jubilee coalition are less likely to compete for office where group members see themselves as sharing a common lot in terms of language or history, whereas candidates in the CORD coalition were less likely to compete for office

in areas where individuals expressed higher beliefs in their life chances being determined by having co-ethnic politicians in office.The next chapter examines how ethnic groupness affects constituency level behaviour, as measured by turnout rates.

Chapter 5

Ethnic Groupness and Voter Turnout

5.1 Introduction

What is the effect of ethnic groupness on the political behaviour of individuals, and in particular their propensity to turnout and vote? Current explanations of turnout in sub-Saharan Africa hold that ethnicity is the primary driver of individual motivations to turnout (Van de Walle, 2007; Norris and Mattes, 2003). Given the continent's high level of ethnic heterogeneity, its informational deficit, and history of ethnically based clientelism/patronage, individuals turn out to vote for one of their own as a resource securing strategy. The theory, however, assumes similar electoral behaviour across the continent's ethnic groups. In this chapter, I challenge this assumption by arguing that a group's level of ethnic groupness is a better predictor of its members' propensity to turnout on election day; groupness facilitates a flow of information that influences what individuals learn and know about politics, and what can be remembered when making political decisions (Zaller, 1992). Areas with higher levels of groupness are therefore expected to experience lower turnout rates than their counterparts with lower levels of ethnic groupness.

The logic underpinning this expectation is the following: as voters in high groupness areas tend to believe that their life chances are strongly intertwined with those of their co-ethnic kin and leaders, their political attitudes and actions are also filtered through this same socio-psychological lens. In such setting the common belief is that what is good for the group is good for the individual. With policies being judged on this basis, the potential for significant variation in preferences is minimal. The result is stronger homogeneity in political preferences and a higher likelihood of vote approximation; that is, individuals have a credible basis to believe that their co-ethnic kin will cast votes that are similar to theirs. In developing and low information societies, where the costs of voting are extremely high, strong ethnic groupness creates the perverse incentive to stay home on election day. Abstention is a rational response if the group's preferred candidate will capture the group's support regardless of their [the individual's] participation in the elections.

To show this, I leverage the novel measures of ethnic groupness and original data collected in the lead up to the 2013 Kenyan general election. I also rely on hierarchical models to empirically test the proposition that the level of groupness a constituency is embedded in will significantly affect its turnout rate. The results of the analysis demonstrate that high groupness levels are significantly associated with lower turnout rates, even after controlling for the area's level of ethnic diversity. The study of this phenomenon contributes to research on ethnic politics and political behaviour by demonstrating that voters are highly responsive to their socio-psychological environments. Furthermore, it highlights the perverse incentives the elites create for their constituencies when they manipulate institutions to create ethnic strongholds.

The chapter proceeds in the following manner: the next section discusses the state of the literature on turnout and presents the alternative argument regarding groupness and its effect on political behavior, particularly the decision to turnout and vote. The third section lays out the data and methods used to carry out the analysis; while the final two sections present the results of the analysis and discuss the findings' implications.

5.2 Explaining the Variation in Turnout

Studies of electoral turnout argue that the observed variation across regions is best explained by either socio-economic — constituency's population size, its urban status and its demographic makeup— or political factors—previous turnout rates and the level of competition experienced[1]. According to Riker and Ordeshook's (1968) "calculus-of-voting" model, voters are instrumentally rational and will only incur the costs of voting if they are less than the expected benefits. This is most likely to occur when the election is close—read competitive— and the voter believes that she will cast the decisive vote (1968, p. 38-39). The probability of casting a decisive vote, however, is highly dependent on the size of the population (Owen and Grofman, 1984; Mueller, 2003). The larger the population, the lower the probability of an individual casting the decisive vote. One, therefore, expects that large population sizes will have a negative impact on the expected utility associated with voting; driving down turnout.

A constituency's urban status is also argued to have an effect on turnout. Conventional wisdom holds that urban centers are likely to experience higher turnout due rates to political parties both having easier access to and being better able to campaign in these settings. Filer (1977), for instance, argues that mobilization efforts are more efficient and effective in crowded areas and less effort is needed for people to vote (e.g. the have shorter distances to travel to the polls). This argument, however, is challenged by findings of lower turnout rates in urban centers due to the high information costs associated with the numerous candidates competing for office (Blank, 1974; Davis, 1991). Voters have to differentiate between the multiple candidates running for the urban seat, which proves cumbersome and as a result, abstention becomes a preferred strategy. These opposing findings do not lend themselves to clear expectations of the effect of urbanity on turnout rates.

Identity politics also play an influential role in determining turnout rates. Zimmer (1976) argues that high levels of ethnic heterogeneity will increase turnout as groups vote along identity lines to maintain access to state resources. This is driven in part by the ethnic elite using rhetoric that encourages group members to turn out and support the group's preferred leader. Turnout in these areas is also driven by the cognitive cues that ethnic identity provides to citizens in low information societies where alternative credible information regarding parties and candidates rarely exist. Ethnic identities help individuals navigate their political and economic environments; those who share a common ethnic identity are deemed credible and trustworthy. These identities embed individuals in social networks that encourage reciprocity and cooperation, and in the absence of conformity, sanctions. It is, therefore, rational for individuals to be partial to co-ethnics. This social system that requires loyalty to the group, leads us to expect higher turnout rates in ethnically diverse settings. [2]

Aside from these socio-economic factors, past turnout and past levels of political competition are also associated with current turnout levels. Those who vote tend to be more interested in and knowledgable of politics and therefore more likely to vote in subsequent elections. This habit is reinforced by the victory or loss of their preferred candidate (Kanazawa, 2000; Green and Shachar, 2000; Plutzer, 2002; Gerber, Green and Shachar, 2003). In addition to past turnout rates influencing current turnout rates, past political competition also helps explain turnout rates. There is, however, no consensus if the effect would be negative or positive: competitive elections increase the number of options available to voters and therefore the likelihood of voters identifying with a party and turning out to express support for it (Seidle and Miller, 1976; Blais and Carty, 1990; Hansen, 1994). [3] Blais and Dobrzynska (1998), however, contend that more parties might increase

[1] It is important to note that the purpose here is not to explain why individuals are likely to turnout or desert their preferred party; rather it is to see what electoral and sociological conditions create the conditions necessary for voters to turnout and cast a ballot for their group's preferred or most viable parties.

[2] Identity has also been shown to exert an effect on minority turnout in the United States. Leighley (2001) asserts that "where minorities make up a large, or significant, portion of the electorate, they will be more likely to be targeted [by parties]" (p. 26). Barreto (2010) demonstrates that candidates direct greater resources to mobilizing Latino co-ethnic constituents and often use campaign tactics designed to stimulate a sense of shared identity. The result is increased voter turnout for Latinos relative to elections without a co-ethnic candidate on the ballot. More recent work has, however, found little evidence that minority candidates spur increased turnout among co-racial voters (Sekhon, Titiunik and Henderson, 2010; Keele and White, 2011)

[3] The two most common district level determinants of turnout are the competitiveness of elections, and whether an area is urban or rural (*urbanness*), both of which work by way of mobilization. In their seminal work on participation, Verba, Nie,

the complexity of the political system and make it harder for voters to make up their minds regarding which option is best. This increase in the information costs reduces their likelihood of heading to the polls on election day (HOFFMANN-MARTINOT, Rallings and Thrasher, 1996).

5.2.1 Ethnic Groupness as an Explanation

Although the literature on turnout provides considerable insight into the observed differences across regions and contexts, it often ignores within group differences. Despite sharing a common ethnic identity label, not all group members attach the same importance to the label. Each group has a distinct history that affects how its members conceive of themselves and of their identity. Some groups have consciously and systematically marked the group's boundaries specifying what it means to be a member of the group; whereas others have taken this process for granted. In addition to specifying and developing a sense of communal ethnic identity, those that are successful also develop strong identity-preference links. This is to say that the group's political preferences are portrayed through an ethnic lens that emphasizes group rather than individual gain. Members are encouraged to view their life chances as intertwined as what happens to co-ethnics will have an impact on their lives.I argue that these socio-psychological sentiments of groupness are politically consequential and as a result need to be incorporated into our turnout models.

To effectively foster this sense of groupness, ethnic associations encourage activities that bring co-ethnics together and enable the transmission of information regarding the group's status and the steps necessary to maintain its position. Historically, this was done through business associations and cultural and ethnically focused sporting clubs. In contemporary settings, the communication of information regarding the ethnic group and its status takes place through local language media sources and public rallies. Organizational involvement reduces the cost that individuals must incur to assemble the information necessary to make competent decisions about the candidates, their policy platforms, and whether to turnout to cast a ballot. In the United States, for instance, mobilization, especially by non-party organizations (e.g., unions, campaign organizations, religious organizations, social movements) has been found to increase political participation (Rosenstone, Rosenstone and Hansen, 1993; Verba et al., 1995). In Zambia, Bratton and Van de Walle (1997) finds that membership in certain types of civil society groups has a significant, positive relationship with voting in Zambia.

This notion of groupness can be likened to that of group consciousness as conceived of by Verba and Nie (1972). In comparing African Americans to others, the authors find that they have higher political participation rates due to their strong sense of shared consciousness; a finding that holds regardless of one's socio-economic status. More recently, Dawson (1994) refined Verba and Nie's findings by arguing that it is linked fate that explains this high group consciousness. According to Dawson, the concept of linked fate connects "perceptions of self-interest to perceptions of racial group interest" as the racial category "black" significantly influences individual experiences within society (Dawson, 1994), 76. Race, as a determiner of individual Blacks' life chances, makes it rational for group members to use the category as an appropriate cue through which to " interpret and act in the political world" (Dawson 1994, 57-58). This socio-psychological connection to the group makes it likely that individuals will form political preferences based on the idea that what is best for the group is also likely to be good for them as individuals.

Given that I'm analyzing an observable implication of the work of these ethnic associations, I argue that the ethnic groupness they foster continues to facilitate a flow of information that influences what individuals know about politics and how they act (Zaller, 1992). In areas with strong groupness levels I expect that information will flow more easily and will be deemed more credible, thus allowing individuals to align their vote intentions with those of the group. (Huckfeldt and Sprague, 1987; Lazarsfeld, Berelson and McPhee, 1954). In low groupness areas, however, information may not flow as easily and may not be viewed as being credible. As a result, individuals have little incentive to align their votes with those of the group.

and Kim (1978) detail the importance of group based mobilization efforts in raising turnout. Blais (2000) has shown that the more competitive a race, the higher the turnout, as elites are more likely to mobilize voters. This mechanism is in contrast to the idea that citizens turnout in close elections because they see their vote as more decisive, though it still leaves electoral competitiveness with the same directional effect on turnout. In National List PR, with one national district, there will be no variation, but in all other electoral systems there are multiple districts whose elections vary in terms of their competitiveness.

As voters use group membership as the relevant cue to understand their political environment, the argument's logical conclusion is within group ideological homogeneity. This is because as group members increasingly agree on which policies are best for the group, the smaller the ideological bandwidth they will occupy. Voters will be concentrated within a narrow ideological interval that will make them particularly sensitive to the political promises of their leaders. Politicians, being rationally responsive to the environments in which they operate, respond by presenting policy platforms that generate utility differences to the voter, no matter how small. In Africa where ideological or programmatic parties do not exist, the ability of politicians to increase the utility of voters to vote for them is limited. High ethnic groupness makes it even more difficult to sway voters. Given the social psychological nature of my argument,Fowler (2005)'s argument regarding turnout cascades is especially apt. The cascade theory asserts that given people's embeddedness in social networks, an individual's decision to vote has an effect on at least four people, on average (p. 286). With each individual's decision affecting such a number, turning out to vote or abstaining has the potential to change an entire group's level of political engagement.

Preference homogeneity coupled with this cascading effect, I argue, should lead to lower turnout rates in high groupness areas. With the costs of voting already being considerably high in sub-Saharan Africa, the knowledge that one's political preferences will be reflected at the ballot box by co-ethnics, will reduce individual incentives to turnout on election day. This in contrast to areas of low ethnic groupness where preference congruence between co-ethnics will be low as policies are judged on the basis of their potential benefit to the individual rather than to the group. This makes it difficult for voters to trust that their preferences will be reflected at the ballot box by those of their co-ethnics. Wanting to guarantee the expression of their preferences, voters in low groupness areas will tend to turnout at higher rates. This logic leads to the following hypothesis:

H1: High ethnic groupness will be negatively correlated with voter turnout.

5.3 Data and Empirical Strategy

The data used in this analysis come from original survey data gathered during Kenya's 2013 electoral period and both its electoral and statistical bureaus. These data are used to create district level estimates of groupness and uses those very estimates as covariates in random intercept hierarchical models that examine their effect on constituency turnout rates. The hypothesis that is tested is whether the level of groupness —commonality, linked fate, and leader fate— at the district level will have an effect on the level of political behaviour and participation at the constituency level.

The data's structure — groupness estimates at the district/county level (level 2) and the outcome variable at the constituency level (level 1)— makes multilevel analysis useful because they help account for statistical dependencies that occur within clusters of the hierarchically organized data. The analytical approach also adjusts for the degrees of freedom associated with the number of aggregate units in the data. Using traditional linear models for such data would prove problematic as they rely on basic independence assumptions that would not be met because the observations are grouped into districts. Constituencies within districts share certain characteristics and tend to be more similar to others within their districts than to those in located in other districts. Constituencies in different districts may be independent, but constituencies *within* a district share many similar traits. Accordingly, a hierarchical linear model (HLM) that incorporates the multilevel structural characteristic of the data is appropriate. The analysis can be represented in the following manner:

$$Y_i = \alpha_{j[i]} + \beta x_i + \epsilon \tag{5.1}$$

$$\alpha_j = a + b_{uj} + n_j \tag{5.2}$$

where x_i and u_j symbolize predictors at the constituency and district levels; ϵ and n_j are independent error terms at each of the two levels.

The nested approach is informed by two facts: the history of political organization in the country and data constraints. In the pre-independence period, political organization occurred at the district level and it is at this level that ethnic associations mainly operated and mobilized co-ethnics. Their efforts were helped by the concentration of co-ethnics in district clusters. I also focus on groupness at the district rather than constituency level for methodological reasons. The survey data used to measure groupness were collected at the district rather than constituency level. Applying these district level measures directly to the constituency level would yield biased estimates since not all constituencies were sampled.

The outcome variable of interest, measured at the constituency level, is voter turnout. Turnout is operationalized as the proportion of votes cast relative to those registered to vote.[4]. The primary covariates are the groupness estimates, which are at the district level. Each model presented will have one of the groupness indicators: the weighted average of the three groupness indicators, commonality, linked fate and leader fate.

Controls included in the analysis are primarily constituency level indicators such population size (logged), urban status, and newness i.e. if the constituency was created in 2010. Higher population levels may signal more diverse interests that need to be catered to in the political arena. The log of the total population is included to proxy for the weight of a single vote whereby the larger the population the lower the weight.

I also include the degree of ethno-linguistic fractionalization at the county/district level. The index takes on values between 0 (homogeneous) and 1 (strongly fractionalized).[5] Controlling for the level of ethnic heterogeneity in each model allows us to to test for its conventionally argued for effect: increased turnout. Should the results conform to the hypothesis laid out, then the overwhelming reliance on ethnic fractionalization as an explanatory variable will have to be reconsidered.

The number of constituencies between 2007 and 2013 changed from 210 to 290. In some instances, constituencies were split into two and in others entirely new constituencies were carved out of old ones. In both those instances I impute the data from the previous constituency to the newly constructed constituencies. Webuye constituency, for instance, was split into Webuye East and Webuye West. I therefore applied the turnout rates from 2007 to the new constituencies.

I do not include the lagged values of turnout in the analysis. This is because previous turnout rates may already have been affected by the level of groupness and their inclusion would yield biased estimates.

The subnational analysis holds constant several variables, including regime type — presidential regimes are often cited as decreasing turnout (Tavits, 2009) and electoral rules — proportional systems are believed to have higher turnout rates than plurality systems—, which allows for valid inferences to be made.

5.3.1 Alternative Explanations

An additional control that I include in the analysis is the occurrence of intra-coalition competition within a constituency. Failure to account for this phenomenon would raise some red flags for those familiar with Kenya's political situation in 2013. They would argue that any discovered effect of ethnic groupness on constituency turnout rates, may actually be an artefact of intra-coalition competition. In 2013, four pre-electoral coalitions—JUBILEE, CORD, AMANI and EAGLE— formed in the months leading up to the elections. These multi-ethnic pre-electoral coalitions conformed to convention by having their principals coordinate their national efforts, particularly for the office of president and vice president. They, however, failed to extend these coordination efforts to the lower offices. That is to say, candidates from different parties but those allied to the same coalition competed against each other for the same parliamentary seat; for example, candidates from two affiliated members of the CORD coalition, the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) and Wiper Democratic Movement (Wiper) competed against each other in Malava constituency. This phenomenon occurred in 88% of constituencies. This behavior is particularly puzzling given the country's single member districts and plurality voting rules, whose theoretical basis leads us to expect higher coordination and a two party system.

[4]Some may argue that this measure is problematic given that the decision to register may itself be related to one's ethnic identity. Testing this assertion is beyond the purpose of this research/chapter

[5]The Herfindahl concentration formula is: ELF = 1-$\sum_{i=1}^{n} s_i^2$ where s_i is the share of group *i(i=1, ..., n)*.

Such competition can have adverse effects for democratic practice and in particular turnout. Intra-coalition competition minimizes the incentives for individuals to turnout as they do not have a clear sense for whom, within a coalition, they are supposed to vote. Though they may support a coalition and its presidential candidate, when it comes time to chose a parliamentary representative, the choice is much less clear. The calculations they engage in to decide how their vote will ensure that their preferred coalition wins the election, are complicated by having two coalition members competing against each other. As a result, voters are much more likely to abstain from voting decreasing the constituency's turnout rate.

If intra-coalition competition were to exert this hypothesized effect, then one would also expect that the hypothesized effect of ethnic groupness to wash out.

5.3.2 Groupness Estimates in Kenyan Districts Using Multilevel and Poststratification Regression

Prior to employing the random intercept model, I first use multi-level regression and post-stratification (MRP) to create district level estimates of groupness from survey and census data (Gelman and Little, 1997; Park, Gelman and Bafumi, 2006).

Estimation of public opinion at the district level using MRP is preferred to disaggregation because it generates more accurate and reliable estimates. Disaggregation requires several over time surveys asking about groupness, in equally similar ways, until each district has a sufficient number of observations from which to draw inferences (Erikson, Wright and McIver, 1993). Lax and Phillips (2009) and Warshaw and Rodden (2012), however, show that MRP outperforms disaggregation even when one uses cross-sectional surveys with smaller sample sizes within districts as is often common in nationally representative surveys— MRP places less weight on group-level variation as the sample sizes declines.

MRP has two stages: first, a hierarchical logistic regression, and second, poststratification. In the multilevel regression stage individual survey responses are modeled as functions of demographic and geographic typologies using a hierarchical logistic regression. In the poststratification stage opinion estimates for each district are weighted by the percentages of each demographic-geographic type using census data. Resulting estimates can then be used as explanatory variables in subsequent analyses; in this case, to explain political competition.

In the first step, a regression model for individual survey responses is fit given their demographic nature (sex, education, age) and geography (county):

$$Pr(y_i=1)=logit^{-1}(\beta + \alpha_j^{gender} + \alpha_k^{age} + \alpha_l^{edu} + \alpha_m^{district}) \tag{5.3}$$

Ethnicity is not included in the model because this information is not available from the 2009 Census. Given the geographic concentration of ethnic groups in districts — a majority of districts have ethnic fractionalization scores below .5— this may not pose a significant problem. The groupness estimates obtained would still reflect the perception of groupness in a given district that is dominated by a particular ethnic group. According to census data, only seven of the 47 counties/districts are considered multi-ethnic: Marsabit, Embu, Nakuru, Busia and Migori, Mombasa and Nairobi. With the exception of the latter two, the constituencies in each of the other five districts mirror the national pattern of group dominance. In Busia, for instance, two of its seven constituencies are dominated by the Teso and the other five by the Luhya. As a result, the derived groupness estimates reflect this diversity within districts.

The terms after the intercept are modeled effects for the various groups of respondents. Each is drawn from a normal distribution with mean zero and some estimated variance:

$$\alpha_j \sim N(0, \sigma^2 gender), \text{ for } i=1,2 \tag{5.4}$$

$$\alpha_k \sim N(0, \sigma^2 age), \text{ for } i=1,\ldots,4 \tag{5.5}$$

$$\alpha_l \sim N\ (0,\ \sigma^2 edu),\ for\ i=1,\ldots,7 \tag{5.6}$$

District effects are modeled as a function of the percentage of people who live in rural areas and the percentage of people who are poor.

$$\alpha_m^{district} \sim N\ (\alpha + \beta^{p.rural} * p.rural + \beta^{p.poor} * p.poor\ ,\ \sigma^2_{district}),\ for\ m=1,\ldots,47 \tag{5.7}$$

Finally,three outcome variables are estimated using the method: commonality, linked fate and leader fate. In each model, the outcome variable is recoded to be dichotomous: 1 indicating a strong belief in the measure and 0 opposition to the measure.[6] Those who offer no opinion are kept in the analysis since the post-stratification census data takes into everyone into account not just those with opinions on groupness.

The model is fit in R using the LMER function. The multilevel modeling partially pools the group level parameters toward their mean. There is more pooling when the group level standard deviation is small and more smoothing for groups with fewer observations.

Once the logistic regression produces estimates for the probability of an individual's strong belief in one of the measures of groupness given their age, sex, education and district, I compute the weighted averages of these probabilities to estimate the proportion of such support in each district. This is done using the post-stratification file that contains demographic types of each person in each county. For example the number of males, aged 18-24, who have completed a high school education, in Kericho, is 1,376. The post-stratification file has 3,008 observations, each representing a particular person-type in every county. By specifying a set of individual demographic and geographic values, the results of the opinion model above allow us to make a prediction of strong belief in groupness. The resulting prediction in each cell is then weighted by the actual population frequency of that cell, followed by a calculation of the average response for each cell in every district.

I then calculate a weighted average of these three mechanisms —commonality, linked fate and leader fate — to come up with a measure of groupness for each district. The estimates vary from 38.66 in Kirinyaga to 73.11 in Isiolo (Table 1). The estimates derived from the MRP method are then entered into a multilevel model as group level predictors for political behaviour and competition.[7]

5.3.3 Analysis

What then is the effect of ethnic groupness on constituency turnout rates? Unlike conventional tests where one simply observes the direction and statistical significance of the relevant covariate, multi-level models require one to perform likelihood tests that compare the null model, which is absent the factor of interest, to the full model, which includes the variable. If the likelihood test yields a statistically significant difference then one can safely assume that this is a result the covariate of interest; it contributes to explaining the phenomenon of interest. In this analysis, the relevant factor is ethnic groupness (weighted) and its composite parts—commonality, linked fate and leader fate. Though the results presented in table one do not show the null models absents the factor of interest, it is important to note that if a variable reaches statistical significance, the p-value indicated is an approximation of the p-value we would get from comparing the model that has been fit to the null model. For completeness, I will discuss both the results displayed alongside those derived from the likelihood tests. [8]

[6]For reference the questions asked to measure tap into these sentiments are: How much do you think you have in common with [INSERT NAME OF ETHNIC GROUP DOMINATING IN REGION OF INTERVIEW]? Response options are: 1. Nothing; 2. Only A Little; 3.A Fair Amount; 4. A Great Amount; Do you think what happens to [INSERT NAME OF ETHNIC GROUP DOMINATING IN REGION OF INTERVIEW] in this country will affect what happens in your life?Response options are: 1.No; 2. Yes, A Little; 3. Yes, A Lot.; Do you think that the ability of a [INSERT NAME OF ETHNIC GROUP DOMINATING IN REGION OF INTERVIEW] leader to win a national election will affect what happens in your life? Response options are: 1.No; 2. Yes, A Little; 3. Yes, A Lot

[7]A table with the derived scores is available in the chapter's appendix.

[8]A variance inflation factor (VIF) calculation to detect collinearity among the predictors was carried out. The variance inflation factor represents the proportion of variance in one predictor explained by all the other predictors in the model. For

In considering internal group dynamics and how they affect turnout, the results reveal that groupness levels do have a significant effect on electoral turnout, even controlling for the area's ethnic fractionalization. In groupness model (weighted average), we wee that it exerts the hypothesized negative and significant effect on turnout. Comparison of the model with the null model reveals that it reduces turnout by 2.34 ((χ^2= 4.852); p= 0.027). The analysis also shows that the turnout rate in new constituencies tends to be lower than that hypothesized. One would expect higher party mobilization and campaigning in these areas as they represent an opportunity to shape local politics. The results, however, may be pointing to the general Africanist consensus regarding parties neither being sufficiently institutionalized nor organized to mobilize individuals in these newly carved out constituencies to turnout.

These findings are replicated in the models that consider the impact of both linked fate and leader fate on constituency level turnout. Linked fate reduces turnout rates by ((2.38 χ^2= 8.842); p= 0.002), while leader fate exerts a similar significant and negative effect on turnout rates: a reduction of 2.16((χ^2= 3.210); p= 0.073). It may be the case that linked fate and leader fate negatively influence turnout because they may have more political significance than commonality. Though individuals may feel that they have much in common with their co-ethnics, this sentiment does not necessarily lead to a sense of political linkage or expediency. Political action is much more likely when life chances are perceived as being intertwined with those of co-ethnics and co-ethnic leaders. The sentiment, as these results show, can have negative results for democracy and its practice. As individuals perceive their life chances as being intertwined the more likely they are to share policy priorities. This has the effect of encouraging voters to engage in vote approximation; assuming that their co-ethnics will vote in a similar fashion as they would even if they do not show up on election day. The effect as we see is lowest in high groupness areas. Turnout may also be lower in areas with high levels of linked fate and leader fate because of elite coordination. With their endorsement of particular parties and candidates, and their priming of linked and leader fate to promote ethnic solidarity, the elites minimize the need for aggressive/vigorous campaigning or mobilization, which has the effect of reducing the amount of information available to voters. Low information is often linked to lower turnout rates.

The negative and significant effect of groupness —it's weighted average, linked fate and leader fate— on turnout holds even after controlling for ethnic fractionalization and intra-coalition competition. Ethnic fractionalization does not have the hypothesized effect, neither in direction nor significance. It appears that the higher the ethnic fractionalization is in a district, the higher the turnout rates will be among its constituencies, except when controlling for leader fate. The lack of consistency in direction and significance across models leads us to not have confidence in the results, let alone declare them suggestive. The results of intra-coalition competition, however, can be considered suggestive as the coefficients do consistently move in the negative direction across models but do not reach conventional levels of significance. Urban settings also tend to have lower turnout rates, a finding that supports Blank's (1974) and Davis' (1991) assertions of higher information barriers in urban settings having a suppressive effect on the incentives for individuals to turnout and vote.

multilevel linear and mixed models VIF scores >4 indicates high collinearity. All the VIF scores for each of these models were between 1.5 and 2 signalling little collinearity between the variables.

	Mod 1	Mod 2	Mod 3	Mod 4	Mod 5 (Null)
Groupness (wt. avg)	-2.36^{*}				
	(1.09)				
Commonality		0.90			
		(0.64)			
Linked Fate			-2.38^{**}		
			(0.74)		
Leader Fate				-2.16^{*}	
				(0.86)	
Intra-Coalition Comp.	−0.07	−0.07	−0.06	−0.07	−0.07
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)
Ethnic Fracitonalization	0.16	0.47	0.47	−0.03	0.37
	(0.60)	(0.62)	(0.52)	(0.60)	(0.63)
Urban	−0.03	−0.03	−0.03	−0.03	−0.03
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Population (logged)	0.01	−0.00	0.01	0.01	−0.01
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)
New Constitutuency	-0.17^{***}	-0.19^{***}	-0.17^{***}	-0.17^{**}	-0.19^{***}
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Intercept	4.42^{***}	2.59^{*}	4.39^{***}	4.17^{***}	3.22^{**}
	(1.14)	(1.11)	(1.06)	(1.07)	(1.01)
AIC	98.62	102.32	94.87	97.77	103.22
BIC	127.89	131.59	124.14	127.04	129.56
Log Likelihood	-39.31	-41.16	-37.43	-38.88	-42.61
Num. obs.	138	138	138	138	138
Num. groups: County	20	20	20	20	20
Var: County (Intercept)	0.13	0.14	0.10	0.12	0.15
Var: Residual	552.21	558.92	551.28	551.40	558.48

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\cdot}p < 0.1$

Table 5.1: Determinants of Turnout at the Constituency Level

5.3.4 Testing the Mechanism

The empirical results show that ethnic groupness does have a negative effect on constituency turnout rates. Stronger beliefs that one's life chances are intertwined with those of their co-ethnics and their co-ethnic leaders decreases their incentives to turnout. The proposed mechanism for this phenomenon is vote approximation by group members — individuals' belief that their co-ethnics have the similar political preferences and will thus vote in the same way they would if they did not turnout on election day. In high groupness areas, this is more likely to occur as individuals are more prone to asses policies based on their potential benefit to the group, rather than to the individual. This, I argue, leads to more policy preference congruence as there is more credible dissemination of how political choices will affect the group. In low groupness areas, the calculation is based on whether policies are individually beneficial, since individuals are unaccustomed to thinking of their life chances being intertwined with those of co-ethnics.

I assess the extent of consensus on policy preferences within groups by measuring the amount of variation in the issue categories that individuals express based on their county of residence. I focus on the county rather than ethnicity because it will allow me to check whether the variation in expressed policy priorities corresponds to the level of linked fate and leader fate, both of which are measured at the county level. I first calculate the proportions of observations in each exhaustive and mutually exclusive issue category—there are 17 issue areas.[9] The sum of the proportions are then subtracted from 1 to yield the index of dispersion and its standardized index of qualitative variation (IQV). IQV values range from 0, when all observations fall into only one of the issue categories (all the individuals within the county express support for one issue), to 1 when all the proportions are equal (individuals support for issues in a county are evenly split). Kvalseth (1995) proposes that a serious limitation of IQV is that its intermediate values are unreasonably large, leading to possible misinterpretations and poor data discrimination (2). Instead he proposes the *coefficient of nominal variation (CNV)*, which is meant to yield better estimates of the variation in the issues.

$$CNV=1-[(1-[k/(k-1)]D)] \tag{5.8}$$

I carried out the analysis at the county level and ran simple bivariate regressions. Though crude, the measure can offer suggestive evidence of the relationship between the two variables, especially if they move in the expected direction. CNV levels range from 0.49 to 0.83: lower levels indicate more consensus (less variation in the issues) while higher levels indicate low consensus (high variation in the issue chosen). The expectation would therefore be an inverse relationship between CNV and groupness levels: the higher the CNV levels the lower the linked fate and leader fate levels. The results move in the expected direction: the higher the higher the linked fate and leader fate scores, the lower the CNV scores. This measure is at best suggestive, given that the results of the models all move in the same direction but do not reach conventional levels of statistical significance. More work needs to be carried out on the formation of political preferences and their link to groupness at the ethnic and regional level.

	Mod 1	Mod 2	Mod 3	Mod 4
Ethnic Groupness (avg. wt)	−0.08			
	(0.14)			
Commonality		−0.06		
		(0.08)		
Linked Fate			−0.02	
			(0.11)	
Leader Fate				−0.09
				(0.10)
Ethnic Fractionalization	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Intercept	0.74***	0.68***	0.73***	0.75***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
R^2	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02
Adj. R^2	-0.03	-0.03	-0.04	-0.02
Num. obs.	47	47	47	47
RMSE	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\cdot}p < 0.1$

Table 5.2: Effect of Groupness on Preference Homogeneity

[9]Individuals were asked to the most important obstacle to the development of their area. They were presented with twenty issue area from which to choose. A full list of the issue areas is available in the chapter's appendix

5.4 Discussion

This chapter's main focus was to demonstrate how ethnic groupness affects the political behaviour of individuals, and in particular, their propensity to turnout on election day. Using original data and multi-level models, the results conform to hypotheses laid out: turnout rates at the constituency level are negatively correlated with the level of ethnic groupness at the district level. The results also reveal that particular aspects of groupness become relevant at different times during the political process: linked fate and leader fate are relevant in making decisions to turnout, while commonality has no effect. The former two groupness aspects are argued to be more politically consequential than commonality, which indicates membership but not any meaningful linkages. The result calls into question the long standing assumption of ethnic homogeneity and its uniform effect on group political behaviour. The assumption holds that in low information societies, ethnic identities and the social networks they provide are the lens through which politics are understood and practiced. If this indeed were the case, then the variation demonstrated in this chapter would not occur. Instead what we observe is the complicated relationship groups and individuals have with their ethnic identities and the effect this has on their political decisions. Taking the socio-psychological significance these identities have for different groups can give us a better and more complete sense of the drivers of political behaviour.

The chapter also proposed that the mechanism underlying this relationship is voter approximation: the extent to which voters believe that their co-ethnics' votes will reflect their own, even if they do not show up to the polls. Voters in high groupness settings tend to view politics in similar terms leading to a concentration of political preferences around similar issues. As a result, there is little reason to believe that co-ethnics will veer too far off in their electoral choices. To test this, I created an index of nominal variation that examined the disperson of issue preferences across ethnically concentrated geographic area. The measure though crude, offered suggestive evidence that that areas with higher levels of ethnic groupness were associated with less issue dispersion. Future work in this respect should present individuals with fewer issue areas from which to choose and ask them more pointed questions regarding their preferences. Furthermore, more work is needed to the interactive effect of groupness and proportional electoral rules on turnout. The current analysis' sub-national focus allows us to hold constant the effect of plurality based electoral systems on turnout. Cross-national comparative analyses that incorporate a variety of electoral systems will allow for the theory's generalizability to be thoroughly tested. Given the negative impact groupness has on turnout levels, the next chapter considers its effect on party competition at the constituency level.

Chapter 6

Ethnic Groupness and Party Competition

6.1 Introduction

The relationship between a region's diversity and the nature of its party system remains contested. Several studies hold that heterogeneity is strongly correlated with fractionalized and competitive party systems — proxied by the number of electoral or legislative parties — while others hold that the current measures of diversity are misspecified and when corrected reveal mixed results (Stoll, 2004). The logic in support of the relationship when applied to ethnically heterogeneous societies, holds that groups have distinct preferences —driven by either expressive or rational calculations— that lead them to prefer and elect one of their own. This propensity to vote ethnically is further exacerbated by the electoral rules in place, with proportional rules increasing the number of parties in the system. In the Africanist literature scholars continue to find the relationship between diversity and system fractionalization even when the electoral systems are not permissive (Horowitz, 1985; Ferree, 2006; Mattes and Gouws, 1999; Ishiyama and Fox, 2006; Norris and Mattes, 2003). Sub-national analysis of party competition in Kenya, however, reveals that there are varying levels of competition across the most politically relevant groups, which are concentrated in particular regions and living under similar electoral first-past-the-post rules. Some groups like the Luo, for instance, have been coordinated enough to ensure that a single presidential candidate and his party receive a majority of the votes whereas other groups, like the Kikuyu, have split their votes among co-ethnic candidates and their parties. To more concretely put these differences in context, one can observe the vote margins and winner proportions across these groups. In the multi-party era, some groups have a tendency towards vibrant competition, as evidenced by lower vote margins, whereas other groups tend towards dominance as evidence by higher vote margins.

Given the limited contribution of ethnic fractionalization and electoral institutions as explanations for this subnational variation, I argue that one must consider the level of ethnic groupness that exists within groups. Ethnic groupness, which encompasses more than whether individuals belong to a particular ethnic group taps into individual perceptions of sharing a common lot —history, culture, language — and having life chances that are intertwined with those of their co-ethnics and their co-ethnic leaders. These perceptions/understanding subsequently have an effect on individual and group political behaviour. The consequential nature of ethnic groupness arises from a history of careful cultivation ethnic associations over decades. These associations have manipulated the identity's meaning to create strong identity-preference links and coordinate their elites around particular candidates. Where they [ethnic associations] are successful ethnic groupness will be high: voters will tend to be more cohesive and electoral candidates more coordinated under a single banner, limiting the opportunity for new entrants to gain a substantial electoral hold among the electorate. The observable effect that I suggest will be higher vote margins and higher winner proportions as voters coordinate their votes behind a particular candidate or party. In low ethnic groupness areas, however,

the voters will not be coordinated enough to ensure that the group's preferred candidate wins the group's vote with a commanding lead. As a result, vote margins and the victor's vote proportion will tend to be lower in these areas.

To test these assertions, I rely on county/district level estimates of groupness data that I regress on the level of party competition at the constituency level using hierarchical models. The results of the analysis conform to the expectations laid out: higher groupness levels are correlated with higher vote margins and higher winner proportions, signaling less vibrant competition. Lower groupness levels are strongly correlated with lower vote margins and lower winner proportions, signaling stronger party competition at the constituency level. The findings should encourage Africanists to reconsider their models of the interaction between party systems and social cleavages. Continued reliance on ethnic fractionalization as an indicator of diversity, will obscure the variation that exists within groups not only in terms of their political preferences but also in the weight/importance they attach to their ethnic identity which can have important implications for their political behaviour.

The chapter is structured in the following manner: in the next section I discuss the current state of the literature concerning social cleavages and party systems, while also detailing their limited contributions to the current study. This will lead into a discussion of the study's guiding theoretical framework and the empirical strategy used to test its claims. The chapter's final sections will address the findings and their implications for our understanding of the determinants of party competition in multi-ethnic societies.

6.2 Current State of the Field

Explanations for the influence of social cleavages on the political system find their origin in Lipset and Rokkan (1967) seminal work that categorizes cleavages as the critical factor that determines the party system's characteristics, including the number of parties. Social heterogeneity, according to this theory and those that built off it, provides the "raw materials for the number of parties found in a country (Duverger, 1959; Powell, 1982; Clark and Golder, 2006). This is particular evident in Africa where ethnic identities are often the basis for political divides, as seen in the number of ethnic parties, and their influence on the public's voting behavior (Horowitz, 1985; Birnir and Van Cott, 2007; Chandra, 2007; Van Cott, 2005; Norris, 2004; Norris and Mattes, 2003; Mattes and Piombo, 2001; Mattes and Gouws, 1999).

Ethnic categories provide politicians with a menu from which they can efficiently target whom to include or exclude from an electoral coalition (Bates, 1983; Chandra, 2007; Horowitz, 1985; Posner, 2005). With ethnic groups having distinct policy preferences, they prefer to receive targeted goods from which they get primary benefit, rather than public goods whose gains are shared with other groups (Lieberman and McClendon, 2013; Miguel and Gugerty, 2005). Voters count on politicians from their own group to deliver these targeted goods. And politicians seek votes from the narrow groups of voters who stand to gain the most if they win. This system has the potential to create or deepen political conflicts and identities (Mainwaring and Pérez-Liñán, 2013; Torcal and Mainwaring, 2003; Posner, 2005). These conflicts, however, are often minimized when parties develop catch-all strategies that encourage voters to assess politicians and their party affiliations along dimensions that are not solely ethnically determined (Enyedi, 2005; Kriesi, 1998).

The effect of ethnicity on the party system, however, is strongly determined by the electoral institutions. Electoral rules provide a filter that is either permissive or restrictive on how ethnic identities can be translated into political parties: proportional and decentralized institutions, for instance, work well in divided societies as they allow ethnic groups to form parties on the basis of their identities, while majoritarian systems, which tend to have lower district magnitudes, are biased against smaller groups/ minorities, allowing majority groups to dominate (Sisk, 1996; Lijphart, 2004; Hartzell and Hoddie, 2003; Andeweg, 2000). Consequently, societies with more social groups should have larger numbers of political parties as long as the electoral system is permissive enough. Clark and Golder (2006); Cox (1997); Ordeshook and Shvetsova (1994) have all confirmed this Duvergerian equilibrium of social heterogeneity increasing the number of parties once the electoral system is sufficiently permissive. In First-Past-the-Post (FPTP) systems with single-seat districts weak parties and candidates have the incentive to exit the race and for voters to cast ballots strategically only for potentially competitive candidates.

In order for these institutions to have the hypothesized effect, it is necessary that individuals operating within their confines learn their effect. Institutions themselves do not have the power to immediately or in short periods erode the effect of ethnic institutions and their influence on have political organization and behavior. In the Kenyan context, these electoral institutions have come and gone as the system has moved from democratic to authoritarian to democratic rule in a few decades. Ethnicity and ethnic concentration has remained constant but is insufficient to explain the variation in party competition across groups. It is for this reason that I suggest we need to look beyond electoral rules and ethnic diversity as explanations for variations in party competition across ethnic groups operating under similar institutional and sociological rules.

6.2.1 Ethnic Groupness and Party Competition

I argue that scholars should take into account how ethnic groupness coordinates voters around particular candidates, thereby limiting the opportunity for strong party competition. The coordinating effect of groupness results from decades of work initiated and carried out by ethnic associations. Despite sharing a common ethnic identity label, these associations realized the importance of coordinating group members for political gain. This entailed not only taking a conscious and systematic approach to the marking of the group's boundaries, but also developing strong identity-preference links that could be associated with the political success of co-ethnic candidates. This is to say that the group's political preferences are portrayed through an ethnic lens that emphasizes group rather than individual gain and members are encouraged to view their life chances as intertwined: what happens to co-ethnics will have an impact on their lives. Not all ethnic associations, however, have been successful in this endeavor and it for this reason that I argue we need to consider how this variation in the strength of ethnic groupness affects the propensity of group members to vote together or split their vote among several co-ethnic candidates.

To effectively foster this sense of groupness, ethnic associations encourage activities that bring co-ethnics together and enable the transmission of information regarding the group's status and the steps necessary to maintain its position. Historically, this was done through business associations and cultural and ethnically focused sporting clubs. In contemporary settings, the communication of such information takes place through local language media sources and public rallies. Organizational involvement reduces the cost that individuals must incur to assemble the information necessary to make competent decisions about the candidates. The efficacy of this strategy in triggering the sentiment on history and ethnic association's success and credibility. More than influencing individual self-perceptions of their ethnic identity and membership in these groups, ethnic associations also work to coordinate the group's political leaders in order to limit competition and increase the probability of gaining electoral office. This is primarily done through the use of endorsements that communicate which party and set of candidates are best suited to serve the group.

This manipulation of individual perceptions of ethnic unity and the coordinating strategies employed by the ethnic associations can either incentivize group members to split or concentrate their votes around particular parties and candidates. In high groupness areas, I argue that voters are more likely to coordinate their votes as they view their life chances as being closely intertwined —increasing the likelihood of similar political assessments— and the endorsements made by ethnic associations as credible and in the group's benefit. The expected effect is lower party competition. In low groupness areas, conversely, voters are less likely to view their life chances as intertwined or their ethnic associations as credible. Without a strong socio-psychological force exerting its linking effect and influencing on how voters and elites behave, the expectation is the presence of more vibrant party competition.

Hypothesis: Higher groupness will be correlated with higher vote margins between the two top candidates

It is reasonable to expect this effect given the findings discussed in the previous chapters. Strong ethnic groupness has been found to both limit the number of political entrants in a constituency's race and to alter the incentives for voters to turnout on election day. Given that parliamentary candidates electoral prospects are closely tied to those of presidential candidates, the effect of ethnic associations in coordinating the political elite trickles down to lower offices. The result is that politicians living in areas with high groupness are less likely to throw their hats into a parliamentary race, thereby reducing the number of political options available to voters. Additionally, high ethnic groupness, by coordinating the masses and

giving them information about which parties and candidates are best preferred, voters know that their co-ethnics will likely vote in a similar way. The effect of this vote approximation is a reduction in the incentives to turnout and vote. Particular candidates are chosen to win regardless of a single individual's vote. Given the high costs that voters must face to turnout in these developing nations, vote approximation leads them to abstain from turning out. The following section lays out empirical strategy that will be used to test the hypothesis presented.

6.3 Empirical Strategy: Data and Measurement

The data used in this analysis come from original survey data gathered during Kenya's 2013 electoral period and both its electoral and statistical bureaus. These data are used to create district level estimates of groupness and subsequent analysis uses those very estimates as covariates in random intercept hierarchical models that examine their effect on constituency party competition, proxied by both the vote margin and winner's vote proportion. The hypothesis that is tested is whether the level of groupness — commonality, linked fate, and leader fate — at the district level will have a dampening effect on the concentration of votes to benefit the group's preferred candidate; that is higher groupness levels will be positively related to the vote margin.

The data's structure — groupness estimates at the district/county level (level 2) and the outcome variable at the constituency level (level 1) — makes multilevel analysis useful because they help account for statistical dependencies that occur within clusters of the hierarchically organized data. The analytical approach also adjusts for the degrees of freedom associated with the number of aggregate units in the data. Using traditional linear models for such data would prove problematic as they rely on basic independence assumptions that would not be met because the observations are grouped into districts. Constituencies within districts share certain characteristics and tend to be more similar to others within their districts than to those in located in other districts. Constituencies in different districts may be independent, but constituencies within a district share many similar traits. Accordingly, a hierarchical linear model (HLM) that incorporates the multilevel structural characteristic of the data is appropriate. The analysis can be represented in the following manner:

$$Y_i = \alpha_{j[i]} + \beta x_i + \epsilon \tag{6.1}$$

$$\alpha_j = a + b_{uj} + n_j \tag{6.2}$$

where x_i and u_j symbolize predictors at the constituency and district levels; ϵ and n_j are independent error terms at each of the two levels.

The nested approach is informed by two facts: the history of political organization in the country and data constraints. In the pre-independence period, political organization occurred at the district level and it is at this level that ethnic associations mainly operated and mobilized co-ethnics. Their efforts were helped by the concentration of co-ethnics in district clusters. I also focus on groupness at the district rather than constituency level for methodological reasons. The survey data used to measure groupness were collected at the district rather than constituency level. Applying these district level measures directly to the constituency level would yield biased estimates since not all constituencies were sampled. The outcome this chapter is interested in explaining is party competition at the constituency level. Competition in this case is measured using the vote margin, which signifies the difference between the winner of the election and the runner-up. Rather than simply take the percentage difference in votes between these two candidates and use that difference as the outcome measure, I use the difference in votes cast for the winner and runner-up and divide it by the total number of votes cast. Smaller vote margins indicate stronger competition, whereas a larger vote margins are indicative of party dominance and lower party competition. As an alternative measure to vote margin, I use the winner's proportion of votes. I calculate this proportion by diving the number of votes the winner received by the total votes received. Larger vote proportions represent lower party competition,

while smaller votes proportions signal stronger party competition.

The expectation is that places with higher levels of ethnic groupness will have both higher vote margins — larger differences between the winner and run-up — and higher winner proportions. Voters in these high groupness areas will tend to be more strategic and coordinated and support a particular candidate, rather than split their vote. Low ethnic groupness areas, however, will tend to see more competitive elections as seen in their lower vote margins and lower winner proportions. Voters have more electoral choices and less ethnic affinities with their candidates and thus have alternative motivations driving their vote choice.

The primary covariates are the groupness estimates, which are at the district level. The results of each model presented are based on assessing the impact of the particular groupness aspect on the level of political competition. Controls included in the analysis are primarily constituency level indicators such population size (logged), urban status, and newness i.e. if the constituency was created in 2010. Higher population levels may signal more diverse interests that need to be catered to in the political arena. As a result, if candidates can successfully appeal to even a small segment of the population, they may be able to steal some of the votes that can decrease the vote margin or proportion within which a leading candidate wins. The log of the total population is included to proxy for the weight of a single vote whereby the larger the population the lower the weight.

I also include the degree of ethno-linguistic fractionalization at the county/district level. The index takes on values between 0 (homogeneous) and 1 (strongly fractionalized). Controlling for the level of ethnic heterogeneity in each model allows us to test for its effect on party competition. Current expectations lead us to expect that higher ethnic fractionalization scores will be strongly correlated with stronger party competition.

The number of constituencies between 2007 and 2013 changed from 210 to 290. In some instances constituencies were split into two and in others entirely new constituencies were carved out of old ones. In both those instances I impute the data from the previous constituency to the newly constructed constituencies. Webuye constituency, for instance, was split into Webuye East and Webuye West. I therefore applied the population rate from 2007 to the new constituencies. The expectation is that new constituencies will tend to see more intense competition as politicians try to establish themselves as the constituency's rightful leaders/patrons.

I also do not include the lagged values of the number of candidates in the analysis. This is because previous competition levels may already have been affected by the level of groupness and their inclusion would yield biased estimates.

6.3.1 Alternative Explanations

An additional control that I include in the analysis is the occurrence of intra-coalition competition within each constituency. Failure to account for this phenomenon could yield potentially biased estimates, given the nature of the 2013 Kenyan elections. Any discovered effect of ethnic groupness on party competition at the constituency level, may actually be due to the occurrence of intra-coalition competition. During this election, four pre-electoral coalitions — JUBILEE, CORD, AMANI and EAGLE — formed in the months leading up to the elections. These multi-ethnic pre-electoral coalitions conformed to convention by having their principals coordinate their national efforts, particularly for the offices of president and vice president. These coordination efforts, however, failed to trickle down to lower offices. That is to say, candidates from different parties but those allied to the same coalition were permitted to compete against each other for the same parliamentary seat; for example, candidates from two affiliated members of the CORD coalition, the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) and Wiper Democratic Movement (Wiper/WDM) competed against each other in Malava. Intra-coalition competition occurred in 88% of constituencies.

Intra-coalition competition makes it difficult to voters to act strategically and concentrate their votes. Though the phenomenon is elite both driven and centered —especially in Africa's often low information and non-programmatic political space— voters are the most affected. They face a difficult task in deciding which of the candidates affiliated with the group's preferred coalition to support. This will be most relevant in areas with low groupness levels because ethnic associations and the groupness sentiments they cultivate

are not credible enough to guide the voter's decision. As a result, voters may split their vote between these candidates, believing them indistinguishable, and therefore reducing the party competition indicator. That is, the vote margin between the two top candidates will be smaller than in places where there is no intra-coalition competition.

The analysis also considers the impact of an interactive effect between ethnic groupness and intra-coalition competition. This is to say that the effect of ethnic groupness on vote choice may be conditioned by whether individuals are operating under conditions of intra-coalition competition. Ignoring the presence of such an interaction would mean that voters' voting decisions are made in isolation of other relevant factors in the constituency. I am instead arguing that it is complicated and that voters are sophisticated. The sociological and political environment in which they operate influences their voting decisions. In this case, even with the presence of intra-coalition competition, the level of groupness in a constituency still influences vote choice in such a way as to reduce competition.

6.3.2 Groupness Estimates in Kenyan Districts Using Multilevel and Post-stratification Regression

Prior to employing the random intercept model, I first use multi-level regression and post-stratification (MRP) to create district level estimates of groupness from survey and census data (Gelman and Little, 1997; Park, Gelman and Bafumi, 2006).

Estimation of public opinion at the district level using MRP is preferred to disaggregation because it generates more accurate and reliable estimates. Disaggregation requires several over time surveys asking about groupness, in equally similar ways, until each district has a sufficient number of observations from which to draw inferences (Erikson, Wright and McIver, 1993). Lax and Phillips (2009) and Warshaw and Rodden (2012), however, show that MRP outperforms disaggregation even when one uses cross-sectional surveys with smaller sample sizes within districts as is often common in nationally representative surveys—MRP places less weight on group-level variation as the sample sizes declines.

MRP has two stages: first, a hierarchical logistic regression, and second, post-stratification. In the multilevel regression stage individual survey responses are modeled as functions of demographic and geographic typologies using a hierarchical logistic regression. In the post-stratification stage opinion estimates for each district are weighted by the percentages of each demographic-geographic type using census data. Resulting estimates can then be used as explanatory variables in subsequent analyses; in this case, to explain political competition.

In the first step, a regression model for individual survey responses is fit given their demographic nature (sex, education, age) and geography (county):

$$Pr(y_i=1)=logit^{-1}(\beta + \alpha_j^{gender} + \alpha_k^{age} + \alpha_l^{edu} + \alpha_m^{district}) \tag{6.3}$$

Ethnicity is not included in the model because this information is not available from the 2009 Census. Given the geographic concentration of ethnic groups in districts — a majority of districts have ethnic fractionalization scores below .5— this may not pose a significant problem. The groupness estimates obtained would still reflect the perception of groupness in a given district that is dominated by a particular ethnic group. According to census data, only seven of the 47 counties/districts are considered multi-ethnic: Marsabit, Embu, Nakuru, Busia and Migori, Mombasa and Nairobi. With the exception of the latter two, the constituencies in each of the other five districts mirror the national pattern of group dominance. In Busia, for instance, two of its seven constituencies are dominated by the Teso and the other five by the Luhya. As a result, the derived groupness estimates reflect this diversity within districts.

The terms after the intercept are modeled effects for the various groups of respondents. Each is drawn from a normal distribution with mean zero and some estimated variance:

$$\alpha_j \sim N(0, \sigma^2 gender), \text{ for } i=1,2 \tag{6.4}$$

$$\alpha_k \sim N\ (0,\ \sigma^2 age),\ for\ i=1,\ldots,4 \tag{6.5}$$

$$\alpha_l \sim N\ (0,\ \sigma^2 edu),\ for\ i=1,\ldots,7 \tag{6.6}$$

District effects are modeled as a function of the percentage of people who live in rural areas and the percentage of people who are poor.

$$\alpha_m^{district} \sim N\ (\alpha + \beta^{p.rural} * p.rural + \beta^{p.poor} * p.poor\ ,\ \sigma^2_{district}),\ for\ m=1,\ldots,47 \tag{6.7}$$

Finally,three outcome variables are estimated using the method: commonality, linked fate and leader fate. In each model, the outcome variable is recoded to be dichotomous: 1 indicating a strong belief in the measure and 0 opposition to the measure.[1] Those who offer no opinion are kept in the analysis since the post-stratification census data takes into everyone into account not just those with opinions on groupness.

The model is fit in R using the LMER function. The multilevel modeling partially pools the group level parameters toward their mean. There is more pooling when the group level standard deviation is small and more smoothing for groups with fewer observations.

Once the logistic regression produces estimates for the probability of an individual's strong belief in one of the measures of groupness given their age, sex, education and district, I compute the weighted averages of these probabilities to estimate the proportion of such support in each district. This is done using the post-stratification file that contains demographic types of each person in each county. For example the number of males, aged 18-24, who have completed a high school education, in Kericho, is 1,376. The post-stratification file has 3,008 observations, each representing a particular person-type in every county. By specifying a set of individual demographic and geographic values, the results of the opinion model above allow us to make a prediction of strong belief in groupness. The resulting prediction in each cell is then weighted by the actual population frequency of that cell, followed by a calculation of the average response for each cell in every district.

I then calculate a weighted average of these three mechanisms —commonality, linked fate and leader fate — to come up with a measure of groupness for each district. The estimates vary from 38.66 in Kirinyaga to 73.11 in Isiolo (Table 1). The estimates derived from the MRP method are then entered into a multilevel model as group level predictors for political behaviour and competition.[2]

6.4 Results of analysis

For brevity, the results presented in the tables are those that only include the interaction effects. The discussion, however, will compare these models to the null models which do not include the interaction term. The comparison will give us a better sense of the magnitude of improvement our models gain through the inclusion of the interaction between intra-coalition competition and the particular ethnic groupness mechanism. In the first model (table xx, column 1) we see that the main effect of ethnic groupness —it's weighted average— has significant and positive effect on party competition, as signaled by the variable's negative coefficient — lower vote margin (-2.58) — holding all else equal. Intra-coalition competition also has a positive and significant effect on party competition — lowering the vote margin by 1.22. When we look at the interactive effect, however, we do notice a strong and negative effect on party competition. Where

[1] For reference the questions asked to measure tap into these sentiments are: How much do you think you have in common with [INSERT NAME OF ETHNIC GROUP DOMINATING IN REGION OF INTERVIEW]? Response options are: 1. Nothing; 2. Only A Little; 3.A Fair Amount; 4. A Great Amount; Do you think what happens to [INSERT NAME OF ETHNIC GROUP DOMINATING IN REGION OF INTERVIEW] in this country will affect what happens in your life?Response options are: 1.No; 2. Yes, A Little; 3. Yes, A Lot.; Do you think that the ability of a [INSERT NAME OF ETHNIC GROUP DOMINATING IN REGION OF INTERVIEW] leader to win a national election will affect what happens in your life? Response options are: 1.No; 2. Yes, A Little; 3. Yes, A Lot

[2] A table with the derived scores is available in the chapter's appendix.

there is intra-coalition competition, a one unit increase in ethnic groupness increases the vote margin between the two top candidates; this interaction in our model increases the vote margin by 2.15 (χ^2= 10.93); p= 0.00). Voters, even when faced with intra-coalition competition, which candidates believe will benefit them regardless of the sociological constraints that exist on the group, are strategic in their vote choices.

Controlling for an area's level of commonality, however, appears to have little impact on an area's vote margin, all else equal. In fact, it is only the presence of intra-coalition competition that appears to have a significant impact; having coalition members compete against each other in a constituency, reduces the vote margin. The model also reveals that the addition of the interaction, does little to explain the variation in party competition across constituencies. This is despite offering suggestive evidence in support of the hypothesis by moving in the expected positive direction.

Analysis of linked fate's effect on party competition at the constituency level, holding all else constant, reveals that it has a positive effect: the vote margin between the top two candidates is reduced by 1.85. Intra-coalition competition also has a positive effect on party competition by reducing the vote margin by 0.95. When we interact these two terms, however, we find that with a unit increase in linked fate in areas with intra-coalition competition, voters act strategically and coordinate their votes in such a way as to increase the vote margin between the two top contenders for the parliamentary seat: by 1.55. This interaction is significant giving us confidence in the finding. In fact, in comparing the full model —inclusive the interaction— to the null model —absent the interaction— we see that the interaction contributes to our understanding of the phenomenon by reducing the vote margin by 1.55 (χ^2= 8.59); p= 0.00).

Leader fate, appears to have a similar effect on party competition as linked fate, when all else is held constant. Leader fate leads to an increase in party competition as indicated by the lower vote margin, which is reduced by 1.31. Intra-coalition competition also has a similar effect in this model, which is an increase in party competition. The vote margin is reduced by 0.60. The interaction between leader fate and intra-coalition competition shows that party competition is reduced as the vote-margin increases by 0.95 (χ^2= 5.07); p= 0.02). It is interesting to also note that it is in controlling for leader fate's effect and the interaction between leader fate and intra-coalition competition, that ethnic fractionalization has a statistically significant effect, in the negative direction often assumed. Higher levels of ethnic fractionalization increase party competition as indicated by the negative coefficient.

In figures one, two, and three, I plot the interactions of these groupness factors with intra-coalition competition so to get a better sense of their effect on the vote margin with which candidates win parliamentary elections. In each of the figures, the predictor with lower range, in this case the occurrence of intra-coalition competition, is used as the grouping variable and is indicated by the different lines. The lowest value (labelled lower bound in the plot)is used to indicate the absence of the interaction— where intra-coalition competition exerts no moderating effect from the particular groupness factor. The higher value of this grouping variable, labelled higher bound in the plot, is used to calculate the effect of the interaction: where intra-coalition competition does have the desired moderating effect on the specific ethnic groupness factor. As each of the figures show, the vote margin with which candidates win the election tends to be much higher where intra-coalition competition is interacted with the particular ethnic groupness factor, than where no such interaction occurs. Where intra-coalition competition occurs, a one unit increase in linked fate (figure 2), for instance, increases the vote margin with which a candidate wins a parliamentary seat, compared to areas where such an interaction is assumed to not take place.

	Ethnic Groupness	Commonality	Linked Fate	Leader Fate
Groupness (wt. avg)	-2.58^{***}			
	(0.64)			
Groupness*:Intra-Coalition Comp	2.16^{**}			
	(0.66)			
Commonality		-0.20		
		(0.29)		
Commonality:Intra-Coalition Comp		0.16		
		(0.29)		
Linked Fate			-1.86^{***}	
			(0.53)	
Linked Fate:Intra-Coalition Comp			1.55^{**}	
			(0.54)	
Leader Fate				-1.31^{**}
				(0.42)
Leader Fate:Intra-Coalition Comp				0.95^{*}
				(0.43)
Intra-Coalition Comp	-1.23^{***}	$-0.33^{\cdot}$	-0.96^{***}	-0.60^{***}
	(0.31)	(0.18)	(0.26)	(0.18)
Ethnic Fractionalization	-0.10	$-0.13^{\cdot}$	-0.09	$-0.12^{\cdot}$
	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Population(log)	0.00	0.01	0.02	0.01
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Urban	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
New Constitution	0.03	0.04	0.03	0.03
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Intercept	1.66^{**}	0.50	1.17^{*}	0.89^{*}
	(0.53)	(0.50)	(0.48)	(0.45)
AIC	-52.38	-33.59	-47.81	-45.53
BIC	-15.86	2.93	-11.29	-9.00
Log Likelihood	36.19	26.80	33.91	32.76
Num. obs.	285	285	285	285
Num. groups: County	47	47	47	47
Var: County— Intercept	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Var: Residual	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\cdot}p < 0.1$

Table 6.1: Vote-Margin Determinants

The results above show that the groupness indicators, in particular, linked fate and leader fate, when interacted with the intra-coalition competition, do exert the hypothesized reductive effect on party competition. They increase the vote margin, which signals lower party competition. It is, however, possible that this effect is an artifact of the conceptualization of party competition. To ensure that this is not the case, the following analysis uses the alternative measure of the proportion of votes won by the winning candidate. The expectation is that in high ethnic groupness areas, leading candidates will win a larger proportion of the votes as voters are aware of which candidate has been both credibly endorsed and will act in the group's interest. In low groupness areas, however, such coordination by voters is unlikely as the endorsements are deemed incredible and the likelihood of candidates being assessed on their potential benefit to the group, minimal.

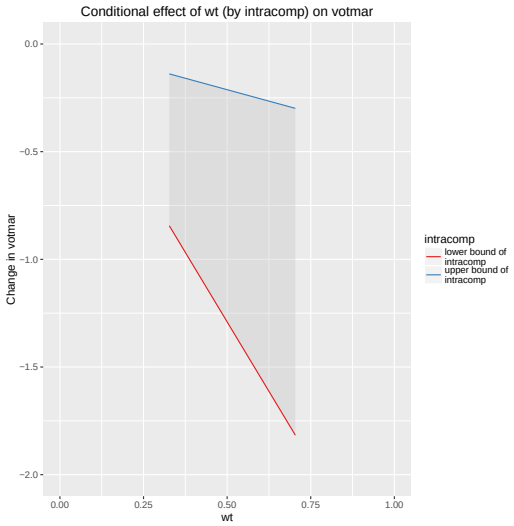

Figure 6.1: Interaction of Avg. Groupness and Intra-Coalition Comp on Winner's Vote Margin

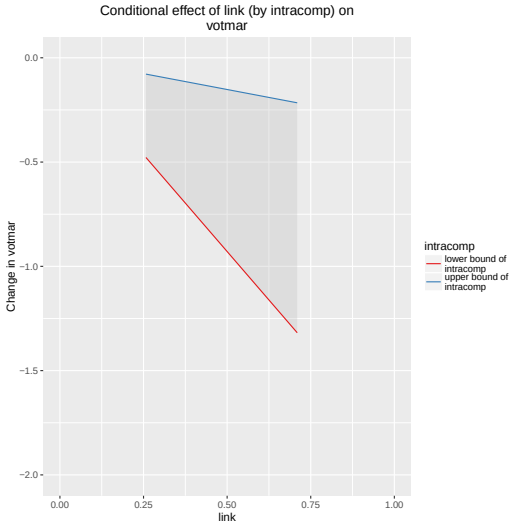

Figure 6.2: Interaction of Linked Fate and Intra-Coalition Comp on Winner's Vote Margin

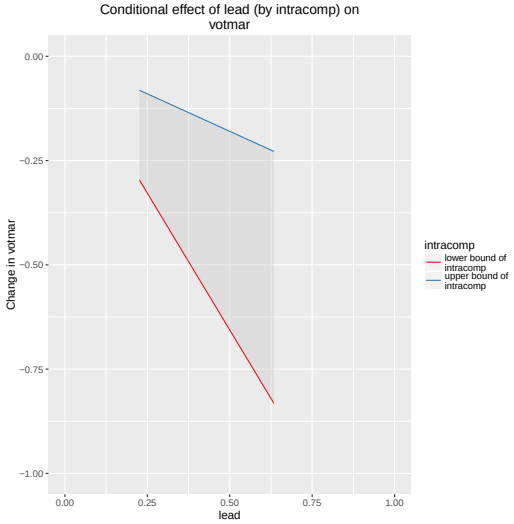

Figure 6.3: Interaction of Leader Fate and Intra-Coalition Comp on Winner's Vote Margin

The weighted average of ethnic groupness has a dampening and significant effect on the winner's proportion when all else is held constant. The weighted average of ethnic groupness decreases the winner's proportion by 1.47. Again, intra-coalition competition continues to exert a positive and statistically significant effect on the winner's proportion. Victors win by a smaller proportion where intra-coalition competition takes place. When these two variables are interacted we see that in a one unit increase in the level of ethnic groupness where intra-coalition is taking place results in victors winning a larger proportion of the votes than in areas with no intra-coalition competition. The winner's proportion is increased by 1.15 (χ^2= 6.44); p= 0.01)

Much like in the analysis of commonality's effect on the vote margin, this groupness indicator has no statistically significant effect on the proportion of votes with which the victor wins. In fact, only intra-coalition competition seems to have an impact on the winner's proportion. Holding all else constant, we see that intra-coalition competition actually decreases the victor's proportion of victory by 0.23. The interaction between commonality and intra-coalition competition shows that despite not reaching significance, does move in the expected positive direction — indicating a larger proportion of votes being won by the victor.

Analysis of linked fate shows that by holding all other variables constant, it actually decreases the winner's proportion of votes. Linked fate decreases the proportion by 1.13. Intra-coalition competition also reduces the winner's proportion by 0.57, a finding that reaches conventional levels of significance. Once we control for the interaction between these two variables, we see that a one unit increase in linked fate in places facing intra-coalition competition actually increases the winner's proportion; the proportion is increased by 0.87 (χ^2= 5.77); p= 0.01).

Leader fate also has a dampening effect on the probability of the victor winning by a large proportion; the results show that leader fate reduces the proportion of victory by 0.68, when the value of intra-coalition competition is zero, while intra-coalition competition reduces it by 0.34, when the value of leader fate is zero. Interacting these two variables, however, shows that voters respond by concentrating their votes around a single candidate allowing her to win a significant proportion of votes. The winner's proportion of votes is increased by 0.44 (χ^2= 2.77); p= 0.09).

Figures four through six plot the interactive effect of intra-coalition competition and ethnic groupness on the proportion with which candidates win parliamentary office. As we see, the pattern mirrors that observed in testing the effect of this interaction on the vote margin of candidates: candidates, in areas where we interact intra-coalition competition with ethnic groupness tend to win the election with a higher proportion of the votes than where this interaction is not considered.

	Ethnic Groupness(wt)	Commonality	Leader Fate	Linked Fate
Groupness (wt. avg)	-1.47^{**}			
	(0.46)			
Groupness*Intra-Coalition Comp	1.15^{*}			
	(0.46)			
Commonality		-0.17		
		(0.21)		
Commonality*Intra-Coalition Comp		0.11		
		(0.19)		
Linked Fate			-1.13^{**}	
			(0.37)	
Linked Fate*Intra-Coalition Comp			0.87^{*}	
			(0.37)	
Leader Fate				-0.68^{*}
				(0.31)
Leader Fate:Intra-Coalition Comp				0.44
				(0.30)
Intra-Coalition Comp	-0.70^{**}	$-0.24^{\cdot}$	-0.58^{**}	-0.34^{**}
	(0.21)	(0.12)	(0.18)	(0.12)
Ethnic Fractionalization	-0.07	-0.08	-0.06	-0.08
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Population(logged)	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Urban	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
New Constituency	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Intercept	1.52^{***}	0.91^{*}	1.29^{***}	1.06^{**}
	(0.38)	(0.36)	(0.35)	(0.33)
AIC	-256.91	-244.37	-255.05	-250.72
BIC	-220.39	-207.85	-218.53	-214.19
Log Likelihood	138.46	132.19	137.53	135.36
Num. obs.	285	285	285	285
Num. groups: countycode	47	47	47	47
Var: countycode (Intercept)	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Var: Residual	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\cdot}p < 0.1$

Table 6.2: Vote Proportion Determinants

The results from the analysis reveal that perceptions of groupness make better explanations of the variation in party competition at the constituency level than the conventionally argued for ethnic fractionalization. In particular, they show that linked fate — the belief that life chances are intertwined with those of co-ethnics — and leader fate — the belief that one's life chances are determined by having a co-ethnic in power — are more reliable indicators of the type of competition that occurs locally. Where these two groupness indicators are high, voters tend to coordinate their votes around particular leaders leading to the winner winning with higher margins and proportions. In low groupness areas, the vote margin between the two top candidates are lower and winners win with lower proportions. These results, however, are moderated by the presence of intra-coalition competition. The significance of the interaction between the groupness indicator and intra-coalition competition points to the potential sophistication of voters. Their voting decisions not only take into consideration their socio-psychological environment but also respond to the conditions cast upon them by the parties, in this case, the presence of intra-coalition competition.

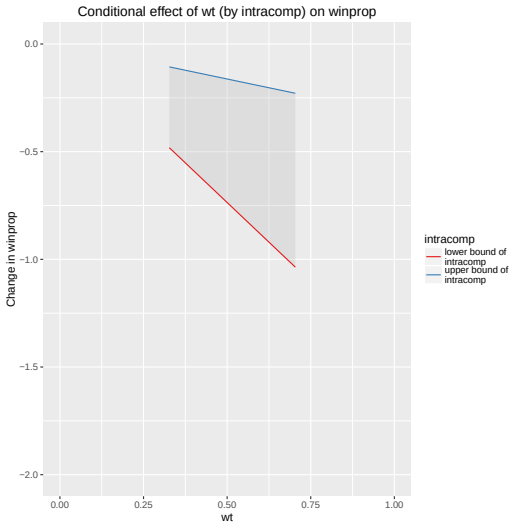

Figure 6.4: Interaction of Avg. Groupness and Intra-Coalition Comp on Winner's Vote Proportion

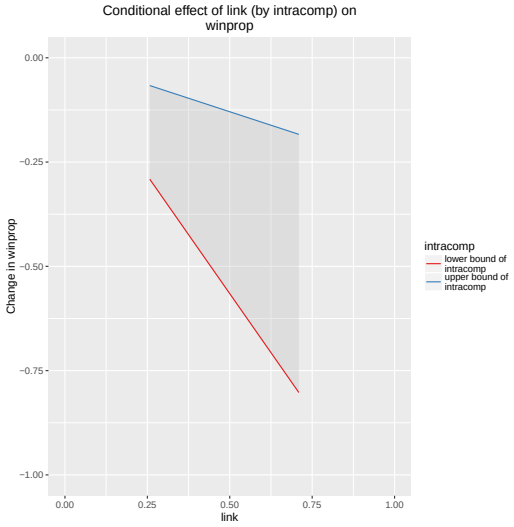

Figure 6.5: Interaction of Linked Fate and Intra-Coalition Comp on Winner's Vote Proportion

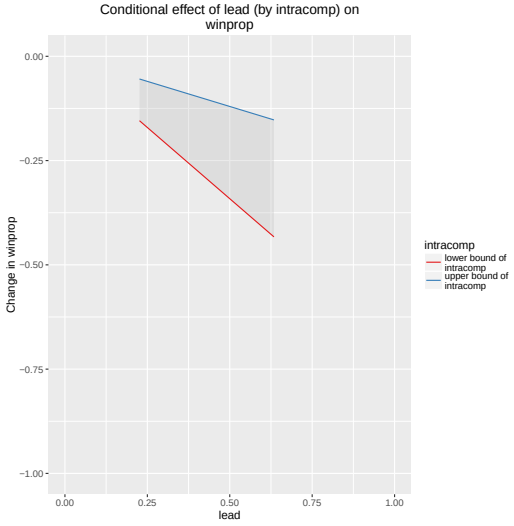

Figure 6.6: Interaction of Leader Fate and Intra-Coalition Comp on Winner's Vote Proportion

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter sought to explain how ethnic groupness can lead to the creation of safe seats as proxied by candidates winning with higher vote margins and higher proportions of the vote in a constituency. Contrary to conventional wisdom, it argued that voters decisions are guided not just by their ethnic identity but by how intertwined they feel their life chances are with those of their co-ethnic kin and politicians. The argument also suggests that voter decisions are influenced by the electoral dynamics present in the constituency, in this case, the occurrence of intra-coalition competition. This is to say, that there is an interactive effect that makes the effect of groupness conditional on whether a constituency is subjected to members from the same coalition competing against each other. The results of the analysis confirm that this interactive effect does in fact exist with high ethnic groupness sentiments, particularly those associated with linked fate and leader fate, increasing the vote margin and proportion with which candidates win elections, where intra-coalition competition occurs. Voters according to this model are making sophisticated decisions in taking in multiple relevant pieces of information and incorporating them into their vote choice. These results suggest that our models of voting behaviour in these developing states need to be re-evaluated.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This dissertation's main argument is that in order to understand the variation in party competition and political behavior across groups that are living under similar sociological and institutional constraints, one must consider the ways in which ethnic identities have developed, how individuals —both elite and mass— understand their identity and how this understanding affects their political behavior. The findings show that ethnic groups have differed in their development and that this is largely due to the work of ethnic associations that have worked tirelessly define group boundaries, link these identities to political preferences and to coordinate the group's masses and elite behind a single banner. As a result of their efforts, there are significant differences in the ways individuals think of their ethnic identities and their positions within their respective groups. It is these differences in political thought that best explain the current variation in the political party options available to voters, their political behavior and the level of sub-national party competition. In this chapter, I restate the dissertation's argument, main findings and then conclude by examining its implications for the broader study of ethnic politics and party systems in developing societies.

7.2 Argument and Findings

The dissertation was motivated by a desire to understand the observed variation across time and space in the number of political options available to different ethnic groups in places where conventional wisdom argues against such a phenomenon. To date, conventional wisdom on African politics has asserted that elite and voter choices are largely determined by ethnic identities. Though these models have advanced our understanding of ethnic politics on the continent, they have left several assumptions unaddressed: in particular, the extent to which ethnic groups are both homogenous and monolithic entities. The dissertation's aim is to unpack the meaning of these ethnic identities for group members and to trace how these understandings/self-perception affect the group's political behavior and the type of party competition it experiences. To build the argument I rely on original and existing data, employ several methods and analytical approaches.

The argument beings with the premise that to understand how ethnicity affects political behavior and competition, we must first make sense of its history. To this end, I begin by tracing the origins of ethnic identities from the colonial period to the current multi-party era. Building on work that argues that ethnic identities are constructs, I show that ethnic identities are a result of the conscious efforts made by ethnic associations that recognized the importance of a cohesive bloc in their interactions with the colonial government. Creating this bloc required more than just linking individuals to a particular label. It required both that individuals view politics through the lens of the identity and that political contestants be coordinated in such a way as to not divide the group's vote. In essence, the associations had to create durable links that encourage group members to see each other as having life chances that are intertwined with both

their co-ethnic kin and their co-ethnic politicians. I consider each of these aspects as contributors to the groupness factor; that is, commonality (linking individuals to a particular label), linked fate (encouraging members to see their life chances as intertwined), and leader fate (encouraging members to see their life chances as intertwined with co-ethnic politicians winning national political office). I then show how the success (or lack thereof) of ethnic associations has mattered for group politics, even under different regime types.

The second part of the argument looks at the observable implication of this argument; namely, that if ethnic associations have been historically engaged in this groupness creating process, then we should observe variation across groups in the extent to which their members express a belief in each of these factors. These differences in the groupness sentiment should also correspond to each group's history with ethnic associations. The results of the analysis conform to the hypothesis laid out: individuals who come from groups with histories of strong ethnic associations are more likely to express strong feelings of ethnic groupness.

Having established the historical basis for ethnic groupness and laid out its contemporary manifestation at the individual level, the dissertation shifts its focus to explaining the effect of groupness on the political options available to voters, its effect on their political behavior and the level of competition. Using hierarchical models due to the groupness measures being district level and outcome variables are at the constituency level, Chapter Three considers the manner in which ethnic groupness alters the incentives for politicians who wish to run for office. The results of the analysis reveal that the entry decisions made by politicians are indeed constrained by the level of groupness that exists in their community. Those who are from high ethnic groupness areas are less likely to run for office compared to those in low groupness areas. The finding, however, is dependent on the candidate's coalition.

Chapter Five considers how ethnic groupness affects the turnout rates at the constituency level. The argument in this chapter is that ethnic groupness and the links it creates between individuals that allows them to assess to what extent their interests align with those of co-ethnics. In places where there is high ethnic groupness, voters will tend to have aligned interests that lead to vote-approximation; that is, the belief that their vote will resemble that of co-ethnics. These expectations reduce the incentives for voters to turnout on election-day as their preferences will be reflected by co-ethnics. In low groupness areas, however, voter interests will be less aligned leading to voters not believing that their vote will resemble those of co-ethnics. As a result turnout will be higher in these areas. The results of the analysis conform to the hypothesis: turnout levels tend to be higher in constituencies where ethnic groupness is lower as voters wish to ensure that their preferred candidate wins. They cannot trust that their co-ethnics will reflect their wishes at the ballot box.

The sixth chapter examined how ethnic groupness influences the level party of competition at the constituency level. Using the vote margin and vote proportion with which candidates wins seats as the relevant metrics, it argued that high levels of ethnic groupness would decrease competition —indicated by higher levels of each indicator. The logic underlying this argument is that in high groupness areas, voters tend to be more coordinated and thus will concentrate their votes around a particular candidate, allowing her to win with higher margins and proportions of the votes.

7.3 Implications

This dissertation contributes to a number of related literatures. First, it contributes to the literature on ethnicity, by empirically demonstrating that individuals not only have differing understandings of their position within the group but that these differences account for the observed variation across groups in their political behavior, competition and organization. As such, the approach challenges the existing literature on ethnic identities that treats individuals within these groups as having similar opinions on and attachments to the identity label, simply by virtue of sharing the identity label.

Second, the dissertation contributes to the literature on institutions and their enduring effect on society.Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson (2001), for example, argue that the structure of colonial property

rights has had long-run effects on economic development. Boone (2003) shows how pre-colonial political hierarchies and social structures influenced the state-building strategies of colonial and post-independence regimes. Similarly, though ethnic associations and the groupness they cultivated find their origins in the colonial period, they remain relevant in contemporary political settings. They have reproduced themselves throughout the country's different institutional regimes and maintained an active role in their ethnic group's political direction. As a result, these institutions need to be incorporated into our analyses and models of African political development.

Third, the dissertation makes a contribution to the party politics literature. By focusing on the micro-foundations of ethnic identities we get a clearer and more nuanced picture of how these labels are related to the development of party systems even within countries. Much in support of previous work on the topic, the dissertation shows that party systems are responsive to the sociological makeup of the communities in which they are embedded.

Further research is required to test the existence and effect of these groupness sentiments across different African settings. With ethnic associations argued to play significant roles in the politics of Nigeria, Cameroon and even Malawi, it is likely that they have worked closely with their group's political establishment to create ethnic blocs monopolies. In Cameroun, for instance, the central government uses ethnic associations to create linkages with local communities. Politicians who wish to win office must rely on these associations to win office and gain access state resources (Nyamnjoh and Rowlands, 1998). In the Democratic Republic of Congo, Gobbers (2016) shows that ethnic associations are important in defining group membership particularly in resource rich areas. This is done in an effort to resolve conflicts, mobilize voters politically, and define who are the legitimate beneficiaries of local resources. Survey methodology could be leveraged to measure the existence of these groupness sentiments. In addition, experimental methods that rely on priming individuals with these sentiments can also be used to measure the causal effect of on vote choice. This study has sought to lay the foundation for future studies that are interested in understanding the development of party systems in developing and multi-ethnic societies.

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Appendix A

Chapter 3 Appendix Pt. 1

A.1

Table A.1: Summary Statistics

N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Ethnic	3505	2.653923	1.056239	1	4
Sex	3505	.5064194	.5000301	0	1
Urban	3505	.4382311	.4962407	0	1
Age	3505	2.462197	1.027482	1	4
Education	3505	10.33039	3.983607	0	18
Employment	3505	2.361198	1.211004	1	4
Economic Situation	3505	1.859058	.8245614	1	4
Commonality	3505	1.70271	1.051503	0	3
Linked Fate	3505	2.394294	1.052433	1	3
Leader Fate	3505	2.638231	1.488855	1	3

Table A.2: Commonality Across Groups (row proportions)

Ethnic Group	Nothing	A Little	A Fair Amount	A Great Deal
Luo	12.89	26.06	31.41	29.63
Kamba	19.52	24.14	34.59	21.75
Kikuyu	16.43	18.05	37.05	28.47
Luhya	22.07	23.04	27.74	27.14
Total	17.55	21.91	33.27	27.28

Figure A.1: Commonality Across Groups in February and October

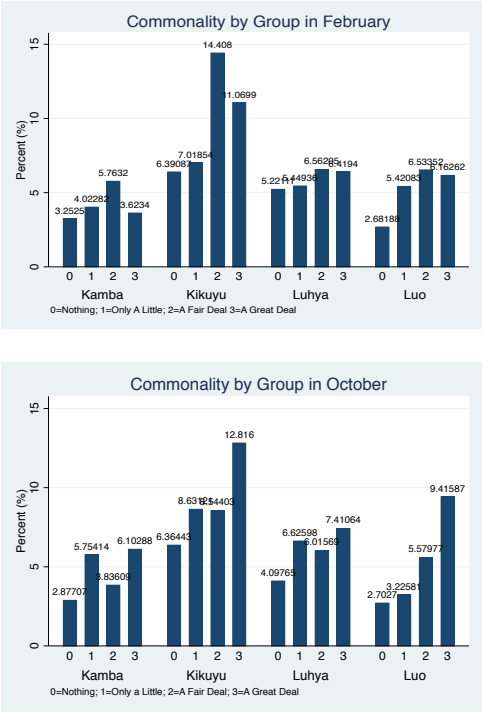

Table A.3: Linked Fate Across Groups (row proportions)

Ethnic Group	No	Yes, A Little	Yes, A Lot
Luo	25.26	49.47	25.26
Kamba	33.99	43.28	22.72
Kikuyu	39.71	40.36	19.91
Luhya	31.31	42.38	26.31
Total	33.51	43.40	23.07

Figure A.2: Linked Fate Across Groups in February and October

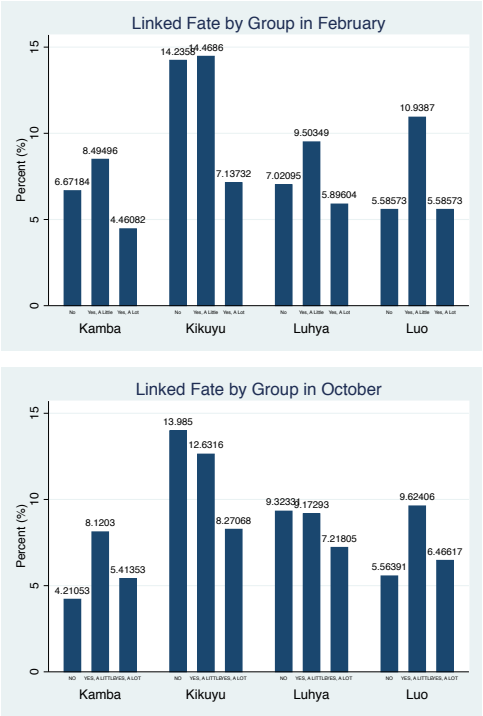

Table A.4: Leader Fate Across Groups (row proportions)

Ethnic Group	No	Yes, A Little	Yes, A Lot
Luo	27.11	46.83	26.28
Kamba	43.44	38.93	17.62
Kikuyu	49.94	33.90	16.15
Luhya	39.92	34.89	25.19
Total	33.51	43.40	23.07

Figure A.3: Leader Fate Across Groups in February and October

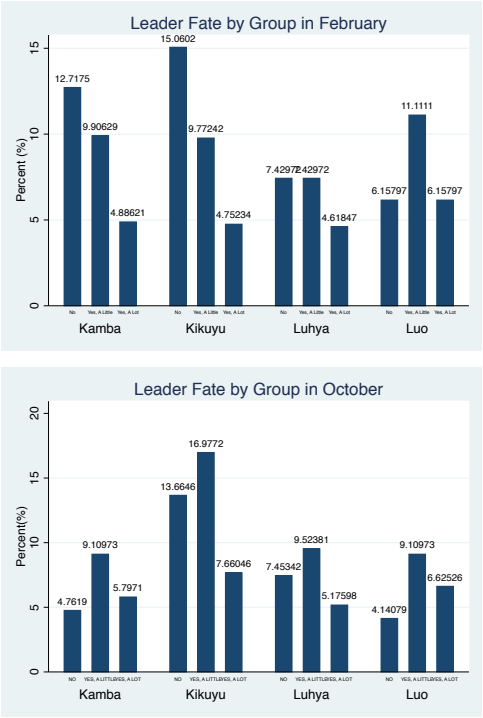

Table A.5: Commonality Across Groups

Commonality	Full Model February	Full Model October	February	October
Kamba	-0.288***	-0.635***	-0.317***	-0.551***
	(0.102)	(0.208)	(0.0961)	(0.186)
Kikuyu	0.0107	-0.450**	0.0132	-0.483***
	(0.0846)	(0.185)	(0.0807)	(0.160)
Luhya	-0.256***	-0.660***	-0.282***	-0.640***
	(0.0979)	(0.190)	(0.0940)	(0.170)
Male	0.0862	-0.189		
	(0.0648)	(0.128)		
Urban	-0.198***	0.0552		
	(0.0702)	(0.132)		
Self-Employed	-0.240***	0.0581		
	(0.0870)	(0.174)		
Dependent	-0.476**	-0.0896		
	(0.196)	(0.238)		
Employed	-0.105	-0.00907		
	(0.0926)	(0.172)		
Age	-0.00584	0.0887		
	(0.0326)	(0.0672)		
Education	-0.00912	0.00614		
	(0.00891)	(0.0188)		
Econ. Stayed the Same	-0.231***	-0.252		
	(0.0747)	(0.206)		
Econ. Worsened	-0.0863	0.275*		
	(0.0835)	(0.167)		
Econ. Improved	0.243	0.627		
	(0.325)	(0.865)		
Constant cut1	-2.052***	-1.714***	-1.668***	-2.099***
	(0.161)	(0.366)	(0.0708)	(0.152)
Constant cut2	-0.903***	-0.456	-0.543***	-0.840***
	(0.159)	(0.358)	(0.0672)	(0.131)
Constant cut3	0.525***	0.473	0.873***	0.112
	(0.159)	(0.357)	(0.0692)	(0.129)
Observations	3,505	1,130	3,505	1,130

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A.6: Linked Fate Across Groups

Linked Fate	February Full Model	October Full Model	February	October
Kamba	-0.213*	0.338	-0.313***	0.0125
	(0.117)	(0.247)	(0.113)	(0.254)
Kikuyu	-0.511***	0.0403	-0.527***	-0.248
	(0.105)	(0.265)	(0.102)	(0.231)
Luhya	-0.0819	-0.0367	-0.188*	-0.334
	(0.113)	(0.256)	(0.111)	(0.230)
A Little	0.756***	1.327***		
	(0.122)	(0.269)		
A Fair Amount	1.092***	1.588***		
	(0.122)	(0.301)		
A Great Amount	2.088***	2.593***		
	(0.144)	(0.322)		
Male	-0.0991	0.368**	-0.0531	0.260
	(0.0797)	(0.182)	(0.0787)	(0.164)
Urban	-0.0232	-0.348*	-0.0792	-0.300*
	(0.0867)	(0.186)	(0.0852)	(0.170)
Self-Employed	0.138	0.302	0.0564	0.284
	(0.113)	(0.233)	(0.111)	(0.213)
Dependent	0.223	0.275	0.0680	0.275
	(0.250)	(0.485)	(0.237)	(0.435)
Employed	0.111	0.373	0.0770	0.355*
	(0.117)	(0.235)	(0.114)	(0.212)
Age	0.0510	-0.0282	0.0442	0.0209
	(0.0406)	(0.0855)	(0.0392)	(0.0754)
Education	-0.00296	-0.0213	-0.00531	-0.000714
	(0.0117)	(0.0251)	(0.0117)	(0.0241)
Econ. Stayed the Same	-0.0886	-0.0687	-0.171*	-0.213
	(0.0903)	(0.291)	(0.0890)	(0.258)
Econ. Worsened	0.194*	0.692***	0.124	0.647***
	(0.105)	(0.238)	(0.104)	(0.213)
Econ. Unsure	-0.0625	1.014	0.0411	1.834
	(0.358)	(2.441)	(0.354)	(1.335)
Constant cut1	0.198	1.160**	-0.962***	-0.307
	(0.219)	(0.488)	(0.192)	(0.392)
Constant cut2	2.292***	3.147***	0.937***	1.414***
	(0.226)	(0.509)	(0.192)	(0.397)
Observations	2,578	566	2,578	566

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A.7: Leader Fate Across Groups

Leader Fate	Full Model February	Full Model October	February	October
Kamba	-0.553***	-0.0963	-0.612***	-0.148
	(0.121)	(0.308)	(0.119)	(0.308)
Kikuyu	-0.841***	-0.452	-0.848***	-0.465*
	(0.109)	(0.296)	(0.106)	(0.278)
Luhya	-0.275**	-0.619*	-0.376***	-0.762**
	(0.118)	(0.332)	(0.118)	(0.308)
A Little	0.855***	1.550***		
	(0.129)	(0.302)		
A Fair Amount	0.974***	1.337***		
	(0.129)	(0.366)		
A Great Amount	1.499***	2.437***		
	(0.145)	(0.359)		
Male	0.0401	0.209	0.0410	0.149
	(0.0817)	(0.214)	(0.0812)	(0.195)
Urban	0.0438	-0.288	0.0185	-0.171
	(0.0924)	(0.228)	(0.0912)	(0.212)
Self-Employed	0.0548	0.0651	-0.0162	0.0391
	(0.117)	(0.279)	(0.115)	(0.257)
Dependent	0.236	1.004*	0.0879	0.756
	(0.229)	(0.518)	(0.231)	(0.550)
Employed	-0.0988	0.356	-0.137	0.198
	(0.123)	(0.281)	(0.120)	(0.269)
Age	-0.0466	0.0806	-0.0490	0.0827
	(0.0412)	(0.107)	(0.0411)	(0.0920)
Education	-0.0169	-0.0181	-0.0164	-0.0329
	(0.0118)	(0.0318)	(0.0116)	(0.0274)
Econ. Stayed the Same	0.146	-0.525	0.0618	-0.406
	(0.0918)	(0.357)	(0.0912)	(0.326)
Econ. Worsened	0.241**	0.402	0.178	0.646**
	(0.109)	(0.288)	(0.108)	(0.272)
Econ. Unsure	0.358	0.631**	0.363	0.802
	(0.474)	(0.291)	(0.483)	(0.963)
Constant cut3	1.745***		0.648***	
	(0.232)		(0.198)	
Constant cut1	-0.101	0.632	-1.119***	-0.876*
	(0.228)	(0.628)	(0.200)	(0.512)
Constant cut2	-0.0706	2.852***	-1.090***	1.104**
	(0.227)	(0.649)	(0.200)	(0.513)
Observations	2,421	409	2,421	409

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Appendix B

Chapter 3 Appendix Pt. 2

B.1 Factor Analysis

It is necessary to analyze and confirm the underlying relationship of these three questions — commonality, linked fate and leader fate —to the unobserved and hypothesized concept of groupness. Here, this is done through a factor analysis that looks at the pattern of correlation between measurable indicators with an eye towards inferring the unknown/unobserved factor. The factor loadings that result from the analysis allow us to see if there is an underlying concept that the questions or data are tapping into. Unlike standard methods of factor analysis that are carried out on continuous variables that follow a multivariate normal distribution, the analysis here is focused on ordinal data. This means that rather than using the Pearson's correlation matrix, the polychoric correlation matrix is used as it better suited for discretize random variables with a joint normal distribution and yields accurate estimates of the underlying relationship (Carroll, 1961). The ordinal alpha will also be calculated to determine the reliability of these three questions in measuring the underlying concept once the factor analysis is complete. This measure is conceptually equivalent to Cronbach's alpha though it is based on the polychoric matrix. The ordinal coefficients focus on the reliability of the unobserved continuous variables underlying the observed item responses (Lewis, 2007).

Once the polychoric matrix was produced, the eigenvalues and factor loadings confirm that the three questions do indeed tap into the single concept of groupness. The eigenvalues reveal a single factor and the variables all load positively on the single factor, a range from .42 to .78 (commonality .42, linked fate .78, leader fate .74). In looking at the communalities, which is the amount of variation in the indicators that is due to the unobserved factor, commonality contributes little but the results of Bartlett's Test of Sphericity and KMO indicate that the set of variables are adequately related for factor analysis. In addition, the analysis of the ordinal alpha reveals the questions to be reliable measures of groupness with a score of .6758, which is above conventional levels.

Figure B.1: Factor Analysis

Factor analysis/correlation — Number of obs = **1494**
Method: principal factors — Retained factors = **1**
Rotation: (unrotated) — Number of params = **3**

Factor	Eigenvalue	Difference	Proportion	Cumulative
Factor1	**1.34989**	**1.36621**	**1.2096**	**1.2096**
Factor2	**-0.01632**	**0.20130**	**-0.0146**	**1.1950**
Factor3	**-0.21762**	.	**-0.1950**	**1.0000**

LR test: independent vs. saturated: chi2(**3**) = **1169.40** Prob>chi2 = **0.0000**

Factor loadings (pattern matrix) and unique variances

Variable	Factor1	Uniqueness
commonfourpt	**0.4213**	**0.8225**
link	**0.7885**	**0.3783**
lead	**0.7421**	**0.4493**

Appendix C

Groupness Estimates by District for Ch. 4, 5 and 6

Table C.1: Groupness Levels by District

COUNTY/DISTRICT	COMMONALITY	LINKED FATE	LEADER FATE	MEAN GROUPNESS
Baringo	92.1344	53.1598	30.2622	58.5188
Bomet	60.9329	40.6177	29.9353	43.8286
Bungoma	51.4708	50.3031	36.388	46.054
Busia	47.1069	51.2312	31.3987	43.2456
Elgeyo Marakwet	52.6355	33.8717	31.332	39.2797
Embu	60.986	48.2201	48.1521	52.4528
Garissa	71.2529	45.9697	47.2211	54.8145
Homa Bay	80.3945	53.4417	46.773	60.2031
Isiolo	85.1424	70.9595	63.4051	73.169
Kajiado	54.1005	38.5276	33.6607	42.0963
Kakamega	68.9627	46.3714	44.7803	53.3715
Kericho	70.0171	43.1808	43.7481	52.3153
Kiambu	61.6479	34.9443	26.9249	41.1724
Kilifi	77.7752	52.5102	37.9732	56.0862
Kirinyaga	67.6468	25.7291	22.6156	38.6638
Kisii	49.9715	53.9017	47.3948	50.4227
Kisumu	58.7645	66.6781	59.6501	61.6976
Kitui	85.5048	70.757	58.8527	71.7048
Kwale	87.2209	60.4742	45.2993	64.3315
Laikipia	78.2462	32.8132	22.9935	44.6843
Lamu	68.9738	57.3284	51.3576	59.2199
Machakos	52.3385	56.1294	46.7066	51.7248
Makueni	41.9944	56.0352	48.6437	48.8911
Mandera	39.5171	41.3365	40.4255	40.4264
Marsabit	65.7376	56.4568	53.327	58.5071
Meru	45.7755	47.7914	44.9055	46.1575
Migori	38.1969	54.6286	52.2967	48.3741
Mombasa	58.8382	47.383	35.7945	47.3386
Murang'a	68.4488	39.6629	31.4074	46.5064
Nairobi	48.007	53.1145	39.9604	47.0273
Nakuru	56.7655	49.9358	35.6791	47.4601
Nandi	68.3475	52.4244	29.3752	50.0491
Narok	67.629	47.6138	45.3618	53.5349
Nyamira	70.5918	58.5643	52.1007	60.4189
Nyandarua	55.0013	35.3094	30.7894	40.3667
Nyeri	79.5949	32.3521	32.1315	48.0262
Samburu	84.166	51.6585	44.6234	60.1493
Siaya	57.7743	56.9935	51.7664	55.5114
Taita Taveta	68.8919	39.4541	36.5102	48.2854
Tana River	52.7082	54.7823	45.8725	51.121
Tharaka-Nithi	50.818	47.5943	44.0395	47.4839
Trans Nzoia	54.9684	49.9072	39.8428	48.2395
Turkana	69.7008	41.7002	25.3497	45.5836
Uasin Gishu	75.8024	40.1132	25.565	47.1602
Vihiga	53.5651	46.4112	38.6479	46.208
Wajir	86.1957	44.8546	30.4058	53.8187
West Pokot	56.393	53.3222	49.4402	53.0518

Appendix D

Chapter 5

D.1 Issue Areas

- Corruption
- Crime/Insecurity
- Disease/ill-health/lack of health facilities
- Foreign Influence/Interference
- Government Neglect/Discrimination
- High population growth rate
- Hot Climate
- Inadequate water supply/
- Infertile Soil
- International Economic Forces
- Lack of/poor electricity supply
- Laziness of locals
- Low education/illiteracy
- Other
- Poor Roads
- Selfish/bad/greedy leaders
- Tribalism/Ethnic Tension/Conflict
- Witchcraft
- Religious divisions/conflict