

**DETERMINANTS OF NATIONAL PATRIOTISM IN KENYA: A CASE OF NAIROBI
COUNTY**

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DECLARATION

I, Maureen WechetaSifumahereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to establish the determinants of national patriotism in Kenya a case study of Nairobi County. The problem area of the study was on the country's political, social, and economic environments and how they influenced the level of national patriotism of the citizens. The political turmoil in the country which is riddled with tribalism and negative ethnicity leading to political violence and displacement, high level of corruption and nepotism in the national and county governments and economic diversity formed the problem area of the study. The objectives of the study were to establish if national loyalty, ethnic inclusion and political orientation determined the level of national patriotism.

The study adopted a descriptive research design in order to establish the existing traits, conditions and attitudes of the citizens. Data collection was conducted through questionnaires administered to different companies in the county; the data was then analyzed by SPSS and data presentation was by tables and figures. The research concludes that national loyalty determined the level of national patriotism; however, loyalty was not influenced by national symbols such as the constitution. The research also concludes that ethnic inclusion determined the level of national patriotism and in addition vices such as corruption and nepotism also highly influenced the level of patriotism and contributed to low level of national patriotism. The research also concludes that political orientation does not determine the level of national patriotism however regional voting culture of the country highly influences the level of national patriotism negatively. The research finally recommends civic education on patriotism by the government, eradication of vices such as corruption and nepotism and strategy development on eradication of the regional voting culture. The research also recommends further research to establish how nepotism and corruption, economic factors and national symbols influence the levels of patriotism.

ABBREVIATIONS

ANES-The American National Election Studies

MRC- Mombasa Republican Council

SIT- Social identity theory

UN - United Nations

DEDICATION

I dedicate this research project to my husband Bryson who has been very supportive and patient and my almost born Baby Ethan who is still patient and is not giving me time to finish this project before he decides it's time to see the world.

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a background to the problem being investigated in this study which is determinants of national patriotism in Kenya where the focus will be Nairobi County. This chapter gives a brief introduction of the research study by looking into the concept of patriotism, forms of patriotism and factors determining national patriotism. The chapter also states the problem at hand; it gives an outline of the objectives of the study and states the hypotheses. The chapter also provides the literature review, the justification of the study, conceptual framework, methodology and finally the chapter outline.

1.1 Background to the Research Problem

According to Omelchenko, D, et al.¹ patriotism is similar to national identity of which both are referred to as multi-dimensional and contradictory phenomenon. This is due to the fact that their appearance and meaning are not constant. Patriotism as described by Nathanson² involves special affection, a personal identification, special concern and a willingness to sacrifice oneself to promote the good of the country. Patriotism tend to follow some characteristics, merits and achievements of one's own nation thus leading to an inborn loyalty to the nation and proving reasons for support of the patriots attitude. However, this concern for nation could be at different levels depending on the conformity and reflexivity of the individual³.

AsHuddy and Khatibaffirms thatresearch on patriotism has been marred by a confusing array of terms, definitions, and expected consequences. Patriotism is defined as a sense of

¹Omelchenko, D, et al, 'National Identity and Patriotism among Russian Youth: Representations, Feelings and Actions' *Asian Journal of Social Science*, Vol. 11, No. 6, (2015) pp 3-6

²Nathanson, S. *Patriotism, Morality, and Peace* (Lanham: Rowman& Littlefield 1993)

³MacIntyre, A. *Is Patriotism a Virtue? (The Lindley Lecture)*. Lawrence (University of Kansas 1984)

national loyalty, a love of national symbols, specific beliefs about a country's superiority⁴. Patriotism is determined by different factors but they mainly stem from personal identity. In addition, the development and growth of national patriotism stem from the political orientation of a country, religious background and influence, social growth that leads to a specific social identity and the nation's ethnic diversity. Furthermore, as national identity is born from uncritical patriotism their similarity is strong and are fundamentally developed from social identity, ethnicity and political orientation⁵.

According to Adorno et al. determinants of national patriotism include national loyalty, ethnic inclusion, social representations/structural equation and political orientations. Further, Patriotism is shaped from individual social orientation and relationships on one hand and individuality and emotional growth of individuals on the other hand⁶. Simon Keller⁷ explains that Patriotism can be judged from the standpoint of ethics of belief, norms and beliefs of a nation. As patriotism involves endorsement of one's country it is therefore paramount that an individual believes in the country's values, beliefs, virtues and achievements in order to endorse the country. In addition, the country's valid standards of value and past and present record leads to the conclusion that it lives up to those standards. According to Adorno and company, a genuine patriot appreciates the values and ways of life of other nations and personally accepts values and ways of life of his/her nation free of rigid conformism, out group rejection, and imperialistic striving for power.⁸

⁴Huddy,L. and Khatib, N. American Patriotism, National Identity, and Political Involvement, *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (Jan., 2007), pp. 63-77

⁵ Spinner-Halev, J., &Theiss-Moore, E. 'National identity and self-esteem' *Perspectives on Politics*, (2003) 1 pp515-532

⁶Adorno, T.W., Frenkel-Brunswik, E., Levinson, D.J., & Sanford, R.N. "*The authoritarian personality*" (New York: Harpe 1950)

⁷ Simon Keller, 'Patriotism as Bad Faith', *Ethics*, vol. 115 (2004/2005)

⁸Adorno, T.W., Frenkel-Brunswik, E., Levinson, D.J., & Sanford, R.N. "*The authoritarian personality*" (New York: Harper 1950)

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Patriotism is more than an individual's way of life; it encompasses norms, belief and culture, from its political dynamics, ethnic diversities, socialization, institutions, leaders and its people. However, failure of some of the above leads to negative dynamics in the country which in turn leads to low level of patriotism. If a nation's political dynamics are oppressive to the citizens an individual love for his/her country turns to dislike some to hate. This has its consequences of which individual may prefer to leave the county due to its instability and move to a stable country in order to find peace. As political turmoil may lead to civil war and conflicts such as the post-election violence experienced in most of the developing nations including Kenya, these experiences overturns the way of life of a nation leading to destruction of property, loss of businesses, loss of life and ultimately economic break down. In addition, the ethnic diversities of a nation if not well managed by its citizens and their leaders may lead to development of unethical behaviors such as nepotism, corruption and negative political differences. This in turn has a negative effect to the economic empowerment of the citizens thus leading to low employment levels, poverty, as the gap between rich and poor expands, and therefor eroding an individual's love of his/her nation.

In regard to the above, a question lingers as to why, in the case of Kenya the above mentioned issues are rampant and despite having gone through these issues if this issues act as detrainments of the level of patriotism of the Kenyan citizens. Kenya's history is riddled with political violence, ethnic conflicts, corruption and unsolved corruption cases, high economic differences and unemployment. In addition there has been limit in research on this area specifically the determinants of national patriotism especially in Africa and specifically in Kenya. It's in light of this that this research seeks to establish what determines national

patriotism in Kenya in order to establish its level and if such factors as national loyalty, ethnic inclusion and political orientation determine the level of patriotism.

1.3 Objectives of the Research

- i. To establish if national loyalty determines the level of national patriotism.
- ii. To establish if ethnic inclusion determines level of national patriotism.
- iii. To establish if political orientation determines the level of national patriotism.

1.4 Literature review

This section focuses on the concept of patriotism, forms of patriotism which inform this study and the determinants of patriotism. Patriotism is an important concept affecting myriad issues central to the study of politics and ultimately affecting societal issues⁹. Patriotism informs the political norms of the public insofar as it impacts civil liberties judgments and attitudes toward political and social tolerance¹⁰. Huddy and Khatib explain that Patriotism is certified and the explanatory power of patriotism is complex and remains open to question. For example patriotism is considered to be a blend of affection for the country, its way of life, and its core values, with national institutions and policies responsible for sustaining it thus developing and forming a country's way of life. This forms a fundamental base for research that can follow either direction¹¹.

⁹ Parker, C.S. 'Symbolic versus Blind Patriotism: Distinction without Difference?' (University of Washington, Seattle 2007)

¹⁰ Huddy, L. and Khatib, N. American Patriotism, National Identity, and Political Involvement, *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (Jan., 2007), pp. 63-77

¹¹ Berns, Walter. *Making patriots*, Chicago: (University of Chicago Press 2001)

1.4.1 Concept of Patriotism

In order to understand patriotism better comparisons must be made with nationalism. According to Nuesch and Franck¹² patriotism mainly concerns affective attachment towards the in-group implying feelings of belongingness, responsibility and pride. However, Feshbach struggled with the relationship between positive and negative feelings toward one's own group and others. Asking questions such as; does negative feelings toward other groups show loyalty to one's own group, or are there different types of attachments that show consideration of other groups. In their research conducted in America, a factor analysis of responses to items in a questionnaire about attitudes toward one's own and other countries revealed two relatively independent factors. For instance "do you love your country," which focused on feelings about one's own country, "I am proud to be a citizen of this country," and " I am emotionally attached to my country and emotionally affected by its actions," were highly responded too and had high percentages (loading). This was labeled "patriotism"¹³. On the other hand the second factor involving national superiority feelings and a need for national power and dominance showed strong loadings, items such as "In view of America's moral and material superiority, it is only right that we should have the biggest say in deciding UN policy", and "Other countries should try to make their governments as much like ours as possible" were used. This factor was labeled "nationalism."¹⁴

¹²Nuesch, S. and Franck, E. "The Role of Patriotism in Explaining the TV Audience of National Team Games Evidence From Four International Tournaments" *Journal of Media Economics* 22:6-19, (2009)

¹³Feshbach, Seymour. Psychology, Human Violence and the Search for Peace: Issues in Science and Social Values. *Journal of Social Issues* (1990) 46:183-198

¹⁴Druckman, D. 'Nationalism, Patriotism, and Group Loyalty: A Social Psychological Perspective' *Mershon International Studies Review*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Apr., 1994), pp. 43-68 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/222610>

According to Schatz et al.¹⁵ Patriotism forms a counter-concept to nationalism. Blank et al.¹⁶ reiterate that Adorno et al. talked of "genuine" or "true" patriotism and defined it as a combination of "love of the country" and "attachment to national values based on critical understanding". Further, this form of national identity is considered to be a kind of constructive patriotism in the sense of critical loyalty. In order to describe patriotism better the scientific literature suggests that among other things the following should be considered in regard to a nation. One, the nation should not be primarily defined in ethnic terms, but rests on a democratic definition. Secondly, the centers of the national, self-definition are humanist and democratic values. Thirdly, the nation is not idealized, but estimated on the basis of a critical conscience, that is, the formation of an opinion of the nation which is independent of elites within the group and finally, critical loyalty meaning, to support the nation's welfare, based on a universal humanistic value system thus implying that negative nation-related emotions are accepted. In the case of patriotism it is more relevant to compare the status quo of the in-group today with its prior conditions of the in-group history; in the case of nationalism this kind of comparison is not so important than social comparisons with out-groups¹⁷.

1.4.2 Forms of patriotism

There scholars of patriotism agree that there is a broad meaning of patriotism as "a deeply felt affective attachment to the nation"¹⁸ or "the love for and pride of an individual's

¹⁵ Schatz, R. T.; Staub, E.; Lavine, H. On the varieties of national attachment: Blind versus constructive patriotism. *Political Psychology* (1999): 20:151-174.

¹⁶ Blank, T., Schmidt, P., and Westle, W. "Patriotism" a Contradiction, a Possibility or an Empirical reality? "ECPR Workshop 26: National Identity in Europe" 6-11 April, 2001, Grenoble (France)

¹⁷ Adorno, T.W., Frenkel-Brunswik, E., Levinson, D.J., & Sanford, R.N. *'The authoritarian personality'* (New York: Harper 1950)

¹⁸ Kosterman, Rick, and Seymour Feshbach 1989. "Toward a Measure of Patriotic and Nationalistic Attitudes. *Political Psychology* 10(2):257-74.

nation"¹⁹ on the other hand disagreements emerge on how patriotism is measured as diverse forms of patriotism exist. However, it is important to look at different form of patriotism as they inform the literature on patriotism experienced in the developed nations so as to link them with those of developing nations.²⁰ The American National Election Studies (ANES), which combined pride in being American with pride in the flag and anthem, indicated that patriotism is tethered to political ideologies. For instance, in theUS symbolic patriotism is more supported by the conservative liberals thus raising questions about its utility in measuring patriotism.De Figueiredo and Elkins²¹ explains that the political effects of national pride as a concept is also aligned to symbolic patriotism and both concepts reference a sense of pride.

Symbolic patriotism tapsone's affective attachment to the nation and its core values through symbols. Value expressive attitudes, in contrast, index affective attachment to long-standing predispositions. Through childhood socialization, people internalize predispositions such as party identification and "attachment to various symbols of the nation and regime" to which they become affectively tethered.²² These attachments are likely to persist into adulthood, at which time issues and social groups in the current political climate can trigger them. Perhaps more important, symbolic attitudes function as a means of value expression. They fulfill the need for the individual to define herself through the expression of values and identification with groups she perceives as important²³

¹⁹Conover, Pamela J. and Stanley Feldman 1987. "Memoto NES Board of Overseers Regarding Measuring Patriotism and Nationalism

²⁰Elkins, Zachary, and John S ides.2003." The Foundations of National Identity: Individual, State-Level, and Temporal Factors. Presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association

²¹De Figueiredo,Rui J .P .,and Zachary Elkins. 2003." Are Patriots Bigots? An Inquiryin to the Vices of In-GroupPride." American Journalof PoliticalScience47 (1):171-88.

²² Sears, David O. Symbolic politics: A socio-psychological theory. In *Explorations in political psychology*, ed. ShantoIyengar and William Mac Guire (Durham, NC: Duke University Press 1993)

²³ Parker, C.S. 'Symbolic versus Blind Patriotism: Distinction without Difference?' (University of Washington, Seattle 2007)

The political culture of a country is generally dictated by Symbolic patriotism, and values are expressed through connection with the political culture. Since values are long standing they shape the beliefs and behaviors of the people in a specific political culture.²⁴ Such items as the flag and the Constitution are good examples of symbolic patriotism for they represent the political community. It is possible, then, that symbolic patriotism represents the values on which a nation is build. As such, attachment to political symbols, especially those in which the political community is invoked, indexes core values of a nation²⁵

Omelchenko²⁶ groups patriotism into two ‘true’ patriotism and ‘blind’ patriotism. They define ‘genuine’ or ‘true’ patriotism, as a combination of ‘love of the country’ and ‘attachment to national values based on critical understanding’ opposed to ‘pseudo-patriotism’ ‘Blind attachment and uncritical conformity, rejection of other nations as out groups’. According to Schatz, Staub, & Lavine²⁷ the first form of national identity is considered as constructive patriotism, which is a contrast to ‘blind’ patriotism. Further, Omelchenko explains that alternatively this may also be supplemented by comparison of ‘patriotism of imitation and obedience’ with ‘patriotism of innovation and disobedience’, a ‘patriotism of reason and dissent’ and ‘patriotism of ignorance and irrationality’ and lastly, extreme and moderate patriotism.

²⁴ Schwartz, Shalom H. Universals in the content and structure of values: Theoretical advances and empirical tests in 20 countries. (1992) *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* 25:1-66

²⁵ Parker, C.S. ‘Symbolic versus Blind Patriotism: Distinction without Difference?’ (University of Washington, Seattle 2007)

²⁶ Omelchenko, D, et al, ‘National Identity and Patriotism among Russian Youth: Representations, Feelings and Actions’ *Asian Journal of Social Science*, Vol. 11, No. 6, (2015) pp 3-6

²⁷ Schatz, R. T., Staub, E., & Lavine, H. (1999). On the varieties of national attachment: Blind versus constructive patriotism. *Political Psychology*, 20, 151-174. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/0162-895X.00140>

Blind or uncritical patriotism is defined as "an unwillingness both to criticize and accept criticism" of the nation and is indexed by items such as "my country right or wrong"²⁸Uncritical patriotism is linked to authoritarianism, characterized by a tendency to defer to authority figures and support them unconditionally. And authoritarians are typically conservative therefore producing higher levels of uncritical patriotism among political conservatives, on average.

According to Blank, Schmidt and Westle²⁹ 'true' patriotism and 'blind' patriotism are distinct, and they have different effects on civic and political participation. The features of 'true' patriotism include (Constructive patriotism); a self-definition fundamental to humanist values, critical conscience of nation estimation, political elites independence, acceptance of negative nation-related emotions, acceptance of different nation history views, and high relevance of temporal comparison of the status quo of the in group. On the other hand, blind patriotism is positively associated with political disengagement, importance of symbolic behavior, perceptions of foreign threat, and selective exposure to pro-national information. Constructive patriotism is defined as an attachment to country characterized by critical loyalty and questioning and criticism driven by a desire for positive change³⁰

Patriotism has been manifested differently in Africa despite low levels of research in this area. In Nigeria for example, President Yakubu Gowon's government required pupil's recitation of the national pledge twice a day. In Zambia secondary schools were "to impart and instill in the pupils a knowledge of and a pride in Zambia.s heritage", Mozambican government promoted a

²⁸Schatz, Robert T., Ervin Staub, and Howard Lavine "On the Varieties of National Attachment: Blind versus Constructive Patriotism" *Political Psychology* (1999)20 (1):151-74.

²⁹ Blank, T., Schmidt, P., & Westle, B. *Patriotism-a contradiction, a possibility, or an empirical reality*. In ECPR Workshops 26: National Identity in Europe, Grenoble (France). (2001) Retrieved from <http://www.staff.uni-giessen.de/~g31070/statistik2/patriotism.pdf>

³⁰Omelchenko, D, et al, 'National Identity and Patriotism among Russian Youth: Representations, Feelings and Actions' *Asian Journal of Social Science*, Vol. 11, No. 6, (2015) pp 3-6

new nationalist "People's History" not only collect local histories but emphasize their national commonalities³¹. In Kenya a 1975 curriculum guide noted that "education in Kenya must foster a sense of nationhood and promote national unity," while a secondary school history syllabus asked students to "demonstrate patriotism and national pride"³²

In Zaire President Mobutu created the abacost national dress and suits, then mandated them as the national business suit for men while banning western dresses and skirts for women in favor of the pagne (traditional long dress). Kenneth Kaunda similarly declared nshima (maize meal) the national food and the chitenge skirt the national dress in Zambia, Other leaders such as Hastings Banda in Malawi and Juvenal Habyarimana in Rwanda promoted nationalist dances celebrating the anti-colonial struggle, such dance performances were described as "the national consecration of our vital force and our arrival at the national spirit"

National patriotism also has close link to national identity. Different arguments arise from scholars on the relationship between national patriotism and national identity. Huddy³³ explains that strong national identity should be related to but distinct from symbolic patriotism, national pride, constructive patriotism, and uncritical patriotism. In addition it should be less ideologically divisive than other patriotism measures and thus should increase acceptance of group norms, political interest and involvement. On the other hand, uncritical patriotism should reduce political involvement and symbolic patriotism should have no impact on the political environment. However, though constructive patriotism is unclear it should have a direct impact on political interest and involvement and may also be manifested by national identity. This

³¹ Gray, R. "Khalai-Khalai": People's History in Mozambique. *History Workshop Journal*, (1982) 14, 143-152.

³² Bandy S. and Green, E. *Nation-Building and Conflict in Modern Africa*, London School of Economics and Political Science, (Houghton Street, London WC2A 2AE, 2008)

³³ Huddy, L. and Khatib, N. American Patriotism, National Identity, and Political Involvement, *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (Jan., 2007), pp. 63-77

shows the diverse nature of patriotism as experienced in the developed nation however questions still on the influencing factors of nation patriotism in Africa.³⁴

The four forms or scales of patriotism symbolic, national pride, uncritical, and constructive are thus still open to criticism as general measures of national attachment. However, the conservative ideology that is still connected to symbolic and uncritical patriotism and possibly national pride still form fractious debate over which school of thought is "truly" patriotic³⁵. Constrictive patriotism is mainly defined as support for active political change and as a measure of patriotism it may easily exclude patriotic individuals who are unwilling to change the status quo. In conclusion, Huddy explains that a strong theoretical framework is still needed to guide the measurement of patriotism and account for its political consequences. This indicates that patriotism is still in its infancy and more research should be conducted in order to develop clear conceptual or theoretical framework that will enable identification of better measuring scales of national attachment.

1.4.3 Determinants of patriotism

The determinants of patriotism have not been fully exploited especially in the developing world. This section of the research exploits loyalty, ethnic inclusion, and political orientation as determinants of patriotism. More of this is exploited further in the following chapters as they form the objectives of the study.

³⁴Huddy Leonie.. "Group Membership, In group Loyalty, and Political Cohesion." In Hand book of Political Psychology, ed. David O. Sears, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003) pp.511-58.

³⁵McFarland, Sam, and Melissa Mathews 'Who Cares about Human Rights?' Political Psychology (2005) 26 (3):365-85.

1.4.3.1 National Loyalty

Group and national loyalty have their base in human needs. The organization of groups in general is done in order to meet human needs and structures developed are in part modeled by these needs³⁶. At the national level these groups contribute to the economic, sociocultural, and political development of the nation. This in turn gives the group individuals a sense of security, belonging and prestige³⁷. In addition, an individual's relation with a group influences the aspects of national loyalty to his/her nation. These needs form the basis of group identification and thus influence the loyalty of the individuals in the groups. However, though these needs are universal different individuals view them differently depending on the nation they come from³⁸.

According to Parker³⁹ political symbols are the most effective and significant means of enabling durable national loyalty. The values developed by the citizens influence the political community and allegiance to political institutions thus fashioning a durable sense of national loyalty. Sentimental attachment to one's nation stem from the above needs. These needs tend to arise out of affective and instrumental functions that the nation facilitates to its citizens. However if these institutions are used to suppress the needs of the citizens then loyalty to the nation is affected negatively this has diverse effect to national patriotism. On the other hand if the institutions support the citizens, the citizen is motivated to help their country and gain a sense of identity and self-esteem through their national identification.⁴⁰

³⁶ Harold, G. Isolation and collaboration: a partial theory of International relations. (1957) *Journal of conflict resolution* 1:46-68.

³⁷ Kenneth W. Nationalism among Foreign and American Students: An Exploratory Study. (1964) *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 8:256-270.

³⁸ Druckman, D. 'Nationalism, Patriotism, and Group Loyalty: A Social Psychological Perspective' *Mershon International Studies Review*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Apr., 1994), pp. 43-68 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/222610>

³⁹ Parker, C.S. 'Symbolic versus Blind Patriotism: Distinction without Difference?' (University of Washington, Seattle 2007)

⁴⁰ Delamater, John, Daniel Katz, and Herbert C. Kelman "On the Nature of National Involvement: A Preliminary Study". *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (1969) 13:320-357

A patriot's attitude is shaped by particular traits, merits and achievements of his/her nation thus providing reason for support of the nation's way of life. This highly determines the loyalty of an individual and thus his/her level of patriotism.⁴¹ A univariate analysis performed in overall (all ages) sample in a research conducted by Omelchenko, D, et al. In the United States showed that the most frequent definitions of patriotism were 'love for the Motherland' (59% of responses) and 'respect, pride and loyalty to the country' (55%). Thus, indicating that national loyalty is a fundamental factor in determining national patriotism⁴².

1.4.3.2 Ethnic inclusion

According to Blank⁴³ democratic stability is preconditioned by ethnic national identity and acts as the genesis and as a necessarily corresponding characteristic. However ethnic tensions and violence experienced around the world especially Africa including Kenya has challenged this interpretation. Further the author explains that the ethnic identities show positive traits at the beginning of the democratic transitions, but they also soon show negative traits as democracy grows⁴⁴.

The interest of different social groups and communities enable development of social principles which come from the mutual dependence of patriotism. The connections and relationships developed allow for political growth thus division of society into "ours" and "not ours" are created. This, in turn, and due to the dynamics of a society, hybrid or surrogate forms of patriotism are formed. These forms of patriotism stem mainly from political and ideological

⁴¹MacIntyre, A. Is Patriotism a Virtue? (The Lindley Lecture). Lawrence: (University of Kansas,1984).

⁴²Omelchenko, D, et al, 'National Identity and Patriotism among Russian Youth: Representations, Feelings and Actions' *Asian Journal of Social Science*, Vol. 11, No. 6, (2015) pp 3-6

⁴³ Blank, T., Schmidt, P., & Westle, B. *Patriotism-a contradiction, a possibility, or an empirical reality*. In ECPR Workshops 26: National Identity in Europe, Grenoble (France). (2001) Retrieved from <http://www.staff.uni-giessen.de/~g31070/statistik2/patriotism.pdf>

⁴⁴ Blank, T., Schmidt, P., and Westle, W. "Patriotism" a Contradiction, a Possibility or an Empirical reality? "ECPR Workshop 26: National Identity in Europe" 6-11 April, 2001, Grenoble (France)

grounds and may include; national patriotism, ethnic patriotism, class patriotism, state patriotism the formation of these different forms of patriotism creates a ground for conflict especially where there is ethnic divisions⁴⁵.

Research conducted by Hamaguchi⁴⁶ using the district level data established that relatively poor country such as Kenya, economic outcomes at the local level are associated with ethnic diversity thus income spillovers depend on ethnic similarity. These results indicate that ethnic divisions if the African context influence the economic developments. This in turn affects the way of life of the citizens which dictated the level of patriotism of the individuals, be it positively or negatively. Research conducted in the United States on different ethnic social groups indicated that White American's were perceived as being more patriotic than African American's and Asian American's. The results also indicated that the interaction between participants' ethnicity and target group was significant. However, this pattern described above emerged for African and Asian American participants; on the other hand White American participants did not differentiate ethnic groups on this attribute. These results indicated that the minority groups were the ones who reported lower patriotism associated with their groups. Therefore, this results show that ethnic inclusion affects the level of patriotism as the inferior groups feel that they are not fully accepted as citizens of a nations if they are not involved in the nations activities or if they are discriminated against⁴⁷.

⁴⁵Ayazhan, S. 'Theoretical and methodological problems in the study of patriotism' *Journal of Social Sciences Research* Vol. 3, No.2 (2014)

⁴⁶Hamaguchi, N. Evidence from Spatial Correlation of Poverty and Income in Kenya (Japan International Cooperation Agency Research Institute, 2011)

⁴⁷Devos, T. and . Banaji, R.M. 'American = White?' Research Study (San Diego State University and Harvard University, 2011)

1.4.3.3 Political orientation

Ndirangu Mwaura⁴⁸ explains that after colonization nothing changed in Africa. The changes that followed were only replacement of the colonial governors with colonial ambassadors. Mwaura further explains that the leaders that took over were traitors and only exhibited false patriotism as the flow of the wealth from the continent still found its way to the west. These leaders still upheld a political network that exploited the African people benefiting only the ruling elites and their western patrons. According to William Easterly⁴⁹ bad governance and extremely selfish and cruel in the likes of Mobutu in Zaire, Idi Amin in Uganda and Bokassa in CAR stemmed from neo-colonialism administrations which re-enforced autocracy in Africa and consolidate tyrant autocratic rule⁵⁰.

As Parker observed, the conception of a state must be symbolized so that it can be formed. Thus, when a state is imagined from a political view, then a particular set of insights as to its nature are made available. This in turn provides an elementary sense of the political community that influences the way of life of the citizens and enables development of strong attachment to the nation. However the demoralization of this political community as observed in Uganda during Idi Amin's rule leads to low patriotism levels.

Oduwole⁵¹ reiterates that Political leadership is required to both set an example and to demonstrate that no-one is above the law by setting a high profile focus on specific actions which can be extremely useful in sending a strong signal that such vices as nepotism and corruption will not be tolerated. Such vices lead to inequality in the society and are good remedies for

⁴⁸Mwaura, Ndirangu "Kenya today: Breaking the yoke of colonialism in Africa". (USA: Algora Publishing, 2005)

⁴⁹ Easterly, William "The Whiteman's Burden: why the West efforts to aid the rest have done so much ill and so little good". (New York: The Penguin Press 2006)

⁵⁰ Alemazung, J. A. "Post-Colonial Colonialism: An Analysis of International Factors and Actors Marring African Socio-Economic and Political Development" *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, vol.3, no.10, (2010)

⁵¹ Oduwole, E. O. "The Question of Development in Africa" *The Way Forward, Humanity & Social Sciences Journal* 7 (2):(2012) 96-103,

conflict in the society. Omelchenko⁵² explains that politically oriented actions shape and influence the patriotic nature of the youth. They diverge from understanding of patriotism of other generations and the result is the lower self-evaluation of patriotic feelings. In this regard, blind patriotism is positively associated with political disengagement, perceptions of foreign threat, importance of symbolic behavior, and selective exposure to pro-national information.

However, constructive patriotism involves complex, mixing a love of country with political efforts directed at a change in the status quo. Measure of constructive patriotism mainly concentrate on detecting the love of country and thus reflect a broad sense of national attachment, but may also be attached political interest, involvement, and activity⁵³ Schatz and colleagues found a clear link between political involvement and constructive patriotism, however, current research fails to clarify if constructive patriot is a measure of patriotism.

1.5 Justification of the Research Problem

Patriotism is developed over a period of time as a nation goes through different experiences and orientations, this in turn influences the citizens way of life that is the belief system, norms and culture. Therefore the study of patriotism shades light on issues that ail the country's institution, political and social environments as they are directly influenced. Thus this would enable changes to be made for a better future and in addition enable growth of literatures in the area of patriotism. This would lead to the development of concepts and theories that add to the knowledge of the study subject. Due to the limit in research in the area, this research study contributed to the knowledge on patriotism especially in Africa and thus a better understanding of patriotism in the developing nations. The gaps addressed in the research study included the

⁵²Omelchenko, D, et al, 'National Identity and Patriotism among Russian Youth: Representations, Feelings and Actions' *Asian Journal of Social Science*, Vol. 11, No. 6, (2015) pp 3-6

⁵³Rothi, Despina M., Evantia Lyons, and Xenia Chrysochoou.. "National Attachment and Patriotism in a European Nation: A British Study." *Journal Political Psychology* 26 (1):(2005) 135-55.

development and contribution of more knowledge on determinants of patriotism especially in the developing nations.

This study would also benefit the country under study as there are no policies developed to address patriotism in Kenya according to the literature review and no measures had been put in place to develop the nation's patriotism. In addition recurrent conflicts, corruption, nepotism, ethnicity and insecurity may have eroded the levels of patriotism in Kenya. This study acted as a base for establishment of factors that ail the country and thus would help establish ways to solve them. Other beneficiaries of the study included the government of Kenya, its citizens, institutions of higher learning, and scholars as it added to the existing knowledge and acted as a base for more research. In addition Nairobi County was selected to represent the Kenyan population in the study due to its diverse population that represented the nations as it is the capital city. The study enabled better understanding of the determinants of patriotism in Kenya and how to best improve the level of patriotism.

1.6 Theoretical Frameworks

The theoretical framework of this study stems from the theory of constitutional patriotism developed by Jürgen Habermas who argued that patriotic commitment is legitimate in so far as it is directed at universalist-orientated political constitutions and detached from particular cultural contexts⁵⁴. Constitutional patriotism stems from a specific set of concerns in post 1945 West German society, and as a constitutional doctrine it has increasingly had a global appeal⁵⁵. The constitutional patriotism presupposes that the relationship between patriotism and cultural diversity is problematic only if the focus of patriotic loyalty is the dominant culture. However, if,

⁵⁴Cecile Laborde *“From Constitutional to Civic Patriotism”* (Cambridge University Press 2002)

⁵⁵For the intellectual history of the concept, see Jan-Werner Müller, *Constitutional Patriotism* 15-45 (2007).

instead, patriotism is seen as fostering citizens' commitment to procedures and principles' outlined in the constitution, it becomes compatible with a variety of cultural beliefs and practices⁵⁶. Social bond in a liberal-democratic state should be juridical, moral and political, rather than cultural, geographical and historical. Therefore, allegiance to the political community becomes independent of individuals' ethnic and cultural origins, religious beliefs and social practices. By thus detaching political loyalty from the dominant culture, constitutional patriotism attractively combines the universalist and inclusive ideals of liberalism with a recognition that citizens of a liberal-democratic polity must display at least some shared dispositions and commitments⁵⁷.

Constitutional patriotism involves political attachments that are based on the norms and values of the Constitution, It acts as a form of civic attachment and as the basis of a multicultural society, and constitutional patriotism avoids all forms of identification and dominates the idea of equality of the majority and minorities⁵⁸. Habermas defines constitutional patriotism as a form of attachment to a constitutional order, that is, particular national interpretation of more general constitutional principles, such as human rights. Meaning that culture, and cultural by-products such as patriotism, are not reproduced inflexibly through blind attachment to tradition but rather through active political relationships⁵⁹. Constitutional patriotism aims at loyalty to a community, or a people, that have consciously and purposely defined themselves as such, out of identification with abstract principles interpreted into a binding agreement. Therefore the essence of constitutional patriotism is the willingness of citizen's to act, and sacrifice, for the sake of a fair

⁵⁶Habermas, U. *The New Conservatism: Cultural Criticism and the Historians' Debate* (Boston, Mass: MIT, 1989), p. 261.

⁵⁷ Jeremy Waldron, 'Special Ties and Natural Duties', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 22 (1993), 3–30.

⁵⁸Muller, J. W. "Constitutional patriotism" (Princeton University Press 2007)

⁵⁹Kelman, H., C. Nationalism, Patriotism, and National Identity: Social- Psychological Dimensions. In D. Bar-Tal & E. Staub (Eds.), *Patriotism: In the Lives of Individuals and Nations* (pp. 165-189). (Chicago: Nelson-Hall 1997).

and just implication of the country's leading moral laws and principles⁶⁰. This theory is best suited for this study as attachment to culture, ethnic background, and regional attachment dictate the African social, economic and political context.

According to Feshbach and Sakano⁶¹ patriotism is mainly expressed in terms of attachment and identification to the reference group. Attachment is expressed through factors such as love, loyalty, pride and attention. Patriotism may represent a source of legitimacy, as well as a social support. In this perspective, patriotism may be defined as a whole set of attitudes and beliefs, centered on attachment and loyalty towards the nation. Within the post-national dispute of political culture Habermas' normative concept of constitutional patriotism or Staub's constructive patriotism identify with the principles of the constitution and the liberal state. In this sense patriotism is based more on universal humanistic values than on identification with history or culture. Democracy, republican values, and human rights are also inherent to the concept of constructive patriotism. Habermas' concept of constitutional or democratic patriotism is based mainly on shared values and on a rational set of norms⁶² indicating the similarity between the two concepts.

The following discussion shows the connection to the different forms of patriotism, the theory of constitution patriotism, the determinants of national patriotism and how they influence the level of national patriotism.

⁶⁰Markell, Patchen. "Making Affect for Democracy? On "Constitutional Patriotism" *Political Theory* 28 (1):(2000) 38-63.

⁶¹Feshbach, S., & Sakano, N. The structure and correlates of attitudes toward one's nation in samples of United States and Japanese college students: a comparative study. In Bar-Tal, D., Staub, E. (Eds). *Patriotism: In the lives of individuals and nations* (pp. 91-108). (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1997).

⁶²Rossalina Latcheva "Nationalism versus patriotism, or the floating border? National identification and ethnic exclusion in post-communist Bulgaria" *Journal of Comparative Research in Anthropology and Sociology*, Volume 1, 2 (2010)

National loyalty is influenced by human needs and if these needs are not met an individual's level of patriotism tends to fall. This needs may fail to be met by the nation's government institutions that are self-seeking and do not concentrate of fulfilling the needs of the citizens. Meaning that the government's failure to follow the constitution neglects the needs of the citizens, his in turn leads to suffering of the citizens thus reducing the level of love of the nation and the attachment to the nation thus eroding the level of patriotism. This is connected to symbolic patriotism in which the core values of a nation, love of its symbols and way of life indicates the attachment of an individual to that nation. Through childhood socialization people internalize various values, symbols, and regimes of which they become tethered to. These values are used to develop the constitution. However, if the regime oppresses the citizens of the nation and do not provide needed services of economic empowerment individuals in accordance with the developed constitution the level of patriotism tends to go down.

Ethnic inclusion stems from ethnic national identity and enables democratic stability. However lack of inclusion of different ethnic groups in the nation disrupts the peace. This in turn affects the institutions of the nation, economy and thus influencing the level of national patriotism of the individuals as they tend to feel as outsiders. The theory of constitutional patriotism dictates that the constitution should be compatible with a variety of cultural beliefs, practices and be independent of individuals' ethnic and cultural origins. However, the violation of the constitution leads to discrimination of minorities which mainly stem from ethnic groups especially in Africa. Lack of ethnic inclusion of these groups ultimately leads to low levels of national patriotism.

Political orientation on the other hand dictates the individuals acceptance of the ruling government and its rulers however if there is any political differences within the politics developed in the nation, then political orientations of the individuals tend to change. These orientations especially when experienced by the citizens affect the individual attachment to the nation thus the level of patriotism. This has great connection to blind and constructive patriotism. One side of the divide may be conservative and not willing to change the status quo thus meaning that this group members are blind patriots while the other group open to change and challenge the status quo. The latter are constructive patriots and their willingness to change may be met with challenges from the ruling elite who may be in power at that time and may take advantage of the differences in the country to get power this could be regional, ethnic or tribal ties, thus, reducing the level of patriotism among the citizens.

1.7 Hypotheses

The study proposed the following hypotheses:

1. There was no relationship between national loyalty and level of national patriotism among the Kenyan citizens in Nairobi County
2. There was a negative relationship between ethnic inclusion and level of national patriotism among the Kenyan citizens in Nairobi County
3. There was a positive relationship between political orientations and level of national patriotism among the Kenyan citizens in Nairobi County

1.8 Scope and Limitations of the Research

This study was conducted in Nairobi and involved several institutions which were used to represent the people of Nairobi. This was due to the diversity of the population of the county as it can be used to represent the Kenyan population. Some of the limitations experienced included:

- I. The fact that this research was only conducted in the Nairobi County may have been a limitation as other counties may as well have different opinion on patriotism.
- II. Limitation of research conducted on patriotism in Africa; however this was mitigated by comparison of studies conducted in other countries outside Africa.

1.9 Methodology of the Research

Kothari⁶³ notes that the purpose of Exploratory Design is to formulate a problem, and developing a hypothesis from an operational point of view which will lead to the answering or identification of the cause of a problem. A descriptive research design on the other hand is one which determines and reports things as they are and attempts to describe things such as possible behavior, attitudes, values and characteristics⁶⁴. According to Barney⁶⁵ the descriptive design is a set of methods and procedures which describe variables. Descriptive variables answer the questions who, what and how. This study used descriptive design to describe the existing characteristics, conditions and attitudes of the people under study, thus this enabled the researcher to acquire complete and accurate information on the determinants of national patriotism in Kenya.

According to Robson⁶⁶ Research population is generally a large collection of individuals or objects that is the main focus of a scientific query. The study population was selected from various institutions in Nairobi from various Kenyans holding different positions. They included; Mitchell cost, Safaricom, Kenya Commercial Bank, Different UN agency employees, Israel

⁶³Kothari, C. R. *Research Methodology – Methods and Techniques*.(New Delhi India: New Age International Publishers, 2007).

⁶⁴Mugenda, O. M. and Mugenda, A. G. *Research Methods, Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. (Nairobi : ACT Press, 2003)

⁶⁵Barney, J. *Gaining and Sustaining Competitive Advantage*.(USA: Addison : Wesley, 1997)

⁶⁶Robson, C. *Real World Research*. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002)

Embassy employees, business men and women. Mitchell & Innes⁶⁷ explains that convenience sampling involves the selection of the most expedient or appropriate participants required or needed by the researcher for research. Convenient samples are non-probability samples that are unrestricted in nature and the researcher has the freedom to choose which sample they want to select thus the name convenience. According to Mugenda and Mugenda Non- probability sampling is arbitrary in nature and also subjective. Each element in the universe does not have an equal chance of being selected as a sample and does not have a known non-zero chance of being included as a sample. Due to the nature of this research convenience sampling was used in the selection of the study sample.

According to Somekh & Cathy⁶⁸ Data collection instruments or research instruments are the tools used by the researcher for data collection. Creswell⁶⁹ explains that they are several data collection instruments and the methods are mainly sources of primary data collection they include observation, questionnaires, interviews, and focus groups. Questionnaires are a series of written questions on a certain topic about which respondents views or opinions are sought. Questionnaires contain open and closed-ended questions, Open ended also known as unstructured questions. The structured questions are normally close ended with alternatives from which the respondent is expected to choose the most appropriate answer. Unstructured questions are open-ended and present the respondent with the opportunity to provide their own answers.⁷⁰ This research study used questionnaires as the main data collection instruments which were administered to the selected institutions.

⁶⁷Mitchell, F., & Innes, J. A survey of activity based costing in the UK's largest companies. *Management Accounting Research*, (1995) 137-153.

⁶⁸Somekh, B. & Carthy, C. *Research Methods in the Social Sciences*. (London: Sage publications Inc, 2005)

⁶⁹Cresswell, J. W. *Research design: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. (London: Sage publications, 1994)

⁷⁰Mugenda O. M. & A. G. Mugenda, *Research Methods: Quantitative & Qualitative Approaches*, (Nairobi: ACTS Press, 1999) pp 36 - 39

There are two types of data, primary and secondary data. According to Mugenda and Mugenda data is all the information that the researcher gathers from the study. Primary data is that which is used directly and scientifically for the research for example collection of specimen, observation⁷¹ Contrary secondary data is data that are compilations and interpretations of the primary data mainly acquired from libraries, reports or publications.⁷² According to Cooper & Schindler the advantages of primary data is that it is always most authoritative since it has not been filtered or interpreted by a secondary party. This study used both primary and secondary sources of data.

1.10 Chapter Outline

This chapter introduces the topic of our research study which is to establish the determinants of national patriotism in Kenya a study conducted in Nairobi. The chapter then looks at the statement of the problem, justification, literature review, the conceptual framework, hypotheses, the methodology of the study and finally the scope and the limitations of the research. Chapter two of the study provides the empirical literature of the study and looks at patriotism in general and some of the research conducted under patriotism. Chapter three provides the discussion of determinants of patriotism which form the objectives of the study, the chapter discusses national loyalty, ethnic inclusion, and political orientation. Chapter four of the study provides the data analysis on patriotism in Kenya where data presentation is by tables and figures. Chapter five provides the discussions of the key findings of the study and provides the conclusions and recommendations of the study.

⁷¹Anderson, S. W. A framework for Assessing Cost Management System Changes: The Case of Activity Based Costing Implementation at General Motors, 1986-1993. *Journal of Management Accounting Research* , (1995) 1-51.

⁷²Anderson, S. W. A framework for Assessing Cost Management System Changes: The Case of Activity Based Costing Implementation at General Motors, 1986-1993. *Journal of Management Accounting Research* , (1995). 1-51.

CHAPTER TWO

EMPIRICAL LITERATURE ON PATRIOTISM

2.1 Introduction

Patriotism is perceived as a positive and supportive attitude by groups and individuals to the 'fatherland'. The context of the 'fatherland' connotes a region or a nation, covering the pride, the attitudes, the achievements and culture of that nation⁷³. In addition the desire of that group of people to preserve the developed culture and the traits of the nation leads to love of the nation thus patriotism. Furthermore, patriotism implies individuals placing the interests of the nation above their personal and group interests⁷⁴. This chapter provides the empirical studies conducted in the area of patriotism, identifying development of theories and literature in the area so as to inform the study and identify gaps that should be addressed.

2.2 Patriotism

In the quest to understand patriotism, scholars have dealt with the problem of a valid theoretical and empirical distinction between nationalism and patriotism and its consequences for research. Since nationalism and patriotism are closely related different researchers have also conducted research in order to find the distinguishing factors. In their study on *The Authoritarian Personality* Adorno et al.⁷⁵ distinguished between genuine patriotism which stands for 'love of country' and pseudo-patriotism which measures blind attachment to certain national cultural values, uncritical conformity with the prevailing group ways, and the rejection of other nations as

⁷³Adejumo, A. Benjamin Adekunle "Black Scorpion" is Dead. Elombah, A Nigeria Perspective on the World (2014) Affairs.com. Available on <http://elombah.com/index.php/reports/25599-benjamin-adekunle-black-scorpion-is-dead>

⁷⁴Omonijo, O.D et al, 'Patriotism in Nation-Building: A Study of Brigadier-General Benjamin Adekunle, also Known as the Black Scorpion' *European Journal of Economics, Finance and Administrative Sciences Issue 71*, (2015) PP. 54-63

⁷⁵Adorno, T. W., Frenkel-Brunswik, E., Levinson, D.J. & Sanford, R.N. 'The Authoritarian Personality' (New York, Harper & Row, 1950)

out-groups. The study findings indicated that the latter, Pseudo-patriotism, has close ties to nationalism⁷⁶.

The above school of thought has been criticized and different debates arise, as such question as whether it is possible to have a positive patriotic feeling that can be clearly distinguished from nationalism still linger. Habermas' normative concept of constitutional patriotism on the other hand gives an example of symbolic patriotism. The principles of the constitution and the liberal state gives a sense of patriotism which is based more on universal humanistic values than on identification with history or culture more so democracy, republican values, and human rights. Habermas' concept of constitutional or democratic patriotism is based mainly on shared values, set norms and how they are subjectively defined. Therefore, patriotism developed by identification of the national symbols developed in a nation and what they stand for⁷⁷.

The orientation toward patriotism also stems from education and past experiences. Therefore, teaching of the language, literature and history of the nation-state and inculcating a sense of patriotism in the young citizens enables growth in the level of patriotism without which the young would be ill prepared to fulfill the needs of the society. Rousseau's⁷⁸ philosophy regarding patriotic education has been borrowed by modern states using it as a socio-political engineering tool. This tool has been used by Nations faced with and emerging from civil strife and civil wars to educate its citizens in order to forge a sense of nationhood, national identity and

⁷⁶Rossalina Latcheva, 'Nationalism versus patriotism, or the floating border: National identification and ethnic exclusion in post-communist Bulgaria' *Journal of Comparative Research in Anthropology and Sociology*, Volume 1:2 (2010) 187-215

⁷⁷Jones, F. L. & Smith, P. 'Diversity and commonality in national identities: an exploratory analysis of cross-national patterns' *Journal of Sociology*, 37 (1), (2001) 46-63.

⁷⁸P.J. Mavhunga, N. Moyo and H. Chinyani 'Towards a Citizenship Education for Zimbabwe' *Zimbabwe Journal Of Educational Research*, Volume 24 No. 1.(2012)

unity among citizens left divided by civil unrest. Examples such as, Nicaragua and South Africa both having emerged from civil strife used Citizenship Education to unite former belligerents into a single nation sharing the same value systems and bound by the same national goals under the banner of patriotism⁷⁹.

Several authors described patriotism as comprising two main dimensions: attachment and love on the one hand, commitment and citizen involvement on the other. However, limit in research has not gone unnoticed as there are no specific factors or elements that determine level of patriotism of individuals or specific groups⁸⁰. Tamir pointed out that patriotism not only refers to a loyalty towards the country, but also to a complex form of devotion. On the other hand, patriotism may refer to involvement, a sense of attachment to the nation's particular values which also may rank as a priority to each individual. Therefore, an individual is motivated to defend ideals, values or policies of the country especially when one feels attached to it⁸¹.

Tamir proposed that patriotism is not blind support of one's nation but sometimes may be a very critical look of one's own group, promoting reforms, and, when necessary, resist acts performed by his nation. In this sense, patriotism refers to a "critical loyalty" of current group practices. Viroli⁸² has also developed the notion of "patriotic motivations". These are motivations that lead the citizens to devote themselves to their community establishing ties that propagate humanistic values that ensure development in the community. In this sense, patriotism is also a political concept, as it implies a constructive participation of the individual into society.

⁷⁹Msila, V. "From Apartheid Education to the Revised National Curriculum Statement: Pedagogy for Identity Formation and Nation Building". *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 16 no 2 (2007) pp 146-160

⁸⁰Primoratz, I. 'Patriotism: A Deflationary View' *The Philosophical Forum*, XXXIII (4), (2002) 443-458.

⁸¹Tamir, Y. 'Reflections on patriotism. In Bar-Tal, D., Staub, E. (Eds). *Patriotism: in the lives of individuals and nations*', pp. 23-43 (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1997)

⁸²Viroli, M. *For Love of Country. An essay on Patriotism and Nationalism*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

Social identity theory (SIT) has informed the study of patriotism leading to the development of theoretical frameworks that have expanded the knowledge on patriotism. A study conducted by Burbank investigated Germans' self-reported levels of patriotism, national identity, cultural affiliation, in-group preferences, and ethnocentrism explored the predictions of social identity theory (SIT) with reference to members of a stigmatized national group. The sample of the study was selected from 795 Germans born either before 1946 or after 1976 who resided in six federal states of the former East and West Germany. The data collected from the study revealed moderate regional and strong generational variation. Higher levels of patriotism were mainly found in older people and former East Germans relative to the young. In addition the same was also reported on cultural affiliation, national identity, in-group preferences, and ethnocentrism, the results also challenged SIT by demonstrating that Germans can positively identify with their nation and culture without inevitably exhibiting national chauvinism⁸³.

2.3 Research on patriotism

Blank et al.,⁸⁴ explains that empirical measures of patriotism and nationalism have proved separable or independent, and only the latter typically correlates with xenophobia. In addition both involve positive affective ties to the nation, but nationalism entails the derogation of other nations and nationals. The question on patriotism as either being in-group identification contrary to nationalism was also truckled. This contributed to the discussion of patriotism leading to the conclusion that patriotism and nationalism vary. Blank and Schmidt⁸⁵ in their study found that German patriotism and nationalism are multidimensional and vary greatly according to the

⁸³ Hilary Burbank, 'German National Identity: Patriotism and Stigma' spring journal (2003) pp 8-12

⁸⁴ Blank, T., Schmidt, P., & Westle, B. "Patriotism"—A contradiction, a possibility, or an empirical reality? Paper presented at the ECPR Workshop 26 "National Identity in Europe," (Grenoble, France, 2001).

⁸⁵ Blank, T., & Schmidt, P. 'Verletzte oder verletzende Nation? Empirische Befunde zum Stolz auf Deutschland'. *Journal für Sozialforschung*, 33, (1993) pp 391-415.

specific object of pride. In this regard, patriotism corresponds to feelings of pride in the national constitution, social welfare programs, whereas nationalism correlates to pride in areas like the military, economy, and political symbols.

Parker⁸⁶ on symbolic versus blind patriotism in order to identify their distinction indicated that both offer different prescriptions, the study draws on a functional approach to patriotism investigating the extent to which conceptual differences withstood empirical scrutiny. The result of the study indicated that they are related yet remain analytically distinct concepts. As observed by Schatz and Staub⁸⁷ the findings of the study were congruent with the literature in that blind and symbolic patriotism share a robust empirical relationship. Blind and symbolic patriotism failed to inform preference in a similar way especially in the political area as they both had different consequences or results politically, thus offering different prescriptions for supporting some democratic norms for the out-group individuals. On one hand, blind patriotism adoption is as a means of adjusting to threat and vulnerability in a dangerous world, and symbolic patriotism on the other hand is a means of expressing core values. The results of this study provide a functional approach to patriotism offering an explanation of the observed difference between the two. In addition the results prove that patriotism is highly influenced by the political orientation of individuals, influencing the level of patriotism of individuals and the in-groups.

⁸⁶ Christopher S. Parker, 'Symbolic versus Blind Patriotism Distinction without Difference?' Political Research Quarterly Online (University of Washington, Seattle, 2009)

⁸⁷ Schatz, Robert T., Ervin Staub, and Howard Lavine. 'On the varieties of national attachment: Blind versus constructive patriotism'. *Political Psychology* 20 (1999) 151-74

Omelchenko et al.⁸⁸ based on data from empirical research in four border regions of Russia sought to reveal the new trends in youth's national identity through the analysis of social identifications, interpretations of patriotism and patriotic actions. The results indicated that among all ages the univariate analysis performed showed patriotism was defined as 'love for the Motherland' by 59% of responses and respect, pride and loyalty to the country was at (55%). Thus, patriotism meant having positive irrational feelings that needed no justification. The emotions on patriotism were in no way influenced by the history, culture, traditions, place of birth, or native home of the individuals as the responses were below 25%. Hence, patriotism in this study appeared as an abstract and vague sentiment, which was neither associated with other people, nor a particular place. Patriotism in terms of 'military mobilization in case of war or other threats' had a response rate of 37% 'availability for voluntary work for the country' was chosen only by 12% of respondents, 'military duty-by 6%, 'socially useful work', 'efforts for global secure world'-by 4%.

In this regard patriotism was perceived as a behavioral strategy, realized in extreme situations, rather than a conscious activity based on personal responsibility for the state welfare. However, a definition of patriotism as 'an imagined feeling for mass manipulation' was supported by only 2% of respondents indicating that patriotism cannot be used as a political ideological tool for political manipulation. The study concludes that youth's national identity comprises traditional and modern traits, proving that patriotism is shaped by public political discourse and everyday practices. On the other hand, at individual level, patriotism represents a multidimensional complex of meanings, sentiments, values, attitudes and actions, which, is inseparable from national identity. The research however did not answer the question whether

⁸⁸Omelchenko et al. 'National Identity and Patriotism among Russian Youth: Representations, Feelings and Actions' Asian Social Science; Vol. 11, No. 6; (Canadian Center of Science and Education, 2015)

interpretations of patriotism among young people differ from other age groups and, what factors play a key role in determination of general and specific meanings of patriotism.

According to Tesler⁸⁹ American patriotism was a major theme in presidential campaigns. This was highly influenced by the visible patriotic appeals during the 1988, 2004 and 2008 campaigns; studies show that patriotism was an important determinant of vote choice in each of those elections. However, prior research offers little basis for a broader understanding of when and why patriotic attitudes matter in presidential voting. In addition in the case of the developing nations how would this phenomenon fair? The results presented from the study indicated that the two potential explanations for the significant impact on patriotic attitude in recent presidential elections can be effectively partitioned into pre and post 9/11 eras. In this regard, before the September 11 terrorist attacks, patriotic attitudes were not a major factor in decision making.

This was observed in the 1988 presidential campaigns which in turn influenced the voters' choice. After 9/11, however, patriotic attitudes become a chronically accessible consideration in party-line voting. Patriot priming during presidential campaigns, therefore, was no longer needed to make patriotism matter in national elections from 2002 to 2008. This is an indication that the experiences of the past influence the level of patriotism of individual and dictate the choices made by these individuals be it political or otherwise. The research studies conducted in the area of patriotism mainly focus of the differences among the different forms of patriotism and levels of patriotism in different areas. However, there is limit in the study of the determinants of patriotism and the factors that influence the level of patriotism of individual and also the in-groups.

⁸⁹ Michael Tesler, Patriot Priming in Presidential Elections: When and Why American Patriotism Matters in Voting for President. (Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, 2010)

CHAPTER THREE

DETERMINANTS OF PATRIOTISM

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the determinants of patriotism which form the objectives of the study. It gives the link between the independent and dependent variables and provides details on how they are connected in order to provide a platform for conclusions to the developed hypothesis thus establishing the determinants of national patriotism in Kenya.

3.2 National loyalty

Patriotism is defined as a sense of national loyalty among other definitions such as love of nation's symbols and beliefs systems. Further patriotism highly determines the development of civic ties to a mature nation⁹⁰. The definition of patriotism indicates that individual loyalty highly determines the level of patriotism of an individual. Different forms of patriotism have been developed, providing great literature on patriotism. However, little is known on what determines patriotism even in its different form as most theories don't discuss the subject. A good example is Schatz and Staub⁹¹ who developed a scale of constructive patriotism that encapsulates a form of patriotism more acceptable to liberals. The definition given on constructive patriotism is that it's an attachment to country with major traits of critical loyalty and high levels of questioning and criticism mainly driven by the desire for positive change in the nation.

⁹⁰Huddy,L. and Khatib, N. American Patriotism, National Identity, and Political Involvement, *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (Jan., 2007), pp. 63-77

⁹¹Schatz, Robert T., Ervin Staub, and Howard Lavine.. "On the Varieties of National Attachment: Blind versus Constructive Patriotism." *Political Psychology* 20(1) (1999) 151-74

Habermas⁹² on the other hand discusses constitutional patriotism and argues that constitutional patriotism can easily be accepted if the relationship between culture and patriotism is well established. If focus is mainly directed to patriotic loyalty then the development of a constitution is generally non-problematic and thus eradicates culture diversities. Further, if patriotism is perceived to foster the commitment of the citizens to the procedures and principles developed then it becomes compatible with a variety of cultural beliefs and practices of the nation.⁹³ Therefore, constitutional patriotism de-ethicizes citizenship by replacing cultural attachments with institutions and symbols which are potentially universal. This ensures that the nation does not only share ethnicity, language, and cultural associations which may have negative impact to levels of patriotism due to conflicts but the sharing of universal values of democracy and being loyal to the democratic procedures of the constitution.⁹⁴ This indicates that the development of the constitution and how loyal the citizens are to it determines how patriotic they are to the nation.

Oldenquist⁹⁵ explains that though patriotism has been defined and described in deferent forms one of the most significant quality that most researchers find is loyalty. The love a nation and the readiness for action express significant quality and such loyalty keeps societal power as an essential force in the world. In addition these social loyalties tend to be stronger than other moral ideas leading to sacrifice, donations and devotion to a nation that is beyond any calculated logic. Primoratz⁹⁶ explains that the love of one's nation does not mainly mean or refer to a geographical location but rather there is a general agreement that it is a description of loyalty

⁹²Ju`rgenHabermas, 'The European Nation-State – its Achievements and its Limits', in GopalBalakrishnan, ed., *Mapping the Nation* (London: Verso, 1996), pp. 281–94, p. 286.

⁹³Ju`rgenHabermas, *The New Conservatism: Cultural Criticism and the Historians' Debate* (Boston, Mass: MIT, 1989), p. 261.

⁹⁴ Thomas Mertens, 'Cosmopolitanism and Citizenship: Kant against Habermas', *European Journal of Philosophy*, 4 (1996), 328–47, p. 336.

⁹⁵Oldenquist, Andrew. "Loyalties" *Journal of Philosophy* 79 (4) (1982) 173-193.

⁹⁶Primoratz, Igor, ed. *Patriotism*. Humanity Books (Amherst, New York ,2002)

directed towards political and cultural contexts of a given society. This patriotic love of a civil group is non-humanitarian in nature and is an affection of a people who originated from a specific group and a love that lead to loyalty even if there is no personal acquaintance with group members. The patriotic loyalty, therefore, is something that goes beyond personal connections it has to do with a strong feeling of community ties.

Viroli⁹⁷ observes that other definitions expand the meaning of patriotism further relating it to the loyalty of principles, way of life, ideas and even various truths that characterize the homeland. However, Penaloza and Gilly⁹⁸ raises the question whether it is possible to maintain shared national values and a sense of common national identification and, at the same time, foster loyalty and identification with one's own ethnic group. Guetzkow⁹⁹ explains that the bases for group and national loyalty are mainly lodged in or stem from human needs. Therefore, the organization of groups is done in order to meet the needs of the individual members and structures and processes modeled to meet those needs. At the national level the group fulfills economic, sociocultural, and political needs, giving individuals a sense of security, a feeling of belonging, and prestige. However if the fulfillment of this needs is hampered the level of loyalty diminishes as the group feels left out and discriminated.

On the other hand Nathanson¹⁰⁰ notes that some people are uncomfortable with patriotism as it is portrays a national loyalty characterized with rituals and symbols that they worry implies indifference or hostility to people of other nations. Thus, this makes it difficult for them to label themselves as "patriots". Even though this is the case such individuals do not also want to be

⁹⁷Viroli, Maurizio. *For Love of Country*(Oxford: Clarendon Press 1995)

⁹⁸Penaloza, Lisa and Mary Gilly "Marketer Acculturation: The Changer and the Changed," *Journal of Marketing*, 63 (1999), 84–104.

⁹⁹Guetzkow, H Arold 'Isolation and Collaboration: A Partial Theory of International Relations'. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (1957) 1:46-68

¹⁰⁰Stephen Nathanson, ' In Defense of "Moderate Patriotism" ' *Chicago Journal of Ethics*, Vol. 99, No. 3 (1989), pp. 535-552Published,

identified as disloyal as they condemn national chauvinism and are disturbed by the associations between patriotism, militarism, and blind allegiance, thus shun the word "patriot." In this case such people do not view themselves as patriotic however they may attach great value to political practices of the nation and its traditions, and they may even carry out the duties of citizenship conscientiously. This indicated that patriotism is dynamic and can't always be quantified but on the other hand one may argue that if one is not patriotic then it suggests that an individual lacks the loyalty that is appropriate to citizens. In addition the level of patriotism is influenced by one's loyalty to the ideas of the nation and if not then that's individual ideas are viewed with suspicion, for their lack of patriotism seems to imply that they possess neither loyalty nor a basic concern for the well-being of the nation¹⁰¹.

Parker¹⁰² stresses that the interpretation of patriotism is conceived as a single, undifferentiated love of country which stems from an affection associated with an individual's loyalty and devotion to the political institutions and values systems that sustain the political community, even the land on which the nation rests. On the other hand the author explains that Loyalty should not be confused with commitment. According to Judith Shklar¹⁰³ loyalty is distinguished from commitment in that it is a deeply affective and not primarily rational a view of the nation that one comes from. Loyalty in itself is evoked the doctrines, ethnic groups and generally developed ideologies that establish associations that are easily identifiable. Therefore, if the political community of a nation is dictated by the value system in which the people have come to identify, then the political institutions will be anchored by these values. In addition political symbols are the most effective means of fashioning a durable sense of national loyalty.

¹⁰¹. Leonard Doob describes the psychological associations between one's country and positive features of one's environment in *Patriotism and Nationalism* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1964)

¹⁰² Parker, C.S. 'Symbolic versus Blind Patriotism: Distinction without Difference?' (University of Washington, Seattle 2007)

¹⁰³ Shklar, Judith N. *Obligation, loyalty, exile. Political Theory* 21 (1993)181-97.

However, if these symbols don't reflect the value systems and way of life of the citizens then the loyalty is diminished which leads to low levels of patriotism.

3.3 Ethnic inclusion

According to Thomas Blank¹⁰⁴ and colleagues ethnic-national consciousness and democracy can't be ignored as ethnic groups tend to form parties in accordance with their ethnicity especially in Africa. This however breeds exclusion by certain groups who may view other groups as inferior thus shunning their association. In this perspective, ethnic-national identity therefore forms or acts as a precondition for the genesis and a corresponding characteristic for a stable democracy¹⁰⁵. On the other hand the ethnic-national tensions and violence paint another picture which challenges this interpretation. The links between collective identity, democracy and inter-ethnic relations are therefore controversial and are still open ideologies. However this link has a great influence to the level of patriotism of individual in a nation especially if they are discriminated against ethnic backgrounds.

Issa and Kehendi¹⁰⁶ explain that most constituted governments in Africa have been undergoing serious and deepening politico-economic crisis. The leadership and governance in the continent has and continue to be the main cause. The political, social and economic instability emanate from the prevalence of ethnic, communal and religious crises. According to Gunther and Diamond¹⁰⁷ ethnic and regional communal autonomy or independence is vital in any nation as dividing lines between ethnic parties tend to bring divisions in a nation with

¹⁰⁴ Thomas Blank, Peter Schmidt, and Bettina Westle ' "patriotism" A contradiction, a possibility or an empirical reality?' "ECPR Workshop 26: National Identity in Europe" 6-11 (2001) Grenoble (France)

¹⁰⁵ Mayer, T. Die national staatliche Herausforderung in Europa. Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, B14, (1993):11-20.

¹⁰⁶ Afeebua, Salami Issa and Adejuwon, Kehinde David 'The Challenges of Leadership and Governance in Africa' *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences* September Vol. 2, No. 9 (2012) 141 - 157

¹⁰⁷ Gunther, Richard and Diamond, Larry "Species of political parties, A new typology" *Journal of Party Politics* 9(2) (2003) 167-199.

multiple ethnic groups which may even turn out to be violent, For example, during South Africa's transition period the Inkatha Freedom Party threatened to secede in case anything short of a federal constitution granting autonomy to the Zulu people was enacted. In addition other countries such as Ruanda and DRC have experienced violent periods that affected the countries for many years.

However, the presence of ethnic parties in Africa is not at all surprising as ethnic heterogeneity is a feature that's virtually shared among all African countries and some even combine it with profound religious divisions. In a number of sub-Saharan states, party politics appears to mirror communal diversity. With such divisions in Africa and discrimination among ethnic groups one question lingers as to how the minorities or discriminated citizens view their countries and how patriotic they are to their nations¹⁰⁸. According to Roccas et al.¹⁰⁹ the sense of identification with a country stems from national attachment which reflects a person's feelings of patriotism and thus loyalty. On the other hand minority group attachment reflects a person's respect for the main symbols of the group, the rules developed, the leadership and the belief that the group is superior to others. However if the group is discriminated against then feels of loyalty tend to diminish. Berger and Heath¹¹⁰ 2007 explain that there is often a conflict between attachment to a minority group and attachment to the country because minorities and the majority may possess a different set of goals and priorities. In turn, this may result in severe ethnic conflict and substantial economic losses to a country.

¹⁰⁸Giovanni M. Carbone 'Political Parties and Party Systems in Africa: Themes and Research Perspectives' *World Political Science Review Volume 3, Issue 3* (2007)

¹⁰⁹ Roccas, Sonia, Yechiel Klar, and Ido Liviatan "The Paradox of Group-Based Guilt: Modes of National Identification, Conflict Vehemence, and Reactions to the In-Group's Moral Violations," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 91 (4), (2006) 698–711.

¹¹⁰ Berger, Jonah and Chip Heath "Where Consumers Diverge from Others: Identity Signaling and Product Domains," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 34 (2), (2007), 121–34.

Coenders and Scheepers¹¹¹ argue that the consequences of patriotism depend on the values and the norm by which national identity is subjectively defined as such is neither good nor bad. The value of human cohabitation is not merrily driven by the words spoken but by the behavioral nature of the individuals which in turn have great political consequences that affect the quality and standard of the people. Comparison of patriotism and nationalism enables better understanding of this phenomenon in that, patriotism tends to facilitate integration of policies towards minorities and majorities, while nationalism has been associated with isolation, deportation or ethnic cleansing¹¹². Bauman further explains that the distinction between patriotism and nationalism remains mainly rhetorical; however, this difference tends to reach beyond rhetoric into the realm of political practice and individual's behavior.

Blank and Schmidt¹¹³ 2003 observe that Several studies reveal empirical evidence that different manifestations of national identification have varying effects on discriminatory behavior towards out-groups. Nationalism and patriotism differ in their relation to ethnic exclusion and are also referred to as individual attitudes that differ in type and strength of affection for the nation. Constructive patriotism is a counter-concept to nationalism and is based on republican values and includes critical loyalty towards the nation, on the other hand nationalism is characterized by blind support for the nation and feeling of national superiority which in turn leads to discrimination of minority groups. In addition constructive patriotism correlates negatively with ethnic exclusion compared to nationalism which correlates positively with chauvinistic views and with derogation of out-groups¹¹⁴.

¹¹¹ Coenders, M. & Scheepers P. 'The Effect of Education on Nationalism and Ethnic Exclusionism': An International Comparison. *Political Psychology*, 24 (2), (2003) 313-343.

¹¹² Bauman, Z. *Liquid Modernity*. (Cambridge, Polity Press, 2000).

¹¹³ Blank, T. & Schmidt, P. National Identity in a United Germany: Nationalism or Patriotism? An Empirical Test with Representative Data, *Political Psychology*, 24 (2) (2003) 289-312.

¹¹⁴ Rossalina Latcheva 'Nationalism versus patriotism, or the floating border? National identification and ethnic exclusion in post-communist Bulgaria' *Journal of Comparative Research in Anthropology and Sociology*, Vol 1(2) (2010) 187-215

Mclean and Mcmillan¹¹⁵ description of patriotism is love of an individual's country or being zealous in defending the interest of one's country. Patriotism therefore entails loving and being loyal to the nation. Further, it means disregarding states, local government areas, towns and ethnic groups and showing more regard and loyalty to the nation at large. The segregation of a country into ethnic groups develops pockets of loyalty that may have different opinions thus leading to discrimination in case either group ceases power. Akinjide¹¹⁶ describes patriotism as the extent at which the government trust and support its citizens and that which the citizens trust and support the government. This aspect ensures that the country stays stable and discrimination is non-existence. However this is not always the case as most African countries are made up of different ethnic groups.

The Center for Communication Development,¹¹⁷ describe the aspects of patriotism as the absence of bribery and corruption, love of one's country, obedience of laws, payment of taxes, loyalty and voting at elections. This indicates that patriotism is a vital ingredient of socio-economic and political stability as increase in such cultures as nepotism, and tribalism which are mainly fueled by corruption and bribery lead to poor economic growth and in turn reducing levels of patriotism due to exclusion. When the leaders and citizens are patriotic it enables and fosters national integration and enables advancement in national development. It is only the citizens and leaders are patriotic that the country can survive, grow, carry out her normal duties and resist attack from other nations. One of the problems that impede national integration and

¹¹⁵ Mclean, I and Mcmillan, A. 'Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics' Great Britain (Oxford University press, 2009)

¹¹⁶ Akinjide, R. Good Governance, Oil and National Development. (Public Lecture, Akure, 2006)

¹¹⁷ Center for Community Development, The Bridge. (GLJ services ltd. Ibadan, 2003)

unity is ethnicity. Therefore, there is the need to develop in the citizens such value that will enable them to put the interest of the country first before those of the ethnic groups¹¹⁸.

According to Lonsdale¹¹⁹ changing vertical social inequalities between individuals or groups into gender, class, generation or ethnic groups act as a source of political pressure and social unrest. Internal, intra-ethnic tension over the 'moral economy' between the strong and the weak, rich and poor, can provoke a crisis of 'moral ethnicity' which in turn leads to a sense of moral community loss. These kinds of divisions tend to provoke political tribalism which if not well managed may leads to crises.

Green¹²⁰ explains that in the developing world ethnicity as a modern political phenomenon has been well documented. Africa colonial boundaries established by the colonial governments divided the ethnic groups across states and included large numbers of ethnic groups within their borders leading to great divisions among the communities. However, the post-colonial period attempts at establishing supra-ethnic national identities failed leading to failed reconciliations as many African states fell into ethnic violence and conflict at various points in time. This has highly been observed especially in the struggle for power when elections are taking place.

According to Univ¹²¹ if voting takes place along ethnic terms, as is more likely in a hierarchical society, the largest possible part of society is unable so choose the desired candidate in the political office. Therefore they remain continually excluded from government as long as voting remained based on ethnicity and therefore alienated from the benefits of the political

¹¹⁸ D.A. Falade 'Development of Core Values for National Integration in Nigeria' *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention*, 2 (7) (2013) PP.57-63

¹¹⁹ John Lonsdale 'Ethnic Patriotism and Markets in African History' *Ethnic Diversity and Economic Instability in Africa: Policies for Harmonious Development*. (JICA Research Institute 2010)

¹²⁰ Elliott D. Green 'Ethnicity and Nationhood in Pre-Colonial Africa: The Case of Buganda' *Forthcoming in Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 16, 1 (Development Studies Institute London School of Economics, 2010)

¹²¹ Uvin, P. "Ethnicity and Power in Burundi and Rwanda: Different Paths to Mass Violence", *Comparative Politics* 31: (1999) 253-271

process. This leads to increased discrimination in terms of resources, positions in government and economic development. The execution of certain ethnic groups in such areas contribute to feelings of discrimination which in turn leads to low levels of patriotism by the individuals in such groups. Thus the group shuns the country of even are forced to conflict in order to fight for their rights.

3.4 Political Orientation

Today Africa is riddled with political corruption and bribery which have threatened the political atmosphere for decades. For example in Nigeria before Goodluck Jonathan came up with the 'every man's vote must count' back in the 2011 elections, the country was an ocean of bribery and corruption were by the highest bidder won the Presidential election. Nepotism and tribalism are twin brothers values and social ills that characterize African politics, in that the appointed politicians are not in the elected positions for patriotic reasons but rather there enrich themselves, their nuclear, extended families, and tribesmen. African politicians in a sense are not committed to the concepts of a just and equitable Africa therefore true patriotism and national integration highly lacking in their values and way of life. This has a negative effect on the tribes that do not benefit from positions in the government due to their political orientation as due to the fact that they are excluded then their loyalty to the government subsides and thus their patriotism to the country especially is this continues for a long period of time.

Schatz¹²² and company explain that uncritical patriotism is linked to authoritarianism which is characterized by unconditional support for authority. Since authoritarians are highly conservative even though not all, they tend to portray high levels of uncritical patriotism. Uncritical patriotism is closely related to nationalism and ethnocentrism this indicated that

¹²²Schatz, Robert T., Ervin Staub, and Howard Lavine "On the Varieties of National Attachment: Blind versus Constructive Patriotism." *Political Psychology* 20 (1) (1999) 151-74

individuals will highly be patriotic if their leaders are in power and have low levels of patriotism if their choice leader is not in power.

Huddy¹²³ explains that constructive patriotism mainly has items that are complex, with a mix of love of country with political efforts directed at a change in the status quo. Scale items may confound patriotism with political interest, involvement, and activity but on the other hand primarily indicate love of country thus reflecting a great sense of national attachment, but they may also confound patriotism with political interest, involvement, and activity. According to Rubinstein¹²⁴ authoritarian individuals tend to be more religious, more patriotic and nationalistic, and therefore are inclined to supporting the existing social and political order. In this regard, they will be unwilling to support any attempts to change the status quo or existing order, and will be less willing to participate in social action that may lead to such changes thus indicating high level of patriotism among the individuals. Reynolds et al.¹²⁵ argue that socio-political perception in its context provide ideological legitimization that influences the willingness to participate in social action or not to. In addition, personality factors such as powerlessness, self-esteem, and authoritarianism. Patriotism and national collectiveness distinctively influence the willingness to act in the social-political context.

According to Moore¹²⁶ patriotism and national collectiveness are interlinked and form the basis of general love of a nation. National collective indicates acceptance and identification with the existing social order which reflects feelings of belonging to a community, its symbols, beliefs, and attitudes and values. Therefore those who are inclined to national collective, poses

¹²³ Huddy, Leonie. "Group Membership, In group Loyalty, and Political Cohesion." In Hand book of Political Psychology, ed. David O. Sears, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis (New York, Oxford University Press, 2003) pp.511-58

¹²⁴ Rubinstein, G. 'Authoritarianism in Israeli Society.' *Journal of Social Psychology*, 135 (1995) 237–249.

¹²⁵ Reynolds, K. J., Turner, J. C., Haslam, S. A., & Ryan, M. K. 'The role of personality and group factors in explaining prejudice' *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 37, (2001) 427–434.

¹²⁶ Dahlia Moore 'Toward a more just world: what makes people participate in social action?' *Advances in Group Processes*, Volume 25, 347–373 (Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2008)

the willingness to act ensuring the existence of their political destiny, and social order. African societies are divided or have several hierarchies, and each hierarchy reflecting different social orders, thus, with time identities become codes for given social orders and if not well managed conflict and injustice may arise. Wenzel¹²⁷ gives an example, indicating that social identity links perception in inputs and the justice motive. In nations that are developing identification with the national collective tends to be more prevalent, where people are more or less required to put aside their personal freedom. Bar-Tal & Ben-Amos¹²⁸ explain that such societies tend to encourage one to surrender personal comfort for dedication of service to the country and to view collective participation in social-political activities as expected behavior and also as a duty. This dedication to one's nation is the basis for patriotism.

The problematic issue of political orientation can easily be solved by development of a constitution which will cater for the rights of all the community members that is both the minorities and the majorities. Zoran¹²⁹ explains that constitutional patriotism faces two sets of objections: pragmatic and normative. Pragmatic involves mainly two alternates. The first argues that devotion to Universalist principles demotivates constitutional patriotism in that it becomes incapable of sustaining a vibrant democratic society with a common political community so as to enable solidarity and political deliberation especially in divisions of ethnicity and culture.

The backside argues that constitutional patriotism has a very high motivational factor such that politically historical symbols can easily be used to motivate the majorities disproportionately, leading to alienation of particular minority policies. This indicates that to one

¹²⁷ Wenzel, M. 'A social categorization approach to distributive justice: Social identity as the link between relevance of inputs and need for justice' *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 40 (2001) 315–335.

¹²⁸ Bar-Tal, D., & Ben-Amos, A. Patriotism as a social psychological phenomenon: Introduction to the analysis of the Israeli case. In: A. Ben-Amos & D. Bar-Tal (Eds), *Patriotism: Homeland love* (pp. 13–28). (Tel Aviv: HakibbutzHameuhad, Hebrew, 2004).

¹²⁹ Zoran Oklopcic 'The Territorial Challenge: From Constitutional Patriotism To Unencumbered Agonism In Bosnia And Herzegovina' *German Law Journal* Vol. 13 No. 01 (2012)

extends high loyalty thus high patriotism levels while of the other hand low loyalty thus low patriotism levels. This is mainly triggered by political orientation of individuals based on the acceptance or displeasure of the constitution. According to Salami and Kehinde¹³⁰ most constituted governments in Africa have been undergoing serious and deepening politico-economic crisis. These problems generated by political, social and economic instability and the prevalence of ethnic, communal and religious crises, which have bedeviled Africa, call our attention to the problems of leadership and governance in the continent.

Triandis¹³¹ explains that several forces drive the tension between majority and minority groups under national attachment. The main reasons behind this are that the groups possess different sets of priorities and goals, this leads to tension between the groups especially when minority groups are unwilling to sacrifice their goals for the sake of the majority. Furthermore, the dominant groups which mainly include the majority often regard themselves as having a dominant right to and possession of the country, its resources, and its symbols, sometimes even placing limitations on the legal and social rights of subservient groups that is, the minorities¹³². Indeed, in many countries, minorities lack political access and power and often experience discrimination, inequality, and alienation. In addition, minorities often dissociate themselves from the majority to strengthen their social identity this in turn affects their political orientation therefore affecting their level of commitment to the country, the love of the country which is patriotism. In the minorities right are violated and no room exists for them, the better option is leaving the country for greener pastures¹³³.

¹³⁰ Afegbua, Salami Issa and Adejuwon, Kehinde David 'The Challenges of Leadership and Governance in Africa' *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences* September Vol. 2, No. 9 (2012) 141 - 157

¹³¹ Triandis, Harry 'Individualism and Collectivism. (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1995)

¹³² Sidanius, Jim, Seymour Feshbach, Shana Levin, and Felicia Pratto, "The Interface Between Ethnic and National Attachment: Ethnic Pluralism or Ethnic Dominance?" *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 61 (1), (1997) 102–133.

¹³³ Amir Grinstein & Udi Nisan, 'Demarketing, Minorities, and National Attachment' *Journal of Marketing*

According to¹³⁴ intolerance towards the rights of minority groups in a society breeds conflict as violation of human right can't also be tolerated. The individual disposition to discriminate along ethnic and minority lines is the one that is very often objectified within nationalistic political discourses aiming at absorption of minorities. On the other hand, recognizing the minority status of such entities and granting the minority large-scale rights, limits potential destabilizing effects however lack of it encourages the request of a breakaway state such as the one experienced at the coast with the Mombasa Republican Council (MRC). This indicates that political orientation affects the level of patriotism experience by the individuals and generally a given community.

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¹³⁴Rossalina Latcheva 'Nationalism versus patriotism, or the floating border? National identification and ethnic exclusion in post-communist Bulgaria' *Journal of Comparative Research in Anthropology and Sociology*, Vol 1(2) (2010) 187-215

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF PATRIOTISM IN KENYA: A CASE STUDY OF NAIROBI COUNTY

4.1 Introduction

The study sought to establish the determinants of national patriotism in Kenya which was a case of the Nairobi County. The objectives of the study were to: establish if national loyalty determined the level of national patriotism, if ethnic inclusion determined level of national patriotism and if political orientation determined the level of national patriotism of the citizens. The study was conducted in Nairobi and involved different companies. The 55% response rate was considered sufficient for analysis and reporting after data collection and also for drawing conclusions as per Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) who explains that a response of 50% is sufficient for research purposes.

4.2 The response rate

The research targeted respondents from the middle and top management levels in the organization regardless of their job position as they were considered to be educated and would respond effectively to the data collection tool administered. The response rate was considered sufficient as 55% of the questionnaires issued were successfully returned and 95% were correctly answered.

4.3 Demographic tabulations

Table 4.1 Gender

		Per
Valid	Male	59%
	Female	41%
	Total	100%

Table 4.2 above indicates that the number of male respondents were 59% and 41% were female out of the questionnaires returned by the respondents. Since the divergence between the male and female was low, it indicated that gender equality in the response was good thus both genders were well represented in the study.

Table 4.2: Age

	Per
18-25	3%
26-35	32%
36-45	56%
46 and above	9%
Total	100%

Table 4.3 above indicated the age of the respondents involved in the study. Majority of the respondents were found to be between 36-45 years of age that is at 56% followed by those between 26-35 years at 32%, then those who were above 46 years were 9% and only 3% were found to be between 18-35 years of age. These response rates in terms of age solidifies the findings of the research as the age of the respondents indicated that they have experienced the positive and negative climate of the country over the years that is in terms of the political, social, economic and environmental changes in the country. Thus the response given was considered to be out of experience.

Table 4.3: Education Level

	Per
College	23%
Bachelors	53%
Master's	20%
Doctorate	3%
Total	100%

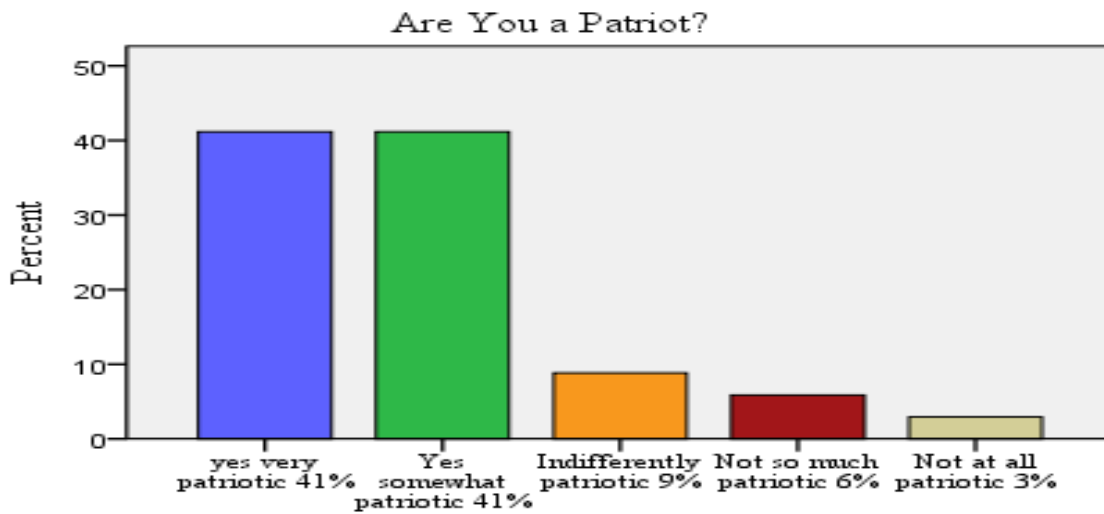
Table 4.4 above shows the level of education of the respondents. The majority of the respondents fell under bachelors at 53%, 23% of the respondents had attained college degrees, those who had attained master's degree were 20% and only 3% have doctorates. This indicated that the respondents in this study were well educated and understood what patriotism is and also the dynamics of the country from the social level to the political level and made a good response audience for the study.

4.4 Patriotism

Patriotism is a sense of national loyalty, a love of national symbols, specific beliefs about a country's superiority mainly "love of one's nation". However there are specific factors that can affect or influence the level of patriotism of an individual. The research sought to establish how patriotic respondents were, their description of patriotism and finally what they considered patriotism to be. The following results show their response:

When asked if they would consider themselves patriotic 41% of the respondents admitted to being very patriotic and 41% said they were somewhat patriotic. 9% said they were indifferently patriotic, 6% said they were not so much patriotic and only 3% said they were not at all patriotic figure 4.5 below shows the results:

Figure 4.1: Are You a Patriot



Source: Author

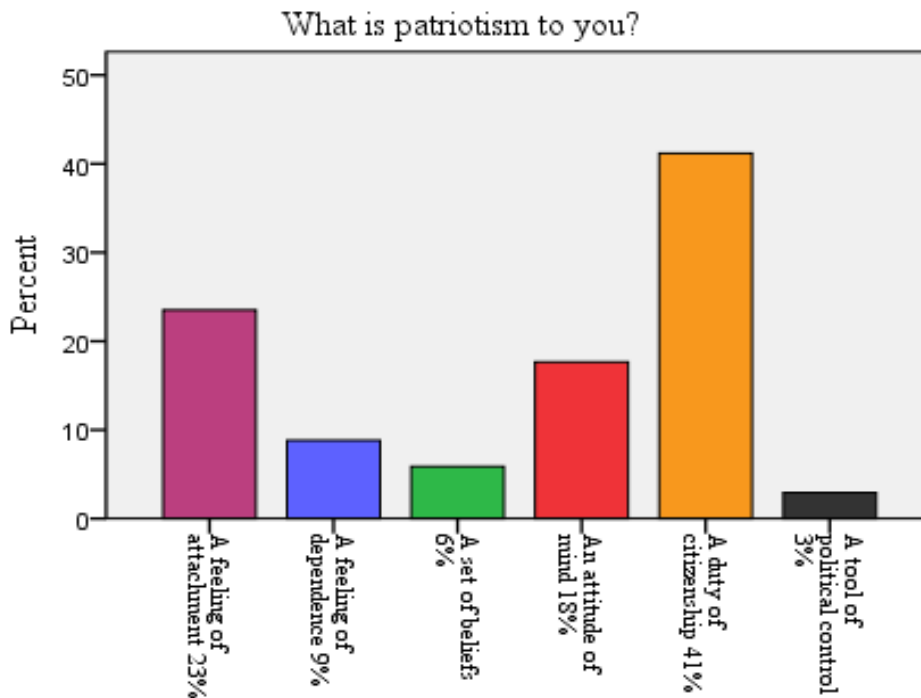
According to Nuesch and Franck¹³⁵ patriotism mainly concerns affective attachment towards the in-group implying feelings of belongingness, responsibility and pride. These results reflect those of Feshbach who considered question such as "I am proud to be a citizen of this country," and "I am emotionally attached to my country and emotionally affected by its actions," which were highly responded too and had high percentages (loading) thus were labeled "patriotism"¹³⁶. These results indicate that the Kenyan citizen considers themselves to be very patriotic.

When confronted with the question on what was patriotism to them, the following results in figure 4.6 were obtained:

¹³⁵ Nuesch, S. and Franck, E. The Role of Patriotism in Explaining the TV Audience of National Team Games Evidence From Four International Tournaments, *Journal of Media Economics*, 22:6–19, (2009)

¹³⁶ Feshbach, Seymour. Psychology, Human Violence and the Search for Peace: Issues in Science and Social Values. *Journal of Social Issues* (1990) 46:183-198

Figure 4.2: What is patriotism?



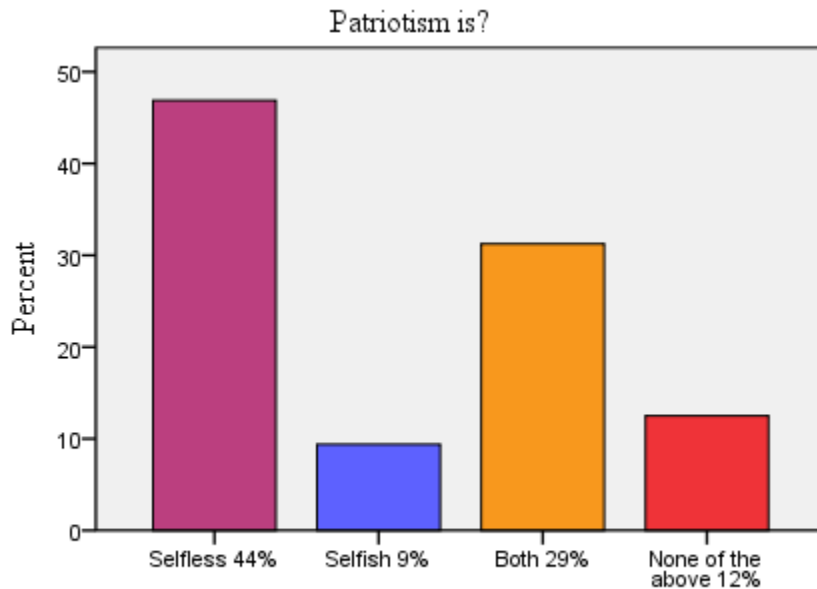
Source: Author

Majority of the respondents at 41% said that they considered patriotism as a duty of citizenship, 23% of the respondents pointed out that they viewed patriotism as a feeling of attachment and 18% indicated that it was an attitude of mind. 9% said it was a feeling of dependence, 6% said it was a set of beliefs and only 3% said it was a tool of political control. These results also reflect those of Meshach in regards to the emotional attachment of a country which is rated highly they also reflect results abstained by Omelchenko et al.¹³⁷ who found out that a definition of patriotism as ‘an imagined feeling for mass manipulation’ was supported by only 2% of respondents indicating that patriotism cannot be used as a political ideological tool for political manipulation.

¹³⁷Omelchenko et al. ‘National Identity and Patriotism among Russian Youth: Representations, Feelings and Actions’ Asian Social Science; Vol. 11, No. 6; (Canadian Center of Science and Education 2015)

When asked what patriotism was the following results in figure 4.7 were obtained:

Figure 4.3: Patriotism is?



Source: Author

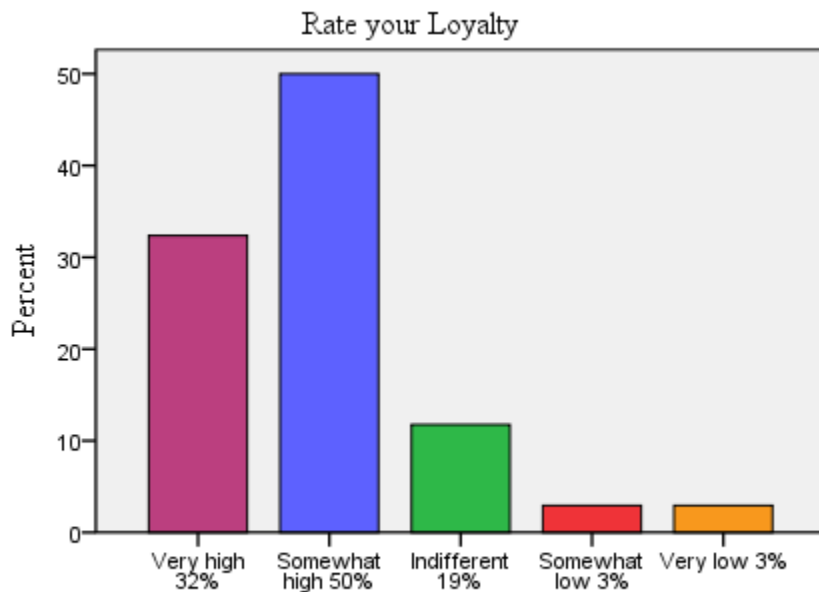
The results indicated that 44% of the respondents said that patriotism was selfless, 29% of them said it was both selfless and selfish and only 9% said it was selfish. 12% however said it was none of the above. These results mirror those of Adorno et al.¹³⁸ who distinguished between genuine patriotism which stands for 'love of country' and pseudo-patriotism which measures blind attachment to certain national cultural values and other variables. This is due to the fact that 29% of the respondents indicate that patriotism is both selfish and also selfless further giving insight to the dynamics of patriotism. More of this is discussed in the following chapter.

¹³⁸Adorno, T. W., Frenkel-Brunswik, E., Levinson, D.J. & Sanford, R.N. 'The Authoritarian Personality' (New York, Harper & Row, 1950)

4.5 Loyalty

The study also sought to establish the level of loyalty of the respondents in order to understand the level of patriotism. This falls under the first objective of the study. The respondents were told to rate their loyalty to Kenya and the following results in figure 4.8 were obtained.

Figure 4.4: Rate your Loyalty



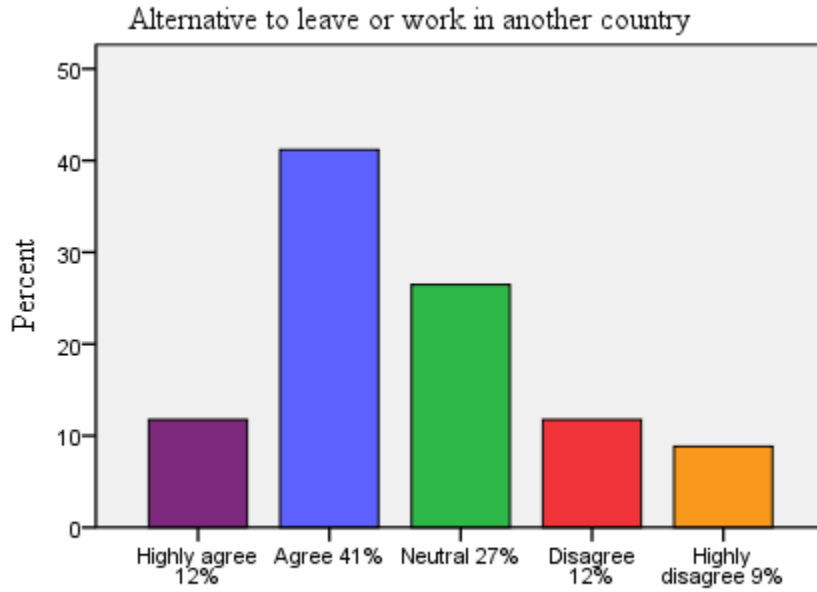
Source: Author

The results in table 4.8 above indicate that 50% of the respondents said that they were somewhat highly loyal to the country, and 32% said they were very loyal to the country indicating that majority of Kenyans are loyal to the country. However 19% were indifferent and only 3% said they were somewhat low and very low at 3%. These results also mirror those of Omelchenko et al.¹³⁹ of research conducted in Russia which indicated that respect, pride and loyalty to the country was at (55%).

¹³⁹Omelchenko et al. 'National Identity and Patriotism among Russian Youth: Representations, Feelings and Actions' Asian Social Science; Vol. 11, No. 6; (Canadian Center of Science and Education 2015)

However when asked if they would prefer working in another country given the same equal opportunity the following results in figure4.9 were obtained:

Figure 4.5: Alternative to leave or work in another country

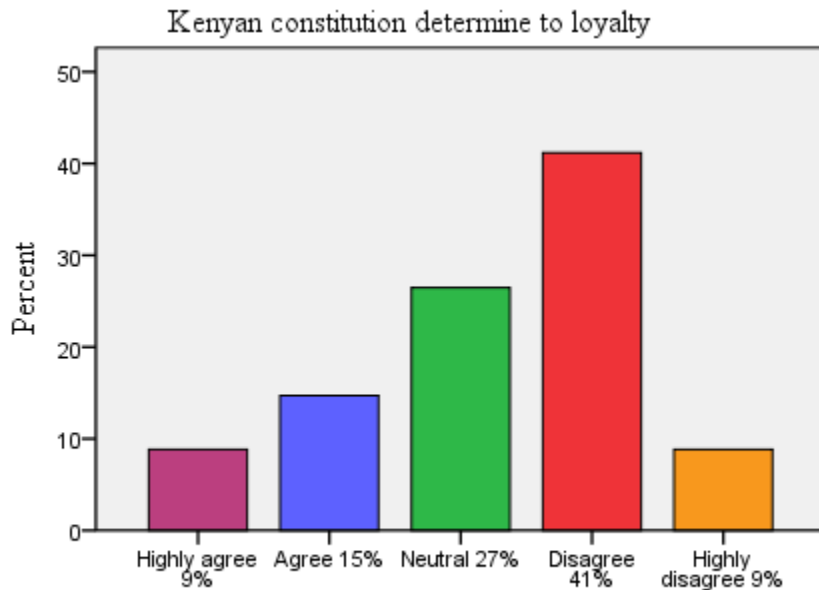


Source: Author

Majority of the respondents agreed with the statement at 41%, 12% highly agreed, 27% were neutral, 12% disagreed and 9% highly disagreed. This is an indication that though majority of Kenyans are loyal to the county, they don't prefer living and working in the country meaning they are still not satisfied with the environment of the country be it social, political, economic among others thus giving an indication that they are less patriotic to the country.

The research study also sought to establish if the Kenyan constitution determined the loyalty of the respondents to Kenya. figure 4.10 below shows the results:

Figure 4.6: Kenyan constitution as a determinant of loyalty



Source: Author

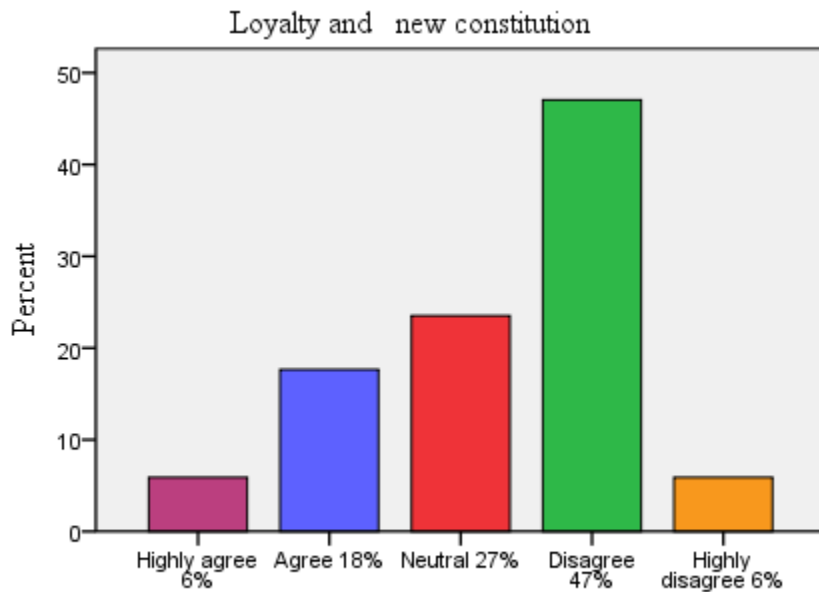
The results in figure 4.10 above indicate that the constituent of Kenya does not give a good measurement to for loyalty in Kenya as majority of respondents disagreed with the statement at 41%. However 27% were neutral, 15% agreed, 9% highly agreed and 9% highly disagreed. Schwartz¹⁴⁰ explains that such items as the flag and the Constitution are good examples of symbolic patriotism for they represent the political community of the nation however according to the result though the constitution represents symbolic patriotism is has little influence to the loyalty of the citizens of the country under study.

When asked if they felt more loyal to Kenya because the country developed a new constitution. Majority of the respondents disagreed at 47%, 24% were neutral and 18% agreed. Those that highly agreed were only 6% and those that highly disagreed were also 6%. These

¹⁴⁰ Schwartz, Shalom H. Universals in the content and structure of values: Theoretical advances and empirical tests in 20 countries. (1992) *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* 25:1-66

results indicate that most Kenyans don't consider the constitutions as a measure of their loyalty to Kenya. Figure 4.11 below shows the results:

Figure 4.7: Loyalty and new constitution



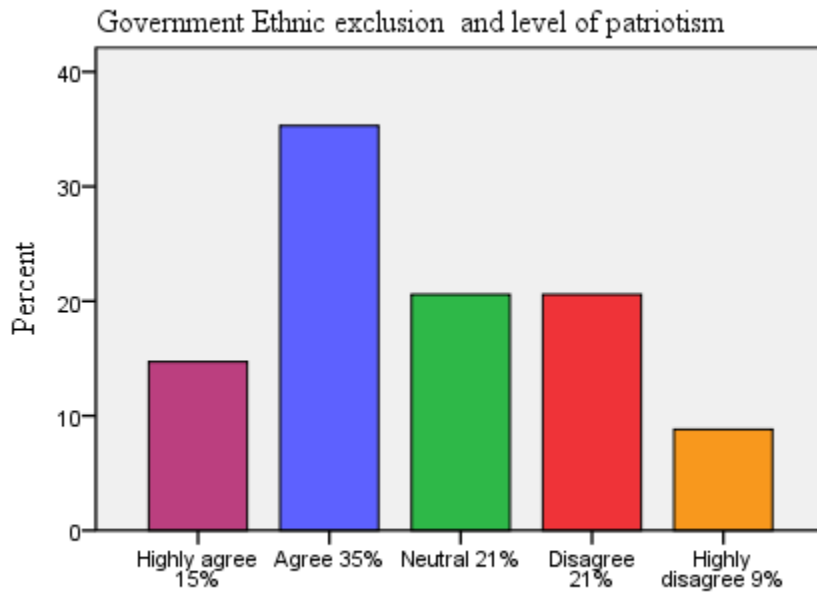
Source: Author

4.6 Ethnic Inclusion

The study also sought to establish if ethnic inclusion influenced the level of patriotism of the target population. This was represented by the second objective of the study. The following results were obtained.

When asked if government ethnic exclusion influence the level of patriotism, majority of the respondents agreed that it did at 35% and those that said that they highly agree were 15%. Those who were neutral, those who disagreed and those that highly disagreed were 21%, 21% and 9% respectively. Figure 4.12 below shows the results:

Figure 4.8: Government Ethnic exclusion and level of patriotism



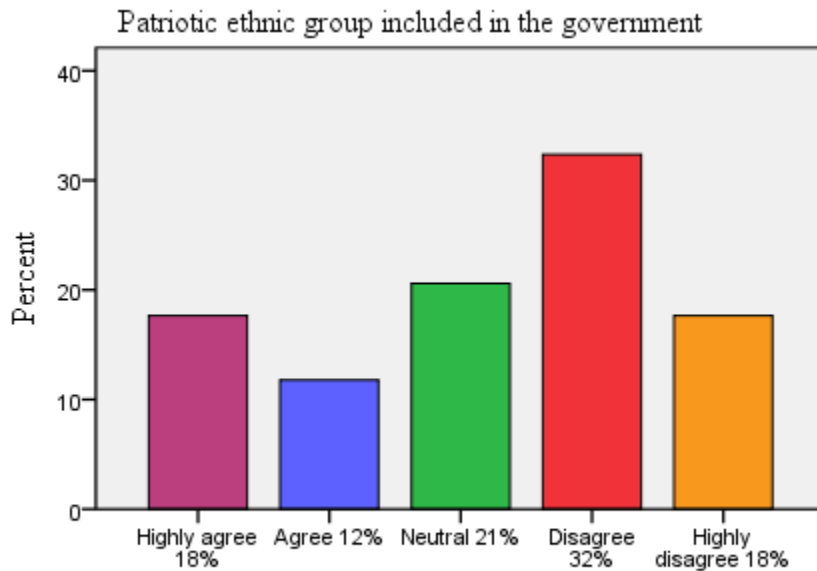
Source: Author

Ayazhan¹⁴¹ explains that the interest of different social groups and communities enable development of social principles which come from the mutual dependence of patriotism. The connections and relationships developed allow for political growth thus division of society into "ours" and "not ours" are created. This, in turn, and due to the dynamics of a society, hybrid or surrogate forms of patriotism are formed. Thus, leading to exclusions of different ethnic groups which in turn influencing the level of patriotism.

However, when asked if they felt more patriotic when their ethnic groups were included in the government majority of the respondents disagreed at 32%, 21% were neutral, 18% highly disagreed and also 18% highly agreed while only 12% agreed.

¹⁴¹ Ayazhan, S. 'Theoretical and methodological problems in the study of patriotism' *Journal of Social Sciences Research* Vol. 3, No.2 2014

Figure 4.9: Patriotism and ethnic group inclusion in the government



Source: Author

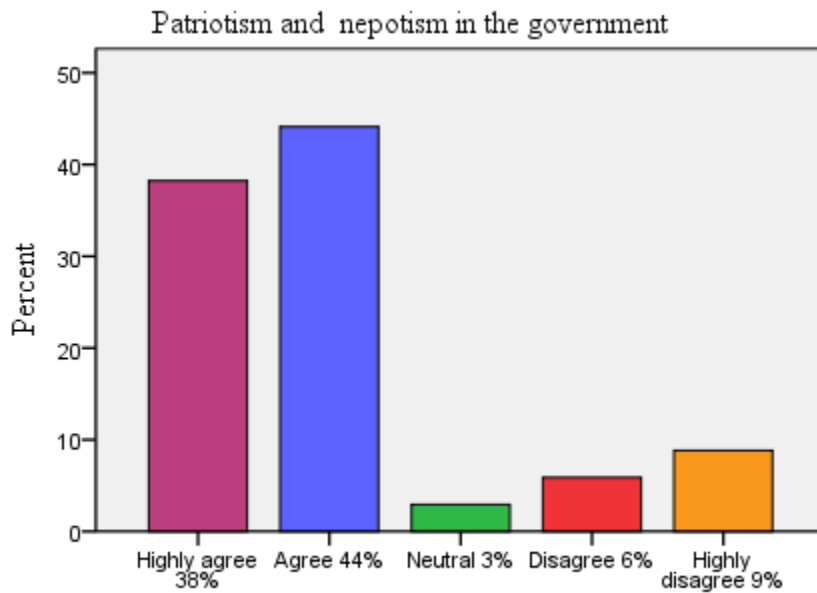
The results in figure 4.13 above and also 4.12 indicate that majority of respondents felt more patriotic when their ethnic groups were included in the government and inclusion or exclusion influenced the level of patriotism. Furthermore Berger and Heath¹⁴² 2007 explain that there is often a conflict between attachment to a minority group and attachment to the country because minorities and the majority may possess a different set of goals and priorities. This in the long run influences the level of patriotism of the minority of discriminated groups.

The study also wanted to establish if some of the vices brought about by ethnic exclusion influenced the level of patriotism.

¹⁴²Berger, Jonah and Chip Heath "Where Consumers Diverge from Others: Identity Signaling and Product Domains," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 34 (2), (2007), 121–34.

When asked if they felt less patriotic when there was nepotism in the government majority of the respondents agreed at 44% and 38% highly agreed. Only 3% were neutral, 6% disagreed and 9% highly disagreed. Figure 4.14 below shows the results:

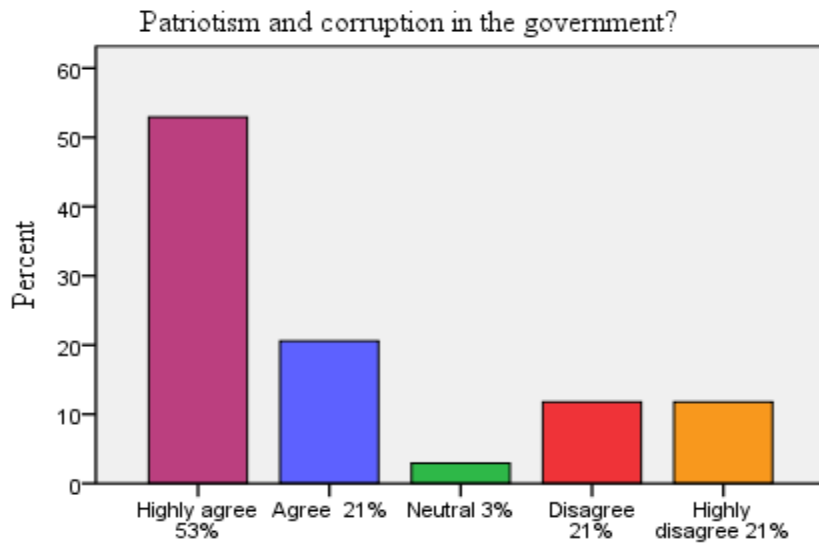
Figure 4.10: Patriotism and nepotism in the government



Source: Author

When asked if they felt less patriotic if there was corruption in the government majority also highly agreed at 53% and 21% agreed. Those that disagreed were 12%, 12% highly disagreed and 3% were neutral. Figure 4.15 below shows the results:

Figure 4.11: Patriotism and corruption in the government



Source: Author

The results in the two tables above that is figure 4.14 and 4.15 show that vices brought about by ethnic exclusion in the government which mainly stems from the political environment influences the level of patriotism of the individual citizens

4.7 Political Orientation

The study also sought to understand and establish if the political orientation of the respondents influence the level of patriotism. This was under objective three of the study.

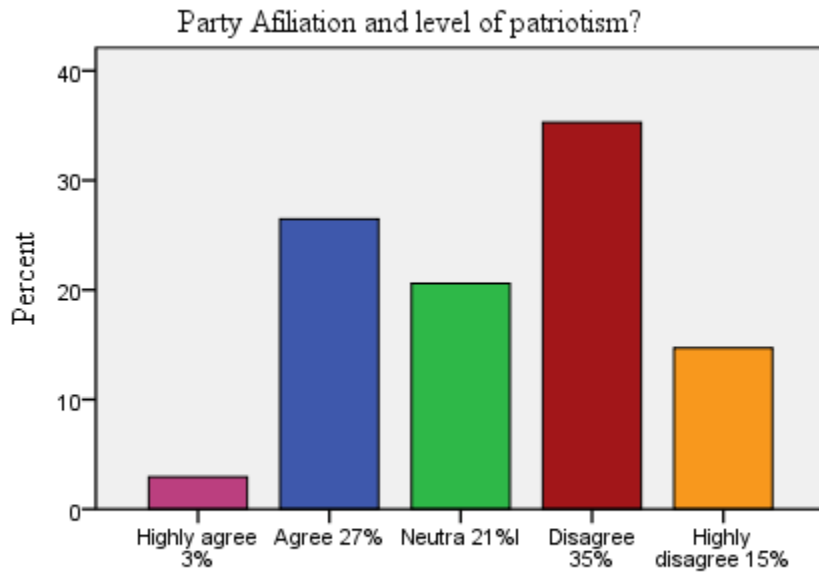
When asked if they belong to a specific political party 71% of the respondents said no, and the rest said yes that is 29%. This is an indication that majority of Kenyans are not registered to specific political parties. Figure 4.16 below shows the results.

Table 4.4: Belonging to a Party

		Percent
yes		29%
NO		71%
Total		100.0

When asked if the political party they voted for influenced the level of patriotism, majority disagreed at 35% however those that were neutral and those that agreed were 21% and 27% respectively indicating that a majority were somewhat indifferent. Those that highly agreed were only 3% and those that highly disagreed were 15%.

Figure 4.12: Party Affiliation and level of patriotism

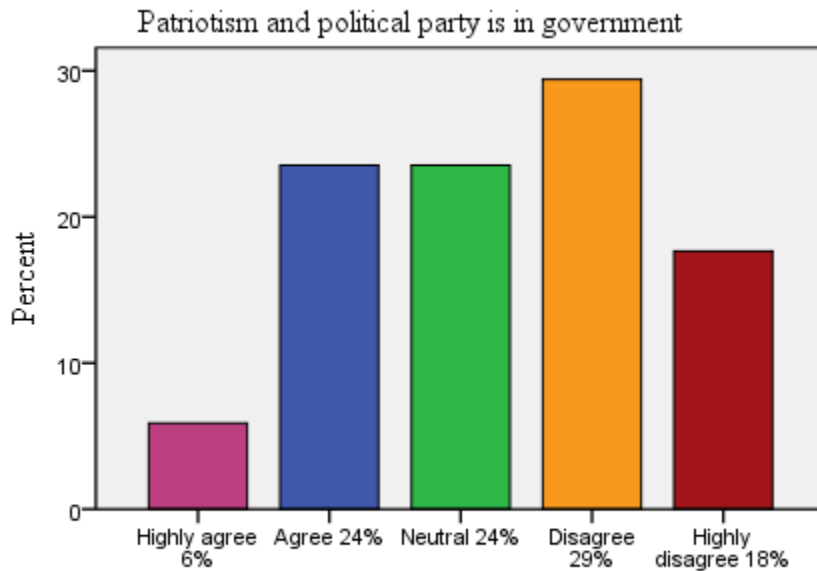


Source: Author

Omelchenko¹⁴³ explains that politically oriented actions shape and influence the patriotic nature of the youth. This in turn influences the level of patriotism of the individual and his or her generations to come.

When asked if they felt more patriotic if the political party they voted for was in government majority of the respondents disagrees at 29% and 18% highly disagreed. 24% were neutral, 24% agreed and only 6% highly agreed. Figure 4.18 below shows the results:

Figure 4.13: Patriotism and political party is in government



Source: Author

The results above indicate that the Kenyan citizen is not much influenced by the political party they belong or voted for in terms of their patriotism to Kenya. In addition findings on Blind and symbolic patriotism research conducted by Schatz and Staub¹⁴⁴ which were

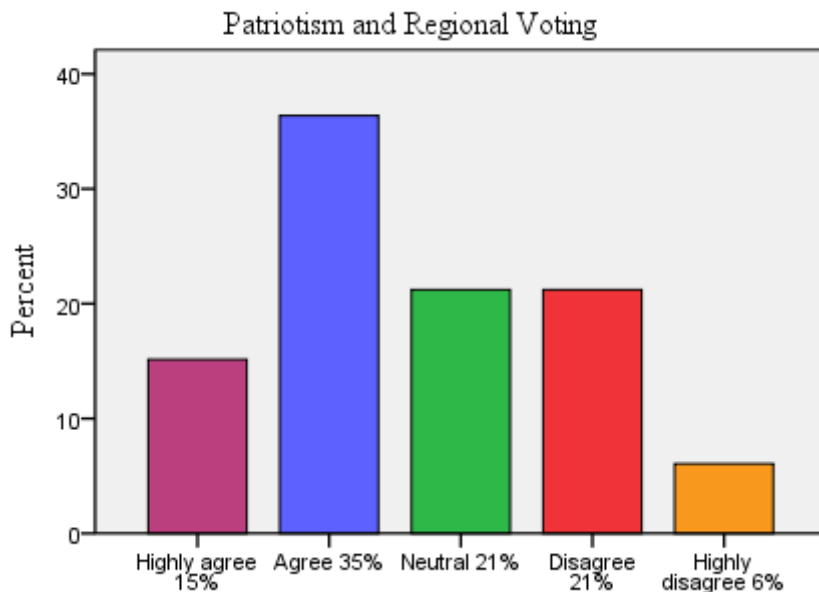
¹⁴³Omelchenko, D, et al, 'National Identity and Patriotism among Russian Youth: Representations, Feelings and Actions' *Asian Journal of Social Science*, Vol. 11, No. 6, (2015) pp 3-6

¹⁴⁴ Schatz, Robert T., Ervin Staub, and Howard Lavine. 'On the varieties of national attachment: Blind versus constructive patriotism'. *Political Psychology* 20 (1999) 151-74

congruent with the literature in that blind and symbolic patriotism share a robust empirical relationship failed to inform preference in a similar way especially in the political area as they both had different consequences or results politically. This was also observed in these results as seen in the following table.

When asked if they felt less patriotic due to the culture of regional voting in Kenya majority of the respondents agreed at 35% and 15% highly agreed. 21% were neutral, 21% disagreed and only 6% highly disagreed.

Figure 4.14: Patriotism and Regional Voting

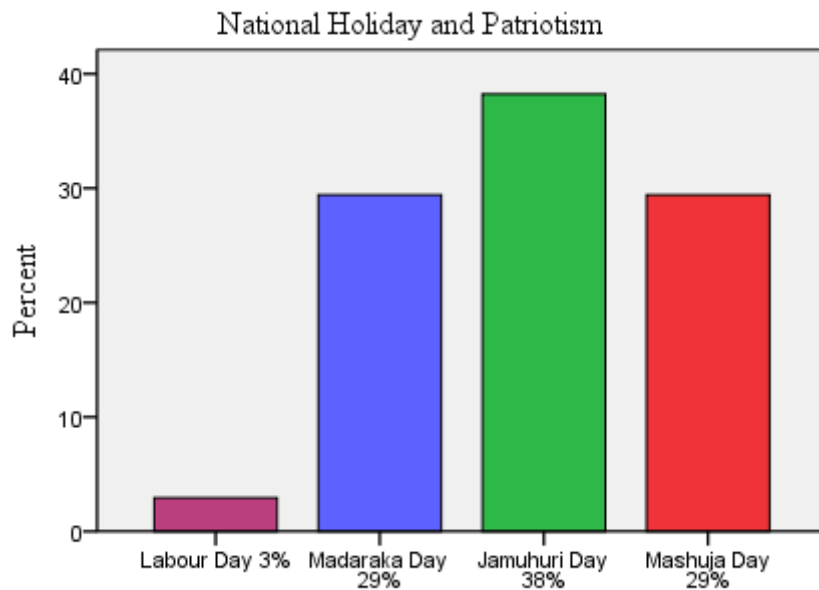


Source: Author

The figure above indicates that though Kenyans are mostly ethnically politically oriented meaning that they vote in accordance with their tribe, they still feel less patriotic due to this trend. These results also show the dynamic nature of patriotism considering the results of figure 4.19 and 4.18 above, this is further discussed in the following chapter.

When asked which national holiday exemplified the spirit of patriotism the respondents gave the following results in figure 4.20 below:

Figure 4.15: National Holiday and Patriotism



Source: Author

The respondents indicated that Jamhuri day at 38% came first followed by Madaraka Day and Mashuja Day at 29% then lastly Labour Day at 3%. These results are discussed further in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.0 Introduction

The objectives of this research study as enumerated in chapter one were: to establish if national loyalty determines the level of national patriotism, to establish if ethnic inclusion determines level of national patriotism and to establish if political orientation determines the level of national patriotism. The hypothesis developed were: there was no relationship between national loyalty and level of national patriotism among the Kenyan citizens in Nairobi County, there was a negative relationship between ethnic inclusion and level of national patriotism among the Kenyan citizens in Nairobi County, and there was a positive relationship between political orientations and level of national patriotism among the Kenyan citizens in Nairobi County. MacIntyre¹⁴⁵ explains that patriotism tend to follow some characteristics, merits and achievements of one's own nation thus leading to an inborn loyalty to the nation and proving reasons for support of the patriots attitude. However, this concern for nation could be at different levels depending on the conformity and reflexivity of the individual. This may be influenced by the historical experience of the individual, political influence, social influence, education, and cultural influence. The chapter provides the discussions from the findings presented in chapter four and also gives recommendations and conclusions based on the objectives of the study.

5.1 Key findings

The results of the study as indicated in chapter four show that there is a relationship between national loyalty and the level of patriotism. The research sought to establish how the respondents would rate their level of patriotism. The result show that majority of the respondents

¹⁴⁵MacIntyre, A. *Is Patriotism a Virtue? (The Lindley Lecture)*. Lawrence (University of Kansas 1984)

said that they were somewhat highly patriotic at 50% and 30% said they were very patriotic indicting that majority of Kenyans are patriotic. Thus, despite the challenges faced by the citizens they still remain patriotic to the country. Oldenquist¹⁴⁶ explains that the love a nation and the readiness for action express significant quality and such loyalty keeps societal power as an essential force in the world. In addition these social loyalties tend to be stronger than other moral ideas leading to sacrifice, donations and devotion to a nation that is beyond any calculated logic explaining the results. This is also cemented by the fact that majority of the respondents choice of national holiday was Jamhuri day which represents Kenya's establishment as a republic. However, Mashujaa day and Madaraka day were also popular meaning that majority of the citizens support the traditions of the country and thus are inclined to patriotism,

However, when asked if they would prefer working in another country given an equal opportunity, majority of the respondents agreed that they would prefer working in another country. Guetzkow¹⁴⁷ explains that at the national level citizens fulfill economic, sociocultural, and political needs, giving individuals a sense of security, a feeling of belonging, and prestige. However, if the fulfillment of this needs is hampered the level of loyalty diminishes as the group feels left out and discriminated. Though this can't be entirely be the picture in Nairobi County, the fact that majority of Kenyans would prefer working elsewhere shows that Kenyans still remain loyal to the country despite the challenges they face. This also means that those that get opportunities to leave the country still remain loyal to the country, however more on this should be investigated so as to ascertain the claim.

¹⁴⁶Oldenquist, Andrew. "Loyalties" *Journal of Philosophy* 79 (4) (1982) 173-193.

¹⁴⁷Guetzkow, Harold 'Isolation and Collaboration: A Partial Theory of International Relations'. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 1:46-68. (.1 957)

Habermas¹⁴⁸ argues that constitutional patriotism can easily be accepted if the relationship between culture and patriotism is well established. If focus is mainly directed to patriotic loyalty then the development of a constitution is generally non-problematic and thus eradicates culture diversities. The research sought to establish if the constitution has an influence to the level of loyalty, as loyalty to the constitutions depicts loyalty to the nation thus influencing patriotism. However, Majority of the respondents disagreed that the constitution increased the level of loyalty, leading to the conclusion that the level of patriotism was influenced by other factors other than the symbolic items of the country.

If patriotism is perceived to foster the commitment of the citizens to the procedures and principles developed in the constitution then it becomes compatible with a variety of cultural beliefs and practices of the nation¹⁴⁹. Therefore constitutional patriotism de-ethicizes citizenship by replacing cultural attachments with institutions and symbols which are potentially universal ensuring that the nation does not only share ethnicity, language, and cultural associations but also universal values of democracy¹⁵⁰. However in Nairobi County the opposite is true as the results of the study indicate that symbolic patriotism does not influence the level of loyalty of the citizens thus it has low influence to the level of patriotism.

According to Judith Shklar¹⁵¹ loyalty is distinguished from commitment in that it is a deeply affective and not primarily rational. Loyalty in itself, evoke the doctrines, ethnic groups and generally developed ideologies that establish associations that are easily identifiable. This

¹⁴⁸ Jürgen Habermas, 'The European Nation-State – its Achievements and its Limits', in Gopal Balakrishnan, ed., *Mapping the Nation* (London: Verso, 1996), pp. 281–94, p. 286.

¹⁴⁹ Jürgen Habermas, *The New Conservatism: Cultural Criticism and the Historians' Debate* (Boston, Mass: MIT, 1989), p. 261.

¹⁵⁰ Thomas Mertens, 'Cosmopolitanism and Citizenship: Kant against Habermas', *European Journal of Philosophy*, 4 (1996), 328–47, p. 336.

¹⁵¹ Shklar, Judith N. Obligation, loyalty, exile. *Political Theory* 21 (1993) 181-97.

shows the dynamism of patriotism and that it can't be pegged on a countries symbols such as the constitution.

Loyalty influences the level of patriotism of the Kenyan citizen but on the other hand loyalty is not influenced by the artifacts or developed symbols but tend to be influenced by inborn factors of belonging to a country. As Leonard¹⁵² explains patriotism is dynamic and can't always be quantified and the level of patriotism is influenced by an individual's loyalty to the ideas of the nation. Parker¹⁵³ stresses that the interpretation of patriotism is conceived as a single, undifferentiated love of country which stems from an affection associated with an individuals' loyalty and devotion.

The research sought to establish if ethnic inclusion influenced the level of patriotism of the respondents, it mainly focused on the government as exclusion of certain ethic groups may lead to discrimination, corruption and nepotism. These vices affect the level of trust in the government thus leading to dissatisfaction among the citizens which in turn leads to low levels of patriotism. These vices lead to lack of efficient provision of government services to the citizens leading to unemployment, economic stagnation and poverty. Akinjide¹⁵⁴ describes patriotism as the extent at which the government trust and support its citizens and that which the citizens trust and support the government. This aspect ensures that the country stays stable and discrimination is non-existence. However, this is not always the case as most African countries are made up of different ethnic groups.

¹⁵². Leonard Doob describes the psychological associations between one's country and positive features of one's environment in *Patriotism and Nationalism* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1964)

¹⁵³ Parker, C.S. 'Symbolic versus Blind Patriotism: Distinction without Difference?' (University of Washington, Seattle 2007)

¹⁵⁴ Akinjide, R. *Good Governance, Oil and National Development*. (Public Lecture, Akure, 2006)

The results in chapter four indicate that majority of the respondents agreed that ethnic exclusion in the government influenced their level of patriotism. This shows that the more unbalanced the government is the more unpatriotic the citizens are. Thomas Blank¹⁵⁵ and colleagues explain that ethnic-national consciousness and democracy can't be ignored as ethnic groups tend to form parties in accordance with their ethnicity especially in Africa. Furthermore, the segregation of a country into ethnic groups develops pockets of loyalty that may have different opinions thus leading to discrimination in case either group ceases power.

However, the dynamism of patriotism is observed in the second question which asks if the respondents feel more patriotic when their ethnic group is included in the government as majority disagree with the statement. This is an indication that despite the influence of ethnic inclusion in government other factors still influence the level of patriotism of the citizens. The results of the study show that the respondents highly agreed that nepotism and corruption highly influenced their level of patriotism negatively. Hamaguchi¹⁵⁶ in his research observes that relatively poor country such as Kenya, economic outcomes at the local level are associated with ethnic diversity thus income spillovers depend on ethnic similarity. These results indicate that ethnic divisions in the African context influence the economic developments. This in turn affects the way of life of the citizens which dictates the level of patriotism of the individuals.

According to Gunther and Diamond¹⁵⁷ ethnic and regional communal autonomy or independence is vital in any nation as dividing lines between ethnic parties tend to bring divisions in a nation with multiple ethnic groups which may even turn out to be violent. The

¹⁵⁵ Thomas Blank, Peter Schmidt, and Bettina Westle ' "patriotism" A contradiction, a possibility or an empirical reality?' "ECPR Workshop 26: National Identity in Europe" 6-11 (2001) Grenoble (France)

¹⁵⁶ Hamaguchi, N. Evidence from Spatial Correlation of Poverty and Income in Kenya, Japan International Cooperation Agency Research Institute 2011

¹⁵⁷ Gunther, Richard and Diamond, Larry "Species of political parties: A new typology" *Party Politics* 9(2) (2003) 167-199

level of patriotism of the citizens as per the study is highly influenced by the vices that ill the country that is corruption and nepotism among others. Even though the citizen's patriotic nature is influenced by lack of or inclusion in the government the vices tend to take the higher level of influence.

The research sought to establish how the political orientation of the citizens influenced their level of patriotism. The results of the study indicate that majority of the respondents do not belong to a particular political party, and the patriotism nature of the majority is not at all influenced by the party they voted for or purport to belong. In addition, the citizen's patriotism was not influenced by the fact that the political party they voted for was in government. This is an indication that in the African context patriotism among the educated is not influenced by political orientation. Africa is riddled with political corruption and bribery which have threatened the political atmosphere for decades. In addition Nepotism and tribalism are social ills that characterize African politics, in that the appointed politicians are not in the elected positions for patriotic reasons but rather they enrich themselves, their nuclear, extended families, and tribesmen. From the results of the study it is clear that these ills lead to low levels of patriotism in the country.

In addition the results indicate that majority of the respondents agree that the regional voting culture in Kenya has negatively influenced the level of patriotism. The voting culture in Kenya has mainly been influenced by tribal ethnic culture of the Kenyan people. Moore¹⁵⁸ explains that African societies are divided or have several hierarchies, and each hierarchy reflecting different social orders, thus, with time identities become codes for given social orders

¹⁵⁸Dahlia Moore 'toward a more just world: what makes people participate in social action?' *Advances in Group Processes*, Volume 25, 347–373(Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2008)

and if not well managed conflict and injustice may arise. According to Univ¹⁵⁹if voting takes place along ethnic terms, as is more likely in a hierarchical society, the largest possible part of society is unable so choose the desired candidate in the political office. Therefore they remain continually excluded from government therefore alienated from the benefits of the political process. This leads to increased discrimination in terms of resources, positions in government and economic development. The results of the study however does not entirely conform to the above statement as majority of the patriotism of the majority of the respondents are not influenced by the fact that the political party the voted for in on power. This on the other hand does not mean that the minority who feel that they are discriminated don't feel less patriotic with this situation.

5.2 Conclusion

The study sought to establish the determinants of national patriotism in Kenya: a case of Nairobi County. The county of Nairobi is divers in culture and may well represent the citizens of Kenya as a determining sample of the level of patriotism in Kenya. Hypothesis one of the study stated that there was no relationship between national loyalty and level of national patriotism among the Kenyan citizens in Nairobi County. This according to the study was found to be false as the level of national loyalty influenced the level of national patriotism. Majority of the respondents indicated that they were loyal to the country; however their loyalty was not influence by the Kenyan symbols such as the constitution. On the other hand their level of patriotism was highly influenced by other factors which were not determined in the study. The results indicated that majority would prefer working in another country given the same

¹⁵⁹Uvin, P. "Ethnicity and Power in Burundi and Rwanda: Different Paths to Mass Violence", *Comparative Politics* 31: (1999) 253-271

opportunity meaning that factors such as culture, work environment, economic condition, among others unidentified factors may influence the level of loyalty and hence the level of patriotism.

Hypothesis two of the study stated that there was a negative relationship between ethnic inclusion and level of national patriotism among the Kenyan citizens in Nairobi County. This statement was found to be false as majority of the respondents agreed that ethnic exclusion influenced the level of patriotism. The relationship between ethnic inclusion and national patriotism was found to be positive. However, ethnic inclusion in the government did not influence the level of patriotism. On the other hand vices such as nepotism and corruption highly influenced the level of patriotism of the respondents meaning that the Kenyan population's patriotism levels are highly influenced by the culture developed over the years. Vices such as corruption and nepotism among others as depicted in the problem statement are vices that have grown over the years and has be enhanced by the political culture of the elite thus leading to discrimination and economic stagnation thus poor provision of services in the country thus leading to low levels of patriotism. This is an indication that even though ethnic inclusion determines the level of patriotism other factors such as corruption and nepotism also highly influence the level of patriotism in Nairobi County thus the same can be said about the whole country.

Hypothesis three of the study stated that there was a positive relationship between political orientations and level of national patriotism among the Kenyan citizens in Nairobi County. This statement was also found to be false as majority of the respondents disagreed that the political party they belonged to or voted for influenced their level of patriotism, meaning that the relationship between political orientation and national patriotism is negative. In addition the fact that the political party they voted for was in government dint also influence the level of

patriotism affirming that the political culture does not influence national patriotism. On the other hand the culture of regional voting in Kenya highly influenced the level of national patriotism negatively meaning that patriotism among the Kenyan citizens is highly influenced by tribalism that is, negatively. Regional voting in Kenya has grown over the years enhanced by the political elite and as Kenya is divided into ethnic regions this has facilitated the growth of tribalism in the country leading to violence among the political divisions created. These on the other hand according to the results of this study influence the level of patriotism.

In conclusion, the research sought to establish the determinants of national patriotism a case study of the Nairobi County which ultimately is a representative of the country Kenya. The results of the study indicated that majority of the respondents considered themselves to be somewhat patriotic and said patriotism was a duty of citizenship and that patriotism was selfless in nature. The result also indicated that determinants of patriotism did not stem entirely from factors such as those developed in the objective of this study but from the economic and cultural environment of the Nairobi county. Loyalty which is a determinant of patriotism was affected by economic environment of the county thus influencing the level of patriotism of the citizens. Factors such as nepotism and corruption also negatively influenced the level of patriotism and lastly tribalism stemming from regional voting also lead to low level of patriotism. Political orientation did not influence the level of patriotism of the respondents meaning that the political environment of the county does not influence the level of national patriotism.

5.3 Recommendations of the study

Patriotism is dynamic and still remains fully unemployed as different individuals view patriotism differently especially in Africa where research still remains low. Diversity of the developing countries means that different factors determine the level of patriotism, this may stem

from economic issues to the developed cultures and even ethnicity and tribal ties. Thus it is importance to understand patriotism in the African context and what determines its levels. In this regard the study recommends the following:

The study recommends that the government should carry out civic education so as to enhance the level of national patriotism among the Kenyan citizens as loyalty to the country may be threatened in the long run.

The study also recommends that measures should be taken in order to eradicate government vices such as nepotism and corruption as these factors negatively impact the level of patriotism of the citizens.

The study recommends development of strategies that will enhance changes in the political arena especially in voting as regional voting in the country which is driven by politics through ethnicity negatively affects the level of patriotism among the citizens.

5.4 Recommendation for Further Research

Research should be conducted in order to establish if other symbols such as the flag determine the level of patriotism among others. This will inform the government on what symbols influence the level of patriotism their significance and what measures should be taken in order to enhance their significance.

In order to understand patriotism better in Kenya, research should be conducted so as to understand the loyalty of those Kenyans that are in the diaspora. That is to understand if they remain loyal to Kenya even if they are no longer living in the country.

The research also recommends that research should be conducted in order to establish how the economic factors determine the level of patriotism and how vices such as corruption and nepotism influence the level of patriotism in the African context. This will enable growth and understanding of factors that determine the level of patriotism in Africa.

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