UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SAN DIEGO

Between Constituents and the Capital: Understanding African Legislators

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy

in

Political Science

by

Dennis Rhee

Committee in charge:

Professor Karen E. Ferree, Co-Chair
Professor Clark C. Gibson, Co-Chair
Professor Scott W. Desposato
Professor Stephan Haggard
Professor Margaret E. Roberts

2019

The dissertation of Dennis Rhee is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

_____

_____

_____

_____
Co-Chair

_____
Co-Chair

University of California San Diego

2019

DEDICATION

To my parents.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation would not have been possible without the help of many people. First and foremost, I would like to express my deepest appreciation to Karen Ferree, who has given me unconditional support and limitless patience. I bow deeply in gratitude to Clark Gibson, who made sure I understand that he always had my back no matter what. I will never forget when Steph Haggard showed up at my door with some watermelon and soju. Time and time again, Karen, Clark, and Steph helped me in so many ways to believe in myself and my project when I was in doubt and helped me get through even the most difficult times. Words cannot do justice to how grateful I am for their unwavering support - academically, financially, and emotionally. I am also extremely thankful to Scott Desposato and Molly Roberts for their invaluable advice and patience.

In addition to my chairs and committee members, there are many other faculty members at UC San Diego and elsewhere who have offered me various help at different stages. In particular, I would like to thank Claire Adida, Maureen Feely, Emilie Hafner-Burton, David Victor, Bob Kaufman, Ryan Jablonski, Brigitte Seim, Simeon Nichter, Salvo Nunnari, and Felipe Nunes, whose generous support and mentorship made it possible for me to finish my degree.

I would also like to thank other graduate students in our department for their friendship and camaraderie. I am deeply indebted to John Kuk, who has been like a shadow advisor and a big brother to me. I appreciate the crews of SSB 322 - Rupal Mehta, Lindsay Nielson, Mona Vakilifathi, Sara Kerosky Guenther, Stan Oklobdzija, Rachel Schoner, and Marco Alcocer - who had to put up with me over the years. And of course, the “Best Cohort Ever” has undoubtedly been the best cohort ever. You guys made life in graduate school much more enjoyable. The members of the Africanist Group have always offered me valuable feedback. In particular, Nathan Combes was generous enough to have me tag along during my first fieldwork in Kenya and has been a great

friend. I would also like to thank the members of my other office/shelter SSB 328 - Dang Do, Duy Trinh, and Huchen Liu - as well as my next door neighbor Zoey Nemerever for their friendship.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to Professors Karuti Kanyinga, and Joshua Kivuva and administrative staff, including Edward Sibota, Rosemary Mumbua, Ezekiel Odongo at the University of Nairobi, who provided the necessary help to make my fieldwork possible. I also wish to thank the excellent staff at IPSOS Kenya, including Tom Wolf, Nicholas Mwenda, and Eli Chanzu, for their guidance and professionalism as well as the enumerators of my surveys for their hard work and insightful feedback. I would also like to offer my sincere thanks to Penny Samuel, Josephine Wangari, Perminus Mesa, Nancy Macharia, and the members of the Nairobi Korean Church, who warmly welcomed our family as friends, and made our time in Kenya truly enjoyable.

I should also thank Professors Michael Ting, Shigeo Hirano, and Kimuli Kasara whose generous support during my time at Columbia first made it possible for me to start my journey into graduate school. Special thanks also go to Joonseok Yang for tolerating me for all these years since we started out together at Columbia.

I would also like to thank our department staff, especially Arturo Vasquez, Aubrey Rudd, Regina Ready, Ariane Parks, Christina Butler, Julie Choi, Vanessa Medina, and Natalie Ikker, for all the help they provided me.

I recognize generous financial support for my dissertation research from the Friends of the International Center, Policy Design and Evaluation Lab, Korean-American Scholarship Foundation, Fulbright Foundation, National Science Foundation, and the Office of the President, University of California.

Finally, I thank my family. I wish to thank my in-laws and my wife, Jiyoung Hwang; regardless of what happens next, I would like to extend my deepest gratitude for all the support and sacrifice you have made over the years. I must also thank my

sister, Dr. Eunice Yunjin Rhee, for her love and support. I would also like to thank my Son, Daniel Haewon Rhee and my daughter, Ella Jiin Rhee. Unlike others thanked in this acknowledgment, it would probably have been possible for me to finish this dissertation without you two. Maybe I would have even finished a little earlier with a better dissertation. Who knows. But I would not do it any other way if I had to do it all over again: thank you for bringing so much joy, love, and happiness into my life every day. Lastly, I dedicate this dissertation to my parents, Dr. Eon Ku Rhee and Jin Seok Youn. None of this would have been possible without your encouragement, sacrifice, and love.

VITA

2006	B.A. in Politics and Development Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, United Kingdom
2012	M.A. in International Affairs, School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA), Columbia University
2014	M.A. in Political Science, University of California San Diego
2019	Ph.D. in Political Science, University of California San Diego

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Between Constituents and the Capital: Understanding African Legislators

by

Dennis Rhee

Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science

University of California San Diego, 2019

Professor Karen E. Ferree, Co-Chair
Professor Clark C. Gibson, Co-Chair

What motivates legislators in executive-dominated political systems in Africa to focus their attention on national rather than local activities? Scholars and policymakers argue that legislators in such systems have little incentive to participate in national-level politics, leading to parliaments that merely rubber-stamp the policies of the executive. Rather, time is allocated to local issues: providing services to constituents or simply engaging in clientelism and patronage politics.

I question this conventional view and explore three specific questions central to representation and legislative politics in Africa. First, what do voters want from elected

representatives in these systems? Second, what do these politicians actually do once in office? Third, why do parties in these contexts often choose processes that ignore the call of their elites and supporters for greater intra-party democracy, and what are the consequences?

In answering these questions, I present a theoretical framework of voter preference for legislator attention as a time allocation problem, and test both my and other prominent theories using data that I gathered from my field and off-site dissertation research in Kenya, including a nationally representative survey experiment, an in-depth focus group discussion, tens of thousands of parliamentary debate transcripts, and the complete universe of 2017 Kenyan party primary aspirants records.

I find that voters have sophisticated understandings of the legislators' role, and prefer some balance between local and national service. Moreover, I find that evidence for electoral connection: electorally secure politicians engage in more nationally oriented speeches, while vulnerable politicians engaged in more locally oriented speeches. Finally, I show that both the ruling and opposition parties are more likely to hold primary elections in party strongholds rather than competitive districts, and that the ruling party was much more likely than the opposition to hold primaries across all levels of partisan support. Taken together, these findings question the idea of African exceptionalism, and make important contributions to the study of legislative politics and politician accountability in Africa.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

What motivates legislators in executive-dominated political systems to focus their attention on national rather than local activities? Scholars and policymakers argue that legislators operating under such political systems have little incentive to participate in national-level politics, leading to parliaments that merely rubber-stamp the policies of the executive. Rather, time is allocated to local issues: providing services to constituents or simply engaging in clientelism and patronage politics.

Strengthening legislatures, and especially capacity building for parliamentarians to do better legislating and oversight, have been a major focus donors for the past two decades. Between 1999 and 2009, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), for instance, spent about 240 million dollars on parliamentary strengthening projects, while the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) spent over 127 million dollars on similar projects across 70 countries in 2012 alone (International, 2015). Other bilateral as well as multilateral donors have also made significant

commitments to legislature building.[1] Yet more than two decades after the Third Wave of Democracy, observers note that legislators in many developing democracies still fail to provide much policymaking.

However, recent research, including on Africa, finds legislators engaging in a variety of political activities: they visit their home constituencies; introduce laws; provide constituency service; speak at the parliament; and even strike down presidential bills. Any aid to "strengthening legislatures" must build on knowledge about individual legislators' activities and motivations: why they choose certain activities over others.

In this dissertation, I explore three questions that are central to the debates about representation and legislative politics in sub-Saharan Africa, where political systems tend to be dominated by executives. First, what do voters want from elected representatives in these systems? This question is particularly pressing if we assume that reelection concern is the primary motivator for legislators (e.g. Mayhew, 1974), but voters reward local attention and punish national attention (e.g. Barkan et al., 2010)? Second, what do their elected representatives actually do after being elected in such contexts? In an environment where not only targeted public goods provision is expected and rewarded, but also vote buying is widespread, why bother to take the parliament floor in the first place? Third, why do parties in these contexts often choose processes that ignore the call of their elites and supporters for greater intra-party democracy, and what are the consequences? Considering the growing geopolitical importance of Africa coupled with the potential for future economic growth in the region, understanding legislators' activities and motivations is a crucial first step in ensuring sustainable political and economic development in the region and beyond.

To answer each of my three focused questions in the broader context of repre-

[1] Some examples of the donors and their donated amounts according to International (2015) are as follows: UK 2013 ($40.8 million), Canada 1999-2009 ($150 million), Norway 2013 ($7.1 million), Sweden 1999-2009 ($20 million), European Union 2000-2009 ($150 million), and World Bank 2000-2009 ($7.8 million)

sentation and legislative politics, I test both my and other prominent theories using the case of Kenya, a multi-party democracy which shares many historical, economic, and social characteristics with other countries in the region as will be illustrated in greater detail later in this chapter. Using the Kenyan case, I conduct my tests with data drawn from a variety of sources that I gathered from my field and off-site dissertation research over the past few years. Specifically, in Chapter 1, I rely on a dataset from a nationally representative survey with a sample of over 2,000 respondents as well as qualitative accounts drawn from an in-depth focus group discussion which I conducted in Kenya. In Chapter 2, I use a dataset of more than 56,000 speeches made by over 400 unique legislators in the Kenyan National Assembly from 2008 to 2017. In Chapter 3, I employ data I constructed from the complete universe of party primaries held during the 2017 Kenyan general elections.

I find that constituents have a greater understanding of the role of national legislation than is often thought, and want legislators not only to provide immediate services but to write and pass national legislation that meets their interests. Moreover, I find that evidence for electoral connection: electorally secure politicians engage in more nationally oriented speeches, while vulnerable politicians engaged in more locally oriented speeches. Finally, I show that both the ruling and opposition parties are more likely to hold primary elections in party strongholds rather than competitive districts, and that the ruling party was much more likely than the opposition to hold primaries across all levels of partisan support.

1.2 Representation In Less Institutionalized Democracies In Africa

1.2.1 Existing Studies

Although widely recognized as a key component to African democratic consolidation and the focus of many democracy assistance programs, legislatures in Africa remain critically understudied, especially in recent years. A comparison with the literature on Latin American legislatures illustrates the early state of this research. Alemán (2013) reviews a total of 88 articles on Latin American legislatures published between 2000 and 2010. In a parallel analysis, Crisp and Schibber (2014) review 31 books and 151 journal articles published on Latin American legislatures up to the year 2012. In comparison, when searching for information on all publications from 2000-2016 that focus on legislative politics in Africa, I find a grand total of 14 works on the subject.[2]

Following the independence of many countries in sub-Saharan Africa, there was a surge of interest in the study of African legislatures. These include single-country cases providing extensive details concerning the roles of the first parliaments and the parliamentarians in countries such as Ghana (Austin, 1958; Lee, 1963), Kenya (Stultz, 1970; Hyden and Leys, 1972; Hopkins, 1975), Tanzania (Hopkins, 1970), and Zambia (Gupta, 1965), as well as excellent cross-country comparative studies examining the

[2]I cast a wider net in terms of publication outlets to include a total of 21 journals considering the relative dearth of works on the subject. These journals are: leading general political science journals (American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, Journal of Politics, British Journal of Political Science, Political Research Quarterly, Quarterly Journal of Political Science, European Journal of Political Research, Government & Opposition, Perspectives on Politics, Journal of Democracy), leading comparative politics journals (World Politics, Comparative Politics, Comparative Political Studies), leading African Studies journals (African Affairs, Journal of Modern African Studies, Journal of East African Studies, African Studies Review), and specialized journals focusing on legislative politics (Legislative Studies Quarterly, Party Politics, Political Behavior, Electoral Studies). In comparison, Alemán (2013), for instance, only considers 12 journals. The search term parameters were: "parliament$*$ OR legislat$*$ OR congress* OR chamber OR house OR senate OR assembl$*$" interacted with the word Africa or individual countries' names in Sub-Saharan Africa.

factors influencing the performance of parliaments in Kenya and Zambia (Hakes and Helgerson, 1973), Kenya and Tanzania (Barkan, 1979; Hopkins, 1979), broader former British Colonial Africa (Stultz, 1968), and across different regions (Kornberg, 1973; Boynton and Kim, 1975; Musolf and Smith, 1979). This inchoate scholarly attention on comparative legislative studies in the region failed to bloom, however, as countries in the region quickly entered a prolonged period of single-party dominance.

With the backdrop of the decades-long executive-dominated political systems that preceded the Third Wave of Democracy, the emerging conventional views of parliamentarians often saw them as simply constituency servants who focus on providing local services to their constituencies and merely rubber-stamp executive decisions and provide little in the form of horizontal accountability checks (Baldwin, 2013; Barkan, 1995; Ichino and Nathan, 2012*a*; Lindberg and Morrison, 2008; Wantchekon, 2003). As a consequence, studies of politics under such institutions tend to focus on the executives' behavior and characterize legislators as one-dimensional (e.g. Van de Walle, 2003; Rakner and Van de Walle, 2009; Francois, Rainer, and Trebbi, 2015).

We can trace the origins of such conventional perspective to a number of arguments. First, presidential power is strong to the degree that presidents can almost dictate which laws get introduced and passed. Van de Walle (2003) and Rakner and Van de Walle (2009) suggest that African presidents often command considerable decree power and can count on a friendly majority in the legislature by relying on their lineage or ethnic group. Similarly, Van Cranenburgh (2008) also states that African democracies have often been based on powerful presidents operating in a context of minimal separation of powers, with few possibilities to restrain the executive. In such a context, legislators are more likely to resort to address local issues (Barkan, 1979) and rubber-stamp the executive's decision (Barkan, 2009*b*), especially when there is little inter-party competition at the local level.

Second, voters may not care much about legislating and oversight, and legislators: any effort legislator gives to national level issues may be only a weak investment that voters fail to see let alone reward. In one of the most comprehensive and systematic studies of African legislatures to date - the African Legislatures Project (ALP) - Barkan et al. (2010) find that voters prefer constituency service and representation much more than legislating and oversight. The findings of this research have been interpreted as suggesting that the clientelistic nature of African politics privileges a political culture that emphasizes services to individuals and group constituencies rather than legislative production and oversight (Englebert and Dunn, 2013).

Third, legislators, in turn, may not care much about doing anything other than providing more visible local service. The ALP, for instance, find that legislators do not see legislating or oversight as their core responsibilities, as voters do not reward them for such activities (Barkan et al., 2010). Lindberg (2010) provides evidence that also supports this view. He finds that Ghanaian legislators are frustrated by the extent to which voters hold them accountable for constituency service, which impedes their ability to spend time on more publicly beneficial services creating new policies or passing laws. On top of this, the prevalence of vote buying (e.g. Kramon, 2016*b*) or ethnic voting further undermines incentives for legislators to focus on legislative production or oversight.

In sum, the conventional wisdom on African legislators suggest that legislators are weak vis-a-vis the executive; voters do not care about legislating or oversight; and MPs respond accordingly and do not care about them either. The resulting expectation is that voters only reward MPs who provide local attention in the form of constituency service and representation, and accordingly MPs have no incentive to provide national attention. When MPs do show up to parliament, it is to secure and divide resources for local areas, not to legislate national policy or provide oversight to powerful executives.

1.2.2 Limitations

However, the link between theory and expectation may be unclear. For example, existing surveys (Cain, Ferejohn, and Fiorina, 1987; Grant and Rudolph, 2004; Griffin and Flavin, 2011; Méndez-Lago and Martinez, 2010) as well as experimental research (Butler, Karpowitz, and Pope, 2012; Doherty, 2013; Vivyan and Wagner, 2016) show that voters in advanced democracies also rank legislators' constituency and representation work as more important than national policy-oriented activities. If voters in advanced democracies who are arguably less influenced by factors such as executive dominance and culture of clientelism also seem to show an observationally equivalent preference of local over national attention from their legislators, it may be the case that those factors are not what is uniquely driving legislator attention in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Moreover, recent empirical data also question the conventional view. For example, contrary to the expectation that legislatures are mostly rubber-stamps, executives, in fact, do not always get their way in African democracies. In his recent seminal work on legislative politics in Kenya and Zambia, Opalo (2015) finds significant variation in the proportion of bills originating from executives and the level of executive influence on legislating. By collecting historical data on bills originating from the president and tracking their development, he shows that presidential bills were struck down sometimes up to 60% in Kenya, and that the percentage of bills getting struck down has increased since the transition to multiparty democracy, intriguing evidence of growing national level legislative activity. In other work, Opalo (2019*a*) finds that Kenyan presidents who are often portrayed as enjoying unchecked power are constrained from issuing Legal Notices during periods of relatively stronger legislative independence. More broadly, the series of novel contributions by Opalo (2015, 2019*a*,*b*) on African legislative politics shows that the level of legislative institutionalization at the time of democratic transition impacts further institutional development in the post-transition period, similar to the logic

behind the historical origins of party systems and institutionalization in sub-Saharan Africa (e.g. LeBas, 2015; Riedl, 2014).

If, even under the presumably strong executive control, there are significant differences in legislator behavior, how do we explain such variation? One prominent approach in the extant comparative politics literature focuses on institutional factors. For example, electoral institutions can structure legislators' incentives and encourage party-centric or personalistic behavior. Party-centered incentives make legislators responsive primarily to their party's reputation for national policy. Personalistic incentives tend to make legislators more interested in seeking particularistic policy and patronage for their constituency because they can use them to claim credit in electoral competition. These institutional theories expect that the more candidate-centered or intra-party competition, the less legislators will be interested in bargaining over national policy, and the more they will be willing to swap votes for patronage (Cain, Ferejohn, and Fiorina, 1987; Carey and Shugart, 1995).

In Africa, Barkan et al. (2010) also find that institutions matter: the form of the electoral system has a profound effect on the relationships between MPs and the public, the operations of the legislature, and the nature of legislative-executive relations.

However, historical origins are often close to being constant, and institutions vary from country to country; these factors cannot help us to infer how and why behavior of legislators or preference of voters vary at the country or individual-level. For example, in the appendix to Chapter 2 of this dissertation, I analyze the effects of individual-level characteristics on preference for legislator attention over local versus national activities using Afrobarometer survey data with over 58,000 respondents while holding constant any difference in the country-level characteristics. I find that voters, especially the younger, employed, more educated urban residents with better media access, prefer their legislators to provide more national instead of local attention. Moreover, in Chapter 3,

I start by documenting that there exist significant variations in terms of who attends, speaks, or votes on the floor. Historical origins and institutions are influential in shaping political behavior, but they are also sticky and constant within-country, leaving little room for understanding variation not only in constituent preferences but in legislators' behavior.

1.3 My Approach

In this dissertation, I explore three specific questions that can help shed some light on the micro-level voter preference and politician incentives in African legislative politics. First, what do African voters want from their legislators? As discussed, existing studies describe voters in sub-Saharan Africa as holding an overwhelmingly strong and uniform preference for legislators to spend more time and attention in their local constituencies rather than in national assembly. This description, I argue, is likely to be incorrect because most empirical work on the topic is indirect as they ask MPs what they think their constituents want, or suffers from bias as they ask constituents survey questions that can generate distorted and lopsided responses. Instead, I approach this topic by directly asking respondents while experimentally manipulating choice set of legislator attention between local and national service; this survey experiment was conducted with a sample of over 2,200 respondents in Kenya in 2017.

Second, what do their elected representatives actually do after being elected? Legislators face an important allocation problem of dividing their finite time and effort between local and national attention. While many studies have explored the factors affecting this allocation in other regional contexts, studies in the African context have been limited. Building upon the existing literature, I argue that electoral pressure exerts a strong influence on how politicians allocate their limited resources of time and effort, and

construct a dataset on parliamentary speech behavior from the 10th and 11th (2008-2017) National Assembly of Kenya to test my expectations.

Third, why do parties choose to implement primary elections in some places but not in others? Even if we understand what voters want and why politicians behave the way they do, parties still often control who can and cannot run for office. Existing explanations argue parties may be more likely to implement party primaries in competitive or stronghold districts; expectations differ. But the empirical tests of these competing claims are indeterminant as they use data from wide-ranging country and institutional contexts, and the quality of data is often less than ideal. I seek to provide a test for the two competing explanations about where primaries go with more robust data on the complete universe of party primaries during the 2017 Kenyan legislative elections.

1.4 Case Selection: Kenya

In order to address these questions, I delve into the case of Kenya. Kenya is classified as a lower middle-income country by the World Bank, with a per capita GDP of USD 1,600 (as of 2017). It is located in a region where the average per capita GDP is around USD 2,000 and where the majority of the countries are classified as either lower or lower middle-income country.[3] Kenya boasts many other characteristics which are also commonly shared with many other countries in the region, such as traditionally powerful executives, and strong social cleavages like ethnicity.

Kenya gained independence in the 1960s, was ruled under an authoritarian system, and re-introduced multiparty democracy in the early 1990s (Gibson, 2002), similar to many other countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Since the re-introduction of multiparty competition in 1992, Kenya experienced six election cycles, with the first executive

[3] As of 2017, 41 out of 48 countries in the region were classified as lower or lower middle income country (Group, 2017).

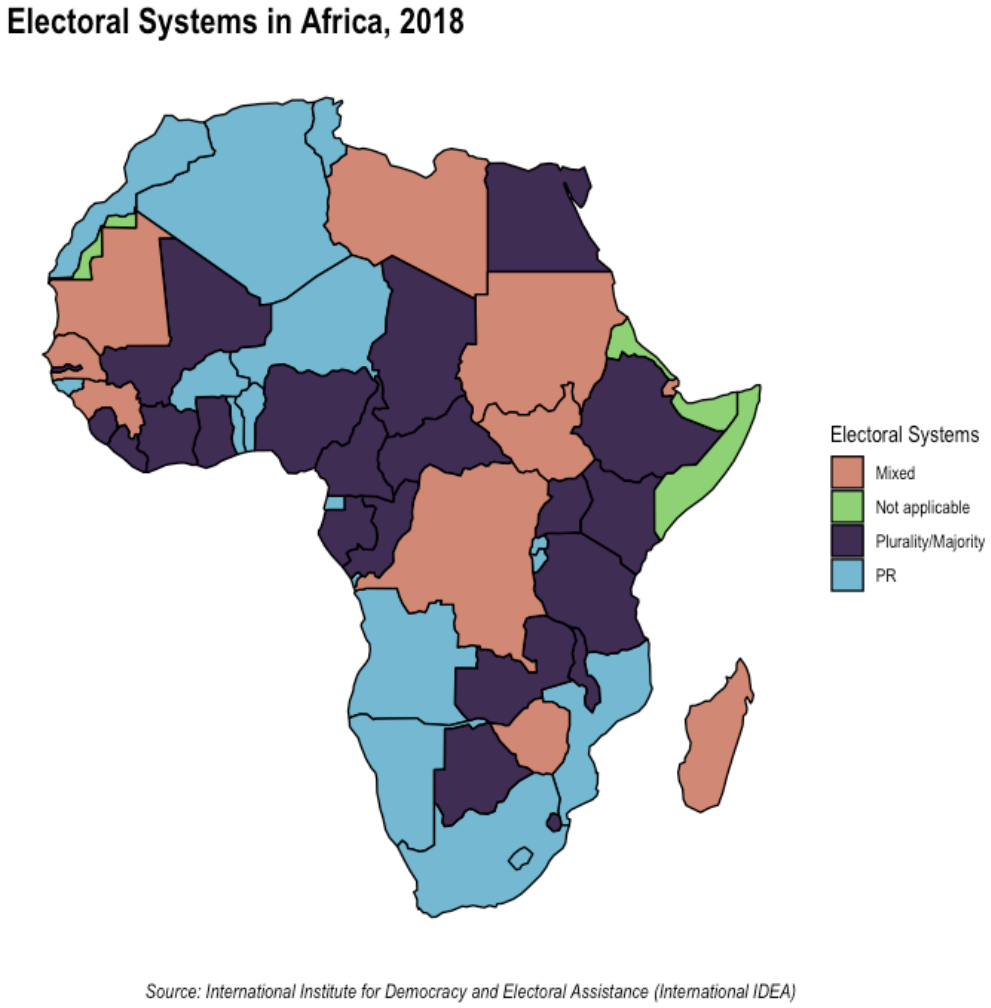


Figure 1.1: Electoral Systems in Africa 2018

turnover in 2002. It shares a similar colonial history and institutional features such as multi-party presidential democracy with a majoritarian single-member district (SMD) system, especially with other former British colonies in the region, as captured in *Figure 1.1*.

Moreover, similar to most African democracies, the executive dominates the legislature, which is widely portrayed as primarily focused on constituency service and the provision of local public and private goods (Throup and Hornsby, 1998; Barkan,

2009*a*; Barkan and Mattes, 2014; Hassan, 2014; Kramon, 2016*a*). While Kenya is often considered to have a weakly institutionalized party system and that parties coalesce into coalitions around election period, there is a surprisingly strong continuity of the parties across different election periods as shown in *Figure 1.2*, which provide a strong informational cue to voters.

Overall, Kenyan democracy is regarded as one of the more stable systems in the region (Barkan, 2009*a*). Yet the long-standing ethnic divide in the country (Throup and Hornsby, 1998; Gibson and Long, 2009) exemplified by the electoral violence around the 2007 elections (Long et al., 2013; Kasara, 2014) as well as continuing signs of electoral irregularities (Gibson and Long, 2009; Ferree, Gibson, and Long, 2014) shows the still turbulent nature of Kenyan democracy. Combination of these factors thus makes Kenya not only a representative case of an executive dominant system in the region, but also an interesting and important case to study.

1.5 Implications

This study makes a number of contributions. First, my findings have important implications for the study of politician accountability in Africa. The conventional wisdom has been that African voters uniformly prefer politicians who provide greater local attention, and politicians, in turn, respond by providing only local attention. If, however, voters prefer some balance between local and national attention from their MPs as my findings in Chapter 2 suggest, why do MPs fail to meet such expectation? One possibility is that MPs have poor knowledge about voters. In such a case, providing information about voter preference may help solve the issue of disconnect (e.g Butler and Nickerson, 2011; Sacramone-Lutz, 2019). The effects of such information provision, however, may be sensitive to the given constituency's electoral environments, as findings

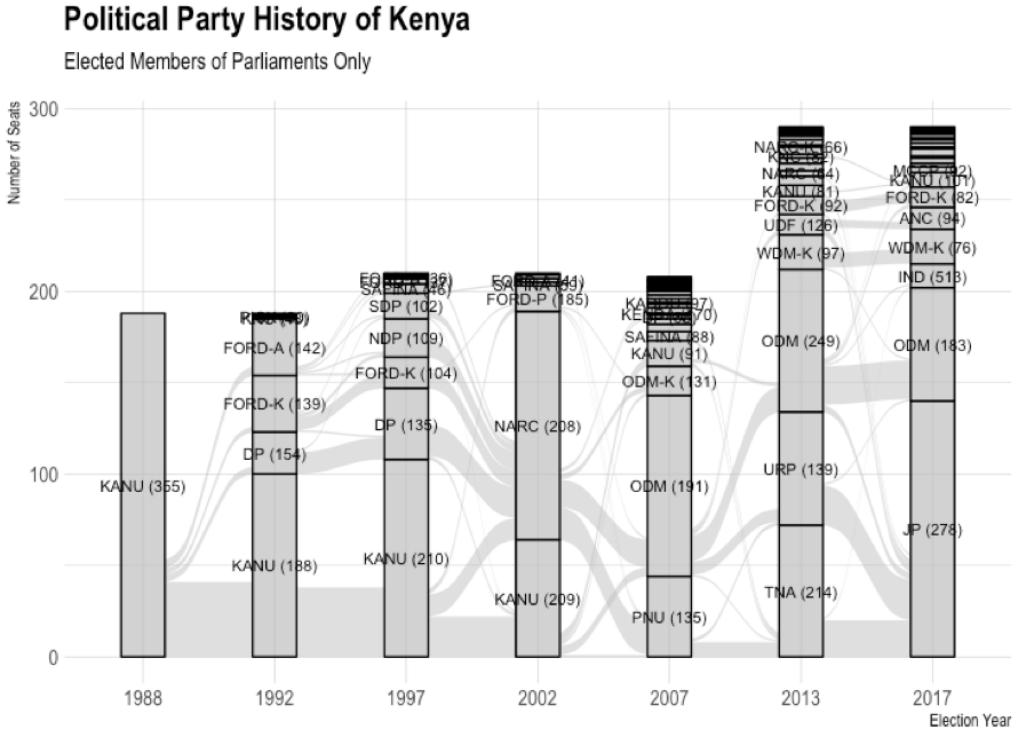


Figure 1.2: Continuity and Discontinuity of Political Parties in Kenya

from Chapter 3 suggest.

Second, my findings question the idea of African exceptionalism (Mozaffar, Scarritt, and Galaich, 2003; Brambor, Clark, and Golder, 2007, e.g.). While existing studies cite factors such as a culture of clientelism or short history of democracy as the cause for voters preference for local attention from legislators, legislators' ignorance over their national policy-making and oversight-functions, or parties' lack of limit their internal democracy, my findings show that voters in fact have very sophisticated understandings about legislators' role just as in voters; legislators respond to electoral pressure; and parties hold primaries in order to regulate internal conflict and encourage effort, just as in other regional contexts. These findings highlight the danger of building our arguments upon often untested assumptions about Africa.

Finally, my research has the potential to make contributions to policymaking in democracy aid and assistance. Donors have spent hundreds of millions of dollars in strengthening legislatures; yet for such effort to be effective, we first need to have basic knowledge about individual legislators' activities and motivations. My findings of my research could provide some important first steps to help better focus democracy aid to be used most effectively.

1.6 Structure Of The Dissertation

In the following four chapters, I present my answers to each of the guiding questions presented earlier and provide a summary and suggestions for next steps. In Chapter 2, I present my theoretical framework of voter preference for legislator attention as a time allocation problem and the survey experimental as well as qualitative data to test my argument about voter preferences. I find that Kenyan voters prefer a balance between local and national attention. This contrasts with previous studies which argue that African voters have a strong and almost uniform preference for locally oriented representatives. Moreover, I show that Kenyan voters in my sample and British voters in another study conducted by Vivyan and Wagner (2016) closely resemble one another, in that they both prefer a balance between the local and national attention and show a non-linear preference between the two, opposing effort that is concentrated heavily at either the national or local level.

In Chapter 3, I show that the decision to allocate more or less attention to nationally versus locally oriented activities - as measured by legislators' speech making efforts - is strongly conditioned by competition: the electoral incentives that legislators face in the case of the Kenyan National Assembly of 2008-2017. Because those who experience greater electoral vulnerability face a greater need to provide locally focused

attention, these legislators on average are less likely to engage in speech making. I further demonstrate that - once we disaggregate the speeches into those locally versus nationally oriented - the more electorally secure politicians are more likely to make a greater number of nationally-oriented speeches, while the more vulnerable politicians are more likely to engage in making more locally-oriented speeches. These findings further challenge the conventional view that relegates the role of legislators to merely unidimensional rubber-stamping constituency servants.

In Chapter 4, I find that both the ruling and opposition parties were more likely to hold party primaries in their respective strongholds and that the ruling party was overall more likely to hold primaries across all levels of partisan support in the 2017 Kenyan elections. I also find that the opposition party lost more from directly nominating their candidates in their strongholds as this has likely to have hurt not only the electoral performance of their legislative candidate but also their presidential candidate and increased their opposing parties' electoral gains.

Finally, in Chapter 5, I provide a summary of my argument and findings, and discuss the implications of the dissertation.

Chapter 2

Voter Demand for Legislator Attention in Kenya

What do African voters want from their legislators? Do they want legislators who focus mainly on national level policy-making? Or do they favor locally oriented legislators who prioritize the needs of their local constituency? Existing studies describe voters in sub-Saharan Africa as holding an overwhelmingly strong and uniform preference for legislators to spend more time and attention in their local constituencies rather than in national assembly. Yet this research is based on a relatively limited body of work with findings that may reflect artifacts of survey design more than the reality on the ground. This chapter proposes a new theory of voter preference for legislator attention as an allocation problem, informed by qualitative evidence gathered from an in-depth focus group discussion. Using a survey experimental evidence from Kenya, I find that voters do not uniformly favor local service to the exclusion of work in the parliament. Rather voters prefer a balance between national and local attention. I show that such a preference for a balance is similar to that exhibited by voters in advanced democracies.

2.1 Introduction

What do African voters want from their legislative representatives? The existing studies say they want legislators to focus on local constituency issues rather than waste energy on national policy debates. Locally oriented voters in turn imply "rubber stamp" legislatures that do little to reign in executives. Existing work argues that the reason for this tendency lies, in part, at what voters expect from their elected representatives. Since the ordinary citizens – the argument goes - hold their members of parliaments (MPs) accountable not for their performance in legislative activities or executive oversight, but for constituency service and clientelistic activities, MPs end up spending most of their time and resources providing local, at the expense of national attention (e.g. Lindberg, 2003, 2010).[1] This idea of voter demand for legislators' local attention in Africa often has been taken for granted, and researchers have incorporated similar ideas of African legislatures as a mere rubber-stamping institution (e.g. Ichino and Nathan, 2012*b*; Grossman, Humphreys, and Sacramone-Lutz, 2014; Francois, Rainer, and Trebbi, 2015). Thus, the literature traces the absence of horizontal accountability in Africa back to African voters, and the preferences they have for local-minded representatives.

Despite this widely accepted image of African voters, it remains unclear whether and when voters actually have a strong preference for local-minded legislators in practice. Previous work faced significant challenges related to measurement and causal inference. Most empirical work on the topic in Africa is indirect – asking MPs what they think their constituents want (e.g. Lindberg, 2003, 2010). This leaves the possibility that MPs might not have accurate beliefs about their constituents and the existing work inadvertently draws a misleading conclusion about voter preference. Other work studies voter demand for legislator attention by directly asking the voters what they want (e.g. Barkan et al.,

[1] Following the existing literature (e.g. Lindberg, 2010; Barkan et al., 2010), I consider constituency service, representation, legislating, and oversight as the four key legislator responsibilities, and further classify the first two as pertaining to local attention and the latter two to national attention.

2010; Weghorst and Lindberg, 2013; Mattes and Mozaffar, 2016). In many of these approaches, however, survey questions often force dichotomous responses (e.g. *"do you prefer local or national service?"*), generating distorted and lopsided responses consisting only of extreme choices. A third tradition studies the historical fate of politicians who pay greater local versus national attention (e.g. Lindberg, 2003; Mattes, Barkan, and Mozaffar, 2012; Mattes and Mozaffar, 2016). Reform-minded legislators who pay greater national attention seldom emerge, and even when they do, it is argued that they are more likely get voted out because they neglected providing enough local attention. However, selection bias poses serious challenges for these studies. If, for example, those who are more active in parliamentary floor debates also tend to be younger, more educated, and from urban constituencies where electoral competition is fiercer, it is difficult to conclude that providing greater national attention is the cause of their electoral vulnerability.

I seek to overcome these theoretical and empirical challenges. Instead of considering MP orientation as a dichotomous choice, I theorize that voters understand that the quality of their lives rests on MPs engaging in national level activities like policy making and also spending time in the constituency learning about the needs of their voters and trying to address them. Voters are not unsophisticated: they see the activities as linked, and demand their MPs to optimally allocate their efforts between local and national activities. Qualitative accounts from an in-depth focus group discussion collected during my fieldwork corroborate these expectations about voters' sophisticated understanding about the legislator responsibilities.

My analysis is based on a vignette experiment embedded in a nationally representative public opinion survey in Kenya, building on the design of previous work by Vivyan and Wagner (2015, 2016) conducted in the United Kingdom. In the experiment, I present respondents with a description of some hypothetical MP who divides the 5-days work week to be spend between the local constituency and the parliament. Some participants

are randomly assigned to a group which hears about an MP who spends more time in the parliament (e.g. 2 days in the constituency and 3 days in the parliament), while other participants are exposed to an MP who spends more time in their local constituency (e.g. 3 days in the constituency and 2 days in the parliament). All participants are then asked whether they approve of the MPs performance as well as whether they are likely to vote for such an MP. By comparing approval ratings and voting likelihood in the various combinations of local versus national attention, one can measure voter preference directly without forcing extreme choice sets or selection bias. The main results are supplemented with considerations of heterogeneous treatment effects by sub-groups.

To preview the findings, I find that respondents prefer a balance between local and national attention. This contrasts with previous studies which argue that African voters have a strong and almost uniform preference for locally oriented representatives. Moreover, I show that Kenyan voters in my sample and British voters in Vivyan and Wagner (2016) closely resemble one another, in that they both prefer a balance between the local and national attention and show a non-linear preference between the two.

I also consider heterogeneous treatment effects across a number of respondent characteristics which are found to be relevant in the existing literature, and find null effects. That is, we might, for example, think that voters would differ based on the extent that they may rely on MP's local service or have a wider ideological disposition. But they do not: even with greater self-interest motivation or local disposition, voters appear to understand that their interests are served best by a combination of attention to the national and to the local.

This study makes a number of contributions. First, I believe it is the first experimental work which examines the micro-level voter preference for legislator attention in Africa. Existing studies have focused on either the cross-country variations stemming from institutional features (e.g. Barkan et al. 2010), or within-country variations based on

interview and survey data Lindberg (2003, 2010).[2] By randomly assigning information about MP time allocation at the individual level, this study is able to go beyond the macro-level variations, overcome selection effects, and provide a clearer picture about what voters demand from their legislators.

Second, this study has important implications for how we perceive and study of politician accountability. The conventional wisdom has been that African voters uniformly prefer politicians who provide greater local attention. Focusing on national policy-making and spending too much time in Parliament, in turn, might even get politicians voted out of the office. Yet if the expectation that the uniform local preference is merely an artifact of survey instrument design and the observation that nationally oriented politicians get voted out is mostly a by-product of selection effects, we ought to rethink how and why politicians are acting the way they do. To the extent that legislators do privilege local politics over national ones, this may be driven by factors other than voter preferences.

Third, my findings challenge the idea of African exceptionalism (e.g. Mozaffar, Scarritt, and Galaich, 2003; Brambor, Clark, and Golder, 2007). While factors such as a culture of clientelism or short history of democracy are often cited as the cause of a preference for local attention in Africa, my findings not only question such a notion of uniform preference for local attention but also demonstrate a striking resemblance in the patterns of preferences shown by voters in Kenya and voters in an advanced democracy context – such as the United Kingdom.

The remainder of this chapter is divided into four sections. First, I briefly review the existing literature on voter preference for legislator attention in Africa and highlight some of their key limitations. Second, I propose my new theoretical framework which is informed by the qualitative evidence gathered from an in-depth focus group discussion,

[2]Expectations based on cross-country variations in institutions, especially electoral systems, are unclear and fails to explain variations within systems. More detailed discussions can be found in the Appendix.

and present my survey experimental setup to test the expectations derived from such a framework. Third, I present the main findings and consider complementary evidence from analyzing heterogeneous treatment effects by subgroups. Finally, I conclude the chapter with a brief summary of the findings and a discussion for future research.

2.2 Theoretical Background

2.2.1 Existing Approaches

Anecdotal accounts from a number of African contexts illustrate that MPs expend substantial time and resources in their constituencies. In Kenya, for example, former Nairobi senator and current governor Mike Sonko stated in a newspaper interview: *"from the time I walk in the office at six o'clock to the time I am leaving at around midnight, I usually see between 1,000 to 1,500 people, on a daily basis."*[3] Similarly in Ghana, Lindberg (2010) documents that "MPs in Ghana wake up almost every morning to face a queue of constituents (often 10–20 persons) that expect them to take time to address their concerns and provide various sums of money."

Existing research reflects these anecdotes, portraying African voters as having strong and nearly uniform preferences for politicians who provide greater local attention. In one of the most comprehensive and systematic studies of African legislatures to date - the African Legislatures Project (ALP) - Barkan et al. (2010) find that voters overall prefer locally focused activities like constituency service more than nationally focused activities like legislating and oversight using a combination of voter and politician survey data. The authors argue that this provides one explanation for the purported weakness of African legislatures: voters provide little incentive for legislators to focus on national

[3]Mwaura Samora, "The making of Nairobi Senator Mike Mbuvi 'Sonko'", August 30, 2013, The Standard (https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000092315/the-making-of-nairobi-senator-mike-mbuvi-sonko)

policy-making or oversight of executives. Lindberg (2003, 2010), similarly finds that MPs in Ghana focus on providing personal benefits and constituency service because they think that these are what their constituents want based on his MP interviews. In fact, a number of studies make the observation that MPs who focus more on parliamentary than constituency work are more likely to get voted out of office than those who focus on the local constituency (e.g. Lindberg, 2003; Barkan et al., 2010; Mattes and Mozaffar, 2016).

Scholars interpret these findings as suggesting that the uniquely clientelistic nature of African politics privileges a political culture emphasizing service to individuals and group constituencies rather than legislative production and oversight (e.g. Englebert and Dunn, 2013). On the basis of these findings, scholars infer that African legislatures are weak and rubber-stamping institutions without the capacity to counterbalance executives. For example, Francois, Rainer, and Trebbi (2015) dismiss the need to include legislators into their examination of elite politics in Africa, because legislators are no more than rubber-stamps to the executive's decisions. Grossman, Humphreys, and Sacramone-Lutz (2014) also cite legislatures being rubber stamps as one reason why politicians do not seek enough information from voters. Finally, Ichino and Nathan (2012*b*) cite irrelevance of legislators' policy preference on national policy as one of the reasons why theories of primary elections adaptation derived from anywhere else in the world may not be adequate to explain primaries in Africa.

2.2.2 Limitations

Although many scholars assume that African voters prefer politicians who focus on local issues over national ones, a number of factors weaken the validity of prior findings. First, many existing works derive their conclusions about voter demand based only on indirect evidence. For example, Lindberg (2003, 2010) conducts interviews

with Ghanaian MPs and ask what pressure they perceive themselves to face from their constituents. MPs shared that their constituents demand personal benefits the most, followed by constituency service and representation; the demand for legislative activities and executive oversight is close to non-existent. Based on such evidence, he concludes that since voters demand that politicians spend their time on local constituency issues rather than national ones, MPs respond by providing it in a rational manner. While this indirect approach reveals much about what the MPs think, it may fall short of capturing actual voter preference. For example, in his subsequent coauthored work, Lindberg gathers voter survey data in Ghana and find that voters evaluate their MPs not just on the basis on constituency service and benefits, but also in terms of legislative performance (Weghorst and Lindberg, 2013), thus revealing a possible disconnect between the indirect evidence and actual preferences.

Second, while an obvious alternative is to ask voters directly what they want from their legislators, the construction of existing survey questions reduce their validity because they force respondents to choose between false binaries, or other limited choice sets. Barkan et al. (2010), for instance, reports that when Afrobarometer respondents in six countries were directly asked what they consider to be the most important MP responsibility, the answer was overwhelmingly for local constituency attention.[4] Mattes and Mozaffar (2016) later expand on this result and report that close to 80% of the more than 20,000 respondents in Afrobarometer Round 4 report a preference for local attention. Based on this survey evidence, they conclude that "African citizens, in general, expect their MPs to focus more on local issues than on national legislative or institutional issues" (Mattes and Mozaffar, 2016, p. 205). In both of these cases, the responses are based on a question that asks interviewees to choose "the most important responsibility" of their legislators.[5] Another key question in the Afrobarometer used by Mattes and Mozaffar

[4]These six countries are: Kenya, Malawi, Zambia, South Africa, Namibia, and Mozambique.

[5]The exact question working is as follows: *"Representatives to the National Assembly have different*

(2016) asks the respondents to choose between the following two statements: *"In electing a Member of Parliament, I prefer to vote for a candidate who 1. can deliver goods and services to people in this community. 2. can make policies that benefit everyone in our country."* Yet the decisions that MPs face are never really about choosing one over others; and forcing such type of response inevitably distorts voter responses, making them appear more lopsided than they actually are. The image of voters as resolutely local in their orientation may therefore be an artifact of the way survey questions are constructed, not a true reflection of preferences.

Third, some of the existing questions may be too abstract or normatively preloaded with biases for the respondents to provide a meaningful answer. For example, one of the core question capturing the respondents' preference for MP responsibility in Afrobarometer asks the following: *"Members of Parliament have different responsibilities. Which of the following do you think is the most important responsibility of your Member of Parliament?"* with the possible choice set of *"1=Listen to constituents and represent their needs, 2=Deliver jobs or development, 3=Make laws for the good of the country, 4=Monitor the president and his government"*. Yet some of these choices, such as *"listen to constituents"* may be too broad and vague, while others, such as *"make laws for the good of the country"* may prime unintended positive bias and lead respondents in a particular direction.

Finally, existing work based on interviews, case studies, and survey data likely suffers from selection bias. For example, as one conclusion derived from their extensive research across sixteen African countries involving both MP interviews and voter surveys, Barkan and his collogues emphasize the importance of supporting and strengthening the few but brave so-called institutionalists who define legislating and oversight as

responsibilities. Which the following do you think is the most important responsibility of your representative to the National Assembly: Listening to Constituents and represent their needs? Deliver jobs or development to your constituency? Make laws for the good of the country? Monitor the President and his government?"

part of their responsibilities (Barkan et al., 2010; Mattes, Barkan, and Mozaffar, 2012; Mattes and Mozaffar, 2016). They argue that these reformers are small in numbers but can eventually constitute a critical mass to bring about change for true legislative strengthening. Unfortunately, these institutionalists are also more likely to get voted out, they argue, precisely because they focus more on national rather than local issues, thus inferring characteristics of voter preferences from the re-election rates of politicians. Yet, several alternative mechanisms could explain the lower re-election rate of institutionalists. If they also tend to be younger, more educated, and to represent urban constituencies – as also observed by Mattes, Barkan, and Mozaffar (2012) – it is perhaps also more likely that these MPs face greater electoral competition than their rural counterparts. Using observational data on voter preference for MP attention can also suffer from a problem of selection into information. For example, those voters who have greater interests in national policies for whatever reason may be more likely to acquire information about MP's work at the parliament. In other words, we cannot disentangle whether legislator attention, constituency characteristics, or some other factor is driving the observed outcome MPs losing elections using this evidence.

2.3 My Approach

Building upon the existing works while taking into account these limitations, I propose a simple theoretical framework about voter preference for legislators' local versus national attention as a time-allocation problem and present a survey experiment to test voters' expectations based on such framework.

Imagine a voter having to choose between two goods, local and national attention that his or her legislator can provide. The voter recognizes that their MP operates with only finite resources of time and effort which can be allocated between national and local

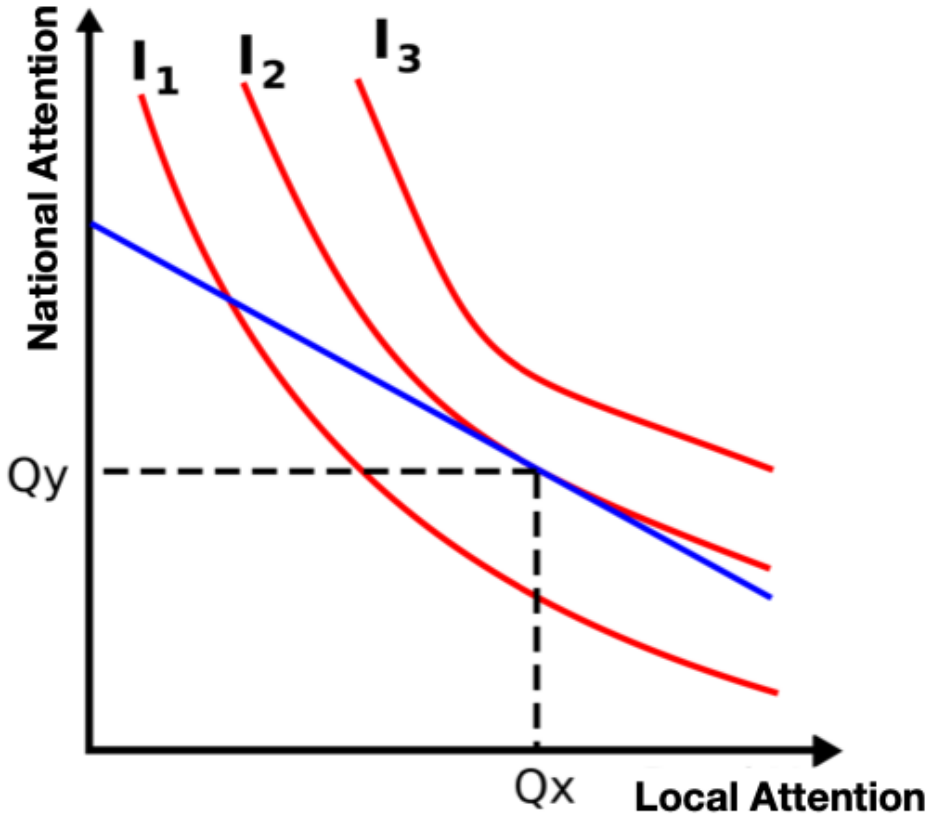


Figure 2.1: A Simple model of Voter Preference for MP attention as an allocation problem

attention. A simple diagram in *Figure 2.1* captures the intuition. The indifference curves are marked in red, and the MP's budget constraint for time and effort marked in blue. From this diagram, it is obvious that the choice would rarely be the extremes lying on either axes. Instead, the voter's choice is more likely to be one of some balance between the two given the recognition about the resource constraints that his or her MP faces: i.e., at the intersection between the red curve and the blue line in *Figure 2.1*.

An in-depth focus group discussion I conducted with ten subjects recruited from various parts of Nairobi, Kenya to better understand what voters want from their MPs provides support this simple framework of voter demand for legislator attention.[6] First,

[6]The recruitment and training of the focus group participants were done by Ipsos Kenya. The participants were intentionally recruited to ensure variations in terms of gender, class, occupation, ethnicity, and partisanship, among other attributes. The discussions were held on February 19, 2019.

voters recognize that both local and national attention is important. When asked about why he said he would approve the performance of an MP who spends more days in the parliament, one participant stated the following:

> *"My core function is legislation. They should have at least spoken in Parliament and even passed a bill that has some value to the common mwananchi [citizen]. Second, is how he/her has utilized almost the 100M to do the development on the ground? More so the bursaries, the infrastructure, the schools and the likes."*

Moreover, not only voters see that local and national attention are both important, they understand that they are connected – i.e. MPs cannot deliver local attention without working through the legislature, and they cannot do good work in the legislature if they do not understand their constituents. To this end, one participant explains:

> *"[A]t the end of the day, you've spent three days on the ground, or you've spent four days on the ground and you've spent only one day in Parliament then where are you going to take issues that you have actually gathered from the ground to Parliament? How are they going to be processed; because all these issues that you gathered from the ground, must be processed in the National Assembly. They must again be turned into pieces of legislation, into policies, into programs, or you must use these issues to hold the government to account."*

Therefore, voters see that local and national attention should be linked and they prefer a balance across them, not extremes:

> *"As an MP, the first function that he/she is supposed to do is legislation.*

Second is now moving on the ground, working with the CDF,[7] *and to do the development and the bursaries. Now if he's failing at the first function which is legislation and he/she has been allocated staff that are supposed to more of the ground work, he's wasting the precious time he will be in parliament, legislating, passing laws, and defending what the people stand for and wasting them on the ground."*

These remarks not only show the sophisticated understanding of ordinary African voters echoing the findings by Barkan (1976) more than four decades ago, but also provides some context about how voters perceive priorities for MP responsibilities.

Based on such a theoretical framework, I designed and conducted a vignette experiment embedded in a nationally representative survey in Kenya, where I randomly assign information about MP attention. The design builds upon a similar design previously implemented in the United Kingdom by Vivyan and Wagner (2015, 2016). My survey was conducted on July 2 – 10, 2017 with a sample of 2,209 respondents. After a short introduction and screening questions aimed to exclude respondents under the age of 18, interviewers read short vignettes describing a hypothetical MP. The experiment manipulated one factor, the number of days the MP spends working in the Parliament versus the local constituency. Specifically, in order to ensure non-extreme choices reflecting the theoretical framework, respondents received one of four treatments, each of which is a combination of days summing up to a five-day work week, as shown in *Table 2.1*.[8] In other words, a hypothetical MP who spends one day in the local constituency would also spend 4 days in the parliament. Likewise, a hypothetical MP who spends three days in the local constituency would spend the remaining two days in the parliament.

[7] Introduced in 2003, the Constituency Development Fund (CDF) is a fund allocated at the constituency level to support projects mainly in the areas of education, health, agriculture, roads, security, environment and sports (https://www.ngcdf.go.ke/index.php/about-ng-cdf).

[8] A figure depicting balance across different observable respondent traits can be found in the Appendix.

Table 2.1: Summary of Treatments

Days spent working in..	**Number of Days**			
Local Constituency	1	2	3	4
Parliament	4	3	2	1

The first vignette text, reflecting this design, read as follows:

> *"Think about how you judge the performance of an MP. Imagine that some MP usually spends (1 day / 2 days / 3 days / 4 days) of a 5-day week working in the Parliament, and the remaining (4 days / 3 days / 2 days / 1 day) working here in the local constituency. How much do you approve or disapprove of how this MP spends his or her time?"*

In this first vignette, the treatment is based on the randomly assigned time allocation of a hypothetical MP, while the outcome variable is respondents performance approval. This is followed by the following question, which reiterates the time allocation, and instead of job approval asks for the likelihood that the respondent will vote for the hypothetical MP:

> *"Thinking about the same MP who usually spends (1 day / 2 days / 3 days / 4 days) of a 5-day week working in the Parliament, and the remaining (4 days / 3 days / 2 days / 1 day) working here in the local constituency. If such an MP was running for an election, how likely are you to vote for such an MP?"*

After the vignette, interviewers asked respondents a variety of questions on demographic information, such as employment status, income, and ethnicity. The vignette design overcomes a number of problems found in prior work. First, the MP effort is presented as a combination of local and national attention, and not as a dichotomous option, adopting the original design by Vivyan and Wagner (2015, 2016). Second, the

vignette avoids using loaded language and simply provides the number of days out of 5-day week working between local constituency and the national parliament. Third, such information about MP attention allocation is randomly assigned to respondents. The experimental approach helps address the problem of selection effects for politicians or endogenous information acquisition by randomizing information across respondents, making the treatment groups equal on average. Compared to observational studies, it is more likely to yield unbiased estimates of causal effects. Finally, the survey design was intentionally made comparable to similar studies by Vivyan and Wagner (2015, 2016) conducted in an advanced democracy context – namely, the United Kingdom - in order to compare and contrast the African voters with those in other contexts.

2.4 Empirical Strategy And Results

2.4.1 Main Results

A simple difference-in-means analysis yields an unbiased average treatment effect (ATE) estimates. I therefore use ordinary least squares (OLS) analyses with dummy variables for each level of the treatments with spending one day as the baseline category. The dependent variables are based on questions about whether the respondent is likely to 1) approve the performance of, or 2) vote for the hypothetical MP described in the vignette. If voters always prefer local attention from their MPs, we would observe a linear progression of preferences in the results – similar to the one depicted in *Figure 2.2* where the y-axis captures the change in probability of a positive approval rating for each additional day in the constituency.

The actual survey experimental data instead shows that voters are not binary in their approach to MP time. Looking first at the MP approval rating as the dependent variable, I find a non-linear relationship as depicted in *Figure 2.3*: voters do not strictly

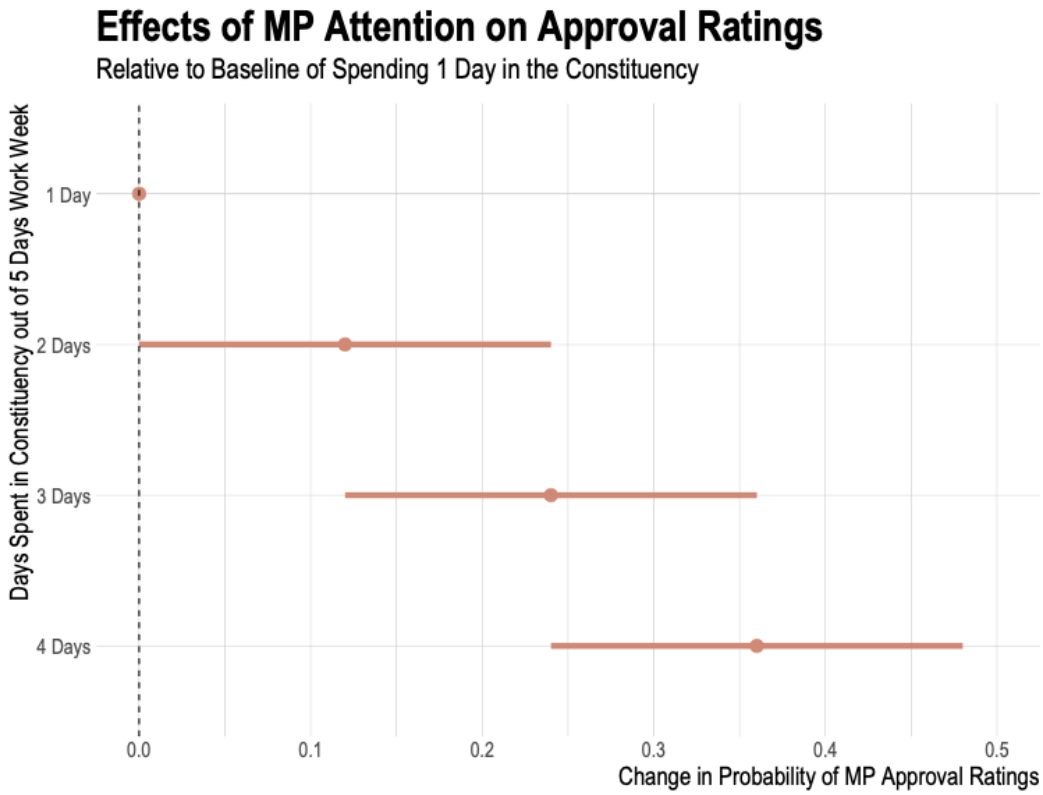


Figure 2.2: Hypothetical Example: Voters Prefer Local attention

prefer either all-national or all-local attentions but a combination.[9] The ordering of the combinations for MPs' days spent in the parliament versus constituency in both countries were (2, 3), (3, 2), (1, 4), and (4, 1) days, respectively. In fact, *Figure 2.3* shows increased approval as a result of adding local service days, but with most going from 1 day to 3 days — not 1 day to 4 days —and increases also in moving to 2 days as well as 4 days, where the largest increase is moving to balanced posture. This seems to indicate that, unlike the conventional expectation, voters prefer a balance between local and national attention. We can further examine the results with an alternative dependent variable,

[9]The results here are presented as a comparison between spending X number of days and spending one day, in order to keep them consistent with another study conducted in the UK (Vivyan and Wagner 2015; 2016) for later comparison. However, most of the treatment-by-treatment comparisons - other than between 2 days and 4 days spent at the local constituency – are statistically significant as reported in the Appendix.

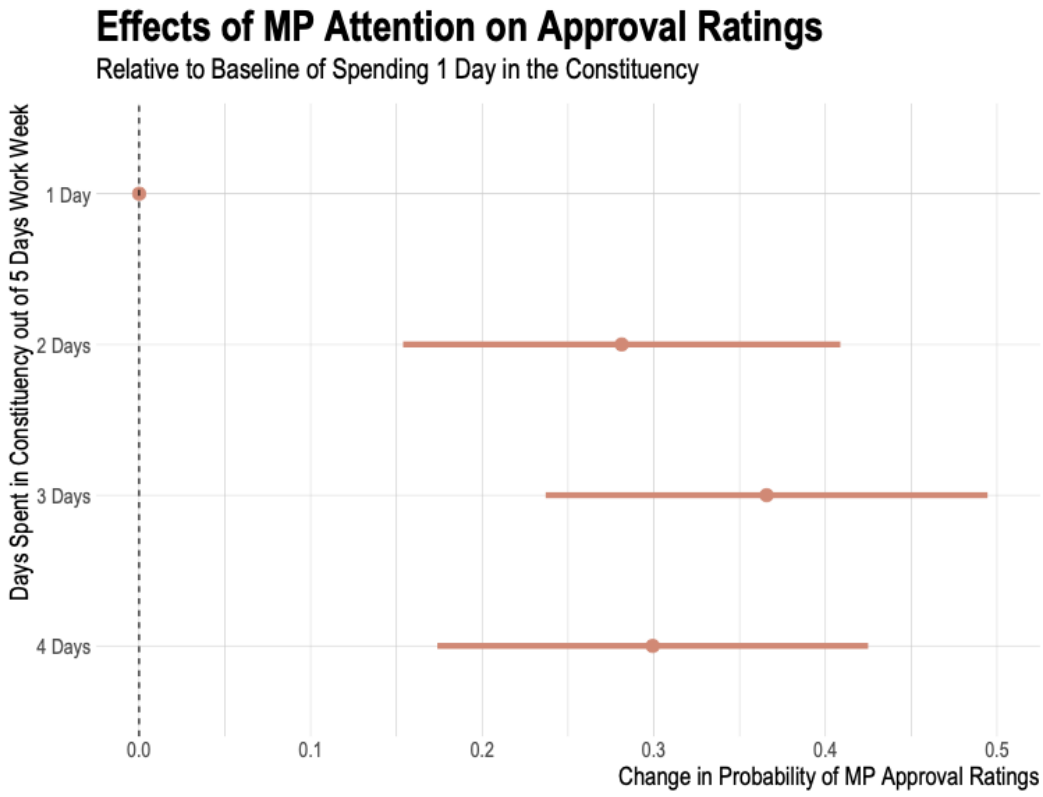


Figure 2.3: Results (DV: Likely to Approve Hypothetical MP Performance)

voting intention. Results depicted in *Figure 2.4*, again, consistently show a non-linear relationship where the voters seem to prefer, this time 3 days, over 2 days, over 4 days, over a day spent in the local constituency. While it is true that voters really reject the idea of an MP spending minimal time in the constituency (only one day), the conventional wisdom about the overwhelming uniform preference for local attention seems unfounded and may be an artifact of measurement.

Finally, we can compare this pattern of voter preference for legislator attention between the Kenyan voters in my sample and British voters studied by Vivyan and Wagner (2015, 2016). *Figure 2.5* presents the outcome for voting intention side-by-side, where the left panel is from my Kenyan study and the right panel is from the British study. We see that the pattern shown by the Kenyan voter sample is strikingly similar

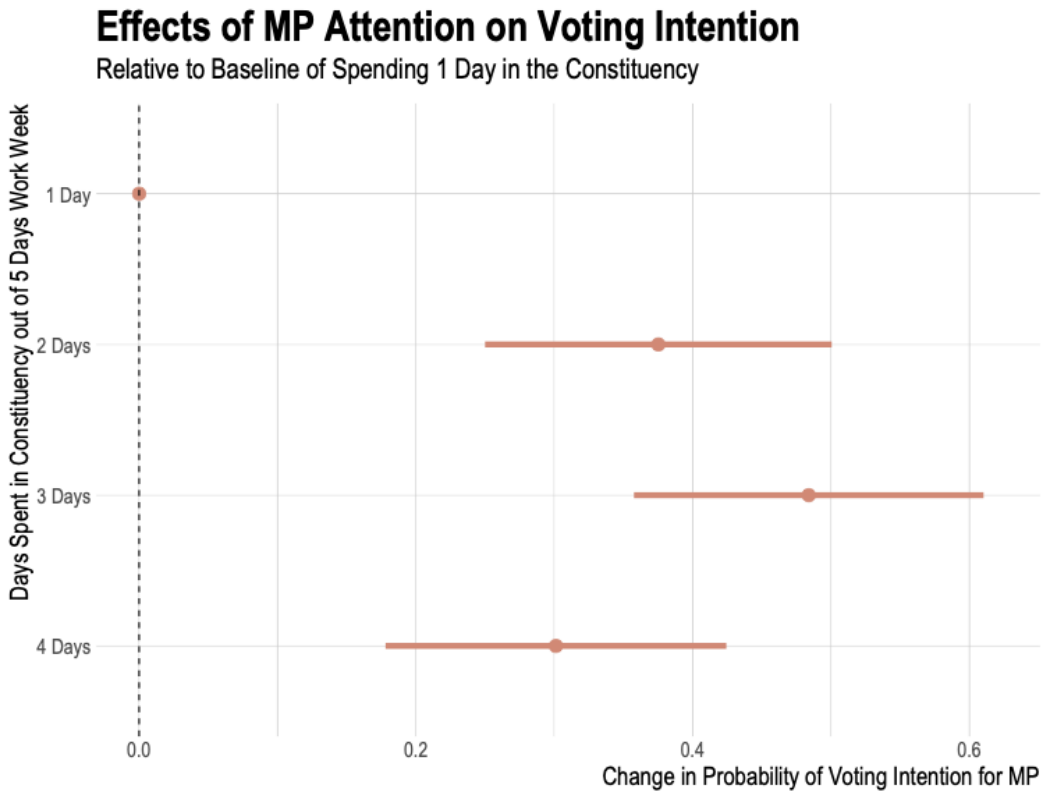


Figure 2.4: Results (DV: Likely to Vote for Hypothetical MP)

to that shown by the British voters, living in a country with arguably less culture of clientelism, a longer history of democracy, and vastly different macro political and economic institutions. While admittedly the comparison with the British case is simply descriptive, the close resemblance of the results suggests that African voters, at least in the Kenyan experimental context examined in this study, are not exceptional.

2.5 Discussion: Why Do Voters Want Balance?

The results of my experiment challenge the conventional wisdom that African voters prefer politicians who exclusively focus on local goods provision. Other than the suggestive evidence from the qualitative accounts based on in-depth focus group

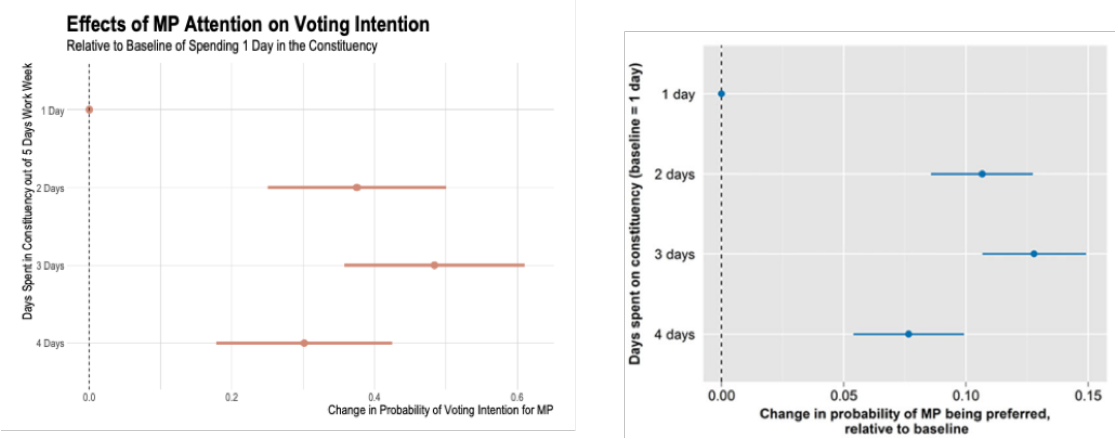


Figure 2.5: Comparison between Kenyan and British Voters

discussions that the preference for balance between local and national attention is likely to be driven by voters' sophisticated understanding about the responsibilities of legislators, my experimental findings do not tell us why we might be observing this aggregate preference for balance between local and national attention, however. I therefore consider complementary approaches including examining heterogeneous treatment effects by different sub-groups.

2.5.1 Heterogeneous Treatment Effects: Subgroup Analyses

Which voters are more likely to prefer locally oriented politicians? I examine heterogeneous treatment effects to explore two possibilities. First, I consider whether self-interested and instrumentally motivated individuals respond more to the treatment. Voters who look at politics instrumentally - asking themselves how the work of a representative could produce personal benefits for themselves – might naturally favor local attention Griffin and Flavin (2011); Harden (2013). In the African context, patron-client relationships have been at the center of the discourse around governance and accountability (e.g. Lemarchand, 1972; Van de Walle, 2003). Even several decades into the surge of procedural democratization (Gibson, 2002), personal and informal contact between voters

and politicians continue to characterize African politics. In his examination of politics in urban Ghana, Paller (2014) documents frequent patron-client contacts, especially around election cycles. Likewise, in the most up-to-date investigation on the subject, Mueller (2018) shows that at least one in three voters across twenty-seven countries in the Afrobarometer Round 5 have made personal contact with their elected politicians; moreover, most of their requests were clientelistic in nature. If voters who tend to seek personal contacts are more likely to favor local attention in advanced democracies, such tendencies may be even more acutely present in the sub-Saharan African context, as poverty and relative lack of public service provision, for example, might amplify the tendency for voters to view politics instrumentally and thus prefer local attention. More specifically, we could expect that *on average, voters who stand to benefit more from local attention should have a greater preference for local over national attention.*

Second, instead of instrumental reasoning, voter preferences over legislator attention may be driven by some *underlying dispositions for local versus national politics* Vivyan and Wagner (2016). For example, if an individual sees him or herself primarily as a member of a local community, that voter might tend to favor constituent service, whereas those with a greater national identification would favor national attention. While a number of works in the sub-Saharan African context examine factors affecting individual's local versus national disposition as a dependent variable, or how local versus national disposition affects aggregate outcomes, we know less about the effects of local-national disposition on individual-level outcomes.[10] Borrowing from literature in other contexts, I expect that on average, voters who possess a stronger local rather than a national disposition to have a greater preference for local over national attention.

In the case of British voters, Vivyan and Wagner (2016) find evidence of het-

[10]Some examples of the former type include those who study colonial history (Nunn, 2008), electoral cycles (Eifert, Miguel, and Posner, 2010), or even soccer matches (Depetris-Chauvin and Durante, 2017) as factors affecting individual disposition. Examples of the later types include aggregate level outcomes such as public goods provision (Miguel, 2004) or development (Michalopoulos and Papaioannou, 2014).

erogeneous treatment effects for the local versus national disposition but not for the self-interest explanation. Specifically, they find that those who exhibit a greater national disposition tend to have a stronger preference for more days spent in the parliament. My data, however, presents no support for either of these explanations. First, I find that no evidence for the self-interest explanation. To test this, I split the sample between those who have themselves or know someone who has personally sought assistance from their local MP and look for any noticeable difference between the two sub-groups.[11] I find a consistent ordering supporting the balanced preference, with no statistical difference between those who did or did not seek help in the F-test (p=0.45). Similarly, testing for any heterogeneous effects for *local-national disposition*, I consider the difference between those who answered they care more about local rather than national politics.[12] Here again, the F-test fails to reject the null hypothesis that the effect of MP days on local versus national work is the same across the two groups ($p = 0.47$). In fact, no discernable difference can be found across a host of covariates in addition to the ones mentioned above, such as education, income, assets, marital status, urban-rural residency, or religious affiliation.[13]

The only heterogeneous treatment effects identified is between ruling and opposition coalition supporters, as presented in *Figure 2.6*. Splitting the sample between those who self-identified as feeling closer to the ruling Jubilee coalition, the opposition NASA coalition, and others, I find that the F-test fails to reject the null hypothesis at the 95% confidence level ($p = 0.048$). A few notes need to be made. First, despite the heterogeneous effect by partisan identification, we can still confirm the general finding: unlike the conventional expectation, voters do not uniformly prefer local over national

[11] The exact question wording is: *"Have you or has someone you know personally sought assistance from your local MP?"*

[12] The exact question wording is: *"You care more about how things are going in your local area than about how things are going in Kenya as a whole."*

[13] See Appendix for more detail.

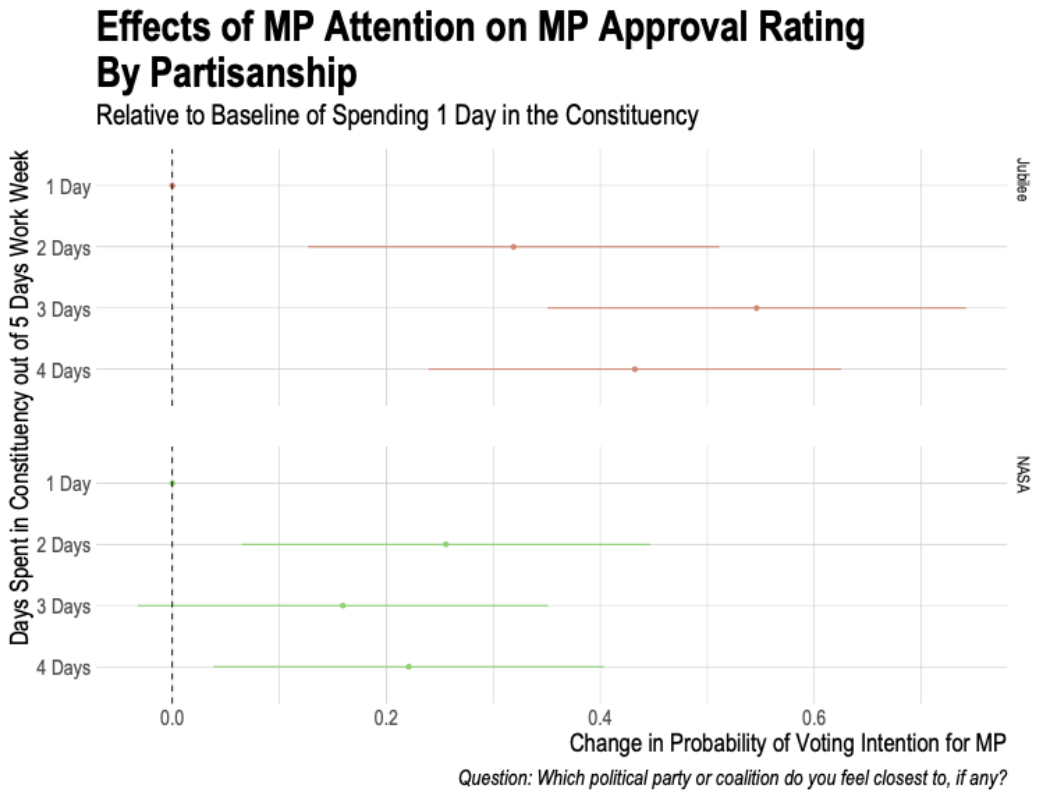


Figure 2.6: Heterogeneous Treatment Effect by Partisanship

attention, and vice versa. In fact, in neither of the coalition categories, spending 4 days in the constituency is preferred over a more balanced posture of time expenditure. The rank ordering of the preference for Jubilee supporters is consistent with the overall finding – they prefer 3, 4, and 2 days spent in the constituency in rank order. While the overall MP approval ratings are lower, we can also see that their supporters support 2, 4, and 3 days spent in the constituency in rank order.

This difference between the ruling and the opposition supporters is interesting. On the one hand, it is possible that the information about the time spent by MPs conveys more than simply the attention allocation of the legislators. One of the main differences between ruling and opposition parties is access to central state resources. It is possible that the preference among the opposition supporters is highly polarized: for some, winning

over the national policy and hence spending only 2 days in the constituency is preferable, while for others, focusing on local attention now is what matters most since central state resources are difficult to access anyways. Another possible explanation for this heterogeneous treatment effect is a simple draw of chance. Given the number of different subsample dimensions considered, at 95% confidence level, it is possible for one of the variables to come up with statistical significance.

2.6 Summary And Concluding Remarks

This chapter sought to explore voter preferences for MP attention in Africa. Existing literature argues that voters strongly if not uniformly prefer local over national attention and suggest that these preferences lay at the root of the tendency of African legislators to focus on constituency service over national legislating, and even more broadly, the general insignificance of legislatures in African politics. I argue that this view of voter preferences reflects the wording of survey questions and selection effects. In short, it is an artifact of design choices, not a true reflection of African politics. Instead, I proposed a theory of voter preference for MP attention as an allocation problem and conducted a vignette experiment embedded in a nationally representative survey in Kenya. I find not only that voters in Kenya prefer a balance between local and national attention but also that such preference for balance highly resembles that shown by British voters. While I do not find any heterogeneous treatment effects by self-interest or local versus national disposition as expected in the existing studies, I do find an interesting variation across ruling and opposition party supporters that warrants further investigation.

The findings of this chapter raise an important question: if voters prefer a balance between local and national attention from their MPs, why do MPs fail to meet such expectation and act like constituency service is the only thing that matters to their

constituents? If legislators are not responding to constituent preferences, what are they responding to? On the one hand, it is possible that real voter preferences for legislator attention diverge from those revealed in the experiment since survey responses entail no real costs or benefits. For instance, one may speculate that voters state that they prefer a balance between local and national attention when asked in a survey, but their real-world voting action will still strictly prefer local attention based primarily on self-interest. Inducing some real costs and benefits, perhaps in a lab experimental setting, could be a useful extension for future research. On the other hand, it might be that MPs simply have it wrong, and the disjuncture is a product of poor knowledge about voters. While existing research in advanced democracy settings shows that politicians are likely to vote in line with constituent opinions when provided information about them (e.g. Butler and Nickerson, 2011), the same dynamics have yet to be examined in the sub-Saharan African context. In the only paper to my knowledge that attempts to do so, Sacramone-Lutz (2019), finds that providing information about voter preferences for health budgets in Uganda did not change any substantive MP behaviors. Given this, examining and understanding how and when legislators may react to new and correct information about voter preference will be crucial going forward.

Finally, as with any study, this research has limitations. A key decision in designing the survey experiment was the attribute to manipulate. The first and most obvious choice was the days spent in the capital versus the local constituency, given the interest of this project on legislators' national versus local attention. While random assignment takes care of selection bias, the design of this study leaves some possibility that the voters care about attention allocation only as a proxy for other legislator attributes. For instance, given the subgroup difference based on partisanship, it may be possible that the opposition supporters are more likely to positively view national attention as opposed to local attention as opposition MPs push for reforms in the parliament. Given

this uncertainty, a future line of research should investigate the channel through which partisanship affects voters' preference for legislator attention allocation.

Chapter 3

Electoral Security and Legislator Attention: Evidence from the Kenyan National Assembly Debates, 2008-2017.

How do African legislators divide their attention between the demands of their local constituency and their responsibilities in national parliament? Majority of studies portrays African legislators as mere rubber-stamping constituency servants. I show instead significant variation in legislator attention. Building on the literature on the electoral origins of legislator behavior, I argue that electoral pressure faced by individual legislators heavily conditions their decisions about how to allocate effort between local and national priorities. Using a novel dataset of 56,000+ speeches made by over 400 unique legislators in the Kenyan National Assembly from 2008 to 2017, I develop speech-based measures of local versus national attention. I show that Kenyan legislators in less competitive constituencies speak more in national parliament, suggesting a greater commitment to national

policymaking. Moreover, when I disaggregate data by type of speech, I find that electorally vulnerable legislators engage in locally oriented speeches, whereas those with security speak more about national topics. Speech data thus reveals an interesting tension within democratizing countries: greater democracy on one dimension – contestation – may ironically create barriers to increasing democracy on a different dimension – horizontal accountability.

3.1 Introduction

How do African legislators divide their attention between meeting the demands of their local constituency and fulfilling their responsibilities in national parliament? Existing studies claim that MPs focus only on local constituency issues rather than invest in national policy generation. Yet, we see Kenyan MPs engaging in various levels of parliamentary floor activities as this chapter will demonstrate. What explains such MP floor activities if MPs face incentives that are opposed to proving national legislative effort?

Legislators face an important allocation problem: what is the optimal division of their finite time and effort given the wide-ranging responsibilities of legislating, oversight, constituency service, and representation? On the one hand, if legislators focus mostly on national duties like legislating and oversight, they may risk their re-election chances by becoming disconnected with constituents who care primarily about their local interests. On the other hand, if legislators focus mostly on their local constituency, they may lower their chances of re-election by alienating constituents who care about legislator's national legislative functions or losing favor with party leaders. Scholars have explored the trade-off between local versus national legislative effort in the United States, Latin America, Europe, and Asia (e.g. André, Depauw, and Martin, 2015; Brouard et al., 2013;

Kellermann, 2014; Shin, 2015; Sulkin, Testa, and Usry, 2015; Vivyan and Wagner, 2015, 2016). However, the nature and extent to which African legislators deal with this trade-off have attracted limited attention. Most scholars describe politicians as solely focused on meeting the demands of their constituents or buying them off due to constituents' overwhelming demand for constituency service (e.g. Barkan et al., 2010; Lindberg, 2010). Yet popular media frequently report on politicians' absence from their local constituencies once they get elected.[1]

In this chapter, I argue that electoral pressure exerts a strong influence on how politicians allocate their limited resources of time and effort. While those running in safer districts have more leeway to engage in national level policy discussions, politicians from competitive districts use scarce floor time to make locally-oriented appeals. In order to test this electoral incentive model of legislator effort, I construct a novel dataset on parliamentary speeches from the 10th and 11th (2008-2017) National Assembly of Kenya by parsing information from the Kenyan Hansards - a form of parliamentary debate transcript that is also used in Britain and other Commonwealth countries. Using a combination of supervised and unsupervised machine learning techniques, I classify more than 55,000 unique speeches made by over 400 unique individual MP from constituencies of various characteristics into locally versus nationally oriented speeches, and test my hypotheses that greater electoral security leads to more speeches in general, and that different types of speeches – whether locally targeted or nationally oriented - are differentially affected by electoral incentives. The wealth of data and variation allows me to evaluate how electoral incentives affect legislator attention in a more systematic fashion than has previously been possible. The use of parliamentary speech in a text-

[1]For instance, more than a year after the previous election a resident in a Northeastern Kenyan province accuses that his Member of Parliament (MP) was "last spotted held shoulder high when he was declared winner" in an interview (Boniface Ongeri and Adow Jubat, "Residents cry foul over absentee MPs", March 15, 2009, The Standard, https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/1144008917/residents-cry-foul-over-absentee-mps$)

as-data approach at the subnational level is particularly novel in the study of legislative development in sub-Saharan Africa, which has largely relied on either cross-national data to study the effectiveness of legislature as a whole or on small-n qualitative data for in-depth case studies (Gibson, 1999; Hassan and Sheely, 2017; Opalo, 2019*a*,*b*, c.f.).

To preview the results, I find support for the electoral incentive model of legislator attention in Kenya. First, I analyze whether greater electoral security, as measured by the vote margin of the constituency, correlates with the overall number of speeches and find that it does. This relationship, however, is non-monotonic: positive effects of greater electoral security on the number of speeches delivered diminish and eventually turn negative past a certain threshold. Further nuance emerges when I classify speeches according to their local versus national attention. I find that electorally secure politicians engage in more nationally oriented speeches, while vulnerable politicians engage in more locally oriented speeches - a tendency masked in aggregate speech data. These findings hold when controlling for a variety of confounds at the individual legislator and constituency levels and absorbing variations from parliament-specific trends.

My findings shed new light on legislative politics in Africa in general and Kenya in particular and contribute to the nascent literature on legislative politics in Africa (Barkan, 2009*a*; Hassan and Sheely, 2017; Opalo, 2019*a*,*b*, e.g.) by offering one of the first empirical analyses of legislative debate participation in Africa.

3.2 Theoretical Background

3.2.1 Conventional Views of African Legislators

Conventional views often portray African legislators as local constituency servants who provide little in the form of national legislating and oversight, while simply rubber-stamping executive decisions (e.g. Baldwin, 2013; Barkan, 2009*a*; Ichino and Nathan,

2012*b*; Lindberg and Morrison, 2008; Wantchekon, 2003). According to this view, presidential power is strong to the degree that the presidents can dictate which laws get introduced and passed (e.g. Van de Walle, 2003; Van Cranenburgh, 2008); voters prefer locally targeted public goods and constituency service over legislative production and oversight (Barkan et al., 2010; Englebert and Dunn, 2013, e.g.); and legislators do not see legislating or oversight as their core responsibilities due to the pressure from the president and the incentives created by voters (e.g. Lindberg, 2003, 2010). The resulting expectation is that voters only reward MPs who provide locally targeted services, and thus MPs have little incentives to invest their efforts into national policy.

Many qualitative accounts of Kenyan politics that support this view. Politicians at various levels report pressure to provide local benefits. For instance, former Tigania West MP, Kilemi Mwiria, states that he reserves one day each week from 9 am to 8 pm and two hours from 4 to 6 pm daily, solely to meeting his constituents and listening to the demands of "wananchi," a Swahili word for ordinary citizens.[2] Similarly, former ward councilor and later North Imenti MP Rahim Dawood claims that he meets with no less than 50 people daily.[3] Second, the pressure from the constituents is not only limited to politicians' time but also monetary resources. For instance, Senator Mike Sonko stated in an interview that he *"dish out millions of shillings daily during 'consultations' with [his] constituents."*[4] Westlands MP Timothy Wanyonyi similarly claimed that all the voters want from their MPs are money and development projects and not legislating.[5]

[2]Peninah Gakii, "Day in The Life: I feel good listening to wananchi's problems even though I can't solve them all", The Star, January 28, 2012, (https://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2012/01/28/day-in-the-life-i-feel-good-listening-to-wananchis-problems-even_c571158)

[3]Peninah Gakii, "Day in The Life: My motivation is service to the community", The Star, April 7, 2012, (https://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2012/04/07/day-in-the-life-my-motivation-is-service-to-the-community_c601392)

[4]Mwaura Samora, "The making of Nairobi Senator Mike Mbuvi 'Sonko'", August 30, 2013, The Standard (https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000092315/the-making-of-nairobi-senator-mike-mbuvi-sonko)

[5]ALC African Radio, "What does it take to be a Member of Parliament in Kenya: Perspectives from Hon. Timothy Wanyonyi", July 20, 2018 (http://alcafricanradio.com/what-does-it-take-to-be-a-member-of-parliament-in-kenya-perspectives-from-timothy-wanyonyi/)

Even at the aspirant level, one prominent candidate during the 2017 election cycle, Bonafice Mwaingi, claimed that *"voters don't expect you to deliver services, they just want handouts"* based on his experience being on the campaign trail.[6] MPs thus face pressures to focus on providing goods to and be present in their home constituencies. A newspaper article reporting on an MP workshop attended by more than 250 MPs in 2013 writes that *"[MPs] don't like the people who elected them because most of them are always begging for money. They said voters were accosting them for handouts to pay funeral, medical, and even wedding bills. They complained that they are always the 'guests of honour' in events in constituencies."*[7]

3.2.2 Locally Oriented Legislators?

If legislators are pressured to perform at the local level, why would they bother to invest effort or devote time in parliamentary floor debates? First, if we assume politicians to be rational and strategic in their use of time and attention, we would expect them to spend most of their time in their constituencies. The data, however, shows otherwise. Data from Afrobarometer Round 4 (2007-2008), for instance, shows that more than one-third of the survey respondents believe that their members of parliament (MPs) never spend time in their constituencies (*Figure 3.1*). While survey respondents' perceptions about MP presence is perhaps not sufficiently precise to capture the true level of MP activities, and can be influenced by other factors such as partisanship, this result highlights that MPs are at least not doing a good job of convincing voters they are present in their local constituencies.

Second, despite the pressure to focus on local matters, MPs do attend parliamen-

[6] Bonafice Mwaingi, "I sold my wife's car: how voters create monsters", The Nairobian, August 2018, (https://www.sde.co.ke/article/2001289806/i-sold-my-wife-s-car-boniface-mwangi-reveals-how-voters-create-monsters)

[7] Alphonse Shiundu, "Don tips leaders on their legislative role", The Standard, September 14, 2013 (https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000093501/don-tips-leaders-on-their-legislative-role)

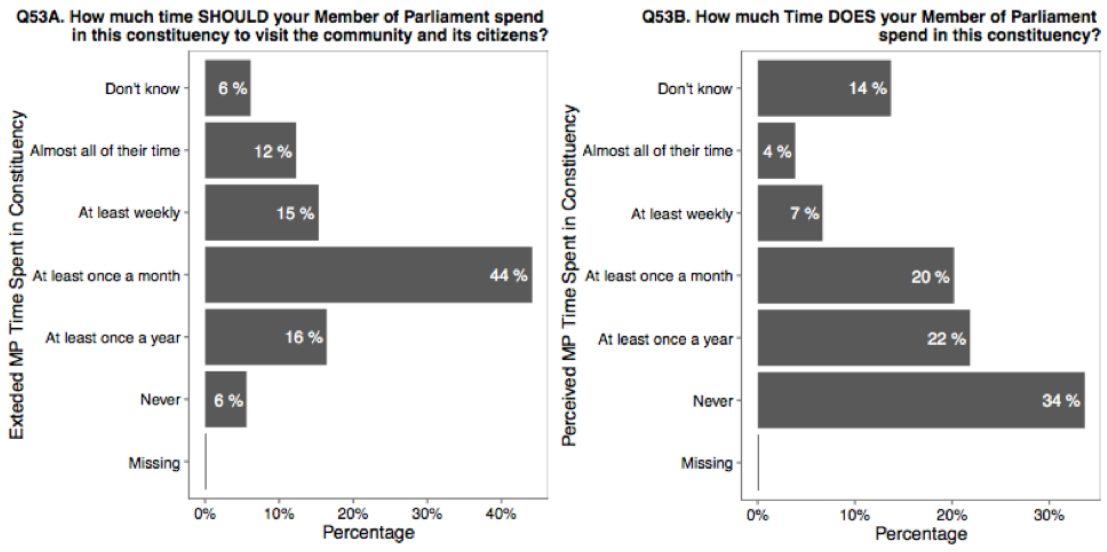


Figure 3.1: Expected Versus Perceived Time Spent in Local Constituencies by Members of Parliament (Afrobarometer Round 4)

tary debates and make speeches on the floor. During the period of the 10th and 11th National Assembly (2008-2017) this paper studies, for example, the mean number of speeches made by an MP was 115.6 per parliaments, with a total of over 55,000 speeches made by more than 400 MPs. This number is surprising because there has been no real punishment for being absent during a parliamentary session despite the formal regulations against missing sessions in place.[8] Even members whose absence record far exceeds the formally allowed threshold - such as the Emgwen MP Alex Kosgey who missed more than 60 parliamentary sittings during the 11th Parliament - have managed to keep their seats thanks to the protections from their fellow MPs.[9] That a majority of Kenyan MPs

[8]The constitution contains a general language which states that no MP should be absent from the sessions without a prior written approval from the Speaker of the House and the standing order specifies the maximum number that an MP can be absent to be eight consecutive days (David Mwere, "Absentee MPs to lose seats", The Star, June 16, 2014, https://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2014/06/16/absentee-mps-to-lose-seats_c955360). The Kenyan National Assembly has also introduced a digital fingerprinting equipment to keep the attendance record of the MPs, but such attendance record has never been made public (Kenyan MPs fingerprinted to show parliamentary attendance" BBC Africa, February 11, 2014, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-26137631).

[9]Titus Too and Rael Jelimo, "Emgwen MP Alex Kosgey summoned for skipping 60 sittings", The Standard, August 17, 2014 (https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000131702/emgwen-mp-alex-kosgey-summoned-for-skipping-60-sittings), "House Team Backs MP in Absentee Suit", The Nation, September 10, 2014 (https://www.nation.co.ke/news/politics/

do not follow the example of MP Kosgey and attend the parliamentary sessions with high regularity seems rather surprising, given the lack of enforcement.

Finally, there is also evidence that at least some legislators devote significant time and effort to fulfilling their national-level responsibilities. For instance, Barkan et al. (2010) show that MPs from six Sub-Saharan African countries spend equal or more time preparing for committee and plenary works compared to conducting constituency work. In the Kenyan context, the House Speaker for the 11th Parliament, Justin Muturi, for instance, emphasized the MPs' responsibility of *"having the supreme authority to make laws, and what it means to be an oversight institution"*.[10] Similarly, in an interview about her role as an MP, the former nominated MP Sunjeev Kaur Birdi argued that the most important role of an MP was to discuss and pass laws.[11] These accounts show the importance that legislators attach to their responsibility to provide national orientation at the floor.

3.2.3 Electoral Pressure and Legislator Attention

Scholars who argue that African legislators do not invest much in providing national attention have largely focused on institutional factors to explain where and why we see differences in legislator attention. For example, electoral institutions can structure legislators' incentives and encourage party-centric or personalistic behavior. Party-centered incentives make legislators responsive to their party's reputation for national policy. Personalistic incentives tend to make legislators more interested in seeking particularistic policy and patronage for their constituency because they can use

House-team-backs-MP-in-absentee-suit-/1064-2448558-ovseb0/index.html)

[10] Alphonse Shiundu, "Don tips leaders on their legislative role", The Standard, September 14, 2013 (https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000093501/don-tips-leaders-on-their-legislative-role)

[11] Yash Pal Ghai and Jill Cotterell Ghai, "Interview wIth the honourable Sunjeev Kaur birdi, MP", September 13, 2014, The Star (https://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2014/09/13/interview-with-the-honourable-sunjeev-kaur-birdi-mp_c1002124)

them to claim credit in electoral competition. These institutional theories expect that the more candidate-centered or intra-party competition, the less legislators will be interested in bargaining over national policy, and the more they will be willing to swap votes for patronage (Cain, Ferejohn, and Fiorina, 1987; Carey and Shugart, 1995).

While these studies provide valuable insights into how political and electoral institutions structure legislator behavior, they do not tell us much about within system variation (Ashworth and Bueno de Mesquita, 2006; Cain, Ferejohn, and Fiorina, 1987; Norton and Wood, 1993). Moreover, the empirical evidence linking legislators' behavior to electoral institutions is arguably weak. As André, Depauw, and Martin (2015) argue, these studies ignore the fact that individual legislators are not uniform and that institutions translate behavior differently for different legislators. Finally, despite the growing theoretical significance assigned to legislators' attention, researchers have had difficulty measuring the behavior of individual legislators (Martin, 2011).

While I agree that electoral institutions shape legislator behavior in the broader context, I argue that electoral pressure critically shapes how individual legislators divide their attention between locally and nationally oriented activities. Strategic legislators allocate their scarce resources of time and effort to best appeal to their constituents, and voters respond by rewarding the legislators by voting. In making this argument, I build upon a rich literature on the electoral connection, which offers considerable evidence that politicians facing greater electoral pressure act differently from those who enjoy electoral security. Vulnerable legislators in developed democracies undertake more casework for individual constituents (Cain, Ferejohn, and Fiorina, 1987), take different positions on roll call votes (Shapiro et al., 1990); increase efforts to raise campaign funds (Hall and Van Houweling, 1995); travel back to home state more often (Fenno, 1978) and show up in the chamber less often (Fukumoto and Matsuo, 2015), and propose more legislation (Campbell, 1982). In addition, recent work in developing democracies also shows that

electoral pressure can affect pork distribution under some circumstances (Hicken and Ravanilla, 2015; Keefer and Khemani, 2009).

I construct a model based on Ashworth and Bueno de Mesquita (2006)'s approach of legislative particularism. In their model, Ashworth and Bueno de Mesquita (2006) outline a game where there are two players, a legislator and a voter. In the first period, a legislator is faced with an allocation problem where she chooses to divide her resources between providing localized constituency service and global legislative public goods. In the second period, the voter reelects the incumbent legislator or replaces her with a challenger after observing the incumbent's performance. The legislator values reelection, policy, constituency service, and the total amount of national policy production provided in the legislature. Similarly, the voter values ideology, constituency service, and legislative public goods, but can place different weights on these outcomes than the legislator.

The voter's information set is limited in two important ways. First, the voter does not observe the amount of legislative public goods that the legislator produces. Second, the voter only observes a noisy signal of the legislator's production of constituency service. The legislator's ability to provide constituency service is unobserved, and the voter updates their belief about this hidden ability by observing the noisy signal of constituency service. In equilibrium, the voter uses a cutoff rule based on the realization of the signal, inducing a probability distribution over whether the legislator is reelected for a given allocation between constituency service and legislative public goods.

From this model, Ashworth and Bueno de Mesquita (2006) predict that, on average, local effort is increasing in electoral competition, increasing local effort comes at the expense of national effort, and that the equilibrium levels of both local and national attention provided by a legislator are increasing in the resources to which that legislator has access.

From these predictions, we can derive testable implications in the context of speech-making in the Kenyan Parliament. First and most straightforward is the effects of electoral security on speech making itself. MPs may have fewer incentives to go back to their constituency and provide locally targeted goods and more leeway to focus on the national agenda when MPs believe that their seats are safe. But those who face greater electoral pressure would be less likely to show up to the parliament floor and instead invest more time and effort being present in their local constituencies. Second, for those who do attend the parliamentary sessions, we can expect the legislators to utilize the opportunities presented by speech time to appeal to voters in their constituencies in a different manner. Specifically, I expect that those who face greater electoral concerns will be more likely to make more speeches that address issues targeted at the local level, while those who are relatively free from electoral pressure to engage more in nationally oriented speeches.

3.3 Data

3.3.1 Case: Kenya

To test these expectations, I turn to the case of Kenya's 10th and 11th Parliaments (2008-2017). I use the case of Kenya and these sessions for a few reasons. First, Kenya has established relatively stable democratic institutions and has experienced regular transitions of power since the introduction of multiparty politics in 1992 (Barkan, 2009*a*). Second, Kenya also shares with other former British colonies in the region a similar colonial history - including keeping the Hansards - and institutional features of a multiparty democracy under a presidential system with single-member districts (SMD) and a first-past-the-post electoral system. Third, the long-standing ethnic divide in the country exemplified by the electoral violence around the 2007 elections (Gibson and

Long, 2009; Kasara, 2014) show the still turbulent nature of a developing democracy. These factors make Kenya both an important as well as a representative case for an in-depth investigation.

In the 10th National Assembly (2008-2012), there were a total of 222 seats in the National Assembly, with 210 directly elected at the geographical constituencies according to single-member district plurality (SMDP) electoral rules, and 12 seats reserved for nominated representatives based on party vote shares. In the December 2007 elections, the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) led by the opposition leader Raila Odinga secured a plurality of seats in the parliament, followed by the President Kibaki's party - Party of National Unity (PNU) - and other parties allied to the PNU. However, following the negotiations to resolve the violent aftermath of the elections, the ruling and the opposition parties agreed to form a grand coalition government, in which Odinga served as the Prime Minister and his party members also in President Kibaki's cabinet.

In 2010, a constitutional reform was initiated, which went into effect in 2013. The resulting 11th National Assembly consisted of 349 seats. Of these, 12 seats were still reserved for nominated representatives based on party vote shares, but 80 more seats were created, increasing the number of seats directly elected at the geographic constituencies to 290. In addition, 47 more seats were created for women representatives selected at the county level. The new constitution also established a Senate, which has 67 seats (47 elected by county and 20 nominated based on party vote share). Another important change made through the reform was about ministerial appointments: MPs were no longer allowed to serve concurrently as cabinet members.

The 2013 general elections were concurrently held for the Presidential, National Assembly, Senate, as well as County Governors and Representatives. For the National Assembly elections, the Jubilee Alliance, which was established to support the current president, Uhuru Kenyatta, became the majority coalition, winning the most parliament

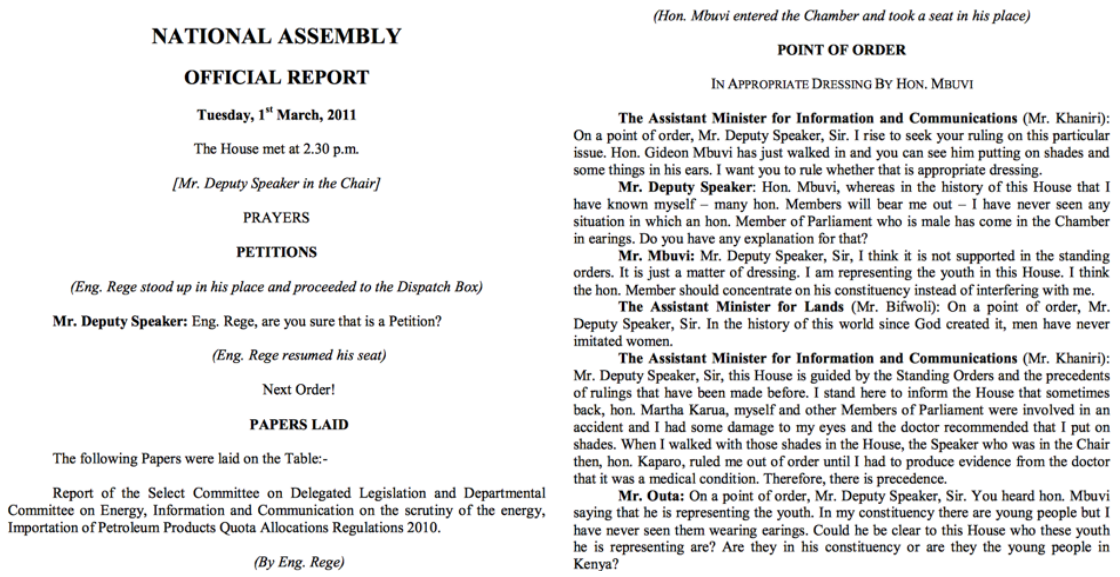
seats - 167 out of 349. The Coalition for Reforms and Democracy (CORD), which was established to support the presidential ticket of Raila Odinga, came in second, winning 141 out of 349 seats.

3.3.2 Parliamentary Speeches

In their article comparing legislator speechmaking in Germany and the United Kingdom, (Proksch and Slapin, 2012, p. 520) argue that *"[p]articipation in legislative debates is among the most visible activities of members of parliament (MPs), yet debates remain an understudied form of legislative behavior."* Most MPs, regardless of individual or constituency characteristics, engage in some level of speech. While earlier literature made a distinction between parliamentary speech as debate versus speech as deliberation, recent work suggests speeches are a tool for position-taking for MPs and parties, with the intended audience being voters and other MPs (Slapin and Proksch, 2014).

Even in developing democracies, MPs clearly believe that parliamentary speech matters. The media frequently broadcasts the speeches, exposing a wide swath of citizens to their contents. In Kenya between 1998 and 2016, for example, the Daily Nation – Kenya's leading newspaper and the largest newspaper in East Africa –published an average of 27 articles per year that discuss parliamentary debates and specifically referring to the Hansard. Since articles about floor debates could easily be written without using the term Hansard, this average number most likely provides a very conservative estimate about the extent to which floor debates are discussed in the media. In fact, even writing as early as 1970, Stultz (1970) suggested that the Kenyan public was aware of the contents of parliamentary debates, since *"[t]hese proceedings are reported in considerable depth in local newspapers, [… and] public galleries which seat 600-700 persons, are regularly filled."*

Until recently, Hansards have been kept in government archives where access is



NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

OFFICIAL REPORT

Tuesday, 1st March, 2011

The House met at 2.30 p.m.

[Mr. Deputy Speaker in the Chair]

PRAYERS

PETITIONS

(Eng. Rege stood up in his place and proceeded to the Dispatch Box)

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Eng. Rege, are you sure that is a Petition?

(Eng. Rege resumed his seat)

Next Order!

PAPERS LAID

The following Papers were laid on the Table:-

Report of the Select Committee on Delegated Legislation and Departmental Committee on Energy, Information and Communication on the scrutiny of the energy, Importation of Petroleum Products Quota Allocations Regulations 2010.

(By Eng. Rege)

(Hon. Mbuvi entered the Chamber and took a seat in his place)

POINT OF ORDER

IN APPROPRIATE DRESSING BY HON. MBUVI

The Assistant Minister for Information and Communications (Mr. Khaniri): On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. I rise to seek your ruling on this particular issue. Hon. Gideon Mbuvi has just walked in and you can see him putting on shades and some things in his ears. I want you to rule whether that is appropriate dressing.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Hon. Mbuvi, whereas in the history of this House that I have known myself – many hon. Members will bear me out – I have never seen any situation in which an hon. Member of Parliament who is male has come in the Chamber in earings. Do you have any explanation for that?

Mr. Mbuvi: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I think it is not supported in the standing orders. It is just a matter of dressing. I am representing the youth in this House. I think the hon. Member should concentrate on his constituency instead of interfering with me.

The Assistant Minister for Lands (Mr. Bifwoli): On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. In the history of this world since God created it, men have never imitated women.

The Assistant Minister for Information and Communications (Mr. Khaniri): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, this House is guided by the Standing Orders and the precedents of rulings that have been made before. I stand here to inform the House that sometimes back, hon. Martha Karua, myself and other Members of Parliament were involved in an accident and I had some damage to my eyes and the doctor recommended that I put on shades. When I walked with those shades in the House, the Speaker who was in the Chair then, hon. Kaparo, ruled me out of order until I had to produce evidence from the doctor that it was a medical condition. Therefore, there is precedence.

Mr. Outa: On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. You heard hon. Mbuvi saying that he is representing the youth. In my constituency there are young people but I have never seen them wearing earings. Could he be clear to this House who these youth he is representing are? Are they in his constituency or are they the young people in Kenya?

Figure 3.2: Example Hansard Except from Tuesday, March 1st, 2011

limited. Moreover, methods of analyzing speech data have traditionally been extremely time-consuming. As a result, studies of legislative speech have tended to be qualitative in nature. In the African context, for example, Elischer (2013) uses the Kenyan Hansards to investigate the evolution of ethnic politics in the country through a qualitative examination of the changes in bill sponsorship patterns. Similarly, Tsubura (2014) uses the Tanzanian Hansards as a source of qualitative archival content in her study of constituency development funds in Tanzania. To date, only a handful studies - such as Gibson (1999) who conducts a systematic statistical test to illustrate how the party and electoral rules influenced parliamentarian behavior in his study of wildlife policy in Zambia and Kenya using the contents of parliamentary debate on the 1982 Amendment to the Zambian National Parks and Wildlife Bill, Humphreys and Weinstein (2012) who use the Ugandan Hansards to calculate the total number of lines each MP spoke in order to create a simple measure of participation, or Wang (2014) who uses the same data to show no significant differences by gender in overall speech activity as measured by the number of lines spoken - have used the Hansards to conduct quantitative analyses.

To examine the patterns in parliamentary speech participation, I collected information on all parliamentary floor speeches made by individual MPs in the 10th and 11th National Assembly (2008-2017) by extracting electronic copies from the Kenya National Assembly website.[12] After conducting optical character recognition (OCR) process on all digital copies in PDF format as necessary, I extracted the raw speech text, speaker name, speaker position, session date, and discussion header using an automated script.

To illustrate, consider a typical example of a Hansard from Tuesday, March 1st, 2011 in *Figure 3.2*. Here, we see a number of speakers (e.g. the Assistant Minister for Information and Communication, the Deputy Speaker, and Mr. Mbuvi) engaging in a discussion under the header of *"Inappropriate Dressing by Hon. Mbuvi"*. All names were matched to the official names used in the electoral results record. I excluded speeches made by those other than sitting MPs (e.g. senators, attorney-general, clerk) as well as by those who are officially presiding over the chamber (e.g. speaker, deputy speaker, temporary deputy speaker). Next, to capture speech contributions to different substantive debates, I merged the individual speeches made by the same individual under the same header on the same day. This avoids overcounting the number of simple back-and-forth's (Lauderdale and Herzog, 2016). The resulting dataset contains a total of 56,205 speeches made by 423 unique MPs across the two parliaments.

Not all speeches, however, are the same. Some, like discussions about the Security Bill, are arguably nationally oriented. Others, such as a question raised by an MP to the Minister of the Roads regarding a promise to build a new highway in one's constituency, are inherently local. Finally, there are also those which do not fall under either the nationally- or locally-oriented categories, such as discussions about

[12]Comparing the dates from the Hansards and parliament sitting schedule revealed that there were certain days for which the online electronic transcripts were not available. For instance, for the year 2013, only partial records from March to May were available from the National Assembly website. I collected and added the missing information later by searching through the deep web such as the Internet Archive Wayback machine and by making photocopies of the physical Hansard copies during fieldwork.

parliamentary session schedules or other procedural matters. In order to consider whether MPs under different levels of electoral pressure are more or less inclined towards making a more nationally-oriented, locally-oriented, or other procedural speeches, I further classify the texts into these three categories.

Classifying more than 55,000 speeches manually is impractical. Instead, I turn to shortcuts leveraging the way speeches are presented in a typical Hansard transcript and enlist the help of advances in machine learning approaches including both unsupervised and supervised classification techniques. First, I capitalize on the fact that the Hansard is divided into sections and subsections with headings summarizing the floor discussions. In the example presented in *Figure 3.2*, for instance, the subject heading reads *"Inappropriate Dressing by Hon. Mbuvi"*. Using such subsection headers ($N = 8,906$), I ran an unsupervised document clustering algorithm similar to topic modeling to reduce the dimensions of headers down to a more manageable level, and then manually inspected and coded the headers where appropriate.[13] For instance, headers such as *"The Statute Law Bill"*, *"The Finance Bill"*, or *"The Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) Bill"* are clustered together by the common term "bill" and the speeches under such headers were classified as nationally oriented upon closer inspection. Similarly, those containing the term "adjournment" are clustered together and were classified as procedural.

Finally, terms such as "constituency" or "district" as well as prepositions such as "in" are clustered with terms that are likely to be associated with local services such as "road", "electricity", "school", "hospital" or "construction", suggesting that these clusters are likely to be associated with discussions of local constituency topics. The structure of these local headers, however, is inherently different from those for national or procedural speeches. A debate about the Finance Bill is mostly about national attention for all those involved and a discussion about the new adjournment time is likewise all procedural. But

[13]Sample topic prevalence for a select number of unsupervised topic models can be found in the Appendix.

a discussion with a local header is usually raised by an initiator who is representing the constituency for which the topic is relevant, which is then followed by some response from a relevant party (for example, the Minister of Roads or Chair of the CDF Committee) addressing the concerns raised. As such, unlike the speeches under national or procedural headers which were initially uniformly coded into national or procedural categories, the individual speeches under the local headers were further manually investigated and classified separately into the three relevant categories as appropriate: local, national, and procedural.

Considering that procedural speeches follow similar patterns that are specified in the standing orders, I used the individual speeches classified as procedural to create a training set of procedural speech text and ran a supervised classification algorithm to detect procedural speeches remaining in those speeches initially classified as either national or local. To ensure the accuracy of the overall classification, a 10% random sample of the total speeches (approximately 1,800 speeches each for each coder) were manually inspected by three Kenyan local research assistants for classification accuracy, and any errors were corrected where appropriate. *Figure 3.3* shows the top discriminating terms when comparing those speeches under local versus national headers. The resulting sample contains on average 68.9 national, 27.6 local, and 19.0 other procedural speeches per individual legislator-parliament observations.

3.3.3 Sample

During the 10th and 11th Parliament combined, there were a total of 571 seats. In this chapter, I only use a subset of MPs for the baseline models since my main predictor of interest is electoral competition. First, I limit the sample to those who are directly elected at the constituency level. This leaves a total of 500 MPs (210 in the 10th and 290 in the 11th Parliament). Here, I am excluding two classes of MPs. One consists of the

nominated MPs who did not face constituency-level electoral competition and instead were chosen based on party lists and party vote shares. The other class is composed of the women representatives whose seats were created only starting from the 11th Parliament after the constitutional reform and whose geographical constituencies are at the county and not the constituency level. Although the women representatives are also elected members, they face a problem of having to deal with a much larger geographical constituency as some counties contain more than twenty constituencies, while they lack in resources as they are not entitled to the constituency development funds (CDF) as their other elected counterparts.[14] Since the main independent variable of interest is electoral security and since these two types of MPs are likely to face systematically different incentive structures, I omit them from the analysis.

Second, I further constrain the sample to only those MPs who served the full-term in the national assembly. To do so, I collected information on all MP election petitions, nullifications, deaths, and the subsequent by-election results. I removed sixteen MPs from the 10th Parliament and six MPs from the 11th Parliament from the sample by excluding the MPs who either failed to defend their seats during their term or joined the parliament late.[15] The final resulting sample size is 471, with 191 MPs from the 10th Parliament and 283 MPs from the 11th Parliament.

3.3.4 Key Independent Variable: MP Vote Share, $t-1$

For the key independent variable of interest, I construct a measure of vote margin in the previous general election $(t-1)$ by taking the difference in vote share between the

[14] e.g. Eve Women, "Do you know your woman rep?", June 13, 2015 (https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/evewoman/article/2000165530/do-you-know-your-woman-rep)

[15] These are: Ainamoi, Bomachoge Borabu, Bomet East, Embakasi South, Emuhaya, Juja, Kajiado North, Kamukunji, Kangema, Kirinyaga Central, Shinyalu, Sotik, South Mugirango, Makadara, Ndhiwa, and Wajir South in the 10th, and Gatundu South, Kabete, Kajiado Central, Malindi, Mathare, and Nyaribari Chache in the 11th Parliament.

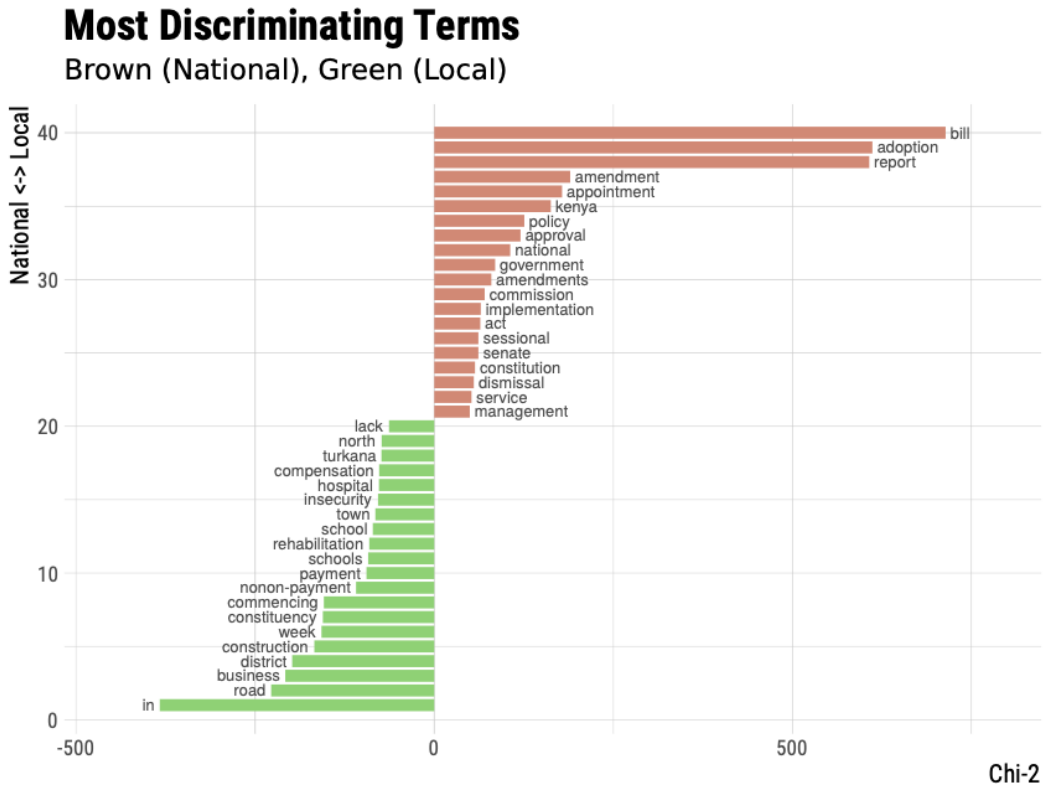


Figure 3.3: Most Discriminating Terms Using Header-Based Classification Approach

winner and the first runner-up. Since there are often more than two parties competing in a district despite Kenya's SMD system, a margin of victory is a conceptually more appropriate variable to capture electoral competitiveness compared to other measures such as vote share. For instance, while the vote margin for both Saboti and Kibwezi West constituencies were around 0.5% in the 2013 election, the winning vote shares were 21.4% and 50% respectively. I use the official election tally results released by the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) for the 2007 election and the new Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) for the 2013 election.[16]

[16]I also construct and consider measures of vote share, as well as the effective number of candidates. The absolute value of the Pearson correlation coefficient between the vote share and the vote margin variables, and between the vote share and the effective number of candidates variables were 0.92 and 0.63. When I use these as alternative specifications for the independent variable and do not find any substantive differences in the overall findings.

3.3.5 Controls

I also use a battery of controls which previous literature has found to be potentially important predictors of parliamentary participation and legislative effort. These are grouped into largely two categories, namely, legislator and constituency characteristics.

Legislator Characteristics

First, I consider a number of controls capturing legislator characteristics, including previous experience, partisanship, committee membership, and gender. Since new members may require learning period to understand their roles and the rules stipulated in the standing order in order to contribute to floor debates, those who have previously served in the Parliament could participate more in debates. Existing empirical studies find that seniority as one of the key factors that increase legislative productivity (Cox and Terry, 2008; Padró i Miquel and Snyder, 2004). Using the list of elected MP names for all previous general elections, I also create two additional variables capturing individual MP's experience. For earlier periods, I use the information from the booklet, Politics and Parliamentarians in Kenya: 1944–2007 published by the Center for Multiparty Democracy (Kihoro, 2007). For the more recent years, I use the official list of elected MPs from the National Assembly website. After cleaning the data for spelling inconsistencies and matching for the MP and constituency names, I created a simple indicator variable noting whether the MP is an incumbent. In addition, I also generate a variable capturing the total number of terms the MPs previously served in the parliament.

Second, majority party members, compared to their minority counterparts may enjoy a greater advantage in speech making due to the party's agenda-setting capacity (Cox and McCubbins, 1993, 2005). The simplest measure capturing access to and control of legislative activities is partisanship and whether a party is in a ruling or opposition party status. The party system in Kenya, however, is highly fractionalized

- there were twenty-three and twenty-one parties which won at least one seat in the 10th and 11th Parliaments respectively. That said, as a presidential election approaches, different parties tend to form a coalition to support a common presidential candidate. Thus, instead of considering individual parties, I create a variable capturing whether an MP belongs to the ruling, opposition, or other coalition. For the 10th Parliament, I consider the members of the parties that supported President Kibaki's presidential bid as belonging to the ruling coalition (e.g. Party of National Unity, Kenya African National Union), while those from the parties that supported the opposition leader Raila Odinga as the opposition (e.g. Orange Democratic Movement, National Rainbow Coalition). Those in the Orange Democratic Movement – Kenya (ODM-K), which fielded their own presidential candidate, Kalonzo Musyoka, are classified as belonging to neither the ruling or the opposition coalition ("Other Coalition"). For the 11th Parliament, I classify those associated with the Jubilee Alliance as belonging to the ruling coalition (e.g. The National Alliance, United Republican Party), those associated with the Coalition for Reforms and Democracy (CORD) as opposition (e.g. Orange Democratic Movement, Wiper Democratic Movement, Amani National Congress), and the rest as others.

Third, those who are more active in the parliamentary committees are also more likely to contribute a greater number of speeches and have higher legislative productivity in general (Cox and Terry, 2008). In Kenya, the mandate for the parliamentary committee structure is codified in the constitutions, statutes, and the standing orders for both the 10th and 11th Parliament, and committee types are largely classified into departmental, public audit, ad hoc, housekeeping, and mediation committees (of Kenya, 2013). I collected information on committee leadership and membership from the official parliament website as well as various news sources and constructed a measure of committee service score following (Fouirnaies and Hall, 2018). Specifically, for each MP i on committee j during parliament, p, I construct a committee activity index, ijp, which takes a value of

0 if i is not a member, a value of 1 if i is an ordinary member, a value of 2 if i is a vice chair, and a value of 3 if i is a chair of committee j during parliament p. Then I take the sum across all committees in a given parliament to derive the final aggregate measure.

Fourth, I control for the gender of MPs. Existing research shows that female politicians are more likely to facilitate congeniality and cooperation (Tolleson-Rinehart and Dodson, 1991), act as facilitators (Kathlene, 1994), and do more constituency service (Richardson Jr and Freeman, 1995) compared to their male counterparts. However, evidence for participation in parliamentary speech is mixed. Some studies find that women tend to speak less (e.g. Kathlene, 1994; Bäck, Debus, and Müller, 2014), while others find that they are just as active in debates as their male colleagues (Pearson and Dancey, 2011). In the sub-Saharan Africa context, Wang (2014) and Clayton, Josefsson, and Wang (2017) show that there are no significant differences by gender in overall speech activity, but female MPs who hold parliamentary leadership positions speak significantly more than any other group in their studies of the Ugandan Parliament. In Kenya, the 2010 constitution introduced 47 county women representative positions and stipulated the so-called two-thirds gender rule which states that at least 33% of the MPs should be female - a rule that has never been met yet. Moreover, the gender-quota seats have continuously drawn criticisms for being insufficient.[17] Since a typical Kenyan name entails an Anglican style first name, I used the gender package in R to conduct a probabilistic matching using historical names datasets derived from the U.S. Social Security Administration, the U.S. Census Bureau, and the North Atlantic Population Project. While most matches were straightforward, I conducted additional background research for the handful of cases where the match was not certain to further ascertain the

[17] e.g. Philip Mwakio, "'Women Rep' demeaning, says Speaker Muturi". The Standard, April 26, 2013 (https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000082415/women-rep-demeaning-says-speaker-muturi), Wycliff Kipsang, "Gladys Boss Shollei seeks to scrap post of Woman Rep", The Nation, July 11, 2018 (https://www.nation.co.ke/news/politics/Gladys-Boss-Shollei-seeks-to-scrap-post-of-Woman-Rep/1064-4656772-alee29z/index.html)

gender of the MPs. There are 14 out of 192 (7.3%) and 16 out of 285 (5.6%) female MPs in our sample for the 10th and 11th Parliament respectively.[18]

Finally, I also consider a measure of MP's goals and ambitions. Different MPs may have different goals set for their political careers and this could affect their legislative behavior (Schlesinger, 1966). In particular, studies in other contexts show that those with a more progressive ambition of seeking higher office tend to be more active in proposing bills and making speeches in the legislature (Herrick and Moore, 1993), while those who are seeking re-election into the house would pursue more constituency-oriented activities (Dropp and Peskowitz, 2012; Mayhew, 1974). To capture MP's goal and ambition, I consider whether they run as a candidate for an MP position or a higher office (i.e. county women representative, senatorial, gubernatorial, and presidential offices) in $t+1$ based on the official election results listing all candidate names released by the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) for the elections held in 2013 and 2017.

Constituency Characteristics

Next, I also include a battery of controls capturing different aspects of constituency characteristics, including the distance from the capital, population density, percentage of school-aged children in primary school, and local ethnic fractionalization. First, I construct a measure for the distance from each constituency to the National Assembly building, as those MPs whose constituencies are located further away may face a greater cost in terms of time, money, and effort when traveling to the capital. Kenyan MPs are given a number of supports to help them travel back to their constituency. First, they get an official car grant, a personal car loan, mileage remuneration and car monthly car maintenance support.[19] Still, traveling back to the home constituency requires time

[18]The 47 female MPs elected as county women representatives and five female MPs who gained the nominated seats in the 11th parliament are not included.

[19]In the case of the 11th Parliament the official car grant was set at KSh 5 million (US$48,000) per 5-year term, a personal car loan from the government at up to KSh 7 million (US$67,400),

and resource. Moreover, given the finite nature of time and resource, MPs may have to accept some tradeoff in their activities and priorities. This issue will be even more acutely felt by the MPs whose constituencies are physically far away from the capital, Nairobi. To capture the distance of each constituency from the capital, I first collected information on the address of the MP constituency offices. Since address in the Kenyan context is often nothing more than a P.O Box number, I collected additional information on the cross streets or the names of the nearby notable landmark buildings or structures. In cases where constituency office location was unclear, I used the addresses of the constituency development fund (CDF) office, which is usually located at a central location and close to the major administrative buildings in a constituency, to account for missingness. Next, I used the Google Maps API to calculate the shortest travel distance in kilometers and expected travel time. This approach is arguably superior to simply calculating the shortest distance between two centroids, as it accounts for road networks and conditions.

Second, I control for population density. As Cox (1987) finds in his study of legislator activities in Victorian England, the size of the constituency can be positively correlated with participation in legislative debates. This could be for a number of reasons. First, those living in more densely populated areas may have better access to information, and thereby have a better ability to monitor their MP's productivity. Second, having more constituents could mean that attracting a sufficient number of votes either by providing particularistic goods or simply vote buying becomes more expensive. I use the data from the 2009 Census to create a logged population density variable. Although the census was conducted in 2009, the number of constituencies changed from 210 to 290 between the 10th and 11th Parliament. Moreover, the 2009 census data mask the name or

mileage (or business class travel by air or rail in lieu) and car maintenance of KSh 356,525 (US$3,440) monthly (Lee Mwiti, "FACTSHEET: How much do Kenyan members of parliament earn – and are they overpaid?", Africa Check, January 15, 2017, https://africacheck.org/factsheets/factsheet-much-kenyan-members-parliament-earn-overpaid/, "MPs allocate Sh1.8bn to buy luxury cars for new members" Business Daily, March 14, 2016, https://www.businessdailyafrica.com/MPs-allocate-Sh1-8bn-to-buy-luxury-cars-for-new-members/539546-3115728-kykifgz/index.html)

location of administrative units below the constituency-level, which prevents the mapping of the 2009 data on the 2013 constituency boundaries. However, in 2014, the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS) published an interactive socio-economic atlas using a selected number of variables re-measured at the new constituency level (Wiesmann, Kiteme, and Mwangi, 2014).[20] I use the raw 2009 census data for the 210 constituencies in the 10th Parliament and the data extracted from the atlas for the 290 constituencies in the 11th Parliament to create a comparable measure of population density in the two time periods.

Third, I use the percentage of school-aged children in primary school as a proxy for levels of development and information access. Ideally, I would include a direct measure of poverty or unemployment to capture development and a measure of access to radio or other media to capture information access. However, comparable measure for these is not available for the two time periods. I again extract information on primary school attendance rate from the atlas for the 11th Parliament and use the original variable from the 2009 census for the 10th Parliament. Despite the abolishment of primary school fee in 2003 by President Kibaki, there is great variation in the actual primary school attendance among the school-aged children (6-13). For instance, at the new 2013 constituency level, one constituency in the Northwestern region of Turkana had only 9.9% of the school-aged children attending primary school. On the other end, the average attendance rate in Muranga county was above 90%. The absolute values of the Pearson correlation between the primary school variable with proportion of people with access to radio, proportion of people who are unemployed (which are only available from the 2009 Census), and proportion of people below poverty line (which is only available from the 2014 atlas) are at 0.95, 0.60, and 0.51 respectively.

Finally, I include a measure of ethnic fractionalization at the constituency level. In

[20]The online version of the atlas can be found here: https://www.kenya-atlas.org/

Kenya, parties are often organized, and a majority of voters tend to vote along ethnic lines. Moreover, many constituencies are ethnically homogeneous. The more homogeneous a constituency is, it is more likely that the incumbent MP faces competition from a coethnic and/or a copartisan. In such a situation, MPs may face greater incentive to cultivate personal vote and to cater towards local needs (Carey and Shugart, 1995). To generate estimates of the ethnic composition of Kenya's 210 parliamentary constituencies, I merged data from 19 nationally representative surveys conducted between June 2011 and October 2017, yielding a total sample of 38,777 respondents.[21] All data comes from IPSOS Kenya. Since the original data is organized around administrative and not electoral boundaries, I used the information on locations and sublocations with provinces and districts as anchors and matched them with the electoral boundaries dataset using fuzzy matching and probabilistic record linkage technique (Enamorado, Fifield, and Imai, 2019). The same exercise was repeated first for the 210 constituencies in the 10th Parliament and then for the 290 constituencies in the 11th Parliament. Using the resulting dataset, I calculated the ethnic fractionalization index and the percentage of the largest ethnic group as well as the percentage of the five nationally largest ethnic group at the constituency level. The mean number of respondents per constituency was 142.10.

3.4 Empirical Strategy And Results

The goal of this project's empirical analysis is to estimate how much electoral security affects legislators' speech making behavior while controlling for the other key covariates identified in the existing literature. The main empirical strategy aims to parse out the effects on the dependent variable at the individual legislator level by employing parliament fixed effects and controlling for covariates that potentially confound the

[21] From a full sample of 42,768, I exclude a total of 3,991 respondents who refused to answer or identified only as Kenyan.

relationship of interest.

3.4.1 Aggregate Number of Speeches

The main model for estimation is an ordinary least squares regression with log-transformed dependent variables. Since there are two parliaments considered and some MPs were reelected, the unit of analysis is at the individual MP-parliament level. In addition to including a battery of controls, I include parliament fixed effects and also use bootstrapped cluster standard errors at the county level to account for any systematic bias arising from unobserved common characteristics which are unaccounted for with the control variables considered.[22] Considering the possibility that the effects of the margin of victory variable are not linear (Barber and Schmidt, 2019), I also include a quadratic term for the variable in the model. The resulting estimation equation is:

$$Y_{ijt} = X_{ijt}\beta + \theta_{jt}\gamma + \phi_t + \varepsilon ijt$$

where Y_{ijt} captures the dependent variable - the log-transformed number of speeches for an MP i in constituency j in time t; and X_{ijt} consists of the key independent variables, namely vote margin at $t-1$ and its squared term, as well as a host of control variables capturing individual characteristics for MP i in constituency j at time t. The model also incorporates constituency characteristics (θ_{jt}) for a given constituency j at

[22] Since there are only 47 counties in Kenya, the group size is small compared to the conventional standard. Following the advice from (Cameron and Miller, 2015), I use the bootstrapped corrections. While including county-level fixed effects may further account for any unobserved heterogeneity arising at the county level, there are at least two reasons why relying on the within county comparison may be less desirable. First, the current county system and its devolved structure were only finalized and implemented with the start of the 11th Parliament, which could imply that the similarities within counties between the two parliaments may be different. Second, counties themselves may be quite heterogeneous, making the reliance on within county questionable. For instance, the maximum number of constituencies in a given county range from 4 to 21. Moreover, some countries such as Nairobi county encompasses a very diverse group of constituencies in terms of partisanship and ethnic composition, while others such as Vihiga or Nyeri are highly homogeneous. That said, I do consider county fixed effects and re-run all the models presented in the main text and find no substantive difference.

time t, the parliament fixed effects term (ϕ_t), and an error term (ε_{ijt}). The estimation equation provides the best predictor of electoral security as measured by the margin of victory given the observable characteristics of individual MPs and constituencies. Parliament fixed effects take into account both the observed and unobserved heterogeneity across the two parliaments. Since the key variable of interest, electoral security, as well as many of the covariates are specific to individual MPs and the corresponding constituencies, individual fixed effects are not included in the estimation equation. Moreover, while including fixed effects at a higher administrative unit level such as county or region could additionally control for any unobserved heterogeneity at a higher geographical clustering, doing so changes the substantive comparison to be between MPs in the same county or region and thereby potentially limits the external validity of any findings.[23] Finally, although there are some MPs who are reelected and thus could theoretically allow conducting a within-MP analysis of the data, the sample size is too small ($N = 54$) detect meaningful variations given the low reelection rate typical of many developing democracies. As such, the estimation is limited in terms of identifying a causal effect of electoral security on speech making behavior due to unobserved factors at the individual MP and constituency level that may be correlated with electoral security and have independent effects on speech making. Therefore, this estimation is limited to investigating associations between the variables of interest by comparing across individual MPs within a given parliament and does not claim to get at causal inference.

Table 3.1 reports the results from regressing logged number of speeches on a number of covariates, with electoral security as measured by the margin of victory in the previous election being the key regressor of interest. The ordinary least squares regression model was run four times, once with only the electoral security variables, once with individual MP characteristics variables, once with constituency characteristics

[23]That said, running the same estimations with county or region fixed effects yield similar results to those reported in the main text (not reported).

variables and once with all control variables. All models include parliament fixed effects with standard errors clustered by county.

The first model represents the simple relationship between electoral security and the number of speeches. The results indicate that a statistically significant and non-linear association exists between electoral security and the number of speeches. Most importantly, while subsequent models with individual MP and constituency characteristics mostly confirm conventional wisdom about legislator effectiveness, the magnitude as well as the significance of the coefficient of the key variable of interest, Margin of Victory, remains consistent and mostly unaffected.

First, from the individual MP characteristics variables model (Model 2), we see that incumbents - that is, those who also served in the same positions in the previous parliaments - and those with greater committee involvements tend to make more speeches. Second, from the model with constituency characteristics (Model 3), we see that MPs whose home constituency is located further from the capital are less likely to make speeches. However, these effects, except for the committee involvement are washed out in the full model with all variables included (Model 4), while the coefficient for the margin of victory variable remains statistically significant.

Given that the effect is non-linear and that the dependent variable is log-transformed, *Figure 3.4* captures the marginal effects of the electoral security variable based on *Model 4* in *Table 3.1*. Here, we can observe that one additional percentage point increase in the margin of victory during the previous election cycle is associated with the greatest increase in the number of speeches when the baseline margin of victory is at zero. The positive effect of greater electoral security captured by a higher margin of victory gradually diminishes and becomes indistinguishable from zero at the 50% margin of victory threshold. Past 75% margin of victory, any additional electoral security has a small but negative effect on the number of floor speeches made by MPs. To provide a more

Table 3.1: Effects of Electoral Security on Making Speeches

	Dependent variable:			
	log(No of Speeches+1)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Margin of Victory$_{t-1}$	0.023***			0.020**
	(0.009)			(0.009)
Margin of Victory$^2_{t-1}$	−0.0003***			−0.0003***
	(0.0001)			(0.0001)
Incumbent		0.241*		0.217
		(0.135)		(0.138)
Ruling Coalition		0.067		0.017
		(0.141)		(0.139)
Other Coalition		−0.0001		−0.039
		(0.185)		(0.187)
Committee Activity		0.130***		0.122***
		(0.042)		(0.043)
Female		0.103		0.084
		(0.198)		(0.168)
MP Candidate$_{t+1}$		0.065		0.059
		(0.137)		(0.139)
Higher Office Candidate$_{t+1}$		0.110		0.145
		(0.236)		(0.225)
Population Density (Logged)			−0.041	−0.041
			(0.041)	(0.043)
Distance from Parliament (km)			−0.001*	−0.001
			(0.0005)	(0.0005)
Proportion of Primary School Attendance			−0.003	−0.002
			(0.005)	(0.005)
Local Ethnic Fractionalization			−0.409	−0.431
			(0.264)	(0.289)
Constant	4.194***	4.027***	5.214***	4.536***
	(0.167)	(0.196)	(0.452)	(0.542)
Observations	467	467	467	467
R^2	0.079	0.094	0.076	0.117
Note:				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

substantive interpretation, for a hypothetical MP with a margin of victory at the sample's first quartile level (Margin of Victory = 9.22%), improving his or her margin of victory to the sample mean level (Margin of Victory = 26.46%) is associated with making 33.4 more speeches, holding all else constant. Given that the median number of speeches in our sample is 71, this is a large improvement – a 47% increase. However, an MP with an overwhelming margin of victory, say at the 85% level, who secures ten percentage points

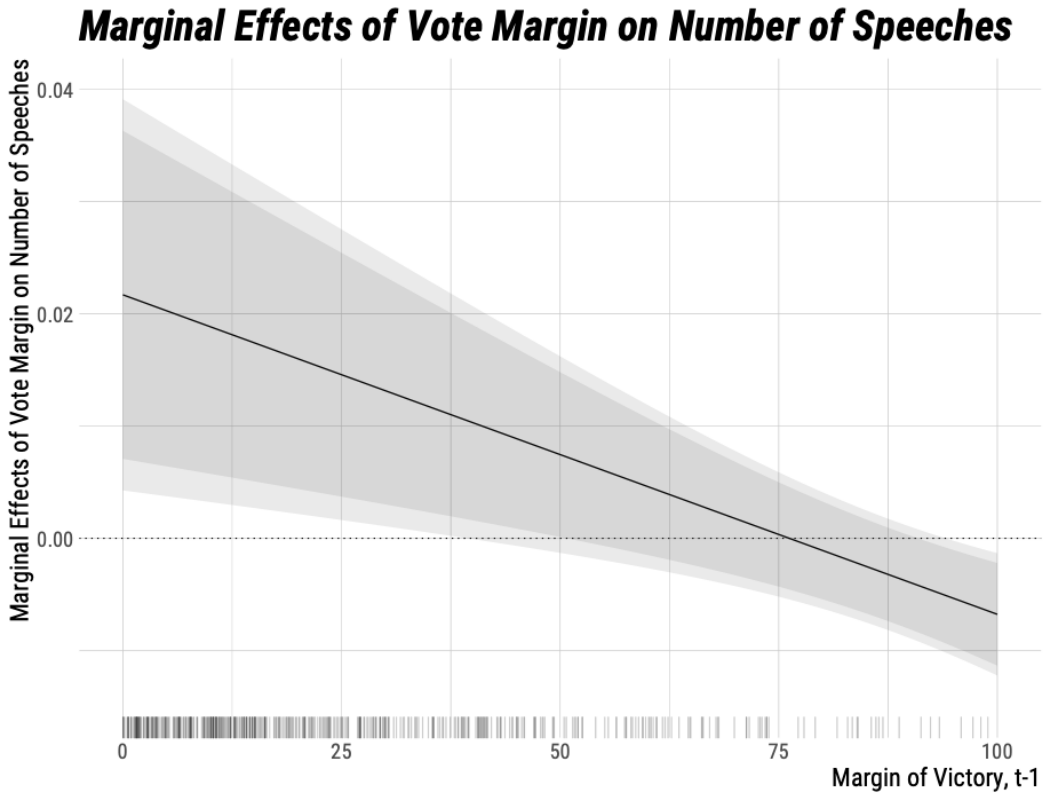


Figure 3.4: Marginal Effects of Vote Margin on Number of Speeches

more, is expected to make approximately 0.5 fewer speeches. These results confirm the expectation that greater electoral security allows MPs to participate more in making floor speeches. However, it also highlights that such effects are non-monotonic: the effects of an increase in electoral security is diminishing as electoral security becomes greater and even turns negative at high levels of electoral safety. This finding hints at the possibility that those legislators whose positions are extremely secure - whether due to their own popularity, running in their party's stronghold, or some other factors - face less accountability pressure to perform.

3.4.2 Speech Types

Not all speeches, however, are intended for the same audience. As previously discussed, some floor speeches may be made in relation to discussing national level policies, others in an attempt to secure attention to local constituency needs, and yet others in purely procedural purpose. By exploiting the classification of the speeches into these three categories, I re-run the full model with all individual and constituency characteristic control variables while during three different dependent variables, namely, national, local, and other speeches. Moreover, considering the possibility that an MP who generally makes many more speeches can tend to contribute much more in all three categories of speeches, I introduce the total number of speeches made by individual MPs as an additional control in all three models.

The results are presented in *Table 3.2* and graphically in *Figure 3.5*. Separating the types of speeches into three categories, electoral security has opposite effects on making nationally versus locally oriented speeches. Using the same example of a hypothetical MP with a margin of victory at the sample's first quartile level (Margin of Victory = 9.22%), improving his or her margin of victory to the sample mean level (Margin of Victory = 26.46%) is now associated with making 1.7 more nationally oriented speeches while the same change is associated with making 3.4 less locally oriented speeches, holding all else constant. Considering that the total number of speech variable is soaking up much of the variation and that the median number of national and local speeches in our sample is 43 and nine respectively, these numbers are likely to be conservative estimates and seems to indicate substantively meaningful changes. Moreover, since the average of the absolute difference between the vote margins in the 2007 and 2013 elections was 20.45 percentage points, the real-world change in electoral security from one election to another has been arguably greater than in the hypothetical examples we considered.

Table 3.2: Effects of Electoral Security on Making Different Types of Speeches

	Dependent variable:		
	log(No of National Speeches+1)	log(No of Local Speeches+1)	log(No of Other Speeches+1)
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Margin of Victory$_{t-1}$	0.001**	−0.002	0.002**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Incumbent	0.033	−0.199***	0.221***
	(0.028)	(0.062)	(0.054)
Other Coalition	0.007	0.027	−0.054
	(0.026)	(0.059)	(0.051)
Ruling Coalition	−0.038	0.064	−0.038
	(0.037)	(0.083)	(0.072)
Female	0.054	−0.263**	0.207**
	(0.047)	(0.107)	(0.093)
Population Density (Logged)	0.007	−0.007	0.002
	(0.010)	(0.022)	(0.019)
Distance from Parliament (km)	0.0001	0.0001	−0.0004**
	(0.0001)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)
Proportion of Primary School Attendance	0.001	−0.003	−0.002
	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Local Ethnic Fractionalization	−0.064	0.165	−0.099
	(0.045)	(0.103)	(0.090)
Not a Candidate$_{t+1}$	0.002	−0.043	−0.097*
	(0.027)	(0.061)	(0.053)
Higher Office Candidate$_{t+1}$	0.057	−0.242**	0.037
	(0.042)	(0.095)	(0.083)
Log(No of Speeches+1)	0.965***	0.736***	0.782***
	(0.008)	(0.019)	(0.016)
Constant	−0.726***	0.440*	−0.587***
	(0.103)	(0.234)	(0.204)
Observations	467	467	467
R^2	0.969	0.845	0.852
Adjusted R^2	0.968	0.840	0.847
Residual Std. Error (df = 453)	0.243	0.550	0.480
F Statistic (df = 13; 453)	1,079.144***	189.264***	199.963***
Note:			*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

3.5 Concluding Remarks

This study has attempted to solve an interesting puzzle in legislative development in developing democracies: how do legislators allocate their limited resource of time and attention between nationally- and locally-oriented activities? I show that the decision

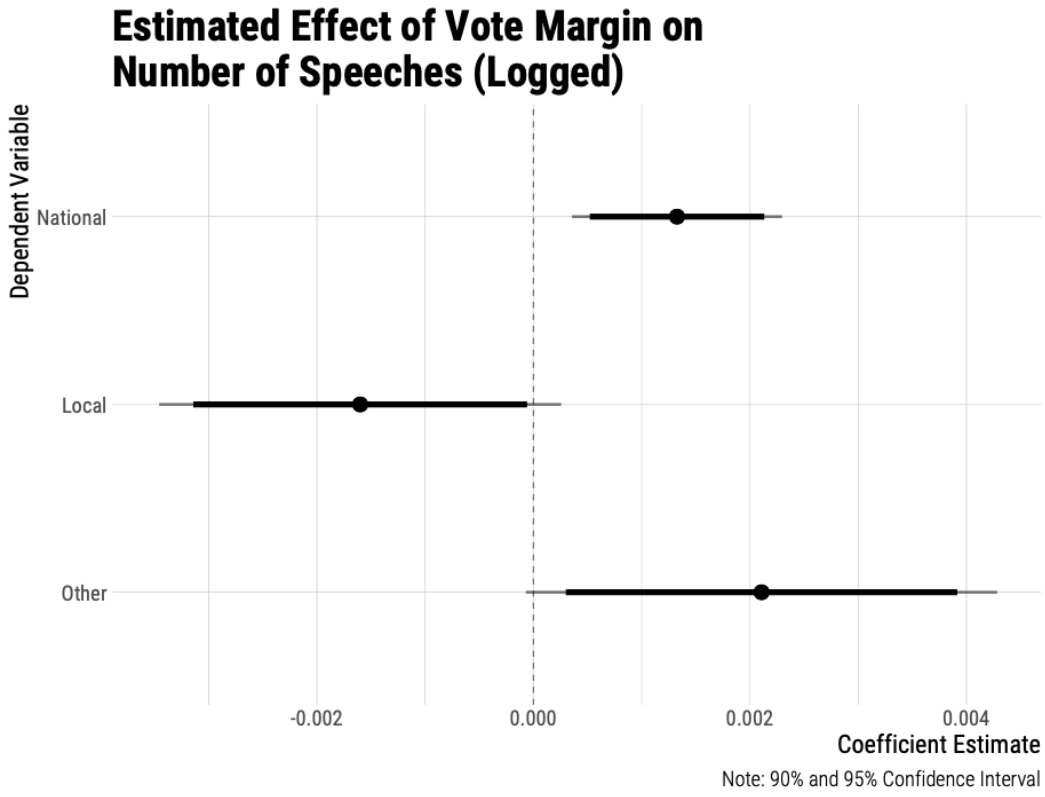


Figure 3.5: The Effect of Electoral Security on Making Different Types of Speeches

to allocate more or less attention to nationally versus locally oriented activities - as measured by legislators' speech making efforts - is strongly conditioned by competition: the electoral incentives that legislators face in the case of the Kenyan National Assembly of 2008-2017. Because those who experience greater electoral vulnerability face a greater need to provide locally focused attention, these legislators on average are less likely to engage in speech making. I further demonstrate that - once we unpack the speeches into those locally versus nationally oriented - the more electorally secure politicians are more likely to make a greater number of nationally oriented speeches, while the more vulnerable politicians are more likely to engage in making more locally oriented speeches. These findings challenge the conventional view that relegates the role of legislators to

merely unidimensional rubber-stamping constituency servants.

There are, however, a number of important limitations to note. First, due to the observational nature of the study and the weakness in its research design, the findings presented in this paper are limited to being exploratory and associational, without being able to shed light on the underlying true causal relationship of the key variables involved. One may, for instance, suspect that greater speech making leads to higher electoral security instead of the causal arrow originating from the electoral incentives to speech making behavior - although qualitative and anecdotal evidence tends to suggest otherwise. Unfortunately, exploiting a more rigorous research design to gain a stronger causal ground can be difficult. For example, the limited number of cases around the close election threshold prevents us from using a regression discontinuity approach. Moreover, manipulating real-world electoral security for an experimental intervention is not possible for ethical and other reasons. That said, there may still be ways to manipulate at least hypothetical information about electoral security. In future lines of inquiry, considering carefully designed survey experiment or information intervention aimed at elected officials may help further investigate the empirical relationship explored in this paper in a more robust manner.

Second, while the empirical analysis of the paper relied on the classification of speeches into different types, validation of such classification has been limited and challenging - just as in any machine learning classification exercise. For instance, unlike studies using similar techniques to investigate ideological dispositions in the American politics context where a widely accepted standard measure for ideology such as the D-W Nominate score exists against which the classification results can be compared, analogous standard measures of legislator attention are not available. Going forward, comparing any convergence and divergence between different classification exercises - such as those exploiting the nature of the headers or using a bigger sample of a manually classified

train/test set as used in this study - as a pure measurement exercise could be in and of itself a valuable addition to the scholarship.

Third, and more substantively, while this paper almost exclusively focused on the incentives on the legislators' side, a parallel effort examining voters' perception would be useful. For example, which voters under what condition prefer local versus national attention? Results from my other work based on a survey experimental study suggest that voters prefer a balance between the two when presented with a hypothetical choice between legislators spending different amounts of time for local versus national attention. Building upon such finding, examining the effects of different speeches using real-world examples as vignettes in conjunction with manipulating legislator characteristics could provide us with a more nuanced and complete view of voter preference for legislator attention going forward.

Chapter 4

The Adoption of Primaries and Electoral Performance in the 2017 Kenyan Legislative Elections

Why do parties choose to implement primary elections in some places but not in others? Existing studies argue that primaries are more likely to take place in either competitive districts or party strongholds. Yet the empirical evidence is based on highly varied country and institutional contexts and provides mixed and often contradictory findings. This chapter empirically tests whether party primaries are more likely in competitive or stronghold constituencies using the case of the 2017 Kenyan legislative elections. Using an original dataset on the complete universe of party primaries held by the ruling and main opposition parties, I find that while both parties are more likely to hold primary elections in party strongholds as opposed to competitive districts, the ruling party was much more likely than the opposition to adopt primaries across all levels of partisan support. I also evaluate the

electoral gains from using primaries and potential spillover effects of holding legislative primaries on other electoral outcomes, such as presidential vote shares and turnout. I find that holding primaries brings electoral gains only in stronghold constituencies, and spillover effects only exist for the opposition but not the ruling party. Finally, I discuss how these findings help explain why the opposition lost both the general and presidential election in 2017.

4.1 Introduction

On March 3, 2017, Raila Odinga, the leader of Kenya's main opposition party - the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) - directly nominated some 850 candidates ahead of the upcoming Kenyan general elections without holding party primaries.[1] ODM strategically chose not to hold intra-party elections to select candidates running for elected positions at all levels of government - from the gubernatorial, members of parliament (MPs), all the way down to the local member of council assembly (MCAs) – and instead directly nominated their standard bearer. Uhuru Kenyatta, the incumbent president and the leader of the ruling Jubilee Party (JP), heavily criticized the ODM's direct nominations as an affront to democracy. Later, the media reported that Kenyatta's JP also directly nominated a number of its candidates as well.[2]

Citizens, the media, and even party members criticized the practice of direct nominations. Some thought that rewarding loyalists with direct nominations in safe seats and warned that direct nominations would suppress turnout. Others thought that it would hurt the parties' chances of winning the general elections.[3] An ODM post-election study

[1]Moses Ngugi, "ODM hands direct nomination to 850 candidates", Citizen Digital, April 3, 2017 (https://citizentv.co.ke/news/odm-hands-direct-nomination-to-850-candidates-162657/)

[2]Rogers Omondi, "Jubilee Party Issues Direct Nominations to Unopposed Candidates", Kenyans.co.ke, August 21, 2018 (https://www.kenyans.co.ke/news/jubilee-party-issues-direct-nominations-unopposed-candidates-18644)

[3]Roselyne Obala and Carolyne Bii, "ODM party primaries pushed to next week as Raila

found that some of its MP aspirants and supporters believed that the practice of direct nomination was one of the factors which led to ODM's electoral losses.[4]

However, if direct nomination – in effect, not holding a party primary – hurts a party's electoral prospects, why would any party engage in such a practice? More generally, in a context in which party primaries are not mandated by law, why do parties choose to implement primary elections in some places but not in others?

Existing studies highlight two competing expectations as to where primaries are more likely to happen. First, parties may adopt primaries in the more competitive districts as they may help to choose higher quality candidates (Adams and Merrill, 2008; Serra, 2011) or to appeal to voters' demand for intra-party democracy (**?**). Second, parties may instead implement primaries in their party strongholds to increase internal competition and induce greater candidate efforts (Caillaud and Tirole, 2002; Crutzen, Castanheira, and Sahuguet, 2010; Aragón, 2014) (Caillaud and Tirole 2002; Castanheira et al. (2010; Aragon 2014), solve costly internal disputes (Kemahlioglu, Weitz-Shapiro, and Hirano, 2009), or collect and distribute rents (Ichino and Nathan, 2012*b*).

The empirical evidence, based on data from a variety of country and institutional contexts and incorporating everything from closed national central committee primaries to open constituency mass primaries, provides mixed and often contradictory findings on whether primaries are more likely in competitive or stronghold districts. Given the inconclusiveness of prior empirical findings and theoretical expectations, additional cases from new contexts are especially valuable. This paper empirically tests the relevance of the two competing expectations on where primaries are more likely to happen -

defends 800 direct tickets", The Standard, April 8, 2017 (https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:8HkG_r5I38MJ:https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001235482/odm-party-primaries-pushed-to-next-week-as-raila-defends-800-direct-tickets+&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us), Saturday Nation Team, "Chaos, nominations headache for Raila Odinga", Daily Nation, April 8, 2017 (https://www.nation.co.ke/news/politics/Chaos--nominations-headache-for-Raila-Odinga/1064-3882144-bn7pfx/index.html)

[4]Curtis Otieno, "Report exposes ODM's questionable nomination system", hivisasa, March 2018 (https://hivisasa.com/posts/1353-how-odm-has-been-selling-nomination-tickets---report)

competitive versus stronghold districts - using the case of the 2017 Kenyan general elections.

Kenyan parties have selectively introduced primary elections since 2002; by 2017, all major parties engaged in legislative party primaries to some extent. I construct an original dataset of Kenyan party primaries based on the complete universe of aspirants' records reported to the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), the Kenyan electoral management body. Using this dataset, I examine the validity of the two competing arguments for party primary adoption for the ruling Jubilee Party (JP) and the main opposition Orange Democratic Movement (ODM).

I find that both the ruling JP and opposition ODM are more likely to hold primary elections in party strongholds versus competitive districts. I also find, however, that the ruling party was much more likely than the opposition to hold primaries across all levels of partisan support. As the ruling party was more factionalized than the opposition in 2017, this finding supports the argument that regulating internal factional conflict may be one reason why Kenyan parties hold primaries (Kemahlioglu, Weitz-Shapiro, and Hirano, 2009).

I also evaluate the electoral gains from using primaries, and find results that also may explain why primaries go to party strongholds: holding primaries increases overall vote share and chances of winning the subsequent general election, but only in stronghold constituencies.

Finally, I consider possible spillovers effects of holding legislative primaries on other electoral outcomes, such as presidential vote shares, turnout, and the other party's electoral performance. I find evidence for such effects for the opposition but not the ruling party: forgoing primary elections and conducting direct nomination did not affect the ruling JP's electoral outcome, but hurt the opposition ODM's general and presidential electoral performance. Altogether, my results suggest that parties gain from holding

primaries in stronghold areas, but the magnitude of these gains vary by party, and help explain why the opposition lost both the general and presidential election in 2017.

This chapter makes a number of contributions. First, I broaden the general scope of the research on the adoption and effects of primary elections, which has generally been confined to the United States, Europe, and Latin America (c.f. Ichino and Nathan, 2012*b*); in doing so I contribute to the nascent literature on candidate selection in Africa (e.g. Ichino and Nathan, 2012*b*; Warren, 2018*b*; Choi, 2018). Second, my findings contribute to the theoretical debate. The research is consistent with other work showing parties are more likely to hold primary elections in party strongholds in the United States (Snyder Jr and Ting, 2011), Latin America (Aragón, 2014), and Ghana (Ichino and Nathan, 2012*b*). However, these results are derived from diverse theoretical expectations about the need to encourage effort (e.g. Caillaud and Tirole, 2002), manage internal conflicts (e.g. Kemahlioglu, Weitz-Shapiro, and Hirano, 2009), or distribute rents (e.g. Ichino and Nathan, 2012*b*). I suggest that managing internal conflict within parties rather than the distribution of rents from elites to voters is probably the more likely reason why Kenyan parties tend to hold primaries in their strongholds.

The chapter proceeds as follows. In the next section, I review the literature on primary election adoption and its effects. Second, I introduce the Kenyan case, and describe the use of party primaries during its 2017 general elections. Third, I present the data, empirical strategy, and the main findings. Finally, I discuss the implications of the findings and close with a summary and suggestions for future research.

4.2 Existing Studies

Countries around the world increasingly employ primaries to select candidates, and Sub-Saharan Africa is not an exception. Around the region, some form of primary

election has been implemented Botswana, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Lesotho, Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zimbabwe (Warren, 2018*b*). Yet academic research on the adoption of primaries focuses primarily on the United States (e.g. Hirano et al., 2010), Europe (e.g. Pilet and Cross, 2014), and Latin America (e.g. Carey and Polga-Hecimovich, 2006; De Luca, Jones, and Tula, 2002). While the latest research by Warren (2018*b*) shows that more than half of incumbent turnovers in sub-Saharan Africa occur at the candidate selection stage prior to general elections, we know relatively little about how parties conduct candidate selection, including the adoption of primaries, in the region (c.f. Ichino and Nathan, 2012*b*).

Existing studies highlight two competing expectations about the relationship between primaries and the competitiveness of a district, which are largely based on assumptions about whether primaries help or hurt general election performance. On the one hand, primaries may be more likely in competitive districts if they boost electoral performance in the subsequent general election. First, primaries may help parties in competitive districts by selecting candidates with better quality or valence and win the general election (Langston, 2006; Adams and Merrill, 2008; Serra, 2011). Primaries may also help parties win in competitive districts, not by selecting better candidates, but by signaling better democratic quality to the voters (Carey and Polga-Hecimovich, 2006; Hazan and Rahat, 2010; Shomer, Put, and Gedalya-Lavy, 2015).

On the other hand, parties may be more likely to adopt primaries in party strongholds instead of competitive districts. First, formal models by Caillaud and Tirole (2002) and Crutzen, Castanheira, and Sahuguet (2010) suggest that parties would adopt primaries in their party strongholds in order to encourage intra-party competition and induce greater candidate effort. Using data from Latin American presidential primaries, Aragón (2014) finds empirical support for the effort-inducement argument. Parties may also be more likely to use primaries in their strongholds in order to manage internal

conflicts Kemahlioglu, Weitz-Shapiro, and Hirano (2009); Hortala-Vallve and Mueller (2015); Bruhn (2014). In party strongholds where the likelihood of winning the eventual legislative seat is very high once someone is nominated the party's candidate, the value of such nomination is likely to be greater compared to that in more competitive districts, and thus there can be a greater number of aspirants vying for the nomination. In such a setting, parties can benefit from holding primaries such that they can delegate the candidate nomination to the primary process and avoid internal conflicts or party splits. Finally, in their seminal study of primary elections in Ghana during the 2004 and 2008 legislative elections, Ichino and Nathan (2012*b*) make a related argument. In their view, however, the expectation about rent collection by party elites is the key factor. In Ghana, due to a culture of clientelism and vote buying, party elites, who can act as primary voters, expect rents from primary aspirants. As strongholds attract a greater number of aspirants, larger sums of rent may flow to primary voters. Since denying party elites the opportunity to collect additional rents during primaries could hurt the party during the general elections, parties are more likely to hold primaries in their strongholds.

However, there are at least two reasons why it is difficult to derive a clear, general expectation from this literature. First, while the arguments for a greater prevalence of primaries in competitive versus stronghold districts rely on expectations about benefits from holding primary elections, the empirical evidence is mixed. Although a number of studies find empirical support for the so-called primary bonus thesis (e.g. Carey and Polga-Hecimovich, 2006; Adams and Merrill, 2008; Serra, 2011; Ramiro, 2016), others argue that primaries can hurt electoral performance in the general election by selecting extreme nominees and suppressing turnout (Polsby, 1983; Hall, 2015; Hall and Thompson, 2018, e.g.), or by intensifying factional conflicts and weakens party organization (e.g. Gallagher and Marsh, 1988; Bruhn, 2010; De Luca and Venturino, 2017). Second, the different studies reviewed use data from widely different contexts. For example, even limiting our

attention to the electoral consequences of primary elections, we see that the evidence for primary penalty is mostly derived from the United States congressional election context (e.g. Hall, 2015), while evidence from newer democracies in Latin America (e.g. Carey and Polga-Hecimovich, 2006) finds greater support for primary bonus using presidential primaries. In the only existing study of in the Sub-Saharan African context, Ichino and Nathan (2012*a*) use data from the closed elite-level primaries during the 2004 and 2008 Ghanaian elections and find mixed results: opposition party experienced primary bonus, while the ruling party experienced primary penalty. Given the theoretical ambiguity and mixed findings of previous work, extending the study of primaries to new cases is particularly valuable. To this end, I consider the case of the 2017 Kenyan election.

4.3 Case: The 2017 Kenyan General Election

Considering the great heterogeneity in the arguments and mixed evidence in the existing literature as reviewed above, this chapter sets out to empirically explore whether the Kenyan parties were more likely to adopt primary elections in the competitive or stronghold constituencies without making any strong pre-determined predictions. Before proceeding to the empirical analysis, this section presents the Kenyan case, and political and institutional contexts that affected the dynamics of the 2017 general election and its party primaries in particular.

4.3.1 Elections and Political Parties in Kenya

Kenya has held competitive, concurrent presidential and legislative elections every five years since the re-introduction of multi-party politics in 1992. After a constitutional reform in 2010, 290 MPs serve in the National Assembly, among which 210 of them are from single-member districts by plurality rule. Departing from the norms prior to the

2010 constitutional reform, MPs were no longer allowed to serve as cabinet members. 2013 saw the introduction of new positions of majority and minority party leaders and party whips, which arguably enhanced parties' internal coherence and unity.

Becoming an MP in Kenya comes with substantial benefits. Currently, the base annual salary for an MP is about $85,000. In addition, there are generous allowances and benefits, including an official car grant of $48,000, monthly mileage and car maintenance pay of $3,440, a personal car loan of up to $67,400, and a state-backed mortgage up to $193,000, to name a few.[5] Even without considering other supports such as family medical and education stipends and generous severance package, elected legislators easily make more than double their base pay of $85,000, in a country where the GDP per capita is about $1,500. Perhaps reflecting the high value of being elected to the office, there were over 1,400 candidates competing for the 290 parliament seats in 2017.

While voting in many parts of Sub-Saharan Africa, and Kenya in particular, is often considered as an ethnic headcount, recent research by Horowitz (2017) shows that ethnicity is not a perfect predictor of voting preferences, and nearly 20 percent of Kenyans changed their stated vote choice using data collected during the 2013 election campaigns. Indeed, the 2013 and 2017 general elections were both highly competitive, with the median winning MPs' vote share being around 50% and with only about 10% of constituency showing winning vote share greater than 75%. This suggests that, if holding primary elections is beneficial in boosting electoral performance in the competitive districts, parties had significant incentives to do so.

Although observers of Kenyan politics frequently characterize the Kenyan party system as relatively volatile (Elischer, 2013; LeBas, 2015), parties typically coalesce around two main coalitions in the lead up to elections. In 2013, these were Jubilee

[5]Lee Mwiti, "FACTSHEET: How much do Kenyan members of parliament earn – and are they overpaid?" Africa Check, January 15, 2017 (https://africacheck.org/factsheets/factsheet-much-kenyan-members-parliament-earn-overpaid/)

Alliance, with Uhuru Kenyatta from the National Alliance (TNA) as the presidential candidate, and William Ruto from United Republican Party (URP) as the deputy presidential candidate, and the Coalition for Reform and Democracy (CORD) with Raila Odinga from the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) as the presidential candidate and Kalonzo Musyoka from the Wiper Democratic Movement-Kenya (WDM-K) as the deputy presidential candidate. Jubilee Alliance won the election in the first round with a very slim majority. Similar constellations of power with the same presidential and deputy presidential candidates from both sides competed again in 2017, this time with the Jubilee Alliance formally transforming itself into a single political party instead of a coalition of parties,[6] while the opposition CORD rebranded itself as the National Super Alliance (NASA) competing for power as a coalition outfit.

With these changes, in the run-up to the 2017 elections, the ruling Jubilee Party (JP) had internalized the coalition of different parties into factions belonging to a single party, whereas the opposition NASA often fielded separate legislative candidates competing against one another while agreeing to support a common presidential ticket. Cheeseman et al. (2019) cite this party versus coalition structure as one reason why the JP defeated NASA in the 2017 election. While the ruling JP was able to solve intra-party fighting and put forward single candidates in the general election stage, the opposition ODM had to worry not only about facing the ruling party candidates but also candidates from its other coalition members during the general election stage.

For our interests in primary elections, however, this also means that the ruling JP may have experienced greater pressure to hold primaries as there were greater need to regulate internal factional divisions at the candidate selection stage, in comparison with ODM, which was able to maintain its internal party coherence (Kemahlioglu, Weitz-

[6]This included at least ten parties such as the TNA, URP, United Democratic Forum (UDF), Alliance Party of Kenya (APK), New FORD–Kenya (NFK), FORD People (FP), Chama Cha Uzalendo (CCU), Jubilee Alliance Party (JAP), The Independence Party (TIP), Grand National Union (GNU), and Republican Congress (RC)

Shapiro, and Hirano, 2009).

One of the aims of the 2010 constitutional reform following the post-election violence in 2007-2008 was to disperse the power from the executive (Kramon and Posner, 2011). As a part of such efforts, the new constitution required that the winning presidential candidate receive more than 50% of votes nationally, and more than 25% of votes from at least 24 of the 47 counties. This meant that presidential candidates needed to reach out to constituencies beyond their core areas, and required greater support from the local party activists to ensure that they fulfill the minimum vote share requirements (Cheeseman et al., 2019). In turn, we could expect that voter turnout and presidential vote share may have been higher in constituencies which held primary elections due to the extended period of party campaigns and the resulting reverse coattail effect (Ichino and Nathan, 2012*a*; Gadjanova, 2019).

4.3.2 Party Primaries in Kenya

Starting from 2002, parties in Kenya have selectively introduced primary elections, and by 2017 all major parties engaged in legislative party primaries to some extent. In contrast with Ghana, Kenya, along with Botswana, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zimbabwe, utilize open primaries, which allow the participation of all eligible voters (Warren, 2018*a*).

As party primaries became more common, parties in Kenya potentially faced a trade-off between transparency and control. On the one hand, Kenyan voters showed increasingly higher expectations for more transparent candidate selection. For example, a nationally representative survey of 1,800 randomly selected sample Kenyan voters in the run-up to the 2017 elections shows that an overwhelming majority of both the ruling and opposition party supporters prefer primary elections by either party members or voters as opposed to direct nomination or nomination by party elites.[7]. On the other hand, holding

[7]Leonardo R. Arriola , Donghyun Danny Choi and Victor Rateng, "This is how Kenyans want

primaries entails giving up control over who stand in elections. It also involves money and time: ballots need to be printed and moved; candidates need to expend resources for campaigning; and party officials need to organize and execute the voting day logistics, to name a few (Development, 2005).

While the Party Act technically requires that only party members vote in the primary elections, in reality voting was open to all eligible voters and became a public affair as neither the election management body nor the parties maintained party membership list, and some voters even voted in multiple parties' primaries (Wanyama and Elklit, 2018).[8] Moreover, while central party elites have traditionally interfered in the candidate selection process, especially by endorsing one of the primary candidates (Choi, 2018; Wanyama and Elklit, 2018), qualitative accounts from the 2017 elections suggests that electoral dynamics following the 2010 Constitutional Reform empowered local politicians to such a degree that party leaders were often forced to stay away from picking favorites publicly, and had to 'keep off local politics' (Gadjanova, 2019). That said, primaries still suffered from a number of irregularities including reports of violence and intimidation, vote buying, and general lack of preparation (Center, 2018).

4.4 Empirical Design

In order to test the diverging expectations about where Kenyan parties are more likely to hold primaries, this section presents a series of empirical analyses. First, I introduce the data, and discuss the empirical model to test the different predictions. I show that the probability of holding primary elections is greater in party strongholds.

their democracy to work", October 15, 2016, Monkey Cage blog, (https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/10/15/heres-how-kenyans-want-their-democracy-to-work/?utm_term=.8e18d99f4b57)

[8]For example, in my survey of 2,518 randomly selected voters in Nairobi conducted in February 209, I also found that about 37% of the respondents participated in primary elections, and among them about 5% admitted to participating in more than one party's primary.

However, the ruling party, rather than the opposition, is more likely to hold primaries in all ranges of partisan support. As an ancillary analysis, I also show that parties gain an electoral boost for holding primaries but only in their strongholds. Finally, I find support for the reverse coattail effect, but only for the opposition ODM and not the ruling JP: the opposition party holding legislative primaries increases their presidential candidate vote share and suppresses the ruling JP's presidential as well as legislative candidate vote share.

4.4.1 Data

One reason why studying primary elections in developing democracies is difficult is due to the lack of data availability. For example, Ichino and Nathan (2012*b*)'s seminal work in Ghana uses newspaper article searches and identifies information about primary elections two thirds of the constituencies. Similarly, Carey and Polga-Hecimovich (2006) use data from websites and electronic databases of news reports in their study of Latin American presidential election primaries. While these represent the some of the most pioneering works on primary elections outside of Europe and the United States, the methods employed may lead to potential selection bias, i.e. the cases where the authors could not track down information about whether primaries took place or not maybe systematically different from those they had information.

Dependent Variable: Holding Primary Election

Instead of relying on secondary sources, I use the official list of all aspirants for the 2017 Kenyan general elections submitted by the individual parties and published in the Kenya Gazette.[9] While the list includes close to 13,000 aspirants from more than twenty parties at all levels, this paper focuses on the aspirants for national assembly positions

[9]Kenya Gazette Notice No. 3796, April 13, 2017

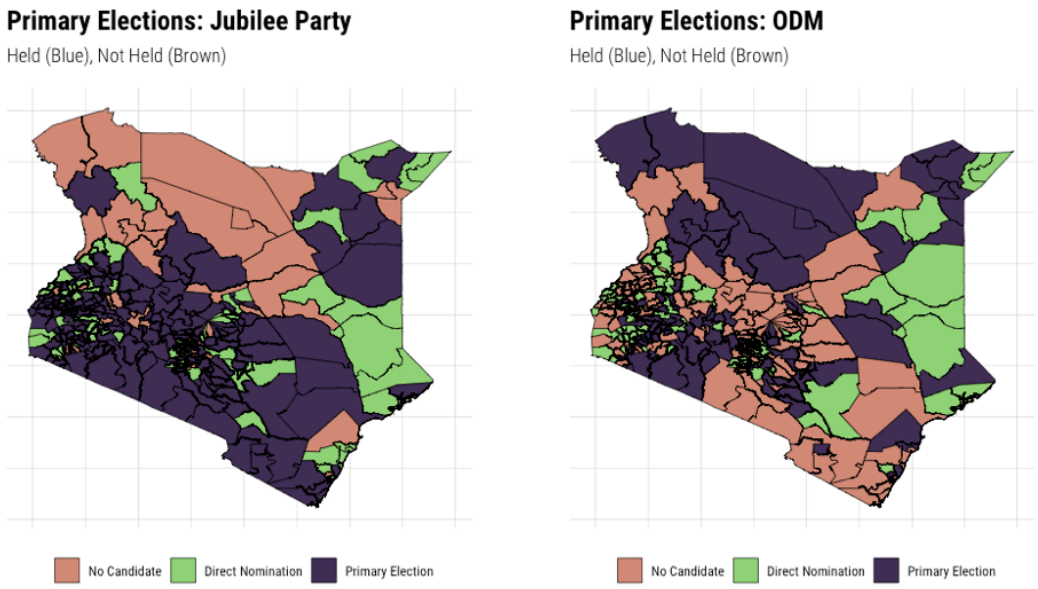


Figure 4.1: Primary Elections in Kenya, 2017

competing under the single-member district (SMD) rules for the two main parties, i.e. the ruling JP and the opposition ODM.[10] The resulting number of aspirants is 1,445 across the two parties. Using this list, I constructed an original data set capturing whether or not a primary election between multiple aspirants took place in a given constituency following Ansolabehere et al. (2005) and Ichino and Nathan (2012*b*). *Figure 4.1* visually presents the geographical variation in where the two parties held their primary elections, while *Table 4.1* presents the same information aggregated by party and by whether there were no candidate, direct nomination, or primary election.

[10]Kenya's National Assembly consists of a total of 290 SMD positions voted directly at the constituency level, 47 women representative positions elected under proportional representation (PR) rule at the county level, and 12 appointed positions based on PR rule using national level party vote shares.

Table 4.1: Primary Elections in Kenya, 2017

Jubilee Party (JP, Ruling)	**Orange Democratic Movement** (ODM, Opposition)	**Number of Constituencies**
Primary Election	Primary Election	46
Primary Election	Direct Nomination	51
Primary Election	No Candidate	88
Direct Nomination	Primary Election	25
Direct Nomination	Direct Nomination	25
Direct Nomination	No Candidate	25
No Candidate	Primary Election	24
No Candidate	Direct Nomination	4
No Candidate	No Candidate	2

Key Independent and Control Variables

I combine the data on primary elections with data on the 2013 election outcomes. Historically, Kenyan parties have had had relatively low continuity from election to election as they are often dismantled and reorganized around individual politicians each election cycle. In 2017, however, not only the same presidential and deputy presidential candidates from both the ruling and opposition parties from the 2013 election ran again, but also the composition of the competing sides remained very similar. This allows me to use presidential candidate vote shares in the previous election held in 2013 as a proxy for the level of partisan support in 2017.[11]

I also consider a number of constituency-level covariates that may affect parties' decision to hold primary elections based on the discussion in the previous literature. First, I construct a measure of ethnic fractionalization at the constituency-level, since more ethnically diverse constituencies may attract a greater number of primary aspirants and exert greater pressure for parties to hold primaries (Ichino and Nathan, 2012*b*). Since Kenya does not release any official statistics on local level ethnic composition, I

[11] I also use the proportion of swing voters as defined by those without a coethnic presidential candidate following Horowitz (2016) as an alternative measure of partisan support. The results are consistent from those presented in the main body and shows that constituencies with greater proportion of swing voters are less likely to hold primary elections (see Appendix).

follow the strategy in Horowitz (2015) and use self-reported ethnicities from over 38,000 respondents combining 19 surveys conducted between July 2007 and October 2010 by Ipsos Kenya. Second, I also include an indicator capturing whether the other party is holding a primary election, to account for the possibility that parties hold primaries to counteract their opponents' primary campaigns. Third, I control for whether the constituency seat was occupied by the party's incumbent, as parties may forgo primary elections and allow their incumbent to re-run in ex ante expectation that incumbents have a higher probability of winning in the general election (Carey and Polga-Hecimovich, 2006; Kemahlioglu, Weitz-Shapiro, and Hirano, 2009). Fourth, using data from the 2009 Kenyan Census, I include a measure of constituency-level poverty rate. If the demand from primary voters for rent distribution is the main mechanism through which adoption of a primary election is determined (Ichino and Nathan, 2012*b*), we might expect constituencies with greater poverty rates to have a greater demand for primary elections. Finally, also using the Census, I also include the constituency population. If primaries help with mobilization and campaigning, or with increasing the electoral prospects for the presidential candidates, parties may be more likely to implement primary elections in constituencies with a greater number of voters in order to ensure that they can clear the presidential election of over 50% at the national level and over 25% in more than 24 of the 47 counties as required by the new constitution.

4.5 Empirical Strategy And Results

In order to test whether parties are more likely to hold primary elections in competitive versus stronghold constituencies, I estimate the following logistic regression model:

$$Pr(PE_{ic} = 1) = logit^{-1}(X_{ic}\beta + \theta_{ic}\gamma + \varepsilon_{ic})$$

Here, we are estimating the probability of holding primary elections ($PE_ic = 1$) as a function of the vote share for the presidential candidate of party i in constituency c (X_ic), and other constituency level covariates discussed above (θ_{ic}).[12] For all models, standard errors were clustered at the county level to adjust for any unobserved variations that are geographically clustered among the units of observation.

The full regression results are presented in *Table 4.2*. From the table, first, we see that greater electoral support for the presidential candidate during the previous election in 2013 is positively associated with the probability of holding primary elections for both the ruling JP and opposition ODM in all models, suggesting that primary elections are much more likely in party strongholds compared to more competitive constituencies.

While the existing theories reviewed suggested that parties may be more likely to hold primaries in their strongholds due to the need to encourage effort (e.g. Caillaud and Tirole, 2002), manage internal conflicts (e.g. Kemahlioglu, Weitz-Shapiro, and Hirano, 2009), or distribute rents (e.g. Ichino and Nathan, 2012*b*), the data and research design employed in this chapter does not allow me to precisely test for these mechanisms.

That said, visualizing the coefficients on the key independent variable - Presidential Vote Share, 2013 – or interpreting the coefficients on some of the covariates provides suggestive evidence about potential channels in the two parties. First, to better understand the results, I plot the predicted probability of holding primary elections for both parties based on models 2 and 4 from *Table 2.2* in *Figure 2.2*. First, the figure shows at every

[12] I also test for the possibility that the effect of partisan support is not linear using higher order polynomials and find no significance, and confirm it visually by plotting the results from a generalized additive model (GAM).

Table 4.2: Logit Model of Holding Primary Elections

	Dependent variable:			
	Holding Primary Election			
	JP	JP	ODM	ODM
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Presidential Vote Share, 2013	0.031***	0.030***	0.050***	0.054***
	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.012)	(0.011)
Ethnic Fractionalization	2.463***	2.120***	1.999**	1.155
	(0.800)	(0.655)	(0.998)	(0.809)
Other Party Holds Primary	0.523	0.355	−0.006	−0.232
	(0.498)	(0.513)	(0.551)	(0.604)
Incumbent	0.802	0.613	−0.448	−0.430
	(0.577)	(0.548)	(0.410)	(0.419)
Population (Logged)		0.391		0.349
		(0.779)		(0.778)
Poverty Rate		−0.040***		−0.038***
		(0.012)		(0.012)
Constant	−1.527***	−3.791	−3.552***	−5.732
	(0.567)	(9.145)	(0.879)	(8.994)
Observations	255	255	171	171
Log Likelihood	−112.943	−103.873	−92.468	−86.543
Akaike Inf. Crit.	235.885	221.746	194.936	187.087
Note:				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

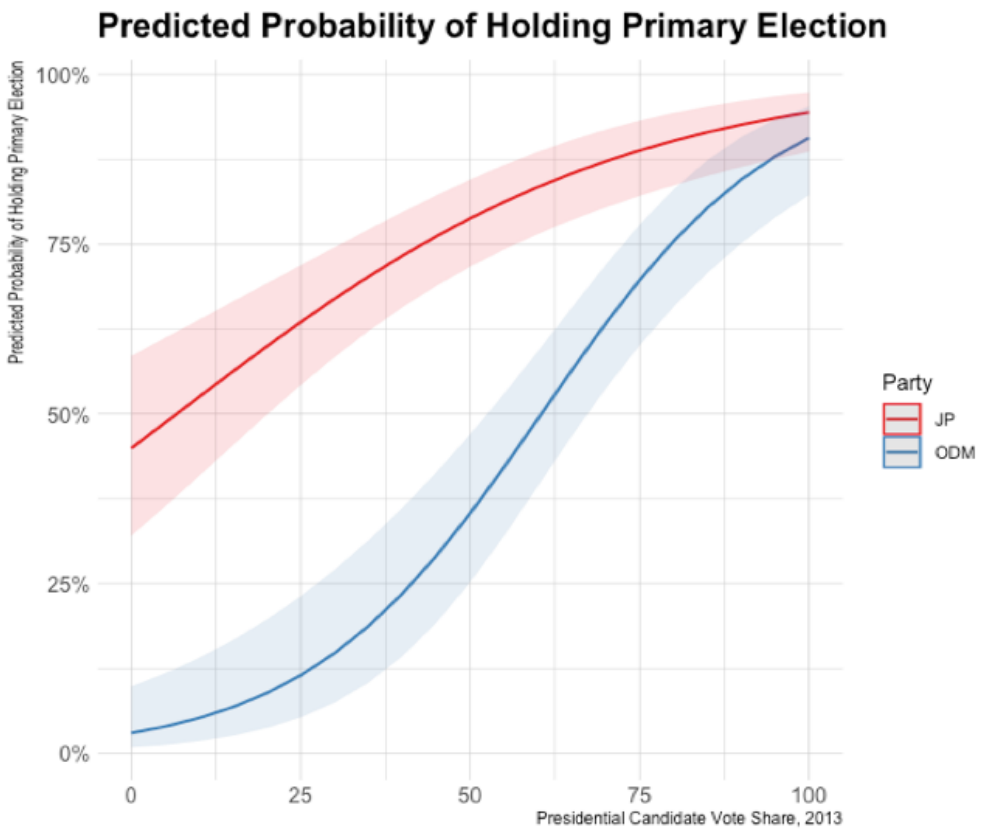


Figure 4.2: Predicted Probability of Holding Primary Elections

level of previous presidential candidate vote share, the ruling JP is more likely to hold a primary election when compared to the ODM. This lends support to the expectation that parties with greater factional conflicts – in this case the JP, which incorporated more than ten different parties - are more likely to hold primaries in order to regulate potential internal conflict than its more coherent counterparts – in this case the opposition ODM (Kemahlioglu, Weitz-Shapiro, and Hirano, 2009).

Moving on to the coefficients for the covariates in models 2 and 4 of *Table 4.2*, we see that ethnic fractionalization is positively associated with the probability of holding primary elections, suggesting that primaries are more likely in places where there are more potential aspirants, as argued in Ichino and Nathan (2012*b*). However, we see that

the direction of the association for the poverty rate variable is the opposite from the earlier theoretical prediction. That is, if primary voters seeking rents from primary election aspirants is the main mechanism behind why we see a greater likelihood of primary elections in strongholds, we would expect higher poverty rates to be positively associated with holding a primary election. The significant and negative coefficient on the poverty rate, instead suggests that voters' demand for rents is not likely to be the main driver of the party's decision to hold primaries in party strongholds. While these discussions are speculative, they suggest that managing conflicts within parties or encouraging efforts rather than the distribution of rents from elites to voters is perhaps the more likely reason why Kenyan parties tend to hold primaries in their strongholds.

Focusing on the fact that the size of the coefficient for the previous presidential vote share variable is larger for the opposition ODM compared to the ruling JP, we could further examine the changes in the slope of the predicted probabilities. To better understand this difference, *Figure 4.3* illustrates the changes in the predicted probability of holding primary elections as a function of changes in presidential candidate vote share in 2013. In the graph, each of the point estimates and the associated 95% confidence interval shows the changes associated with a 5%-point increase in the previous presidential candidate vote share based on simulations while holding all other variables at their mean (for continuous variables) or median (for categorical variables) levels. The rug plots at the bottom show the distribution of presidential candidate vote share in 2013 by constituencies.

Figure 4.3 shows that the probability of holding a primary election is positive in all ranges of the partisan support for both JP and ODM. Notably, however, we see that while probability of holding primary election for the JP is more sensitive to changes in presidential candidate support in the previous election for constituencies where they were less competitive (i.e. below 50% vote share in the previous election), the probability

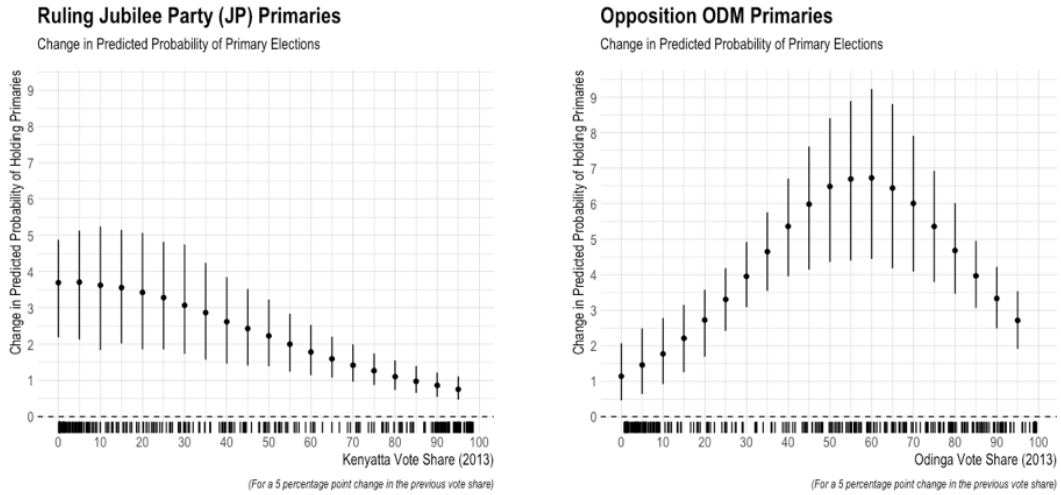


Figure 4.3: Changes in Probability of Holding Primary Elections

for the ODM is more sensitive to changes in partisan support for the more competitive constituencies (i.e. around 50% vote share in the previous election). These patterns are different from expectations drawn from the Latin American literature (e.g. Kemahlioglu, Weitz-Shapiro, and Hirano, 2009), where one would expect to see changing signs around 50% mark if primaries were more likely to be adopted in the more competitive districts. They are also different from findings in the only other study on the subject in the sub-Saharan African context by Ichino and Nathan (2012*b*), where they find the changes in the predicted probability of primaries to be almost linearly increasing in its magnitude with increasing partisan support, with the biggest changes in predicted probability occurring in the strongholds.

One potential explanation for the differences between the parties lies in their diverging campaign strategies as incumbent and opposition. Leaked JP campaign planning documents from the early stages of the electoral campaign stated that they would pursue voters in all 47 counties to ensure gaining more than 25% votes from at least half of

the countries to avoid the run-off election.[13] The opposition ODM, on the other hand, could not enjoy the same powers of incumbency (e.g. use of state resources, mobilization of government officials for campaigning, and interference with media freedom), and would therefore have been more likely to concentrate its resources in more competitive constituencies.

4.6 Extension: Electoral Consequences Of Primary Elections

As an ancillary analysis, I consider the electoral consequences of holding primary elections. If parties use primaries in order to encourage effort, we should observe that holding primaries improves electoral performance and that this boost is increasing in levels of partisan support (Aragón, 2014). In order to estimate the treatment effect of holding a primary, we must first consider the selection stage of where primaries are held (Ichino and Nathan, 2012*a*). As such, I employ matching and regression methods to adjust for possible confounding factors, using the variables that were found to be statistically significant determinants of adopting primary elections using nearest neighbor matching with a Mahalanobis distance measure instead of propensity scores, following best practices suggested by King and Nielsen (2019).[14]

Using the matched sample and linear regression models, I estimate the interactive effects of primary elections at different levels of presidential candidate vote share in 2013 on general election outcomes (winning and vote share), while holding constant

[13] Mwaniki Munuhe and Job Weru "Raphael Tuju to head Jubilee Party team as Uhuru moves to stem protest", Standard, Nov 6, 2016 (https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000222363/raphael-tuju-to-head-jubilee-party-team-as-uhuru-moves-to-stem-protest), Anthony Mukere, "Leaked Jubilee Campaign Documents Reveals President Kenyatta's Re-election Strategy", Kenyans.co.ke August 21, 2018 (https://www.kenyans.co.ke/news/leaked-jubilee-campaign-documents-reveals-president-kenyattas-re-election-strategy)

[14] Pre- and post-matching balance comparison can be found in the Appendix.

covariates considered in the previous analysis including ethnic fractionalization, whether the other party is holding primary elections, whether the seat was occupied by the party's incumbent, poverty rate, population, and turnout.[15] In addition to these, I also include an indicator variable capturing whether there were any formal complaints raised to the 2017 Political Parties Dispute Tribunal.[16] *Figure 4.4* presents the results graphically, where the light and dark shaded areas correspond to the 90% and 95% confidence intervals respectively. While the confidence intervals cross the zero lines especially in the model with the JP MP vote shares in 2017 as the dependent variable, the results presented in *Figure 4.4* overall confirm our expectation that holding primary elections is beneficial for the legislative election results in constituencies with higher levels of partisan support in the previous election.

Finally, using the same matched sample, I also consider a series of additional dependent variables in order to consider any spillover effects. First, I examine the effects of holding primary elections on presidential candidates' vote share and voter turnout. Ichino and Nathan (2012*a*) find that parliamentary primaries in Ghana improve performance in the presidential election for both ruling and opposition parties. In the Kenyan context, many observers highlighted the importance of turnout as one of the decisive factors for winning the presidential election.[17] Yet, the expectations for the direction of the effects in relation to either of the dependent variables are unclear. On the one hand, if holding primary elections help extend the campaign period, mobilize

[15] Standard errors were clustered at the county level for all models. Regression table with full results can be found in the appendix. Results are consistent using logistic regression for the winning indicator as the dependent variable or quasi-logistics regression for the MP vote share dependent variable for which the possible values range between 0 and 100.

[16] This data was collected using information on the Political Parties Dispute Tribunal (Procedure) Regulations, 2017, shared by the Kenya National Council of Law Reporting (http://kenyalaw.org/kl/index.php?id=7522)

[17] "Eight things about the Kenyan elections" BBC News, July 29, 2017 (https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-40634847), David Ndii, "Closing The 'tyranny Of Numbers' Gap: Swing votes and voter turnout will determine outcome of 2017 poll", Elephant, Jul 31, 2017 (https://www.theelephant.info/features/2017/07/31/closing-the-tyranny-of-numbers-gap-swing-votes-and-voter-turnout-will-determine-outcome-of-2017-poll/)

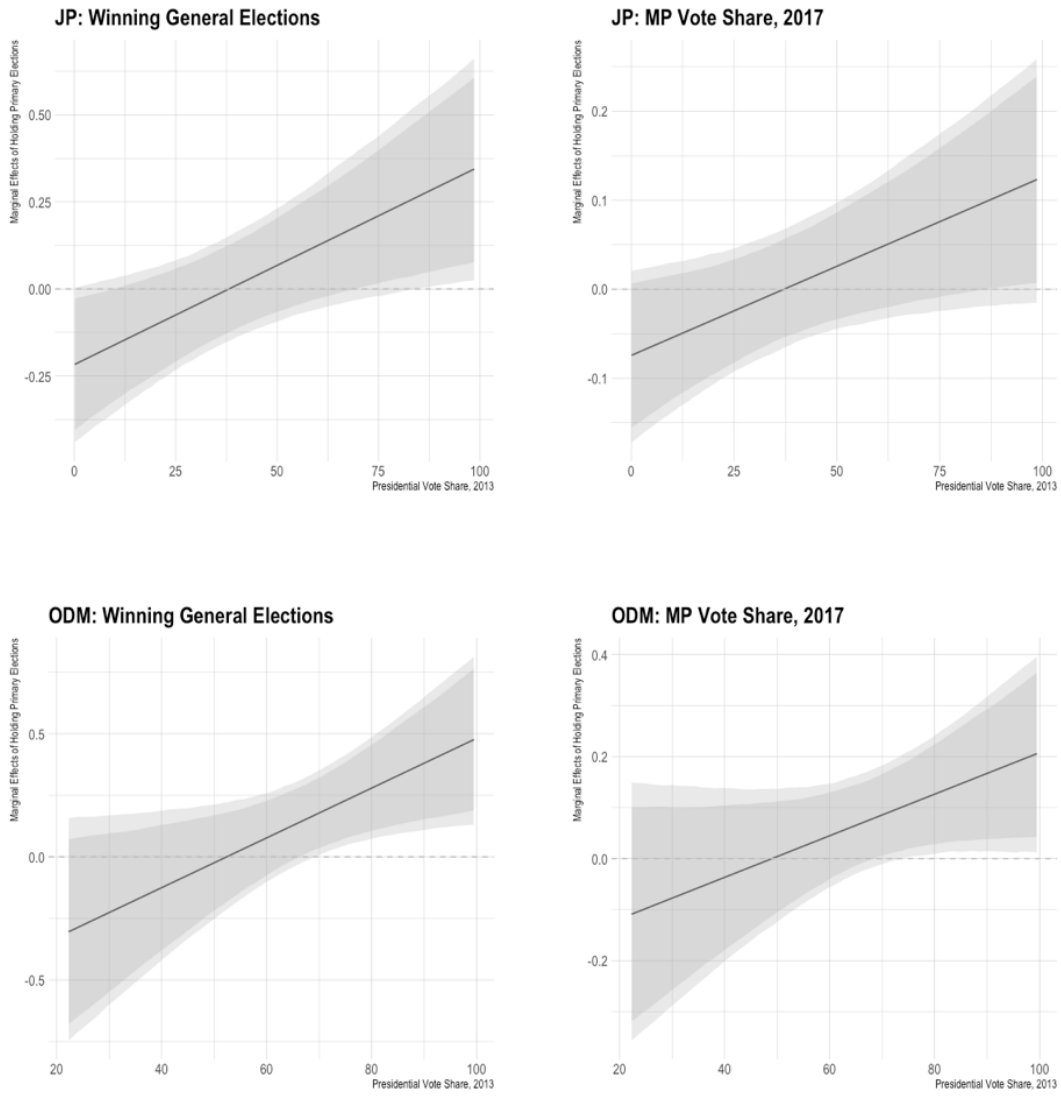


Figure 4.4: Effects of Primary Elections on General Election Outcomes

local party activists, show that the party leadership cares about the constituency, and signal the party's democratic virtue, it may lead to a positive spillover into presidential vote share as well as voter turnout (Carey and Polga-Hecimovich, 2006). On the other hand, if holding primaries intensifies factional conflicts, weakens local party organization, damages candidate images, and depletes local party resources, it may lead to opposite

outcomes (Bruhn, 2010; De Luca and Venturino, 2017).

Second, I also consider the effects of holding primary elections on the other party's vote share for the MP and presidential candidates. One reason why we see more significant predictions for winning as opposed to vote share in *Figure 4.4* may be due to the possibility that holding primaries reduces the vote share of the opposing party instead of simply boosting the vote share of your own. To consider such possibility I run additional tests for the effects of JP primaries on the ODM MP and presidential candidates as well as the effects of ODM primaries on the JP MP and presidential candidates.

Figure 4.5 graphically presents the results for the models for the key independent variables of interest - namely the interaction between the indicator of holding primary elections and presidential vote shares in 2013.[18] For the ruling JP, the results demonstrate little support for any spillover effects: holding primary elections has a statistically significant and positive association only for turnout when the previous presidential vote share was above approximately 75%. The models for the opposition ODM, on the other hand, shows statistically significant interactions effects for all four dependent variables. Specifically, holding primaries in strongholds correlated with greater levels of presidential vote share as well as lower levels of JP vote share for both the MP and presidential candidates in 2017 in their strongholds. The effect of primaries on turnout, however, is negative throughout most range of partisan support. These results suggest that the ODM primaries, especially in their strongholds, were effective in not only boosting electoral outcomes at the legislative level, but also at the presidential level. Ironically then, these results also help explain why the ODM suffered a blow in both the general and presidential elections in 2017: forgoing primary elections and conducting direct nomination did not change the JP's electoral outcomes, but the ODM missed its potential electoral gains when it failed to hold primaries in their strongholds.

[18] A full regression results from all models is available in the appendix.

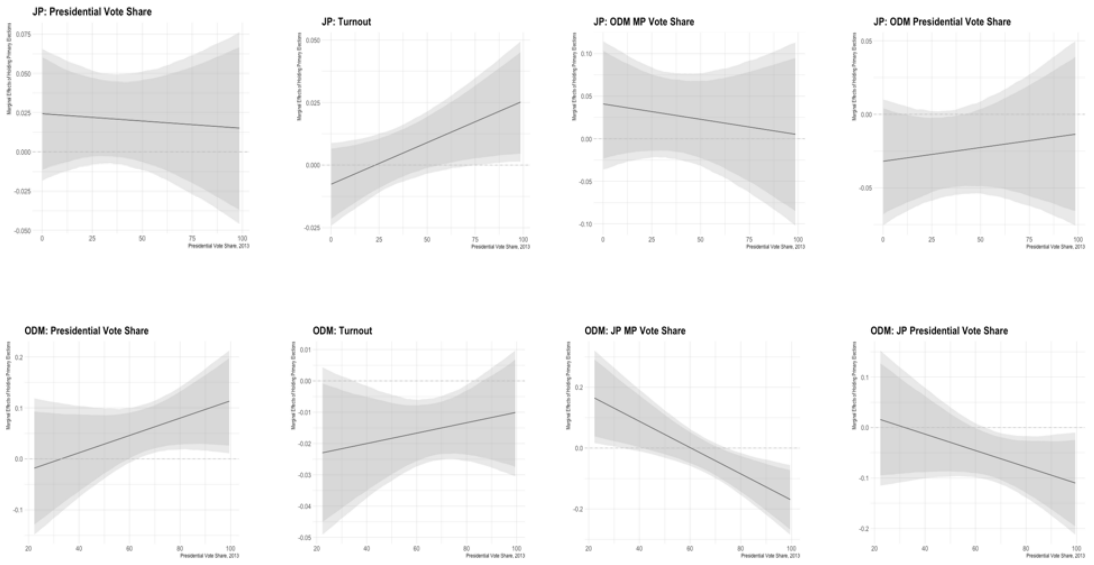


Figure 4.5: Effects of Primary Elections on Other Outcomes of Interests

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter examined where primary elections are more likely to happen using the case of the 2017 Kenyan legislative elections. Existing studies suggest two competing explanations: primary elections are more likely to be adopted in either competitive or party stronghold districts. These expectations however are drawn from wide-ranging country and institutional contexts, and receives only mixed and often contradictory empirical support. Using newly collected data on the complete universe of aspirant records for the ruling and main opposition parties, I find that both parties were more likely to hold party primaries in their respective strongholds in the case of 2017 Kenyan elections. I also find that the ruling party, rather than the opposition, was more likely to hold primaries across all levels of partisan support – suggesting that regulating internal factional conflict may be one key reason why Kenyan parties hold primaries (Kemahlioglu, Weitz-Shapiro, and Hirano, 2009). I also conduct ancillary analysis regarding the effects of primaries on electoral outcomes, and find support for the electoral gain thesis but

only in party strongholds, and for the spillover thesis but only for the opposition party. These results combined together suggests that the opposition had more to lose from not conducting primary elections in their strongholds as they not only lost electoral boosts for their legislative candidates but also failed to take advantage of positive spillovers into the presidential race.

In a context where prior empirical findings and theoretical expectations were inconclusive, this chapter adds an important new case and shows that the logic governing primaries in sub-Saharan Africa – at least in the context of the 2017 Kenyan legislative elections examined– may not be much different from that in other country contexts, especially in Latin America. In particular, my findings suggest that regulating internal conflicts and encouraging effort through intra-party competition, rather than the need to distribute rents due to a culture of clientelism, are likely to be the mechanisms behind why primary elections are more likely to take place in party strongholds.

That said, more broadly, even as primaries are becoming increasingly prevalent in sub-Saharan Africa and developing democracies in general, we still know very little about them. For example, if direct nominations hurt electoral performance and voters increasingly demand open primaries, how do parties respond to retain control over candidate selection while minimizing damage to electoral performance (e.g. Choi, 2018)? Moreover, as primary elections become more widely adopted, how does the pool of potential candidates change (e.g. Ichino and Nathan, 2018; Warren, 2018*a*)? Going forward, it will be important to continue to build upon some of these recent works using cases from diverse contexts, in order to expand our understandings about the crucial yet often neglected stage of electoral politics - primary elections.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

5.1 Arguments And Findings

Legislators in new democracies play a major role in shaping the quality of governance. That the active roles and responsibilities of legislators are crucial for any healthy and vibrant democracy underlines the importance of this dissertation. Yet scholars and policymakers have been portraying African legislators as operating under executive dominant political systems with little incentive to participate in national-level politics. This has also led to the perspective of seeing African parliaments as merely rubber-stamping the policies of the executive.

This dissertation aimed to question such conventional wisdom and explored three specific main questions related to representation and legislative politics in Africa in doing so. First, what do voters want from their legislators? Second, what legislators do once they are in their office? Third, what influence parties have over legislator selection? While there is some truth to the conventional view, I showed that there are much variations in voter preference for and variations in legislator attention, and argued that even the more recent scholarly approaches of exploring historical origins or comparing macro-level

systems are inadequate in addressing these questions. Instead, I tested both my and other prominent theories using the case of Kenya where I gathered micro-level data on voters, politicians, and parties during the course of my dissertation research.

First, in Chapter 2, I examined the voter preference of legislator attention. Existing studies argue that one reason why legislators focus on local constituency issues rather than invest energy in national policy debates lies with what voters expect from their elected representatives: voters are only interested in targeted local constituency service. While some empirical studies tend to support this view, I argued that this is likely to be due to limitations in their research design. For example, asking legislators what they think their constituents want is only indirect and can lead to incorrect conclusions about voter preference. Moreover, even if you are directly asking the voters, if the questions force dichotomous responses (e.g. *"do you prefer constituency service or lawmaking?"*), they may generate distorted and lopsided responses. Instead, I sought to overcome these theoretical and empirical challenges by theorizing that voters understand the quality of their lives rests on legislators engaging in national level activities like policy making and also spending time in the constituency learning about the needs of their voters and trying to address them. In essence, it is a time-allocation problem between national and local attention. I conducted a survey experiment with a nationally-representative sample of over 2,200 respondents, and found that respondents prefer a balance between local and national attention. Moreover, I also show that Kenyan voters in my sample and British voters in Vivyan and Wagner (2016) closely resemble one another, despite the remarkable difference in their political, economic, and institutional contexts.

Next, I considered what explains legislator behavior in Chapter 3. Extending the same theoretical framework employed in Chapter 2, I conceptualized that legislators face an allocation problem between meeting the demands of their local constituency and fulfilling their responsibilities in national parliament, and argued that electoral pressure

exerts a strong influence on how politicians allocate their limited resources of time and effort. Using a dataset on more than 56,000 parliamentary speeches from the 10th and 11th (2008-2017) Kenyan parliaments, I found support for the electoral incentive model of legislator attention in Kenya: greater electoral security is positively associated with a greater number of speeches. Moreover, once I classified the speeches into those pertaining to local versus national attention, I found that electorally secure politicians engage in more nationally oriented speeches, while vulnerable politicians engaged in more locally oriented speeches.

Third, in Chapter 4, I examine why parties choose to implement primary elections in some places but not in others? Even if we understand what voters want and why politicians behave the way they do, parties still often control who can and cannot run for office. Taking the existing theories of primary adoptions, this chapter empirically tested whether party primaries are more likely in competitive or stronghold constituencies using the case of the 2017 Kenyan legislative elections. Unlike most previous studies which relied on partial data that may lead to selection bias, this chapter utilized the full universe of primary elections during the 2017 election cycle. I found that both the ruling and opposition parties are more likely to hold primary elections in party strongholds versus competitive districts, and that the ruling party was much more likely than the opposition to hold primaries across all levels of partisan support. Moreover, I showed that holding primaries increases overall vote share and chances of winning the subsequent general election but only in stronghold constituencies, and increases overall vote share and chances of winning for the presidential candidate but only for the opposition party.

5.2 Implications

This study makes a number of contributions. First, this study has important implications for how we perceive and study of politician accountability in sub-Saharan Africa. The conventional wisdom has been that African voters uniformly prefer politicians who provide greater local attention. Focusing on national policy-making and spending too much time in Parliament, in turn, might even get politicians voted out of the office. Yet if the expectation that the uniform local preference is merely an artifact of research design and the observation that nationally oriented legislators get voted out is mostly a by-product of selection effects as Chapter 2 suggests, we should reconsider how and why legislators are acting the way they do. If voters prefer a balance between local and national attention from their MPs, why do MPs fail to meet such expectation and act like constituency service is the only thing that matters to their constituents? If legislators are not responding to constituent preferences, what are they responding to? One possibility is that MPs simply have it wrong, and the disjuncture is a product of poor knowledge about voters. While research in advanced democracies shows that politicians are likely to vote in line with constituent opinions when provided information about them (e.g. Butler and Nickerson, 2011), Sacramone-Lutz (2019) finds that providing information about voter preferences for health budgets in Uganda did not change any substantive MP behaviors. In this context, my findings in Chapter 3 that shows the relationship between the electoral pressure that MPs face in their home constituencies and the likelihood and types of speechmaking hints to the possibility that such information provision will be sensitive to the electoral environments. Given this, examining and understanding how and when legislators may react to new and correct information about voter preference will be crucial going forward.

Second, my findings question the idea of African exceptionalism (Mozaffar,

Scarritt, and Galaich, 2003; Brambor, Clark, and Golder, 2007). In the existing literature, factors such as a culture of clientelism or short history of democracy have been often cited as the cause for why voters preference for local attention from legislators, why legislators ignorance over their national policy making and oversight functions, and why parties limit their internal democracy by only selectively implementing party primaries for candidate selection. My findings in each of the chapters question these views. Chapter 2 showed that the Kenyan voters in fact have very sophisticated understandings about the role of their legislators and prefer a balance between local and national attention from their legislators, just like the British voters. Chapter 3 showed that Kenyan legislators respond to electoral pressure just as lawmakers in other advanced democracy context would. Chapter 4 demonstrated that rather than the need to distribute rents to appease to the culture of rent-seeking and clientelism, Kenyan parties are more likely to hold primaries in order to regulate internal conflict and encourage effort, just like parties in Latin America. In fact, as Opalo (2015) shows, even the notion of executive dominance in sub-Saharan Africa might be the result of a path dependency from the previous literature developed under the single-party era. Taken together, my findings show how often we might be building our arguments upon untested assumptions and why it would be important to more rigorously evaluate such building blocks to our theories.

Third, my research has the potential to make contributions to policymaking in democracy aid and assistance. As mentioned in Chapter 1, strengthening legislatures and specifically building the capacity of parliamentarians have received hundreds of millions of dollars from leading donors. In addition, numerous information campaigns and accountability projects aimed at helping voters select better representatives have attracted public and academic attention in recent years. For it to be effective, aid to "strengthening legislatures" needs first to have basic knowledge about individual legislators' activities and motivations. Yet until now, we did not know much about the voters' preference for

or variations in legislator attention, let alone where such interventions would be the most effective. By providing the first steps to the crucial questions about legislator attention, my research could help better focus the scare resource and attention of democracy aid to be used most effectively.

5.3 Future Research

Moving forward, I would first like to push further some of the research included in this dissertation. For example, Chapter 2 showed an interesting subgroup difference based on partisanship, with the opposition supporter more positively viewing national attention as opposed to local attention. Additional tests to explore the mechanism behind this difference could also help better understand the individual level determinants of preference for legislator attention, which the chapter, as a first cut study, failed to explore further. In addition, stress testing and validating the classification exercise used in Chapter 3 to test for the difference between locally-oriented and nationally-oriented speeches would be useful.

Next, there are other data collected and cleaned in the process of this research which did not make it into this dissertation due to time and space limitations. First, whereas Chapter 3 used parliamentary floor speech as a proxy for legislators' attention, there are other sources of information which can capture the same underlying variable. For example, which legislators are more likely to adopt using twitter and what do they tweet about? While accurate internet usage figures are difficult to capture as single users often use multiple sim cards, the estimated internet penetration rate in Kenya is about 52% of the population. Using the universe of tweets made by the MPs of the 11th Kenyan National Assembly, I could analyze the tweets counts and its contents to provide an additional measure for capturing legislator attention in a country where internet

is increasingly becoming an important political medium (Nyabola, 2018). Similarly, analyzing the contents of bills of multiple parliaments to examine whether certain types of legislators are more likely to draft locally targeted bills (e.g. Chasquetti and Micozzi, 2014; Micozzi, 2014) could provide an additional way to capture the same latent concept with multiple measures.

More broadly, this dissertation is just a first step towards a bigger research agenda and greater data collection effort that can help study legislative politics in Africa. Most of our knowledge of legislatures in Africa comes from limited data: case studies, interviews, and a few surveys. This dissertation used tens of thousands of legislative records Hansards of Kenyan parliaments to supplement the existing approaches, and tested the expectations about legislator attention. Yet, there can be much more done. First, instead of classifying the speech into broad categories, we could directly analyze the topics of the debates. Scholars of legislative politics elsewhere have begun utilizing text-as-data approaches. This includes legislators' electronic newsletters (Cormack, 2013), social media posts and direct emails to constituents (Butler, Karpowitz, and Pope, 2012) , or legislators' press releases (Grimmer, 2013). To my knowledge, these techniques have not been used to study legislative speech in Africa, but they have tremendous potential in this context, such as understanding descriptive representation, evolution of policy agenda, and dynamics of legislative oversight of the executive, to name a few.

Second, my research has the potential to be extended to the analysis of other African states, as other former British colonies which similarly maintains parliamentary speech records. By collecting all available parliamentary speech records across different countries in the future, a broader project can help build a robust infrastructure for the relatively under-researched and under-represented topic of legislators' activities in developing countries and particularly in sub-Saharan Africa by tackling the issue of acute dearth of data, and allow us to test a number of important hypotheses about legislative

development in Africa to include the emergence of nationally oriented MPs but also serve as a valuable resource to other academics and policy makers.

Exploiting the substantive contents of the parliamentary speeches and broadening the scope of the analyses could enable us to track the evolution of topics of discussion in African parliaments and how these topics vary across time, country, constituency, party, and speaker. Even the descriptive payoff of the data alone could be enormous by examining the quantity of speech, who talks, and how often, and how this varies by different groups and different points in the legislative cycle. Continuing to further develop this research agenda will be of use not only to academics and practitioners aiming to better understand how to foster further legislative development in Africa, but also to African politicians, policymakers and civil society to further nurture democratic development, as well as foreign policy experts and development donors seeking to assist sustainable democratic political and economic development in a region with an increasingly significant geopolitical strategic importance.

Appendix A

Appendix to Chapter 2: Voter Demand for Legislator Attention in Kenya

A.1 Sample Balance

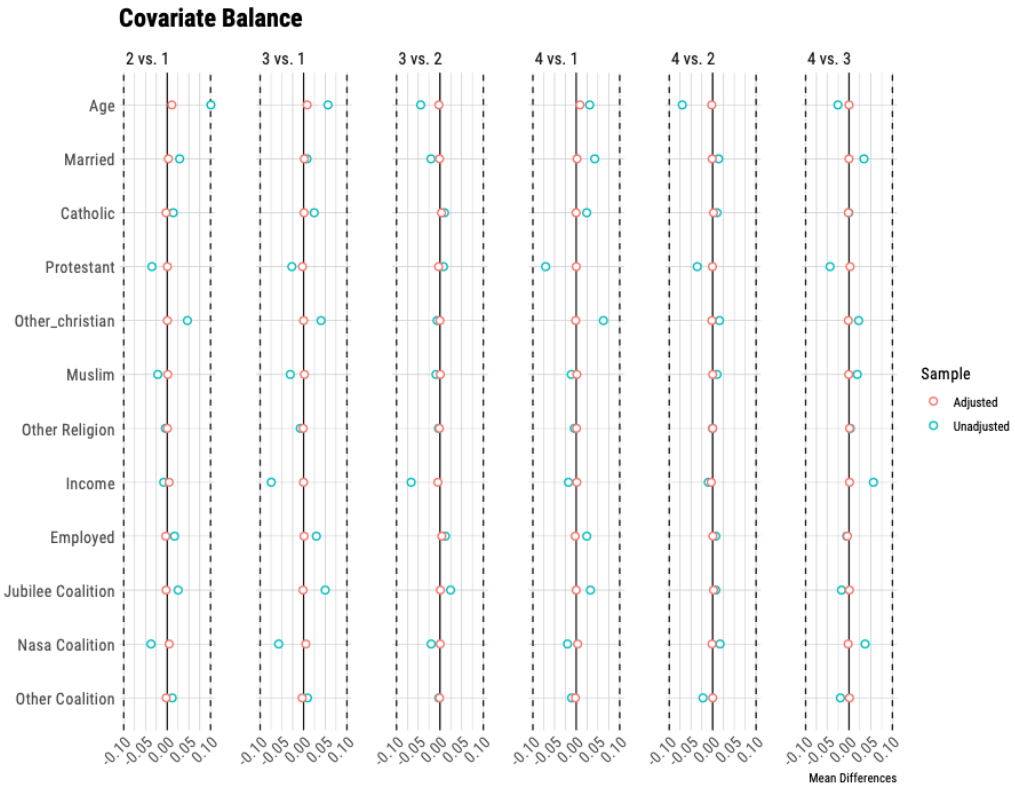


Figure A.1: Balance Table

A.2 Pairwise Comparison

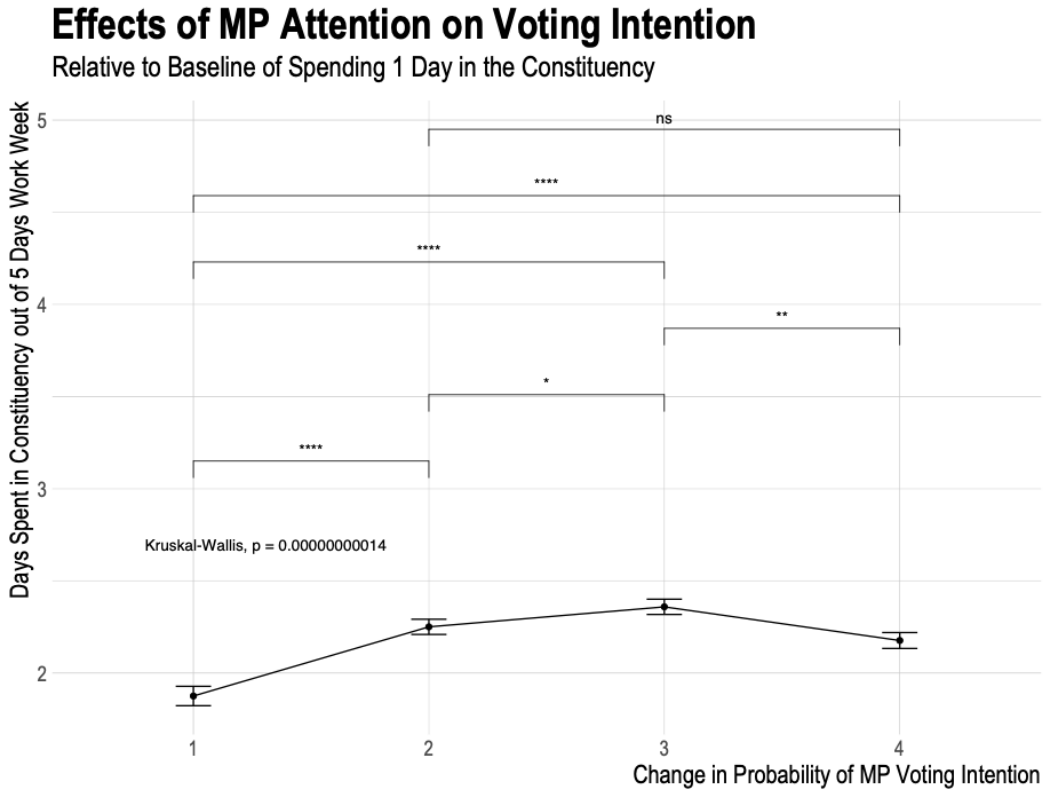


Figure A.2: Differences Are Significant

A.3 Heterogeneous Treatment Effects

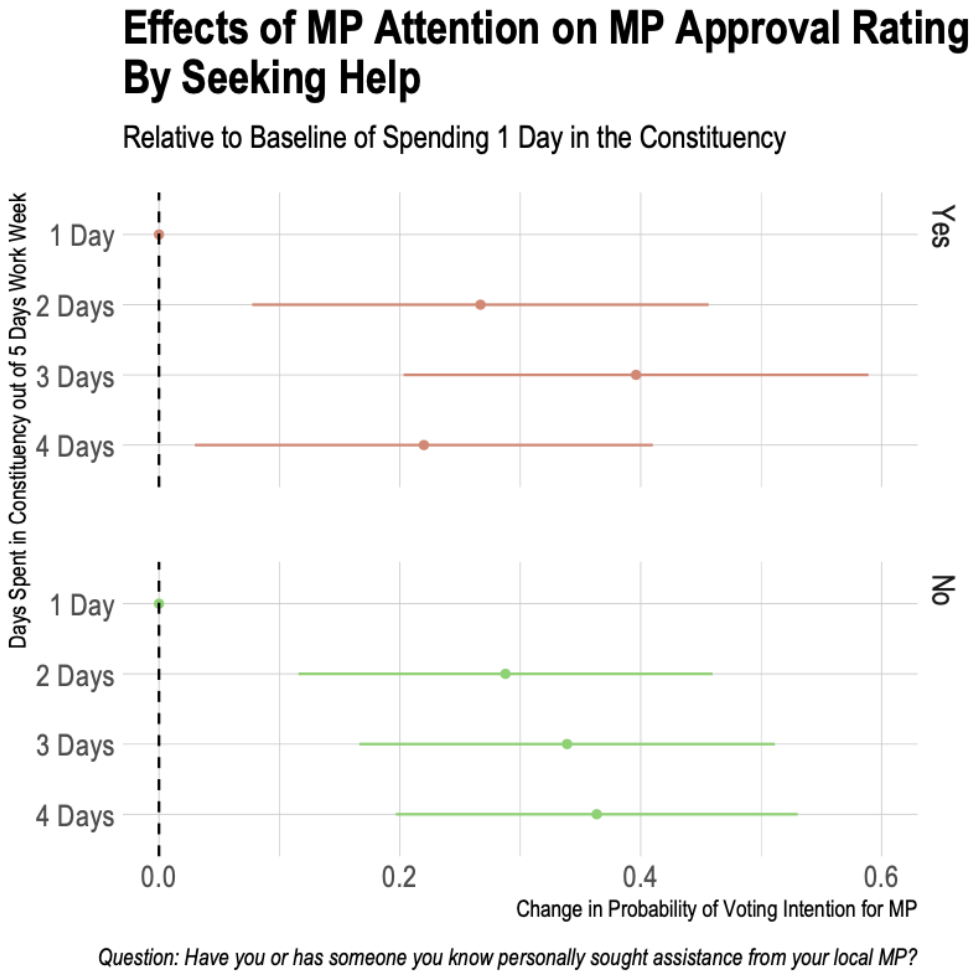


Figure A.3: Heterogeneous Treatment Effect – Self-Interest 1

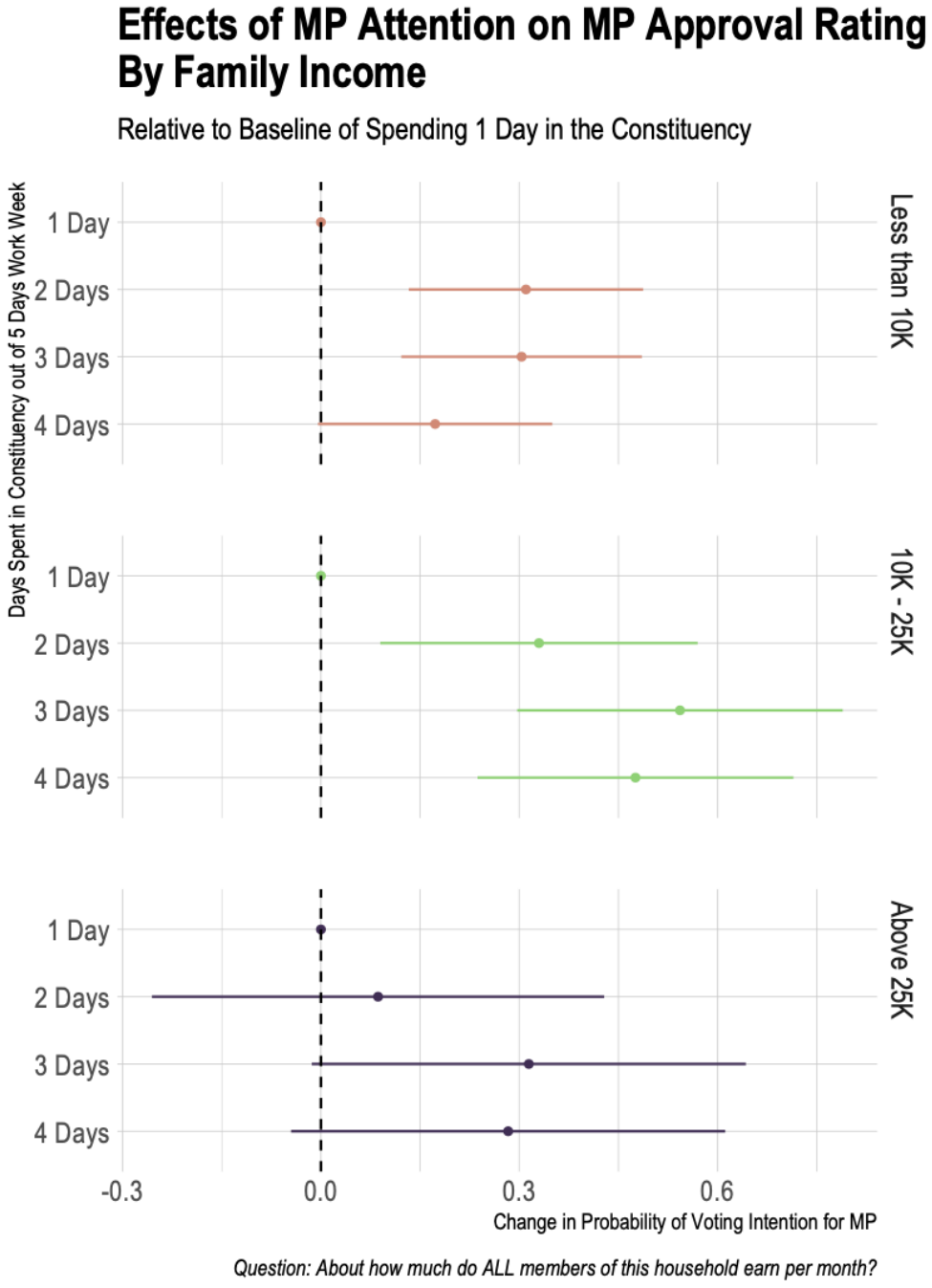


Figure A.4: Heterogeneous Treatment Effect – Self-Interest 2

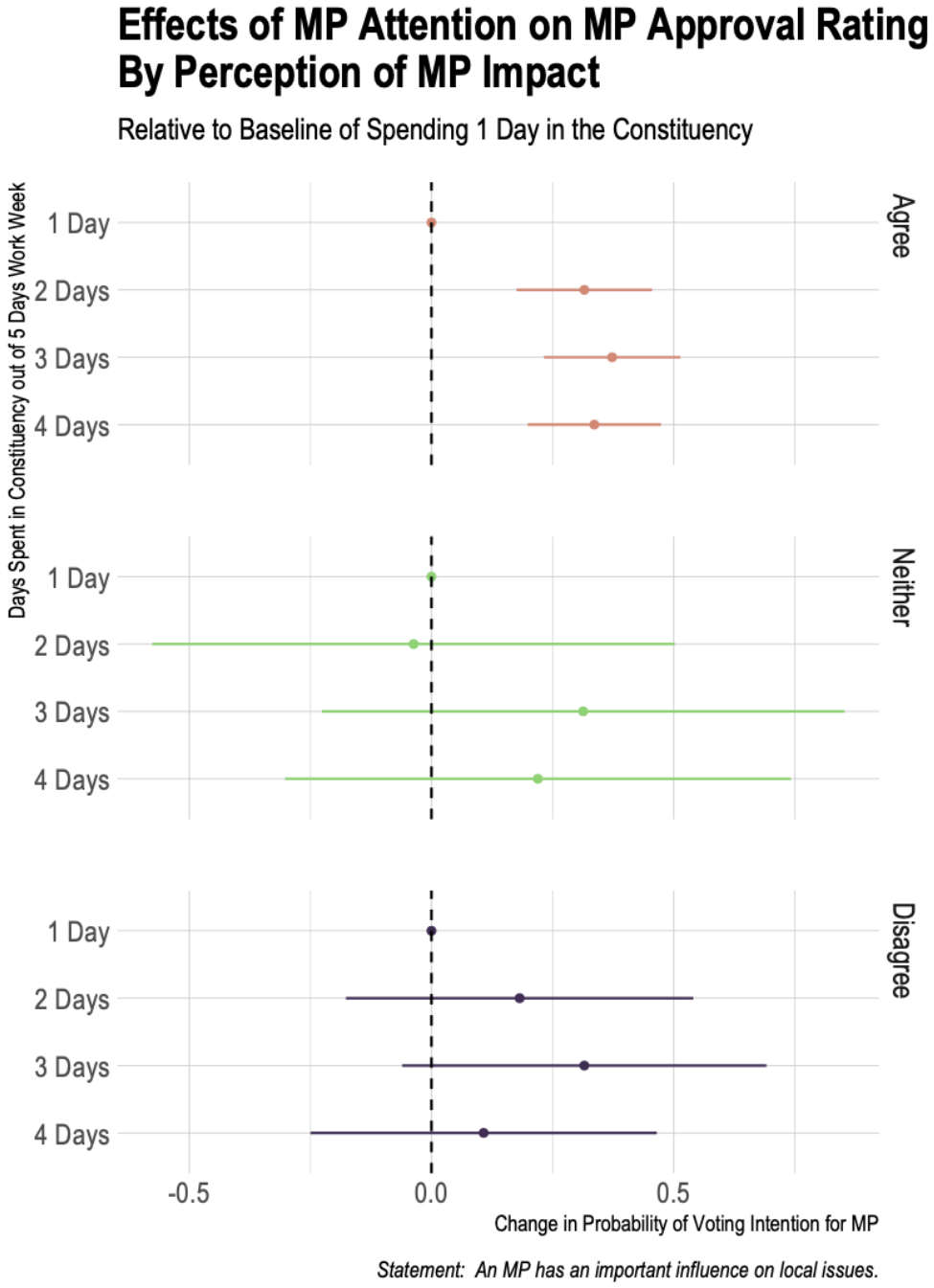


Figure A.5: Heterogeneous Treatment Effect – MP Influence 1

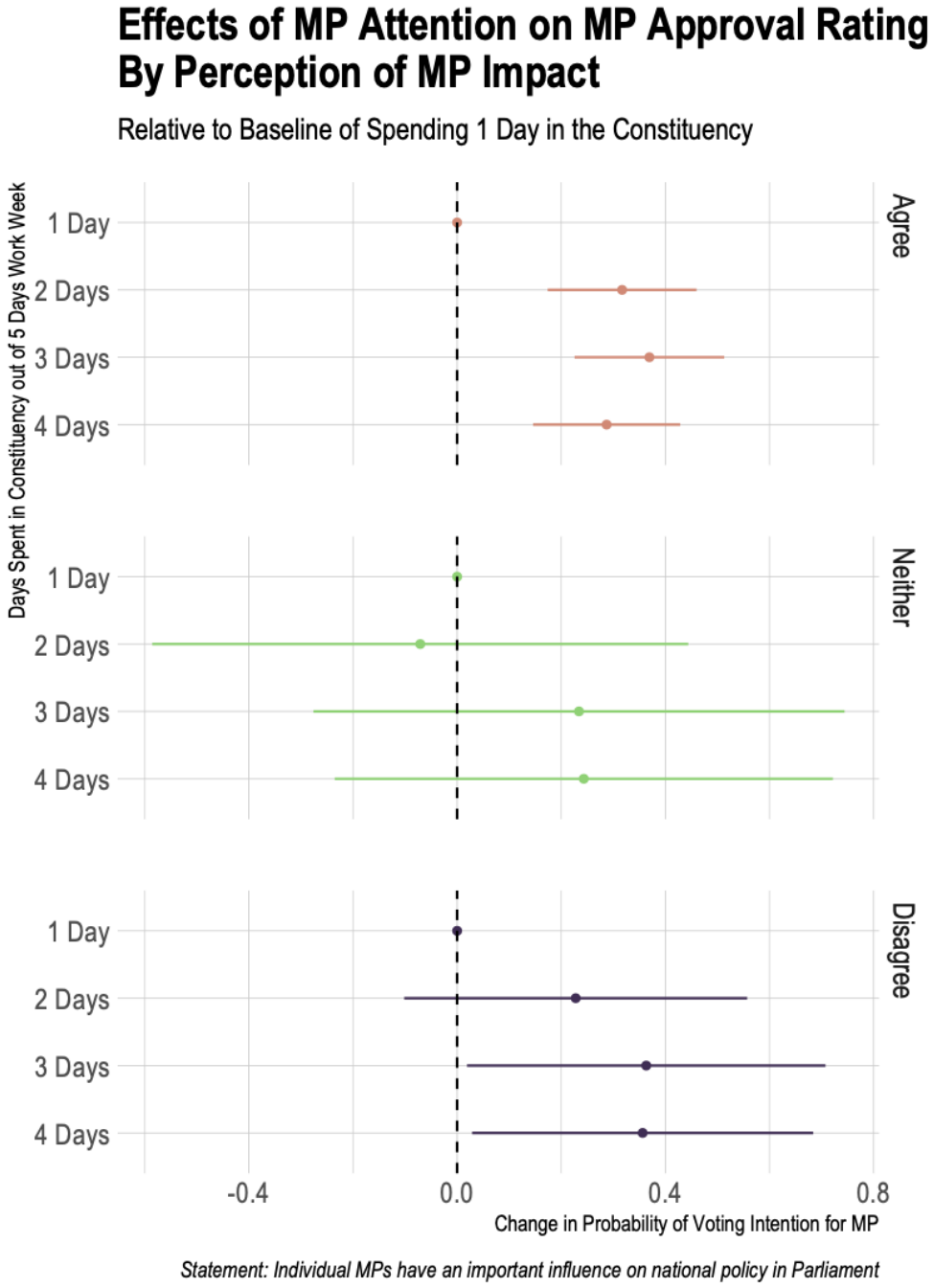


Figure A.6: Heterogeneous Treatment Effect – MP Influence 2

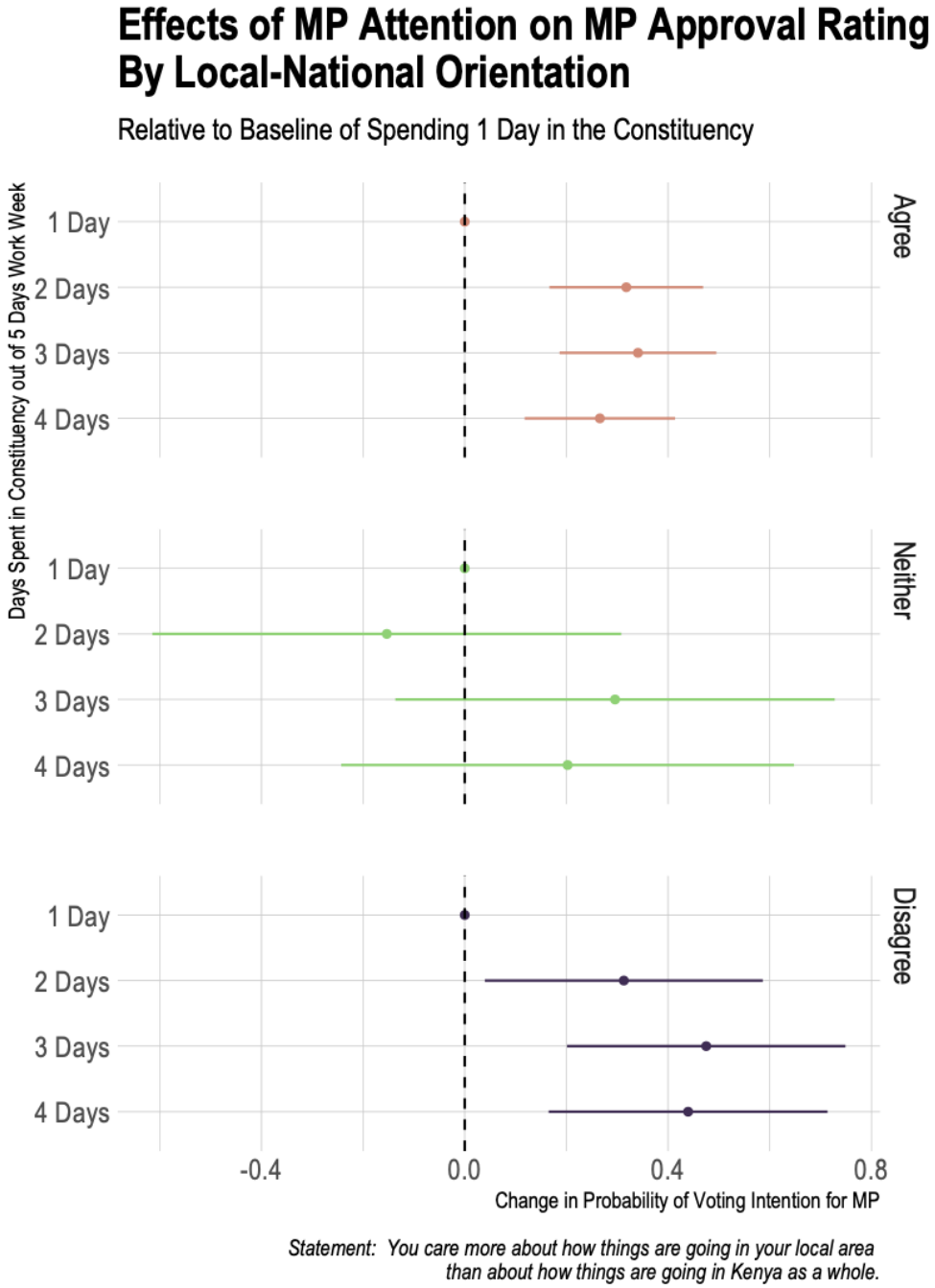


Figure A.7: Heterogeneous Treatment Effect – Local v. National Disposition 1

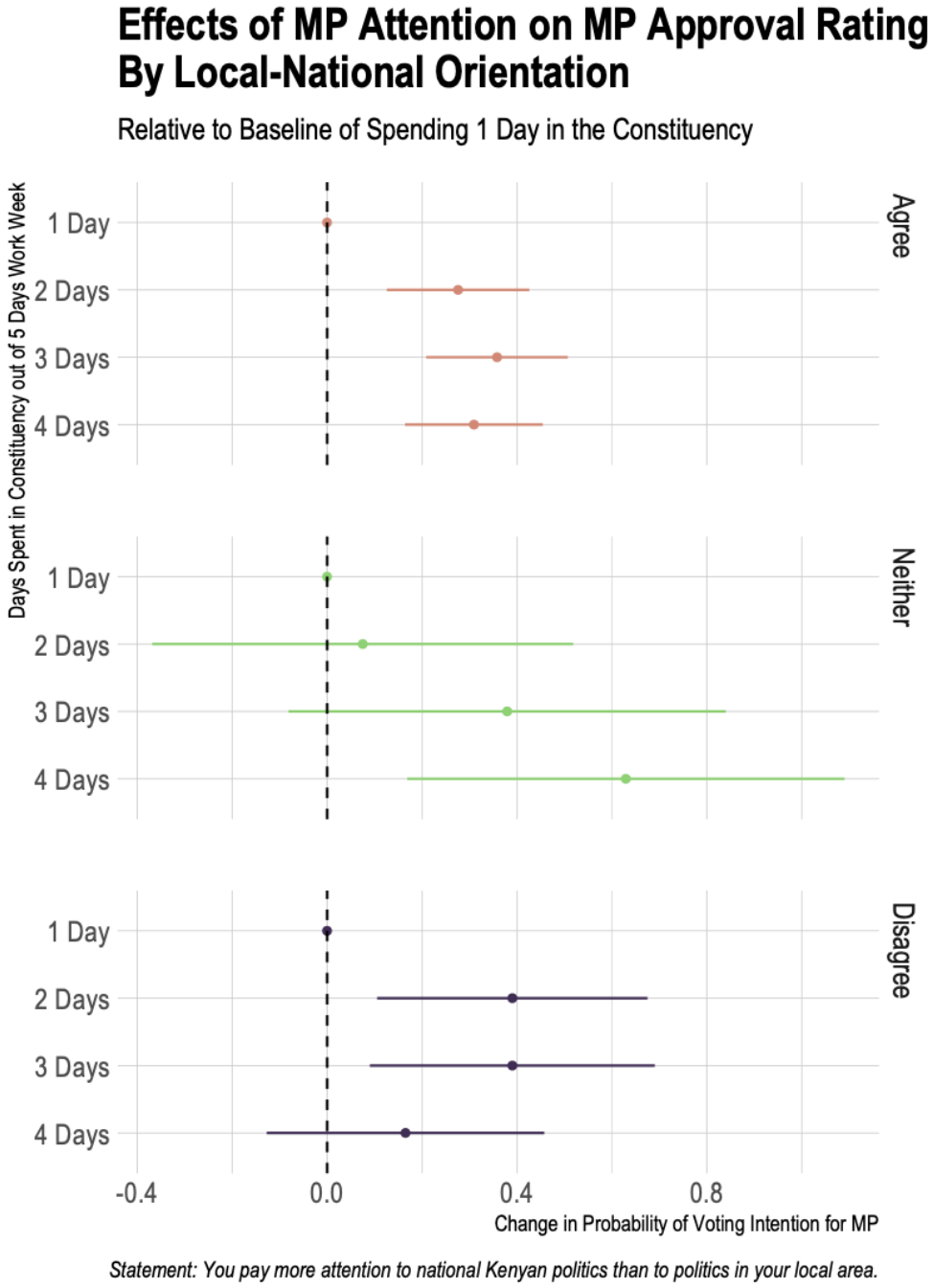


Figure A.8: Heterogeneous Treatment Effect – Local v. National Disposition 2

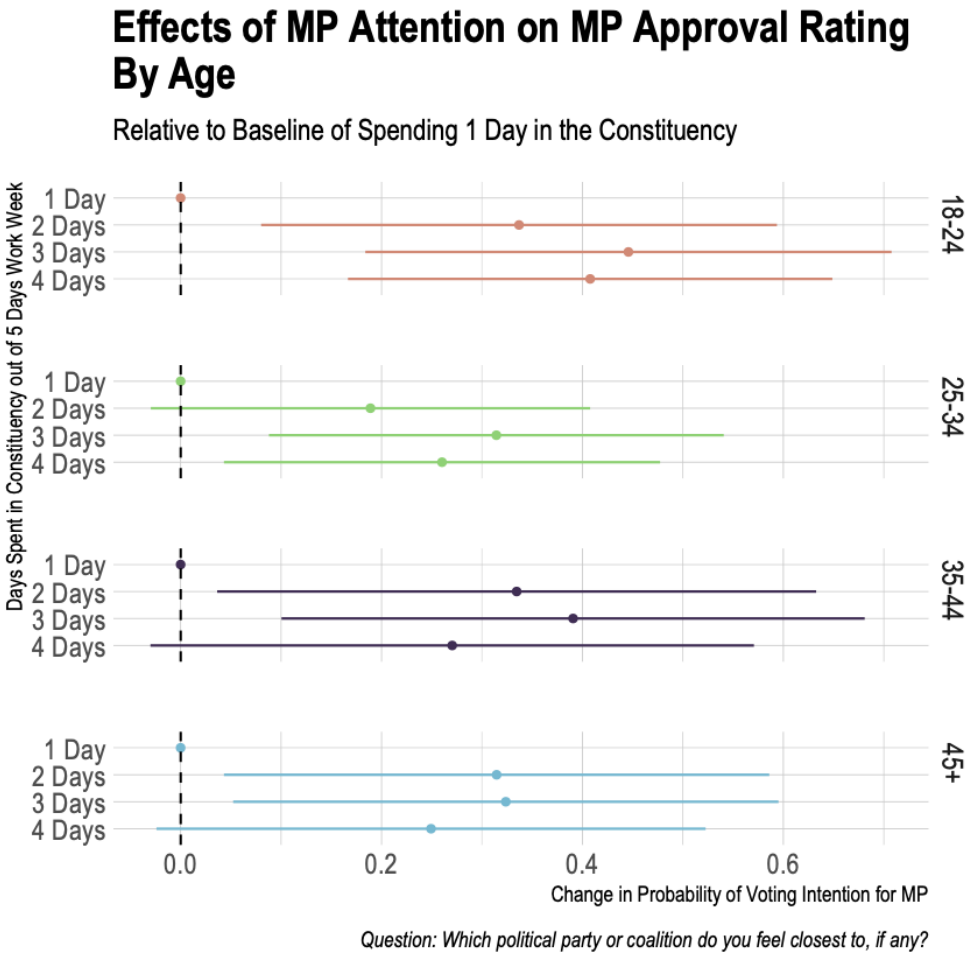


Figure A.9: Heterogeneous Treatment Effect – Age 1

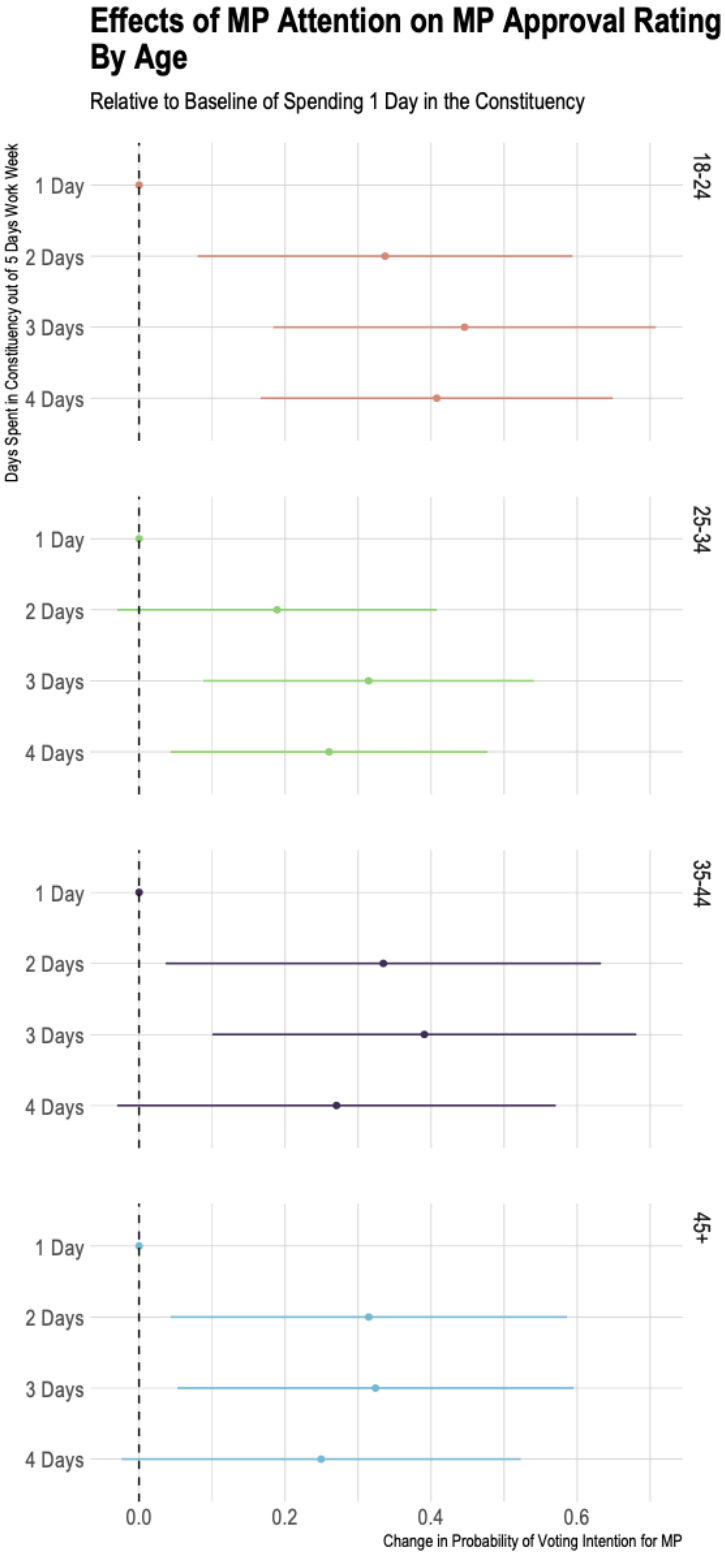


Figure A.10: Heterogeneous Treatment Effect – Age 2

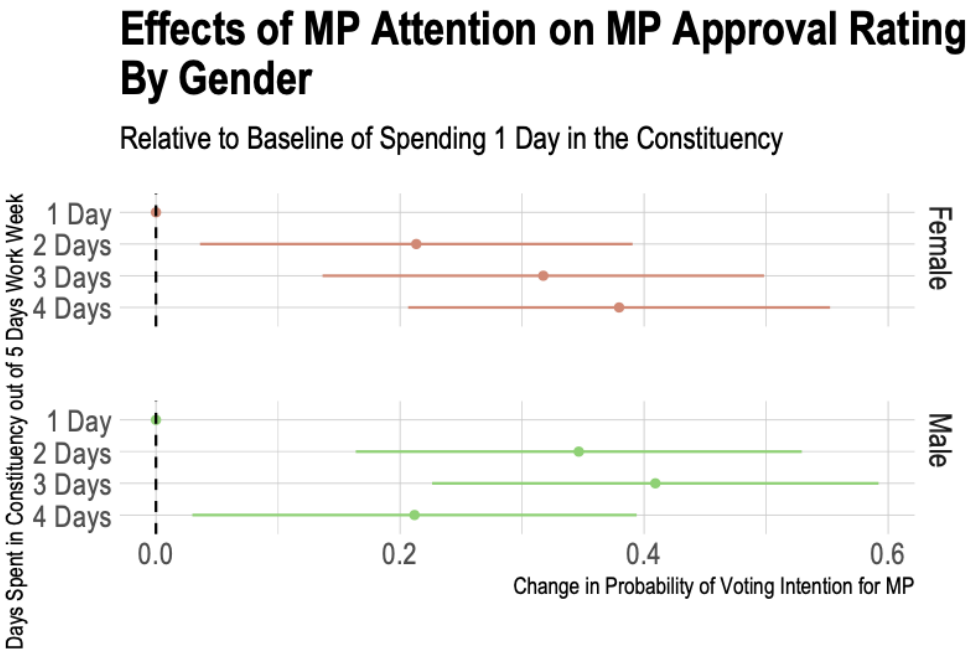


Figure A.11: Heterogeneous Treatment Effect – Gender

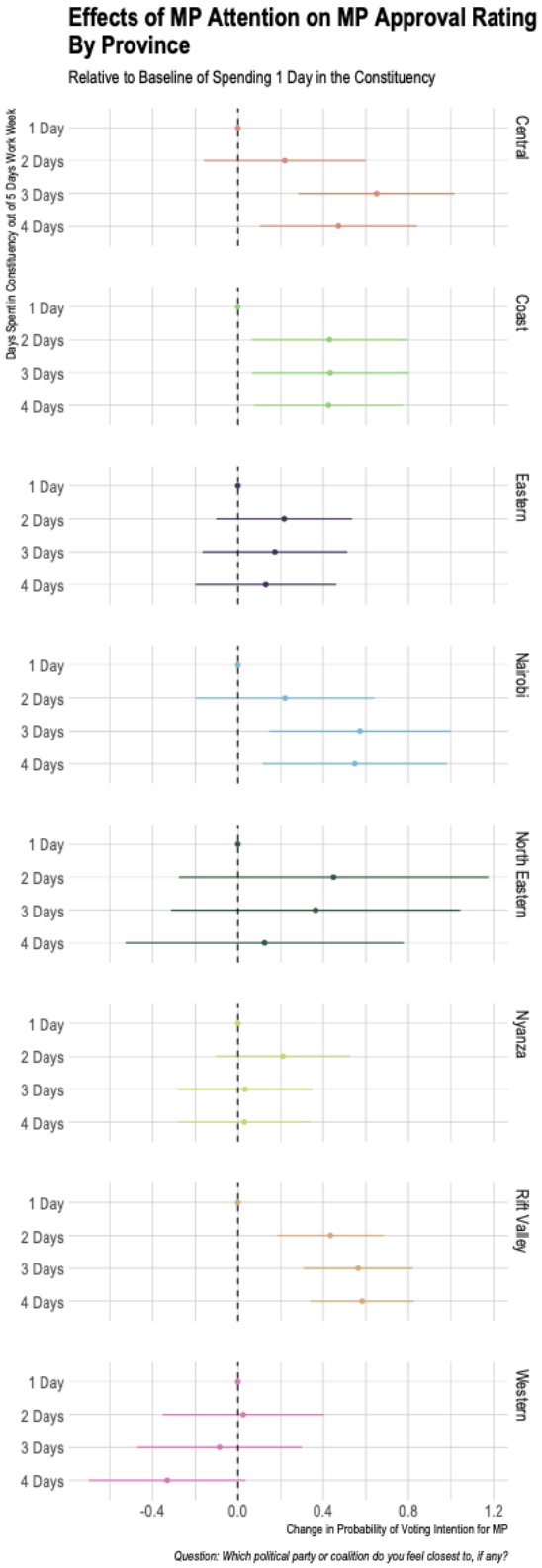


Figure A.12: Heterogeneous Treatment Effect – Region

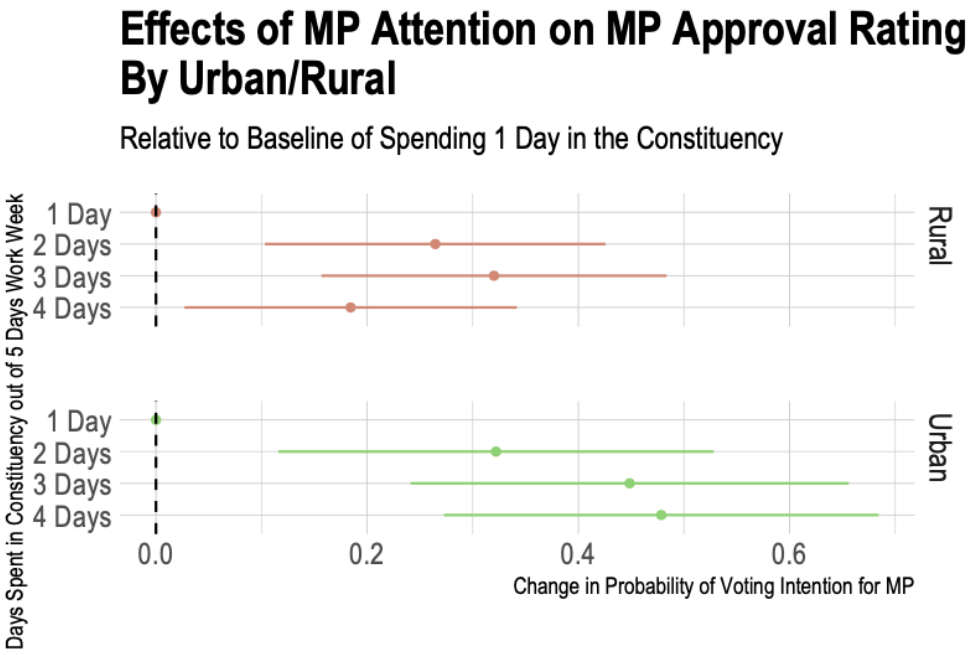


Figure A.13: Heterogeneous Treatment Effect – Urban/Rural Residency

A.4 Expectations based on Institutional Variations

There is a large body of theoretical literature that suggests that the answer to the question of voter demand for legislator attention depends on political institutions and whether they favor programmatic policy or the provision of pork (e.g. André, Depauw, and Martin, 2015; Cain, Ferejohn, and Fiorina, 1987; Carey and Shugart, 1995; Heitshusen, Young, and Wood, 2005). In particular, proportional representation (PR) electoral systems are expected to generate more programmatic approaches—and a corresponding focus on the national level—while single member district (SMD) majority or plurality systems favor constituency service and pork. A growing body of empirical work has also examined voter preference for legislator attention in advanced democracy contexts (e.g. Bengtsson and Wass, 2010; Carman, 2007; Grant and Rudolph, 2004; Griffin and Flavin, 2011; Lapinski et al., 2016; Sulkin, Testa, and Usry, 2015; Vivyan and Wagner, 2016, 2015; Wolak, 2017). Yet we know little about the nature of voters' expectations and how they matter in the African context. Existing work on voters' expectation about legislator attention in Africa often describes African voters as unidimensional actors who are easily swayed by particularistic goods or ethnic appeals. Yet we actually have little research on how African voters expect their representatives to allocate their time between national and local level activities. Survey data, such as those from Afrobarometer Round 4 (2007-2008), for instance, shows that more than one-third of the survey respondents believe that their members of parliament (MPs) never spend time in their constituencies despite the belief that they are focused on the provision of local goods. However, we do not even know whether this is due to the MPs allocating more of their time to national level work, simply shirking on their constituency responsibilities, or both.

Figure A15 provides data on the preferences of voters in twenty African countries from the Afrobarometer Round 4 over how they think politicians should allocate their

time between national and constituency level service. Voters were asked to choose the most important responsibilities of their elected MPs from the list of four core responsibilities – namely, representation, constituency service, legislating, and oversight. For visualization purposes, I collapse the preferences for legislation and oversight as indications of preference for national level services, while constituency and representation were treated as favoring more attention to local issues. From the figure, the first point to note is that while majorities in each country favored local over national attention, there was substantial heterogeneity. Moreover, in a number of countries—nearly half—at least a quarter of voters favored national attention.

Second, it is not clear that there is a clear relationship between the electoral system and these preferences – an expectation most prominently featured and discussed when discussing legislator attention (Figure A16). Figure A16 divides these systems into three types: SMD, mixed and PR. While the mixed systems employ various electoral institutions, they can be considered as some combination of SMD and PR rules. For example, during the time period corresponding to Round 4 of the Afrobarometer survey, Kenya had 210 seats elected by SMD and 12 additional seats elected by PR. Moreover, even if such a macro-level relationship between electoral systems and voter preference for legislator attention were clearer, we do not ultimately know anything about the determinants of individual-level preferences within any given system: who are the voters who prefer one type of attention vs. another?

A.5 Individual Level Determinants of Preference for MP Attention

Instead, I turn to examine the individual level factors that may affect voter preference over national versus local attention. Long-standing literature following Cain,

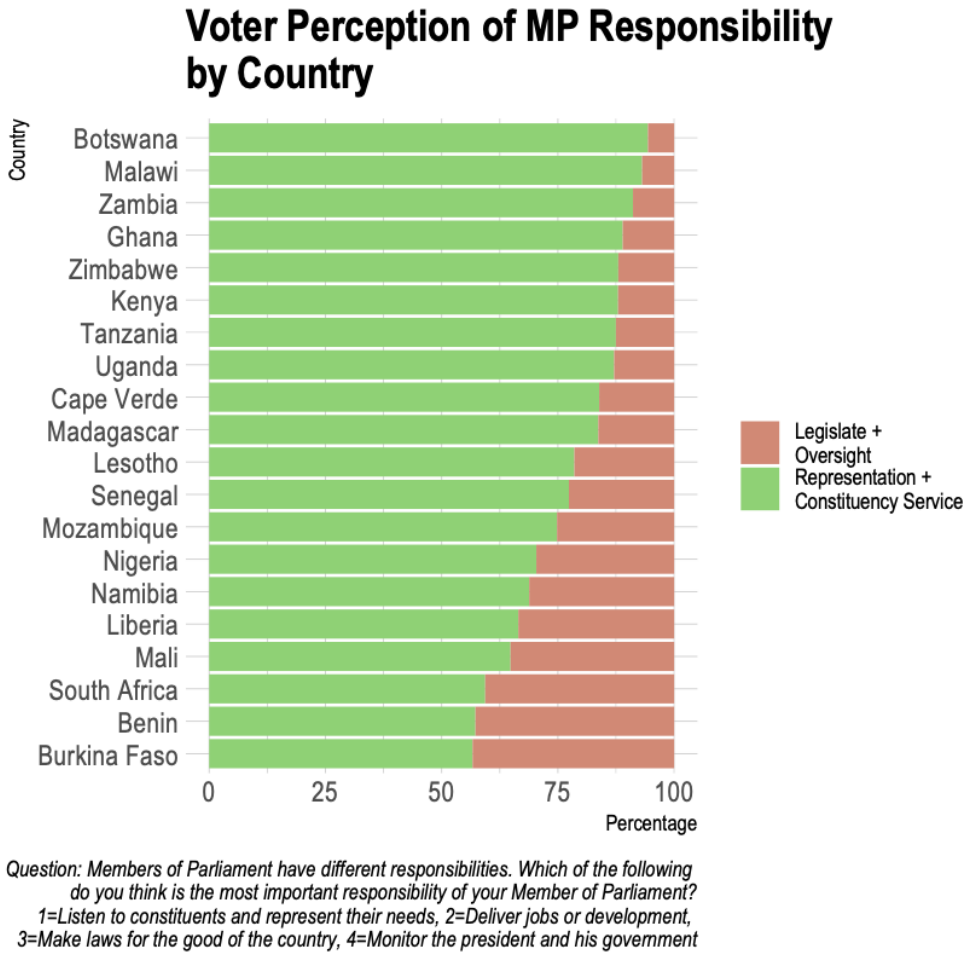


Figure A.14: Variations in Voter Preference for MP Responsibility

Ferejohn, and Fiorina (1987) argue that voters in general care more about local attention in the form of constituency service. In turn, legislators – especially those whose seats are electorally less secure – invests more on local rather than national attention. More recently, scholars are starting to look at the logic of different preferences over national and local level attention, including self-interest, broader heuristics and value identifications as discussed in the main text.

In order to investigate these institutional and personal level determinants of

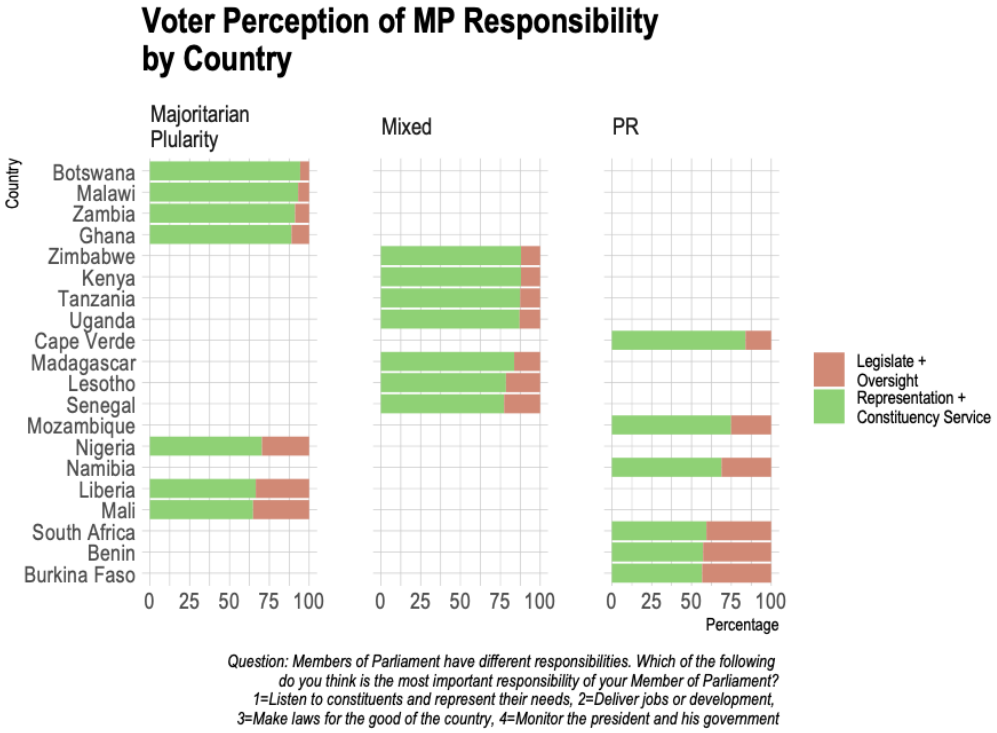


Figure A.15: Variations in Voter Preference for MP Responsibility by Electoral Systems

constituency preferences, I undertook a cross-national test, drawing on data from Round 4 of the Afrobarometer. Round 4 was conducted in 2008-2009 in twenty countries, allowing me to capture national level characteristics through fixed-effects design. This survey provides an ideal setting to capture individual-level variations in voter preference for attention allocation since it contained specific questions on the respondent's perception of the representative's roles.

In order the test the expectations discussed above, I employ a country-level fixed effects regression. As a primary measure of voters' preference for MPs' attention allocation between the national versus local, I consider the response to the question, *"Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Choose Statement 1 or*

Statement 2. Statement 1: In electing a Member of Parliament, I prefer to vote for a candidate who can deliver goods and services to people in this community. Statement 2: In electing a Member of Parliament, I prefer to vote for a candidate who can make policies that benefit everyone in our country." Those who refused to answer or have told the interviewer that they either don't know or said none of the four responsibilities are the most important were coded as missing. To test for the individual-level determinants of voter preference, I recoded the variable to range between 0 and 1 for ease of interpretation where 0 corresponds with *"strongly agree with statement 1"* and 1 corresponds with *"strongly agree with statement 2"*.

Round 4 of the Afrobarometer survey poses questions that allow me to test each of the three expectations outlined above:

- Self-interest. To capture self-interest, I consider two different proxies. First, I consider the response to the question about whether the respondents have had any personal contact with MPs. Self-interest literature tests whether people who contact MPs more regularly are more likely to expect local attention, on the presumption that such contact is likely to be about either community or personal service provision. Second, I construct an experiential index measure of lived poverty following Bratton, Mattes, and Gyimah-Boadi (2005). These two measures are included to test the presumption from the clientelism literature that those living under greater poverty will have greater incentives to seek personal service provisions and thus local, rather than national attention.

- Local-national attention: to capture local versus national attention I utilize the response to the survey question on whether the respondent identifies more with one's ethnic community versus the nation.

- Learning about democracy: to capture learning about democracy, I include a

categorical measure of respondents' educational attainment, as well as access to media.

In addition, I consider a range of factors that constitute respondents' socioeconomic status (SES), such as one's age, gender, employment status, or urban-rural residency, as well as coethnicity and copartisanship with the executive as additional covariates.

Figure A16 presents the main results. As noted earlier, the dependent variable captures respondents' support for MP's local or national attention. Here we consider the associations of each of the theoretical expectations – i.e. self-interest, local-national attention, and learning about democracy. The first thing to note is that neither the self-interest or the local-national attention variables highlighted in the literature were significant. As Figure A17 shows, the coefficients for MP contact, lived poverty index, and ethnic versus national identifications have wide confidence intervals around zero. This null finding itself might be interesting given expectations about the African voter. Even those predisposed toward constituency level service—by their instrumental view of politics or their national vs. local value attention—still did not seem to have stronger preferences for more constituent activity.

Instead, the overall results lend support for learning about democracy thesis. First, the effects of education as well as access to media is clear, positive, and statistically significant at the 95% level. This is consistent with our expectation that the more educated or the more access to information one has, the more likely one is to develop a more sophisticated understanding about democracy in general and the appropriate role of legislators. Likewise, we observe that greater access to media is positively associated with the likelihood of preferring national over local attention. Interestingly, among the SES variables, we also notice that respondents aged over 45 are less likely to prefer national attention by their legislators. While this may be due to the fact that they were

socialized under a non-democratic rule for a longer period of time (e.g. Pop-Eleches and Tucker, 2017) and are more used to the expectations of local patronage provision from their representatives (e.g. Barkan, 1979; Widner, 1993). Likewise, even after controlling for poverty, access to media, and education, the coefficient on employment is positive and significant. This may be due to the possibility that those employed may care more about specific policies decisions relating to their sectors (e.g. tea farmers about agricultural policies or miners about mining policies) made at the national level. Finally, we also observe female respondents being less likely to prefer national attention controlling other observable covariates. While, again, speculative in nature, this may be due to the fact that women traditionally are expected to play the role of homemaker and thus may be more likely to be concerned with local service and goods compared to national policy debates.

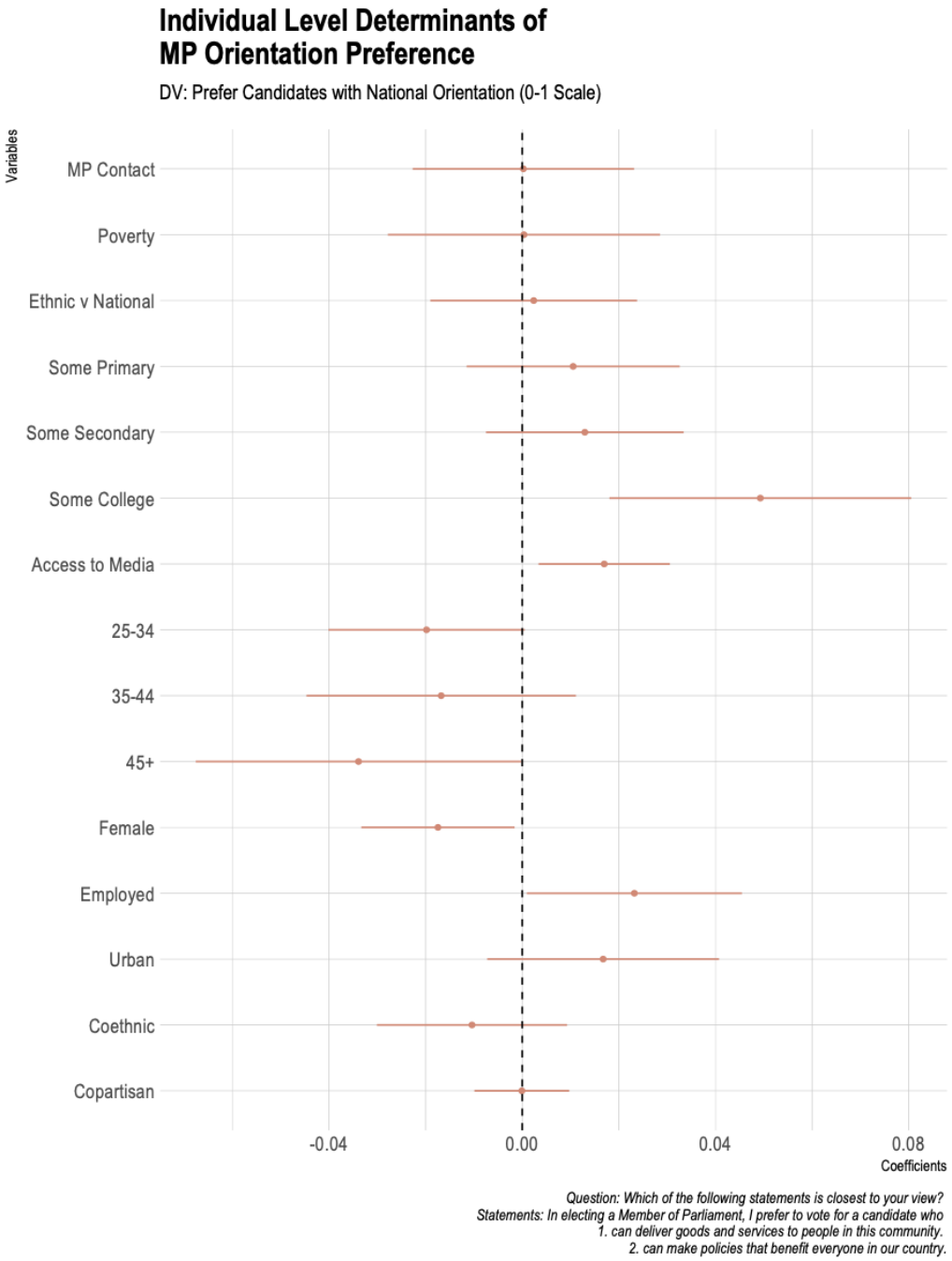


Figure A.16: Voter Preference for MP Attention at the Individual Level

Appendix B

Appendix to Chapter 4: The Adoption of Primaries and Electoral Performance in the 2017 Kenyan Legislative Elections

B.1 Alternative Models

Table B.1: Alternative Model Specification with Proportion of Swing Voters as Key Independent Variable

	Dependent variable:			
	Holding Primary Election			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Proportion of Swing Voters	-2.540^{**}	-1.626^{*}	-3.766^{***}	-3.770^{***}
	(1.150)	(0.878)	(0.664)	(1.132)
Ethnic Fractionalization	2.387^{***}	2.147^{***}	0.878	0.815
	(0.905)	(0.687)		(0.986)
Other Party Holds Primary	-0.854^{**}	-0.873^{**}	-0.823^{*}	-0.811
	(0.431)	(0.418)	(0.448)	(0.515)
Incumbent	1.181^{*}	1.190^{*}	0.286	0.311
	(0.606)	(0.662)	(0.654)	(0.324)
Population (Logged)		0.489		0.545
		(0.692)		
Poverty Rate		-0.033^{***}		0.002
		(0.010)		
Constant	2.387^{**}	-2.345	3.186	-3.330^{***}
	(1.180)	(8.013)	(7.969)	(1.134)
Observations	255	255	171	171
Log Likelihood	-122.976	-115.917	-95.065	-94.678
Akaike Inf. Crit.	255.951	245.833	200.129	203.357

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table B.2: Alternative Model Specification with Number of Candidates as Dependent Variable

	Dependent variable:			
	Number of Candidates			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Presidential Vote Share, 2013	0.054***	0.050***	0.050***	0.034***
	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.008)
Ethnic Fractionalization	2.162*	1.571	1.571	0.142
	(1.105)	(0.962)	(0.962)	(0.827)
Other Party Holds Primary	−0.159	−0.528	−0.528	0.295
	(0.378)	(0.456)	(0.456)	(0.306)
Incumbent	−0.319	−0.805	−0.805	0.610
	(0.781)	(0.766)	(0.766)	(0.471)
Population (Logged)		0.964	0.964	
		(0.718)	(0.718)	
Poverty Rate		−0.036**	−0.036**	
		(0.015)	(0.015)	
Constant	0.383	−8.666	−8.666	−0.405
	(0.331)	(8.582)	(8.582)	(0.299)
Observations	284	284	284	284
R^2	0.384	0.428	0.428	0.300
Adjusted R^2	0.375	0.416	0.416	0.290
Residual Std. Error	2.643	2.557	2.557	1.843
	(df = 279)	(df = 277)	(df = 277)	(df = 279)
F Statistic	43.479***	34.533***	34.533***	29.926***
	(df = 4; 279)	(df = 6; 277)	(df = 6; 277)	(df = 4; 279)
Note:				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

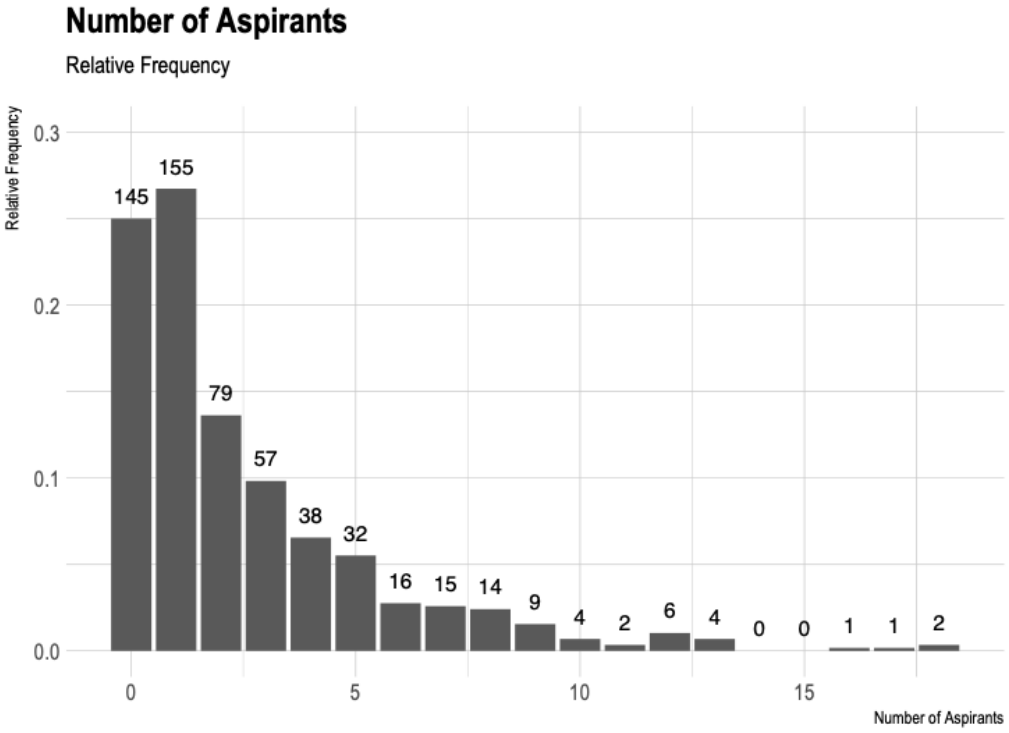


Figure B.1: Variations in the Number of Aspirants

B.2 Descriptive Graphics on Primary Elections

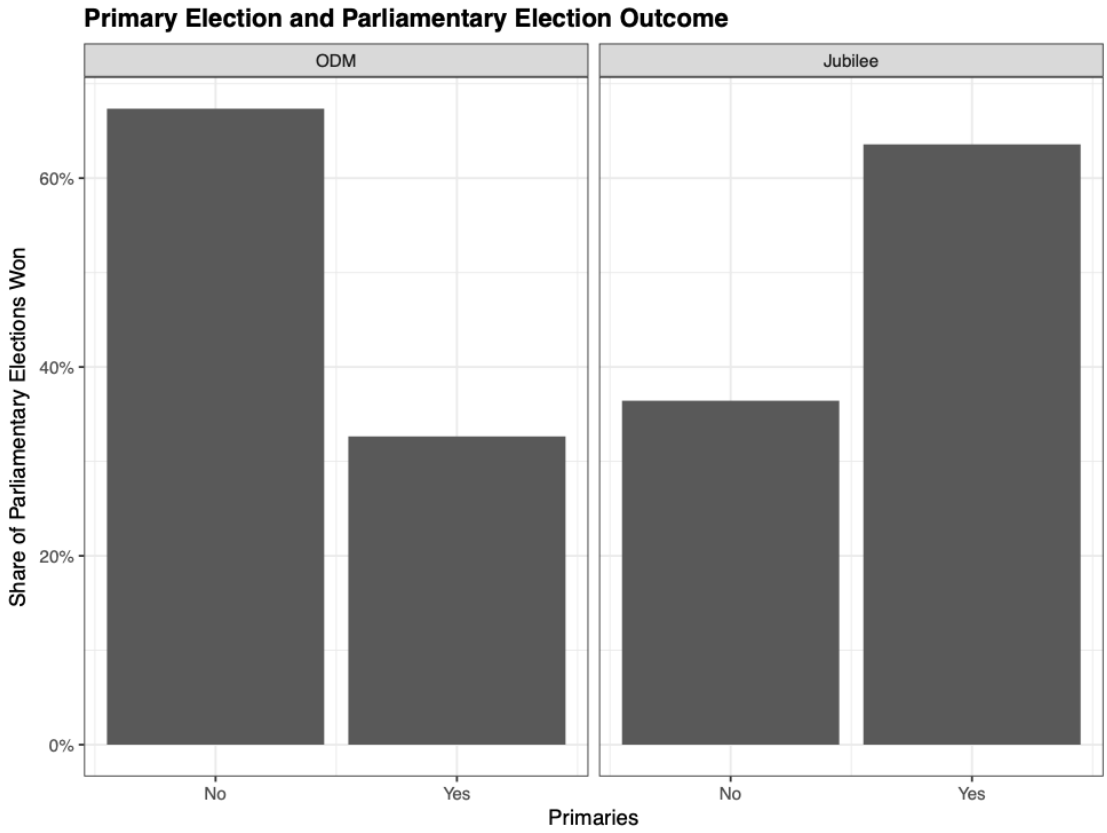


Figure B.2: Primary Election and Parliamentary Election Outcome

B.3 Match Balance

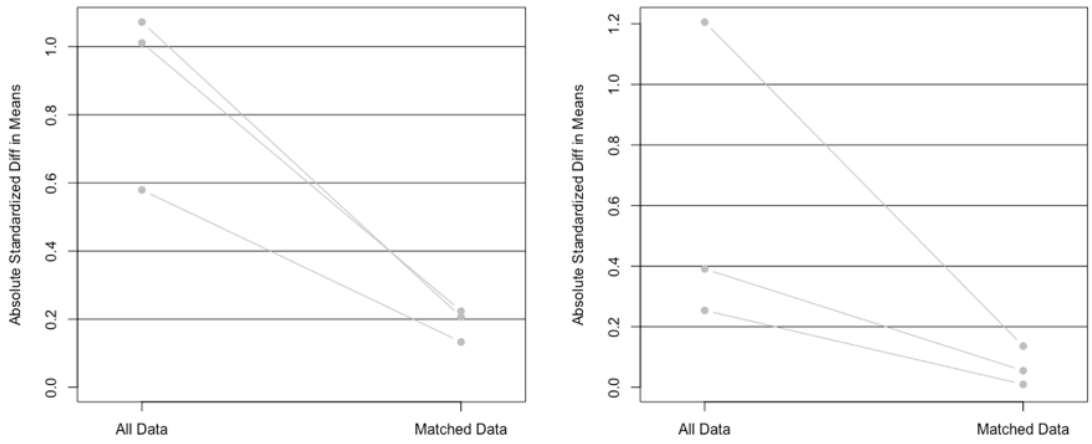


Figure B.3: Match Balance for JP (Left) and ODM (Right)

B.4 Full Model for Effects of Primaries with Interaction

Table B.3: Full Model for Effects of Primaries with Interaction

	Dependent variable:			
	JP: Win	JP: MP Vote Share	ODM Win	ODM MP Vote Share
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Primary Elections	−0.217**	−0.071*	−0.530***	−0.200
	(0.096)	(0.040)	(0.174)	(0.123)
Presidential Vote Share, 2013	0.001	0.002**	0.007**	0.002
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.004)	(0.002)
Ethnic Fractionalization	0.150	0.123**	0.329*	0.182**
	(0.092)	(0.054)	(0.170)	(0.073)
Other Party Holds Primary	−0.059	−0.042	0.003	0.003
	(0.085)	(0.030)	(0.070)	(0.033)
Incumbent	0.168**	0.082***	0.134	0.099*
	(0.074)	(0.030)	(0.095)	(0.055)
Population (Logged)	0.059	0.052	0.022	0.042
	(0.078)	(0.037)	(0.098)	(0.049)
Poverty Rate	−0.001	−0.001	−0.002	−0.001
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Turnout 2013	0.011***	0.003*	−0.007	−0.005**
	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.008)	(0.003)
President Vote Share * Primary Election	0.006***	0.002***	0.010***	0.004**
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.002)
Constant	−1.314	−0.661	−0.028	−0.031
	(0.974)	(0.479)	(1.404)	(0.603)
Observations	223	223	126	126
R^2	0.419	0.505	0.408	0.265
Adjusted R^2	0.395	0.484	0.362	0.208
Residual Std. Error	0.386	0.170	0.398	0.222
	(df = 213)	(df = 213)	(df = 116)	(df = 116)
F Statistic	17.098***	24.132***	8.897***	4.641***
	(df = 9; 213)	(df = 9; 213)	(df = 9; 116)	(df = 9; 116)
Note:				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

0.16in

Bibliography

Adams, James, and Samuel Merrill. 2008. "Candidate and Party Strategies in Two-stage Elections Beginning With a Primary." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(2): 344–359.

Alemán, Eduardo. 2013. "Latin American Legislative Politics: A Survey of Peer-Reviewed Publications in English." *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 5(1): 15–36.

André, Audrey, Sam Depauw, and Shane Martin. 2015. "Electoral Systems and Legislators' Constituency Effort." *Comparative Political Studies* 48(4): 464–496.

Ansolabehere, Stephen, John Mark Hansen, Shigeo Hirano, and James M. Snyder Jr. 2005. "The Decline of Competition in Primary Elections." In *The Marketplace of Democracy*, eds. Michael P. McDonald, and John Samples. Washington, DC: Brookings.

Aragón, Fernando M. 2014. "Why Do Parties Use Primaries?: Political Selection Versus Candidate Incentives." *Public Choice* 160(1-2): 205–225.

Ashworth, Scott, and Ethan Bueno de Mesquita. 2006. "Delivering the Goods." *Journal of Politics* 68(1): 168–179.

Austin, D G. 1958. "The Ghana Parliament's First Year." *Parliamentary Affairs* 11: 350–360.

Baldwin, Kate. 2013. "Why Vote With the Chief? Political Connections and Public Goods Provision in Zambia." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(4): 794–809.

Barber, Michael, and Soren Schmidt. 2019. "Electoral Competition and Legislator Effectiveness." *American Politics Research* 47: 683–708.

Barkan, Joel D. 1976. "A Reassessment of Conventional Wisdom About the Informed Public: Comment: Further Reassessment of "conventional Wisdom:" Political Knowledge and Voting Behavior in Rural Kenya." *American Political Science Review* 70(2): 452–455.

Barkan, Joel D. 1979. "Bringing Home the Pork: Legislator Behavior, Rural Development, and Political Change in East Africa." In *Legislatures in Development: Dynamics of Change in New and Old States*, eds. Lloyd D Musolf, and Joel Smith. Durham, NC: Duke University Press , 265–288.

Barkan, Joel D. 1995. "Elections in Agrarian Societies." *Journal of Democracy* 6(4): 106–116.

Barkan, Joel D. 2009*a*. *Legislative Power in Emerging African Democracies*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Barkan, Joel D. 2009*b*. "South Africa: Emerging Legislature or Rubber Stamp?" In *Legislative Power in Emerging African Democracies*. Lynne Rienner Pub , 205–230.

Barkan, Joel D, and Robert B Mattes. 2014. *Why CDFs in Africa?: Representation Vs. Constituency Service*. Vol. Distributive Politics in Developing Countries: Almost Pork Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Barkan, Joel D, Robert Mattes, Shaheen Mozaffar, and Kimberly Smiddy. 2010. "The African Legislatures Project." *Working Paper* 1.

Bengtsson, Åsa, and Hanna Wass. 2010. "Styles of Political Representation: What Do Voters Expect." *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 20(1): 55–81.

Boynton, G R, and Chong Lim Kim, eds. 1975. *Legislative Systems in Developing Countries*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Brambor, Thomas, William Roberts Clark, and Matt Golder. 2007. "Are African Party Systems Different?" *Electoral Studies* 26(2): 315–323.

Bratton, Michael, Robert Mattes, and Gyimah-Boadi. 2005. *Public Opinion, Democracy, and Market Reform in Africa*. New York, NY: Cambirdge University Press.

Brouard, Sylvain, Olivier Costa, Eric Kerrouche, and Tinette Schnatterer. 2013. "Why Do French Mps Focus More on Constituency Work Than on Parliamentary Work?" *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 19(2): 141–159.

Bruhn, Kathleen. 2010. "Too Much Democracy? Primaries and Candidate Success in the 2006 Mexican National Elections." *Latin American Politics and Society* 52(04): 25–52.

Bruhn, Kathleen. 2014. "Choosing How to Choose: From Democratic Primaries to Unholy Alliances in Mexico's Gubernatorial Elections." *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 30(1): 212–240.

Butler, Daniel M, and David W Nickerson. 2011. "Can Learning Constituency Opinion Affect How Legislators Vote?" *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 6(1): 55–83.

Butler, Daniel M, Christopher F Karpowitz, and Jeremy C Pope. 2012. "A Field Experiment on Legislators' Home Styles: Service Versus Policy." *Journal of Politics* 74(2): 474–486.

Bäck, Hanna, Marc Debus, and Jochen Müller. 2014. "Who Takes the Parliamentary Floor? The Role of Gender in Speech-Making in the Swedish Riksdag:." *Political Research Quarterly* 67(3): 504–518.

Caillaud, Bernard, and Jean Tirole. 2002. "Parties as Political Intermediaries." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 117(4): 1453–1489.

Cain, Bruce, John Ferejohn, and Morris P Fiorina. 1987. *The Personal Vote*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Cameron, A C, and D L Miller. 2015. "A Practitioner's Guide to Cluster-Robust Inference." *Journal of Human Resources* 50: 317–372.

Campbell, James E. 1982. "Cosponsoring Legislation in the U. S. Congress." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 7(3): 415–422.

Carey, John M, and John Polga-Hecimovich. 2006. "Primary Elections and Candidate Strength in Latin America." *Journal of Politics* 68(3): 530–543.

Carey, John M, and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 1995. "Incentives to Cultivate a Personal Vote: A Rank Ordering of Electoral Formulas." *Electoral Studies* 14(4): 417–439.

Carman, Christopher Jan. 2007. "Assessing Preferences for Political Representation in the US." *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties* 17(1): 1–19.

Center, The Carter. 2018. "Kenya 2017 General and Presidential Elections: Final Report.".

Chasquetti, Daniel, and Juan Pablo Micozzi. 2014. "The Subnational Connection in Unitary Regimes: Progressive Ambition and Legislative Behavior in Uruguay." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 39(1): 87–112.

Cheeseman, Nic, Karuti Kanyinga, Gabrielle Lynch, Mutuma Ruteere, and Justin Willis. 2019. "Kenya's 2017 Elections: Winner-Takes-all Politics as Usual." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 13(2): 215–234.

Choi, Dong-Hyun. 2018. *Severed Connections: Political Parties and Democratic Responsiveness in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

Clayton, Amanda, Cecilia Josefsson, and Vibeke Wang. 2017. "Quotas and Women's Substantive Representation: Evidence From a Content Analysis of Ugandan Plenary Debates." *Politics & Gender* 13: 276–304.

Cormack, Lindsey. 2013. "Sins of Omission: Legislator (Mis) Representation in Constituent Communications." *Working Paper*.

Cox, Gary W. 1987. *The Efficient Secret*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Cox, Gary W, and Mathew D McCubbins. 1993. *Legislative Leviathan*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Cox, Gary W, and Mathew D McCubbins. 2005. *Setting the Agenda*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Cox, Gary W, and William C Terry. 2008. "Legislative Productivity in the 93d–105th Congresses." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 33(4): 603–618.

Crisp, Brian F., and Constanza F. Schibber. 2014. "The Study of Legislatures in Latin America." In *The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies*, eds. Shane Martin, Thomas Saalfeld, and Kaare W. Strøm. Oxford University Press.

Crutzen, B. S. Y., M. Castanheira, and N. Sahuguet. 2010. "Party Organization and Electoral Competition." *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 26(2): 212–242.

De Luca, Marino, and Fulvio Venturino. 2017. "The Effects of Primaries on Electoral Performance: France and Italy in Comparative Perspective." *French Politics* 15(1): 43–56.

De Luca, Miguel, Mark P Jones, and María Inés Tula. 2002. "Back Rooms or Ballot Boxes?" *Comparative Political Studies* 35(4): 413–436.

Depetris-Chauvin, Emilio, and Ruben Durante. 2017. "One Team, One Nation: Football, Ethnic Identity, and Conflict in Africa." *Working Paper*.

Development, Centre for Governance and. 2005. "Money and Politics: The Case of Party Nominations in Kenya." *Working Paper*.

Doherty, D. 2013. "To Whom Do People Think Representatives Should Respond: Their District or the Country?" *Public Opinion Quarterly* 77(1): 237–255.

Dropp, Kyle, and Zachary Peskowitz. 2012. "Electoral Security and the Provision of Constituency Service." *Journal of Politics* 74(01): 220–234.

Eifert, Benn, Edward Miguel, and Daniel N Posner. 2010. "Political Competition and Ethnic Identification in Africa." *American Journal of Political Science* 54(2): 494–510.

Elischer, Sebastian. 2013. *Political Parties in Africa*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Enamorado, Ted, Benjamin Fifield, and Kosuke Imai. 2019. "Using a Probabilistic Model to Assist Merging of Large-Scale Administrative Records." *American Political Science Review* 113(2): 353–371.

Englebert, Pierre, and Kevin C Dunn. 2013. *Inside African Politics*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Pub.

Fenno, Richard F. 1978. *Home Style*. New York, NY: Longman.

Ferree, Karen E, Clark C Gibson, and James D Long. 2014. "Voting Behavior and Electoral Irregularities in Kenya's 2013 Election." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 8(1): 153–172.

Fouirnaies, Alexander, and Andrew B Hall. 2018. "How Do Electoral Incentives Affect Legislator Behavior?" *Working Paper*.

Francois, Patrick, Ilia Rainer, and Francesco Trebbi. 2015. "How is Power Shared in Africa?" *Econometrica* 83(2): 465–503.

Fukumoto, Kentaro, and Akitaka Matsuo. 2015. "The Effects of Election Proximity on Participatory Shirking: The Staggered-term Chamber as a Laboratory." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 40(4): 599–625.

Gadjanova, Elena. 2019. "Treacherous Coattails: Gubernatorial Endorsements and the Presidential Race in Kenya's 2017 Election." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 13(2): 272–293.

Gallagher, Michae, and Michael. Marsh. 1988. "Candidate Selection in Comparative Perspective: The Secret Garden of Politics.".

Gibson, Clark C. 1999. *Politicians and Poachers: The Political Economy of Wildlife Policy in Africa*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Gibson, Clark C. 2002. "Of Waves and Ripples: Democracy and Political Change in Africa in the 1990s." *Annual Review of Political Science* 5(1): 201–221.

Gibson, Clark C, and James D Long. 2009. "The Presidential and Parliamentary Elections in Kenya, December 2007." *Electoral Studies* 28(3): 497–502.

Grant, J Tobin, and Thomas J Rudolph. 2004. "The Job of Representation in Congress: Public Expectations and Representative Approval." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 29(3): 431–445.

Griffin, J D, and P Flavin. 2011. "How Citizens and Their Legislators Prioritize Spheres of Representation." *Political Research Quarterly* 64(3): 520–533.

Grimmer, Justin. 2013. *Representational Style in Congress*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Grossman, Guy, Macartan Humphreys, and Gabriella Sacramone-Lutz. 2014. ""I Wld Like U Wmp to Extend Electricity 2 Our Village"." *American Political Science Review* 108(03): 688–705.

Group, World Bank. 2017. *World Development Indicators*.

Gupta, Anirudha. 1965. "The Zambian National Assembly: Study of an African Legislature." *Parliamentary Affairs* 19(1): 48–55.

Hakes, Jay E, and John L Helgerson. 1973. "Bargaining and Parliamentary Behavior in Africa: A Comparative Study of Zambia and Kenya." In *Legislatures in Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Allan Kornberg. New York: David McKay Company, Inc. , 334–372.

Hall, Andrew B. 2015. "What Happens When Extremists Win Primaries?" *American Political Science Review* 109(1): 18–42.

Hall, Andrew B, and Daniel M Thompson. 2018. "Who Punishes Extremist Nominees? Candidate Ideology and Turning Out the Base in Us Elections." *American Political Science Review* 112(03): 509–524.

Hall, Richard L, and Robert P Van Houweling. 1995. "Avarice and Ambition in Congress: Representatives' Decisions to Run or Retire From the U.s. House." *American Political Science Review* 89(01): 121–136.

Harden, Jeffrey J. 2013. "Multidimensional Responsiveness: The Determinants of Legislators' Representational Priorities." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 38(2): 155–184.

Hassan, Mai. 2014. "Continuity Despite Change: Kenya's New Constitution and Executive Power." *Democratization* 22(4): 587–609.

Hassan, Mai, and Ryan Sheely. 2017. "Executive–Legislative Relations, Party Defections, and Lower Level Administrative Unit Proliferation." *Comparative Political Studies* 50(12): 1595–1631.

Hazan, Reuven Y., and Gideon Rahat. 2010. *Democracy Within Parties: Candidate Selection Methods and Their Political Consequences*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Heitshusen, Valerie, Garry Young, and David M Wood. 2005. "Electoral Context and Mp Constituency Focus in Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom." *American Journal of Political Science* 49(1): 32–45.

Herrick, Rebekah, and Michael K Moore. 1993. "Political Ambition's Effect on Legislative Behavior: Schlesinger's Typology Reconsidered and Revisited." *The Journal of Politics* 55(3): 765–776.

Hicken, Allen, and Nico Ravanilla. 2015. "Electoral Pressures and the Incentive to "Bring Home the Pork"." *Working Paper*.

Hirano, Shigeo, Jr. James M. Snyder, Stephen Ansolabeher, and John Mark Hansen. 2010. "Primary Elections and Partisan Polarization in the U.s. Congress." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 5(2): 169–191.

Hopkins, Raymond F. 1970. "The Role of the M.p. In Tanzania." *American Political Science Review* 64(3): 754–771.

Hopkins, Raymond F. 1975. "The Kenyan Legislature: Political Functions and Citizen

Perceptions." In *Legislative Systems in Developing Countries*, eds. G. R. Boynton, and Chong Lim Kim. Durham, NC: Duke University Press , 207–232.

Hopkins, Raymond F. 1979. "The Influence of the Legislature on Development Strategy: The Case of Kenya and Tanzania." In *Legislatures in Development: Dynamics of Change in New and Old States*, eds. Joel Smith, and Lloyd D Musolf. Durham, NC: Duke University Press , 155–186.

Horowitz, Jeremy. 2016. "The Ethnic Logic of Campaign Strategy in Diverse Societies Theory and Evidence From Kenya." *Comparative Political Studies* 49(3): 324–356.

Hortala-Vallve, Rafael, and Hannes Mueller. 2015. "Primaries: The Unifying Force." *Public Choice* 163(3-4): 289–305.

Humphreys, Macartan, and Jeremy M Weinstein. 2012. "Policing Politicians: Citizen Empowerment and Political Accountability in Africa1." *Working Paper*.

Hyden, Goran, and Colin Leys. 1972. "Elections and Politics in Single-Party Systems: The Case of Kenya and Tanzania." *British Journal of Political Science* 2(4): 389–420.

Ichino, Nahomi, and Noah L Nathan. 2012*a*. "Do Primaries Improve Electoral Performance? Clientelism and Intra-Party Conflict in Ghana." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(2): 428–441.

Ichino, Nahomi, and Noah L Nathan. 2012*b*. "Primaries on Demand? Intra-Party Politics and Nominations in Ghana." *British Journal of Political Science* 42(04): 769–791.

Ichino, Nahomi, and Noah L Nathan. 2018. "Primary Elections in New Democracies: The Evolution of Candidate Selection Methods in Ghana." In *Routledge Handbook of Primary Elections*, ed. Robert Boatright. Routledge.

International, Democracy Reporting. 2015. *Global Mapping and Analysis of Parliamentary Strengthening*. Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation SDC.

Kasara, Kimuli. 2014. "Electoral Geography and Conflict: Examining the Redistricting Through Violence in Kenya." *Working Paper*.

Kathlene, Lyn. 1994. "Power and Influence in State Legislative Policymaking: The Interaction of Gender and Position in Committee Hearing Debates." *American Political Science Review* 88(3): 560–576.

Keefer, Philip, and Stuti Khemani. 2009. "When Do Legislators Pass on Pork?" *American Political Science Review* 103(01): 99–112.

Kellermann, Michael. 2014. "Electoral Vulnerability, Constituency Focus, and Parliamentary Questions in the House of Commons." *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 18(1): 90–106.

Kemahlioglu, Ozge, Rebecca Weitz-Shapiro, and Shigeo Hirano. 2009. "Why Primaries in Latin American Presidential Elections?" *Journal of Politics* 71(01): 339–352.

Kihoro, Wanyiri. 2007. *Politics and Parliamentarians in Kenya, 1944-2007*. Centre for Multiparty Democracy–Kenya.

King, Gary, and Richard Nielsen. 2019. "Why Propensity Scores Should Not be Used for Matching." *Political Analysis* 11: 1–20.

Kornberg, Allan. 1973. "Comparative Legislative Studies Program Annual Report 1972/1973.".

Kramon, Eric. 2016*a*. "Electoral Handouts as Information: Explaining Unmonitored Vote Buying." *World Politics* 68(3): 454–498.

Kramon, Eric. 2016*b*. "Where is Vote Buying Effective? Evidence From a List Experiment in Kenya." *Electoral Studies* 44: 397–408.

Kramon, Eric, and Daniel N Posner. 2011. "Kenya's New Constitution." *Journal of Democracy* 22(2): 89–103.

Langston, Joy. 2006. "The Changing Party of the Institutional Revolution." *Party Politics* 12(3): 395–413.

Lapinski, John, Matt Levendusky, Ken Winneg, and Kathleen Hall Jamieson. 2016. "What Do Citizens Want From Their Member of Congress?" *Political Research Quarterly* 69(3): 535–545.

Lauderdale, Benjamin E, and Alexander Herzog. 2016. "Measuring Political Positions From Legislative Speech." *Political Analysis* 24(3): 374–394.

LeBas, Adrienne. 2015. *From Protest to Parties*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lee, J M. 1963. "Parliament in Republican Ghana." *Parliamentary Affairs* XVI(4): 376–395.

Lemarchand, Rene. 1972. "Political Clientelism and Ethnicity in Tropical Africa:* Competing Solidarities in Nation-Building." *American Political Science Review* 66(1): 68–90.

Lindberg, Staffan I. 2003. "'it's Our Time to "chop"': Do Elections in Africa Feed Neo-Patrimonialism Rather Than Counter-Act It?" *Democratization* 10(2): 121–140.

Lindberg, Staffan I. 2010. "What Accountability Pressures Do Mps in Africa Face and How Do They Respond? Evidence From Ghana." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 48(1): 117–142.

Lindberg, Staffan I., and Minion K.C. Morrison. 2008. "Are African Voters Really Ethnic or Clientelistic? Survey Evidence From Ghana." *Political Science Quarterly* 123(1): 95–122.

Long, James D, Karuti Kanyinga, Karen E Ferree, and Clark Gibson. 2013. "Choosing Peace Over Democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 24(3): 140–155.

Martin, Shane. 2011. "Using Parliamentary Questions to Measure Constituency Focus: An Application to the Irish Case." *Political Studies* 59(2): 472–488.

Mattes, Robert, and Shaheen Mozaffar. 2016. "Legislatures and Democratic Development in Africa." *African Studies Review* 59(3): 201–215.

Mattes, Robert, Joel D Barkan, and Shaheen Mozaffar. 2012. "Debate: African Legislatures: A Glass Half Full?" In *Do Parliaments Matter African Legislatures and the Advance of Democracy*. Cape Town, South Africa: heinrich Böll foundation , 8–12.

Mayhew, David R. 1974. *Congress*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Michalopoulos, Stelios, and Elias Papaioannou. 2014. "National Institutions and African Development : Evidence From Partitioned Ethnicities." *Quaterly Journal of Economics* 129(1): 151–213.

Micozzi, Juan Pablo. 2014. "From House to Home: Strategic Bill Drafting in Multilevel Systems With Non-Static Ambition." *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 20(3): 265–284.

Miguel, Edward. 2004. "Tribe or Nation? Nation Building and Public Goods in Kenya Versus Tanzania." *World Politics* 56(03): 328–362.

Mozaffar, Shaheen, James R Scarritt, and Glen Galaich. 2003. "Electoral Institutions,

Ethnopolitical Cleavages, and Party Systems in Africa's Emerging Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 97(3): 379–390.

Mueller, Lisa. 2018. "Personal Politics Without Clientelism? Interpreting Citizen-Politician Contact in Africa." *African Studies Review* 61(02): 28–54.

Musolf, Lloyd D, and Joel Smith, eds. 1979. *Legislatures in Development*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Méndez-Lago, Monica, and Antonia Martinez. 2010. "Political Representation in Spain: An Empirical Analysis of the Perception of Citizens and Mps." *Journal of Legislative Studies* 8(1): 63–90.

Norton, Philip, and David M. Wood. 1993. *Back From Westminster: Constituency Service By British Members of Parliament*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky.

Nunn, Nathan. 2008. "The Long-Term Effects of Africa's Slave Trades." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 123(1): 139–176.

Nyabola, Nanjala. 2018. *Digital Democracy, Analogue Politics: How the Internet Era is Transforming Kenya*. London: Zed Books.

of Kenya, Republic. 2013. "National Assembly Standing Ordered, 11th Parliament." *Working Paper*.

Opalo, Ken Ochieng'. 2019*a*. "Constrained Presidential Power in Africa? Legislative Independence and Executive Rule Making in Kenya, 1963–2013." *British Journal of Political Science*.

Opalo, Ken Ochieng'. 2019*b*. *Legislative Development in Africa: Politics and Postcolonial Legacies*. Cambridge University Press.

Opalo, Kennedy Ochieng'. 2015. *Institutions and Political Change : The Case of African Legislatures*. Doctoral Dissertation, Stanford University.

Padró i Miquel, Gerard, and James M Snyder. 2004. "Legislative Effectiveness and Legislative Life." *Working Paper*.

Paller, Jeffrey W. 2014. "Informal Institutions and Personal Rule in Urban Ghana." *African Studies Review* 57(03): 123–142.

Pearson, Kathryn, and Logan Dancey. 2011. "Elevating Women's Voices in Congress Speech Participation in the House of Representatives." *Political Research Quarterly* 64(4): 910–923.

Pilet, Jean-Benoit, and William Cross. 2014. *The Selection of Political Party Leaders in Contemporary Parliamentary Democracies: A Comparative Study*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Polsby, Nelson W. 1983. *Consequences of Party Reform*. New York, NY: Oxford University Pres.

Pop-Eleches, Grigore, and Joshua A Tucker. 2017. *Communism's Shadow*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Proksch, Sven Oliver, and Jonathan B Slapin. 2012. "Institutional Foundations of Legislative Speech." *American Journal of Political Science* 56(3): 520–537.

Rakner, Lise, and Nicolas Van de Walle. 2009. "Opposition Weakness in Africa." *Journal of Democracy* 20(3): 108–121.

Ramiro, Luis. 2016. "Effects of Party Primaries on Electoral Performance." *Party Politics* 22(1): 125–136.

Richardson Jr, Lilliard E, and Patricia K Freeman. 1995. "Gender Differences in Constituency Service Among State Legislators." *Political Research Quarterly* 48(1): 169–179.

Riedl, Rachel Beatty. 2014. *Authoritarian Origins of Democratic Party Systems in Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Sacramone-Lutz, Gabriella. 2019. "Cross Pressured Representatives: A Lobbying Experiment in Uganda." *Working Paper*.

Schlesinger, Joseph A. 1966. *Ambition and Politics: Politics in the United States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Serra, Gilles. 2011. "Why Primaries? The Party's Tradeoff Between Policy and Valence." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 23(1): 21–51.

Shapiro, Catherine R, David W Brady, Richard A Brody, and John A Ferejohn. 1990. "Linking Constituency Opinion and Senate Voting Scores: A Hybrid Explanation." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 15(4): 599.

Shin, Jae Hyeok. 2015. "Voter Demands for Patronage: Evidence From Indonesia." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 15(1): 127–151.

Shomer, Yael, Gert-Jan Put, and Einat Gedalya-Lavy. 2015. "Intra-Party Politics and Public Opinion: How Candidate Selection Processes Affect Citizens' Satisfaction With Democracy." *Political Behavior* 38(3): 509–534.

Slapin, Jonathan B, and Sven Oliver Proksch. 2014. "Words as Data: Content Analysis in Legislative Studies." In *The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies*, eds. Shane Martin, Thomas Saalfeld, and Kaare W. Strøm. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Snyder Jr, James M, and Michael M Ting. 2011. "Electoral Selection With Parties and Primaries." *American Journal of Political Science* 55(4): 782–796.

Stultz, Newell M. 1968. "Parliaments in Former British Black Africa." *The Journal of Developing Areas* 2(4): 479–494.

Stultz, Newell M. 1970. "The National Assembly in the Politics of Kenya." In *Legislatures in Developmental Perspective*, eds. Allan Kornberg, and Lloyd D. Musolf. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press , 303–333.

Sulkin, Tracy, Paul Testa, and Kaye Usry. 2015. "What Gets Rewarded? Legislative Activity and Constituency Approval." *Political Research Quarterly* 68(4): 690–702.

Throup, David, and Charles Hornsby. 1998. *Multi-Party Politics in Kenya*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.

Tolleson-Rinehart, Sue, and Debra Dodson. 1991. "Gender and Policymaking: Studies of Women in Office.". Center for the American Woman and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey.

Tsubura, Machiko. 2014. *Accountability and Clientelism in Dominant Party Politics*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Sussex.

Van Cranenburgh, O. 2008. "'Big Men'Rule: Presidential Power, Regime Type and Democracy in 30 African Countries." *Democratization* 15(5): 952–973.

Van de Walle, Nicolas. 2003. "Presidentialism and Clientelism in Africas Emerging Party Systems." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 41(2): 297–321.

Vivyan, Nick, and Markus Wagner. 2015. "What Do Voters Want From Their Local Mp." *The Political Quarterly* 86(1): 33–40.

Vivyan, Nick, and Markus Wagner. 2016. "House or Home? Constituent Preferences Over Legislator Effort Allocation." *European Journal of Political Research* 55(1): 81–99.

Wang, Vibeke. 2014. "Tracing Gender Differences in Parliamentary Debates: A Growth Curve Analysis of Ugandan Mps' Activity Levels in Plenary Sessions, 1998–2008." *Representation* 50(3): 365–377.

Wantchekon, Leonard. 2003. "Clientelism and Voting Behavior: Evidence From a Field Experiment in Benin." *World Politics* 55(03): 399–422.

Wanyama, Fredrick O, and Jørgen Elklit. 2018. "Electoral Violence During Party Primaries in Kenya." *Democratization* 42: 1–17.

Warren, Shana S. 2018*a*. "Democratizing Candidate Selection: Evidence From Botswana's Bulela Ditswe Primaries." *Working Paper*.

Warren, Shana S. 2018*b*. "An Uphill Battle: Candidate Selection and Political Accountability in Africa." *Working Paper*.

Weghorst, Keith R, and Staffan I Lindberg. 2013. "What Drives the Swing Voter in Africa?" *American Journal of Political Science* 57(3): 717–734.

Widner, Jennifer A. 1993. *The Rise of a Party-State in Kenya: From Harambee! To Nyayo!* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wiesmann, Urs Martin, Boniface Kiteme, and Zachary Mwangi. 2014. *Socio-Economic Atlas of Kenya: Depicting the National Population Census By County and Sub-Location*. Nairobi, Kenya: Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, Centre for Training and Integrated Resarch in ASAL Development, Center for Development and Environment, Universitat Bern.

Wolak, Jennifer. 2017. "Public Expectations of State Legislators." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 42(2): 175–209.