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**DETERMINANTS OF CITIZENS' TRUST LEVELS IN ELECTION MANAGEMENT
BODIES: A STUDY OF THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL AND BOUNDARIES
COMMISSION (IEBC)**

ADAN HARAR NOOR

MPPM/111827/2018



**A research dissertation submitted to Strathmore Business School in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Public Policy and Management**

**Strathmore Business School
Strathmore University,
Nairobi, Kenya.**

November 2020

DECLARATION

I wish to declare here that this research dissertation is my original work and has not in any way been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University. To the best of my understanding and conviction, the research dissertation does not contain any material produced for publishing or written by another person except where reference is made appropriately in the dissertation itself.

Adan Harar Noor

MPM/111827/2018

Signature..... Date.....



Approval

This research dissertation has been assessed and commended for examination by the University Supervisor.

Dr. Elizabeth Muthuma

Strathmore University

Signature..... Date.....

ABSTRACT

The issues of citizens' trust in public institutions have become a subject of focus and concern to many states globally. There has been a decline in citizens' trust in public institutions; especially the Elections Management Bodies (EMBs) in Kenya. This study, therefore, sought to assess the determinants of the citizens' trust levels in electoral management bodies through the identification of the trust level drivers and outline the recommendations for citizens' trust reconstructions. The specific objectives were to examine the influence of the perceived independence of IEBC; stakeholders' engagement; electoral environment and professionalism of public institutions on the citizens' trust levels in IEBC as an electoral management body in Kenya. The study was based on three key theories namely; social contract theory, institutional theory and cultural theories of public trust to form the basis upon which the study was grounded. A descriptive study design was adopted in the study. A total population of 2,200,630 of electorates in Nairobi City County, IEBC staff, Media organizations, CSO, Development partners and political partners were targeted from where a sample of 400 respondents (calculated using the Yamane formula) was sampled. The researcher utilized stratified sampling to select the sample for the study. Primary data was gathered using questionnaires and interview guides. Collected data was analysed quantitatively and qualitatively using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software for quantitative data, and the results were interpreted and presented using tables, figures, graphs and pie charts. Qualitative data was analysed using thematic analysis. The study found that the four variables in the study (independence, stakeholders' engagement, professionalism and electoral environment) have a significant influence on citizens' trust levels in the IEBC-with professionalism and stakeholder engagement high in the ranking of trust influence. The study recommends that the commission should fully engage all stakeholders instead of just a few. The Commission in order to strengthen its professional core value should undertake its constitutional mandate with transparency and accountability. There should be transparency and high integrity in the process of appointing the commissioners and not be left to the executive.

Keywords: *Citizens' Trust Levels, IEBC, Independence; Stakeholders' Engagement, Election Management, Professionalism, Electoral Environment.*

DEDICATION

This research dissertation is dedicated to my family and friends who have inspired and encouraged me to pursue this course. They have endured my absence when they needed me most in enhancing their lives and I am grateful for the sacrifices they have made to ensure I complete this dissertation.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks to the Almighty Allah and all those who were instrumental in the success of this study. I am highly indebted to my supervisor Dr. Elizabeth Muthuma whose enormous support and spirit of appraisal cannot go unnoticed in this research study. The enduring support from my family and friends is one that I shall never forget and I would like to thank them all profusely for standing with me during the entire process.



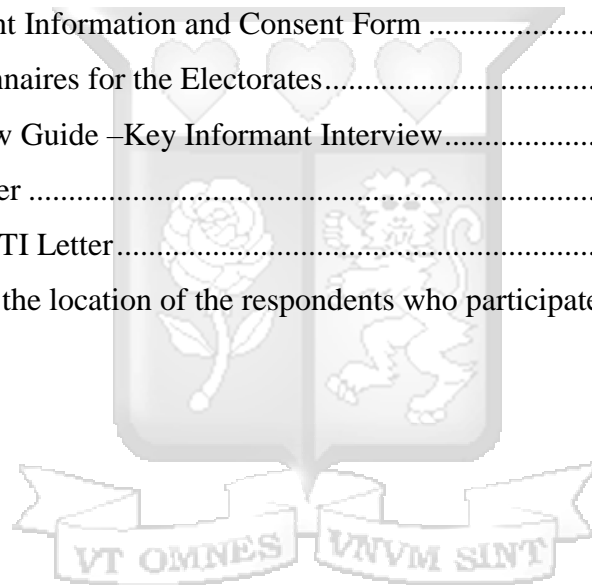
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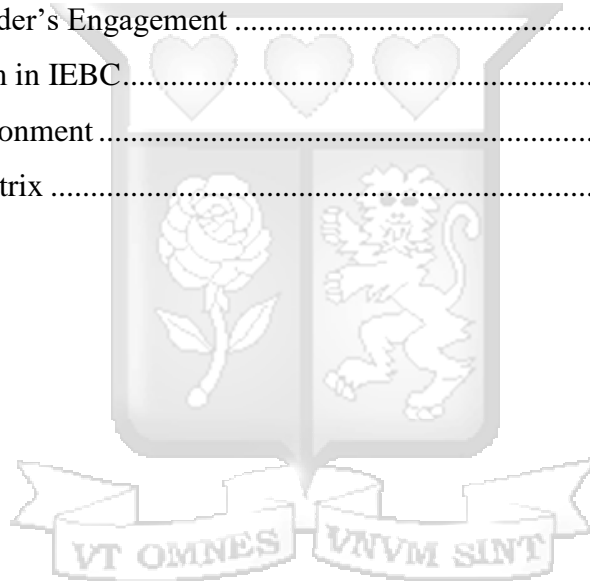
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OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

Election Management Body: Refer to those institutions mandated by the constitution to oversee the electioneering process of a country. They are responsible for facilitating the activities related to voting, including voter registration, sensitization, or voter education and carrying out the actual election (Makulilo, 2015). They are also responsible for counting, tallying and announcing the results of an election.

Election: Is an official collective decision-making process by which a populace selects a person to hold public office (Mulroy, 2018). It is customarily utilized in autonomous states that embrace democracy.

Electoral cycle: A visual training and planning tool intended to help development agencies, electoral officials and providers of assistance in states to comprehend the cyclical nature of the numerous challenges they face in the electoral processes. It is divided into three major periods: the pre-electoral period, the electoral period and the post-electoral period (Mulroy, 2018).

Electoral Environment: Refer to the conditions surrounding or existing before, during and after an election that can influence the conduct of electorates, leaders or contestants and the electoral management body (Shomer, 2016).

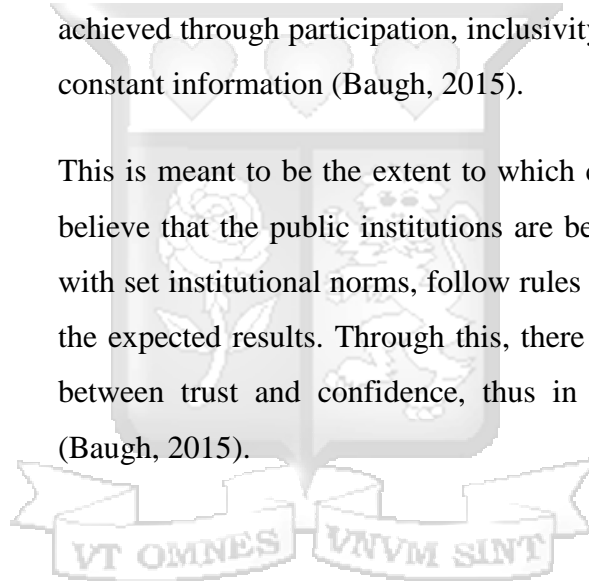
Independence: Refer to autonomy to act without undue external influence but being accountable for the acts of commission or omission. It is used to mean that an independent institution is the one that is having sole authority to make decisions of its concerns though it does not mean that the institution should not be answerable and accountable for its actions (Lethbridge, 2019).

Professionalism: It refers to acting per the institutional norms and the core values guiding institutional operations and the law. This involves observing the key metrics of integrity, transparency and accountability with strict compliance to institutional code of conduct (Lethbridge, 2019).

Stakeholder: Refers to an interested party in something or a given business (Landau, 2017).

Stakeholders' Engagement: It refers to the involvement of various parties in various operations by an institution to enhance institutional role performance. This is achieved through participation, inclusivity, consultations as well as constant information (Baugh, 2015).

Trust Levels: This is meant to be the extent to which citizens are confident and believe that the public institutions are behaving and acting in line with set institutional norms, follow rules and regulations and attain the expected results. Through this, there exists a slight distinction between trust and confidence, thus in this study, trust is used (Baugh, 2015).



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AfriCoG	Africa Centre for Open Governance
BVR	Biometric Voter Registration
CoK	Constitution of Kenya
CSOs	Civil Society Organization
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECK	Electoral Commission of Kenya
EMBs	Elections Management Bodies
EOP	Elections Operations Plan
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
IREC	Independent Review Electoral Commission
ISFED	International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy
KHRC	Kenya Human Rights Commission
KIEMS	Kenya Integrated Electoral Management System
KPTJ	Kenyans for Peace, Trust and Justice
MOH	Ministry of Health
NACOSTI	National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation
NEC	National Electoral Commission
NIEC	National Independent Electoral Commission
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
QoG	Quality of Governance
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
ZEC	Zanzibar Electoral Commission

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Background to the Study

Scholars in the field of social sciences have not been able to agree on a universal definition of the concept of trust (Mohamed, 2017). As an important study area in many disciplines such as political, economic, sociological, physiological studies, citizen's trust occupies a central place in democratic governance, which has become a fundamental concern in public administration that involves the study of economic growth, good governance and civic engagement and social capital (Jamil & Askvik, 2015).

Increasingly, a large number of studies have cited that public trust maintains major positive components mainly democracy, economic development as well as social capital development (Gyorffy, 2013). Generally, scholars in this field look at the concept of trust through two major variants mainly the political trust and social trust variant (Sack, 2017). Political trust occurs when the citizens' appraisal of the government and its institutions about the policy-making, nature of office incumbents as to whether they are transparent, fair and honest, promise keeping, effective and efficient concerning their responsiveness to mandated responsibilities, meet their expectations (Sahin and Taşpınar, 2015). On the other hand, social trust entails the trust citizens hold towards each other within the larger community's existence, which is rated in reference to the civic engagement, and interpersonal trust among the members of the community (Muhl, 2014). The concept of citizens' trust brings in an important component in government functioning in regards to compliance with the rule of law as Askvik and Dhakal (2015) posit. Additionally, it helps the government to formulate and implement the various reforms for development (Gyorffy, 2013). The concept of trust also enhances economic development through promoting economic decisions in the country thus enhancing economic growth.

The concept of trust is a necessary goal of achieving effective supervision in government and its institutions and it is mainly considered as the cornerstone upon which the sustainable and legitimate political system can be grounded and sustained (OECD, 2013). In order for the citizens of a country to trust the government and the public institutions, there should be evidence that there is an efficiency of service delivery, openness, participation and integrity by these institutions in accordance to the set laws and standards, which govern those institutions (OECD, 2017).

1.1.1 Concepts of Citizens' Trust

In determination and description of the soundness of democracies, the concept of citizens' trust in public institutions takes lead. Trust lays the ground upon which democratic legitimacy, which promotes the citizens' ability to contribute towards the development of a robust democracy, is based (Farazmand, 2017). Since the citizens with trust are likely to promote the development of the policies within the political structures thus promoting the country's development (Rameez & Fowsar, 2018). It is important that an administration works towards achieving this trust (Government Communication and Information System, 2014). Surprisingly, the citizens' trust levels in the government and the public institutions in the Global North advanced and industrialized countries have been declining over the last half a century as per the assertions fronted by OECD (2013).

Although the magnitude and the pace differ from one country to another, a downward trend has been evidenced across Europe from the Netherlands, which the data have indicated that there has been an increase in the level of citizens' trust in the government and public institutions for the period ranging from the mid-1970s to mid-1990s (OECD, 2013). Globally, all other advanced industrialized democracies have recorded a downward and declining level of citizens' trust in their respective public institutions. The Austrians pointed to the collapse of the collectivist consensus as a major outcome of a lack of trust in the government (Beckett, 2018).

In Canada, the Canadians have pointed out continued tension on nationalism and separatism in the country as an outcome of declining trust. In Germany, the Germans attributed their malaise to the strain on the unification while the Japanese condemned the consecutive political scandals and prolonged economic recession in the 1990s (Sack, 2017). Regardless of the high degree of trust held by the Swedes and Norwegians, in the 1990s, they lost trust with the politics of their countries and became distrustful of the entire political institutions in their countries (Christensen & Laegreid, 2013). A study conducted on the analysis of public trust and confidence in public institutions in China and Taiwan showed that all the public institutions suffer substantial levels of public distrust and there is no single public institution enjoying extensive public trust. The distrust emanated from perceived economic inequality and corruption (Sack, 2017).

Further, surveys conducted by trusted international organizations (both government and non-governmental organizations) in order to determine the extent of trust held by the citizens in their

government and political institutions in the developed world confirmed the decline of the citizens' trust levels in various parts of the world (Sack, 2017). The same surveys also confirmed that there was a persistent and ubiquitous decrease in the citizens' trust levels in various political institutions ranging from the beginning of the year 2004 to the end of the year (Christensen and Laegreid, 2013).

According to studies conducted by Gallup International (2012) on the trust and mistrust levels in public institutions, the global dissatisfaction with governments found 73% in Central and Eastern Europe, 69% in Latin America, 65% in Western Europe and Africa and 61% in the Asia Pacific. Based on the findings of the studies conducted in Sri Lanka, it was revealed that people have little trust in the public institutions due to lack of awareness, discrimination in terms of ethnicity, undue delay, lack of modern facilities and political influence (Rameez & Fowsar, 2018).

Plunging trust levels among African citizens have been reported at the levels of public institutional trust in the electoral sector, which hereby contains the electoral commission and the political parties that contest in elections (Michael & Gyimah, 2018). It has been evidenced in Africa that a fruitful election can bring serenity to a nation, for example, the incidence of Namibia in the year 2015 and inversely a disputed election can tear the country apart for instance in Kenya 2008, Cote d'Ivoire 2010, Burundi 2015 among others (Peter *et al.*, 2016). Poor management of the electoral management bodies can create election fraud and which causes political isolation, public mistrust, protests and violence. The situation has been experienced in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) where election malpractices led to extreme violent demonstrations. In Gabon, deadly clashes erupted with the re-election of president Bongo as well as many other African countries.

It is in this context of citizens' trust in public institutions that this study will be centered on with specific reference to the Independent Electoral Boundaries Commission (IEBC). The study will examine the level of citizens' trust in IEBC based on their perception of its independence, stakeholders' engagement, professionalism and electoral environment in its operations.

1.1.2. Determinants of Citizens' Trust

The triggers for the decline of the citizens' trust in the government and public institutions vary from one country to another although in the advanced industrialized democracies most of them are common. Trust levels decline during the times of economic downturns in the countries and reduced

economic performance where the government is seen as incapable of handling the fiscal and financial issues as Cheema (2010) argues.

The perception of corruption in public institutions has also been known to be the key factor that decreases the citizens' trust levels in such institutions. According to a study conducted by Melgar and Rossi (2010), perception of corruption is the key factor affecting the citizens' trust because it creates a culture of distrust towards some institutions in the long run, and contributes to more than 25% of this trust. This has been demonstrated in studies conducted in countries such as Italy, France and Germany where they have exhibited lower trust levels in their political institutions. Citizens trust public institutions that are in the forefront in promoting the inclusiveness of the stakeholders to the institution (Farazmand, 2017).

Generally, in any given country, citizens always rely on trust in the public institutions to deliver their mandates in the most transparent and honest way. The high levels of corruption and low levels of Quality of Governance (QoG) that most contemporary countries are found to have negative effects on prosperity, social well-being, health, satisfaction with life, and, of course, social trust (Caillier, 2010). The conditions of most people living under these situations are, as the famous philosopher Thomas Hobbes described to be, "*solitary, poor, brutish, nasty, and short*" (Rothstein, 2014).

The determinants of citizen trust levels are grouped into independence of EMBs, stakeholder engagement, professionalism and electoral environment among others (Lethbridge, 2019). Erlich and Kerr (2016) note that the trust of the citizens in an electoral management body dwindles when they discover that it does not act independently as it should. Interference from the executive, judiciary, or legislature often makes the public lose trust in the activities of the commission and therefore lose the credibility of elections it supervises (Owuor, 2016). Stakeholder engagement, on the other hand, can be achieved through participation, inclusivity, consultations as well as constant information (Baugh, 2015). For IEBC or any other EMB to promote and enhance public trust in it, it has to involve all the relevant stakeholders in consultations and permit their participation in matters related to elections (Owuor, 2016; Akwei, 2018).

For professionalism, the values of transparency, openness and accountability are required. Owuor (2016) posits that citizens' trust in public institutions can be enhanced if the organization conducts

itself with a lot of professionalism. Electoral environment, on the other hand, includes the conditions or surroundings that follow the preparations for a major or minor election in a given country, which affects the behavior or conduct of elections (Bhasin, 2019). The electoral environment can also comprise of the tension between political parties' management hierarchies or amid parties and the electoral management body. Such tension only acts towards impeding the functioning of the parties themselves, their leadership and the efficient functioning of an electoral management body as per Maloba (2017).

1.1.3 Overview of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC)

In Kenya, election management is led by the IEBC and governed by the provisions of Article 88 of the Kenyan constitution (2010) and the Elections Act that have been revised several times since 2011. The Elections Act of 2011 stipulates the function of IEBC in terms of managing elections in Kenya beginning from the pre-election period, during the election period and post-election period in the electoral cycle. This Act can be amended by the two houses of parliament through the introduction of bills to the houses by any member of the house (CoK, 2010). Article 88 also clearly outlines the mandate of IEBC in terms of conducting elections and other matters related to elections.

Following the 2007-2008 post-election violence, the Independent Review Electoral Commission (IREC) was initiated with the mandate to investigate the conduct of the 2007 general elections with an emphasis on the presidential poll. The report made by the commission pointed out that the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) was faulty, had low citizens' trust and credibility due to lack of commissioners' independence and necessitated reforms in order to improve the elections management practice (Aywa, 2015). This, therefore, resulted in the creation of first the interim independent electoral commission and later the new election management body; the IEBC that got guided by Article 88 of CoK (2010) and the Elections Act (2011). According to Article 88 of the Constitution of Kenya (2010), the IEBC is mandated to supervise and oversee the referenda and elections to any elective body established in the Kenyan Constitution (Constitution of Kenya, 2010). Based on this constitutional framework, the IEBC functions can be grouped into three major categories, mainly referred to as the electoral cycle.

In the pre-election period, IEBC is mandated to ensure that there is continuous registration of voters; regular reviewing and verification of the voter registers. It is also expected to undertake

delimitation of boundaries of the wards and constituencies; effectively regulate political parties' nominations awaiting elections; resolve electoral disputes arising from nominations; enrol the candidates for elections and educate the voters' and sensitize them. Developing a code of conduct for candidates and parties in conducting elections and ensuring compliance to the legislation governing the nomination of the candidates are also IEBC's mandates in accordance with Article 88 of the CoK (2010). In the election period, the IEBC ensures that voting is conducted and other elections day operations are well-conducted; facilitate the counting and verification of the vote and results; announce the elections' outcomes, and handle complaints and appeals (CoK, 2010, Article 88). In the post-election period, IEBC evaluates and audit its operations; assess and strengthen organizational reforms, and promote the election reforms (CoK, 2010, Article 88).

The Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) has the mandate of ensuring that the electoral cycles in this country is successfully run and managed. For a common Kenyan, the role and duty of maintaining electoral integrity start and ends with the IEBC. In this manner, the EMB receives a significant budget from the national government to ensure that its activities run smoothly with minimal disruptions. Since IEBC is funded by taxpayers' money, much is expected from it as the people expect value for their money (Aywa, 2015). On the other hand, IEBC sometimes faces challenges that make it near impossible for it to manage a successful election. For instance, lack of support from stakeholders and other relevant bodies can cripple its operations especially when the allocated budget is not adequate. Lack of political goodwill also poses a significant challenge to the IEBC. When all these factors come into play, the IEBC management might find itself at a crossroad leading to declining in the trust of the public in its ability to run elections in the country (Erich and Kerr, 2016).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Since the inception of multi-party politics in Kenya in the year 1991, the country has witnessed deep-seated levels of citizens' mistrust in election management bodies (Aywa, 2015). The cited reasons for the phenomenon according to Aywa has been revolving around the perceived or actual perception of lack of independence of the bodies. This is manifested in form of political manipulation, professional incredibility of the commissioners entrusted, limited transparency and citizens' participation at various capacities of the electoral processes, with account for more than 80% of the trust levels.

Regardless of various reforms that have been instituted to establish autonomous EMBs in Kenya, the challenge of citizens' mistrust persist which is very costly to the country; economically, socially, politically and otherwise. The key devastating effects witnessed in the aftermath of 2007/8 elections which left more than 1,200 people dead and over half a million internally displaced (Maloba, 2017). This general election proved beyond doubt that there exist low levels of citizens' trust in electoral management bodies in Kenya, according to a study by Erlich and Kerr (2016). The country witnessed similar events in the country's succeeding general election exercises even after disbanding and reconstituting the new EMB; the current IEBC.

With a clear understanding of the situation in place, the future of democracy of the country is at risk since democracy is built with the generation of the citizens' trust upon the institutions tasked with the oversight of various democratic roles as Erlich and Kerr (2016) posit. This calls for the intervention measures in the identification of the root cause of the distrust that faces the institution. According to Sahin and Taspnar (2015), there exists diversification in form of the sources and causes of the situation as well as identification of whether it is external or internal.

Various studies have been undertaken to study the determinants of trust levels in EMBs. For instance, Rosas (2010) studied trust in elections and the institutional design of electoral authorities in Latin America. Though this study determined the importance of professionalism, electoral environment and stakeholders' engagement, the context of the study was different from this study. The same can be said about Kerr and Luhrmann (2017) who studied public trust in elections and considered the role of autonomy of election management bodies, as well as the role of media. Also, available studies have also not looked at all four variables together. It is against this background that this study sought to assess the citizens' trust levels in IEBC as an election management body in Kenya on the grounds of its independence, engagement with stakeholders, electoral environment and professionalism.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 General Objective

The general objective of this study was to assess the determinants of citizens' trust levels in the election management bodies in Kenya.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

- i. To examine the influence of the independence of IEBC on citizens' trust levels in the election management bodies in Kenya.
- ii. To investigate the influence of IEBC stakeholders' engagement on citizens' trust levels in election management bodies in Kenya.
- iii. To assess the influence of professionalism of IEBC on citizens' trust levels in election management bodies in Kenya.
- iv. To establish the influence of electoral environment on citizens' trust levels in election management bodies in Kenya.

1.4 Research Questions

- i. What is the influence of the independence of IEBC on citizens' trust levels in the election management bodies in Kenya?
- ii. What is the influence of IEBC stakeholders' engagement on citizens' trust levels in the election management bodies in Kenya?
- iii. How does professionalism influence citizens' trust levels in the election management bodies?
- iv. How does the electoral environment influence citizens' trust levels in the election management bodies in Kenya?

1.5 Significance of the Study

The findings and recommendations of the study would benefit the following groups:

Academic Scholars: Since the study would contribute towards the development of policies as well as literature to which they can refer to future studies. The study would also form part of the literature from which they can refer when conducting studies related to the subject in the future.

The IEBC: The study's findings and recommendations would help the EMB understand the lack of citizens' trust in its ability to manage elections in Kenya. The EMB can also use it as a guideline towards the development of strategies meant to improve its relationship and trust with the general public.

Government and Policy Makers: The findings of the study would most definitely influence policy-making and implementation processes within the government and other relevant authorities

in both the short and long-run. Studies on the citizens' trust levels in public institutions present a great opportunity and have great implication in policy formulation in public institutions. These policies will be formulated to serve and enhance operations internally and externally. The findings and recommendations of this study are intended to generate guidance to the public institutions in various areas of concern, especially those regarding the formulation of management policies. The findings will also help various stakeholders in the public in obtaining deeper insight on how to play efficiently their roles and ensure effective contributions to synergy in anticipated efficiency for democracy to prevail.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study would be confined to the examination of the determinants of citizens' trust levels in election management bodies in Nairobi City County; a study of Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC). The choice of Nairobi City County for this research was based on the fact that the county is a cosmopolitan city giving the researcher an ample opportunity to gather diverse views from a cross-section of Kenyans. The specific variables that the study focused on were mainly; independence of IEBC, stakeholders' engagement by IEBC, electoral environment and professionalism of the institution. This was necessitated since for decades now there have been increased and alarming concerns of the citizens' trust levels in the institution without specific variables being pointed out on even after tremendous changes have been instituted in the institution.



CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The chapter generally presents the review of relevant literature related to citizens' trust levels in public EMBs across the globe. The chapter is organized into various subsections. These include the theoretical framework (which discusses the theories guiding the study); the empirical review (guided by the four objectives of the study), identification of existing research gaps; conceptual framework; operationalization of variables and chapter summary.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

Theoretical framework refers to the outline, which is based on an existing theory of a particular field of enquiry that is related to the study premise. It is regarded as a blueprint upon which the researcher builds his or her research, thus forming the foundation upon which the study is created (Dickson, Emad & Joe, 2018). This study, therefore, utilized three primary theories namely cultural theory, the theory of social contract and institutional theory to assess the level of citizens' trust in public institutions.

2.2.1 The Theory of Social Contract

This theory was first fronted by Socrates in the 16th and 17th centuries and then developed by John Locke, Thomas Hobbes and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (Rousseau, 2016). The theory argues that an individual's moral or political commitment depends on an agreement or accord made amidst the individual and the society in which the person lives. The theory is specifically linked to modern moral and political theory, which was first supported by Thomas Hobbes (Rousseau, 2016).

In Socrates' argument, an individual must obey the social contract he/she makes with the society in which he/she lives. Social contract theory calls for total obedience and adherence to the rule of law and order that keeps together the society for the longest time possible. In *Crito*, a platonic dialogue, Socrates made a compelling argument to Crito as to why he had to stay in jail and await the death penalty rather than run away and go into exile in another city. By personifying the Athens' laws, Socrates made a compelling decision to stay and wait for his judgment because running away from jail will be tantamount to disobeying the laws that have always guided and facilitated his existence (Arshadnejad, 2018). Socrates also noted that the coexistence between citizens and the laws is not forced and an individual has a right to stay and be bound by the laws or move to another city. Therefore, in Socrates' argument, social contract theory mandates

individuals to stay true to their commitments with the laws of the land or society in which they live.

Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) also contributed to the theory of social contract and most of his contributions were influenced by the happenings of his time including the English Civil War (1642-1648), which he attributed to the conflict between the King and his adherents. The king wanted more authority and control against the will of his supporters resulting in a conflict that led to the war (Manzoor, 2013). Hobbes used this experience to explain the modern social contract theory and elucidated the fact that humans have a tendency towards the gratification of self-interest.

The weakness in Thomas Hobbes argument is that all people tend to pursue what they consider good for their self-interests and might not necessarily consider how their efforts to pursue self-interests will affect others. In addition, Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau hold different arguments related to the duty of an individual towards maintaining the social contract with society. For instance, Hobbes' argument on the '*state of nature*' holds that it is not desirable for individuals to live in such a state and therefore must agree to stay together guided by common laws, which must be obeyed by all (Manzoor, 2013). The theory of social contract is, therefore, a call by the people to stay true to their obligations as a way of maintaining their accord with the social order.

This theory is relevant to the study because public trust on election management bodies is an issue of social order and can, therefore, be influenced by the strict adherence to or disregard of the agreement between these bodies and the general public to operate in their best interests. Like any other public institution, IEBC serves the interest of the general public and must adhere to the provisions of Article 88 of the CoK (2010) and the Elections Act of 2011. The IEBC is, thus mandated to act according to the social contract that binds its operations with those of maintaining public trust. The public can only trust the EMBs if they stay impartial and autonomous and discharge their mandates according to the law that guides and facilitates their existence.

2.2.2 Institutional Theory

Institutional theory is based on the works of DiMaggio and Powell (1983). The theory emphasizes the politically endogenous determinants, wherein trust in institutions is expressed as a function of the utility of institutions' performance. The better the performance of institutions, the higher the

level of trust in those institutions as per Furusten (2013). Bad performance of government agencies is said to create negative attitudes towards government in general. Similarly, well-functioning public services are said to lead citizens to trust the government. This theory relates variations in trust to changes in (the quality of, or the perception of) government institutional service delivery. A better quality performance is supposed to lead to satisfied citizens, and this in turn to more trust or a similar positive attitude towards government. At the same time, better agency performance will be summed up and lead to better government performance (Furusten, 2013).

The theory holds that institutions should have the capacity to provide for a fair and inclusive society. This can be achieved through institutional fairness that must enshrine concepts such as fairness, justice, incorruptibility, non-partisanship, truthfulness, or even transparency as the core norms (Meyer & Rowan, 2006). In line with this argument, political trust is highly determined by the behaviour of institutions and whether these institutions treat their residents, including citizens, immigrants or minorities, fairly, justly, and equally (Roder, 2010).

Institutional theories stress the role of more proximate and contemporary experiences with institutions. Institutional theories acknowledge that culture can condition attitudes toward institutions, as can the past performance of institutions (Furusten, 2013). In line with the current study, some parties hold the view that institutional performance is the key determinant of the trust prevailing in the citizens' sphere. This means that many trust or distrust the institution based on its performance with little or no attention being paid on the external influence on the same as Roder (2010) notes.

This theory is relevant to the study since it addresses the issue of public trust and also highlights some of the determinants of public trust in public establishments. Like any other public organization, IEBC must ensure that it improves the level of public trust on it by acting professionally, engaging stakeholders more and acting autonomously.

2.2.3 Cultural Theory

The cultural theory was proposed by theorists such as Emile Durkheim, Karl Marx and Max Weber. The theory highlights the exogenous determinants, state that institutional trust is shaped outside of the political bubble. More precisely, it originates from the 'cultural values and normative beliefs, as expressed by the interpersonal trust and national identification (Godefroidt &

Meuleman, 2015). Cultural theories emphasize the importance of early experiences with little change later on. Cultural theorists emphasize the role of cultural values in enhancing or decreasing the trust of the public on an institution as Chang (2013) argues.

According to micro-theories, the assessment of institutions is based strictly on individuals 'experiences and tastes'. In such a scenario, trust in institutions is strongly linked to individuals' experience with the institutions in the past, which is then translated into trust, or distrust in institutions (Zajda, 2019). As such, micro-level theories suggest that trust might vary significantly between individuals according to their experiences and tastes (Zajda, 2019). In this light, public organizations must instigate efforts aimed at ensuring that they earn the trust of the public by conducting themselves in a manner that appears impartial and in the best interest of the general public.

Cultural theories have been applied in sociological studies and their impact has been felt across the world. Their argument that trust in public organizations must be shaped outside the political bubble has gained much criticism from sociological scholars. The scholars believe that politics is part of social order and the two intertwine. Since sociological studies involve the public, then politics also affect the operations of individuals in society in a way that scholars fathom can be deceptive (Serrat, 2017). Therefore, citizens' trust in public institutions is greatly influenced by the politics of the time or a specific country.

The theory is applicable in the proposed study because past experiences on how election management bodies have conducted elections in Kenya have diminished the trust of the public in them. For instance, the bitterly disputed elections of 1992 and 2007 that led to violence were blamed on the inability of the then ECK to handle the elections impartially. The public, therefore, bases its trust levels on the past experiences as well as their tastes (in terms of political inclinations) towards the election management bodies in Kenya.

2.3 Empirical Review

2.3.1 Independence of Electoral Management Bodies and Levels of Public Trust

Lethbridge (2019) defines independence as autonomy to act without undue external influence but being accountable for the acts of commission or omission. This implies that an independent institution is the one that has sole authority to make decisions affecting its operations though it

does not mean that the institution should not be answerable and accountable for its actions. The independence of any EMB is very crucial in the election management process and must be upheld at all levels (van Ham & Garnett, 2019).

Kerr and Luhrmann (2017) studied public trust in elections and considered the role of autonomy of election management bodies in enhancing public trust on them. In the working paper, the researchers analyzed cases from different countries where the EMBs have been accused of manipulating election results in favour of the incumbents or sitting presidents. They noted that as multiparty election became more globalized, the legitimacy of the regime became greatly dependent on the conduct of EMBs in the entire election process. The paper noted that the 2007 election in Nigeria faced legitimacy questions because the EMB in the country did not demonstrate autonomy during the electoral process. The citizens lost faith and trust in the government led by Umar Yar'Adua because they felt that the electoral commission and its head did not demonstrate any autonomy while conducting the elections. The researchers also analyzed the Russian and Rwandan elections which they argued were manipulated but did not result in any public outcry. The findings of the study showed that election manipulation led to the dwindling of public trust since the citizens would not trust EMBs that serve the interest of one political party. The researchers concluded that there was a need for election management bodies to inculcate trust among the people by insisting on adhering to the rules and regulations that give them independence.

James, Garnett, Loeber and van Ham (2019) studied the determinants of electoral integrity in several countries of the world and noticed that most scholars who have researched on this topic focused more on the organizational traits of public organizations mandated with implementing elections and overlooked one crucial aspect of electoral management. The researchers wanted to find out the percentage of electoral bodies in the world that operate as independent bodies. Their findings indicated that 72% of the countries that responded had autonomous electoral management bodies while 21% were government bodies and 7% reported to neither being government or autonomous bodies (James *et al.*, 2019). In the same research, 23% of the EMBs were identified as being part of the judicial branch of government and did not operate independently. This meant that they were subject to being manipulated to serve the interest of the sitting administrations and thereby further declining the trust of the public on these bodies. Their recommendations included

the need for the governments to ensure the independence of EMBs to enhance the trust of the public on these bodies and their ability to manage elections transparently and honestly. The researchers, however, concentrated only on electoral management as the key determinant of electoral integrity.

In a study on electoral manipulation in Africa, Van Ham & Lindberg (2015) noted that although multiparty democracy has gained root in Africa, most African countries face the challenges related to the manipulation of elections. The researchers noted that African governments are synonymous with manipulation of elections using different strategies. For instance, they noted that the most commonly used mechanisms for manipulating the outcome of an election include voter intimidation and also intimidation of the opposition to such an extent that they shy away from the competition. Also, the governments have mastered the art of manipulating electoral management bodies either through intimidation or denial of resources to facilitate their functions. The researchers also discovered that the method and level of manipulation depended on the availability of resources and potential costs related to the varying tactics and also the political context within which elections take place (Van Ham & Lindberg, 2015). The study also analyzed elections in several countries of Africa and their quality did not prove quite positive. For instance, their findings indicated that, in most of the countries, the autonomy of the electoral management bodies was highly compromised because of the actions of the incumbent governments. Most governments denied the EMBs enough resources to independently carry their duties leading to their weakening. The researchers recommended that the autonomy of EMBs be guaranteed for the public to trust the legitimacy of elections as well as the governments being elected.

According to Ntaganda (2015), who studied the management of electoral processes in Burundi, following the signing of the Arusha Accord in 2000 that ended the civil war in the country, the legislation in the state provides an adequately strong base for the supervision of free and fair elections. However, like any African country, Burundi faces major challenges related to the management of elections in the country. The country's electoral body; NIEC operates in an atmosphere that is not independent. Also, the electoral body lacks the political will and consensus of political parties in the country to agree on election rules. This has eroded the confidence of the public in the country's electoral process' ability to conduct a free and fair as well as credible election. The researcher also noted that the electoral management bodies in Burundi have faced

various challenges that have led to their disability in running a free and fair election. Part of these challenges includes government interference in the affairs of the NIEC thereby curtailing its independence as an election management body.

Makulilo (2015) analyzed the independence of Tanzania's EMBs and noted that they experience several challenges most of which are related to their independence. The federal structure adopted in Tanzania implies that the country has in place two EMBs to manage election both in the mainland and islands of Zanzibar. The two EMBs (NEC and ZEC) have different functions with separate structures that determined by some legal structures. The researcher, however, notes that the two bodies face serious challenges relating to their independence. For instance, a mainstream of Tanzanians believes that the commissions are not impartial and autonomous. Despite the existence of apparent legal guarantees and freedoms from political interference, how commissioners of these bodies, especially in the mainland are appointed cannot guarantee their independence. For example, the president of the mainland is responsible for appointing the commissioners of NEC, a fact that cannot ensure that they remain independent. Besides, the NEC relies entirely on the executive for financial and logistical issues thereby undermining its independence (Makulilo, 2015). The researcher also notes that there were limited requirements in the Tanzanian constitution on the appointment of commissioners with the only requirement being in the island of Zanzibar where the president has to choose from a list of seven names proposed by the opposition. The overreliance on the government for funding and other budgetary issues has undermined the autonomy of these bodies and in turn, affected their ability to manage free and fair elections in the country.

According to Aywa (2015), Kenya has held many elections since independence most of which have historical records of irregularities. The country suffers from the problem of negative ethnicity which is a key determinant of electoral politics, first-past-the-post electoral system and the designing of constituencies based on ethnic divisions. EMBs have in the past and better history of Kenya been the objects of deep-seated mistrust because of the perceived absence of political independence. Aywa (2015) also notes that the level of citizens' trust in the electoral system before the 2007 election was quite low. The then electoral commission, ECK had very low and limited rankings amongst the people and the public did not trust it to deliver a credible election. The aftermath of the bitterly disputed election was the post-election violence that has so far been

described as the worst in the country's history. The researcher also noted that the ECK was not a purely independent commission and would sometimes serve the interests of the government of the day thereby increasing chances of manipulating the results.

In his analysis of the independence of EMBs in Kenya, Aywa (2015) also noted that following the promulgation of the 2010 constitution, an independent commission in the name of IEBC was formed to solve all election-related challenges that existed before. According to the research, IEBC was supposed to be purely autonomous and Kenyans had high hopes on it. Among the key institutional core values, governing operations of IEBC is independence. *"We shall conduct our affairs free from undue external influence"* (The Constitution of Kenya, 2010). Independence in public institutions refers to the extent by which the institution can be able to undertake its functions and mandates without any form of interference or conflict of interest either originating internally or externally, however, it should not be free from being held accountable for its omissions or commissions which calls for due transparency and accountability the public institutions to the other party (Aywa, 2015).

For healthy and democratic elections in a country, there must be an independent EMB which operates on its own free from manipulation of any kind from any arm of the government (The Constitution of Kenya, 2010). The issue of IEBC independence has been discussed for long where recognition of external interference has been noted. The issue of lack of IEBC independence from political leaders has been hotly debated where various factors have been pointed on and the need for allowing IEBC to do their roles effectively (Tumo, 2017). Where citizens and other stakeholders in election management processes perceive a sense of lack of independence, if there exists distrust with these institutions, they retaliate on the move making the whole electoral systems questionable.

Aywa (2015) also posited in his study that the independence of IEBC cannot be claimed solely because of the several actors who determine the outcomes of the elections. Electoral justice chain emerges from different parties where its sole powers not clearly defined thus bringing challenges on its independence (Collette & Sebastian, 2015). The IEBC is not free from the undue influence of the executive arm of the government because it was evidenced in the process of procuring the BVR where IEBC made its decision, which was outlined by the executive. This is also concurred by AfriCoG (2017). Another concern of the independence of the IEBC arises on the ground of its

independence over the courts. Constitutionally, the IEBC is mandated to determine the electoral boundaries and settling the disputes arising from the elections or nominations of the candidates in the political parties. Although it is mandated to make election decisions, it is subject to petitions and can be challenged in court. This implies that the IEBC generally should obey and comply with the court regarding all of its elections operations and management processes.

2.3.2 Stakeholders' Engagement by Electoral Management Bodies and Public Trust Levels

Stakeholder engagement refers to the involvement of different parties that have an interest in various operations by an institution in order to enhance institutional role performance (Baugh, 2015). James *et al.* (2019) studied the determinants of electoral integrity in several parts of the world and posited that electoral integrity was crucial in nurturing public trust in the management of elections in the globe. The researchers noticed that apart from the independence of EMBs in the management of elections, the involvement of stakeholders was also a crucial determinant of the levels of public trust on an election management body. Their findings revealed that electoral management bodies that prioritized the opinions and contributions of all stakeholders in the process of managing elections did well in terms of earning public trust. According to the study, the idea of centralization worked well in countries that adopted it with over 60% of them reporting improved relations with the public as a result of centralization of the duties of the electoral bodies. This thus pointed to the crucial role played by stakeholder engagement in the management and running of elections in most states of the world.

Olugbemiga and Olugbemiga (2014) conducted a study on '*the state and election administration in Nigeria*' and noted that the country's history indicates a lack of stakeholder involvement in the electoral process. This in turn led to the dwindling of the public trust in the process. The researchers analyzed the state of elections in Nigeria from its independence and noticed that the state has a history of authoritarian and autocratic rule. The West African nation had struggled with a series of coups where militaries would overthrow the government and take over the leadership of the country. The military rules were purely autocratic and frustrated any efforts by the country to adopt democracy. However, the researchers also noted that after the transition of the country to a pure democracy, the challenges of lack of stakeholder engagement persisted with people increasingly feeling left out of electoral management. The capture of the EMBs by the state has had serious impacts on the election management in the country with the public outcry directed towards the

state that has been accused of manipulating the electoral body and the election outcome as well. The findings of the research indicate that the public has lost trust in the EMBs in the country because of open interference by the state. Kerr and Luhrmann (2017)'s study also supported the findings of this study by arguing that the matching of the Nigerians on March 2010 against the country's electoral body meant that they had lost trust in the body and how it managed elections. Its lack of autonomy and stakeholder involvement meant that the body had become a state organ serving the interests of the state and not of the general public. This was not per its mandate as enshrined in the constitution.

According to Sekaggya (2015), the electoral management body in Uganda has been perceived adversely by the election stakeholders in the country some of whom have called it President Museveni's rubberstamp for staying in office. This is because the commission does not allow room for stakeholder engagement as the media, political parties, especially from the opposition, the international community and the general public are denied an opportunity to participate in the formation and running of the commission. In the last four elections, Ugandans have engaged in elections that have had limited freedoms including media freedom, freedom of assembly, speech and expression thanks to the efforts made by the executive that runs the affairs of the EMBs in the country. This has eroded the public trust on the autonomy of the electoral commission to carry out an independent, free and fair election. It is this dwindling of public trust that, according to Sekaggya (2015) has resulted in increased public mistrust of the government and its operations. However, the challenges facing the country's electoral management have had to do with the lack of stakeholder engagement in matters of an election. The researcher also noted that the commission relies on the executive for funding to facilitate updating of voter registers and also initiating of voter sensitization exercises.

Makulilo (2015) analyzed the independence of electoral management bodies in mainland Tanzania and the island of Zanzibar. In his study, the researcher noted that the constitution of Tanzania did not give room for the EMBs to engage other stakeholders in the process of composing the electoral bodies and also in the management of elections. For example, according to Makulilo (2015), the commissioners of NEC and ZEC are handpicked by the presidents of mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar islands respectively. The only attempt at involving other stakeholders in the process is in the requirement by Zanzibar that the president receives seven names proposed by the opposition

from which s/he can pick one. Also, the researcher noted that because of lack of funding, the electoral management bodies have been ineffective in the management of voter registers and the election process at large. The NEC, for instance, lacks resources to digitize its records and also ensure regular update of the registers as required by law. In Zanzibar, though the register is digitized, the ZEC faces challenges in updating the register because of the law that requires an individual to live on the island for 3 years before being allowed to vote. Despite the efforts made to draft a union constitution that will ensure EMBs have total autonomy, the country still faces issues with the ability of the EMBs engaging the relevant stakeholders in the electoral management processes in the country. The researcher did not, however, analyze exclusively the influence of non-engagement of stakeholders on the public trust in the electoral management bodies.

Owuor (2016) conducted a study on the reformation of elections management and supervision in Kenya and used IEBC as his case study. The research involved administering of questionnaires to relevant stakeholders in the management of elections among them political parties, judiciary, IEBC, CSOs, and the registrar of political parties. The researcher used purposive sampling to identify individuals and organizations that had considerable expertise and knowledge on matters of running elections. The researcher also used direct observation to supplement data collected from experts and knowledgeable stakeholders. The findings of the study indicated that despite the many reforms initiated in the election management in the country, the role of stakeholders still remains diminished because of constant interference of the executive on the matters of IEBC. This interference has seen the commission function as part of the executive thereby overlooking the contributions of other important stakeholders in the management of elections. In turn, the public trust on IEBC has been dwindling leading to a series of violence every election period.

According to IEBC (2017), a stakeholder by definition refers to an individual who has some interest or stake in the operations of the IEBC. They are categorized as either primary stakeholders or secondary stakeholders. They include the electorates, political parties, media, and public among others who are likely to be met during registration. The stakeholders require and expect transparency, fairness, equity among other values. Based on the most recent studies, the stakeholders' engagement, managing the electoral process involves meeting their expectations. This means that they are facilitated with sufficient support to participate in their full capacities in election processes with sufficient feedback and information (IEBC, 2018). For instance, in a forum

by Maendeleo Policy Forum (2016) held in Nairobi Kenya, the participants reiterated the important role played by EMBs in management of elections in Africa. The participants of the forum that included academics from Kenya and other African countries and the chairperson of the electoral commission of Ghana, ascertained the need for African countries to adopt necessary measures at the institutional and management levels with the objective of transforming elections into crucial assets. There was also a need for countries like Kenya to adopt efficient and robust institutions as well as mechanisms to underpin credible elections. The forum also underlined the necessity for the countries to promote electoral integrity and also enhance social inclusion and cohesion. The participants also proposed that EMBs find ways to promote and encourage internal democracy within the political parties as a way of enhancing electoral integrity. The need to engage all stakeholders in the management of elections was also mentioned as a key determinant of electoral integrity in African countries.

KHRC (2015)'s study revealed that one of the key stakeholders in electoral management is the electorate. The electorates take part in the election process as the voters where they expect to be informed in advance about the various processes including the voter education programs, through dialogues, participation and feedback on the enquiries raised. This provides the grounds upon which an electorate can have instrumental participation in the electoral process thus building citizens' trust towards the election management body. According to previous studies civic education and voters' awareness campaigns, limited participation and electoral prudence have been diminishing greatly (Owuor, 2016; Sekaggya, 2015, Erlich & Kerr, 2016; Kerr & Luhrmann, 2017).

Another essential stakeholder in determining the outcome of the election is the justice sector. This sector deals with the interpretation of the laws that regulate and governs the election outcomes. The justice sector needs to be able to formulate, implement and monitor or evaluate the applicability of various legal frameworks to instil justice in the election management to enhance the citizens' trust on the outcomes generated (KHRC, 2015; Maendeleo Policy Forum, 2016).

2.3.3 Professionalism of Public Institutions and Public Trust Levels

Lethbridge (2019) defines professionalism as acting in accordance with the institutional norms and the core values guiding institutional operations and the law. This involves observing the key metrics of integrity, transparency and accountability with strict compliance to institutional code of

conduct. A professional organization must, therefore, take into account the issues of accountability and transparency as the key determinants of openness and public trust in it (Buhl & Hilkenmeier, 2017).

In a study titled “*the South African National and Provincial Elections: The Integrity of the Electoral Process*,” Schulz (2014) noted that the major component of free and fair elections in any democracy is compliance to the rule of law put in place that is both the outcome and the process of measuring the actual meaning of governance. The researcher also posited that for any government to be described as legitimate or legit, there is a need to maintain the credibility of an election and ensure that it is conducted in a professional manner. The findings of the study were also supported by OECD (2013) which highlighted that citizens’ trust levels in public institutions is determined by the extent to which they believe that the institutions in question observe the legal norms in place, the order and the rules put in place to govern their operations. The citizens are sure and that the concerned institutions are aware and know all the laws, rules, legal norms that are in place to guide their operations (OECD, 2013). There exists a strong correlation between the citizens’ trust in the government and its institutions once there is confidence in the independent judicial system that maintains the integrity of various institutions set in place (OECD, 2013).

Ntaganda (2015)’s study on the electoral management in Burundi indicated that the electoral management body in Burundi (NIEC) did not act in a professional manner. The study revealed that the body has more than once proved partisan and serves the interest of the ruling party led by President Pierre Nkuruziza. The researcher also noted that the government put much pressure on the EMB to act according to instructions limiting its independence and ability to act professionally. This is typical of most African countries where the EMBs are forced to dance to the tunes of incumbents thereby limiting their freedom and capability of practising professionalism.

Schulz-Herzenberg, Aling’o and Gatimu (2015) studied the integrity of the 2013 electoral process in Kenya and used the 2013 election management by the IEBC as a benchmark for determining the electoral integrity in Kenya. The 2013 elections proved a big challenge for the EMB because, for the first time, Kenyans were voting for many leaders as provided for in the 2010 CoK. To restore and maintain public confidence in the commission and the election, the IEBC needed to ensure that it conducts itself with a lot of independence and professionalism. This included but not limited to ensuring technical and logistical arrangements and show efficiency and impartiality in

the registration of voters and the actual voting process. Nonetheless, the commission faced serious trust issues when it seemed to follow an order from the executive on the process of ordering biometric voter registration (BVR) kits for the 2013 exercise. The commission went to court to seek directions on the BVR kits contract and also on the election date. The researchers argue that this coupled with the lack of experience of the commissioners in handling a general election led to the dwindling of trust among the general public. Some people felt that commission had acted in an unprofessional manner and against the spirit of the 2010 constitution that called for the establishment of an independent commission to oversee matters related to elections in the country (Article 88, CoK, 2010).

Ellena, Vickery and Reppell (2018) analyzed “*the effective management of election disputes and violations*” and found out that the credibility of elections, results in acceptable and stability of the election setting growingly crux on the efficiency of resolving disputes and violations throughout the cycle of an election. Therefore, EMBs must devise mechanisms to withstand fresh forms of political manipulation that have increasingly become sophisticated. The researchers also noted that electoral bodies in most developing countries lack professionalism and the incumbents tend to use them as vehicles of extending their regimes without necessarily winning an election. They also use the courts to legitimize their stay in office way beyond their time and against the will of the public. The EMBs should, therefore, put in place mechanisms to ensure that they always act professionally in managing and resolving disputes arising from an election process. Doing this, according to the researchers will not only enhance the credibility of the election but also improve the trust of the public in these institutions. Kerr & Luhrmann (2017) also concur with these assertions by arguing an independent EMB must act with a lot of professionalism especially when carrying out its duties as a way of increasing or resurrecting the dwindling trust of the public in the bodies’ capability to conduct free and fair elections.

AfriCoG (2017) report on the 2013 general election in Kenya noted serious concerns about the management of the elections by IEBC. The report also noted gaps in the accountability and transparency exemplified by the commission’s incapability to openly state which register was utilized in the elections. Another issue was the inability of the commission to enhance the efficiency of its electronic results transmission system. These issues got interpreted by the general public as the traits of an IEBC that is under the control of the executive arm of administration and

one that lacks professionalism. The lack of a legal framework on election management that integrated the participation of key stakeholders throughout the process points to a commission that is already manipulated and serving the interests of the government of the day. The study also recommended that the EMBs in Kenya should learn from past experiences and strive to avoid the blunders of the past in order to restore public confidence in these institutions of electoral governance. The findings of this study concurred with those of Aywa (2015) and Owuor (2016) that called for the involvement of all stakeholders as well as the need for EMBs to act in a professional manner when handling election matters.

Kagwanja (2017) wrote a research paper that called for devolution of the election management in Kenya. This was after the nullification of the August 2017 presidential election by Kenya's Supreme Court which Uhuru Kenyatta, the incumbent president won. According to Kagwanja (2017), the nullification of the presidential results exposed the tantalizing liberal notion of autonomous electoral management bodies as a threat to the stability of delicate nations. The paper also argues that the ineptness of IEBC led to the unfortunate event which he recommends can be solved by devolving election management. To the researcher, IEBC had demonstrated unprofessionalism and inability to run a fiercely contested election in a manner that is free and fair. Devolving the management of the election will thus enhance the ability of the commission in tackling issues arising out of a fiercely contested election like the 2017 election. The researcher further called for the disbandment of the current IEBC and a fresh appointment of commissioners who will be serving under a devolved body that will work in tandem with the main office to run future elections in a manner that can restore public confidence in the people. The constitution provides for the independence of the IEBC and also advocates for the professional conduct of the commission in all its undertakings.

According to a report by Ace (2019) on electoral management, the legitimacy and credibility of an electoral process greatly depend on the integrity of the process. The integrity of an election can be improved by ensuring that the systems and technology used in running the election conform to the tenets of effective technology. Electoral management bodies can utilize electoral technology in almost all facets of managing an election (Acer, 2019). For instance, technology is used in registering voters, where the EMB utilizes the electoral technology to build and maintain a voter register that has all the personal details of an eligible voter. Further, the EMB can employ electoral

technology in identifying the voters during the voting process. This helps in checking the eligibility of the voter before allowing them to participate in a voting exercise. Ace (2019) also discovered that EMBs can utilize electoral technology in registering parties and candidates to track the registration of systems. The technology is also used in the delimitation of boundaries, electronic voting and counting, tabulation and transmission of results as well as publishing and announcing of results. However, according to Cheeseman, Lynch & Willis (2018), the process of utilizing electoral technology especially when conducting general elections must be handled with a lot of care and professionalism to ensure that the credibility and legitimacy of an electoral process are upheld at all times. Other scholars recommend maximum caution when it comes to the use of electoral technology in elections that are so emotive and characterized by manipulation and violence.

Electoral technology failure before, during or after an election can be a major source of public distrust in an electoral management body. Abraham (2019) instigated an investigation titled “*when numbers lie: public trust, political legitimacy and the 2019 census*” and discovered that the failure by IEBC to submit its servers to the Supreme Court in a presidential petition regarding the 2017 general elections in Kenya led to the dwindling public trust in the EMB. Prior to the 2017 general elections, political parties had raised issues with the awarding of a tender to a company known as OT-Morpho citing integrity issues. This company was awarded the tender to supply KIEMS kit, which was the technology adopted by IEBC to conduct the elections. The failure of transparency, openness and accountability from the electoral management body and the contracted company led to declined public trust in the IEBC’s ability to oversee a free, fair and transparent election. The events following this including the cancellation of presidential elections indicated that the electoral technology utilized in the electoral process was questionable and led to the decline in public trust in IEBC (Abraham, 2019).

2.3.4 Electoral Environment and Level of Public Trust Levels

Electoral environment, according to Bhasin (2019) refers to the conditions or surroundings that follow the preparations for a major or minor election in a given country. These conditions can affect the behaviour or conduct of electorates, leaders or contestants and election management bodies. Further, the behaviour of legislators especially how they toe the party line to maintain a

cohesive or unified party record is a clear representation of the tension that exists amid governability and representativeness.

According to Shomer (2016), the electoral environment can improve or disadvantage an EMB and in the process lower the chances of it performing as per its code of conduct. The electoral environment refers to the surrounding conditions or setting before, during and after an electoral cycle. The electoral environment can influence the outcomes of an election as well as impact the perception of the public on the management capability of an EMB. Past studies on the influence of the electoral environment on the level of public trust in EMBs point to the important role the environment plays in influencing the degree of trust. For instance, a study by Jinadu (2014) indicated that the electoral management in West Africa greatly relied on the environment and the surrounding setting. According to the study, among the challenges EMBs in most West Africa states face, the ever-rising cost of elections, dispute adjudication issues, and the unfavourable environment rank high. The study looked at the gains and reversals made by EMBs in Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Ghana, Cape Verde and Benin and discovered that the key challenges facing them revolve around the environmental issues as well as ethical values and the political economy (Jinadu, 2014).

The electoral environment comprises of both the internal and external environment. The internal environment includes those factors within IEBC that make it stronger or weaken it in its efforts to efficiently supervise an election. The external environment comprises of the analysis of the opportunities and threats that face IEBC in its management of electoral According to Bhasin (2019), environmental scanning involves the analysis of the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats facing a specific organization and that can influence its ability to attain its set objectives. Environmental scanning is a crucial part of the business process as it is the duty of any establishment to check anything that can put negative influences on the consumers and their businesses.

A study by Kerr and Luhrmann (2017) indicated that public trust in elections management in most parts of Africa was partly a factor of the electoral environment surrounding the electoral cycles. The study conducted experimental studies in which macro and micro-level controls were held constant to measure the level of public trust on EMBs. The findings of the experimental studies indicated that in an environment where most of the electorates were affiliated to the ruling party or the party that won elections, the trust of the public on the EMB was positive. This is opposed to

the regions where their candidates did not win the election. This meant that the existing ecological setup plays a crucial role in inculcating public trust in the electoral management body. The study, however, failed to consider the influence of professionalism on the level of public trust in the EMB. The proposed study will consider this as one of the determinants of the level of public trust in the Kenyan EMB.

ISFED (2019) conducted an analysis of the impact of electoral management initiatives aimed at bettering the Georgian electoral system. It was discovered that irrespective of the initiatives made to improve the electoral system, there were no notable changes in the system at large. The investigation also notes that the pre-election environment is usually influenced by violence metered on political leaders and several attempts to blackmail them using private clips. There is also the problem of the slow response to such issues by the state authorities and unfavourable media setup. Media environment also raises concerns due to cancellation of media interviews because of legal disputes (ISFED, 2019). The study recommended timely adoption of appropriate legal arrangement, support of bills by parliament in a timely and efficient manner, government agencies and authorities to act swiftly to avert violence before, during and after the electoral process.

According to a study by Jena (2017), African states can have free, fair and transparent elections by ensuring that there is a constant dedication by state parties that are signatory to electoral rules. There is a need for the EMBs to maintain an impartial approach to electoral management to ensure that the environment favours a positive outcome. The study also revealed that Ethiopia and Lesotho encountered specific electoral challenges notably incidences of violence, intimidation, inflation, unreliable voter registers as well as unsecured ballot boxes (Jena, 2017).

2.4 Research Gaps Identified

Generally, a review of various studies conducted on the levels of citizens' trust in the EMBs in Kenya has not been able to go beyond the visible problems associated with the current issues of trust. Most of the studies have focused on the independence of the bodies and failed to consider the bigger picture of how this influences the levels of public trust in the IEBC. As indicated in table 2.1, the main research gap arising from the review of relevant literature is the fact that no research has been conducted or carried out in Kenya on the dwindling trust levels of the citizens in IEBC. Also, no single study has combined the four determinants of public trust levels in EMBs

as variables in a single study to assess their effect on the levels of citizens' trust in the ability of IEBC to successfully manage a free and fair election.

Table 2.1: Summary of the Research Gaps

Author/References	Deficiencies in Research	Research Gaps
Kerr and Luhrmann (2017); Ntaganda (2015); James <i>et al.</i> (2019); Van Ham & Lindberg (2015); Jena (2017)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arguments not specifically centered on the determinants of citizens' trust on EMBs but rather on the key factors influencing management of elections in general. • Use of varied methods of data collection that would result to bias in the findings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The studies did not specifically look at IEBC as an electoral management body which is the key focus of the proposed study. • The need to utilize a different method and sample to assess the influence of independence of the IEBC, professionalism, stakeholder's engagement and electoral environment on trust public levels.
Olugbemiga and Olugbemiga (2014); Makulilo (2015); Owuor (2016); Sekaggya (2015), Kagwanja (2017); Schulz-Herzenberg <i>et al.</i> (2015); Aywa (2015); Ellena <i>et al.</i> (2018); ISFED (2019)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focused generally on EMBs across the world and none focused on IEBC's inability to restore the public trust. • The studies utilized mixed research techniques that might result to different interpretations and results. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The need to specifically focus on IEBC as the primary EMB that manages elections in Kenya. • The need to use a different approach to test the nature of relationship between the variables under study
No study was identified to have been conducted to determine the determinants of citizens' trust levels in IEBC, as an electoral management body in Kenya.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No single study has combined the four determinants of public trust levels in EMBs as variables in a single study to assess their effect on the levels of citizens' trust in the ability of IEBC to successfully manage a free and fair election 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No research has been conducted in Kenya on the dwindling trust levels of citizens in IEBC hence the need to conduct one given the recent increase in mistrust among the general public in the commission. • The need to combine the four determinants in a single study and assess their influence on the trust levels among citizens in the capability of IEBC to conduct a free and fair election.

2.5 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework of the study reflects the visual representation explaining, through the aid of a diagram or narrative how the key variables under study relate to one another. Generally, it refers to a representation of the correlation between the variables of the study in a diagrammatic form to provide and create a conceptual form that can be easily understood (Godefroidt & Meuleman, 2015). In this study, the conceptual framework was based on Figure 2.1.

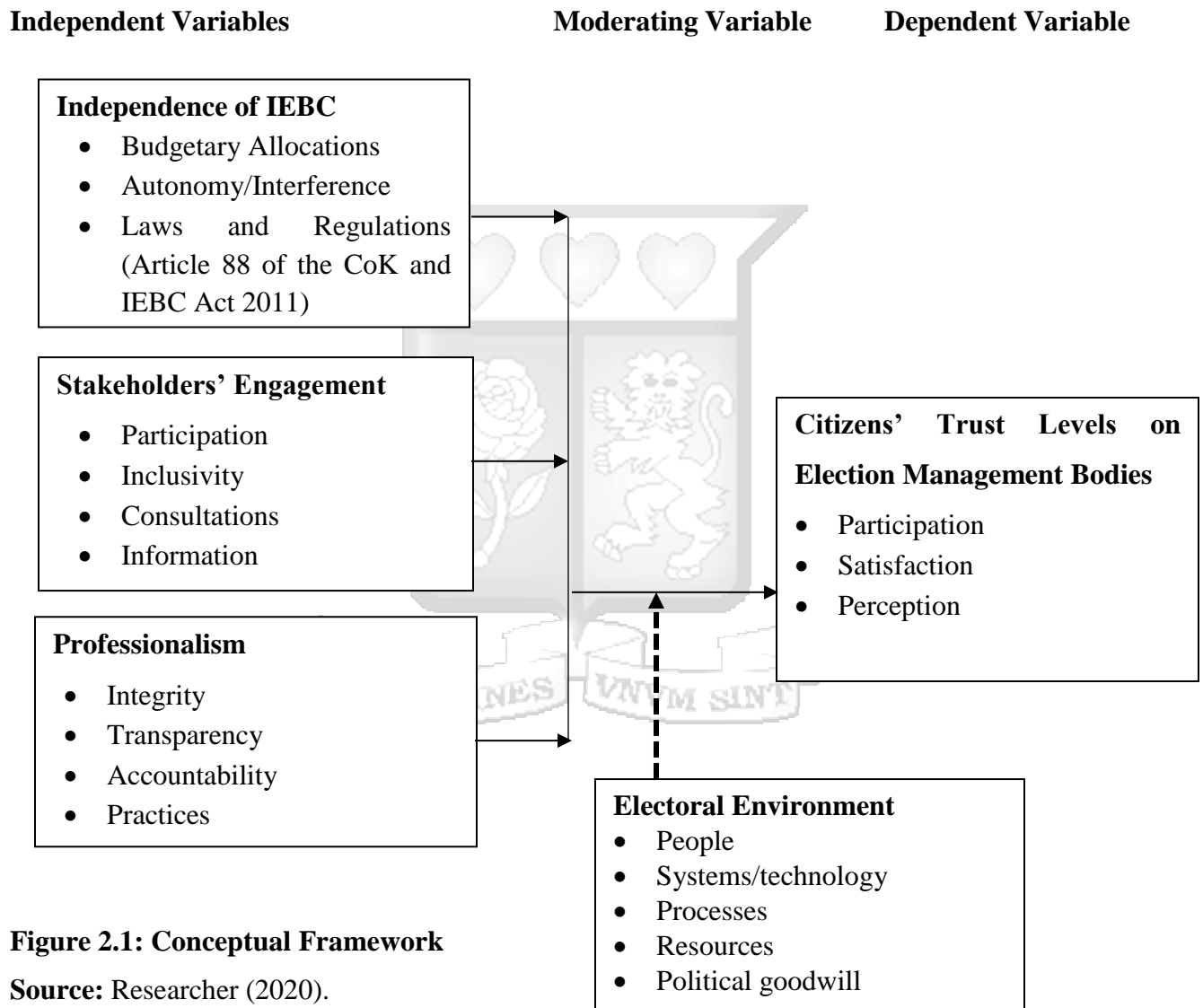


Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework

Source: Researcher (2020).

Figure 2.1 shows that the independent, moderating and the dependent variable of the study. The first independent variable of the study is the independence of IEBC which is operationalized into budgetary allocations, autonomy/interference and laws and regulations. The second independent variable is stakeholders' engagement operationalized into participation, inclusivity, consultations

and information. The third independent variable is professionalism operationalized into integrity, transparency, accountability and practices. The dependent variable of the study is citizens' trust levels on election management bodies, which is conceptualized using participation, satisfaction and perception. The moderating variable is electoral environment conceptualized using people, systems/technology, processes, resources and political goodwill.

2.6 Operationalization of Variables

Table 2.2: Operationalization and Measurement of Research Variables

Variable	Type of Variable	Indicators	Measurement	Data Collection Method
Citizens' Trust Levels on Election Management Bodies	Dependent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participation • Satisfaction • perception 	Likert Scale	Questionnaire and Interview guide
Electoral Environment	Moderating	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resources availability • People • Systems/technology • Processes • Demand for accountability and openness • Political goodwill 	Likert Scale	Questionnaire and Interview Schedule
IEBC Independence	Independent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Budget allocation • Autonomy/independence • Laws and regulations 	Likert Scale	Questionnaire and Interview guide
Stakeholders' Engagement	Independent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participation • Inclusivity • Consultations • Information 	Likert Scale	Questionnaire and Interview guide
Professionalism	Independent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Integrity • Transparency • Accountability • Practices 	Likert Scale	Questionnaire and Interview guide

Source: Researcher (2020).

2.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter has appraised the relevant literature relating to the determinants of trust levels among the public on election management bodies. The theoretical framework has discussed the relevant theories upon which the research is based and summarized the existing research gaps identified. The chapter concluded with a conceptualization of the relationship amid the independent and dependent variables in graphical format; operationalized the study variables and summarized the chapter.



CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology the researcher used in conducting the study. It covers the methods and design that were utilized by the researcher in undertaking the research. It also explains the study population putting forward their appropriateness for choice in the study. The chapter also presents sampling procedures, research instruments, data collection procedures, data analysis procedures and presentation indicating the appropriateness of the application of each concerning the current study.

3.2 Research Design

Creswell (2013) argues that a study design lays out an outline or the plan, which can be utilized in the generation of the answers to address the problem under study. It represents the arrangement of the various conditions under the study and analyzes them to obtain the relevance of the study being conducted (Orodho, 2012; Creswell and Creswell, 2017).

The researcher utilized a descriptive research design in the study. The design involves a mixed-method including the use of questionnaires, interview schedules and observation as methods of data collection. The suitability of this design was also grounded on the fact that it helps in describing the existing situation, identify standards against which the existing situation and conditions can be compared to identify the relationships that exist between various events (Orodho, 2012; Creswell and Creswell, 2017). The choice of the design was also because it gave the researcher a chance to find out answers to the questions; what, when, where and how of the research problem. This research design also supports the investigation of relationships that exist between the variables of interest.

3.3 Target Population

The target population of the study entails the total number of the characters or objects that are being studied (Jha, 2014). In other words, the target population is the total number of objects that the researcher wishes to study and draw conclusions (Kothari, 2013). The study was confined to Nairobi County because it is a cosmopolitan county among Kenya's 47 counties. According to the 2019 Kenya Population and Housing Census Volume 1, the total population of Nairobi City County is 4,397,073. This study, however, targeted registered voters in Nairobi County, IEBC

Staff, Political Parties, Development Partners, Media Houses and Civil Society Organizations. The target population consisted of 2,200,630 respondents as shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Target Population

Category	Sample Size
Electorates	2,200,000
IEBC Staff	300
Political Parties	30
Development Partners	20
Civil Society Organizations	30
Media Houses including radio stations	250
Total	2,200,630

Source: Researcher (2020).

3.4 Sampling Procedures and Sample Size

According to Jha (2014) and Creswell (2013), a study sample refers to a section of the whole population that is selected by the researcher to study on, and then the generalization is done to the whole population. The process of getting a representative from the whole population in order to save time, money and energy is called sampling. The population characteristics are represented by the sample within which it is selected.

The researcher adopted a stratified sampling method for the electorates, IEBC staff, CSOs, media, development partners and political parties to draw the sample size for the study. Stratified sampling, according to Selvam (2017) comprises of the utilization of “stratum”, or a subset of the targeted populace where the associates possess one or more shared trait.

3.4.1 Sample Size Calculation

The researcher utilized Yamane’s formula in calculating the sample size to be used for the study. According to Yamane (1967), the sample size for a large population can be calculated using the formula;

$$n = N / (1 + Ne^2)$$

Where:

n = corrected sample size, N = population size, and e = Margin of error (MoE), $e = 0.05$ based on the condition of study (Yamane, 1967).

The target population (N) for the study was 2,200,630, and the study was conducted at a 95% confidence level, meaning the margin of error (e) will be 5% (0.05). Using Yamane’s formula, the sample size (n) for the study was calculated as:

$$n = 2,200,630 / [1+2,200,630(0.05)^2]$$

$$n = 2,200,630 / (2,200,630 (0.0025))$$

$$n = 2,200,630 / 5,501.575 = 400$$

$n = 400$ respondents.

Table 3.1 shows the stratification of the sample size, done disproportionately to accommodate all respondents, as per the target respondents from Nairobi City County.

Table 3.2: Sample Size

Category	Sample Size
Electorates	350
IEBC Staff	15
Political Parties	12
Development Partners	5
Civil Society Organizations	9
Media Houses	9
Total	400

Source: Researcher (2020).

3.5 Data Collection Instruments

This study used questionnaires and interview schedules as the main data-gathering instruments. The use of questionnaires (Appendix III) in data collection is an appropriate instrument because it gives well-thought answers with a great extent of freedom to express their views and suggestions and facilitates efficiency working on large samples. The questionnaires were administered to the electorates in Nairobi City County.

The use of interview schedules promotes in-depth and more information and greater flexibility that helps to minimize non-return or non-response because questions can be restructured to fit the existing contingencies. Both open and closed-ended questionnaires cover the variables in the study. The use of an interview schedule was to supplement the collected data by gathering data from areas or respondents that the questionnaire could not cover. Interview schedules were also used to collect sensitive data because the researcher could get a chance to elucidate on issues and clarify any misconceptions amongst the respondents. This was administered to IEBC staff, political parties' representatives, development partners, civil society organizations and media houses' representatives.

3.6 Data Collection Procedures

The researcher, upon the approval of the research proposal by the university and given the permission to proceed with data collection, sought permission from relevant authorities who include NACOSTI and Strathmore University Ethics Review Board. The researcher collected data through the administration of the questionnaires on face-to-face sessions. An interview schedule was also utilized in collecting additional data from the identified strata. The researcher with the help of data enumerators personally visited the sampled areas of the electorates whereas interview guide questions were conducted on the telephone. The researcher then explained to them the objective and significance of the current study and administered the research instruments by observing the ethical issues related to the researcher in any given study.

Based on the nature of the respondents, the researcher administered the instruments differently where those with fixed scheduled had an appointment sought first, then the research instruments administered directly for immediate action. Assistance on issues of clarity on the questions in questionnaires was provided and where there was a likelihood of experiencing language barrier, the research assistants were sought. Phone calls, emails and other handy social media platforms were also used to book appointments for interviews with respondents having busy and fixed schedules to avoid their non-availability. The researcher also collected data using android installed platforms (Kombocollect). The researcher was able to analyze the data.

3.7 Data Analysis

Data analysis refers to the process of organizing data into various patterns, categories and descriptive units. Upon collection of data by the researcher, the completeness of the questionnaires

was checked in order to ensure that useful data was retained and the ambiguous and contradictory data sufficiently cleaned and interpreted. The respondents' responses as reflected in the questionnaires and interview schedules were organized, coded and analyzed using the SPSS software version 26 since it was able to handle large volumes of data efficiently. This provided the basis for summarizing the data in a straightforward way, simple and understandable manner.

The results were presented in form of frequency tables and percentages and described using both descriptive and inferential statistics. Descriptive statistics included frequencies and percentages were used to present raw data as reported by the respondents. Inferential statistics involved the use of a spearman's correlation, which was run to assess the relationship between the study variables. The qualitative data was analyzed using NVivo software presented using the narrative format to reflect the opinions as presented by the respondents.

3.8 Research Quality

3.8.1 Validity

The validity of research instruments refers to the measure of how well a test measures what is supposed to measure. Validity determines whether the respondents perceive questions in research instruments the way the researcher intends (Kothari, 2013). In order to ascertain content validity, the researcher prepared research instruments and sought expert advice from experts mainly the supervisors guiding in conducting the study. The content and impressions of the research instruments were improved based on their advice and comments where the questionnaires were reframed to suit the study after which the researcher went ahead with data collection. The study also used the Content Validity Index (CVI), where an overall index of 0.793 was obtained, which was sufficient to indicate that the questionnaire was valid enough to collect data.

3.8.2 Reliability

Reliability of the research instruments refers to its extent to measure what it is supposed to measure yielding the same results with repeated trials under similar conditions. Reliability of research instruments shows the stability and consistency with which the instruments measures concepts (Kothari, 2013). The reliability of research instruments of this study was determined using the test-retest method. Here the researcher administered the research instruments and re-administered after a short duration (2 weeks) to determine the correlation between the results obtained in order to

measure their reliability. The study also used a Cronbach coefficient to measure the reliability of the questionnaire, where an overall coefficient of 0.764 was obtained and considered sufficient to enable the collection of data using the questionnaire.

3.8.3 Piloting

Piloting involves preliminary testing of a few items of the subjects in the research instruments (Crossman, 2019). It ensures that perfection in the research instruments is guaranteed through revising them based on the results of the pilot study. This was done on a representative sample of 40 respondents, which is 10% of the sample size as recommended by Mugenda and Mugenda (2011). The pilot was done in the Eastland area of Nairobi that was not included in the actual study but possesses similar characteristics as the target population in order to pretest the research instruments before embarking on the actual study to inform the researcher on any adjustments necessary to be done. A total of 40 questionnaires were distributed to the selected group to test the reliability, relevance and accuracy of the items or questions in the questionnaire. Any ambiguity in the questions was corrected before the actual data collection took place.

3.9 Ethical Consideration

The investigator pursued ethical approval from the Strathmore University Ethics Review Board. Likewise, permission from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) to carry out the survey was necessary. It was also pertinent for the researcher to get respondents' consent prior to their involvement in the investigation. Respondents were made aware of the fact that their involvement in the enquiry was on a voluntary basis and they were free to withdraw from the participation at any stage during the study. Participants were required to fill a consent form indicating that they consented to participate in the study. The consent form is attached in the appendices section. The consent form clearly stated that their participation and consent giving was voluntary. Confidentiality and anonymity of the information from the participants were ensured throughout the enquiry period. Contributors were informed that the responses they gave would be used for no other purposes than the study. This ensured that they gave honest and truthful responses.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results from the analysis of the data collected during the study using questionnaires and interviews.

4.2 Response Rate

The researcher determined the number of respondents who participated in the study. The findings are presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Study response rate

Category	Sample size	Response rate
Electorates	350	340 (97%)
IEBC Staff	15	6 (40%)
Political Parties	12	1 (8%)
Development Partners	5	1 (20%)
Civil Society Organizations	9	3 (30%)
Media Houses	9	3 (33%)
Total	400	354 (89%)

Source: Researcher (2020).

Table 4.1 above indicates that the overall response rate for the study was 89%. Specifically, the study managed to get data from 340 electorates out of 350 targeted in 17 constituencies in Nairobi City County who were interviewed during the study using questionnaires. In addition, 14 respondents from different classes of organizations were obtained using interview guides. Figure in Appendix VII shows the map of locations of the respondents that were interviewed.

4.3 Background information of the respondents

In terms of gender, the majority, 59% (n=200) of the respondents were male. For education level, 75% (n=253) had attained at least diploma education. Only 26% had an education level of certificate and below (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2: The distribution of respondents by gender and education level

Variable	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Gender		
Female	140	41%
Male	200	59%
Total	340	100%
Education Level		
Certificate and below	87	26%
Diploma	104	31%
Undergraduate	129	38%
Postgraduate	20	6%
Total	340	100%

Source: Researcher (2020).

In terms of age, the majority, 55% (n=187), of the respondents were middle-aged, that is, between ages 30-49 years, 31.2% were aged between 18-29, and 13.8% were aged 50 years and above (Figure 4.1).

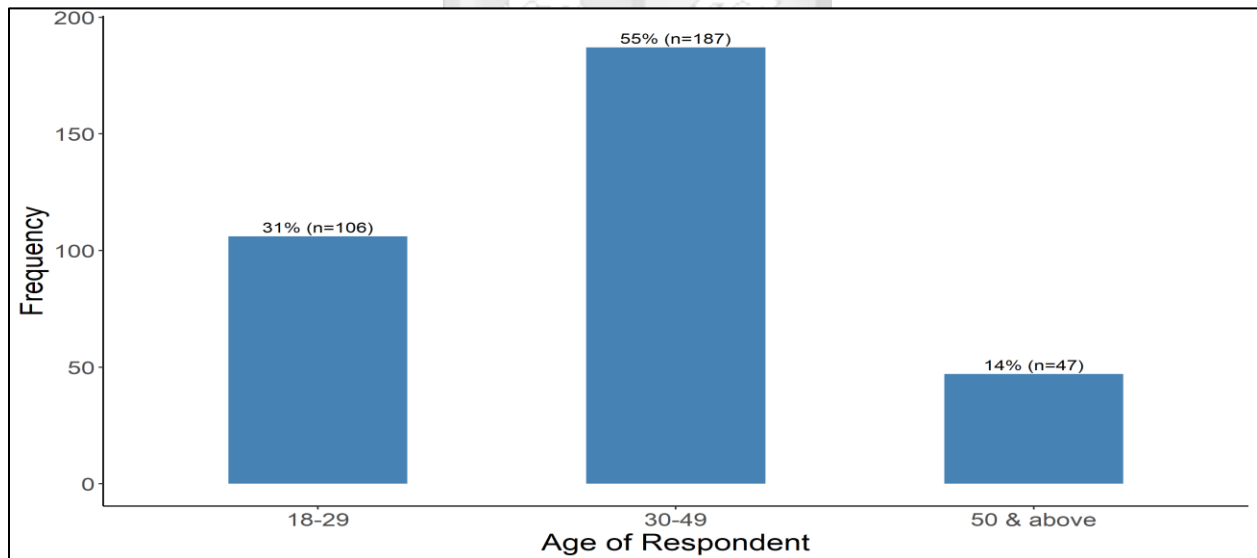


Figure 4.1: The distribution of age of respondents

Source: Researcher (2020).

The study also found that all the respondents were registered voters in the 17 constituencies in Nairobi City County. Seven (7) respondents preferred not to say if they have ever voted or not. The rest of the respondents (n=333) had all voted in the past. Most of these, 30% (n=101), had voted more than three times as shown in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Voting frequency

	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Once	70	21%
Twice	86	25%
Thrice	76	22%
More than three times	101	30%
Declined to answer	7	2%
Total	340	100%

Source: Researcher (2020).

The study used a four-point Likert scale to measure the trust levels of the respondents in IEBC. The results indicated that 6% (n=19) of the respondents have a great deal of trust in IEBC; 19% (n=64) have quite a lot of trust in IEBC; 50% (n=169) of the respondents said that they don't trust IEBC very much and 26% (n=88), said that they don't trust IEBC at all (Figure 4.2).

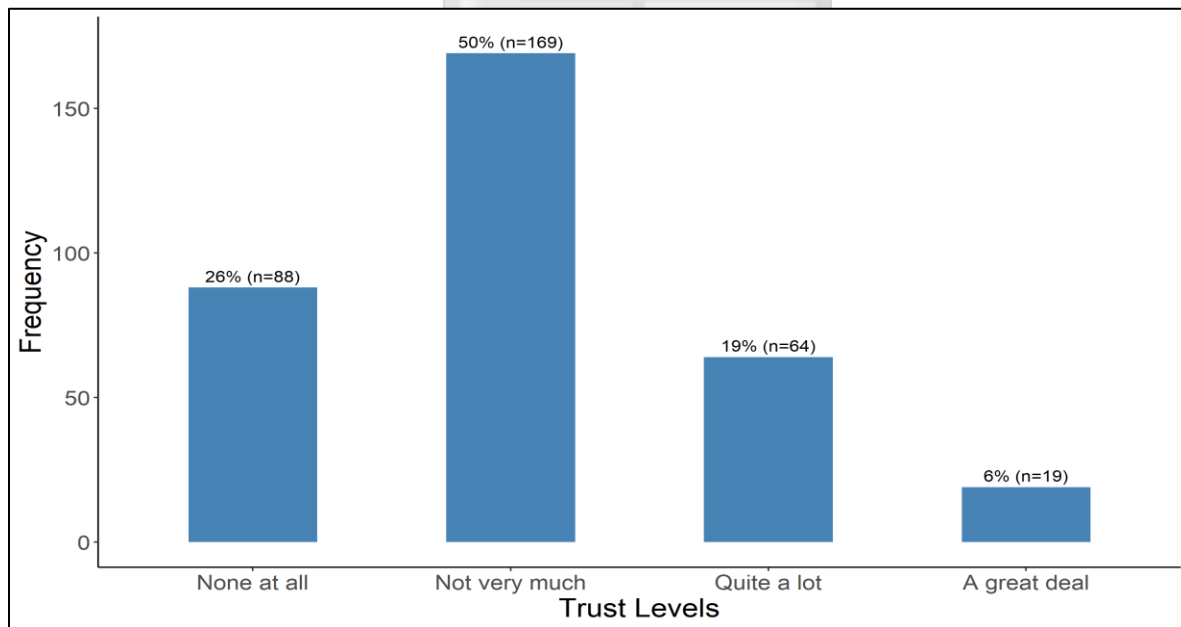


Figure 4.2: The distribution of the trust levels of the respondents in IEBC

Source: Researcher (2020).

The study also conducted cross-tabulations to determine the relationship between the demographic characteristics with the level of trust on IEBC by the voters. The results are shown in Table 4.4.

The results indicate that citizens who are middle age (aged between 30-49 years) are 50.6% less likely to trust the electoral body compared to younger citizens (aged between 18-29); other factors kept constant. In addition, citizens aged 50 and above are 79.3% less likely to trust the electoral body compared to younger citizens (aged between 18-29); other factors kept constant. In addition, citizens with a diploma, undergraduate degree, and postgraduate degree were found to be 1.363, 3.167 and 4.032 times more likely to trust the electoral body respectively compared to those with certificate & below; other factors kept constant.

Citizens who had voted twice, thrice and more than three times were found to be 2.490, 4.451 and 5.286 times more likely to trust the electoral body respectively compared to those who had voted once; other factors kept constant. In addition, male citizens were 4.7% less likely to trust the electoral body compared to females; other factors kept constant.

Table 4.4: Relationship between demographic characteristics with level of trust on IEBC

Demographic characteristic	Odds Ratio (OR)	95% Lower Confidence Interval	95% Upper Confidence Interval	p-value
Age				
(18-29)	1			
30-49	0.494	0.188	1.278	0.147
50+	0.207	0.049	0.804	0.026
Education Level (Certificate and below)				
	1			
Diploma	1.363	0.561	3.394	0.497
Undergraduate	3.167	1.428	7.411	0.006
Postgraduate	4.032	1.091	14.298	0.032
Voting Frequency				
(Once)	1			
Twice	2.490	0.894	7.274	0.086
Thrice	4.451	1.272	16.457	0.022
More than 3 times	5.286	1.390	21.568	0.017
Gender				
(Female)	1			
Male	0.953	0.516	1.764	0.877

Source: Researcher (2020).

4.4 Descriptive analysis the independent variables

Descriptive analysis of findings is done based on the objectives of the study which are to examine the influence of the perceived independence of IEBC; stakeholders' engagement; electoral

environment and professionalism of public institutions on the citizens' trust levels in IEBC as an electoral management body in Kenya.

4.4.1 Independence of IEBC and Levels of Public Trust

The study sought to obtain the electorates' views on different aspects of the independence of IEBC. The study found that 20% and 11.2% agreed and strongly agreed respectively that IEBC is free from both external and internal interference in the execution of its roles and mandate, while 38.8% and 18.8% strongly disagree and disagreed respectively. When these two are added together, this implies that more than half (57.6%) of the respondents believe that there is interference in the independence of the IEBC from both internally and externally.

Most respondents (42.6%) agreed that IEBC has sufficient resources to manage its affairs in an independent manner, 39.4% strongly agreed, while 7.9% disagreed. This implies that more than three-quarters of the respondents gave a positive response. 47.4% of the respondents agreed that there are sufficient rules and regulations that govern operations of IEBC, 29.7% strongly agreed, 10.3% disagreed while 5.3% strongly disagreed. This implies that more than two-thirds of the respondents gave a positive response.

In addition, 30.9% of the participants strongly disagreed that there is no conflict of interest between IEBC and other arms of government, 30.3% disagreed, while 13.8% agreed. This implies that more than half of the respondents (61.2%) gave a negative response. Further, 36.5% of the respondents agreed that IEBC independence greatly influences its ability to conduct free and fair elections in Kenya, 22.9% strongly agreed, 22.1% disagreed while 10% strongly disagreed. The findings are presented in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5 Independence of IEBC

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly disagree
IEBC is free from both external and internal interference in its execution of its roles and mandate.	Frequency (f)	38	68	38	64	132
	Percentage (%)	11.2%	20.0%	11.2%	18.8%	38.8%
IEBC has sufficient resources to manage its affairs in an independent manner.	Frequency (f)	134	145	19	27	15
	Percentage (%)	39.4%	42.6%	5.6%	7.9%	4.4%
There are sufficient rules and regulations that govern operations of IEBC.	Frequency (f)	101	161	25	35	18
	Percentage (%)	29.7%	47.4%	7.4%	10.3%	5.3%
There is no conflict of interest between IEBC and other arms of government.	Frequency (f)	30	47	55	103	105
	Percentage (%)	8.8%	13.8%	16.2%	30.3%	30.9%
IEBC independence greatly influences its ability to conduct free and fair elections in Kenya.	Frequency (f)	78	124	29	75	34
	Percentage (%)	22.9%	36.5%	8.5%	22.1%	10.0%

Source: Researcher (2020).

4.4.2 IEBC Stakeholder's Engagement and Levels of Public Trust

The study sought to obtain the respondents' views on different aspects of IEBC stakeholder's engagement. The study found that 45.9% of the respondents agreed that IEBC undertakes timely dissemination of the necessary information to stakeholders to enhance their knowledge on the electoral process, 24.1% strongly agreed while 9.1% disagreed. 44.7% strongly agreed that there is timely and adequate voter/civic education carried out by IEBC to sensitize people on the electoral process, 34.1% agreed while 6.5% strongly disagreed. Additionally, 23.8% disagreed that voters' input is normally integrated by IEBC through consultations and public participation forum, 21.5% agreed, 20.6% strongly disagreed while 8.8% strongly agreed.

The study also found that 37.6% of the respondents agreed that there is frequent feedback given to electorates by IEBC regarding voting, registration and other related issues, 22.6% strongly agreed, 19.1% strongly disagreed while 16.8% disagreed. 38.5% agreed that the engagement of all stakeholders by IEBC greatly influences the level of public trust in its operations and ability to

manage elections, 24.1% disagreed while 10% strongly disagreed. In addition, 52.4% of the respondents strongly disagreed that all stakeholders in the electoral process are satisfied with the efforts put in place by IEBC to better the election management process, 19.4% disagreed and 5.6% strongly agreed. Table 4.6 shows these findings.

Table 4.6 IEBC Stakeholder’s Engagement

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly disagree
IEBC undertakes timely dissemination of the necessary information to stakeholders to enhance their knowledge on the electoral process.	Frequency (f)	82	156	15	31	56
	Percentage (%)	24.1%	45.9%	4.4%	9.1%	16.5%
There is timely and adequate voter/civic education carried out by IEBC to sensitize people on the electoral process.	Frequency (f)	152	116	11	39	22
	Percentage (%)	44.7%	34.1%	3.2%	11.5%	6.5%
Voters’ input is normally integrated by IEBC through consultations and public participation forum	Frequency (f)	30	73	86	81	70
	Percentage (%)	8.8%	21.5%	25.3%	23.8%	20.6%
There is frequent feedback given to electorates by IEBC regarding voting, registration and other related issues.	Frequency (f)	77	128	13	57	65
	Percentage (%)	22.6%	37.6%	3.8%	16.8%	19.1%
The engagement of all stakeholders by IEBC greatly influences the level of public trust in its operations and ability to manage elections.	Frequency (f)	59	131	34	82	34
	Percentage (%)	17.4%	38.5%	10.0%	24.1%	10.0%
All stakeholders in the electoral process are satisfied with the efforts put in place by IEBC to better the election management process.	Frequency (f)	19	52	25	66	178
	Percentage (%)	5.6%	15.3%	7.4%	19.4%	52.4%

Source: Researcher (2020).

4.4.3 Professionalism in IEBC and Levels of Public Trust

The respondents' views on different aspects of professionalism in IEBC were obtained. The study found that 58.5% strongly disagreed that IEBC undertakes its mandate with transparency and accountability, 20.9% disagreed, 12.6% agreed while 4.4% strongly agreed. 43.8% agreed that professionals who understand their work well run IEBC, 20.3% strongly agreed, 16.2% disagreed and 12.9% strongly disagreed. 57.9% strongly disagreed that IEBC conducts its functions with maximum integrity/honesty, 1.5% disagreed and 5.3% strongly agreed. In addition, 33.8% agreed that IEBC carries out its practices in a way that enhances the trust of the citizen on the electoral body, 25.9% strongly disagreed and 5.9% strongly agreed. Further, 37.9% agreed that the professionalism of IEBC significantly influences the citizens' levels of trust in the electoral body, 24.4% disagreed and 7.1% strongly disagreed. Table 4.7 presents these findings.

Table 4.7 Professionalism in IEBC

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly disagree
IEBC undertakes its mandate with transparency and accountability.	Frequency (f)	15	43	12	71	199
	Percentage (%)	4.4%	12.6%	3.5%	20.9%	58.5%
Professionals who understand their work well run IEBC.	Frequency (f)	69	149	23	55	44
	Percentage (%)	20.3%	43.8%	6.8%	16.2%	12.9%
IEBC conducts its functions with maximum integrity/honesty	Frequency (f)	18	35	17	73	197
	Percentage (%)	5.3%	10.3%	5.0%	21.5%	57.9%
IEBC carries out its practices in a way that enhances the trust of the citizen on the electoral body.	Frequency (f)	20	115	38	79	88
	Percentage (%)	5.9%	33.8%	11.2%	23.2%	25.9%
The professionalism of IEBC significantly influences the citizens' levels of trust in the electoral body.	Frequency (f)	56	129	48	83	24
	Percentage (%)	16.5%	37.9%	14.1%	24.4%	7.1%

Source: Researcher (2020).

4.4.4 Electoral Environment and Levels of Public Trust

The study sought to obtain the respondents' views on the electoral environment in Kenya. The findings obtained indicate that 43.8% agreed that IEBC receives adequate and timely support from all arms of the government, 28.8% strongly agreed and 9.1% disagreed. 50.3% strongly disagreed that there is adequate transparency of operations in IEBC, 25.3% disagreed and 6.8% strongly agreed. 33.5% agreed that there is adequate public demand for accountability of IEBC, 24.7% strongly agreed and 7.4% disagreed. The findings also show that 40.9% agreed that the electoral environment supports operations in terms of enhancing political goodwill, 19.4% disagreed and 7.1% strongly disagreed. Further, 36.2% agreed that the electoral environment plays a great role in the management of elections by IEBC, 32.6% strongly agreed while 7.1% strongly disagreed (Table 4.8).

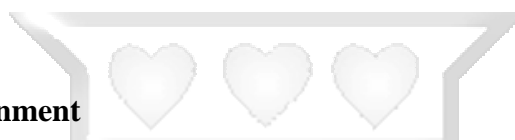


Table 4.8 Electoral Environment

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly disagree
IEBC receives adequate and timely support from all arms of the government.	Frequency (f)	98	149	49	31	13
	Percentage (%)	28.8%	43.8%	14.4%	9.1%	3.8%
There is adequate transparency of operations in IEBC	Frequency (f)	23	30	30	86	171
	Percentage (%)	6.8%	8.8%	8.8%	25.3%	50.3%
There is adequate public demand for accountability of IEBC	Frequency (f)	84	114	55	62	25
	Percentage (%)	24.7%	33.5%	16.2%	18.2%	7.4%
The electoral environment supports operations in terms of enhancing political goodwill.	Frequency (f)	44	139	66	67	24
	Percentage (%)	12.9%	40.9%	19.4%	19.7%	7.1%
The electoral environment plays a great role in the management of elections by IEBC	Frequency (f)	111	123	35	47	24
	Percentage (%)	32.6%	36.2%	10.3%	13.8%	7.1%

Source: Researcher (2020).

4.4.5 Determinants of citizens' trust in how IEBC manages elections

When the respondents were asked about the determinants of their trust in the IEBC, most of them responded transparency and openness (27%), followed by accountability (11%), honesty (10%) and civic/voter education (9%). Other determinants formed 36% of the responses, and included quick response to issues arising during the election period, involvement of citizens in electoral process, addressing and solving electoral conflicts and adequate and timely sensitization of all citizens.

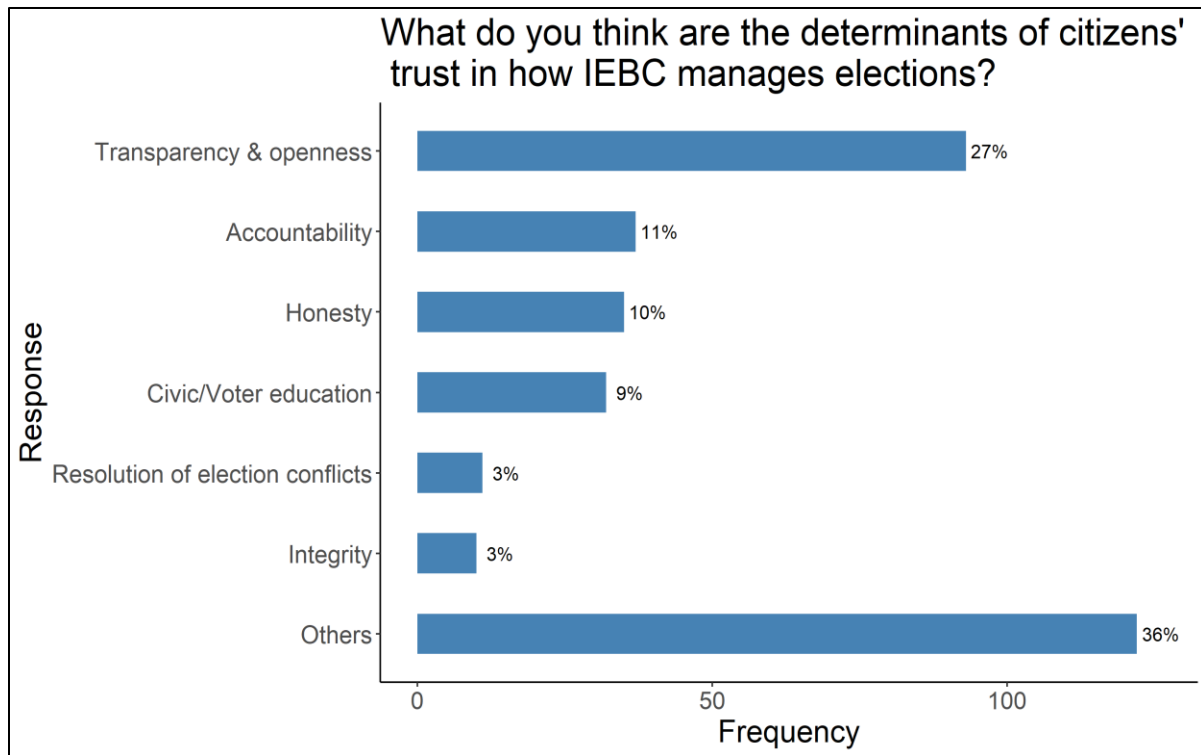


Figure 4.3: Determinants of citizen's trust in how the IEBC manages elections

4.5 Spearman's Rank Correlation Analysis

A spearman's correlation was run to assess the relationship between independence of IEBC, stakeholders' engagement by IEBC, professionalism in IEBC and electoral environment and citizens' trust levels in election management bodies in Kenya. Spearman's rank correlation was used since the dependent variable was measured on a ranked scale (Likert scale of 1 to 5). Table 4.9 shows these findings.

Table 4.9 Correlation Matrix

		Citizens' trust levels	Independence of IEBC	IEBC stakeholder engagement	Professionalism in IEBC	Electoral environment	
Spearman's rho	Citizens' Trust Levels	Correlation Coefficient	1.000				
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.				
	Independence of IEBC	Correlation Coefficient	.539**	1.000			
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.			
	IEBC Stakeholder engagement	Correlation Coefficient	.671**	.543**	1.000		
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.		
	Professionalism in IEBC	Correlation Coefficient	.860**	.555**	.760**	1.000	
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.	
	Electoral Environment	Correlation Coefficient	.503**	.396**	.461**	.519**	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

4.5.1 Independence of IEBC and Levels of Public Trust

The study established a moderate positive correlation which was statistically significant ($r_s = .539^{**}$, $p = .000$) between independence of IEBC and citizens' trust levels in election management.

4.5.2 IEBC Stakeholder's Engagement and Levels of Public Trust

The study found a strong relationship between IEBC stakeholder engagement and citizens' trust levels in election management bodies in Kenya ($r_s = .671^{**}$, $p = .000$).

4.5.3 Professionalism in IEBC and Levels of Public Trust

The study found a strong relationship between professionalism in IEBC and citizens' trust levels in election management bodies in Kenya ($r_s = .860^{**}$, $p = .000$).

4.5.4 Electoral Environment and Levels of Public Trust

A moderate relationship was found between electoral environment and citizens' trust levels in election management bodies in Kenya ($r_s = .503^{**}$, $p = .000$). In order of ranking and importance to trust, professionalism is needed most to earn trust, followed by stakeholders' engagement, independence and electoral environment in that order.

4.6 Results from the interviews

The study identified 12 themes from the interviews with the IEBC staff, the media, NGOs, CSOs and political parties.

4.6.1 Capacity and professional capability of IEBC

Almost all the Participants working at IEBC agreed that the commission has the right capacity and professional capability. This, to some extent, is achieved through the constitution, which clearly states the academic and experience qualifications for any candidate showing in IEBC positions.

“As we look at the commission Act, the IEBC Act, it requires that commission employs staff both at HQ and field who are qualified to perform certain mandates in the commission. So you find people have been employed as experts in these fields, in the field that they have been employed.” - Participant 08.

The rest of the Participants also concurred with this. However, some felt that IEBC staffs encounter pressure from some external forces to have their professionalism and capability compromised.

“It's true that sometimes there is pressure from certain parties to have decisions made in their favour. This can be seen from previous elections where IEBC officials have been put under pressure to make decisions which are not right. This truly affects the trust people have in the commission.” - Participant 11.

4.6.2 Causes of discrepancies in the media results announcement

Study Participants from the sampled media houses admitted that journalists do report different results during elections. This trend was likely to be a result of corruption, failure to cooperate from IEBC, journalists' being in a hurry to broadcast the results, and political interests whereby some senior politicians own media houses and therefore dictate what to be disseminated.

“We also need to understand that most of our media are owned by politicians and politicians who own the media, the media in Kenya is not free per se and the proprietors interfere a lot in the management of the media houses. So they want the media houses to be seen to be favouring whichever candidate that they have chosen. We know of cases where media houses have in the past said that we are supporting candidate A and not candidate B.” - Participant 08.

4.6.3 Determinants of citizens’ trust in IEBC

Citizens’ trust is based on perceptions and can easily be swayed. Any slight mistake from IEBC is likely to affect citizens’ trust negatively. Most participants stated that distrust might not occur if the elections are not simple, transparent, accurate, and verifiable, as stated in the constitution. Failure to involve the public throughout the whole election process could also result in questions and suspicion from the electorates. Volatile environments before or during elections make the public to have pre-formed prejudices. The unstable environments include chaos and incitements from politicians, among others. As Participant 02 reported, failure of IEBC to come out clearly and cooperate with legal bodies when an issue arises after the election could make citizens suspicious.

“These people when they were told by the courts to produce some things some items or documentation because there was a problem, remember the drama about the server being in France, you know what kind of thing is that?” - Participant 02

Although citizens’ distrust could be justified, there are times when it’s based on fabrications and incitements, leaving IEBC helpless.

“And if the political class is not checked their utterances are not checked, and the commission in charge of hate speech that is NCIC does not do its job properly it compromises the operations of the commission, and they throw in negative energy, and they use very strong-worded statements to refer to the commissioners and its staff so becomes very difficult to convince the public that we are doing a good job.” - Participant 07

4.6.4 Electoral environment and IEBC performance

Both internal and external environments affect IEBC's performance to a great extent. Internal environments such as conflicts, misunderstandings, or some of the staff taking sides jeopardize the efforts towards free and fair elections. With regard to the external environment, most of the respondents noted that the political class creates a hostile environment such that it becomes difficult for the IEBC to perform its mandate.

“If you remember in the run-up to the 2017 elections, the fresh presidential elections, Nasa strongholds, training for staff, a number of IEBC training were disrupted. So whatever the politician say makes IEBC external environment hectic.” - Participant 12.

4.6.5 How IEBC could win back trust

Although it may be a bit difficult to win back trust, given the fact citizens in many Sub-Saharan African countries don't trust their governments and public institutions in particular, there are several low hanging fruits that IEBC may capitalize on. These include; ensuring that there are no flaws in technology, transparency, openness, predictable electoral process, and efficient logistics. Additionally, some respondents believed that IEBC needs to keep the public informed of every step being taken if they are to convince them that there is nothing of suspicion.

“In Third world countries mostly Sub-Saharan African, because they don't trust the government and they trust the political parties, they say we want an independent model where we have experts who choose or who are given powers to run an election.”

“IEBC has been losing trust with the public because they have not been communicating – they have not been communicating to the public, they have not been communicating to the public and their stakeholders, and by the time they are coming out to say whatever decision they have done, people have already formed an opinion –these guys are up to something.”
Participant 12.

4.6.6 IEBC's authority in election outcomes

IEBC has influence over election outcomes. This is further stated in the constitution. Nevertheless, some respondents felt that this was being compromised as noted by one of the Participants from the political class,

“Absolutely! Absolutely yes, they do. IEBC is an independent commission that has the power; nevertheless, the commissioner has to desist from everything that can jeopardize their principality.” Participant 08

4.6.7 IEBC autonomy

Constitutionally, IEBC is an independent body. However, all the IEBC staff interviewed, and many of the participants from other sectors had a different thought. They felt that although the constitution provides autonomy to the IEBC, this is not thought in the day to day execution of its mandate. The political class seems to have more control over IEBC illustrated below by one of the Participants from the Civil society

“If you look at this commission that we have, one of the things which are very clear is that the appointment process is very biased-the president who is a player in the politics, makes a decision of who becomes the chair of the commission or who would become the commissioners.” Participant 07

Further investigation on this subject revealed improper funding as one of the drivers of non-autonomy in IEBC. According to many of the respondents, IEBC does not have its funding allocation and therefore has to rely on government whenever a project is to be implemented. The government, however, has its political interests altogether.

“The independence is somehow safeguarded, but unless the commission manages its own fund then the perception, the independence is not guaranteed. People say whoever pays the piper calls the tune” - Participant 09.

“For me the starting point for IEBC is Independence, this is the financial independence, without financial independence then we are wasting time just talking about independence. So, in that case, the IEBC fund which is provided for in the IEBC Act needs to be activated and entirely implemented so that IEBC controls its own fund”. Participant 07

4.6.8 IEBC rating

Generally, most respondents (92%) reported that IEBC had done an excellent job, particularly when compared with ECK. Figure 4.4 shows these findings.

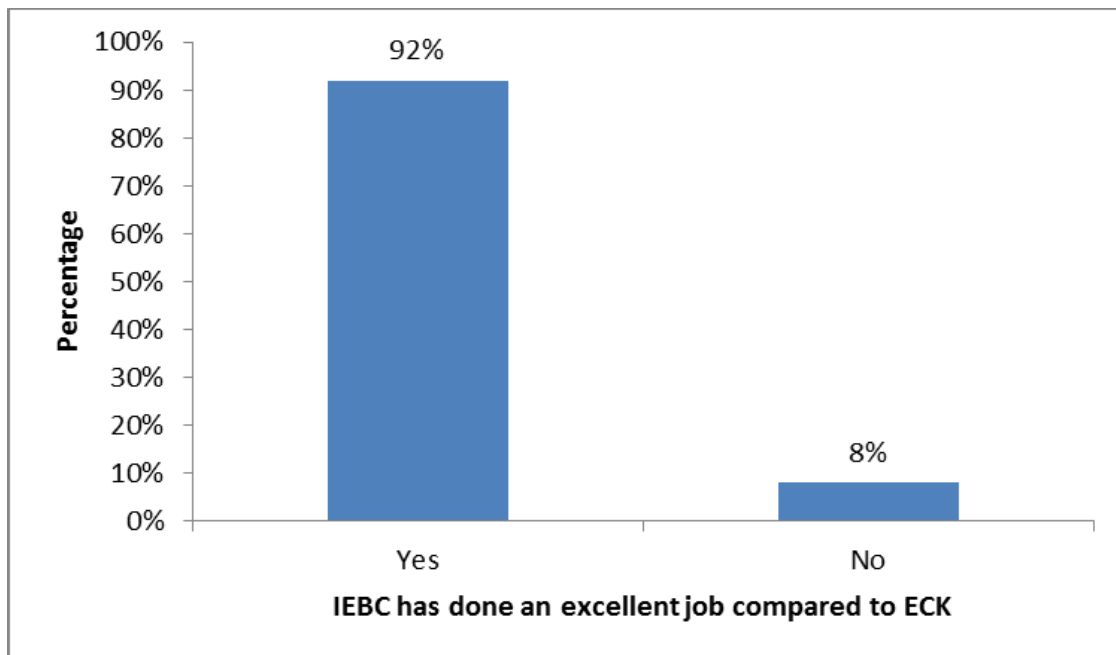


Figure 4.4: IEBC job rating

The areas noted to have improved included the incorporation of technology, professionalism, increased number of voters, and polling stations, as shown from the following responses.

“Now we can talk about elections which are run from a technology point of view. We have seen voters, the number of voters from 2013, all the way from 2010 to 2017 has been increasing. This has been a marked improvement” - Participant 3.

Besides the well-noted improvements, all the respondents suggested that IEBC had some critical areas that needed improvement as well. One such area was responding to issues to do with election outcomes.

“But you see when they were advised to address some issues, they dragged their feet. So the dragging of the feet makes you question. I mean if you do the job correctly, give the answers, I mean it is a straightforward thing” - Participant 02

“If I had to give a mark will give IEBC five out ten or 50 out of 100 mainly because I think IEBC does well in terms of the routine functions, the preliminary work is always excellent but has had a problem within how it ends its work. The ending of the IEBC work is sometimes very suspect” - Participant 11

4.6.9 Role of IEBC in election

According to the respondents, the roles of the IEBC are well stated in the constitution. These include; procurement of election materials, conducting elections, providing civic education to the voters, registering voters among others.

“The role of IEBC is well articulated in Article 88 in the constitution, and among the major roles we expect IEBC to play to organize for elections, the full process of organizing elections that includes registration of candidates, the nomination of candidates, organizing actual elections and the logistics around it” - Participant 03

4.6.10 The role of media in elections

Media plays an essential role in the election process. They provide a platform for IEBC to conduct civic education, update the people of the election process progress, and also act as a watchdog where necessary.

“IEBC gives us access to it polling stations, access to registers for example and the electoral roll or your records and the registration of voters, so we are part and parcel of it which I think is very critical in ensuring free and fair elections. When you are announcing the results we are there, we do these things live, for example when you are announcing presidential results, it is sometimes live on TV” - Participant 11

4.6.11 Stakeholder participation in the election

It is the responsibility of IEBC to ensure that they work hand in hand with all the stakeholders to achieve openness and transparency. The study learned that there were mixed responses on this subject. While some stakeholders acknowledge being involved by IEBC in election processes, some sectors stated otherwise.

“If there is something they do well is the stakeholder engagement they often partner with the stakeholders they work with other departments like NGOs and many civil parties and also the police so in that field they are good does this impact the public when they are doing it or not, of course, the public is part of the stakeholders so yes it affects the public, so IEBC is supposed to accredit the electoral observance, voter education they do that job well” - Participant 02

The media industry was the most negatively affected. A good number of Participants from the media industry reported that IEBC's engagement with the media was poor. It was revealed that the media operates in darkness sometimes and IEBC only shows up when trying to respond to an issue that they feel the media has maligned them.

"I think for one I will credit it, it engages political parties regularly but one thing I will say about the media, it has never engaged the media. I do not remember the day we have had a proper engagement with the IEBC, the media, the journalist and the electoral commission just to engage on how we should be working. Even if there were such engagements it is very sporadic, once in a very long while. But with political parties it is very regular" - Participant 11

"So they sat back and wait for us to reach out to them, at the end of the day their story is not told instead a different story is created for them. What they do after that; they only come out to react to what has been published in the media yet they had an opportunity to put out this information in the way they would have wished to come out. So they have not been good with the media."

4.6.12 Ways to a free and fair election (IEBC)

Several respondents (83%) thought that transparency is the way to go if a free and fair election was to be achieved, as presented in Figure 4.5.

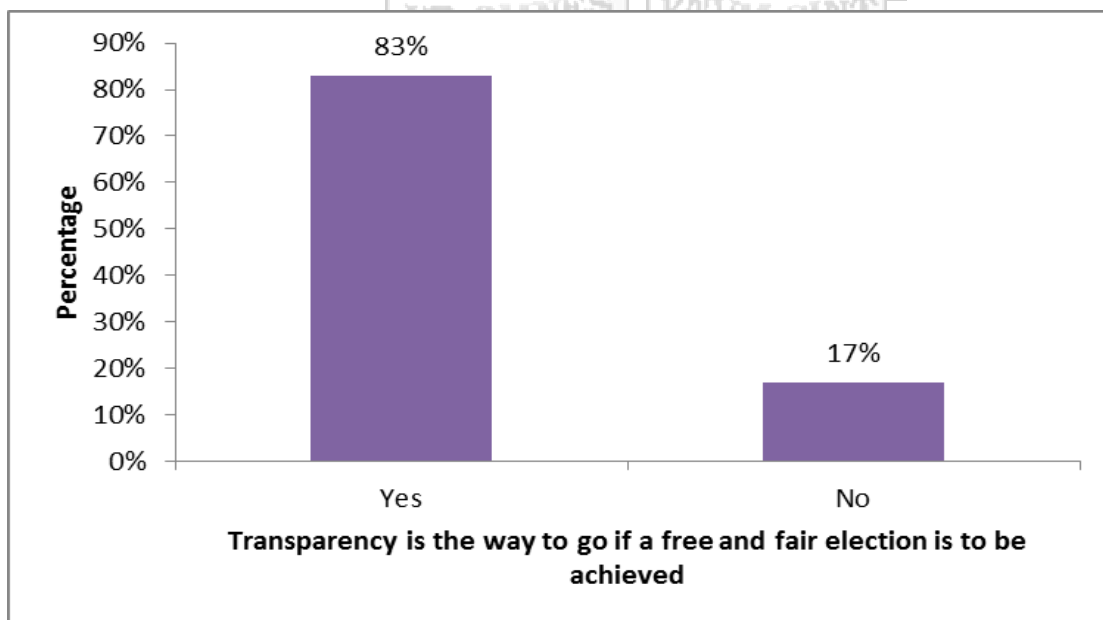


Figure 4.5: Transparency and elections

One participant from IEBC went on to acknowledge the need for transparency in their logistics and procurement department, something that the public raised questions on in previous elections.

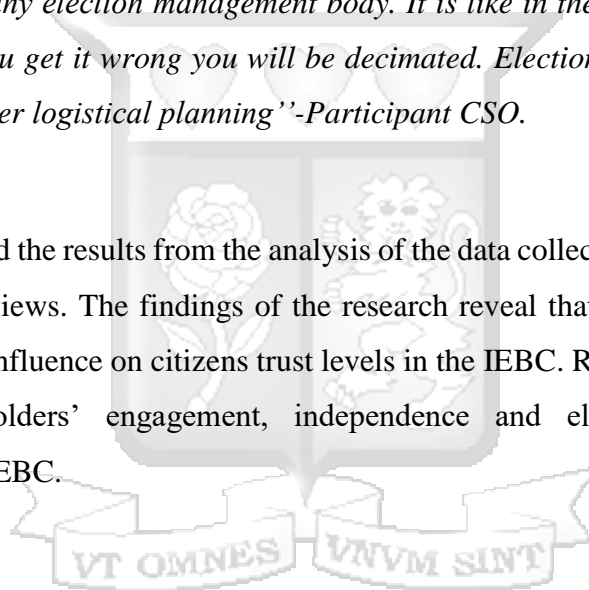
“The other issue of transparency like when they are procuring ballot papers, they have to be transparent on the number of ballot papers so I can agree on two things, transparency and involvement of stakeholders” - Participant 06

Another participant from the civil society agrees with this and explains logistics is key in any election process.

“Logistics is central to any election management body. It is like in the military. If you get right then you will win the war, if you get it wrong you will be decimated. Election is like going to war and IEBC must invest in proper logistical planning”-Participant CSO.

4.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter has presented the results from the analysis of the data collected during the study using questionnaires and interviews. The findings of the research reveal that the four variables in the study have a significant influence on citizens trust levels in the IEBC. Respondents presented that professionalism, stakeholders’ engagement, independence and electoral environment all influenced their trust in IEBC.



CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary, conclusions and recommendations made based on the findings of the study. The chapter is divided into five sections. Section 5.1 presents the introduction; section 5.2 presents the discussions of the findings and section 5.3 presents the conclusions whereas section 5.4 presents the recommendations and 5.5 areas of further research.

5.2 Discussion

This section discusses the findings of this study and compares them to broader literature. The study undertook to explain the influence of IEBC independence, stakeholders' engagement, professionalism and the electoral environments' impact on citizens' trust levels in the election management bodies. The discussions are therefore done based on these objectives.

5.2.1 Independence of IEBC and Levels of Public Trust

The study found that the majority of respondents (38.8% and 18.8%) strongly disagree and disagreed that IEBC is free from both external and internal interference in its execution of its roles and mandate. In agreement with these findings, Owuor (2016) also found interference from the executive, judiciary or legislature, which often made the public lose trust in the activities of the electoral commission. The findings of this research therefore indicate that the public has lost trust in the EMBs in the country because of open interference by the state. In addition, similar findings have been posited by Kerr and Luhrmann (2017) where there was electoral body control by the state that made the citizens to match against the country's electoral body, a clear indication that citizens had lost trust in the body and the manner in which it managed elections.

Most respondents (42.6%) agreed that IEBC has sufficient resources to manage its affairs in an independent manner, and 39.4% strongly agreed. These findings are different to those of Van Ham and Lindberg (2015) who found that that the autonomy of the electoral management bodies was extremely compromised as governments denied the EMBs enough resources to independently carry their duties thus leaving them helpless. In addition, Van Ham and Lindberg (2015) further found that most governments denied the EMBs enough resources to independently carry out their duties leading to their weakening. This was however not the case in the current study.

The study found that 47.4% of the respondents agreed that there are sufficient rules and regulations that govern operations of IEBC, with 29.7% strongly agreeing. The findings of the study are supported by OECD (2013) which highlighted that citizens' trust levels in public institutions is determined by the extent to which they believe that the institutions in question observe the legal norms in place, the order and the rules put in place to govern their operations. In addition, Jena (2017) also agrees that African states can have free, fair and transparent elections by ensuring that there is constant dedication by state parties that are signatory to electoral rules. There is need for the EMBs to maintain an impartial approach to electoral management rules, which are widely available, to ensure that the environment favors a positive outcome.

The findings of this study indicate that 30.9% of the participants strongly disagreed that there is no conflict of interest between IEBC and other arms of government, with another 30.3% disagreeing. However, conflict of interest was found not to be present in Aywa (2015) study, thereby disagreeing with the findings of this study. Aywa (2015) posits that the independence in public institutions involves lack of any form of interference or conflict of interest originating internally or externally, which calls for due transparency and accountability.

Further, 36.5% of the respondents agreed that IEBC independence greatly influences its ability to conduct free and fair elections in Kenya, with another 22.9% strongly agreeing. In agreement with these findings, Ntaganda (2015) determined that the independence of electoral commissions was compromised which reduced the ability to have free and fair elections. The commissions lacked the political will and consensus of political parties to agree on election rules, leading to the public's lack of confidence in the EMB to conduct free and fair elections. Makulilo (2015) also noted that the involvement of the government is also seen where the political class takes part in the appointment of the commissioners of the EMBs.

The study found that IEBC independence significantly affects trust levels of citizens on its ability to conduct a free and fair election ($r_s = .539^{**}$, $p = .000$). Van Ham and Lindberg (2015) agrees that although IEBC is expected to operate with autonomy as it is said to be an independent body constitutionally, the commission does not act with independence in the execution of its mandate. In some cases, senior politicians own media houses and therefore dictate what should be broadcast. The fact that the commission has to rely on the government for funding has led to it being swayed by the political interest of the said government.

5.2.2 IEBC Stakeholder's Engagement and Levels of Public Trust

The study found that 45.9% of the respondents agreed that IEBC undertakes timely dissemination of the necessary information to stakeholders to enhance their knowledge on the electoral process, and 24.1% strongly agreed. Baugh (2015) agrees with the findings of the study that information dissemination is important in EMB and this can be achieved through participation, inclusivity, consultations as well as constant information. For IEBC or any other EMB to promote and enhance public trust in it, it has to disseminate all relevant information in time, concerning matters related to elections.

Most respondents (44.7%) strongly agreed that there is timely and adequate voter/civic education carried out by IEBC to sensitize people on the electoral process and 34.1% agreed. As also postulated by KHRC (2015), these findings align that civic education and voters' awareness campaigns, participation and electoral prudence are highly important. Makulilo (2015) also noted that it was the responsibility of electoral bodies to facilitate the activities related to voting, including voter registration, sensitization or voter education and carrying out the actual election.

The study found that 23.8% disagreed that voters' input is normally integrated by IEBC through consultations and public participation forum and 21.5% agreed. These findings are supported by those of Owuor (2016) and Akwei (2018) who both argued that for IEBC or any other EMB to promote and enhance public trust in it, it has to involve all the relevant stakeholders in consultations and permit their participation in matters related to elections. This will enhance the trust of the public since they will feel that they are part of the decisions made by the body.

Sekaggya (2015) revealed that the media industry was mostly affected negatively as the commission did not involve them effectively. This led to the media operating without full information as the commission only included them when they wanted to clear their name. This may have led to media announcing different results during elections. This is also the case in Uganda where the commission cannot allow the stakeholders, including the media, to participate in the formation and running of the EMB. The media was also not allowed the freedom of speech and expression, thus leading to mistrust from the public (Sekaggya 2015). Unlike in Kenya, as seen in our study, where the constitution allows the EMB to involve stakeholders, research in Tanzania shows that the law of Tanzania did not give room for EMBs to engage other stakeholders in their formation and management process (Makulilo 2015).

The study found that 37.6% of the respondents agreed that there is frequent feedback given to electorates by IEBC regarding voting, registration and other related issues and 22.6% strongly agreed. The findings are supported by those of Maendeleo Policy Forum (2016), where it was determined that feedback was among the important roles played by EMBs in management of elections in Africa. This means that they are facilitated with sufficient support to participate in their full capacities in election processes with sufficient feedback and information.

Most respondents (38.5%) agreed that the engagement of all stakeholders by IEBC greatly influences the level of public trust in its operations and ability to manage elections and 17.4% strongly agreed. Maendeleo Policy Forum (2016) supports these findings where the need to engage all stakeholders in the management of elections was mentioned as a key determinant of electoral integrity in African countries. The findings of this study also concur with those of Aywa (2015) and Owuor (2016) that called for involvement of all stakeholders as well as the need for EMBs to act in a professional manner when handling election matters.

This was also the case with people working at the IEBC as they agreed that the commission has the right position and professional capability as per the constitution. However, to some extent, there could be pressures from external sources that could compromise their professionalism and ability. This is in line with the study in Burundi (Ntaganda 2015) where the electoral management body was seen not to act in a professional manner due to pressures from the ruling party and politicians. Another study in Kenya showed that lack of professionalism is what led to a lack of trust in the IEBC due to the lack of transparency from the commission to openly state the register utilized in the elections. This led the public into believing that the commission is under the control of the government and cannot act in a professional manner (AfriCoG 2017).

It was found that 52.4% of the respondents strongly disagreed that all stakeholders in the electoral process are satisfied with the efforts put in place by IEBC to better the election management process and 19.4% disagreed. Furusten (2013) also found low satisfaction levels, where better quality performance was recommended to lead to satisfied citizens, and this in turn to more trust or a similar positive attitude towards government.

The study found that stakeholders' engagement by IEBC significantly influenced citizens' trust levels ($r_s = .671^{**}$, $p = .000$). Its relationships with the stakeholders therefore affect the level of

public trust in its operations and ability to manage elections. As noted by Olugbemiga and Olugbemiga (2014) and Sekaggya (2015), EMBs involvement of all their stakeholders in the election process is an essential component of trust from the citizens.

5.2.3 Professionalism in IEBC and Levels of Public Trust

The study found that 58.5% strongly disagreed that IEBC undertakes its mandate with transparency and accountability and 20.9% disagreed. In agreement with the study findings, AfriCoG (2017) also noted serious concerns about the management of the elections by IEBC. The report also noted gaps in the accountability and transparency exemplified by the commission's incapability to openly state which register was utilized in the elections. Lethbridge (2019) also observed key metrics of transparency and accountability with strict compliance to institutional code of conduct, for better electoral management and voter confidence in the commissions.

It was found that 43.8% agreed that IEBC is run by professionals who understand their work well and 20.3% strongly agreed. Tumo (2017) also found similar findings, where citizens and other stakeholders in election management processes perceive a sense of lack of independence, though they understand their roles well. This leads to failure to undertake their roles well, as also found in the current study where most respondents (57.9%) strongly disagreed that IEBC conducts its functions with maximum integrity/honesty.

Further, 33.8% agreed that IEBC carries out its practices in a way that enhances the trust of the citizen on the electoral body and 5.9% strongly agreed. Kerr and Luhrmann (2017) also concur with these findings by arguing an independent EMB must act with a lot of professionalism especially when carrying out its duties as a way of increasing or resurrecting the dwindling trust of the public in the bodies' capability to conduct free and fair elections. This can also be seen from the current study findings where 37.9% of the respondents agreed that the professionalism of IEBC significantly influences the citizens' levels of trust in the electoral body and 16.5% strongly agreed.

The study found that professionalism has the highest ranking in terms of citizens trust levels in IEBC and significantly influenced citizens' trust levels ($r_s = .860^{**}$, $p = .000$). Its professionalism therefore affects the level of public trust in its operations and ability to manage elections. The ACE Electoral Knowledge Network, the world's largest online community and repository of electoral knowledge (2014) notes that visible professionalism in an EMB also gives political parties, civil

society, voters, donors, the media and other stakeholders the confidence that electoral managers are capable of undertaking their tasks effectively. A lack of visible professionalism in electoral management, on the other hand, will create public suspicions of inaccurate and perhaps fraudulent activity, and a lack of trust.

5.2.4 Electoral Environment and Levels of Public Trust

The findings obtained indicate that 43.8% agreed that IEBC receives adequate and timely support from all arms of the government and 28.8% strongly agreed. However, Aywa (2015) disagrees with these findings when the study found lack of support from stakeholders and other relevant bodies. The lack of support was found to cripple the operations of the commission especially when the allocated budget is not adequate. Lack of political goodwill also poses a significant challenge to the IEBC. Nevertheless, IEBC (2018) noted that they are facilitated with sufficient support to participate in their full capacities in election processes with sufficient feedback and information.

Most respondents (50.3%) strongly disagreed that there is adequate transparency of operations in IEBC and 25.3% disagreed. Abraham (2019) agrees with these findings, when the author noted that the failure of transparency, openness and accountability from the electoral management body led to declined public trust in the IEBC's ability to oversee a free, fair and transparent election. Therefore, keeping the public informed in every step of the election would ensure that transparency is achieved. With little transparency in operation, there was demand from the public on accountability, seen from the 33.5% of the respondents who agreed that there is adequate public demand for accountability of IEBC.

The findings also show that 40.9% agreed that the electoral environment supports operations in terms of enhancing political goodwill and 12.9% strongly agreed. In support of these findings, Maloba (2017) determined that the electoral environment supports operations in terms of enhancing political, by easing the tension between political parties' management hierarchies and the electoral management body. Such tension only acts towards impeding the functioning of the parties themselves, their leadership and the efficient functioning of an electoral management body. Further, 36.2% agreed that the electoral environment plays a great role in the management of elections by IEBC, with another 32.6% strongly agreeing.

Citizens' trust in IEBC can be impacted negatively due to mistakes from the commission. These mistakes come about when elections are not simple, transparent, accurate, and correct, as stated in the constitution. Some of the determinants of citizens' trust were: 27% cited transparency and openness, accountability 11%, honesty 10% and civic/voter education at 9%. This may also arise from the fact that public participation is not considered in the whole election process, thus resulting in questions and suspicion. To some extent failure of the IEBC to come out clearly and cooperate with legal bodies when an issue arises after the election could make citizens suspicious. This lack of trust can lead to public outcry, for example, during the post-election violence in 2007/2008 in Kenya. The lack of faith in the EMBs was also demonstrated by the study done by Kerr and Luhrmann (2017) where the citizens did not have confidence in the electoral commission as they deemed it not fit to demonstrate any autonomy while conducting elections. The authors also showed that the EMBs in Russia and Rwanda were inclined to serve the interests of one political party.

The study found that the electoral environment plays a significant role in trust levels of citizens on the management of elections by IEBC. Internal environments (namely; conflicts, misunderstandings, or bias from the staff) and external (such as; negative influence from politicians) affect the performance of the IEBC and in turn the trust of the public. This concurs with Awuor (2016), who found that the people did not trust the IEBC as it was seen to be biased and swayed by the executive in Kenya. Bhasin (2019) indicated that it is crucial to scan the environment to ensure that it does not influence the ability of the EMBs to attain its objectives. Citizens had different trust levels in the EMBs depending on the outcomes of the elections. For instance, in a region where their ruling party or preferred candidate wins an election, the citizens believe it was fair and just as opposed to areas that did not win (Kerr and Luhrmann 2017).

5.3 Conclusion

5.3.1 Independence of IEBC and Levels of Public Trust

Respondents presented that IEBC independence influenced the trust in IEBC. The study therefore concludes that IEBC is expected to execute its roles as stated in the constitution; namely, conducting referenda and elections, continuous registration of voters, voter education, among others.

5.3.2 IEBC Stakeholder's Engagement and Levels of Public Trust

The study concludes that the role of the media and other stakeholders has been seen to be important in ensuring a fair and transparent election and in turn, influencing citizens to trust in the EMB.

5.3.3 Professionalism in IEBC and Levels of Public Trust

Professionalism and the electoral environment too are an integral part of the performance and confidence of an EMB. Even though it is also noted that there are areas that need to be addressed and improved, it was evident that transparency was seen as the way to have a free and fair election. Keeping the public informed in every step of the election would ensure that transparency is achieved.

5.3.4 Electoral Environment and Levels of Public Trust

From this study, it is clear that there are two extremes; some citizens have unwavering trust in the IEBC while others mistrust the EMB due to past circumstances and influence from the political class. In Kenya, the word of politicians is seen to be accurate and can sway the trust of the citizens on the electoral management body, namely IEBC.

5.4 Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations for improvement were made in the study.

- i. It would be prudent for IEBC to exhibit institutional boldness in the spirit of being independent. Independence of the IEBC can also be enhanced through activation or implementation of the IEBC fund in the IEBC Act 2011, to ensure that they can be able to be independent and not swayed by the executive (through the national Treasury) who funds their projects.
- ii. Any EMB including the IEBC should focus on the key principle of elections management of professionalism and stakeholders' engagement so as to earn and maintain trust in the public.
- iii. IEBC should invest in universal logistical planning strategies to ensure preparedness. On the question of the autonomy of IEBC, the study recommends that the commission should be seen to act without fear and favour.

- iv. There should be transparency in the process of appointing the commissioners, not leaving it to the executive, namely the president, to pick. This would ensure a lack of bias as no influence or pressure can be applied to the commissioners to sway the results in favour of a particular leader.
- v. To ensure that the electoral environment is neutral, and since the opinion of political leaders about IEBC is a crucial determinant of citizens trust levels, it would be sensible to ask that political leaders and their supporters substantiate for the statements they make against the electoral commission. This would ensure that their support for a particular leader does not sway the public, and that they will be inclined to side with truth and evidence. To address the issue of the internal environment, IEBC should engage in continuous capacity building of the commission and secretariat.
- vi. The study recommends that the commission should fully engage all stakeholders but not just a few so as to manage stakeholder's relations and control the politics and interest of all that come with public participation.
- vii. The study recommends the streamlining and strengthening of the commission's mode of communication, pro-activeness in information sharing and public communication, for example, rolling out outreach programs and investing in strategic public communication.
- viii. The study recommends that the electoral body keeps informed all stakeholders by regularly updating them of all the activities the commission is undertaking in a predictable electoral process.

5.5 Limitations and Areas for Further Research

5.5.1 Limitations of the Study

A limitation is an aspect of a research that may influence the results negatively but over which the researcher has no control (Selvam, 2017). Study limitations refer to the conditions that are beyond the control of the researcher while conducting the research work, which may place restrictions on the conclusions of the study and the application of the study to other situations (Kothari, 2013).

The major constraint in this study was that some respondents were reluctant to participate in the study citing fixed schedules and the fear of victimization in future. The researcher overcame this through maintaining the authorization documents from the relevant authorities and assuring the

respondents that the study was purely for academic purposes only and high levels of confidentiality of the information provided was assured.

Another emerging obstacle to the study was the Covid-19 pandemic that limited direct contact with participants both for the questionnaire and interview guide data collection instruments. The researcher surmounted this challenge by administering the questionnaires through data enumerators equipped with a platform installed on an android phone. With the enumerators adhering to all MOH health guidelines, the study managed to interview electorates in the cosmopolitan Nairobi city county. For The interview guide respondents, this was successfully conducted through telephony interview where the interviews were recorded with their full consent.

Since the study touched on a public institution in the name of IEBC, the researcher was not able to control the attitudes of the respondents, which could have been biased leading to skewed results. The researcher overcame this limitation by clearly explaining to the respondents the significance of honesty in their contributions. They also informed the respondents that participation was voluntary without disclosing individual identity. Respondents to the interview guide question posed a great deal of indifference to the researcher's request for their views thus registering low feedback. This was addressed by increasing the sample size for the questionnaire. Increasing the sampling size also enhanced the accuracy of results and inferences from the data collected by the researcher.

5.5.2 Areas for Further Research

This study collected data from registered voters in Nairobi County, IEBC staff, political parties, development partners, media houses and CSOs in Nairobi County only. This limited the study to only one county for the feedback to the study. The researcher therefore recommends that a national survey be conducted exploring the views of similar populations in different counties in Kenya for inclusive and comparative results.

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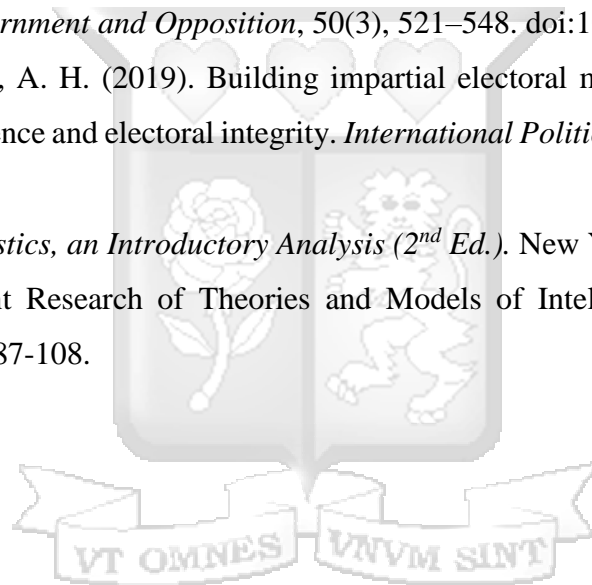
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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Introduction Letter

PERSONAL ADDRESS.....

Dear Respondent,

RE: DATA COLLECTION FOR ACADEMIC RESEARCH

I am Adan Harar Noor currently undertaking a research project in partial fulfilment for award of Master Degree in Public Policy and Management at Strathmore University.

I am currently undertaking a study on the topic “**Determinants of Citizens Trust Levels in Election Management Bodies - A Study of the Independent, Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC)**”. You have been selected as one of the respondents. The information sought here is purely for academic purposes and will be treated with high level of confidentiality. You are hereby, humbly requested to cooperate with us voluntarily and honestly in providing the data sought. Remember that you have the freedom to withdraw any time from participating in the study. Thanks in advance for understanding.

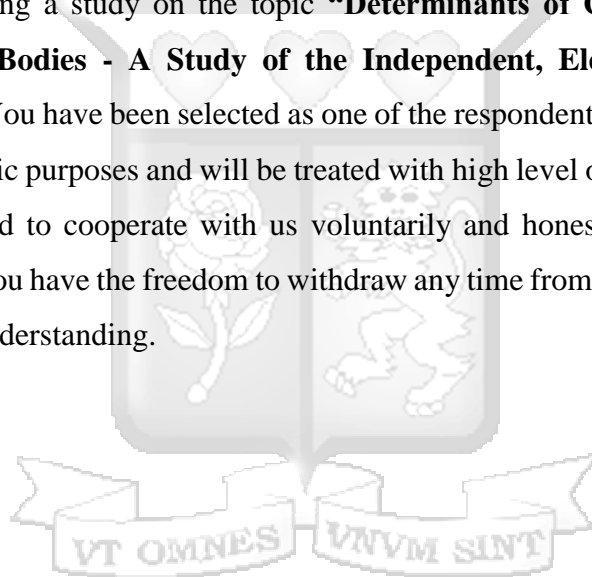
Yours sincerely

.....

Signed

Date.....

Stamp.....



Appendix II: Participant Information and Consent Form

SECTION 1: INFORMATION SHEET

Investigator: Adan Harar Noor

Institutional Affiliation: Strathmore Business School (SBS)

Research Topic: **DETERMINANTS OF TRUST LEVELS IN ELECTIONS MANAGEMENT BODIES IN KENYA, A STUDY OF THE IEBC**

Interview Location: Nairobi City County

Section 2: Information Sheet –The Study

SECTION 2: INFORMATION SHEET–THE STUDY

2.1: Why is this study being carried out?

To assess determinants of citizens' trust levels in elections management bodies in Kenya with special focus on the independent electoral and boundaries commission (IEBC)

2.2: Do I have to take part?

No. Taking part in this study is entirely optional and the decision rests only with you. If you decide to take part, you will be asked to complete a questionnaire to get information on determinants of citizen' trust levels in elections management bodies, a case study of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC). If you are not able to answer all the questions successfully the first time, you may be asked to sit through another informational session after which you may be asked to answer the questions a second time. You are free to decline to take part in the study from this study at any time without giving any reasons.

2.3: Who is eligible to take part in this study?

- Voters, IEBC staff, political parties, development partners, Civil society organizations and Media

2.4: Who is not eligible to take part in this study?

- Anyone below the age of 18 years'

2.5: What will be taking part in this study involve for me?

You will be approached by the researcher and requested to take part in the study. If you are satisfied that you fully understand the goals behind this study, you will be asked to sign the informed consent form (this form) and then taken through a questionnaire to complete.

2.6: Are there any risks or dangers in taking part in this study?

There are no risks in taking part in this study. All the information you provide will be treated as confidential and will not be used in any way without your express permission.

2.7: Are there any benefits of taking part in this study?

The information will be used to improve research study of determinants of citizens trust levels in public institutions and inform policy makers, academicians and other stakeholders in the area of study.

Therefore, as a Kenyan citizen, your input in this study will have benefits for the common cause of improving and enhancing Kenyan's trust in Elections management bodies Somalia

2.8: What will happen to me if I refuse to take part in this study?

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary. Even if you decide to take part at first but later change your mind, you are free to withdraw at any time without explanation.

2.9: Who will have access to my information during this research?

All research records will be stored in securely locked cabinets. That information may be transcribed into our database but this will be sufficiently encrypted and password protected. Only the people who are closely concerned with this study will have access to your information. All your information will be kept confidential.

2.10: Who can I contact in case I have further questions?

You can contact me, Adan Harar Noor, at SBS, or by e-mail adan.noor@strathmore.edu, or by phone. 072285853. You can also contact my supervisor, Dr.Elizabeth Muthuma, at the Strathmore Business School, Nairobi, or by e-mail emuthuma@strathmore.edu or by phone 0707000986

If you want to ask someone independent anything about this research, please contact:

The Secretary–Strathmore University Institutional Ethics Review Board, P. O. BOX 59857, 00200, Nairobi, email ethicsreview@strathmore.edu Tel number: +254 703 034 375

I, _____, have had the study explained to me. I have understood all that I have read and have had explained to me and had my questions answered satisfactorily. I understand that I can change my mind at any stage.

Please tick the boxes that apply to you;

Participation in the research study

I AGREE to take part in this research

I DO DON'T AGREE to take part in this research

Storage of information on the completed questionnaire

AGREE to have my completed questionnaire stored for future data analysis

I DO NDON'T AGREE to have my completed questionnaire stored for future data a

Participant's Signature:

Date:

_____/_____/_____

DD / MM / YEAR

Participant's Name:

(Please print name)

Time: _____ / _____

HR / MN

I, **Adan Harar Noor** certify that I have followed the SOP for this study and have explained the study information to the study participant named above, and that s/he has understood the nature and the purpose of the study and consents to the participation in the study. S/he has been given opportunity to ask questions which have been answered satisfactorily.

Investigator's Signature:

Date:

_____ / _____ / _____

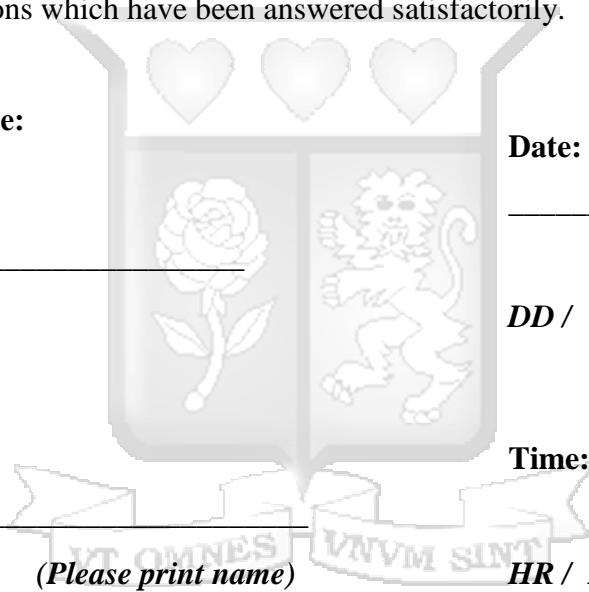
Investigator's Name:

(Please print name)

DD / MM / YEAR

Time: _____ / _____

HR / MN



Appendix III: Questionnaires for the Electorates

INSTRUCTIONS:

Dear Respondent,

The aim of this questionnaire is to gather information relating to the “**Determinants of Citizens Trust Levels in Election Management Bodies - a study of the Independent, Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC).**” You have been chosen as one of the participants and humbly requested to participate by filling in your responses to the questions below with utmost honesty. Kindly note that this data will be treated with the utmost confidentiality and will not be used for any other purpose apart from the purpose of research.

SECTION ONE: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. What is your gender?

i. Male []

ii. Female []

2. What is your age (in years)?

3. What is your highest level of education?

i. Certificate & Below []

ii. Diploma []

iii. Undergraduate []

iv. Postgraduate []

4. I) Are you a registered a voter?

No []

Yes []

ii) If yes, which Constituency?

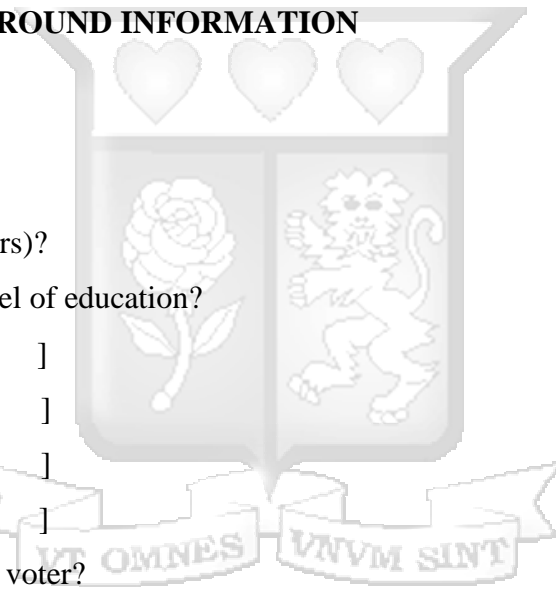
iii) Have you ever voted? (**Applicable to registered voter**)

Yes []

No []

iv) How many times have you participated in the voting?

i) Once []



- ii) Twice []
- iii) Thrice []
- iv) More than three times []

5. Trust levels of the respondents in IEBC

- i) No trust at all []
- ii) Not very much []
- iii) Quite a lot []
- iv) A great deal of trust []

SECTION TWO: INDEPENDENCE OF IEBC

The researcher aims to determine the influence of the independence of IEBC on citizens' level of trust in the electoral body. Please use the Likert scales 1-5, where 1- Strongly Agree, 2- Agree, 3- Uncertain, 4- Disagree, 5- Strongly disagree, to indicate your degree of agreement or disagreement with the statement on the left.

Statement	1	2	3	4	5
6. IEBC is free from both external and internal interference in its execution of its roles and mandate.					
7. IEBC has sufficient resources to manage its affairs in an independent manner.					
8. There are sufficient rules and regulations that govern operations of IEBC.					
9. There is no conflict of interest between IEBC and other arms of government.					

10. IEBC independence greatly influences its ability to conduct free and fair elections in Kenya.					
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SECTION THREE: STAKEHOLDERS’ ENGAGEMENT BY IEBC

The researcher aims to determine the influence of stakeholders’ engagement by IEBC on citizens’ level of trust in the electoral body. Please use the Likert scales 1-5, where 1- Strongly Agree, 2- Agree, 3- Uncertain, 4- Disagree, 5- Strongly disagree, to indicate your degree of agreement or disagreement with the statement on the left.

Statement	1	2	3	4	5
11. IEBC undertakes timely dissemination of the necessary information to stakeholders to enhance their knowledge on the electoral process.					
12. There is timely and adequate voter/civic education carried out by IEBC to sensitize people on the electoral process.					
13. Voters’ input is normally integrated by IEBC through consultations and public participation forum					
14. There is frequent feedback given to electorates by IEBC regarding voting, registration and other related issues.					
15. The engagement of all stakeholders by IEBC greatly influences the level of public trust in its operations and ability to manage elections.					
16. All stakeholders in the electoral process are satisfied with the efforts put in place by IEBC to better the election management process.					

SECTION FOUR: PROFESSIONALISM IN IEBC

The researcher aims to assess the influence of professionalism in IEBC on citizens’ level of trust in the electoral body. Please use the Likert scales 1-5, where 1- Strongly Agree, 2-Agree, 3- Uncertain, 4- Disagree, 5- Strongly disagree, to indicate your degree of agreement or disagreement with the statement on the left.

Statement	1	2	3	4	5
17. IEBC undertakes its mandate with transparency and accountability.					
18. IEBC is run by professionals who understand their work well.					
19. IEBC conducts its functions with maximum integrity/honesty					
20. IEBC carries out its practices in a way that enhances the trust of the citizen on the electoral body.					
21. The professionalism of IEBC significantly influences the citizens’ levels of trust in the electoral body.					

SECTION FIVE: ELECTORAL ENVIRONMENT

The researcher aims to assess the influence of electoral environment on citizens’ level of trust in the electoral body. Please use the Likert scales 1-5, where 1- Strongly Agree, 2-Agree, 3- Uncertain, 4- Disagree, 5- Strongly disagree, to indicate your degree of agreement or disagreement with the statement on the left.

Statement	1	2	3	4	5
22. IEBC receives adequate and timely support from all arms of the government.					
23. There is adequate transparency of operations in IEBC?					

24. There is adequate public demand for accountability of IEBC					
25. The electoral environment supports operations in terms of enhancing political goodwill.					
26. The electoral environment plays a great role in the management of elections by IEBC					

27. In your opinion, what do you think are the determinants of citizens' trust in how IEBC manages elections?

SECTION SIX: CITIZENS' TRUST LEVELS ON IEBC

28. The researcher aims to assess the citizens' level of trust in the electoral body. Please use the Likert scales 1-5, where 1- Strongly Agree, 2-Agree, 3- Uncertain, 4- Disagree, 5- Strongly disagree, to indicate your degree of agreement or disagreement with the statement on the left.

Statement	1	2	3	4	5
IEBC's public participation activities have led to an increase in trust by the voters.					
IEBC implements the suggestions made by the voters hence improving voter trust					

Voters are satisfied with the efforts put in place by IEBC to better the election management process.					
The perception of voters on IEBC on electoral management has improved significantly					
IEBC can be trusted by voters in elections management in Kenya					

*****End*****

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study



Appendix IV: Interview Guide –Key Informant Interview

A. FOR IEBC STAFF

1. How does IEBC ensure that free and fair elections are conducted in the country in every general election?
2. Do you think the independence of the commission is safeguarded so as to enable it deliver free and fair elections? How does this affect citizens' trust on the Commission? Please explain briefly.
3. How does professionalism influence on the overall impact of delivery and performance of the commission? How does this affect citizens' trust on the Commission? Explain
4. Does the IEBC regularly engage all stakeholders participate in the management of elections in the country? Does this influence its trust amongst the public?
5. In your opinion, what should be done by IEBC to regain and enhance citizens' trust levels in the management of elections?
6. How does the electoral environment including external environment influence the IEBC performance in executing its mandate of election and boundary delimitation?

B. FOR POLITICAL PARTIES

1. Does the IEBC provide sufficient participation of political parties in election processes?
2. How do you compare the performance of IEBC in elections management to the previous bodies like ECK?
3. Does the IEBC have full authority and power to determine elections outcomes or settle the elections outcomes?
4. In your opinion what is the capacity and professional capability of IEBC in conducting election in Kenya?
5. Does the IEBC regularly engage all stakeholders involved in the management of elections in the country? Does this influence its trust amongst the public?
6. Do you think the independence of the commission is safeguarded by the relevant laws and regulations of Kenya? Please explain briefly.
7. In your opinion, what should be done by IEBC to regain and enhance citizens' trust levels in the management of elections?

C. FOR CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT PARTNERS

1. Explain is the role of IEBC in Kenya?
2. What do you think are the key determinants of the citizens' trust on IEBC's ability to manage elections in Kenya?
3. How do you rate the autonomy of IEBC in relation to the various arms of government?
4. How do you rate the performance of IEBC over the last 2 general elections conducted in the country?
5. How do you rate the professionalism of the staffs in IEBC in their operations?
6. Do you think the independence of the commission is safeguarded by the relevant laws and regulations? Please explain briefly.
7. Does the IEBC regularly engage all stakeholders involved in the management of elections in the country? Does this influence its trust amongst the public?
8. In your opinion, what should be done by IEBC to win and enhance citizens' trust levels in the management of elections?

D. FOR MEDIA

1. What is the role of media in elections management processes in Kenya?
2. How do you rate the performance of the IEBC in its role in elections management processes?
3. Do the IEBC regularly engage media stakeholders involve in the management of elections in the country? Does this influence its trust amongst the public?
4. How do you rate the professionalism of the IEBC staff in their general operations and elections management?
5. Do you think the independence of the commission is safeguarded by the relevant laws and regulations? Please explain briefly.
6. In your opinion, what should be done by IEBC to win and enhance citizens' trust levels in the management of elections?

Appendix V: SBS Letter



Strathmore
UNIVERSITY

21st April 2020

Mr Noor, Adan
adan.noor@strathmore.edu

Dear Mr Noor,

RE: Determinants of Trust Levels in Elections Management Bodies in Kenya, a case study of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission


This is to inform you that SU-IERC has reviewed and **approved** your above research proposal. Your application approval number is **SU-IERC0701/20**. The approval period is **21st April 2020 to 20th April 2021**.

This approval is subject to compliance with the following requirements:

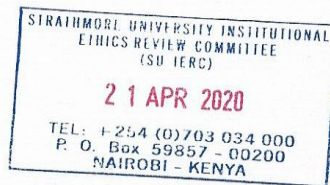
- i. Only approved documents including (informed consents, study instruments, MTA) will be used
- ii. All changes including (amendments, deviations, and violations) are submitted for review and approval by SU-IERC.
- iii. Death and life threatening problems and serious adverse events or unexpected adverse events whether related or unrelated to the study must be reported to SU-IERC within 72 hours of notification
- iv. Any changes, anticipated or otherwise that may increase the risks or affected safety or welfare of study participants and others or affect the integrity of the research must be reported to SU-IERC within 72 hours
- v. Clearance for export of biological specimens must be obtained from relevant institutions.
- vi. Submission of a request for renewal of approval at least 60 days prior to expiry of the approval period. Attach a comprehensive progress report to support the renewal.
- vii. Submission of an executive summary report within 90 days upon completion of the study to SU-IERC.

Prior to commencing your study, you will be expected to obtain a research license from National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) <https://oris.nacosti.go.ke> and also obtain other clearances needed.

Yours sincerely,



for: Dr Virginia Gichuru,
Secretary; SU-IERC


Cc: Prof Fred Were,
Chairperson; SU-IERC



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Appendix VI: NACOSTI Letter


REPUBLIC OF KENYA


NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

Ref No: **629336** Date of Issue: **28/April/2020**


RESEARCH LICENSE




This is to Certify that Mr. Adan Harar Noor of Strathmore University, has been licensed to conduct research in Nairobi on the topic: DETERMINANTS OF CITIZENS' TRUST LEVELS IN ELECTION MANAGEMENT BODIES IN KENYA: A STUDY OF INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL AND BOUNDARIES COMMISSION (IEBC) for the period ending : 28/April/2021.

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Director General
NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY &
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Appendix VII: Map of the location of the respondents who participated in the study

