YOUTH POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND DEMOCRATIC ENGAGEMENT IN KENYA: THE CASE OF NAIROBI COUNTY

BY

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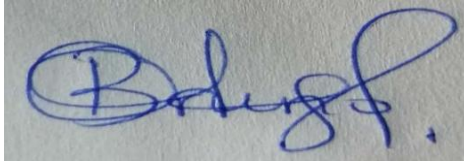
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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been submitted to any other University for an academic award

Signature Date: 29th July 2022

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This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the assigned University Supervisor

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to all those youth who are striving to bring positive change in the society and creating conducive spaces for the youth to be engaged in the country's democratic spaces. May your actions inspire more youth to meaningfully participate in the country's democratic processes and bring the positive change we all hope for.

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List of Abbreviations

AU   African Union

CBO   Community Based Organization

CMD   Center for Multiparty Democracy

CWRs   County Women Representatives

IEBC   Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission

KANU   Kenya African National Union

KNBS   Kenya National Bureau of Statistics

KYDP   Kenya Youth Development Policy

MCAs   Members of County Assembly

MNAs   Members of National Assembly

NCEP   National Civic Education Programme

ODM   Orange Democratic Movement

SES   Socio-Economic Status

SNS   Social Network Sites

UGC   User-Generated Content

ABSTRACT

The youth are important stakeholders in the democratic processes of any country. This study sought to examine the relationship between youth political participation and democratic engagement in Kenya with Nairobi County as the case study. The study was guided by two objectives: examining how (1) resource factors and (2) attitudinal factors influence the democratic engagement of the youth in Nairobi County. The study was guided by the civic voluntarism and attitudinal theories of political participation. The study employed the cross-sectional research design and the target respondents were divided into strata according to the administrative units in the county. Data was collected through the use of survey questionnaire with a sample of 392 respondents filling out the study questionnaire. Analysis was done through the use of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software.

The study established that resources influence the democratic engagement of the youth. Education level and time were found to have statistically significant (p-values of $<.05$) strong positive correlations with democratic engagement while civic skills had a statistically significant association in organizational membership among the youth. With regards to the second objective, the study established existence of very strong positive correlations between external efficacy and democratic engagement while the correlations ranged from very weak to very strong positive when it came to internal efficacy. Social Media efficacy was found to have a statistically significant association (p-values of $<.05$) with involvement in political content creation via social media platforms. Political interest on the other hand had correlations ranging from very weak negative to very strong positive with specific acts of democratic engagement.

The study recommends that relevant stakeholders come up with innovative and creative ways of developing the political interest of the youth through involving them in edutainment activities and also find means of building up the civic skills of the youth for their meaningful engagement in democratic processes requiring civic skills utilization. Youth-led and youth-centric organizations also need to constantly engage the youth on political issues at the community level as a way of increasing their levels of political efficacy beyond the electioneering period.

1.0: INTRODUCTION

1.1: Background to the Study

At the center of any democratic political system is the political engagement of the citizenship in the democratic processes. Political engagement can be looked at as those politically oriented activities that seek to have a direct impact on the political issues, systems and processes (Eckstein, Noack, & Griewosz, 2012). Political actors use democratic engagement as a way of safeguarding the survival and functioning of a democratic political system.

Different scholars have conceptualized democratic engagement in different ways. Some argue that the term is associated with those positive and behavioral orientations towards the mainstream democratic political processes and values (Sanders, Fisher, Heath, & Sobolewska, 2014). According to them, four dimensions constitute democratic engagement: (1) engagement in the electoral processes, (2) engagement in the non-electoral processes, (3) confidence in political institutions and (4) a commitment to the rejection of the use of violence in politics (Sanders, Fisher, Heath, & Sobolewska, 2014). The term can also be used to refer to individuals being engaged in the advancement of democracy either through political institutions, organizations and activities (Canadian Index of Wellbeing, 2010). Others view it as a combination of democratic awareness and democratic participation (Howe & Fosnacht, 2017). Delli Carpini (2004) provides a comprehensive characterization of what democratic engagement is and views it from the lens of a citizen. According to him, for one to be considered as a democratically engaged citizen, they must display certain characteristics: (1) adherence to democratic values and norms, (2) having a set of attitudes and beliefs about the nature of the political and social world that are empirically grounded, (3) hold stable, consistent and informed opinions on major public issues of the day and (4) being engaged in behaviors that are designed to influence the quality of public life for oneself and others either directly or indirectly (Carpini, 2004).

To have an understanding of the linkage between political participation and democratic engagement of the youth, it is important to focus on the political participation variables that help explain the engagement or the lack of engagement in democratic processes. In explaining the

factors that affect political participation, Soud focuses on the role played by agem family, income and regional affiliations (Alelaimat, 2019) to voting behavior of Jordanian university students. Other scholars have also stresses on social status as a variable that helps explain and predict the patterns of political engagement (Bennett & Klecka, 1970). Tambe (2017) focuses on how individual and contextual factors shape electoral participation in African democracies. Interpersonal talk, voting and online information seeking have also been identified as factors of political participation (Kim & Hoewe, 2020). Organizational factors such as community groupings also play an important part in determining the level of political engagement by individuals (Crenson, 1974). In highlighting the evolving nature of participation from the initial forms envisioned by Verba and Nie, Van Deth (2021) highlights how participation has become more individualized and more creative forms of political participation. The development of communication technologies has also led to utilization of social media platforms for political participation (Tariq, Zolkepli, & Ahmad, 2022). Scholars focusing on motivational factors behind political engagement stress on the role played by political interest (Prior, 2010) and political efficacy (Almond & Verba, 1963) as important participation variables that influence democratic engagement.

There have been growing concerns about a decline in the political engagement of citizens, more so the youthful population (Pontes & Matt Henn, 2019) as well as youth discontent with the institutions of democracy (World Forum for Democracy, 2015). Cognizant of the importance of democratic engagement in the promotion of and sustaining a democratic political culture and active citizenship, many governments around the world have adopted a number of strategies geared towards its promotion.

In Europe, in order to promote democratic engagement, the British government launched a National Democracy Week as a way of promoting democratic education, engagement and participation as well as coming up with a democratic engagement plan that seeks to work together with other non-state actors such as political parties in tackling the problem of democratic exclusion (Government of Britain, 2019). In Wales, the Welsh government made a provision in law that would expand the voting franchise and allow 16-17 year olds to vote in elections (Beaufort Research, 2020). It also commissioned the Beaufort Research to find out strategies which can be put in place to democratically engage with those groups of people who

are allowed to vote but are politically disengaged. Part of the findings on why people are disengaged is the lack of results on democracy which limits their participation as well as a lack of information on politics (Beaufort Research, 2020).

In America, studies have shown that the youth are disconnected from politics. A study conducted by the Pew Research Center found out that the older and better educated citizens perform better on measures of civic skills knowledge when compared with the younger generation (Pew Research Center, 2018). Michael Delli argues that the disconnection with public life of young Americans stems from the lack of opportunity, motivations or their ability to be politically engaged and this can be viewed in terms of the lack of opportunities in formal institutions such as political parties and government (Carpini, 2010). To further illustrate this disconnect, Howe and Fosnacht (2017) found that in 2015, only 35% of College Freshmen believed that keeping up with political affairs is essential or very important and this is a decline from 60% in 1966. To try and tackle this problem, the American government established a National Taskforce on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement. In American Colleges, awareness sessions have been initiated for campus students as a way of exposing them to knowledge on politics and the workings of government (The National Taskforce on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement, 2012; The Commission on the Practice of Democratic Citizenship, 2020).

This disconnect is also evident in the African continent. An Afrobarometer survey found that youth political engagement (measured in terms of electoral participation) is generally low at 65% compared to that of persons above 35 years standing at 79% (Afrobarometer, 2016). The same survey also shows that just 53% of the youth are interested (somehow or very) in public affairs compared to 58% of older people, less than 47% engage in civic matters, 10% are not registered to vote or decided not to vote while only 19% belong to a voluntary or community group compared to those above 35 years which is 25% (Afrobarometer, 2016). The African Union (AU) came up with an AU Youth Charter that seeks to increase the empowerment and participation of youth in the social, political and economic spheres of development as a way of encouraging increased engagement of the youth in governance issues.

In Kenya, only 48% of the youth are interested in public affairs and in terms of discussing political issues, 17% do so frequently, 48% occasionally and 35% never discuss (Afrobarometer,

2016). In the 2013 general elections, 86.4% of the youth worked either for a political party or a candidate while the number of those who voted in the 2013 polls is 60.6% which is much lower compared to those above 35 years (Center for Multiparty Democracy (C.M.D.), 2015). In terms of engagement in political institutions, the average political party membership made up of the youth stands at 36% (Center for Multiparty Democracy (C.M.D.), 2015).

The low levels of democratic engagement among the youth in Kenya can be explained by the existing political structures which predominantly favor the older people based on the stereotypes they have of the youth's inability to lead the older people (Makoni, Opere, & Wawire, 2017). Poverty and joblessness faced by the youth is also considered a contributing factor for it casts doubts on the pursuit of post-material values that would make the youth develop interest in politics when compared to older generations that lived at the height of the struggle for democracy in the country (Resnick & Casale, 2011). Corruption associated with politics is also considered a factor that makes the youth shun political engagements (Mutuku, 2020). The internet has emerged as a new avenue for informal engagement for the youth as they are considered safe spaces (Makoni, Opere, & Wawire, 2017). However, inequalities might occur as a result between those with access to the internet and those without access. Such factors might explain why the youth prefer engaging in edutainment[1] activities rather that political issues or issues to do with democratic engagement (Makoni, Opere, & Wawire, 2017).

It is against this background that this study seeks to examine the relationship between political participation and democratic engagement of the youth in Nairobi County by focusing on the resource and attitudinal variables that influence or hinder their political engagement.

1.2: Statement of the Problem

The participation of the youth in politics is a goal desired by different stakeholders based on the important role they can play in safeguarding against democracide. However, there is a negative perception among the youth about their role in politics (King, Harel, Burde, Hill, & Grinsted, 2020). This is either due to their inability to effect change in politics or due to the fact that they are mainly used by politicians as agents of violence during election periods (Kagwanja, 2005;

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[1] These are activities that are geared to not only entertain, but also act as platforms for educating people

Anderson, 2002; Rasmussen, 2010; Kimari, 2020). It is worth noting that resort to use of violence is against one of the dimensions of democratic engagement (Sanders, Fisher, Heath, & Sobolewska, 2014). As a result, there have been low levels of youth political engagement beyond electioneering periods.

In Kenya, the participation of youth (those between age 18 and 34) in politics has been a point of concern in recent years. This is because the youth account for a bigger share of the country's population hence their participation is vital for the functioning of the democracy. As per the 2019 census, the youth account for 29% (13,618,462) of the country's population with 6,504,514 of this being males while 7,113,427 are females (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS), 2019).

The Kenyan government has come up with a number of strategies and policy documents that are geared towards increasing youth's political participation. Most notably is the Constitution of Kenya 2010 which in Article 100(c) requires parliament to enact legislation that will promote the representation of the youth in parliament (Government of Kenya, 2010). In 2019, the State Department for Youth Affairs launched the Kenya Youth Development Policy (K.Y.D.P.) which seeks to "promote the holistic empowerment and youth participation in the socio-economic and political development for themselves, the country and the future" (Government of Kenya (GoK), 2019). In terms of encouraging youth civic participation, the K.Y.D.P. has the following specific objectives: (1) ensuring effective participation and representation among the youth, (2) fostering a spirit of civic volunteerism among the communities in which they live, (3) strengthening youth participation in governance and (4) raising awareness and supporting the voice of the youth (Government of Kenya (GoK), 2019).

Other stakeholders are also required by law to ensure that the constitutional provisions on youth participation are implemented. The Political Parties Act of 2011 requires that political parties establish mechanisms of supporting youth participation in terms of offering them with opportunities as candidates for office and providing them with leadership opportunities within the structures of political parties (Republic of Kenya, 2011).

In spite of the measures that have been initiated to increase youth participation and representation, the numbers still point to a low corresponding of the youth population with

representation. The 2017 election saw an increase in the number of youths who registered as voters as they accounted for 50% of total voter registration up from 46% in 2013 (Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), 2018). Even though they account for majority of the registered voters, the number of youth elected into various offices was still relatively low. In the 2017 general elections, 1 youth was elected as Governor, 11 as senators, 27 as Members of National Assembly (MNAs) 8 as County Women Representatives (CWRs) and 430 as Members of County Assembly (MCAs) (Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), 2018). In its 2018 survey on "youth and women political participation", The Carter Center found out that 90% of those surveyed voted in the 2017 elections, less than 40% ran for office and more than 70% had limited understanding of what political participation entailed (The Carter Centre, 2018).

Given the above statistics, it is clear that the youth are underrepresented and excluded from institutions of government and politics and they remain at the periphery of the political affairs in the country. This could be explained by factors like institutional constraints and inadequate education and training for them to be equipped with civic skills. The lack of access to or inadequate exposure to political information also hinders their participation for information is a key resource for one to be meaningfully engaged with democratic processes.

Most researches done in the area of youth political participation have mainly focused on electoral participation with some focusing on protest participation. This does not offer adequate explanation as to why the youth occupy a peripheral position in the country's politics. To understand the phenomena of low levels of democratic engagement among the youth, there is need to consider the factors unique to individuals in order to have a comprehensive understanding (Tambe, 2017). Scholars have established that resources and motivational factors are important in explaining political participation and eventually democratic engagement (Kim & Hoewe, 2020). There is need to examine those attitudes and perceptions that the youth have which shape and influence their levels of democratic engagement. Also important is an examination of how resources they are endowed with influence their democratic engagement.

This provides us with grounds for examining the relationship between youth political participation and democratic engagement in Kenya with specific focus on Nairobi County in the

period from 2017-2020. This will enable us identify those strategies and/or measures that can be taken to address the low levels of engagement and possible policy measures that can be adopted by stakeholders to generate an increase in the political participation of the youth as well as instilling in them that sense of civic duty and civic mindedness which are essential ingredients for the future prospects of democracy in the country.

1.3: Research Questions

The broad research question is: What is the relationship between youth participation and democratic engagement in Nairobi County?

The specific research questions were:

1. What is the relationship between resources and democratic engagement of the youth in Nairobi County?
2. What is the relationship between attitudinal factors and democratic engagement of the youth in Nairobi County?

1.4: Research Objectives

This study was guided by the following objectives:

1.4.1: Main Objective

The main objective was examining the relationship between youth political participation and democratic engagement in Nairobi County

1.4.2: Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the study were:

1. Determining the relationship between resources and democratic engagement of the youth in Nairobi County;
2. To determine the relationship between attitudinal factors and democratic engagement of the youth in Nairobi County;

1.5: Justification of the Study

1.5.1: Academic Justification

In most studies focusing on youth participation in the country, most of the focus has been on the conventional aspects of participation like voting during elections. Those focusing on the unconventional acts have majorly focused on protest participation. However, there is need to move beyond participation in voting and protest and to look at factors that drive the youth to be politically (dis)engaged. This study sought to fill this gap by focusing on the resource and attitudinal variables that influence their engagement in politics. Focus was on participation even at the local level to ascertain how this builds up their efficacy to participate in national politics.

1.5.2: Policy Justification

The youth are important actors in the future of Kenya's democracy. Democracy cannot be conceived without the participation of the citizens. This study, in seeking to highlight the relationship between resources as well as attitudinal variables and democratic engagement of the youth, will provide insights to stakeholders like political parties and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) on how they can better equip the youth with political information and participatory skills to make them better in their engagement with democratic processes. Also, it will sought to explore how the Community Based Organizations (CBOs) focusing on democracy and governance issues can act as group resources for youth by lowering the costs of individuals participation, especially the cost of information acquisition. Through this, the youth will become more civic-minded and develop a sense of civic duty which will make Kenya a vibrant democracy.

1.6: Scope of the Study (Time period, focus and their justifications)

This study aimed at examining youth political participation and democratic engagement in Kenya, specifically focusing on Nairobi County. In terms of time, the study covers the period between 2017 and 2020. This period is important for there was a general election providing an opportunity for the electoral participation of the youth as well as a number of other non-conventional activities such as public demonstrations and protests as a consequence of these elections and other avenues for the youth's democratic engagement.

In terms of geographical scope, the focus was on Nairobi County. Being the capital city, the county is multi-ethnic hence making it an ideal case study for youth participation. The county also comprises majority of the youth in the country. With the educational and economic advantages of being a capital city, the youth are considered to be better informed about political issues and organize their politics around national issues. A majority of the political institutions, both formal and informal, are also located in the city hence the youth have a variety of avenues for engagement with the various democratic processes based on their interests.

1.7: Literature Review

Introduction

This section reviews literature on youth political participation in relation to democratic engagement. The focus will be on the issue of democratic engagement as well as the resource and attitudinal explanations for political participation. It will highlight the various factors and the associated variables that will be important for this study. It is from this review that the hypothesis will be generated.

1.7.1: Democratic Engagement

Democratic engagement is considered to be an important aspect for the survival of any democratic political system. A number of scholars have written on the subject with some focusing on how it's developed (Deth, 2021), others on its decline and how it affects the political system (Pontes & Matt Henn, 2019) while some have focused on the factors contributing to low levels of engagement (Collin, 2015).

Howe and Fosnacht (2017) argue that education plays an important role in the success of a democracy. They make the argument on the need to look beyond service-learning in American colleges for it is not sufficient in the promotion of democratic participation and awareness since it mostly focuses on how to improve the society but cannot always make the students to be engaged in formal politics (Howe & Fosnacht, 2017). They make use of the theory of social capital to argue that the college experience is important in cultivating social capital which might then lead to greater political engagement (Ibid). Robiadek et. al., (2019) argue that student organizations can play an important role in the building of social capital. While these studies

have focused on the college experience in America, my study will seek to go beyond college students in an attempt to discern the patterns of engagement since a good number of the youth in Nairobi County have no college education and thus create an understanding based on individuals' education level.

Others have focused on the psychological and non-cognitive attributes that help explain the origins of democratic engagement among students. For example, Holbein et. al., (2018) argue that grit and perseverance are important in this and observe that these psychological attributes are strong predictors of youth civic engagement due to the fact that they shape the development of those attitudes and habits in individuals that are necessary for them to be democratically engaged beyond school (Holbein, Hillgus, Lenard, Gibson-Davis, & Hill, 2018). For this study, focus will be on political efficacy of the youth since it is possible to measure when compared with grit which requires use of a longitudinal research design to measure changes over a period of time.

Other scholars have sought to establish the link between the internet and democratic engagement. Gerodimos (2005) for instance, argues that there is a capacity for creation of new forms of civic engagement via the internet but that it requires institutional and cultural reinforcement for it to be realized. He further notes that access to internet technology does not necessarily translate to a positive effect on democracy for individuals need to have the motivation, trust and be politically educated to be able to make use of it (Ibid). This study examines whether access to internet technology makes the youth in Nairobi County be more engaged in democracy without focusing on their levels of political education.

Ricke (2010) on his part observes that the internet has allowed for a redefinition of democratic engagement for it provides an interactive environment where significant democratic discussions can occur even at a global level. The author observes that many people were actively engaged in the democratic candidates' Presidential debates that were streamed on YouTube (Ibid). A limitation in this study is that the author fails to take note of the increased interest and enthusiasm that accompanies political activities during electioneering periods. The current study goes beyond participation in presidential debates as well as electioneering periods to focus on how the youth in the County use the internet (not only YouTube) to be engaged democratically.

Others have specifically focused on the creative use of the internet for political participation. Östman (2012) for example finds that involvement in User-generated Content (UGC) as a special use of the internet is a strong predictor of political participation of Swedish adolescents since it promotes the behavioral dimensions of democratic engagement through incorporating the elements of expressivity, performance and observation. For Ekström and Östman (2013), they find that there exists a strong relationship between such creative forms of internet use and individuals' political participation. However, both two studies establish that such use of the internet has a negative relation with political knowledge (Ibid) as well as political awareness (Östman, 2012) which are dimensions of political engagement. For this study, focus will not be only on UGC but also on other social media platforms like WhatsApp, Twitter and Facebook which provide an interactive platform for the youth to engage in democracy virtually.

Some scholars have focused their work on the importance of political parties in promoting the democratic engagement of the youth. Mycock and Tonge (2012) for instance observe that parties in Britain have shown a historical reluctance to engage with the youth or represent their interests in the formulation of policies while prioritizing those of older voters. This has in turn led to a decline in the levels of engagement of the young people. They make the observation that due to the growing decline of the civic activism and preparedness of the youth to vote in elections, there has been a growing politcal resonance of issues linked to youth citizenship and democratic engagement (Mycock & Tonge, 2012). They also note that in as much as parties have created youth wings, not all of them have youth representation in the national councils and policy forums (Ibid). This study provides important insights on how parties strcutures and policy focus affect the levels of democratic engagement of the youth. The current study focuses on Kenyan political parties with established and active youth wings with an aim of assessing how they engage with the youth. Effort will also be made to establish the strength of party identification among the youth with membership in political parties.

Other scholars seek to establish how social networks shape individuals' democratic engagement basing on the social capital theory. Hampton (2011) stresses how people's social networks' structures help in predicting patterns of democratic engagement and focuses on the distinction between bonding and bridging social capital (or ties) to assess how they affect engagement in different ways. Bonding ties form a very small subset of a person's social network and include

close relations, or the sharing of a common trait (Howe & Fosnacht, 2017) forming the core network while bridging ties are more heterogeneous and may include some members of an individual's core network (Hampton, 2011). The author observes that the more diverse and individual's networks are, the likely they are to take part in all forms of democratic engagement while core networks ties' frequency of interactions regardless of the interaction medium are not predictive of civic and civil behaviors of Americans (Hampton, 2011). This is further reinforced by the argument on how social network ties help generate political talk based on their nature (Ekström, 2015). While this study generally focused on adults, the present study focuses on the youth in Nairobi County. Attention will be on their networks of interactions (in terms of membership in community groups, political parties or social media platforms) as bridging ties with a view on establishing how it affects their democratic engagement and see whether there are differences between those belonging to multiple ties and those with limited or bonding ties only.

Shugurensky (2000) uses Pierre Bourdieu's concept of political capital to generate an understanding of how citizenship education programs help in the promotion of a democratic political culture. His understanding of political capital is that of individuals' capacity to influence political decisions and he believes that all individuals have this potential whether it's potential or actualized (Shugurensky, 2000). The author goes further to identify five dimensions that constitute political capital and that are important in explaining democratic political engagement which are political knowledge, skills, attitudes, closeness to power and personal resources (Ibid). This study provides important insights for it enables us have an understanding of how these dimensions of political capital influence engagement. For this study, focus will be on assessing the posession of attitudes and personal resources among the youth to see how they impact their engagement and whether they impact on engagement in different ways.

Others have focused their attention on the link between economic factors and engagement. Solt (2008) seeks to examine how economic inequality affects the levels of democratic political engagement. In making use of the resource theory, the author argues that income inequalities depress political interest and individuals' participation in politics in a powerful way and also points out that political inequalities occur in the face of greater economic inequalities (Solt, 2008). The author however notes that economic inequality can also lead to increased levels of political engagement based on the conflict theory especially with regards to debate on the

appropriate course of policies leading to greater political mobilization (Ibid). This study offers a general overview of the relationship between economic inequality and political engagement. However, the present study focuses on the view within Nairobi County with a view to establishing whether their engagement is affected by income inequalities considering the fact that majority of them are economically disadvantaged when compared with other segments of the population based on their Socio-Economic Status (SES).

1.7.2: Resource Based Factors and Democratic Engagement

This study aimed at determining how resource based factors of political participation influence the democratic engagement of the youth. From the literature reviewed, a number of explanations are identified on this front. Socio-Economic Status (SES) of individuals is considered to be an important variable more so in relation to the differences in participation exhibited by individuals (Verba & Nie, 1972; Verba, Nie & Kim, 1978). The SES differences existing in society will predispose individuals to different participation modes as well as focusing on specific acts rather than all (Brady, Verba, & Schlozman, 1995) and this poses a dilemma for democracy since it creates participation inequalities (Lijphart, 1997). Based on these inequalities, it becomes possible to identify why participation gaps exist between social classes and how this influences democratic engagement (Dalton, 2017). These studies have focused on how SES variables affect and create inequalities in participation, however, this might not apply to all parts of the population for some people are usually active participants despite being from low status and this is a gap this study seeks to explore.

In their study of participation in America, Brady, Verba and Schlozman (1995) argue that time, money and civic skills are important in explaining patterns of participation in society. Their study showed that individuals who are well endowed with the three resources and factoring in their SES tend to participate more compared to others. However, this view has been reputed due to the fact that it might not be universally applicable. Isaksson (2013) factored in individual resources in the study of political participation in Africa and the findings indicate the fact that resources might not be useful in explaining participation in Africa since participation is relatively high despite the fact that the continent is poor. While these studies focus on resources as a factor in explaining participation, it's worth noting that motivational factors also play a role in

influencing participation and this is a gap that this study seeks to fill. It will also go beyond the individual resources and look at the importance of group-based resources.

Civic skills is another important variable for democratic engagement. Kirlin (2003) stresses on its role in enabling the youth to participate in the public sphere. In their study of participation in America, Brady, Verba and Sclozman (1995) consider the sense of civic duty to be an important factor in driving people to be politically active. Carpini (2010) believes that the civic infrastructure that exists in a country is important in driving the youth either towards or away from politics. Some scholars focusing on the role of civic education in a democracy have found that there exists a positive relationship between civic education and political participation (Manning & Edwards, 2014) with some arguing on the need of integrating citizenship education in the curriculum as a way of addressing the problem of young people's disengagement with politics (Pontes & Matt Henn, 2019). In their study of Kenya, Finkel and Smith (2011) find that civic education affected the knowledge, values and participatory inclinations of those individuals that were directly exposed to the Kenya National Civic Education Programme (NCEP) as well as having a "compensation effect" on those with less education and lower levels of education in the post-civic education discussion phase. In this study, the focus will be on assessing the different civic skills of the youth to identify in which aspect they are strong and give proposals on how the community based organizations can improve on their civic skills. It will also look at how the different civic skills exhibited by the youth influence their democratic engagement.

Scholars have also began focusing on the internet as a resource for participation and whether it might alter the participation dynamics, more so that of young people (Wang, Cai, Mou, & Shi, 2017; (Deth, 2021; Robles-Morales's & Córdoba-Hernández, 2019; Krueger, 2006; Krueger, 2002; Anduiza, Gallego & Cantijoch, 2010; Carpini, 2010; Harris, Wyn & Younes, 2010). This is due to the belief that traditional resources create participation inequalities and that the youth are also turning away from the traditional forms of engagement (Pruitt, 2017). Some consider the internet to be a form of liberation technology since it makes it easy for people to access political information and have better understanding of politics and lead to the spread of democratic values (Diamond & Plattner, 2012). In this study, focus will be on whether this social media platforms help in increasing the efficacy of the youth and how it compares to the standard measures of political efficacy.

In studying the impact of traditional and internet resources in Spain, Anduiza, Gallego and Cantijoch (2010) found that the former is important in predicting participation among internet users while the latter is key in understanding who participates online. Holt, Shehata, Strömbäck and Ljunberg (2013) stress on the importance of social media technologies in increasing youth participation and engagement in politics. Others have made the argument that the youth have moved to embrace these newer forms of engagement out of the disappointments faced with the traditional forms of engagement (Collin, 2015). However, it is important to note that while the internet might increase their participation, it can also serve to reinforce existing inequalities between those who are active participants and those who are dormant (Hoffmann & Lutz, 2019). To assess the utility of internet in their democratic engagement, this study will focus on whether the youth in Nairobi prefer using these new media for purposes of political expression over the traditional media and the inequalities that might exist when different channels are used for engagement.

1.7.3: Attitudinal Based Factors and Democratic Engagement

Attitudinal variables are also important in explaining participation in general and engagement in democratic processes, more so with regards to non-electoral participation. They act as mobilization factors for participation. Scholars have adopted socio-psychological approaches to study participation in democracies.

Christian Welzel (2007) focuses on the role mass attitudes play in democracies and argues that they affect the levels of democracy and he identified participatory attitudes to be a key factor in measuring civic competence. René Bekkers (2005) blends psychological and sociological approaches with political science approaches on participation in community and argues that active citizens will be more interested in politics when we assess individual's personality characteristics. Gastil and Xenos (2010) find that there is existence of a complex relationship between individual's political or civic attitudes and a range of political and civic behaviors. While these studies have focused on attitudes in general, this study will specifically focus on political efficacy, political interest and social media efficacy as attitudes and it won't focus on personality traits which are difficult to measure.

The sense of political efficacy has also been identified as a key determinant of individual's choice to take part in politics (Almond & Verba, 1963; Paterman, 1970). Carpini (2010) argues that one explanation for American youth's disengagement from politics might be due to the feeling that their voice doesn't matter. Finkel (1985) finds that there exists a reciprocal relationship between political efficacy and participation and this can help explain participation beyond voting. The author however notes that electoral participation has greater effect on external efficacy (Ibid). Carpini (2004) argues that the media plays an important role in the formation and expression of political efficacy since regular portrayal of negative news about politics or even negative political campaign advertisements tend to lower individual's sense of political efficacy. These studies provide a good basis for focusing on youth participation in Kenya and how their efficacy influences their choices to participate in non-electoral acts, while also focusing on social media efficacy.

Other scholars have focused on the role of political interest as a determinant of participation and believe that a variety of factors will generate this interest in individuals. Lange and Olken (2013) find that there is a link between SES and attitudes of political interest with individuals from higher status demonstrating a stronger interest in politics. Prior (2018) argues that interest in politics can be explained as a factor of either age or cohort effect with the former being a reflection of how interest develops as people grow and the latter as a factor of the environment in the case of individuals being born in a generation that is interested in politics. He also argues that there are patterns of stability with regards to the political interest of individuals in their life-cycle (Prior, 2010) with those who had interest from a young age continuing to be interested in political issues. The rapid spread of the internet has been considered to be a factor that shapes the political attitudes and behavior of individuals (Sloam & Henn, 2019). Bimber, Cantijoch, Copeland & Gibson (2014) find the use of digital media to be positively and consistently related with political talk for those with low political interest with others believing that the nature and type of message displayed about politics can encourage or discourage individual's interest in politics (Carpini, 2004). Dostie-Goulet (2009) establishes that the Social Network (family & friends) that an individual belongs to can influence their interest in politics by either stimulating their political interest or otherwise. While these studies have focused on how political interest develops, this study will seek to explore how political interest influences the democratic engagement of the youth and propose solutions in the context of the county on how stakeholders

such as political parties and community organizations can re-engineer their avenues for youth participation in order to develop that interest in politics among the youth.

Most of these studies on political participation have been done in the advanced democracies of the Western world while the Asian continent has also begun attracting the attention of scholars. Thus, this study seeks to build on this but focus on the Kenyan case, specifically the youth in Nairobi County since they form a significant majority yet are underrepresented and there is need to look at the factors contributing to their low levels of democratic engagement.

1.7.4: Political Participation in Kenya

This section reviews literature on participation in Kenya.

Berg-Schlosser, (1980) studied the modes and meaning of participation in Kenya in the one-party system period in relation to the country's social structure and political culture and demonstrated how class and ethnic differences as well as the rural-urban dichotomy led to different patterns of participation among the different social cleavages in the society. Moraa (2015) in seeking to explore the perceptions and attitude of the youth towards the fundamental concepts of democracy and governance found that most youth have a negative perception towards politics in Kenya. Mbithi and Ndambuki (2019) focusing on public participation in county governance argue that the low perception by members of the public of their influence in the governance process can explain the low levels of participation in county governance. While these studies offer some premise upon which this study will be built on, it is worth noting that participation goes beyond engagement in governance or in electoral acts which can be viewed as an end product since the development of a participatory culture in unconventional political acts determine participation in the convectional political acts.

In focusing on youth participation and representation in elective bodies, a study done by Mzalendo Trust (2019) which was focusing on inclusions of the youth in parliaments and their contribution found that the youth representation is lower compared to other countries and identified campaign funds and youth voting empowerment as contributing factors. According to the Centre for Multiparty Democracy (2015), despite the fact that many political parties have youth leagues to ensure youth participation, there is a problem of inadequate funding which can

be a factor contributing to the low representation of the youth as party officials in the national party leadership structure.

In studying the relationship between media, specifically social media and participation, Ndlela and Mulwa (2017) argue that social media has created a platform for the youth to be engaged in nearly all matters using the various platforms in their daily lives. Mbeke (2010) observed that mass media exposure had a significant impact on Nakuru youth's political participation in the 2007 general elections and that this exposure increased their likelihood to participate in election campaigns. Ndavula and Mberia (2012) find that the Social Networking Sites have the potential of stimulating participation of the youth, more so in non-institutionalized democratic participation. Omanga (2018) studied how a pressure group by the name *Nakuru Analysts* in Nakuru County has utilized WhatsApp to engage with elected leaders in the county and try having their concerns implemented.

Kamau (2017) did a study on democratic engagement using the internet, specifically focusing on Social Network Sites (SNSs) and finds that its use is positively associated with political participation but does not transform their engagement in a radical way. For Wangui and Mberia (2018), social media is important in enhancing the political participation of young women as well as acting as an advocacy tool. These two studies did not factor in the use of these sites as resources to discern whether the patterns of engagement are similar across the population or differences do exist and this is a gap this study seeks to fill. The two studies also focused on a homogenous sample with Kamau's focusing on University Students and Wangui and Mberia's focusing on young women facebook users and this study seeks to explore the youth population with diverse characteristics by focusing on the youth from different socio-economic and educational backgrounds in the entire county.

1.7.4.1: Knowledge Gap

Most studies on political participation have tended to either focus on participation in the electoral processes, participation in county governance or in the budgeting processes. Some that have focused on youth participation have focused on their representation in parliament to identify the barriers that result in low representation of the youth in legislative bodies (Parliament and County Assemblies). It is also important to note that majority of these studies have primarily

focused on the resource constraints that the youth face in their quest of participating in electoral politics. The studies have also paid little attention to the contribution of civic skills and civic mindedness as factors that can explain either the low levels or lack of participation in politics among the youth. Thus, there is need to research more so on the motivational factors that will drive the youth to be engaged in the political processes in order to have a clear understanding of their participation in politics.

This study aims to fill this research gap by focusing on youth participation in relationship to their democratic engagement. The focus will be on examining the antecedent mobilization and resource-based factors that influence their democratic engagement.

1.8: Theoretical Framework

This study was anchored on two theories, the Civic Voluntarism Theory and Attitudinal theory of political participation. It focused on highlighting the assumptions of the theories in relation to the study topic and their critiques.

1.8.1: Civic Voluntarism Theory

It is attributed to the works of Sidney Verba, Henry Brady and Lehman Schlozman. While some scholars consider it to be a model, others (Whiteley & Seyd, 2005) view it as a theory that can be used to explain political participation. The theory stresses how SES and resources are crucial in explaining and shaping individuals' political participation. According to the SES Model, it is individual's resources and their civic orientations that primarily drive their participation. The other dimension seeks to answer the question of "who takes part in politics from a resource based perspective" (Wang, Cai, Mou, & Shi, 2017). The theory is premised on a number of assumptions:

First, theory makes the assumption that an individual's SES will determine their participation. SES attributes include levels of education, income, social status among others (Verba, Nie, & Kim, 1978). As per the theory, individuals belonging to a higher social status will be more engaged politically than those in the lower levels (Dalton, 2017). This is because factors like higher education and income levels matter in terms of having an understanding about issues,

individual's civic skills and their ability to contribute to campaigns or run for office (Brady, Verba, & Schlozman, 1995).

Another assumption is that resources play an important role in predicting patterns of political participation. These resources are time, money and civic skills. Time would be measured by the number of 'free' time (in hours) that individuals dedicate to political activities after taking stock of time spent in their daily activities while money is measured by the level of family income from all sources (Brady, Verba, & Schlozman, 1995). Civic skills are defined as those communication and organizational capacities essential to political activities (Brady, Verba, & Schlozman, 1995). They make the point that there are constraints on time for it cannot be stored for future use unlike money (Ibid). They consider civic skills to be those organizational capacities that are essential to political activities (Ibid).

Related to the relationship between participation and resource type is the assumption that different modes of participation require distinct resources (Wang, Cai, Mou, & Shi, 2017). This is important in influencing the type of activities that individuals choose to take part in. Time is important in those activities that require individuals to commit time and the differences will be clear between those engaged in full time employment and studies for they will have less time to be politically engaged (Brady, Verba, & Schlozman, 1995). Money becomes important in activities requiring financial commitments and in here individuals from higher social status tend to have an edge over those in the lower social status (Verba & Nie, 1972). Civic skills on the hand matter in as a far as voluntary participation is concerned for individuals must have capacity to be able to contribute (Brady, Verba, & Schlozman, 1995) and this can be affected by an individual's level of education.

Fourth, the theory is also premised on the assumption that resources are distributed differently among groups in society as defined by their SES (Brady, Verba, & Schlozman, 1995). Thus, it becomes possible to explain the variations exhibited in political activity among the significant societal groups. Time would be a factor of life circumstances; the wealthy individuals will have advantages with regards to activities requiring financial resources while those with higher levels of education tend to have better civic skills (Ibid).

The theory has faced a number of criticisms from different scholars based on its core assumptions. First, the theory focuses on the supply side of the participation equation while ignoring the demand side (Whiteley & Seyd, 2005). Second is the fact that it does not place greater emphasis on the motivational factors that make individuals want to participate in politics. It also ignores those cognitive and attitudinal factors that are unique to individuals and shape participation (Ibid). Third is on its idea that individuals with higher SES tend to be more politically active. However, research has shown that even in the advanced democracies with high levels of development, there is a decline in participation (Dalton, 2004; Putnam, 2000) implying that there are factors other than resources that influence participation.

As a result of the deficiencies identified in the theory, the study will also make use of the attitudinal theory of political participation which seeks to understand the motivations behind individuals' decision to be (dis)engaged from politics.

1.8.2: Attitudinal Theory of Political Participation

Attitudinal theory of participation is one of the socio-psychological theories that are useful in explaining political participation and engagement especially when it comes to unconventional participation. Non-conventional activities refer to those political acts that occur outside the electoral processes such as protest participation (Zani & Barrett, 2012). This theory utilizes knowledge from the discipline of psychology to explain political behavior. Based on the need of filing the gaps evident in the civic voluntarism theory, this theory focuses on the psychological factors that shape democratic engagement. It focuses on understanding who participates and their reasons for participation (Leighley, 1995).

The theory was advanced by David Lawrence. In trying to explain political behavior, the theory stresses on the role that cognitive processes play in shaping political participation (Hyman, 1959). Cognitive processes play an important process in facilitating political learning of individuals as well as shaping their patterns of political participation (Ibid).

One of the key assumptions of the theory is that political efficacy is a key determinant for participation and is a product of citizen engagement. Efficacy in politics has a psychological dimension. It basically refers to those feelings that individuals have in their ability to influence political action or impact the political processes (Paterman, 1970) or as belief in their political

competence (Almond & Verba, 1963). Efficacy has two aspects, internal and external with external being a reflection on perceptions of governmental and institutional responsiveness to the needs and demands of citizens (Kahne & Westheimer, 2006).

The theory assumes that participation is determined by an individual's sense of civic duty. This refers to the believe individuals have that they should participate in politics (Lawrence, 1981; Almond & Verba, 1963). This conception differs from that of civic mindedness as used in the civic voluntarism theory that refers to individual's belief that they contribute to the welfare of the community (Lawrence, 1981). The community thus becomes important in terms of shaping or influencing individual's participation. Crocetti, Jahromi and Buchanan (2012) argue that the personal commitment of individuals to the community matters in their political involvement since the community not only gives that context closest to individual experiences but is also connected to the most distant societal realm that includes politics.

The theory also believes that political interest matters when it comes to engagement in politics. Interest in politics is an indication of the extent to which politics is attractive to someone (Dostie-Goulet, 2009) or it can be described as citizens' willingness to pay attention to political phenomenon at the expense of other topics (Lupia & Philpot, 2005). Renninger and Hidi (2016) look at the psychological and motivational dimensions of political interest. The psychological dimension would refer to that state of a person while they are engaging with some type of content and the motivational dimensions is a product of the cognitive and affective motivational predispositions to reengage with that "thing" or content over time (Renninger & Hidi, 2016). Interest in politics is considered to increase with a person's development (Rebenstorf, 2004; Prior, 2010) as well as being a function of the environment (Prior, 2018). Van Deth (1990) argues that those individuals who are more interested and have more opinion will expose themselves to political information and that the better educated and prosperous tend to be more interested in politics. Interest is also considered important for developing characteristics of responsible citizenship and political identity (Rebenstorf, 2004). However, it is important to note that a person may participate in politics without being interested while not everyone with high levels of political interest displays political activity (Deth, Interest in Politics, 1990).

Figure 1.1: Measurable Indicators of the Theory and Relationship with Dependent Variable
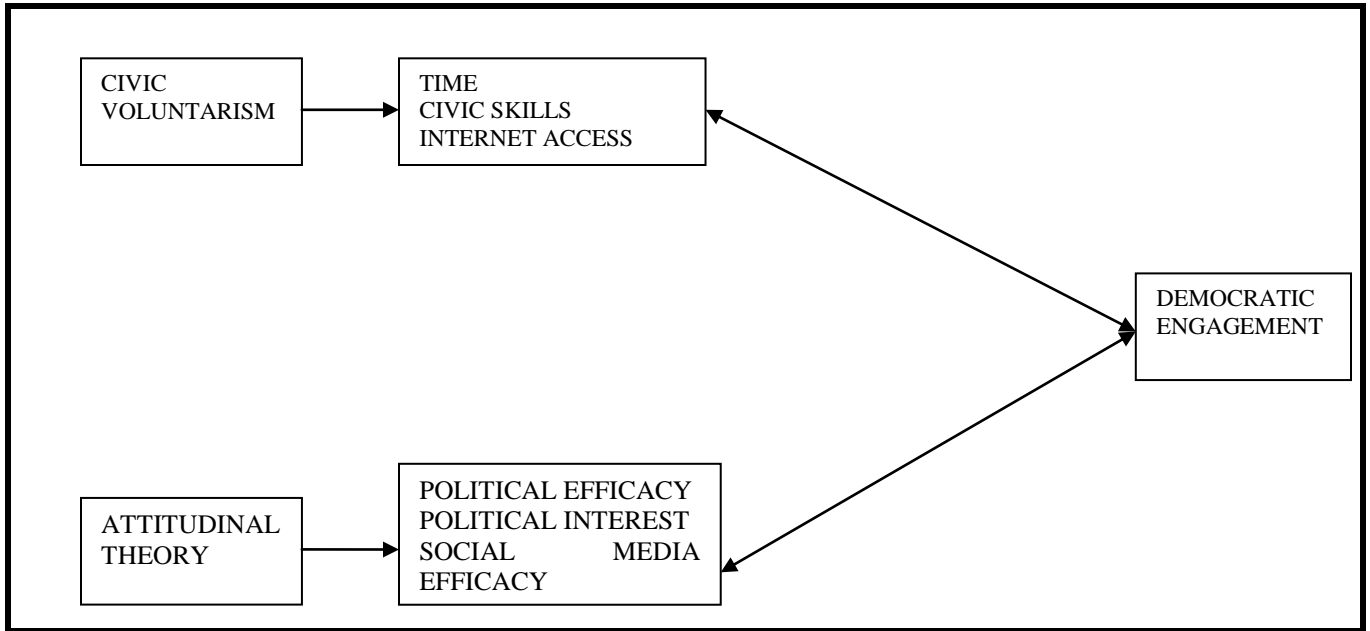
The following table details the measurement indicators of the theories:

Table 1.1: Measurement Indicators of the Study Variables

Theory	Research Variable	Research Objectives	Measurement Indicators
Civic Voluntarism Theory	Presence of resources	Influence of resources on democratic engagement of the youth in Nairobi County	1. Education level 2. Time in hours dedicated to following political developments and political information; 3. Assessment of Civic Skills; 4. Access to and Internet use;
Attitudinal Theory	Attitudinal variables	Influence of attitudinal factors on the democratic engagement of the youth in Nairobi county	1. Degree of political efficacy; 2. Level of political interest; 3. Degree of social Media Efficacy

1.9: Definition and Operationalization of Key Terms

Political Participation: Political Participation has been defined as those activities aimed at influencing government actions and this can be directly by affecting the making or implementation of policy or indirectly through influencing the selection of people tasked with making the policies (Brady, Verba, & Schlozman, 1995). In this study, participation will be looked at in terms of voting in general or by-elections, membership in political parties or interest groups, participation in political rallies/campaigns, contacting a public official or political leader, being a member of a community based organization that seeks to influence local leaders among others.

Youth: There are many identifiable parameters of the youth and the definition varies from country to country or based on the context in which the term is used. This study will adopt the definition adopted by the Kenyan constitution which describes a youth as an individual who falls between the age of 18 and 34 years (Government of Kenya (GoK), 2019).

Youth Political Participation: Basing on the definition of political participation provided by Burns, Schlozman and Verba, youth political participation as used in this study will be used to imply the participation of youth in electoral and non-electoral political acts that are aimed at influencing government actions. It will be measured in terms of political party membership or membership in a community group engaged in addressing issues affecting the community, participating in political activities like voting, running for political office, attending a campaign rally, participation in community meetings and holding a leadership position either in a political party or a community organization. The resource based measures for youth participation will be in terms of the amount of time they dedicate to follow political issues, their education level, civic skills and use of internet technologies for engagement in politics. The attitudinal dimension of participation will be in terms of their sense of political efficacy (both internal and external) and their general interest in politics.

Democratic Engagement: It has been viewed as that state of engagement in democracy's promotion (Canadian Index of Wellbeing, 2010) or as the positive behavioral orientations towards mainstream political values and processes (Sanders, Fisher, Heath, & Sobolewska, 2014). In this study, the concept will imply those political acts by the youth which are important

in the democratic processes (both electoral and non-electoral) such as political interest. This will be measured in terms of their electoral engagement, conventional non-electoral participation and confidence in political institutions.

Political Efficacy: This refers to the feelings individuals have on the ability of their political actions influencing the political process or outcomes (Paterman, 1970). It might also be conceptualized as the belief individuals hold that their participation in politics will have positive effects (Finkel, 1985). In this study, it will refer to the attitudes of individuals or their beliefs in their ability to influence political outcomes through their participation in political activities. It will be measured in terms of how individuals perceive their ability to influence political decisions as well as in terms of the levels of satisfaction they have in political institutions to address the issues affecting the youth.

1.10: Research Hypotheses

This study sought to test the following hypotheses:

1. Endowment with resources leads to increased democratic engagement of the youth in Nairobi County;
2. Attitudinal variables have a positive effect on the democratic engagement of the youth in Nairobi County;

1.11: Research Methodology

This section explains the research design, area of study, sampling technique and sample size, target population, the data collection methods. It will also answer the question pertaining the validity and reliability of the research instruments. The method of data analysis is also detailed in this section.

1.11.1: Research Design

A research design can be described as the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims at combining relevance to the research purpose with economy in

procedure (Kothari, 2004). It can also be viewed as a structure that guides the researcher in the execution of a research method and subsequent data analysis (Bryman, 2012).

The study utilized the cross-sectional research design as enables the researcher to have an understanding of youth political participation and democratic engagement in Nairobi County at this point in time (2021). This will also enable the increment in the strength of external validity through use of random sampling to select the respondents.

In terms of approach employed, both qualitative and quantitative methods were used. Qualitative data was key in explaining behavior that cannot be mathematically expressed and also enabled the categorization of data. Quantitative methods on the other hand enabled the researcher to do a quantitative analysis of the data collected to establish causal relationships between the variables under study. This was achieved by survey research using questionnaires administered to the respondents.

1.11.2: Study Site

The main area of study for the research was Nairobi County which is the capital city of Kenya. It covers an area of 648 square kilometers. The county is further sub-divided into eleven administrative units (Sub-Counties) to enhance administration.

The county has a population of 4.397 million people as per the 2019 Census: out of this, 1,791, 550 (47.28% males and 52.72% females) are in the youth bracket (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS), 2019) making up 40.74% of the population. As per the 2019 population census (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (K.N.B.S.), 2019), the population is distributed in the 11 administrative units that make up Nairobi County as follows:

Table 1.2: Population Distribution by Administrative Units

	ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT	POPULATION
1.	Dagoretti	175,328
2.	Embakasi	432,428
3.	Kamukunji	109,362
4.	Kasarani	330,232
5.	Kibra	68,533
6.	Lang'ata	74,079
7.	Makadara	76,948
8.	Mathare	84,853
9.	Njiru	236,923
10.	Starehe	92,510
11.	Westlands	110,354
	TOTAL	**1,791,550**

While the study site is not that large enough for the findings, it can act as a representative of the national picture since the findings could be used as basis for further research in the area.

1.11.3: Target Population

To allow for the collection of data that suits the study topic, the study targeted those in the youth age-bracket (18-34 years) in Nairobi County. The study focused on youth in their individual capacity and not youth groupings/organizations.

1.11.4: Sampling Technique and Sample

The study utilized probability sampling technique. Specifically, simple random sampling was used to get data from individual youth members from the general population who are expected to take part in politics.

The sample size for the youth population was calculated using the formula below:

n= (z-score)^2*$StdDev$*(1-StdDev)

$$\frac{}{(Margin\ of\ Error)^2}$$

Where:

n is the desired sample size;

z score is the Z-score for the confidence level

StdDev is the standard deviation for the study

Desired confidence level is 95%

Hence:

n= [(1.96)2*0.05(1-0.05)] divided by 0.052

Desired ample size for the study was **384**

The 5% margin of error was arrived at due to constraints of resources. This 5% margin will ensure that the reliability and generalizability of the research findings are guaranteed. The sample size of 384 is also adequate enough in helping to establish variations among the units of analysis (respondents) in the data analysis phase.

To ensure that the research attains 100% response rate so as to remain within the 5% margin of error, a total of 400 questionnaires were administered. In the event that the respondents would exceed the 384, the statistical impact of this would be reducing the margin of error since it decreases with an increase in the sample size.

To guarantee that the respondents were within the target age bracket, the researcher ensured that those tasked with data collection explained the nature of the research and the target group. The researcher also specified this in the survey questionnaire while also asking the respondents to tick against the age bracket specified.

The sample size of the general youth population was arrived at using random sampling. However, due to the heterogeneous nature of the population, stratified random sampling was used so as to increase efficiency. The target respondents were divided into five strata based on the administrative units in the county. The sample size for each stratum was arrived at by dividing the strata population with the total population of the youth then multiplied by the 400 questionnaires to be distributed. The formula below was used:

nh= (Nh/N)*n

Where:

nh is the sample size for each stratum

Nh is the population size for each stratum

N is the total population size; and

n is the sample size

Thus, the sample size for each stratum is as shown in table 1.3 below:

Table 1.3: Strata and Sample Distribution:

CLUSTER	POPULATION	SAMPLE SIZE
Strata 1: Njiru, Kasarani	567,155	127
Strata 2: Westlands, Starehe	202,864	45
Strata 3: Embakasi, Makadara	509,376	114
Strata 4: Kibra, Lang'ata, Dagoretti	317,940	71
Strata 5: Mathare, Kamukunji	194,215	43
TOTAL	**1,791,550**	**400**

Note: The target sample size for each stratum was determined by dividing the stratum population with the total population of Nairobi County then multiplying by 400.

1.11.5: Data Collection

Both primary and secondary sources of data were utilized. The former was obtained from the field research that was carried out. This involved the collection of both qualitative and quantitative data through the use of survey questionnaires. This was arranged in a systematic manner so as to ensure that the objectives spelt out were attained. Primary data focused highest level of education attained, civic skills assessment, amount of time in hours per week dedicated to follow up on political developments, degree of political efficacy, level of political interest and degree of social media efficacy. This data was collected between December 2021 and January 2022. Secondary data was collected by reviewing published scholarly books and articles. It also entailed a review of policy documents on the youth produced by the government and other

stakeholders and was done with a view of capturing literature focusing on political participation, specifically that of the young people. It was done from a global to the local level perspective.

Due to the prevailing COVID-19 pandemic and as a safety measure, the data was collected by having the researcher fill in responses provided by the respondents by means of the "Survey Monkey"[2] application to minimize contact with papers and also to ease in the analysis and presentation of data.

1.11.6: Data Analysis

Both qualitative and quantitative methods of data analysis were utilized. Qualitative data was analyzed using thematic areas and concepts used in the study so as to be presented in narrative form. The descriptive data was coded, transcribed and categorized to achieve this end. Quantitative data was grouped, isolated and cleaned of errors. It was then presented in the form of tables and charts. Bivariate data analysis was important in establishing relationships between the study variables through the use of regression analysis, Pearson Correlation coefficient and Chi-square statistics. This was done through the use of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software. Measures of association enabled the researcher to assess the strength of relationship between the independent and dependent variables.

1.11.7: Validity of the Instruments

This concerns the integrity of conclusions that are generated from research work (Bryman, 2012). It can also refer to the extent to which differences found in a measuring instrument reflect true differences among those being tested (Kothari, 2004) or as that degree of correspondence between the measure and that concept it is thought to measure (Johnson, Reynolds, & Mycoff, 2016). Validity has different dimensions as used in research and the study will seek to achieve validity in the following ways:

Internal and External Validity: Internal validity is concerned which whether the independent variable causes the expected corresponding change in the dependent variable while external validity is concerned with generalizability of the study results (Yang & Miller, 2008). External validity was achieved by ensuring right sampling methods are employed and using random

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[2] This is an online application that allows for collection of survey data in a digital format for ease of data analysis

sampling techniques to eliminate selection bias while internal validity was achieved by adopting impartiality in the data collection process by ensuring all youth had a probability of being sampled, interpretation and analysis of data collected.

Face Validity: This is concerned with the quality of a measuring indicator being a reasonable measure of the variables under study (Babbie, 2016) or appearing to measure that concept it's supposed to measure (Johnson, Reynolds, & Mycoff, 2016). Since it cannot be measured empirically, face validity was achieved by having the data collection instrument capture the key indicators of political participation, political efficacy and resources which impact on democratic engagement. For political efficacy, the measure was degree of political efficacy; level of political interest captured the measurement indicators for political interest. Highest level of education attained, civic skills assessment and amount of time in hours per week dedicated to follow up on political developments in the country were measurement indicators for resources as a variable.

Content Validity: This is in reference to the extent to which a measure covers the range of meanings included in a concept (Babbie, 2016). In this study, the measure for political efficacy included both the internal and external dimensions of the concept while political participation indicators covered both the conventional and conventional dimensions.

Criterion Validity: This refers to the degree to which a measure relates to some external criterion (Babbie, 2016) and has predictive and concurrent dimensions. Predictive validity is attained when the measure created for predictive purposes reasonably predicts what is going to happen while concurrent focuses on testing the measure against existing measures of the concept (Robbins, 2009). The study predicted that there exists a positive influence of resources and attitudinal factors on the democratic engagement of the youth.

Construct Validity: This refers to how the measuring indicators relate back to the general theories being tested (Yang & Miller, 2008) or as the degree to which a measure relates back to other variables as expected within a given system of theoretical relationships (Babbie, 2016). In this study, endowment with resources is expected to translate to greater democratic engagement. The data collection instrument was designed in a manner that ensured it captured the variables intended to be measured and avoid researcher bias.

1.11.8: Reliability of the Instruments

This is a measure of the research instrument being able to provide results that are consistent (Kothari, 2004). To ensure the study findings are reliable, the researcher used a uniform questionnaire/interview guide that was administered to all the respondents. The questionnaire was also constructed using simple English for the respondents to have similar understanding of the questions. The consistency and uniformity of the test results that was a product of this study was also used to guarantee the reliability. Another way in which reliability of research instruments is achieved is through the use of established measures (Babbie, 2016). Thus, this study made use of the measures advanced by scholars of political participation to measure those attitudinal and resource-based factors that shape or influence youth political participation.

To guarantee the internal consistency of the measuring instruments, the study made use of Cronbach's Alpha to measure the internal consistency (reliability) of the questions. This was calculated using the formula below:

$$\alpha = \left(\frac{k}{k-1}\right)\left(\frac{s_y^2 - \sum s_i^2}{s_y^2}\right)$$

Where

K: Number of items
S^2$_y$: Variance of the total scores for each individual
S^2$_i$: Sum of individual variances

1.11.9: Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are an integral part of any research undertaking. To ensure this principle is adhered to, the research did not involve the use of experiments that may be harmful to individual respondents as the subject of the research. The researcher also explained at the onset of the research undertaking that the study is only for scholarly purposes before administering the questionnaires. The researcher also ensured the confidentiality of the respondents to ensure they provide the information being sought without fear of suffering from unintended consequences.

1.12: Proposed Chapter Outline

This study is organized into four chapters. The first chapter focuses on the background to the study, statement of the research problem, research questions, objectives of the study, justification of the study, scope and limitation of the study, literature review, theoretical framework, the definition and operationalization of key terms, research hypothesis and research methodology. Chapter two offers a historical examination of the participation of the youth in Kenyan politics. Chapter three focuses on data analysis and discussion of the research findings. The last chapter presents the summary, conclusions and recommendations derived from the study.

2.0: HISTORICAL EXAMINATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC ENGAGEMENT OF THE YOUTH IN KENYA

2.1: Introduction

This chapter seeks to offer a historical examination of youth democratic engagement in Kenya and mainly covers participation in the post-independence period. It seeks to give an evolution of their political participation, modes of participation as well as debates surrounding their participation. It will also seek to highlight those measures/initiatives that have been taken by the youth as well as other stakeholders in increasing the levels of youth participation in the country's democratic processes. In focusing on the history of the youth's engagement in the country's politics, this chapter aims at problematizing democratic engagement of the youth in Kenya over the years. The goal of the chapter will be on highlighting how political institutions and/or leadership have by default or design restricted the democratic engagement of the youth over the years.

Historically, there has been a shift from limited avenues to emergence of virtual spaces for democratic engagement of the youth in the country. In the colonial era, the problem with youth engagement was to be found in terms of the constricted space for democratic engagement under the colonial government which restricted natives' participation in politics. In the post-independence to 1992 period, the challenge was to be found within the political elite who, out of fear of the young people, sought to seclude them from politics and only use them to serve their selfish ends. The institutional constraints during this period were to be found in the institutional framework of the one-party system. The re-introduction of multiparty politics brought with it inflation in the avenues for democratic engagement. Coupled with globalization, this period has seen the emergence of 'digital' politics via internet and social media platforms as well as new forms of youth organizing. However, the problem in this period is to be seen in terms of the resource constraints as well as the attitudes of the youth to politics based on the experiences they have had in the past with outcomes of democratic processes.

2.2: Youth Political Participation in the Pre-Independence Period

The youth were active participants in the country's political affairs even before Kenya got its independence from the British. To examine their pre-independence participation, focus will be on the pre-colonial and colonial periods.

2.2.1: Political Engagement in the Pre-Colonial Period

It's worth noting that during this period, the concept of the Kenyan state was still non-existent. Hence, youth political participation and engagement in this period must be viewed from the lenses of the socio-economic and political systems that were in place at this time.

During this period, political organization was based on the community as a social and political system. Majority of the communities in present-day Kenya had the decentralized political systems with some such as the Wanga Kingdom having the centralized political system. Under this political system, there was a clear demarcation of responsibilities that were allocated to different groups on age or gender basis and there was strict adherence to this demarcation as a means of promoting societal order. Politically, the participation of the youth during this period was confined to their role as warriors whose responsibility was to defend the community during periods of war with rival communities and that of raiding neighboring communities for livestock (Peatrik, 1993). Preference for elders was also based on the belief that they had more experience and wisdom.

2.2.2: Political Engagement in the Colonial Period

The advent of colonialism brought with it new socio-economic and political realities for the natives of the Kenyan colony as they were now part of a larger political entity that transcended the communal based political systems existent in the pre-colonial era. Within this new context, the youth emerged as important participants in what would later become the Kenyan state (Mwangola M. S., 2007). They were the first to fully live and experience the consequences of this new colonial regime which had placed the Africans at the marginal peripheries (Mwangola M. , 2011).

During this period there was limited space for the political engagement of the youth as a result of the administrative and political structures put in place by the colonial administration. During this

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period, youth political engagement was mainly to be seen within the context of agitating for an expansion of the democratic space so as to allow for the native Africans to have representation in the Legislative Council (LegCo) and thus have a say in the country's political issues. Their engagement during this period was mainly through the national liberation movements that adopted radical means to achieve their objective and gained the following of young people. The young people's energy was instrumental for these movements resorted to the use of violence and protests to fight for the country's independence (Ogot & Ogot, 2020).

During this period, the youth played an important role in the cycles of political transition which brought some elements of democracy with each cycle. They had to weave out new identities if they were to navigate the challenges posed by the colonial regime. The Western-educated youth played an important role in the first attempts by Africans aimed at pushing for the opening up of the political spaces for and representation of the natives in the 1920s when a national sense of identity began to coalesce amongst the African majority in the colony (Mwangola M. S., 2007).

In these early years (1920s), community-centered political organizations were formed with the youth at the forefront in this. Such associations included the Young Kikuyu Association (YKA), the Young Kavirondo Association (YKA) among others. Agitated by the disruption brought about by colonialism on their way of life, these associations began advocating against land alienation, fighting for abolition of the hut tax and an improvement to the living and working conditions of Africans among a number of grievances. The Harry Thuku-led East African Association (EAA) was able to capture the interest and following of the youth due to its commitment in addressing the grievances affecting the youth especially in the urban areas (Mwangola M. , 2011).

During the 1950s, the youth became instrumental in the fight for the country's independence which was gaining momentum in this period. They emerged to take up and fill the leadership vacuum that was occasioned by the arrest and detention of key leaders in the struggle for independence by the colonial regime (Mwangola M. , 2011). A key hallmark in this period was the radical and violent approach of the *Mau Mau* that resulted in the declaration of a state of emergency (Mwangola M. S., 2007) in 1952 and after which there were talks initiated by the colonial regime on charting the path towards Kenya's independence. This radicalization and

participation of the youth can be attributed to the emergence of independent African churches and schools that became alternative spaces for engaging the young people in a re-imagination of the status quo and challenging the thinking of those who attended the colonial institutions (Mwangola M. , 2011).

2.3: Youth Political Participation in the Post-Independence to 1992 period

With the advent of independence in 1963 and Kenya becoming a republic in 1964, there was a gradual improvement in the participation of the Africans under an African-led government. In the formative years of the new state, there were political spaces for youth to be engaged in as people sought to carve out their names in the national political picture. Up to 1969, the country had a two-party system and the young people were important players, especially in the radical wings of these parties (Ogot & Ogot, 2020). However, this space was eradicated in the aftermath of the fallout between President Jomo Kenyatta and his deputy, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga leading to the banning of the Kenya People's Union and the country later on became a *de jure* one party state (Ogot & Ogot, 2020). This limited space under an authoritarian regime meant there was a reduction in the avenues for youth to be politically engaged and the students' unions, especially the Students' Organization of Nairobi University (SONU) remained to be the few avenues for young people to have a say in the country's political issues.

Debates surrounding youth political participation in the country in the post-independence period were mainly framed in terms of generational politics or intergenerational conflicts. Most of these studies conceptualized it as participation of the young people not in terms of age, but youth as a transitional stage between childhood and adulthood (Mwangola, 2007; Kagwanja, 2005; Kagwanja, 2006).

Discourses seeking to shape post-independence political future in Kenya have mainly been framed in terms of a conflict between the young versus the old (Muna, Stanton, & Mwau, 2014).The period after independence can be seen as a defining moment in onceptualizing the participation of the young people in politics as well as society in general. During this period, the youth were viewed as a potential burden to the society who needed to be carefully handled (Mwangola M. S., 2007).

At the onset of independence, the young people sought to define their place in the country's political landscape following their active role in the fight for independence in Kenya. However, it was a challenge to create a space for themselves due to the reluctance of those in positions of power to engage them as they viewed them as a threat. There was a reluctance by those in power to have a generational transfer of power (Kagwanja, 2005; Mwangola, 2007). This can be seen as a deliberate attempt by the 'old' leaders to ensure the youth remain at the periphery of politics while using them for their own political ends (Makoni, Opere, & Wawire, 2017). It has been argued that the Lancaster House Generation pursued a mission of seeking and destroying those young people that threatened to lead a generational transfer of power (Mwangola M. S., 2007).

In the post-independence period, the Kenyan state has been argued to display an instrumental approach to the youth and thus incorporating them in classed neo-patrimonial relationships of power (Kimari, Melchiorre, & Rasmussen, 2020). The economic liberalization in the country as a result of the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) meant that the state turned to land as a strategic resource due to the exhaustion of the patronage base of the parastatals (Kanyinga & Njoka, 2002). This patrimonial relationship between the state and the youth has mostly been manifested through the youth wings of the ruling party. In the era of single –party politics, it was the KANU Youth Wing that was more prominent in its activities. Its activities mainly reinforced the notion of the young people being used as means to an end by the ruling elite (Mwangola M. S., 2007). The KANU Youth Wing was mostly associated with discharging violence on oppositional forces. This can thus be seen as the genesis of associating the youth with acts of violence when it comes to political issues (Ibid).

During the post-independence period, student activism was also instrumental in shaping the political future of the country. Educational institutions emerged as avenues for youth participation during this period of the one-party state. The Kenyan university students became a leading voice of protests in the country in the early 1970s out of the general societal dissatisfaction with the country's political direction (Melchiorre, 2020). They became the centres of dissent during this period when the government had silenced dissenting voices and the civil society in the country (Ibid).

The young people played an instrumental role in the fight for political liberalization in the later 1980s and early 1990s. During this period, there was an increase in oppositional voices in the country. This was due to the failure of the state in re-organizing the economy under the changing socio-economic conditions the country was going through. The urban areas became important arenas for opposition and the urban youth played an instrumental role in the demands for change with this pressure eventually making the Moi government cede ground to popular demands (Kanyinga & Njoka, 2002) and eventually paved way for the re-introduction of multiparty politics. During this period, there was the emergence of the 'Young Turks' who sought to counter the hegemony of the KANU Youth Wing in the socio-political spaces, mainly in Nairobi (Ibid).

2.4: Youth Democratic Engagement in the Multiparty Era

The multiparty era has been a defining period with regards to youth democratic engagement in the country for it is within this period that democratic gains have been realized and resulted into an increase in the avenues for the youth to be politically engaged. It can be argued that this period is the genesis of democratic engagement for the youth with new political institutions coming up and the role of the youth becoming more pronounced. During this period, the expansion has not only been in terms of their engagement as political leaders but also in terms of the modes and avenues for their engagement. Coupled with the effects of globalization, especially in terms of information flows, the Kenyan youth have been able to appropriate virtual spaces offered by new media technologies to strengthen their online engagement with democratic processes and politics. The domino effect of events beyond the country such as the Arab Spring and model of youth organizing in the developed democracies have also helped the youth to learn on how they can be more vocal in advocating for their issues and facilitate their engagement with democratic political institutions and processes.

The third wave of democratization that began in the Eastern European countries during the last years of the Cold War found its way in the African continent and most regimes, Kenya included, were forced to bow to both the internal and external pressures advocating for democratization and liberalization of the political system.

It has been argued that it is during this period where there was an increased role of the youth in issue-based politics in the capital city and that their demands for an expanded business space slowly spilled over into the political sphere (Kanyinga & Njoka, 2002). The repeal of section 2A of the constitution in 1991 brought back multipartyism and subsequently increased/expanded the political space thus providing the youth with a number of avenues to be engaged politically. It is also during this period of multiparty politics that youth voices and issues gained prominence in the country's political debates. The prominence and incorporation of youth in the top positions of power began to be seen in the run up to the 2002 general elections when President Moi sought to shift the axis of the Presidential contest from one of ethnicity to that of generational conflict under the challenge of the multi-ethnic coalition (Kagwanja, 2006) of the National Alliance Rainbow Coalition (NARC). However, it has been argued that this incorporation of youth into the top echelons of power was largely cosmetic for the most part (Mwangola M. S., 2007).

The subsequent expansion of the political spaces with the political liberalization and re-introduction of multiparty politics in the country led to inflation in the avenues of participation for the youth in both the country's political leadership and politics in general. However, the main problem during this period is to be seen in the limited engagement of the youth in democratic processes and politics despite the numerous avenues available for them to take part in. This can be traced to the resource gap existing among the youth as well as in the general population as well as the attitudes they youth have towards formal political processes and institutions. The following areas demonstrate how the youth have been engaged in the country's democratic institutions and processes during this period.

2.4.1: Engagement in Political Parties

Political parties remain the single most important political institutions through which the youth can not only harness their political power and influence the country's political trajectory, but also the avenues through which they can acquire leadership positions within the framework of electoral politics.

The importance of the young people in political parties cannot be overlooked. This is because parties are important for democracy in terms of offering policy alternatives for citizens as well as their role in representing the voices of the citizens in legislative bodies. It has been argued that

the youth play a unique role in the enhancement of the profile and performance of political parties as they are the most progressive members of society (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), 2010).

Since the advent of multiparty politics, most political parties have sought to include the young people as important segments of their party membership. In the run-up to the 1992 general elections, political parties established youth wings as means of mobilization of votes for the young people as well as acting as resource bases for the parties (Kanyinga & Njoka, 2002) and these have become permanent features up to the present day with most of these morphing into youth leagues.

Since the attempts made by President Moi to shift the axis of the 2002 Presidential elections from that of ethnicity to one of a generational transfer of power, the youth have been playing an increasingly active role in most of the major political parties through the youth leagues whose structures reach the grassroots level of party organization.

The youth have generally been relegated to the low levels of leadership in political parties since independence but the 2010 Constitution seeks to remedy this by providing ways through which they are to be included in the top party governance structures. Political parties are required to ensure they have representation from the minority groups in society, the youth included. The 2011 Political Parties Act also requires that the governing structures as well as membership/composition of the governing structures include the youth.

Since political parties act as vehicles for entry into elective positions, it is believed that the youth should utilize this opportunity during nominations as means of increasing their representation. A study conducted by the Youth Agenda (YAA) for the 2012/2013 election showed that most young people sought to vie for the Member of County Assembly (MCA) position compared to other elective positions (The Youth Agenda (YAA), 2013). In the 2012/2013 nomination process, a total of 149 youth participated in the party primaries with 80 vying for MCA positions out of which 30 secured the nomination slots (The Youth Agenda (YAA), 2013).

Overall, there are still low participation levels of the youth in political parties. A study done by the Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMD) on the status of youth participation in political

parties showed that on average, youth membership stands at 36% with the major political parties having the largest share of youth members (Center for Multiparty Democracy (C.M.D.), 2015).

Table 2.1: Percentage of Youth Membership in Political Parties

POLITICAL PARTY	Percentage of Youth Members
KANU	10
NARC-Kenya	17
NARC	20
FORD-Kenya and Safina	40
ODM	61
The National Alliance (TNA)	50
United Republican Party (URP)	35

(Source, CMD Report, 2015)

Also, while the overall membership of these parties has the youth as their largest segment, the youth have lower representation in the National Party Officials' membership as shown below:

Table 2.2: Percentage of National Party Officials that are Youth

PARTY	Percentage of National Officials that are Youth
FORD-Kenya	25
TNA	50
NARC	25
ODM	18
URP	38
United Democratic Front (UDF)	22

(Source: CMD Report, 2015)

Some of the possible explanations for the low levels of youth in political party membership and their lack of involvement in political parties' activities include inadequate finances, low levels of

intra-party democracy as well as low levels of support by the party leadership. This lack of youth participation or enthusiasm in party politics can also be explained by the nature of patron-client relations within these parties (Ranta, 2017) that determines who gets nominated for elective positions or being incorporated into the top tier of party leadership.

2.4.2: Participation in Political Leadership

The era of multiparty politics has allowed for an increase in elective positions which the youth can vie for and be elected. The 2010 constitution further allowed for an increase in the inclusion of the youth in leadership by calling for the inclusion of special interest and minority groups in the country's political leadership. Under the new constitutional dispensation, there is provision for the nomination of two senators (one male and one female) to represent the youth under Article 98(1)(c) and while Article 97(1)(c) provides for nomination of 12 members in the National Assembly to represent special interests including those of the youth, persons living with disabilities and workers (Government of Kenya, 2010). Towards this end, political parties play an important role in identifying the criteria for and candidate selection for nomination to Parliament under quotas reserved for special interest groups (Mzalendo Trust, 2019). The new constitution also lowered the minimum age requirement for a person to vie for position of Member of National Assembly (MNA) from 21 to 18 thus allowing many youth to express and pursue their interest in political leadership.

Between 1992 and 2013, only 1 (Hon. Njoki Ndung'u) of the 48 nominated MPs were below the age of 35 (Mzalendo Trust, 2019) who was nominated in 2002 by the NARC Coalition. In the 11th parliament, 10 of the nominated MPs were youth, with one nominated in the Senate, 1 in the National Assembly and the others representing women, PWDs and other marginalized groups (Ibid).

Table 2.3: Youth Representation in Political Leadership in the 11th an 12th Parliaments

	No. of Elected Youth MPs	Nominated Youth Mps	TOTAL
11th Parliament (2013-2017)	31	10 nominated in total 4 in National Assembly (Hons. Johnson Skaja, Isaac Mwaura, Zuleikha Juma & Janet Teiyaa) 6 in the Senate (Senators Halima Abdille, Naisula Lesuuda, Joy Gwendo, Martha Wangari, Daisy Kanainza and Hosea Ochagi)	**41**
12th Parliament (2017-2022)	27	1 nominated in the National Assembly (Hon. Gideon Keter) 4 nominated as Senators (Senators Beatrice Kwamboka, Millicent Omanga, Mercy Chebeni and Victor Prengei)	**32**

(Source: Mzalendo Trust, 2019)

The 11th parliament had a 9.8% youth representation compared to 7.7% in the 12th parliament and this drop has been attributed to a decline in the number of youth nominated to the National Assembly (Mzalendo Trust, 2019).

Data shows that from the number of youth candidates who vied in the 2019 general elections, the MCA and MNA positions attracted the largest number of youth as well as having the majority of youth elected in these positions compared with other elective positions.

Table 2.4: Youth Candidates for Political Office and Elected Youth Leaders in the 2017 elections

Position	Total No. of Candidate	No. of Youth Candidates	Youth Elected into Office
President	8	0	0
Governor	211	7	1
Senator	258	35	6
MNA	1,893	260	17
CWR	299	35	3
MCA	11,873	3,091	287
TOTAL	**14,542**	**3,428**	**314**

(Source: IEBC 2017 Elections Data Report)

2.4.3: Engagement in the Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)

Another avenue through which the youth have actively participated in the country's political affairs is in the Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). CSOs play an important role in building a mass of youthful aspiring leaders through capacity-building forums (Makoni, Opere, & Wawire, 2017). The youth played an important role in the toppling of KANU from its 40 year rule in the country through strategies like street protests and other forms of mass actions (Muna, Stanton, & Mwau, 2014) that added extra pressure on the regime to initiate political reforms.Youth participation in civil society/activism in the country can further be broken down into two: as members of the general society and as students in institutions of higher learning.

In the period following the re-introduction of multiparty politics, there was a resurgence and growth in the number of CSOs that sought to exert pressure on the state towards political reforms aimed at enhancing issues of democracy and governance. Majority of these also sought to tap into the energy of the youth by actively engaging them in their activities. Most of these could be characterized as reformative social movements since they were focused on addressing specific kinds of socio-political inequalities and injustices which were prevalent in the Kenyan society at that time (Nasongo, 2007).

During the period between the 1ˢᵗ and 2ⁿᵈ multiparty elections, there was a mushrooming of many CSOs, some of them being youth-centered. This can be attributed to the shift in policy agenda on the part of the foreign donors (Ibid). some of the youth-focused CSOs that were formed in this period include the Youth Agenda (YA) formed in 1996 with its main objective being that of addressing the socio-economic and political rights of the youth while the other was the National Youth Movement (NYM) formed in 1997 with the objective of using advocacy to highlight youth issues (Nasongo, 2007).

In the push for political reforms in the country, the youth were also involved as part of the stakeholders. The Kenya Youth Foundation Movement (KYFM), Student Organization of Nairobi University (SONU) and the National Union of Kenyan Students (NUKS) provided support to the Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC)-led coalition that was advocating for a restructuring of the state and the rewriting of the independence constitution to reflect the changing political realities (Ibid).

Educational institutions also provided a conducive environment for the youth to be politically engaged in the country. This is partly due to "their ability of providing those ideal spaces within their contemporaneous contexts for nurturing alternative ideas that would challenge the hegemony of the prevailing ideologies" while also provoking intellectual discussions on political issues (Mwangola M. S., 2007 p.151). University students, particularly those from the University of Nairobi were at the forefront in the political struggle against Moi's dictatorship and challenging the legitimacy of the KANU regime more than any other segment of the population (Melchiorre, 2020).

The youth have also been at the forefront when it comes to unconventional acts of participation, more so those involving use of violent means. They have been used by both the civil society, political parties as well as individual politicians to propagate acts of violence in pursuit of their political objectives. In the 1990s, KANU had the Youth for KANU (YK'92) and *Operation Moi Win* (OMW) that were aimed at countering the militancy of the youth wings of opposition parties (Kanyinga & Njoka, 2002) and had the *Jeshi la Mzee* in the run up to the 1997 elections (Melchiorre, 2020). In the 2002 elections, there was prominence of the *Mungiki* sect which sought to advocate for a generational transfer of power and was associated with supporting

KANU's Presidential Candidate, Uhuru Kenyatta (Kagwanja, 2005; 2006). The youth were also at the forefront in perpetrating acts of violence on opposition supporters during the 2007/8 Post Election Violence (PEC). Over the years, there has been an emergence of goon squads in universities that are often hired by politicians during electioneering periods (Melchiorre, 2020).

Engagement in Community Organizations

Over the years, there has been an emergence of CBOs seeking to address issues confined to the localities in which they are found and most have roped in the youth in their membership and activities. Thus, there has been an increased involvement of the youth in terms of their civic participation. It's also worth to note that a good number of these have the youth as the key leaders as well as in percentage of overall membership.

This phenomenon is known as youth organizing and it denotes those innovative youth development and social justice strategies that seek to train the young people in employing these skills for purposes of altering the power relations and the creation of meaningful institutional change in their communities (Christens & Dolan, 2011). Such forms of engagement put the youth at the forefront of taking actions themselves in working on those issues they consider important and closer to their interests (Amao, 2019).

In Nairobi County, some of these organizations include the Social Justice Centres such as the Dandora Social Justice Centre, Mathare Community Justice Centre, Kayole Community Justice Centre, United for Kenya, Kariobangi Social Justice Centre, Feminist Centre for Peace and Justice in Kibra, Wahenga Arts, Kayole, Voice of Lang'ata and One Stop Youth among others. It is worth noting that these CBOs use creative means of engaging the youth and spreading their message such as art and poetry and that most of the youth are involved on a voluntary basis.

2.5: Youth Democratic Engagement in the Social Media/Internet Age

The internet age has brought with it increased avenues for political participation of not only the general population, but also the young people. This is due to its lower cost of producing content via the internet and the deterritorialization of the participation spaces (Robles-Morales's & Córdoba-Hernández, 2019). It is also appealing to the youth as a medium of participation since it is spontaneous, informal and less structured (Kamau, 2016) and also due to the fact that it is

relatively unregulated compared to other media platforms thus making it possible for the youth to engage in online political discussions (Mukhongo, 2014).There appears to be a disconnect between online and offline channels as evidence shows that the Kenyan youth are very active in using social media platforms to mobilize for actions on a variety of issues (Kamau, 2016).

Over the years, the use of the internet in Kenya as a means of acquiring information on politics and participation in online debates has been gaining momentum. A research on the trends and practices of digital consumption in the country showed that a majority of young people use social media to acquire information (SMIElab Africa, 2019). In particular, SNSs have emerged as important avenues for the political participation of the youth and stimulating political interest among the disengaged youth (Kamau, 2017).

The Kenyan youth have also appropriated the online spaces made available to weave out their own political narratives and presenting them in forums that accommodate their views without fear of censorship or regulation that characterizes offline communication channels (Mukhongo, 2014). This can be seen through the use of memes, images and songs or poetry that seek to convey particular messages and stimulate interest among the young people to keep tabs on political developments in the country.

Research shows that individuals aged between 26 to 35 years are the most active in online debates, closely followed by those between 21 and 25 years (SMIElab Africa, 2019). In Nairobi County, there is a high usage and reliance on social media by the youth at 98% with Facebook being the most popular platform (Kamau, 2016).

Online Platforms have also emerged as informal channels for political engagement and activism among the youth. In Nakuru County, the use of WhatsApp for political discussions has been observed. Nakuru Analysts, which is a WhatsApp-based group, has been engaging with county authorities and acting as a mobilizer for grassroots politics by shifting online discourse to online collective action (Omanga, 2018). When it comes to Facebook, a number of groups have been formed and have large membership with the aim of keeping people engaged on current political debates in the country. Twitter has emerged as a popular way of bringing issues of concern to the limelight through the use of hashtags aimed at capturing people's attention through twitter trends. Blogging is also used by the youth especially in marketing their preferred candidates for

political office during election periods. Recently, Twitter came up with the idea of 'Twitter Spaces' which allows individuals to have online political engagements and have large audiences provided one has a Twitter account and can access the internet thus acting as platform for acquiring both political knowledge and information.

The youth have also sought to create their own independent avenues through which they can share out their ideas and opinions on current political debates. Here, the use of UGC is particularly instrumental and there has been an increase due to its availability of producing content without incurring any financial costs. Many youth have created their own BlogSpot and using YouTube to create political content and disseminate it to audiences far and wide.

2.6: Conclusion

Youth political engagement in the country was at a low during the pre-colonial and post-independence periods. They played a minimal role in the pre-colonial period while their leadership potential was stifled by older politicians in the period after the country gained independence. They however played an important role in the fight for independence, the fight for the country's second liberation leading to the re-introduction of multiparty politics and continue to play an important role even in the country's contemporary political landscape. While they are the majority in the population, they are minimally represented in the institutions of government and in political leadership. However, the new constitution gives them an opportunity for greater representation and inclusion in structures of government. The emergence of new avenues of participation such as the social media and youth organizing initiatives also gives them an opportunity for greater participation and engagement in the country's democratic processes.

3.0: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

3.1: Introduction

This chapter offers presentation, analysis and discussion of the study findings. It begins by giving the overview of the response rate, demographic characteristics of the respondents and then delves into findings in relation to the research objectives

3.2: Response Rate

The study had a targeted sample of 384 youth in the country. To ensure that the response rate wouldn't affect the sample size and margin of error considerations, a total of 400 questionnaires were disseminated. Out of this, a total of 392 were filled completely bringing the response rate to 102.08%. The high response rate is attributed to the extra questionnaires that were deployed in the study. The increase in the sample surveyed would be that of lowering the margin of error which is expected to reduce with an increase in the sample size.

3.3: Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

The demographic information of the respondents was collected during the field study. This included information on their constituency of residence, age, gender, level of education and employment status. Data on respondents' demographic characteristics was important for this study to ensure that the respondents were drawn from all the strata and are true representation of the youth population in the county as envisioned in the research methodology. Also, information on their education level, age, gender and employment status were important for the study since there are differentiations in the patterns of democratic engagement of the youth basing on their demographic background and/or characteristics. This ensured that the respondents were not drawn from one demographic background only.

3.3.1: Geographic Location

The geographic location of the respondents was considered important information to guarantee that the respondents were chosen from the sample size as per the clusters that were used in the

study. This was done by filling in the constituency and sample point and then grouping them into the eleven administrative units in the county. This information is as shown in table 3.1 below:

Table 3.1: Respondents' Geographic Location

CLUSTER	FREQUENCY	PROPORTION
Cluster 1: Njiru, Kasarani	124	31.63%
Cluster 2: Westlands, Starehe	43	10.97%
Cluster 3: Embakasi, Makadara	111	28.32%
Cluster 4: Lang'ata, Kibra, Dagoretti	71	18.11%
Cluster 5: Mathare, Kamukunji	43	10.97%
TOTAL	**392**	**100%**

Source: Researcher, 2022

3.3.2: Gender

Information about the respondents' gender was also collected to ensure there is representation of all genders in the research. The respondents' gender was distributed as follows:

Table 3.2: Gender of the Respondents

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	195	50%
Female	196	49.74%
No Response	1	0.26%
Total	**392**	**100**

Source: Researcher, 2022

From the field research, 50% of the respondents were male, 49.74% were female while 0.26% did not respond to the answer.

3.3.3: Age

Data on the respondents' age was gathered by asking the respondents to select their age from the age ranges provided in the study and this was considered important in ensuring youth from all age levels between 18 and 34 were sampled. This information is indicated in table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Age Distribution of the Respondents

Age Range	Total	Proportion (%)
18-23	159	40.56%
24-29	193	49.23%
30-34	40	10.20%

Source: Researcher, 2022

The research established that 40.56% of the respondents belonged to the 18-23 years age bracket, 49.23% were between the ages of 24-29 while 10.20% fell between the 30-34 age bracket.

3.3.4: Education Level

Education is one of the important resources that influence one's level of participation in the democratic processes. This data was collected by asking the respondents to indicate the highest level of education attained from the options given and this information is as shown in table 3.4 below:

Table 3.4: Education Level of the Respondents

Level of Education	Frequency	Percentage proportion
None (No formal schooling)	0	0%
Primary	5	1.28%
Secondary	81	20.66%
Tertiary (College)	100	25.51%
University	206	52.55%
Total	**392**	**100%**

Source: Researcher, 2022

The study established that none of the respondents had no formal schooling, 1.28% had primary level education only, 20.66% with secondary level education only, 22.51% with tertiary level education and only 52.55% had completed university level education.

3.3.5: Employment Status

The study also sought to establish the employment status of the respondents. This was important because engagement in work would have an impact on the time an individual would dedicate to take part in politics or follow up on political developments in the country. To ensure all possible full-time commitment an individual has were captured, the option of "student" was added to capture the youth who are still studying. The information is as shown in table 3.5 below:

Table 3.5: Respondents' Employment Status

Employment Status	Frequency	Percentage proportion
Employed/Self-Employed	177	45.27%
Unemployed	87	22.25%
Student	127	32.48%

Source: Researcher, 2022

The study established that 45.27% of the youth were either employed or self-employed, 22.25% were unemployed while 32.48% were students.

3.4: Descriptive Indicators of Democratic Engagement

The study sought to assess the level of engagement in the democratic processes and institutions among the youth. This was achieved by having a list of the core indicators of engagement, both in the conventional and unconventional acts of participation as well as the cognitive dimensions.

3.4.1: Political and Civic Indicators

The study had a range of indicators aimed at measuring the different types of civic and political acts that the youth take part in.

3.4.1.1: Membership in Organizations

Membership in (in)formal political and societal institutions helps assess one's engagement levels. Respondents were asked to list the type of organizations they belonged to and results are as indicated in Figure 3.1 below:

Table 3.6: Respondents' membership in organizations

Type of Organization	Frequency	Proportion (%)
Political Party	88	22.45%
Community Organization	71	18.11%
None	250	63.78%

Source: *Researcher, 2022*

Of these, 4.34% of the respondents reported that they were members of both a political party and a community organization, 22.45% reported membership in political parties while those who belonged to a community organization stood at 18.11%.

The study established that a significant majority of the youth (63.78%) had no involvement in these two types of organizations.

The study further went to inquire from the respondents the strength of identification as party members and this is demonstrated in Table 3.7 below:

Table 3.7: How Respondents identify as party members

How they Identify	Frequency	Proportion
Very Strongly	15	17.05%
Strongly	19	21.59%
Moderate	40	45.45%
Weak	11	12.50%
Very Weak	3	3.41%

Source: *Researcher, 2022*

The study established that 38.64% of the youth identify themselves strongly with their political parties, 45.45% identify themselves moderately while 15.91% consider themselves to be weak party members.

3.4.1.2: Type of Community Organizations

The study also aimed at establishing the type of community based organizations that the respondents belonged to. These were categorized into two: political and non-political based on the objectives of the organization and the issues they advocate for at the community level. Table 3.7 indicates the results.

Table 3.8: Type of Community Organizations Respondents belong to

Type of Community Organization	Frequency	Proportion
Political	19	26.76%
Non-Political	52	73.24%

Source: *researcher, 2022*

From the respondents who reported to be members of a community based organization, 26.76% reported that they belonged to those that can be characterized as political while 73.24% belonged to the non-political ones.

3.4.1.3: Civic Skills

Civic skills are an indicator of democratic engagement and influences how individuals take part in politics. The study adopted a 5-point Likert Scale to assess the civic skills of the respondents with respondents rating their skills from very low to very high. Table 3.9 displays the results.

Table 3.9: Respondents' Assessment of their Civic Skills

Civic Skills Measure	Very Low	Low	Moderate	High	Very High	Total	Weighted Average
Ability to write a petition	16.58% 65	18.62% 73	42.60% 167	14.54% 57	7.65% 30	**392**	**2.78**
Planning community meetings	15.05% 59	11.48% 45	36.99% 145	23.21% 91	13.27% 52	**392**	**3.08**
Making contributions where decisions affecting your community are discussed and made	9.18% 36	8.93% 35	32.65% 128	25.00% 98	24.23% 95	**392**	**3.46**
Making a speech or presentation in such a meeting	11.99% 47	9.95% 39	31.12% 122	27.04% 106	19.90% 78	**392**	**3.33**

Concerning their ability to write a petition, 35.2% rated their skills to be low, 42.6% reported that they had moderate skills while only 22.19% rated their skills to be high. In terms of planning community meetings, majority of the youth (36.99%) reported that they had moderate skills, 34.48% reported that they had high skills while 26.53% reported that they had low skills. When it came to making contributions where decisions affecting their community are discusses, 49.23% of the youth were of the view that their skills were high, 19.21% rated their ability to be low while 32.65% rated their skills to be moderate. When it came to their ability to make a speech or presentation in such meetings, 46.94% of the youth rated their ability to be high, 31.12% as moderate and 21.94% rated their ability to be low.

From the research, a number of factors were identified as contributing to the low civic skills of the youth on a number of issues. These included their lack of participation in community meetings where they would ordinarily learn by experience on how their voice can be heard at the local level. Also, there are inadequate forums and platforms at the local level in which they can take part in and build up their civic competences. Lack of capacity building trainings or inadequate capacity building trainings was also cited as a factor contributing to their low civic skills, especially when it comes to issues like petition writing which require some form of training for the youth.

3.4.1.4: Acts of Political Participation

Respondents were also asked to indicate the types of political activities they have taken part in between 2017 and 2021. These included both conventional and unconventional measures of participation. The study findings are indicated in table 3.9 below:

Table 3.10: Political Activities Respondents have taken part in

Type of Political activity	Frequency	Proportion (%)
Voting in general elections or by-elections	197	50.26%
Running as a candidate for political office	7	1.79%
Attending a political campaign or rally	118	30.10%
Working in the campaign team of an aspirant or candidate for political office	52	13.27%
Contacting a public official or a political leader	41	10.46%
Participating in a public demonstration or protest	40	10.20%
Attending a community meeting where political issues are discussed e.g. public participation forums	99	25.26%
Holding a leadership position in a political party or community organization	29	7.40%
None of the above	103	26.28%

Source: *Researcher, 2022*

The research focused on eight different types of activities that the youth can be engaged in. The study established that voting was the activity in which majority of the youth have taken part in with 50.26% reporting to have voted in either a general or a by-election. This was followed by attending a political rally or campaign (30.10%), attending a community meeting (25.26%), working in the campaign team of an aspirant or candidate for political office (13.27%), contacting a public official or elected leader (10.40%) and participating in a protest or demonstration (10.20%). Only 7.40% of the youth reported that they had held a leadership position in either a political party or community organization while only 1.79% reported that they had ran as candidate for political office. The study also established that 26.28% of the youth had never taken part in any of the listed political activities.

From the above, the research also established the number of activities that the youth have taken part in to determine the extent of their involvement. Majority of the youth have either not been

involved in any political act or just a single act with very few having taken part in more than 3 types of political activities. This is indicated in table 3.11 below:

Table 3.11: Number of Political Activities Respondents have taken part in

Number of Activities	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Frequency	103	164	49	30	20	12	10	2	2
Proportion	26.28%	41.84%	12.5%	7.65%	5.1%	3.06%	2.55%	0.51%	0.51%

Source: *Researcher, 2022*

The study established that a majority (41.84%) of the youth had only taken part in one of the listed political activities while the percentage of those who had never taken part in any of the listed activities was 26.28%. 12.25% of the youth had taken part in two activities, 7.65% in three activities, 5.17% in four activities, 3.06% in five activities, 2.55% in six activities and 0.51% in seven activities. Only 0.51% had taken part in all the eight listed activities.

3.4.2: Cognitive Indicators

The study also focused on the measures of cognitive indicators of democratic engagement among the youth. It focused on indicators such as time dedicated to follow up on political issues and/or developments in the country, sense of political efficacy as well as social media use and efficacy. The results are elaborated in the sub-sections below.

3.4.2.1: Time set aside to keep tabs on political issues and developments

Respondents were asked to state the time in hours per week they set aside to follow up on political issues and developments in the country or taking part in political discussions.. The results are indicated in Table 3.12 below:

Table 3.12: Time in hours dedicated to follow up on political issues

Time in Hours	Frequency	Proportion (%)
0	109	27.81%
1-5	196	50.00%
6-10	41	10.46%
11-15	14	3.57%
16-20	12	3.06%
Above 20	20	5.10%
TOTAL	**392**	**100%**

Source: *Researcher, 2022*

The study established that 50% of the surveyed youth spent between one to five hours weekly to follow up on the political developments/issues in the country, 10.46% spent between six to ten hours, 3.57% spent between eleven to fifteen hours, 3.06% spent between sixteen to twenty hours while 5.10% spent more than twenty hours. It was established that 27.81% of the youth dedicated zero hours weekly to follow up on political developments/issues in the country.

3.4.2.2: Levels of Political Interest

This was aimed at identifying the levels of political interest the youth have. It focused on politics in the national picture as well as at the community level. It also focused at understanding the level of interest among the youth in following up on political issues across the different media platforms. A 4-point Likert scale measurement was used with responses ranging from not interested to very interested. Table 3.13 below shows the results.

Table 3.13: Respondents' Level of Political Interest

	Not Interested at all	Somehow Interested	Interested	Very Interested	Total	Weighted Average
Interest in Kenyan politics or political issues	25.77% 101	32.65% 128	23.21% 91	18.37% 72	**392**	**2.34**
Interest in local community politics and affairs	20.15% 79	27.81% 109	31.63% 124	20.41% 80	**392**	**2.52**
Interest in following political developments across the different media platforms	20.41% 80	27.81% 109	29.34% 115	24.45% 88	**392**	**2.54**

Source: *Researcher, 2022*

From the above, there is generally a low level of interest in Kenyan politics when compared with the other indicators. A majority of the youth are very interested in following up political developments across the different media platforms compared to interest in Kenyan politics and interest in community issues. This might be attributed to the fact that most of them are techno-savvy and can easily follow up on current political issues via social media platforms and also due to the fact that it is easily accessible.

The study established a number of factors contributing to the low levels of political interest among the youth especially when it comes to Kenyan politics. A majority of the respondents cited corruption as a factor that makes them lose interest in following up on Kenyan politics. This has generally contributed to their political apathy for they feel that even with their engagement, cases of corruption are still rife hence they doubt whether they can make any meaningful change as individuals. There is also ignorance among the youth as to what is their role in shaping the political realities in the country. This might be fuelled by their lack of knowledge on current political events in the country since a number of them argued that they don't pay attention at all to what happens in the political stage. There is also a perception among

the youth, based on stereotypes, that politics is a game for the old men and the lack of experience among the youth makes them unsuitable to air out their voice or take a key role in trying to shape political realities. The cost involved in engaging in political activities is also another factor contributing to their low levels of interest. When it comes to the trade-off between fending for their daily needs and following up on what happens in the country's political space, a majority argued they are forced to choose the former.

3.4.2.3: Sense of Political Efficacy

The study also aimed at establishing the sense of political efficacy among the youth in the country for it is a factor that influences their democratic engagement. This included measures for both internal and external efficacy. It was measured using a 5-point Likert scale based on how members agreed or disagreed to the different statements. The results are indicated in table 3.14 below:

Table 3.14: Respondents' Sense of Political Efficacy

Political Efficacy Measure (Statement)	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total	Weighted Average
The youth like me don't have any say about what the government does	28.32% 111	23.47% 92	7.91% 31	21.43% 84	18.88% 74	392	2.79
Voting is the only way I can have a say about how the government runs things	19.39% 76	23.47% 92	10.97% 43	27.55% 108	18.62% 73	392	3.03
Having elections makes the government pay attention to people's opinions	18.62% 73	28.83% 113	14.80% 58	22.45% 88	15.31% 60	392	2.87
Politics and government at times seems complicated that I don't understand what is going on	24.49% 96	36.99% 145	8.16% 32	18.37% 72	11.99% 47	392	2.56

Public officials and elected leaders do not care much about what the youth think	41.33% 162	39.54% 155	8.16% 32	10.20% 40	0.77% 3	**392**	**1.90**
Elected leaders lose touch with the people very quickly	59.95% 235	33.42% 131	4.08% 16	0.77% 3	1.79% 7	**392**	**1.51**
Political parties are more interested with our votes than our opinions	69.13% 271	24.74% 97	3.06% 12	2.30% 9	0.77% 3	**392**	**1.41**

Source: *Researcher, 2022*

The study established that the youth had low sense of political efficacy, both internal and external. On the idea that the youth have no say in what the government does, 51.79% agreed with the statement, 40.31% disagreed while 7.91% were not sure. On whether they believed that voting was the only way they can have a say about how the government runs things, 42.86% were in agreement, 46.17% disagreed while 10.97% were not sure. On the notion that politics and government at times seems complicated that they do not understand what is going on, 61.48% were in agreement, 30.36% disagreed while 8.16% were not sure.

There were even lower self-reported scores when it came to the statements that measured external political efficacy.47.45% of the youth agreed with the statement that having elections makes the government pay attention to people's opinions, 37.76% disagreed while 14.80% were not sure. With regards to the statement that public officials and elected leaders do not care much about what the youth think, 80.8% were in agreement, 8.16% were not sure while 10.97% disagreed. On whether they believed that elected leaders lose touch with the people very quickly, 93.37% agreed with the statement, 4.08% were not sure while only 2.56% disagreed. 93.8% of the youth agreed with the statement that political parties were more interested in their votes than opinions, 3.06% were not sure while 3.07% disagreed with the statement.

3.4.2.4: Access to Political Information

This was aimed at identifying some of the sources that the youth use to get political information and included the traditional media as well as the new media (social media) and the results are indicated in Table 3.15 below:

Table 3.15: Sources of Political Information

Source of Political Information	Frequency	Proportion (%)
Television	283	72.19%
Radio	137	34.95%
Family and Friends	158	40.31%
Internet/Social Media Platforms	346	88.27%
Newspapers	11	2.81%
Books	2	0.51%
Meetings/Public Forums	3	0.77%
Print Media (Magazines)	4	1.02%

Source: *Researcher, 2022*

The study established that the internet/social media platforms were the widely used platforms for acquisition of political information by the youth with 88.27% of the respondents reporting use of it. This was followed by Television at 72.19%, family and friends at 40.31%, radio at 34.95% and newspapers at 2.81%. 1.02% used the print media (magazines). 0.77% reported use of public forums while only 0.51% reported using books as a source for acquiring political information.

The study further went to establish the most used social media platforms for acquiring political information and the findings are presented in table 3.16 below:

Table 3.16: Social Media Platforms used for acquiring political information

Social Media Platform	Frequency	Proportion (%)
WhatsApp	216	56.84%
Twitter	251	66.05%
Facebook	199	52.37%
Blog Sites	162	42.63%

Source: *Researcher, 2022*

Twitter was the most used social media platform by the youth to acquire political information with 66.05% reporting use of it. WhatsApp use stood at 56.84%, Facebook at 52.37% while 42.63% used blog sites to acquire political information.

Generally, there is preference among the youth on new sources of information compared to the traditional sources of information. Majority of the respondents cited the ease of accessing information via social media to be a contributing factor as to why they prefer accessing political information via new media platforms. They also have lower costs when it comes to acquiring information when compared to traditional sources like Newspapers.

3.4.2.5: Social Media Efficacy

This was a measure that aimed at establishing how confident the youth are in making contributions to political issues being discussed in the different social media. Focus was on the three widely used platforms (WhatsApp, Twitter and Facebook). A 5-point Likert scale was used. The results are as indicated in table 3.17:

Table 3.17: Social Media Platforms Efficacy

Social Media Platform	Very High	High	Moderate	Low	Very Low	Total	Weighted Average
WhatsApp	22.96% 90	17.35% 68	29.08% 114	13.27% 52	17.35% 68	**392**	**2.85**
Twitter	17.09% 67	15.82% 62	22.70% 89	22.70% 89	21.68% 85	**392**	**3.16**
Facebook	19.39% 76	19.13% 75	20.41% 80	16.33% 64	24.74% 97	**392**	**3.08**

Source: *Researcher, 2022*

The study established that social media efficacy via the three social media platforms was highest in WhatsApp followed by Facebook and Twitter respectively. 40.31% of the youth rated their ability to make contributions to political issues being discussed via WhatsApp to be high, 29.08% as moderate and 30.62% as low. When it came to Twitter, 32.91% rated their ability to

contribute to be high, 22.70% to be moderate while 44.38% reported that they had low ability. When it came to Facebook, 38.52% had high confidence in their ability to contribute to political discussions, 20.41% as moderate while 41.07% rated their ability to be low.

3.4.2.6: Political Content Creation

This aimed at establishing the extent to which the youth use the different social media platforms in the creation/publishing of UGC that touch on political issues in the country. It first looked at the proportion of the youth that use the platforms for UGC and then establishing which platforms they use. The results are indicated in tables 3.18 and 3.19 below:

Table 3.18: Use of Social Media Platforms for generating UGC

Use of Social Media for UGC	Frequency	Proportion
YES	129	32.91%
NO	263	67.09%

Source: *Researcher, 2022*

32.91% of the youth reported that they had used social media platforms for political content creation while 67.09% had never been involved in political content creation via social media platforms.

Table 3.19: Social Media Platforms used for UGC

Social Media Platform	Frequency	Proportion (%)
Facebook	57	47.90%
WhatsApp	31	26.05%
Twitter	47	39.5%
YouTube	12	10.08%
Reddit	1	0.84%
Blog Sites	2	1.68%

Tiktok	2	1.68%
Instagram	5	4.20%
Telegram	7	5.88%

Source: *Researcher, 2022*

The study established that Facebook was the most used social media platform for UGC by the youth at 47.90%, Twitter followed at 39.5%, WhatsApp use stood at 26.05%. Other platforms used by the youth for UGC included YouTube (10.08%), Reddit (0.84%), Blog Sites (1.68%), Tiktok (1.68%), Instagram (4.20%) and Telegram (5.88%).

The youth who reported that they were involved in political content creation through UGC also noted that it has had an influence on their democratic engagement as well as deriving some benefits from this. Some observed that it has enhanced their ability to communicate political messages to their peers, friends and even followers in a timely, efficient and efficacious manner.

Others also opined that it has led to an increase in their political knowledge thus increasing their ability to be engaged in fruitful discussions on a wide range of political issues with their peers online and even offline. This increase in political knowledge has also increased confidence in their ability to meaningfully contribute to political discussions as well as having informed opinions through online engagement. Through UGC, they are also able to connect with their peers and have political discussions thus increasing their democratic engagement, through this, they are able to exchange ideas as well as have an understanding and appreciation of the diverse schools of thought held by their peers.

Others also observed that through UGC they have been able to secure employment as bloggers for aspirants and candidates for political office.

However, others felt that it has had no significant effect on their democratic engagement since they feel that their voice is still not heard.

3.5: Presentation and Interpretation of the Statistical Analysis of the Study Variables

This section presents the statistical operations that were performed on the data to establish the kind of relationships existing between the different variables under consideration in the study.

The internal consistency and reliability of the measuring instruments was ascertained by use of Cronbach's alpha measure of reliability. It is a measure of internal consistency that is mostly used on Likert-scale type of questions and its values range from 0-1 with higher values (those close to 1) implying greater reliability of the measuring instruments. Its formula is:

$$\alpha = \left(\frac{k}{k-1} \right) \left(\frac{s_y^2 - \sum s_i^2}{s_y^2} \right)$$

The Cronbach alpha values of the variables are highlighted below:

a) **Civic Skills:** This was a measure of the skills-competence of the youth on a four factors that are expected to influence their democratic engagement. It was measures using four items on a Five-point Likert Scale. It had a Cronbach alpha value of 0.874.

b) **Political Interest:** This referred to those psychological motivations that are expected to influence the democratic engagement of the youth in politics. It was measured using three items on a Four-point Likert Scale and had a Cronbach alpha value of 0.872.

c) **Political Efficacy:** This referred to the attitudes and or beliefs of the respondents in their ability to influence political outcomes through their democratic engagement. It was measured using seven items on a Five-point Likert Scale and it had a Cronbach alpha value of 0.792.

d) **Social Media Efficacy:** This referred to the respondents' ability or belief in their ability to meaningfully contribute to political discussions online via three social media platforms (WhatsApp, Twitter and Facebook) and was measured using three items on a Five-point Likert Scale. It had a Cronbach alpha value of 0.77.

The study sought to establish the relationship between the resource variables and democratic engagement of the youth. The following sub-sections describe the relationship established between the variables.

The study employed the use of the Pearson Correlation Coefficient, Regression Analysis and Chi-square Statistics to test the study hypothesis.

Pearson correlation enables us to identify the nature and strength of relationship between the variables being studied. Values range from -1 to 1 with -1 or 1 value indicating a perfect negative or positive correlation between the study variables while a value of 0 is an indicator that there is no relationship between the variables. Values less than 0.2 or -0.2 are an indicator of a very weak positive or negative correlation; values ranging from 0.2 to 0.4 and -0.2 to -0.4 indicate a weak positive or negative correlation; values that range from 0.4 to 0.6 and -0.4 to -0.6 indicate moderate positive or negative correlation; values that range from 0.6 to 0.8 and -0.6 to -0.8 are an indicator of a strong positive or negative correlation while values above 0.8 and -0.8 are an indicator of a very strong positive or negative correlation between the variables.

Regression analysis enable us establish how the independent variable affects the dependent variable. The significance (F) value gives us an idea of the reliability of our results with a value of less than 0.05 indicating that the results are statistically significant (reliable). Interpretation of the hierarchical regression model focuses on the change in R Square (R^2) which shows the overall relationship between the study variables. The R^2 figure enables us to establish the extent to which change in the dependent variable is explained by the independent variable (in terms of probability).If change is statistically significant, the overall relationship will be significant as well.

The Chi-Square statistic enables us determine the association between two categorical variables. If the X^2 value is greater than the X^2 critical value, then we reject the null hypothesis. Relationship between the independent and dependent variable is considered statistically significant if the p-value is less than 0.05.

3.6: Influence of Resources on the Democratic Engagement of the Youth in Nairobi County

3.6.1: Education Level and Democratic Engagement

The study sought to establish the relationship between education level as one of the resource variables and democratic engagement of the youth in Nairobi County. A correlation analysis was done between the reported education level of the respondents and their democratic engagement. Table 3.20 below displays the results:

Table 3.20: Correlation of Education Level and Democratic Engagement

Education Level	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS						
	None	Voting	Attending Rally	Working in Campaign Team	Contacting a public official	Holding Leadership	Attending Community Meeting
	.878	.96	.996	.957	.981	.973	.998

The study established the existence of a very strong positive correlation between education level and democratic engagement. There was a very strong correlation between one's level of education and non-participation (.878); voting in general or by-elections (.96); attending a political campaign or rally (.996); working in the campaign team of an aspirant or candidate for political office (.957); contacting a public official or elected leader (.981); holding a leadership position in a political party or community organization (.973) and attending a community meeting where decisions affecting the community are discussed and made (.998).

The regression analysis for the individual indicators of democratic engagement is presented in Table 3.21 below:

Table 3.21: Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Education Level and Democratic Engagement

Dependent Variable	Regression Statistics				Regression Analysis Output: ANOVA		
	Multiple R	R Squared (R^2)	Adjusted R^2	Standard Error	df1	df2	Significance (F)
Non-Engagement	.878	.771	.656	48.625	1	2	.122
Voting	.96	.922	.883	28.358	1	2	.04
Attending Rally	.996	.991	.987	9.607	1	2	.004
Working in campaign team	.957	.917	.875	29.321	1	2	.043
Contacting a Public Official	.981	.963	.944	19.535	1	2	.019
Holding Leadership	.973	.947	.921	23.364	1	2	.027
Attending Community Meeting	.998	.995	.993	7.05	1	2	.002

Since the probability of the F-statistic was less than the significance level (.05), we reject the null hypothesis (education level has no impact on the democratic engagement of the youth) that change in R^2=0. The research hypothesis is accepted. However, the relationship between the education level and not taking part in any activity is not significant with a value of .122 implying that it might be explained by other factors since only 77.05% of change in this is explained by the independent variable.

3.6.2: Time and Democratic Engagement

The study also focused on time as a resource to ascertain the relationship it has with democratic engagement of the youth. Respondents were asked to indicate the range of hours they set aside weekly to follow up on political developments, take part in political discussions or other types of political activities as an indicator of their likelihood of participating in activities requiring time

commitment. The association between the variables was established using the Pearson correlation coefficient and is presented below:

Table 3.22: Correlation of Time and Democratic Engagement

Time & Individual acts of engagement	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS						
	None	Voting	Attending Rally	Working in Campaign Team	Contacting a public official	Protest Participation	Attending Community Meeting
	.837	.984	.522	.693	.739	.785	.889

The findings indicated positive correlation between time and democratic engagement. It had a very strong correlation with voting in general or by-elections (.984), not taking part in any political activity (.837) and attending a community meeting (.889). It had a strong positive correlation with working in the campaign team of an aspirant or candidate for political office (.693), contacting a public official or elected leader (.739) and participation in a public demonstration or protest (.785). There was a moderate correlation with attending a political rally (.522).

Table 3.23 below presents the hierarchical regression of the variables:

Table 3.23: Hierarchical Regression Model for Time and Democratic Engagement

	Regression Statistics				Regression Analysis Output: ANOVA		
	Multiple R	R2	Adjusted R2	Standard Error	*df1*	*df2*	Significance (F)
No Engagement	.837	.7	.625	45.097	1	4	.038
Voting	.984	.968	.96	14.671	1	4	.000
Attending Political Rally	.522	.273	.091	70.192	1	4	.288

Working in campaign team	.693	.481	.351	59.321	1	4	.127
Contacting public official	.739	.547	.433	55.433	1	4	.093
Protest Participation	.784	.616	.520	51.031	1	4	.065
Attending Community Meeting	.889	.79	.738	37.724	1	4	.018

3.6.3: Civic Skills and Democratic Engagement

The study also examined how civic skills as a resource affects the democratic engagement of the youth. This was done through the use of Chi-square statistics to indicate the association between the respondent's self assessment of their civic skills and organization membership (belonging either to a community organization or a political party). The results for the different civic skills and their association with organizational membership are indicated in table 3.24 below:

Table 3.24: Association between Civic Skills and Organizational Membership

	Chi-square Statistics			
	X^2 **Value (Calculated)**	X^2 **Critical Value**	*df*	**p- Value**
Ability to Write a Petition	17.685	15.507	8	.024
Planning Community Meetings	31.8	15.507	8	.000
Making contributions where decisions affecting community are discussed and made	33.634	15.507	8	.000
Making a speech or presentation in such a meeting	16.476	15.507	8	.036

From the above results, we reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis (civic skills influence organizational membership) as the X^2 values are greater than the X^2 critical values. The results are also statistically significant since all p-values are less than 0.05.

3.6.4: Summary

The first objective of the study sought to establish the relationship between resources and democratic engagement of the youth in Nairobi County. The first objective was based on the Civic Voluntarism Theory that focuses on the role played by SES and resource variables in understanding individual's participation in political activities. The SES and resource variables used in the study were education level, time and civic skills.

The study found that education level is positively correlated with the democratic engagement of the youth with correlations between education level and specific activities of democratic engagement being very strong positive. This reinforced the reviewed literature and theory that associates individuals with high SES status with high levels of engagement. The influence was statistically significant with p-values of less than .05.

When it came to time, the study established existence of moderate to very strong positive correlations between time and specific types of democratic engagement. Individuals who tend to create or have more time to follow up on political development in the country were found to be the most engaged. This finding resonated with the theory and literature that predicts those who have more time to follow up on political development were the most likely to be engaged in political activities.

The theory and reviewed literature also emphasized on the role played by civic skills in influencing the levels of democratic engagement among individuals especially in activities that require utilization of civic skills acquired over time by individuals. The theory postulates that those individuals who belong to organizational groupings tend to exhibit higher levels of civic skills. The study established that an association exists between organizational membership and civic skills as well as between civic skills and activities requiring civic skills. The relationship was also statistically significant with p-values being less than .05.

3.7: Influence of Attitudinal Factors on the Democratic Engagement of the Youth in Nairobi County

This section presents the relationship between the attitudinal variables and democratic engagement of the youth in Nairobi County.

3.7.1: Political Interest and Democratic Engagement

The study aimed at establishing the association between political interest and democratic engagement. This was by looking at the levels of political interest reported and organizational membership as well as individual acts of political engagement.

The Chi-square statistical analysis was employed to establish the association between political interest and organizational membership. Results are displayed in table 3.25 below:

Table 3.25: Association between Political Interest and Organizational Membership

	Chi-square Statistics			
	X^2 **Value (Calculated)**	X^2 **Critical Value**	*df*	**p- Value**
Interest in Kenyan Politics	43.844	12.59	6	<0.001
Interest in local community politics/issues	56.075	12.59	6	<.001
Interest in following political developments across different media platforms	40.512	12.59	6	<.001

From the above, it is clear that an association exists between political interest and organizational membership since the X^2 value is greater than the X^2 critical value. The relationship is also statistically significant since the p-values are less than 0.001.

The study also went further to establish the correlations between political interest and specific acts of political participation in order to establish the strength and direction of the relationship. The results are displayed in table 3.26 below:

Table 3.26: Correlation of Political Interest and Individual Acts of Democratic Engagement

Political Interest	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS							
	None	Voting	Running for Political office	Attending Campaign Rally	Contacting a public official	Protest Participation	Attending Community Meeting	Holding leadership
Interest in Kenyan Politics	.881	.143	---	.708	---	.841	---	---
Interest in local community politics/issues	.195	.63	.428	.346	.151	.193	.172	.394
Interest in following political developments	.158	.557	---	.571	---	.098	---	----

From the above, it is clear that a positive correlation exists between political interest and specific acts of political participation. However, the strength of the correlation varies from very strong to very weak depending on the specific act of democratic engagement. A very strong correlation (.841) exists between interest in Kenyan politics and protest participations. The level of interest in Kenyan politics strongly determines whether a youth decides to take part in any political activity (.881) but the same cannot be said of interest in community politics and their non-engagement (.195) or of interest in following political developments across media platforms and non-engagement (.158) since the correlations are very weak. Generally, most correlations of political interest and specific acts of democratic engagement (both conventional and unconventional) range from very weak to moderate implying that other factors other than political interest would explain involvement in such types of activities. However, the correlations are not statistically significant since the significance (F) statistics for all items are greater than 0.05.

3.7.2: Political Efficacy and Democratic Engagement

Political efficacy is generally expected to influence the democratic engagement of individuals. The correlation was done between the different efficacy measures and participation in political activities. The results were as shown in Table 3.27 below:

Table 3.27: Correlation of Political Efficacy and Democratic Engagement

	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS							
	None	Voting	Running for office	Attending Rally	Working in Campaign	Contacting	Protest	Community Meeting
INTERNAL EFFICACY								
NO SAY[3]	.766	.904	----	----	---	.324	-.383	.436
ONLY WAY[4]	.862	.982	.66	.954	.946	.87	.874	.959
COMPLICATED[5]	.966	.875	----	.867	---	.161	-.077	.839
EXTERNAL EFFICACY								
DON'T CARE[6]	.98	.985	---	---	---	.988	.991	.991
PAY ATTENTION[7]	.597	.974	---	.984	---	.983	---	.943
LOSE TOUCH[8]	.998	.998	---	.988	---	.998	1	1
INTERESTED IN VOTES[9]	.994	.995	---	.997	---	---	.99	---

When it comes to internal political efficacy, the strength and direction of the relationship varies between different acts of democratic engagement. A very weak negative (-.077) correlation exists between the belief that politics seems complicated at times and protest participation while a weak negative correlation (-.383) exists between the feeling that the youth have no say in what the government does and protest participation. However, for most of the items, the correlations are strong and positive implying that internal efficacy greatly influences the decision of taking part in political activities.

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[3] The Youth like me have no say about what the government does
[4] Voting is the only way I can have a say about how the government runs things
[5] Politics and government at times seems complicated that I do not understand what is going on
[6] Public officials and elected leaders do not care much about what the youth think
[7] Having elections makes the government pay attention to people's opinions
[8] Elected leaders lose touch with the people very quickly
[9] Political Parties are more interested in our votes than our opinions

When it comes to external efficacy, there is generally a very strong positive correlation with most being in the range of .98 to .99 thus implying that external efficacy has a great influence on the decision of taking part in political activities. The feeling that elected leaders do not pay attention to people's opinions is the only item with no strong correlation. However, it still has a moderate positive correlation (.597) with the decision of not being engaged in any activity.

The hierarchical regression analysis for the variables are shown in tables 3.28 and 3.29 below:

Table 3.28 Hierarchical Regression for Internal Efficacy Measures and Democratic Engagement

Internal Efficacy Measures	Regression Analysis				Regression Analysis Output: ANOVA		
	Multiple R	R^2	Adjusted R^2	Std. Error	*df1*	*df2*	Significance (F)
No Say							
None	.766	.586	.449	10.536	1	3	.131
Voting	.904	.816	.755	8.151	1	3	.035
Contacting Public Official	.324	.105	-.194	4.044	1	3	.595
Protest participation	.383	.146	-.138	3.165	1	3	.525
Attending community meeting	.436	.19	-.08	8.738	1	3	.463
Voting is the only way							
None	.862	.744	.658	3.026	1	3	.06
Voting	.982	.964	.952	2.771	1	3	.003
Running for office	.66	.435	.247	0.766	1	3	.226
Attending Rally	.954	.909	.879	5.445	1	3	.012
Working in campaign	.946	.894	.859	1.922	1	3	.015
Contacting public official	.87	.757	.676	2.493	1	3	.055

Protest participation	.874	.764	.686	3.61	1	3	.05
Attending community meeting	.959	.921	.894	3.074	1	3	.010
Politics seems complicated							
None	.966	.933	.91	5.454	1	3	.008
Voting	.875	.766	.688	8.512	1	3	.052
Attending rally	.867	.751	.669	6.341	1	3	.057
Contacting public official	.161	.026	-.299	5.664	1	3	.796
Protest participation	.077	.006	-.325	2.935	1	3	.902
Attending community meeting	.839	.704	.606	5.552	1	3	.075

When it came to internal political efficacy, there is generally moderate to very strong correlation between internal efficacy and the democratic engagement of the youth. The belief that voting is the only way in which they can have a say when it comes to political issues generally has greater correlation with their democratic engagement when compared to the other internal efficacy items. However, only a few of the correlations are statistically significant implying that there are other factors that influence their democratic engagement.

Table 3.29: Hierarchical Regression for External Efficacy Measures and Democratic Engagement

External Efficacy Measures	Regression Analysis				Regression Analysis Output: ANOVA		
	Multiple R	R^2	**Adjusted R^2**	**Std. Error**	*df1*	*df2*	**Significance (F)**
Pay attention							
None	.597	.356	.141	4.226	1	3	.288
Voting	.974	.949	.933	2.918	1	3	.005
Attending Rally	.984	.967	.956	2.678	1	3	.003
Contacting Public Official	.983	.965	.954	1.284	1	3	.003

Attending community meeting	.943	.889	.852	4.223	1	3	.016
Don't Care							
None	.980	.96	.947	4.001	1	3	.003
Voting	.985	.97	.96	8.302	1	3	.002
Contacting public official	.978	.956	.941	1.840	1	3	.004
Protest participation	.991	.982	.975	1.388	1	3	.001
Attending community meeting	.991	.981	.975	3.167	1	3	.001
Lose Touch							
None	.999	.998	.998	1.292	1	3	<.001
Voting	.998	.997	.996	3.56	1	3	<.001
Attending rally	.988	.977	.969	4.891	1	3	<.001
Contacting public official	.998	.996	.995	0.785	1	3	<.001
Protest participation	1	1	1	0.262	1	3	<.001
Attending community meeting	1	1	1	0.443	1	3	<.001
Political Parties							
None	.994	.988	.984	3.497	1	3	<.001
Voting	.995	.991	.988	6.981	1	3	<.001
Attending rally	.997	.994	.992	2.867	1	3	<.001
Protest participation	.99	.981	.975	2.006	1	3	<.001

There is generally greater correlation of external political efficacy measures and the democratic engagement of the youth. This implies that the more efficacious the youth feel about their ability to influence political decisions or take part in political activities, the more likely they are to

participate. The results are also statistically significant with all measures having significance values of <0.001 with different acts of democratic engagement implying that external efficacy influences the democratic engagement of the youth.

3.7.3: Social Media Efficacy and Democratic Engagement

The study went further to establish the association between social media efficacy and democratic engagement of the youth. This was done in two ways. The first was determining whether social media efficacy influences the decision to create UGC focusing on political issues and the second to determine how social media efficacy influences attitudinal engagement, specifically interest in following political development across the media platforms. This was done through the use of Chi-square statistics. The results are displayed in tables 3.30 and 3.31 below:

Table 3.30: Social Media Efficacy and UGC involvement

Social Media Efficacy and UGC engagement	Chi-square Statistics			
	X^2 **Value (Calculated)**	X^2 **Critical Value**	*df*	**p- Value**
WhatsApp	51.628	9.488	4	<.001
Twitter	49.182	9.488	4	<.001
Facebook	55.851	9.488	4	<.001

From the above, there is an association between social media efficacy and involvement in UGC. Since the X^2 value is greater than the critical X^2 value, it is evident that social media efficacy greatly determines the decision of choosing to be involved in content creation via social media platforms. The association is also statistically significant as the p-values for all items are less than 0.05.

Table 3.31: Social Media Efficacy and Attitudinal Engagement via media platforms

Social Media Efficacy and Interest in Following Political Developments across different media platforms	Chi-square Statistics			
	X^2 Value (Calculated)	X^2 Critical Value	*df*	p- Value
WhatsApp	115.814	28.3	12	<.001
Twitter	58.768	28.3	12	<.001
Facebook	95.399	28.3	12	<.001

In determining whether efficacy in using social media platforms to be engaged in online political discussions, the results indicate that efficacy greatly contributes to one's attitudinal engagement in terms of being interested in following up on political developments across the different media platforms and their online engagement. The X^2 values for all platforms are greater than the X^2 critical values. The p-values for all items are also less than 0.05 meaning that the association between the two variables is statistically significant.

3.7.4: Summary

The study's second objective was to examine the relationship between attitudinal variables and the democratic engagement of the youth in Nairobi County. The second objective was anchored on the attitudinal theory which focuses on the role motivational factors unique to each individual shape their patterns and level of engagement in politics. Here, three attitudinal variables were considered: Political interest, political efficacy and social media efficacy.

The study established the existence of an association between political interest and organizational membership with individuals who demonstrated higher levels of political interest being more likely to belong to political parties and/or community organizations. The association was statistically significant with p-values being less than .05. When it came to political interest and specific acts of democratic engagement, the study established existence of very weak positive to very strong positive correlations. These findings contradicted the reviewed literature and theoretical assumption on political interest that associates high levels of political interest with democratic engagement. This implies that individuals might have interest in politics but this doesn't automatically imply they would be democratically engaged.

Political efficacy was also expected to influence the democratic engagement as predicted by the attitudinal theory and reviewed literature. For this study, both measures for internal and external efficacy were employed. When it came to external efficacy, the study established existence of very strong positive correlations between political efficacy and democratic engagement in line with the theoretical assumptions. The correlations were also statistically significant with p-values being less than .05. However, when it came to internal efficacy, the correlations ranged from very weak negative to very strong positive correlations. These findings on internal efficacy contradict the reviewed literature and theoretical assumptions for even though the youth exhibited low levels of internal efficacy this did not prevent them from engaging in democratic processes implying that other factors would explain their levels of engagement. However, this finding is not unique as a negative relationship was also seen in a study conducted by Finkel (Finkel, 1985) on the reciprocal relationship between political efficacy and political participation.

When it came to social media efficacy, the findings reinforced the theoretical assumptions and literature that associated the level of efficacy with UGC involvement. The study found that those youth who were more efficacious across the different social media platforms were the most active in political content creation as established by the chi-square statistics. The association was also statistically significant with p-values of less than .05.

4.0: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1: Introduction

The chapter presents a summary of the study findings, conclusions and recommendations made in light of the study.

4.2: Summary of Findings

The study found that there are varied levels of engagement among the youth in the country's democratic processes. There are generally low levels of engagement in institutions with a significant majority of the youth (63.78%) reporting that they belonged to neither a political party nor community organization. Only 4.34% of the youth belong to both a political party and community organization. A majority of the youth also gave low scores in the self-assessment of their civic skills especially when it comes to petition writing with 35.26% reporting that they have low skills with regards to this particular civic skill. The highest scores (49.23%) were in their ability to make contributions in forums where community issues are being discussed.

In terms of cognitive indicators of participation, a significant majority of the youth (50%) reported that they dedicate 1-5 hours in a week to follow up on political developments in the country or take part in other types of political activities while 27.81% reported they dedicate zero hours in a week. There are generally low efficacy levels among the youth especially when it comes to external political efficacy.

A majority of the youth have taken up to the internet as a resource for acquiring political information. In this, Twitter is the widely used source at 66.05% followed by WhatsApp (56.84%) and Facebook (52.37%). However, most youth feel efficacious in contributing to online political discussions via WhatsApp (40.31%) while Twitter had the least at 32.91%. Facebook is the widely used platform for UGC at 47.9% followed by Twitter at 39.5% and WhatsApp at 26.05%.

4.3: Conclusion

This study was based on two hypotheses: (1) resources influence the democratic engagement of the youth in Nairobi County and (2) attitudinal factors influence the democratic engagement of the youth in Nairobi County.

With regards to hypothesis one, the study concludes that resources influence the democratic engagement of the youth in Nairobi County. Level of education had very strong positive correlations with individual acts of democratic engagement. Time on the other hand had moderate to very strong correlations with individual acts of engagement that require time commitment of the youth. Civic skills on the other hand had influence on institutional engagement specifically membership in community organizations with individuals who returned higher scores in the self-assessment of their civic skills having higher likelihood of being members of a community organization or political party when compared to those who returned low scores.

The second hypothesis focused on the influence of attitudinal factors on the democratic engagement of the youth in Nairobi County. Based on the research findings, the study concludes that there exists an influence of these attitudes on the democratic engagement of the youth. However, the nature and strength of the relationship differs from one variable to another as well as within a specific variable. A strong association exists between political interest and organizational membership. However, political interest has very weak to very strong positive correlations with specific acts of individual engagement. Sense of political efficacy on the other hand had varied influence with the strength of the influence differing between internal and external political efficacy. Internal efficacy had moderate to very strong correlation with individual acts of democratic engagement, while it had weak correlation with others. External efficacy on the other hand had very strong positive correlations with all acts of individual participation with some demonstrating a near perfect positive correlation. Social media efficacy on the other hand had a statistically significant association with involvement in UGC as well as with interest in following up on political developments across the different media platforms.

This study concludes that there exists a relationship between the political participation of the youth in Nairobi County and their democratic engagement. This was ascertained by focusing on

the correlation and association that exist between the variables of political participation and democratic engagement. The influence of political participation on democratic engagement of the youth was especially stronger when it came to variables such as resources, external political efficacy and social media efficacy.

4.4: Recommendations

In light of the research findings, this study makes the following recommendations:

a) There is need for the relevant institutional stakeholders (both government and the CSOs) to equip the youth with relevant civic skills so as to improve their competencies when it comes to their democratic engagement, specifically on issues to do with public participation at the local levels. They can take advantage of the many CBOs that exist at the community levels as avenues for capacity building forums. This can be done through some sort of town hall meetings in the community halls;

b) There is need for regular engagement of the youth beyond the electoral cycles by political parties. This should especially focus at the grassroots levels as a means of not just recruiting, but also training the youth on how to be engaged in the country's democratic processes. This will enable them be aware of party activities and thus motivating more youth to become party members. Also, it will help in strengthening their identification as party members when they are regularly engaged;

c) Stakeholders need to come up with creative and innovative ways of making the youth develop interest in politics. They can take advantage of social media platforms that are widely used by the youth to create and/or develop edutainment content focusing on political issues affecting the country to stimulate their political interest. This will serve to not only entertain the youth but also educate them on the need for their constant engagement in politics as key stakeholders;

d) With regards to education and civic skills as resources, stakeholders ought to focus on offering political education and civic skills capacity building forums for the youth. This will help equip the youth with the know-how on how to organize for political action at the grassroots level and beyond to ensure they have a say in the country's democratic processes.

This will help bridge the civic skills gap especially among those lacking post-secondary education;

e) Youth-led and youth-centric organizations at the community level need to offer capacity building workshops to the youth on how they can appropriate the opportunities offered by social media platforms for online democratic engagement. This is due to the fact that only a small percentage of the youth are involved in UGC via social media;

f) There is need for relevant stakeholders, more so the CSOs to find innovative ways of regularly engaging the youth beyond the electoral cycle as a way of increasing their political efficacy which has been found to influence their democratic engagement. This can be achieved by partnering with youth groupings at the community level to highlight to the youth how their voice on national issues can be heard by leaders and political institutions beyond electoral cycles;

Further Studies

a) There is need for research to examine the utility of Youth Organizing as a phenomenon that can not only change the nature but also the patterns of democratic engagement of the youth at the community level. This will enable relevant stakeholders identify how these youth-led community organizations can help in building the social capital of the youth so as to improve their democratic engagement beyond the election cycle;

b) Research can also be done to ascertain whether membership in community organizations helps build the political trust of the youth and have this compared with those youth who don't belong to any community organization. This will help ascertain whether social trust can help improve their democratic engagement in the long run;

c) There is need for a longitudinal study of youth population to identify the changing patterns in their democratic engagement, specifically when it comes to their levels of political interest and sense of political efficacy to establish whether they become more engaged when they become more efficacious and also looking at whether their levels of political interest increase or decline over time and the impact of this on their democratic engagement;

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Survey Questionnaire

Dear Sir/Madam

I am a student pursuing a Masters of Arts Degree in Political Science and Public Administration at the University of Nairobi. I am conducting research on Youth Political Participation and Democratic Engagement in Kenya with focus on Nairobi County. The following questionnaire is to help me in collecting data on the topic and it's strictly for academic research work. **The questionnaire is intended only for those individuals who are between 18-34 years of age**. Your assistance in helping me fill out this questionnaire will be highly appreciated.

Kindly tick in the box appropriately

PART A: RESPONDENT'S DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Sample Point: …………………………………………………………..

1. Respondent's Biographic Information
   a) Gender: Male [ ]   Female [ ]
   b) Age: 18-23 [ ]   24-29 [ ]   30-34 [ ]
   c) Level of Education: No formal schooling [ ] Primary [ ] Secondary [ ] College [   ]
      University [   ]
   d) Occupation: Employed/Self-Employed [   ] Unemployed [   ]   Student [   ]

PART B: INDICATORS OF DEMOCRATIC ENGAGEMENT

2. Membership in a Political Party or Community Organization that seeks to influence Government Policy or addresses local community issues:
   a) Kindly tick against the type of organization you belong to:
      Political Party [ ]   Community Organization [   ]
   b) Kindly indicate the party and/or organization you belong to: …………………………..
   c) If you are a member of a political party, how strongly would you identify yourself as a party member: Very Strongly [   ] Strongly [   ] Moderate [   ] Weak [ ] Very Weak [   ]
   d) Which type of community organization do you belong to: Political [ ] Non-political [   ]

3. Kindly tick against the type(s) of political activity you have been involved in in the last 4 years (between 2017 and 2020):

	Activity	
a)	Voting in general election or by-elections	
b)	Running as a Candidate for Political Office	
c)	Attending a Political Campaign or Rally	
d)	Working in the campaign team of an aspirant or candidate for political office	
e)	Contacting a public official or a political leader	
f)	Participating in a public demonstration or protest	
g)	Attending a Community meeting where political issues are discussed e.g. public participation forums	
h)	Holding a leadership position in a political party or community organization	

PART C: RESOURCES AND DEMOCRATIC ENGAGEMENT

4. How much time (in hours) in a week do you set aside to follow up on political developments or take part in political discussions:

   0 [ ]   1-5 [ ]   6-10 [ ] 11-15 [ ] 16-20 [ ]   More than 20 [ ]

5. On a scale of 1-5, (1-Very low, 2-Low, 3-Moderate, 4-High, 5-Very high), how would you rate your skills in the following types of activities:

	Activity	1	2	3	4	5
a)	Ability to write a petition					
b)	Planning Community Meetings					
c)	Making contributions where decisions affecting your community are discussed and made					
d)	Making a speech or presentation in such a meeting					

PART D: ATTITUDINAL FACTORS AND DEMOCRATIC ENGAGEMENT

6. On a scale of 1-5 (1-Strongly Agree, 2-Agree, 3-Not Sure, 4-Disagree, 5-Strongly Disagree) what are your views on the following statements:

	Question	1	2	3	4	5
a)	The youth like me don't have any say about what the government does					
b)	Voting is the only way I can have a say about how the government runs things					
c)	Having elections makes the government pay attention to people's opinions					
d)	Politics and government at times seems complicated that I do not understand what is going on					
e)	Public officials and elected leaders do not care much about what the youth think					
f)	Elected leaders lose touch with the people very quickly					
g)	Political parties are more interested with our votes than our opinions					

7. On a scale of 1-4 (1 being not interested at all, 2: somehow interested, 3: Interested and 4: very interested), how would you rate your interest in the following:

		1	2	3	4
a)	Interest in Kenyan politics or political issues				
b)	Interest in local community politics and affairs				
c)	Interest in following political developments across the different media platforms				

8. What factors do you think make the youth not to be engaged in addressing local community issues or participate in political issues?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

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9. What are some of the factors that influence (or might) you to be engaged in activities aimed at addressing local community issues or participate in politics?

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10. In your opinion, what can be done to make the youth be interested or more interested in political issues?

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……

11. a) What are some of the sources you use to get political information:

TV [   ] Radio [   ] Newspapers [   ] Friends and Family [   ] Internet/Social Media Sites [   ]

b) If your answer in a) above was Internet Social Media Sites, which ones are they?

WhatsApp [   ] Twitter [   ] Facebook [   ] Blog sites [ ] others (indicate) ………………………..

12. How would you rate your ability to contribute in political discussions on the following social media platforms on a scale of 1-4? (1-Very High, 2-High, 3-Moderate, 4-Low, 5-Very Low)

	Social Media Site	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
a)	WhatsApp					
b)	Twitter					
c)	Facebook					

13. a) Do you use social media to generate content that talks about political issues e.g. blogging, having a YouTube channel or Facebook page? ………………

b) Which platforms do you often use to generate political content?

……
……
……
……
……

14. If your answer in (13a) above is yes, how would you say it has affected your ability to engage in political issues with your peers?

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………………………………………………………………………………………………………..

PART E: RECOMMENDATIONS

15. In your opinion, what do you think stakeholders (e.g. political parties, government agencies and community organization) can do to promote the engagement of youth in politics?

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Appendix II: Authorization Letter for Field Research

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Telegrams: "Varsity", Nairobi	P.O. Box 30197
Telephone: 318262 ext. 28171	Nairobi, Kenya
Telex: 22095 Varsity	
Email: dept_pspa@uonbi.ac.ke	1st December 2021

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TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

AUTHORIZATION TO CONDUCT FIELD RESEARCH

This is to confirm that Ignatius Bruno Odanga of Registration Number (C50/11869/2018) is a bonafide student in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Nairobi.

Ignatius is pursuing a Degree in Master of Arts in Political Science and Public Administration. He is researching on, **"Youth Political Participation and Democratic Engagement in Kenya: The Case of Nairobi County".**

He has successfully completed the first part of his studies (Course work) and is hereby authorized to proceed to conduct Field Research. This shall enable the student to collect relevant data for his academic work.

It is against this background that the Department of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Nairobi requests your assistance in enabling the student in collecting relevant academic data. The information obtained shall be used only for academic purposes.

The student is expected to abide by your regulations and the ethics that this exercise demands. In case of any clarification, please feel free to contact the undersigned. Thanking you for support.

Yours Sincerely,

Professor Fred Jonyo (PhD, Makerere)
Chairman,
Department of Political Science and Public Administration,
UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

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