

**DETERMINANTS OF SOCIAL MEDIA USE FOR
POLITICAL MARKETING IN KENYA**

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Determinants of social media use for political marketing in Kenya

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DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

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DEDICATION

To Martha,
my amazing wife,
whose outpouring love for me and our children
made it possible for me to complete this work,
and to our two children
Sasha and Grant –
who are such treasures from God.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ICT	Information and communication technology
MP	Member of Parliament
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement party
PA	Personal assistant
SNS	Social networking sites
TNA	The National Alliance party
UDF	United Democratic Forum party
Women Rep	Women Representative

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Political candidates

Political candidates are members belonging to political parties who were nominated by their respective parties to vie for various elective positions in the 2013 general elections in Kenya.

Political marketing

Political marketing refers to political organisations adapting business marketing concepts and techniques to help them achieve their goals. The specific products are candidates, politicians, institutions, or public services (Lees-Marshment, 2001). Political marketing comes from two disciplines: marketing and politics. It concentrates on the marketing issues associated with electoral politics, image, voter behaviour, promotion and some aspects of party management, especially media management or spin doctoring.

Political party

A political party refers to a permanent political organization which seeks various leadership positions through the path of elections. The political parties considered in the study are those that sought various elective positions in the 2013 general elections in Kenya.

Representational level

The representation level is the level of office a politician is running for as indicated by the Constitution of Kenya 2010. The levels investigated in this study were presidential, gubernatorial, senatorial, women representative and parliamentary levels.

Social media

Social media are defined as web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of

connections and those made by others within the system (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). The social media networks considered in this study are Facebook and Twitter.

Social media use for political marketing

This is the presence of a Facebook page or Twitter account that a politician uses as a communication channel to engage with citizens for political purposes.

Technological factors

These are characteristics within a particular technology that influence the decision about when and how the technology will be used. These are relative advantage, complexity, compatibility and trialability.

Voting outcome

Voting outcome variable is the degree to which the results of using social media for vote mobilization are visible to politicians.

ABSTRACT

This study sought to establish the determinants of social media use for political marketing in Kenya. The study investigated whether demographic characteristics, technological factors, representation factors and voting outcome, have an effect on politicians' choice of media platform for political marketing. The study was guided by the diffusion of innovations theory, the network society theory and the social marketing theory. These theories are conceptualised in interaction with each other to explain a socially produced space within which political marketing is possible through use of social media platforms. The study utilised the mixed methods sequential explanatory design. This design consists of the quantitative phase, which is then followed by the qualitative phase. Politicians who contested at the presidential, gubernatorial, senatorial, women representative and parliamentary levels in the 2013 general elections in Kenya comprised the study population. A sample size of 338 respondents was drawn from a total population of 2807 political candidates. The sampling frame was obtained from a list published by the Independent Elections and Boundaries Commission in 2013. Data was collected using questionnaires and interview guides. Piloting of the research tools was conducted and the sample obtained subjected to the Cronbach's alpha. The quantitative data obtained from the administration of questionnaires was analysed using descriptive statistics and inferential statistics to answer the quantitative research questions. Qualitative data obtained from interviews with key informants was transcribed and divided into meaningful analytical units which were coded for content analysis. Findings show that there was a rapid adoption of social media among the political candidates with Facebook diffusing more rapidly than Twitter. However, some political candidates were at the implementation stage of social media adoption and consequently did not extensively implement the technology. Although there was little variation of social media message forms, its content was diverse. Regression analysis showed that familiarity with technology, political party influence, party affiliation, years of Internet use, and social media awareness, were significant determinants of social media adoption. The study concludes that social media need to be utilised together with other media to supplement campaigns in complementarity and mutual

dependency. The study recommends the use of social media as alternative platforms for political marketing to mitigate the rising costs of election campaigns for developing countries. The study further recommends training political actors for effective implementation of the social media campaign and a subsequent establishment of a policy framework to guide social media use for political marketing.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

There is a paradigm shift in the ways in which politicians express themselves in the political realm ever since the emergence of new media (Römmele, 2003; Tedesco, Miller & Spiker, 1999). The Internet is providing 'political actors' unlimited space to articulate a variety of political information in new ways (Tedesco, Miller & Spiker, 1999). Subsequent to this, innovative ways of political marketing seem to be on the rise in most democracies (Cook, 2010). These new ways include the use of non-conventional forms of political marketing. To understand non-conventional forms of political marketing, it is imperative to draw a distinction between conventional political marketing and non-conventional political marketing. For the purposes of this study, conventional forms of political marketing are understood to be those methods that have traditionally been tied closely to the political system and the electoral process. These include activities such as use of radio and TV advertising, use of billboards, and political rallies to communicate with party members as well as the electorate (Lennartz, 2008). By contrast, non-conventional forms of political marketing involve use of information and communication technology, mostly tied to the Internet, to have a direct influence on the masses and to establish a longer term political marketing strategy (Lennartz, 2008).

Non-conventional political marketing integrates elements of marketing into the advertising process. Harrop (1990) perceives political marketing as being not just about political advertising, party political broadcasts and electoral speeches but covering the whole area of party positioning in the electoral market. According to Lees-Marshment (2001) political marketing is about political organisations adapting business marketing concepts and techniques to help them achieve their goals. In political marketing, the specific products are candidates, politicians, institutions, or public services, and all may be judged by comparison with each other and by the

public attitude towards them. The goal of marketing is to attract new customers and to keep and grow current customers. Successful organisations have well defined target markets and build profitable customer relationships (Kotler & Armstrong, 2008).

Political marketing can improve the quantity and quality of information flow from the electorate to parties and candidates, thus making them more sensitive and responsive to voters' needs. At the same time, it improves the channels of communication from politicians to the electorate and even more to every specific segment of voters. Thus, Scammell (1995) concludes that “‘political marketing’ provides a rational way for parties or candidates to behave in conditions of competitive mass democracy” (pp. 18-19).

All political parties seek to compete in elections in order to win and hold public office (Cook, 2010). To achieve this, parties seek communication tools that allow them to reach the masses. Castells (2007) argues that politics is based on a socialised communication, and on the capacity to influence people's minds. The main channel of communication between the political system and the citizens is the mass media system. In the contemporary society, politics is primarily media politics. The workings of the political system are staged for the media so as to obtain the support, or at least the lesser hostility of citizens who become the consumers in the political market. It is said that what does not exist in media does not exist in the public mind, even if it could have a fragmented presence in individual minds (Castells, 2007).

Political campaign communication has seen major changes over time. These transformations can be viewed as a typology consisting of three stages: the pre-modern, the modern and the postmodern stage (Farrell & Webb, 2000; Plasser & Plasser, 2002). The pre-modern campaigns were local, ad-hoc and inter-personal. The partisan press was the primary intermediary between the political parties and the citizens, and the electorates were characterised by stable social and partisan alignments (Norris, 2001a). The modern stage was characterised by campaign activities being increasingly coordinated at the central party level with the help of professional consultants. Television took centre stage as the primary campaign

medium and the electorate became detached from their traditional social and partisan ties (Blumler & Gurevitch, 1995; Dalton, 2000; Norris, 2001a). In the third stage of campaign communication, the postmodern stage, the role of political consultants in political campaigns has increased, the news media has become fragmented into several channels, outlets and levels, and the electorate has even further de-aligned in their voting choices (Blumler & Gurevitch, 1995; Norris, 2001a). The rise of the Internet in the postmodern era has led to what has been initially referred to as Americanized style of campaigning, where the Internet has been used in innovative ways (Römmele, 2003).

According to Holmes (2005) the Internet comprises of a galaxy of sub-media and therefore specificity of media is imperative. This study therefore focuses on social media and how it is used for political marketing. Social media refers to web-based tools and services that allow users to create and share content and information online. These tools are 'social' in the sense that they are created in ways that enable users to share and communicate with one another (Bohler-Muller & Merwe, 2011). Boyd and Ellison (2007) define social media networking sites as Internet-based applications that allow users to develop a public profile within a closed system, have a list of users whom they have a relation with, and are able to view their own friends list and that of others, within the system. This is generally the model that social media follow. Social media include Facebook, Twitter, MySpace, blogs and YouTube among others. This study focuses on Facebook and Twitter.

Lennart (2008) contends that all over the world, social media have been used for political marketing purposes. Marriot (2006) states that social media marketing is rapidly becoming a major communications channel for reaching the public. Social media offer a greater democratic space for politicians seeking to engage with citizens. Hyden and Leslie (2002) argue that the ongoing efforts to enhance democracy in Africa have gained from the liberalisation of mass media in Africa. They further argue that social media have significant potential to mediate state and society in contemporary Africa. Since formal media are still not wholly free, the Internet is significant in helping people create meaningful communicative spaces for themselves.

In Kenya, there is unrestricted access to social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter, and even fewer incidence of censorship on social media (Freedom House, 2013). Social media essentially form platforms for alternative spheres of communication between politicians and voters.

The new communicative spaces created by social media can be best understood as vital and pervasive undercurrents and reservoirs of political commentary, critique, and potential mobilisation. Hyden and Leslie (2002) posit that social media are a crucial part of civil society and the public sphere, understood most broadly, as the arena where citizens and citizen-based associations discuss state authority, political accountability and representation.

What is crucial is the notion of social media as participatory, public phenomena, controlled neither by big states nor big corporations. Social media have political content and they have a potential emancipatory function. They allow producers of messages to be also the consumers and receivers to act as distributors. There are multiple sites of (re)production and (re)distribution of messages. Social media draw upon established communication networks (e.g. interpersonal networks in neighbourhoods, the workplace or religious spheres) and established genres of communication (e.g. existing oratorical traditions, song genres, and parodic styles). They blend texts and graphics that derive from both local and transnational sources. They function more as expressive devices in the formation of group identity, and community or subcultural solidarity (Spitulnik, 2002). The growing availability of social media means that topics that could not be previously breached are now within the boundary of public discussion and public scrutiny.

Bourgault (1995) notes that currently there is a shift in democratic thought in Africa. Democratic practice in Africa today emphasises a non-hierarchical, dialogical communication through popular participation. The implication of this new approach is that it places communications in a fresh and more central place than before. In the past, government went out of its way to control the flow of news to make information

more attuned to what it conceived as its national priorities; but the current interactive approach facilitates a discursive process (Hyden & Leslie, 2002).

Politicians are increasingly sharing information via social networking (Evans-Cowley & Hollander, 2010). Facebook and Twitter are allowing individuals to become part of the larger political process through computers and mobile phones and other handheld devices. This has allowed individuals to transcend spatial boundaries of the past, creating increased contact and accessibility in certain domains (Wellman & Haythornthwaite, 2002).

The social networking site Facebook, which was one of the first social media tools of its kind, was launched in 2004 and today has over 600 million users worldwide (Bohler-Muller & Merwe, 2011). Facebook is a free social networking website that allows users to add friends, send messages; post updates, share photographs, links and videos, and participate in groups. The total number of Facebook users in the world is 1, 886, 560, with the largest user-age group being between the ages of 25 – 34. Kenya ranks number 64 globally in the ranking of Facebook use by country, and number seven in Africa (Socialbakers, 2013).

Twitter, on the other hand, allows one to use 140 characters and therefore more specific and direct messages are constructed. It is possible to use Twitter to organise people for politics, advocacy, or community awareness (Evans-Cowley & Hollander, 2010). Growing use of Twitter through creating and re-tweeting messages on computers and mobile devices, can be seen as a major new pattern of communication (Zhao & Rosson, 2009). Twitter plays a significant role in facilitating the dissemination of news, especially the feature of Twitter's news propagation through use of re-tweets. Popular tweets spread very quickly through cascades (Enjolras, Steen-Johnsen & Wollebæk, 2012). Indeed, candidates employing social networking sites in their campaigns have a potentially higher probability of reaching voters, besides those who actually visit their social networking sites and to start a viral 'chain reaction' (Greyes, 2011; Kushin & Yamamoto, 2010), corresponding to the ways in which campaigning through traditional mass-media was able to reach passive

‘viewers’. In rank by country, Kenya is placed as the second most active Twitter user in Africa, with about 2.5 million tweets (Okutoyi, 2013).

Many researchers have studied how use of particular social networking sites (SNSs) by politicians and citizens relates to results of public opinion polls and elections (Hong & Nadler, 2011; O’Connor, Balasubramanyan, Routledge, & Smith, 2010; Tumasjan, Sprenger, Sandner & Welpe, 2010; Vergeer, Hermans & Sams, 2011). Tumasjan et al. (2010) argue that Twitter message content reflects the offline political landscape, thus potentially predicting actual election results. In a German case study, numbers of tweeted messages were observed to closely match ranking by share of the vote in election results, and nearly approximated results of traditional election polling. O’Connor et al. (2010) states that sentiments in Twitter messages replicated 2008-2009 U.S. consumer confidence and presidential job approval polls. Cogburn and Espinoza-Vasques (2008) credit part of the success of the Obama campaign in the 2008 US elections to online visitors spreading the campaign messages onwards (Norris & Curtice, 2008; Robertson, Ravi & Medina, 2010, Vergeer et al., 2011) explored the relationship between using Twitter and gaining votes in the Netherlands.

The 2004 presidential campaign in the U.S. showed that the Internet can have dramatic effects on some candidates’ ability to raise campaign resources and organise activists. Candidates such as Howard Dean and John Kerry raised tens of millions of dollars from small online donations, and sites like Meetup.com helped candidates recruit hundreds of thousands of campaign volunteers (Hindman, 2005). The Obama’s presidential campaign of 2008 and 2012 presidential elections demonstrated the use of social networks as powerful tools for governments and political parties to mobilise their supporters. The 2008 presidential election for instance, was a ground-breaking moment in United States history. The campaign was not conventional; much of the unconventional effort was in wireless technology, specifically mobile messaging (Lennartz, 2008). Social media proved to be a more cost effective alternative to traditional campaigning methods, such as automated calls and door-to-door canvassing (Lennartz, 2008). Social media sites have distinct inherent properties conceptualised as affordances and network functionalities. These properties are seen

to reduce the cost of civic and political participation. As it has been established, the resources required for political participation are usually expressed in terms of time, money and civic skills, which include communication and organisational capacities. With online communication, the cost of information retrieval and communication in general falls and political participation becomes less costly (Enjolras, Steen-Johnsen, & Wollebæk, 2012).

According to Stirland (2008), Barack Obama was noted for his use of the Internet to rally supporters and make his policies known. The success of the Obama campaign was the integration of technology into the process of field organising (Levenshus, 2010). Technology was used as a partner, an enabler for the Obama campaign, bringing the efficiencies of the Internet into the real world problems of organising people in a distributed, trusted fashion (Stirland, 2008). Obama used the Internet to target the 18 to 29 age group, the age group most reliant on new media for political information about the election (Pasek, Kenski, Romer, & Jamieson, 2006; Xenos & Bennett, 2007). Poll numbers showed that Obama increased his presence and activity online and this eventually reshaped the form of campaigning. The new media was focused on message, money, and mobilisation (Silberman, 2009). Obama built relationships with his supporters through forums and social websites, such as MySpace and Facebook. The development of political marketing in Kenya reflects increasing adoption of campaign styles and techniques from Europe and the US, and the use of social media for political marketing is a key component among them.

Political marketing has become part of the political culture of most democracies including maturing democracies like Kenya. Previous elections in Kenya were dominated by rallies and speeches, and spending by contenders was largely on direct gifts of various kinds to the electorate. During the 2007 and 2013 elections campaign in Kenya, there was an unprecedented investment in printing and buying advertising time and space (Maina, 2013). During the 2013 presidential elections in Kenya, new media played different roles for different parties. Some parties emphasised on the participatory aspects of the new technologies in communicating with voters and

monitoring of public opinion, whilst others focused on the possibility of a top-down information dissemination (Odinga, 2013).

For the first time, all the presidential aspirants in the 2013 elections set up social media accounts as a means of reaching out to voters directly. The Internet, for the first time, was used to perform a range of key functions such as opinion formation, interest mediation and party organisation. During the 2013 elections, some parties or political candidates stressed downward dissemination of information via new media whilst others emphasised their interactive and targeting possibilities. The winning political coalition, Jubilee, was very active in their use of social media. Jubilee's self-nomination as the "digital team" was not necessarily invented to reflect an active social media presence but rather their political manifesto to boost the Kenyan ICT sector. Nevertheless, the winning campaign team clearly invested heavily in social media. President Kenyatta, in particular, was an active tweeter, having received mention as one of Africa's top ten tweeting politicians by British newspaper The Guardian (Orring, 2013).

Non-institutionalised forms of political participation are cheaper and offer greater democratic space than the traditional forms of participation (Enjolras, Steen-Johnsen & Wollebæk, 2012). A survey done in 2007 by the Coalition for Accountable Political Financing (CAPF), showed that presidential candidates in the 2007 general election spent close to Ksh 6 billion (\$75 million) in campaigns. However, with the 2013 elections requiring that six leaders be chosen, the amount for campaigns was bound to hit Ksh 11.2 billion (\$ 130 million) (Kimani & Mungai, 2012). In addition, there was increasing frequency of advertising, especially in mainstream media (Maina, 2013). Political candidates spent vast amounts of cash in advertising on radio, TV, newspapers and billboards. When this scenario cascades down to the other devolved levels of government, the cost implication is much higher. For Kenya, which is a developing country, the cost of political communication during elections becomes unsustainable hence necessitating a paradigm shift to political communication.

The use of online media as a means of political communication is not new in Kenya, having been used in the December 2007 elections (Odinga, 2013). Even in the preceding election in 2002, the major political parties and some individual politicians had an online presence. A number of politicians in Kenya employed social media for political marketing in 2013 elections in Kenya (Odinga, 2013; Freedom House, 2013; Wasswa, 2013), while others remain averse to it. A key factor that has the potential of influencing political candidates' decision to adopt social media is demographic characteristics (Kwon & Zmud, 1987; Rogers, 2003). Demographic characteristics include age, gender and education level.

This study was conducted within a backdrop of constitutional change in Kenya. The Constitution of Kenya 2010, which hinges on a devolved system of governance, necessitated the creation of new political offices especially at the county level. These offices include the position of governor, senator, women representative, and county assembly ward representatives. Candidates for these new offices went to the polls for the first time in 2013, and, as yet, factors that influenced their choice of media for political communication are unknown. It is argued that the Internet's impact may be particularly pronounced in campaigns for lesser offices, which are usually low-information events that receive little coverage in traditional media (Bimber, 2003). Indeed a gap exists in researching a multi-level use of social media among politicians in Kenya.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

There is a paradigm shift in the ways in which politicians express themselves in the political realm ever since the emergence of new media (Römmele, 2003). Innovative ways of political marketing seem to be on the rise in most liberal democracies (Cook, 2010). Conventional forms of advertising employed by politicians in Kenya since independence have largely been rallies and speeches, advertising and spending by contenders on direct gifts of various kinds to the electorate. These methods have had huge cost implications for Kenya (Kimani & Mungai, 2012; Maina, 2013; Stiftung, 2010) and have largely achieved negative results such as entrenching ethnicity, and

stifling the democratic culture (Ochieng, 2008; International Crisis Group, 2013). A survey done in 2007 by Coalition for Accountable Political Financing (CAPF) showed that campaigns for the 2007 general election were quite expensive where close to six billion Kenya shillings was spent. It was estimated that the 2013 elections campaigns would require close to Ksh 11.2 billion (\$130 million) (Kimani & Mungai, 2012). New ICTs have been seen to offer political actors direct contact with citizens and thereby an advantage over existing or traditional media (Römmele, 2003). This research sees a shift from the conventional to non-conventional forms of political marketing as a means of making the electoral process more cost effective and more democratic for developing countries.

Literature suggests that social media create communicative spaces that enable a greater democratic culture to flourish (Evans-Cowley & Hollander, 2010; Hyden & Leslie, 2002; Scammell, 1995; Wellman & Haythornthwaite, 2002). Apart from improving the quantity and quality of information flow from the electorate to parties and candidates, social media potentially improves the channels of communication from politicians to the electorate (Scammell, 1995). For this reason, there is need to understand Kenyan politicians' utilisation of social media as a tool for political marketing in an environment of competitive democracy.

New ICTs have been seen to play a role in the Kenyan elections both on the side of campaigners and voters. The elections period in March 2013 saw the widespread use of ICTs, social media tools, and innovative crowd-sourcing platforms by citizens and politicians alike to disseminate information (Freedom House, 2013). Although in 2013 elections in Kenya social media was prevalent as a campaign platform (Odinga, 2013; Freedom House, 2013), certain politicians used social media while others did not. A similar trend was witnessed in the 2007 general elections (Odinga, 2013). Hence the study asks: why would certain politicians choose social media as a platform for political marketing, while others remain averse to it? Whereas there is some research on social media use for political communication and elections in Europe and the U.S. (Hong & Nadler, 2011; O'Connor et al., 2010; Tumasjan et al., 2010; Vergeer et al., 2011), as yet, little research has explored the use of social media by

politicians within African countries and specifically Kenyan elections. Therefore, there is need for scholarly analysis and investigation into the use of social media in the context of the general elections in Kenya and to establish the factors that determine politicians' use of the social media platform for political marketing in Kenya.

Thus, this study is driven by the desire of catching sight of the trajectories of democracy in postmodern Kenya. As demonstrated, communication technologies have implications on democracy, and with entry of social media into the fray of Kenyan politics, the growth of democracy in Kenya is in uncharted terrain. Therefore, the study is an attempt to understand how the consequences of informatisation of the Kenyan state through use of social media are understood and lived out by individuals aspiring for positions of political leadership. In line with Schmitter (1994) argument that the future of democracy is tumultuous, uncertain and its foundations and practices facing unprecedented challenges, it then follows that this study can provide an understanding required by countries in transition and whose democracy is young and fragile.

1.3 Research Objectives

1.3.1 General Objective

To establish the determinants of social media use for political marketing in Kenya.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of this study are to:

- i) Analyse the moderating effect of demographic characteristics on use of social media by politicians for political marketing in Kenya
- ii) Assess the influence of technological factors on use of social media by politicians for political marketing in Kenya
- iii) Examine the influence of representation level on the use of social media by politicians for political marketing in Kenya

- iv) Establish the effect of voting outcome on the use of social media for political marketing in Kenya

1.4 Research Questions

The following research questions guided this study:

- i) What is the effect of demographic characteristics on the use of social media by politicians for political marketing in Kenya?
- ii) What is the influence of technological factors on the use of social media by politicians for political marketing in Kenya?
- iii) How does the representation level influence the use of social media by politicians for political marketing in Kenya?
- iv) To what extent does voting outcome determine the use of social media for political marketing in Kenya?

1.5 Justification of the Study

All over the world, social media have been used for political marketing purposes, and in recent years, it has become an increasingly prevalent campaign platform (Hindman, 2005; Lennartz, 2008; Stirland, 2008). Studies conducted on the Kenyan political scene, indicate a prevalence of social media use during electioneering periods (Makinen & Kuira, 2008; Odinga, 2013; Okolloh, 2007; Wasswa, 2013). Studies further note that a number of politicians in Kenya employed social media for political marketing in 2013 elections, while others remained averse to the medium (Freedom House, 2013; Odinga, 2013; Wasswa, 2013). However, these studies do not expressly address the issue of the determinants of social media use among politicians. This study, therefore, fills this gap by exploring the question of media choice among politicians in Kenya and specifically casting a penetrating eye into the determinants of social media use for political purposes.

Social media tools have opened up new possibilities for politicians to engage with citizens (McKinney & Rill, 2009; Tyron, 2008; Xenos & Moy, 2007). Embracing social media forums, which are inherently two-way, initiates a paradigm shift that

allows citizens and politicians to communicate in new ways. Hyden and Leslie (2002) argue that social media have significant potential to mediate state and society in contemporary Africa, and this potentially deepens the democratic culture. Since formal media are still not wholly free, social media are significant in helping people create meaningful communicative spaces for themselves more so in Kenya where there is unrestricted access to social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter, and even fewer incidence of censorship on social media (Freedom House, 2013). Social media essentially provide platforms for alternative spheres of communication between politicians and voters. How politicians are exploiting this potential, is a vital question that warrants scholarly inquiry. For this reason, this study sought to understand Kenyan politicians' utilization of social media as a tool for political marketing in an environment of competitive democracy. A critical understanding of social media in Kenya and how the medium functions towards the democratic process is essential and this research facilitates knowledge creation to that end.

In the past elections in Kenya, politicians have spent vast sums of money on political advertising (Kimani & Mungai, 2012) yet less expensive methods of political marketing such as use of social media are available (Enjolras, Steen-Johnsen, & Wollebæk, 2012). This study sought to shed light into this trend by finding out the determinants of social media use. It is hoped that with this knowledge, it may be possible to predict whether a paradigm shift from overreliance on traditional forms of political marketing to new media forms is plausible going forward. Such a shift would mitigate the huge costs currently incurred in political marketing during general elections in Kenya and developing countries at large. Thus, this study fills a gap in scholarship by linking the type of communication media used for political marketing and the cost of democracy in Kenya.

A further justification for this study is grounded on the need to understand how devolution, occasioned by the new Constitution in Kenya, impacts media choice for political marketing. The Constitution of Kenya 2010 necessitated the creation of new political offices especially at the county level. Most scholarship about online campaigning has focused on Internet use among candidates for presidential level

(Bimber & Davis, 2003; Herrnson, 2004; Puopolo, 2001) but little is known about candidates at lower offices (Wasswa, 2013). Yet it is argued that the Internet's impact may be particularly pronounced in campaigns for lesser offices, which are usually low-information events that receive little coverage in traditional media (Bimber, 2003). There is little known about factors that determine the choice of medium for candidates campaigning for devolved offices in Kenya. This study addresses this gap by researching on the multi-level use of social media among politicians in Kenya.

Again, much attention has focused on the effect of social media use on the voters in Kenya (Odinga, 2013; Wasswa, 2013), but comparatively little consideration has been given to the factors that shape political candidates' use of this medium. Consequently, factors that drive candidates to integrate the Internet into their campaigns remain largely unknown. This study departs from the general focus on voters' online participation, and probes deeper into politicians' online behaviour in Kenya.

It is against this backdrop that this study launched a systematic inquiry into the determinants of social media use for political marketing in Kenya. The study is likely to radically change perceptions and future trends on use of media for political marketing, since it will offer new insight into the current patterns of social media use. Findings from this study may contribute to the establishment of a policy framework for social media use for political marketing, which is currently non-existent in Kenya. This study is also expected to shed light on the emerging patterns of political communication, and this may in turn influence the practice of political marketing going forward. This study, therefore, harvests knowledge that could be used to build a democratic state.

1.6 Scope

The study was limited to two social media platforms, namely Facebook and Twitter. Further, the study targeted politicians who vied for political offices in the 2013 general elections in Kenya. Specifically, politicians who vied for the presidential, gubernatorial, senatorial, women representative and parliamentary positions formed

the study population. County assembly ward representatives were not considered because their constituency was deemed to overlap with that of members of parliament. The questionnaire and the interview guide were the instruments used to collect quantitative and qualitative data respectively. The study was conducted in the year 2014 in Kenya.

1.7 Limitations

Firstly, the study investigated two social media platforms namely Facebook and Twitter which were the main social media platforms employed in the 2013 General Elections in Kenya. The generality with which the term social media applies presented a challenge as there are many other social media platforms that could have been employed. This challenge was mitigated by specifying that the social media platforms in question were limited to Facebook and Twitter.

Secondly, the use of social media for political marketing is a very recent phenomenon in Kenya and Africa in general. Indeed, social media have been available for less than a decade. To this end, getting localised references and data on this study area was challenging. The limitations of country-specific studies for comparison on social media and political marketing were addressed through taking into account experiences from other countries where similar studies have been done.

Thirdly, there was the limitation of the wide scope of the study which covered the entire country. This was coupled with the busy nature of politicians who were the main respondents and the bureaucratic procedures in institutions in which they serve like parliament and senate or county governments. This limitation was mitigated by finding research assistants who had direct access to the politicians.

Fourthly, the secrecy shrouding election campaigns and the electoral campaign secretariat was ameliorated through the use of simple questionnaires and, where possible, appropriate personal interviews to obtain the relevant information. Further, respondents were asked not to disclose their identities to ensure information could not

be tracked back to them. In any case, the information sought did not require release of confidential party election campaign information. Data was anonymised and normalised before analysis. In spite of these limitations, the findings of the study were relevant.

Finally, the study was hinged on the diffusion of innovations theory, the network society theory and the social marketing theory. There could be other theories or conceptual and theoretical frameworks outside the researcher's current scope that could produce other approaches, but the researcher considered these theories to be the most appropriate for this study.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of literature related to the study. Literature was reviewed with the aim of identifying and evaluating opinions, knowledge and attitudes from various studies about political marketing through the social media platform. The materials that were reviewed in this section gave insight into existing research gaps on social media use for political marketing as well as placed the research in a historical and political context.

2.2 Theoretical Review

This section presents a discussion on the theories upon which the study is grounded. In particular, the diffusion of innovations theory, the social marketing theory, and the computer mediated communication theory are discussed and their relevance to the study shown.

2.2.1 Diffusion of Innovations Theory

The study was informed by the diffusion of innovations theory developed by Everett Rogers. Diffusion of innovations seeks to explain how technology is taken up by a population. Diffusion is defined as the process by which a technology is adopted and gains acceptance by members of a certain community (Rogers, 2003). Adoption decisions are thought to depend on (i) characteristics of the technology, (ii) characteristics of the adopter and (iii) characteristics of the environment.

To begin with, characteristics of the technology relevant to its adoption are relative advantage, compatibility, complexity, trialability, and observability. Rogers (2003) defines relative advantage as the degree to which the technology is perceived as better than the technology it supersedes by a particular group of users, measured in terms

that matter to those users, like cost advantage, social prestige, convenience, or satisfaction. The greater the perceived relative advantage of an innovation, the more rapid its rate of adoption is likely to be. Compatibility is the degree to which an innovation is perceived as being consistent with the values, past experiences, and needs of potential adopters. An idea that is incompatible with their values, norms or practices will not be adopted as rapidly as an innovation that is compatible. Rogers (2003) further defines complexity as “the degree to which an innovation is perceived as relatively difficult to understand and use” (p. 15). Opposite to the other attributes, complexity is negatively correlated with the rate of adoption. Thus, excessive complexity of an innovation is an important obstacle in its adoption. Trialability is the degree to which an innovation may be experimented with on a limited basis. An innovation that is trialable presents less uncertainty to the individual who is considering it. Trialability is positively correlated with the rate of adoption. Rogers (2003) defines observability as “the degree to which the results of an innovation are visible to others” (p. 16). The easier it is for individuals to see the results of an innovation, the more likely they are to adopt it. Visible results lower uncertainty and also stimulate peer discussion of a new idea.

Secondly, Rogers (2003) states that characteristics of an adopter influences technology adoption. He identifies characteristics such as financial security, opinion leadership, age, personal confidence, level of information, and attitude. These characteristics then define categories of adopters namely: early adopters, early majority, late majority, and finally laggards. Innovators are the first to try a technology and are willing to take risks. Early adopters, who are second, are on the lookout for a strategic leap forward in their activities and are quick to make connections between clever innovations and their needs. Additionally, they enjoy leadership roles. The early majority are cost sensitive and risk averse. The late majority are conservative pragmatists who hate risks and are uncomfortable to any new idea. Laggards, who come in last, see a high risk in adopting a particular technology.

Thirdly, adoption decisions are thought to also depend on characteristics of the environment (Rogers, 2003). The environment is described as the nature of the social system into which the innovation is being introduced (Rogers, 2003). According to Foot and Schneider (2006) the political environment, which forms the basis of this study, includes the members of a particular community, their level of income, level of office, competitiveness of the race, and party affiliation.

The stages by which a person adopts an innovation, and whereby diffusion is accomplished, include awareness of the need for an innovation, decision to adopt (or reject) the innovation, initial use of the innovation to test it, and continued use of the innovation (Robinson, 2009). Given that decisions are not collective, each member of the social system faces their own innovation-decision that follows a 5-step process (see figure 2.1). According to Rogers (2003) the first step is knowledge where, a person becomes aware of an innovation and has some idea of how it functions. The second step is persuasion, where a person forms a favourable or unfavourable attitude toward the innovation. The third step is decision, which involves a person engaging in activities that lead to a choice to adopt or reject the innovation. The fourth step is implementation; in this stage, the individual uses the innovation to a varying degree depending on the situation. During this stage, the individual determines the usefulness of the innovation and may search for further information about it. The final step is confirmation. In this stage, the individual finalises their decision to continue using the innovation and may use the innovation to its fullest potential.

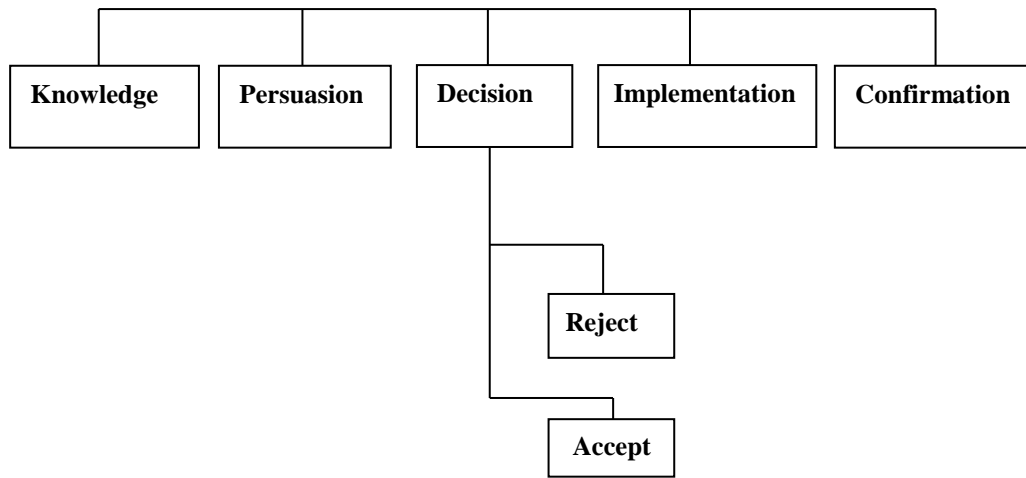


Figure 2.1: The Process of Diffusion of Innovation

Source: Rogers (2003)

From the above discussion, it can be noted that diffusion of innovations theory proposes five constructs that influence the adoption of any innovation (Davis, Bagozzi & Warshaw, 1989). These are relative advantage, compatibility, complexity, trialability, and observability. According to Rogers (2003), these characteristics determine between 49 and 87 percent of the variation in the adoption of new technology. These five qualities make a valuable frame of reference for this study. Social media are considered the new technology which politicians adopt at varying degrees. Technological factors influencing adoption of social media for political marketing form an independent variable in the study, and the extent to which they determine social media use for political marketing was investigated.

The foregoing discussion also shows that individuals possess different degrees of willingness to adopt technology. The study investigated characteristics of politicians that influence their decision to use social media for political marketing such as financial security, opinion leadership, age, personal confidence, level of information, and attitude towards technology. The study sought to ascertain which of these factors are at play, and to what extent they influence a politician's decision to use social media among politicians in Kenya.

Finally, diffusion of innovations theory shows that the environment is an important factor that influences adoption of technology (Rogers, 2003). Kwon and Zmud (1987) identify contextual factors such as the characteristics of the adopting organisation, the user community, and the environment. Foot and Schneider (2006) note that most studies examine a limited number of contextual factors. Most studies draw upon the same finite set that is divided between constituency and political factors. Constituencies are described demographically by median income and percentage of urban, literacy, and average age. The political environment is described by characteristics of the electoral contest and candidate: level of office, competitiveness of the race, party identification of the candidate, party status (major or minor party), status of the seat (incumbent, challenger, open seat), and amount of campaign funds (Foot & Schneider, 2006). Environmental factors investigated in this study relate to constituency characteristics and how they affect the choice of media for use for political marketing.

2.2.2 Network Society Theory

Castells' theory of network society (Castells, 1996; Castells, Tubella, Sancho, Dias de Isla, Wellmann, 2004) is instructive in terms of understanding the contemporary dynamics transforming the practice of politics around the globe. Castell (2004) defines a network society as a society whose social structure is made of networks powered by microelectronics-based information and communication technologies.

The origins of the network society are grounded in three processes which are: the crisis and restructuring of industrialism and its two associated models of production – capitalism and statism; the freedom-oriented, cultural social movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s; and the revolution in information and communication technologies (Castells, 2004). Castells posits that the network society is a society where the key social structures and activities are organised around electronically processed information networks. He argues that it is not just about networks or social networks, because social networks have been very old forms of social organisation. It

is about social networks which process and manage information, and are using micro-electronic based technologies.

Networks have very specific characteristics. Firstly, a network has a set of interconnected nodes which are necessary for the network's performance (Castells, 2004). Communication networks are the patterns of contact that are created by flows of messages among communicators through time and space (Monge & Contractor, 2003). Flows are streams of information between nodes circulating through channels of connection between nodes (Castells, 2004). Secondly, networks cooperate or compete with each other. Cooperation is based on the ability to communicate between networks. Competition depends on the ability to out-perform other networks by superior efficiency in performance or in cooperation capacity (Castells, 2004). Thirdly, networks work in the binary logic of inclusion/exclusion. The social structure is global, but most of human experience is local, both in territorial and cultural terms (Borja & Castells, 1997). Networks therefore are created not just to communicate, but also to gain position, to outcommunicate (Mulgan, 1991).

According to Castells (2004), networks are self-configurable complex structures of communication that ensure, at the same time, unity of purpose and flexibility of its execution by the capacity to adapt to the operating environment. Networks have the ability to introduce new actors and new contents in the process of social organisation, with relative independence of the power centres, increased over time with technological change and with the evolution of communication technologies. Networks are the most efficient organisation forms as a result of three major features of networks that benefited from the new technological environment: flexibility, scalability and survivability. Flexibility means that networks can reconfigure according to changing environments, keeping their goals while changing their components. Scalability means that they can expand or shrink in size with little disruption. Survivability means that because networks have no centre, and they can operate in a wide range of configurations, they can resist attacks on their nodes and codes because the codes of the network are contained in multiple nodes that can reproduce the instructions and find new ways to perform.

Fischer (1992) argues that it is critical to consider the technological paradigm of a networked society. Technology is a fundamental dimension of social structure and social change. It evolves in interaction with the other dimensions of society, but it has its own dynamics, linked to the conditions of scientific discovery, technological innovation, and application and diffusion in society at large.

Castells (2004) calls the technological paradigm 'informationalism'. Informationalism is a technological paradigm based on the augmentation of the human capacity of information processing and communication made possible by the revolutions in microelectronics, software, and genetic engineering.

Under the informational paradigm, the capacity for any communicating subject to act on the communicative network gives people and organisations the possibility of reconfiguring the network according to their needs, desires, and projects (Castells, 2004).

Computers and digital communications are the most direct expressions of this revolution. More specifically, the World Wide Web is paradigmatic for this. It is characterised by the ability to connect anything with everything and the potential to create new values from these connections. Castell posits that the flexibility of new information and communication technologies allows the distribution of processing power in various contexts and applications, such as political activity.

The media in the network society present a large variety of channels of communication, with increasing interactivity. One key channel is use of social media. Castells (2004) observes that social media send targeted messages to selected audiences or to specific moods of an audience. The media system is characterised by an audience that is equipped with the Internet and has learned the rules of the game – namely, everything that is a collective mental experience is virtual, but this virtuality is a fundamental dimension of everybody's reality.

The first implication of the theory to this study is that socialisation of society takes place nowadays in the networked, digitised, interactive space of communication, centred on mass media and the Internet. Thus, the relationships between citizens and politicians, between the represented and the representative, depend essentially on what happens in this media-centred communication space. Not that the media dictate politics and policies, but it is in the media space that political battles of all kinds are fought, won, and lost (Castells, 2004). Seen in this way then, the theory enabled the researcher to conceptualise the relationship between social media and political marketing in Kenya.

The second implication is that we live in a complex world where communication media and cultural flows extend more and more across the boundaries. Concepts like time, space and distance obtain new meanings because of the proliferation of networks of electronic communication, which, as Castells (1996) has pointed out, represent the new social morphology of our societies. Therefore, this study helped to ascertain how the concepts of time and space impinge on political marketing activities of politicians in the networked society.

Thirdly, mass media is seen as an instrument for identity formation (Tubella, 2004). The construction of identity has to be shaped by integrating information and knowledge from a diversity of communication-mediated experiences (Tempere, 2011). The Internet can have a 'pluralizing impact' (Hall, 1997) on the construction of identity. As Castells et al. (2004) stated:

The Internet is a technology of freedom. It allows the construction of self-directed networks of horizontal communication, bypassing institutional controls. It also allows information to be retrieved, and recombined in applied knowledge at the service of purposive social action (p. 244).

This study therefore, investigated how politicians use this newly found Internet freedom for political marketing and propagating a particular identity for themselves.

Fourthly, the Internet inspires new forms and routines in the communication landscapes, which create a totally new situation from a relations point of view in the society. Social media communication (or what Castells calls mass self-communication) is one such emergent form which reshapes formal politics, insurgent politics, and social movements (Castells, 2007). The diffusion of Internet, mobile communication, digital media, and a variety of tools of social software have prompted the development of horizontal networks of interactive communication that connect local and global in chosen time (Tempere, 2011). According to Croteau and Haynes (2000), Internet communication is characterised by two-way messages to a mass audience. In effect, media have become a public space (Volkmer, 2003). Therefore, the enclosure of communication in the space of flexible, interactive, electronic hypertext has a decisive effect on politics. This study in effect aimed to shed light on how social media is utilised in political communication in Kenya.

Castells' assertions in the network society theory, provide a good opportunity to enrich the field of political communications. The theory implies that social media produce communicative spaces within which interaction between politicians and voters is possible. This environment is more inclusive and participatory. Further, Castells' postulations illuminate how communication becomes effective when it not only transmits information but also when it uses information technology in that process. Seen in this way then, the network society theory provided the researcher with a framework within which to interrogate the use of social media as tools for political mobilisation in Kenya. It helped illuminate how electronically-produced space can be used for political communication in a networked society.

2.2.3 Social Marketing Theory

Social marketing is a process that applies marketing principles, tools and techniques to create, communicate and deliver information in order to influence the target audience (Kotler, Roberto, & Lee, 2002). Social marketing attempts to package a product and utilise the optimum combination of campaign components to attain pragmatic goals (Andreasen, 1995, 2006; Kotler, Roberto, & Lee, 2002; McKenzie-

Mohr, 2011). Social marketing theory assumes the existence of an information provider who seeks to bring about useful, beneficial change. According to Baran and Davis (2009) social marketing includes methods for inducing audience awareness of campaign topics or candidates during elections. The theory gives such providers a framework for designing, carrying out, and evaluating information campaigns.

Baran and Davis (2009) observe that social marketing theory recognises the existence of the media, and affords it a role as a conduit through which politicians communicate to the electorate. They further posit that the media are effectively assumed to be tools at the disposal of politicians. Media include both mainstream media like the Television and Radio as well as new media channels such as the Internet and the World Wide Web. Social media, a channel available online, permits candidates to reach voter segments that are difficult to reach effectively through mainstream media. Most young people, for example, no longer read newspapers and have learned to selectively screen out political news stories on television. Baran and Davis (2009) further posit that social media offer a means of overcoming barriers to the flow of information that arise over time.

According to Baran and Davis (2009), social marketing theory highlights the need to reach active audiences with information they are seeking. Target audiences are identified according to their information needs. They further see the need of packaging and distributing information so that audiences will find it easy to get and use it. Social marketing also includes methods for targeting messages at specific audience segments that are most receptive or susceptible to those messages. Targeting is one of the concepts borrowed from product marketing research and converted to the marketing of ideas of political candidates. By identifying the most vulnerable segments and then reaching them with the most efficient channel available, targeting strategies reduce promotional costs while increasing efficiency (Baran & Davis, 2009).

Social marketing offers a macro perspective, combining numerous components, notably the multifaceted conceptions of product, costs and benefits, and audience

segmentation (Rice & Atkin, 2001). According to Niffenegger (1988) social marketing can be applied to political campaigns, where political actors use the media so as to control the voters' behaviors to their advantage. The product offered by the candidate is a complex blend of the many benefits voters believe will result if the candidate is elected. The major voting promises are spelled out in the candidate's party platform. Then they are publicized through the media as well as the candidate's public appearances.

The concept of the candidate's price is thus similar to the price of a product in mainstream marketing. One must incur some costs when selecting a candidate on the political market or buying a product or service on the economic market. The price of the product offered by the candidate refers to the total costs that voters would bear if the candidate were elected. Niffenegger (1988) identifies cost elements such as economic costs, national image effects and psychological costs. Economic costs include tax increases or budget cuts. National image effects include whether the voters will perceive a politician as strong or someone who will increase their national pride. Psychological costs include whether the voters will feel comfortable with the candidate's religious and ethnic background for instance.

Place is the marketing stimulus that refers to the candidate's ability to get his message across to voters in a personal way. On social media, candidates can have direct contact with the electorate through social sites such as Facebook and Twitter. The places and forms of a candidate's meeting with voters off-line can vary from rallies in city centers to club meetings, and meetings at workplaces. However, one of the avenues for online contact between candidates and voters is on social media sites.

According to Cwalina, Falkowski, and Newman (2011) promotion consists, to a large extent, of advertising efforts and publicity, through media coverage of the candidate, their program, and the campaign. Niffenegger (1988) distinguishes four fundamental promotion strategies: (i) concentration strategy – concentrating a disproportionate amount of money and promotion efforts on particular voter segments; (ii) timing strategy – spending the heaviest promotion money and the highest promotion activity

where it does the candidate the most good, thus forcing the opposition to increase their activity and thus deplete their resources; (iii) strategy of misdirection – avoiding a frontal assault against a stronger opponent and trying to catch the opponent off balance to make her commit a mistake; and (iv) strategy of negative campaign – staging a direct or indirect comparative assault against the position of the opponent and/or her personal characteristics.

From the foregoing discussion, it emerges that social marketing theory recognises the significant role that the media play as channels through which politicians communicate to the electorate. This study gave prominence to social media and sought to determine how politicians utilise them, as tools at their disposal. Social marketing includes methods for inducing audience awareness of campaign topics or candidates. A key way to do promotion is to make voters aware of candidates' existence and to promote their ideas. Promotion consists of advertising efforts and publicity through media. While traditionally, this has been done through saturating television advertising campaign, other methods like use of social media have emerged that are almost as effective but much less costly. Thus, it was useful to apply social marketing theory, as a framework for understanding how politicians use social media for political marketing in Kenya.

2.3 Conceptual Framework

In order to provide a systematic overview of various independent and moderating variables that determine social media use for political marketing, a conceptual model was developed (see Figure 2.3). The conceptual model was based on Everett Rogers' diffusion of innovations theory developed in 1962. The model identified technological factors, level of representation and voting outcome as the independent variables while singling out demographic characteristics as the moderating variable. The dependent variable was identified as social media use for political marketing.

Under technological factors, the technologies under study are social media, more specifically Facebook and Twitter. Aspects of social media such as relative

advantage, complexity, compatibility, trialability and observability were researched on, to ascertain their influence on adoption of social media as tools for political marketing among politicians.

Level of representation, which was the second independent variable, relates to aspects of the environment in which the technology is introduced. In this study, aspects such as level of office a politician is gunning for, constituency characteristics, as well as the party affiliation of the politician running for office were captured.

The third independent variable was the voting outcome of the election. This variable related to the extent to which results of using social media as a political marketing tool were visible and how that perception influenced politicians' decision to use social media for political marketing in Kenya.

The moderating variable depicted in the model was demographic characteristics of politicians. Adoption decisions are thought to not only depend on the technology itself or the environment, but also on the characteristics of the adopter. The demographic characteristics that the study investigated included age, gender, and education level of individual politicians.

The conceptual model graphically showed the relationship between the independent and moderating variables and the bearing they have on social media use for political marketing which was the dependent variable.

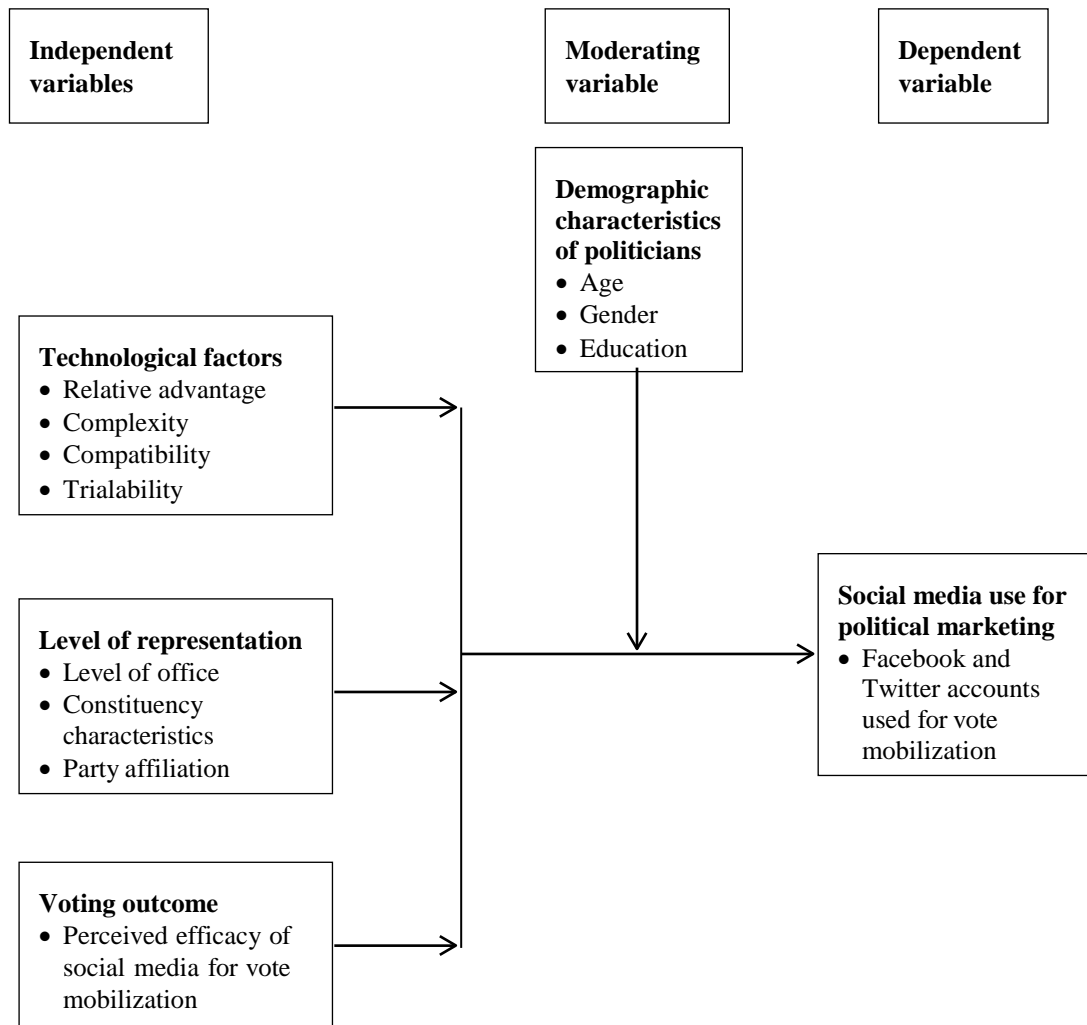


Figure 2.2: Conceptual Framework

2.3.1 Political Marketing

Maarek (1995) defines political marketing as “a complex process, the outcome of a more global effort implicating all the factors of the politician’s political communication” (p. 2) and emphasises that “‘political marketing’ is the general method of ‘political communication’, one of its means” (p. 28). He considers the introduction of marketing in politics as an outcome of “the elaboration of a policy of political communication...a global strategy of design, rationalisation and conveyance of modern political communication” (p. 2).

Kavanagh (1996) sees political marketing as electioneering that is as a set of strategies and tools to trace and study public opinion before and during an election campaign, to develop campaign communications and to assess their impact. Harrop (1990) perceives political marketing as being not just about political advertising, party political broadcasts and electoral speeches but covering the whole area of party positioning in the electoral market. Lees-Marshment (2001) states that political marketing is the outcome of the marriage between marketing and politics, and empirically, “it represents the permeation of the political arena by marketing” (p. 693). In her view, this combination provides a more complete picture of the behaviour of political parties.

O’Cass (1996) uses an exchange model to define political marketing. According to him, when voters cast their votes, a transaction takes place. In return for their votes, the party/candidate offers better government and policies after election. This way, O’Cass argues, marketing can be applied to political processes as it is specifically interested in how these transactions are created, stimulated and valued. He further argues that the use of marketing “offers political parties the ability to address diverse voter concerns and needs through marketing analyses, planning, implementation and control of political and electoral campaigns” (p. 48). Taking this one step forward he argues that “the central purpose of political marketing is to enable political parties and voters to make the most appropriate and satisfactory decisions” (pp. 59-60).

Political marketing through social networking sites also has several advantageous features from the point of view of parties and candidates. Firstly, it is much more affordable than campaigning through traditional media (Gueorguieva, 2008) and campaigning in the Web 1.0 stage (Gasser & Gerlach, 2012). Most social networking infrastructure is readily available. Secondly, social networking sites can be used effectively for the recruitment of volunteers, organization of the campaign, mobilization and fundraising (Cogburn & Espinoza-Vasques, 2011; Greyes, 2011; Schlozman, Verba & Brady, 2010; Straw, 2010; Sudulich & Wall, 2010).

Thirdly, due to the vast amount of user info gathered by social media outlets such as Facebook, social networking sites are well suited for sending tailored campaign messages to specific voter groups (Baumgartner & Morris, 2010; Kushin & Yamamoto, 2010; Utz, 2009). Thus, as a practical extension of the fragmentation of channels and outlets regarded as central elements of postmodern campaign communication (Norris, 2001a), some observers (Koster, 2009; Shaha, 2008) have noted that politicians have increasingly begun to employ long-tail marketing strategies (see Anderson, 2006) in their campaigns. The logic of long-tail marketing is to ‘sell more of less’, which in a political campaign context entails that candidates spread their efforts across several different channels, each with specific intended target groups and tailored messages. Hence, social media serve as an add-on to other campaign efforts (Sudulich, Wall, Jansen & Cunningham, 2010).

Fourthly, social media hold a potential to bypass the requirement of active user choices in order for them to become exposed to campaign messages. Previously, political websites tended to mostly attract citizens with a strong interest in politics and not those who “stumble across political content accidentally” (Norris, 2001b, p. 221). Candidates employing social networking sites in their campaigns, however, have a potentially higher probability of reaching citizens besides those who actually visit their social networking sites and to start a viral ‘chain reaction’ (Greyes, 2011; Kushin & Yamamoto, 2010), corresponding to the ways in which campaigning through traditional mass-media was able to reach passive ‘viewers’. Cogburn and Espinoza-Vasques (2008) credit part of the success of the Obama campaign in the 2008 US elections to on-line visitors spreading the campaign messages onwards (Norris & Curtice, 2008; Robertson, Ravi & Medina, 2010). Another ‘indirect’ impact of social media campaigning is the increasing habit of media journalists to use social networking sites as a news source (Pearson & O’Connell, 2010), which gives messages originating on-line an augmented publicity on-line and also off-line (Gustafsson, 2012).

Scammell (1995) argues that the application of the marketing concept in politics may result in politics becoming more democratic. Political marketing can improve the

quantity and quality of information flows from the electorate to parties and candidates, thus making them more sensitive and responsive to voters' needs. At the same time, it improves the channels of communication from politicians to the electorate and even more to every specific segment of voters. Thus, Scammell (1995) concludes that “‘political marketing’ provides a rational way for parties or candidates to behave in conditions of competitive mass democracy” (pp. 18-19).

This study considers the engagements between political candidates and the voters on social media as part of the marketing strategy, where politicians send to the voters a certain image of themselves. Politicians also use social media as a platform to send certain messages to voters as well as gauge public opinion towards them.

2.3.2 Social Media

Social networks are defined as web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). Social media are mechanisms that create common interests and foster imagined communities. Social media provides opportunities for political engagement such as online voting in polls, debating, blogging and so forth (Strandberg, 2006; Ward & Vedel, 2006).

Social media use has its roots in the democratic culture. Balkin (2004) writes that “a democratic culture is a culture in which individuals have a fair opportunity to participate in the forms of meaning making that constitute them as individuals. Democratic culture is about individual liberty as well as collective self-governance; it is about each individual's ability to participate in the production and distribution of culture” (p. 4). In any democratic society civil liberties such as participatory rights, freedom of expression, association, and assembly are essential for the viability and durability of such a society.

Indeed, in Kenya, democratic rights are clearly expressed in the Constitution. Chapter V, sections 70-84 of the Kenyan Constitution provides for, among other things, the right and freedom of the individual, conscience, expression, movement, assembly, and association. Whereas political marketing offers avenues for the public to engage with politicians, social media provide an interactive avenue for the public to engage with politicians who are marketing themselves (Quintelier & Vissers, 2008). A further potential of social media arises from the fact that unlike the older forms of mass communication, African governments have generally stayed away from attempts to control the Internet by restricting public access to the gateway, hence making social media an appropriate avenue for participatory communication between politicians and voters.

2.3.2.1 Facebook

Facebook is a social networking site founded in 2004 which provides users with a platform to create a personal profile page, add 'friends', and send messages. Facebook is increasingly being used as an avenue for political marketing. In 2006, Facebook initiated profiles for political candidates by designing a standard template with only the candidate's name, office being sought, and basic contact information. Passwords that allowed the candidates to assume responsibility for personalising their profiles were forwarded to the offices of the Republican and Democratic national committees, who then distributed them to their candidates. After assuming control of their profile, candidates could initiate a discussion topic, post comments on their wall, and post notes, event information and videos and photographs. Facebook users who 'friended' a candidate as a way to show their support on their own profile could also post materials and comments. A candidate did not need to activate the profile for users to register their support and post content.

Facebook made some modifications for the 2008 elections. Political candidates were given pages instead of profiles. These pages were similar to personal profiles but offered the candidates greater capability to post various kinds of campaign material

(e.g. announcements, links to other pages, YouTube links, notes, photo albums, and event information) and allowed their supporters to post their own materials.

A second change that was made in 2008 was to eliminate the 'US Politics' section and place all the candidates' pages within 'Politicians' sub-section of fan pages. Thus politicians were clustered near celebrities and other public figures, sports teams, films, restaurants, bars and clubs, products, non-profits, and other organisations. In addition, current elected officials and candidates for all levels of office in any country were eligible for 'Politicians' pages as long as an official representative of the politician created the page (Williams & Gulati, 2012).

Facebook is the top social networking site accounting for 67 percent of social networking users throughout the world according to Nielsen Media Research (Whitney, 2010). Accounting Diary (2010) notes that Facebook is the most visited website by Internet users on the African continent. Accounting Diary further notes that in 2010 there were 17 million people on the African continent using Facebook, which is an increase of 7 million from 2009. Synovate conducted a research aimed to establish Internet usage trends in Kenya and published the Digital Drive report. The report, which is the first of its kind in Kenya, identified that Kenya has over 2 million registered users on Facebook (Kemibaro, 2011). The report further noted that the email is being discarded in favour of social media sites like Facebook and Twitter by new Internet users in Kenya. In essence, 79% of Kenya's Internet users are members of Facebook. Synovate (2009) conducted a survey in Kenya to find out which social networking site people visited the most. They found out that more than 2 million people are on Facebook. TNS Research International conducted a survey in 2010 to help organisations understand how people in Kenya use the Internet. The research found out that out of a sample of 1421 Internet users who have visited a social networking site 56% contributed to a discussion (Kenya ICT Board, 2010). It is further indicated that the growth of Facebook users in Kenya is mainly taking place in urban or infrastructure rich part of the country as well as in rural or infrastructure poor areas. Nonetheless, access to the Internet and latest ICT varies between rural and urban parts of the Kenya.

SocialBaker's Facebook page tracker showed Kenyan presidential candidates used Facebook as part of their digital engagement strategy in 2013. Candidates such as Uhuru Kenyatta, Martha Karua and Peter Kenneth, for example, had more than 150,000 fans each on their personal Facebook pages (Wyche, Schoenebeck, & Forte, 2013). It is therefore imperative to understand how Facebook is used in the political realm and ascertain the trends in its integration in the overall campaign strategy among politicians in Kenya across the devolved levels.

2.3.2.1 Twitter

Twitter, launched in July 2006, is a fast growing real-time social media tool allowing people to find and share information on what is happening worldwide (Chang, 2010). Twitter defines its service as a real-time information network that connects an individual to the latest stories, idea, opinions and news (Twitter, 2012). By January 2011, Twitter had over 200 million users, and by October 2011 twitter was handling over 350 million tweets per day (Roosevelt, 2012; Twitter launched, 2011). Twitter's micro-blogging and messaging functionality has become a powerful tool for interpersonal, professional and academic communication (Dann, 2010; Java, Song, Finin & Tseng, 2007). A Twitter user keeps a brief profile about oneself. The public profile includes the full name, the location, a web page, a short biography, and the number of tweets of the user. The people who follow the user and those that the user follows are also listed.

Twitter messages allow a maximum length of 140 characters, and average 11 words per message (O'Connor et al., 2010). Messages, known as tweets, can be made public or hidden, directed at another user by including the @ symbol followed by another user's account name, i.e. @Friend_Username. Unlike on most online social networking sites, such as Facebook or MySpace, the relationship of following and being followed requires no reciprocation. A user can follow any other user, and the user being followed need not follow back. Being a follower on Twitter means that the user receives all the messages (called tweets) from those the user follows.

Common practice of responding to a tweet has evolved into well-defined markup culture: RT stands for retweet, @ followed by a user identifier address the user, and '#' followed by a word represents a hashtag. This well-defined markup vocabulary combined with a strict limit of 140 characters per posting conveniences users with brevity in expression. The retweet mechanism empowers users to spread information of their choice beyond the reach of the original tweet's followers. Twitter tracks phrases, words, and hashtags that are most often mentioned and posts them under the title of "trending topics" regularly. A hashtag is a convention among Twitter users to create and follow a thread of discussion by prefixing a word with a '#' character. Twitter shows a list of top ten trending topics of the moment on a right sidebar on every user's homepage by default, unless set otherwise.

Growing use of Twitter through creating and re-tweeting Twitter messages on computers and mobile devices can be seen as a major new pattern of mass-communication (Zhao & Rosson, 2009). Many researchers have studied how use of particular social networking sites (SNSs) by politicians and citizens relates to results of public opinion polls and elections (Hong & Nadler, 2011; Tumasjan et al., 2010; O'Connor et al., 2010; Vergeer et al., 2011). Tumasjan et al. (2010) argue that Twitter message content reflects the offline political landscape, thus potentially predicting actual election results. In a German case study, numbers of tweeted messages were observed to closely match ranking by share of the vote in election results, and nearly approximated results of traditional election polling. O'Connor et al. (2010) observed that sentiments in Twitter messages replicated 2008-2009 U.S. consumer confidence and presidential job approval polls.

Although there is some research on Twitter in political communication and elections in the U.S., Germany, and the Netherlands, as yet little research has explored political use of Twitter within African countries and specifically Kenyan elections. Therefore, this research may provide new insights into politicians' use of Twitter in the context of the national elections in Kenya.

2.3.3 Technological Factors Influencing the Use of Social Media

Over the past decade, Kenya has made notable strides in the field of information and communication technologies (ICTs) (Freedom House, 2013). The spread and use of ICTs is increasing in Kenya as a result of the country's commitment to ICT infrastructure growth. For instance, the government has launched the National ICT Master Plan 2017 which will spur growth in the ICT sector (Kenya ICT Board, 2012). Additionally, two SMS-based applications that have become internationally known—Ushahidi and Frontline SMS are based in Nairobi – paving the way for the integration of mobile and Internet content development (Souter & Kerretts-Makau, 2012). Together with Nigeria and Morocco, Kenya has risen to become one of Africa's major tech hubs.

The spread and use of ICTs in Kenya is increasing, in no small part due to the government's commitment to developing the country's ICT infrastructure as a tool for economic growth (Freedom House, 2013). Msimang (2011) notes that Kenya's approach to building network capacity has been bullish. It has taken advantage of its strategic location along the East Coast of Africa and used it to strengthen its infrastructure position. From no international fibre optic connectivity at the beginning of 2009, Kenya currently has four submarine cables that cumulatively provide the country with a capacity of about 8.56 Tbps. An expected fifth will soon double the country's capacity to around 15 Tbps.²⁹ These infrastructural developments have improved available bandwidth (Freedom House, 2013). Msimang (2011) notes that this current bandwidth glut firmly places Kenya in a position to participate in the global information economy and is the most dramatic illustration of the country's proactive broadband push. This environment also makes it favourable for politicians to use social media for political marketing.

There is a significant rise in both Internet and mobile usage in Kenya. The percentage of the population with access to the Internet in Kenya stands at over 41 percent, increasing from 28 percent in 2011 (Communications Commission of Kenya, 2013). Kenya's mobile data and Internet subscriptions stand at 8.5 million, with an estimated

17.4 million users (Humanipo, 2013), while 34 percent of the population access the Internet via mobile phones. Mobile phone subscribers stood at over 30 million, 12 with a 78 percent penetration rate (Communications Commission of Kenya, 2013). The growth in mobile subscribers can be attributed to the popularity of mobile handsets as a medium of communication and the increasing availability of value-added mobile services such as Internet, particularly the rising use of social media (Freedom House, 2013). Mobile phone looks well set as the new driver of Internet access as opposed to computers, thus the form of the hardware (mobile phone) is critical to the success of higher Internet penetration making access to a mobile phone the key to full membership of the future society.

Synovate (2011) conducted a survey in 2011 to find out where Kenyans accessed the Internet from. The majority standing at 64% reported that they accessed the Internet from their mobile phones as compared 54 % who reported to access the Internet from the cyber. Mobile Internet, or Internet services that can be accessed from mobile phones, therefore remains the most effective way for people in Africa to access the Internet. The main contributor to this is the widespread availability of mobile phones on the continent and the cost-effectiveness of accessing the Internet through a mobile phone rather than through a wired connection from a personal computer. One of Kenya's greatest successes has been the unprecedented uptake and usage of mobile services. Kenya was a slow starter with only 114,000 subscribers seven years after mobile was first introduced, well below the subscription rates of the country's Sub Saharan peers. Following market reform and liberalisation, there were 22 million subscribers in September 2010 for a penetration rate of 60 subscriptions per 100 people (Msimang, 2011).

Synovate (2009) states that access to the Internet on mobile phone is growing at the expense of the public access routes. Rural Internet access and usage is more driven by mobile phones compared to urban areas. This guarantees participation even in the most remote regions of Kenya. According to the Kenya ICT Board (2010) the TNS multi-country survey shows the web is very important to Kenyan users, outstripping its importance in other countries.

Another factor that is significant to political marketing is the time spent online. The amount of time people spend online might indeed influence levels of political participation: the more time people spend surfing the net, the more likely they are to access political websites or news sites or to receive political e-mails. Thus, online activities forge connections between people that might actually increase levels of political participation (Gibson, Howard, & Ward, 2000). Krueger (2002), for instance, has found that the Internet has the potential to draw new people to offline political participation or at least increase political awareness (Lupia & Philpot, 2002). Synovate (2009) found out that the time spent on the Internet among users increased mainly due to the drop in cost of Internet access. On average, Internet users spend approximately 70 minutes on the Internet per visit. These statistics point to an ever increasing trend of citizen engagement with the Internet in Kenya in recent years.

Necessary resources for motivation to use the Internet can be divided mainly into three Categories (Van Dijk, 2005). These are (a) material resources, (b) social resources, and (c) cognitive resources. Material resources refer to the availability of or access to hardware, software, applications, networks and the usability of ICT devices and applications (Fuchs & Horak, 2008). This includes the financial capacity to either own a computer or mobile phone and the ability to cover connection costs, or the ability to access the Internet at a school, university or Internet cafe.

Social resources include social support that can provide assistance in using and managing material resources. Social contacts such as friends, family, colleagues, teachers and acquaintances are the agents who first learn and then advise other users in using technology. Having a large social network consisting of many computer and Internet users is pivotal for a user that is to cross the motivational access barrier (Van Dijk, 2005).

Cognitive resources can be divided in two sub-categories. The first constitutes basic knowledge of computers and the Internet and the ability and skills to use them. This aspect of access was long ignored by scholars of the digital divide but is increasingly receiving more attention. A study done by Freese, Rivas and Hargittai (2006) in the

United States of America found that people with higher general cognitive ability are more likely to have broadband access. They also tend to have adopted the Internet earlier and to use it more often. All of these outcomes seem likely to be associated with the practical ability to use the Internet efficiently and effectively. The second sub-category constitutes individual psychological capacity to use the Internet. Research on ICT acceptance in developing countries indicates that psychological factors shape motivation, perceptions, and attitudes towards technology and usage behaviour, all of which, in turn, predict usage intention.

This research considers material resources, social resources, and cognitive resources as motivation for politicians to use the Internet for political marketing and investigates the extent to which these factors influence political candidates' choice to use social media.

2.3.4 Level of Representation

Kenya's new Constitution, which was promulgated on 27th August 2010, had far-reaching provisions, chief among them devolution. Proponents of decentralisation in general and devolution in particular, often cite efficiency, equity and participation, empowerment and citizen participation as the underlying motives. Because devolution takes service delivery away from the central government, it is presumed to respond to the inefficiencies of the latter (Commonwealth Secretariat and Commonwealth Local Government Forum, 2001). Devolution entails elections at the sub-national level and it suggests democratic deepening which provides electors with an improved opportunity to choose from accessible local candidates, rather than nation-level candidates they may never interact with (Cabral, 2011).

The Constitution of Kenya 2010 separated power and dispersed it vertically in terms of the different levels of governance; namely, the National government and the County government. These different levels of government have clearly defined geographical areas of jurisdiction and distribution of governance functions. The Constitution devolved governance to 47 counties. The county governments were

required to further decentralise their functions to the extent that it was necessary (Roschmann, Wendoh, & Ogolla, 2010). The governments at the national and county levels are distinct as well as inter-dependent.

The Constitution promotes the effective participation of women by not only creating the position of women representative, but also ensuring there is a constitutional threshold for effective representation of women in the county government is that of not less than one-third of the members of representative bodies in each county government.

Although the Kenya Constitution 2010 has established two levels of governance that is the presidential and the county level and created new political offices, most scholarship about online campaigning has focused on Internet use among candidates for presidential level (Bimber & Davis, 2003; Herrnson, 2004; Puopolo, 2001). Bimber (2003) argues that in the long run, the Internet's impact may be particularly pronounced in campaigns for lesser offices, which are usually low-information events that receive little coverage in traditional media. Some observers have argued that because the Internet is a cost-effective means of unmediated communication, it might be of disproportionate benefit to organisations and candidates with limited resources.

There has been little, if any, systematic study of the role of social media in political campaigns of in Kenya. Thus far, there has been little literature on Internet use by candidates running for new offices created by the new Constitution especially at the county level such as governor, women representative and so on. Indeed, few studies have investigated which factors drive candidates to integrate the Internet into their campaigns. This study examines under what conditions candidates campaign online.

Other constituency characteristics considered in the study included constituency demographics. Constituencies in Kenya have varying degrees of income, and levels of education. This study aimed to find out whether there is a correlation between these factors and politicians' decision to use social media for political marketing.

2.3.5 Voting Outcome

Voting outcome variable is understood in terms of the degree to which the results of an innovation are visible to others. Rogers (2003) argues that innovations whose results are observable will be adopted faster than other innovations. Hindman (2005) posits that the 2004 presidential campaign in the U.S. showed that the Internet can have dramatic effects on some candidates' ability to raise campaign resources and organize activists. Lennartz (2008) noted that Obama's presidential campaign of 2008 and 2012 presidential elections in the U.S. demonstrated the use of social networks as powerful tools for governments and political parties to mobilize their supporters. Stirland (2008) observes that the success of the Obama campaign was the integration of technology into the process of field organising.

The development of political marketing in Kenya reflects increasing adoption of social media use although little is known about the extent to which observability influences its choice. Although some studies in the West indicate that social media use has benefits to politicians campaigning for public office, it is not known whether the benefits that social media can offer influenced the choice of media for campaigning in the 2013 general elections in Kenya. This study therefore sought to establish the extent to which voting outcome determines the use of social media for political marketing in Kenya.

2.3.6 Demographic Characteristics of Politicians

The demographic characteristics of politicians are considered as the moderating variable. The demographics include a politician's age, gender, and education. Herrnson, Stokes-Brown, and Hindman (2007) conducted a study on Internet use and found out that elderly people are less likely to use the Internet. The gender of a politician may influence their decision to use social media for political marketing. The education level of the politician may influence their decision to use social media for political marketing. The Constitution of Kenya dictates that politicians must have attained certain educational proficiency at various levels. Greater demand is placed on

politicians running for higher level offices. This study therefore investigated the role of demographic factors in influencing political candidates to adopt social media use.

2.4 Empirical Review Relevant to the Study

Christine Williams and Girish Gulati conducted a study in 2012 to establish the impact of social networks in political campaigns in the United States. The study examined the early adoption and dissemination of emerging technology tools in campaigns by analysing which candidates were the most likely to adopt and use Facebook in the 2006 and 2008 elections to the US House of Representatives. The research hypotheses drew primarily from the diffusion of innovations literature. Their analysis of 802 candidates in 2006 and 816 candidates in 2008 indicates that Facebook adoption diffused rapidly between 2006 and 2008, with party (Democrats), competition, money and the level of education in the district explaining both adoption and implementation. Challengers and candidates for open seats were more likely to be early adopters, but incumbents used Facebook more extensively. Both higher adoption rates by peers or competitors in the candidate's own state and a propensity to adopt earlier campaign technologies are strong positive motivators for early adoption. Although Williams and Gulati's study was done in the U.S., it offers an insightful theoretical framework within which this study is conducted. This study utilises diffusion of innovations theory as its framework. Williams and Gulati's study focused on Facebook while this study looks at two social networking sites namely Facebook and Twitter. The study analysed the political system in the U.S. while this study analyses the situation in Kenya.

Herrnson et al. (2007) conducted a study to determine constituency characteristics, strategic considerations, and candidate Internet use in state legislative elections in the United States. The study found out that the Internet has created a digital and political divide. The study found out that the elderly, those less well educated, and some minorities are less likely to use the Internet than other Americans. In addition, candidates for lower-level offices are less likely to use it than presidential and congressional candidates. Using data describing state legislative candidates'

characteristics, campaigns, and districts, the study found that candidates who have younger and better-educated constituents do more campaigning online. The number of years a candidate has spent in electoral politics also was found to be relevant. Their findings further indicate that the strategic and structural circumstances of the race have a major impact on candidates' Internet use. Herrnson, Stokes-Brown and Hindman's study focused on variables that include constituency characteristics and party influence. Apart from focusing on constituency characteristics and party influence, this study added technological characteristics as variables to be investigated.

Kim Strandberg conducted a study in 2012 to determine the use of social media in the 2011 Finnish parliamentary elections (Strandberg, 2012). The study analysed the use of social media by both candidates and citizens in the 2011 Finnish parliamentary election campaign. Utilising data on the candidates' use of various social media sites, survey data from the 2011 Finnish election study, and survey data from a Finnish panel, the analyses reveal that the significance of social media was generally modest in the election campaign. The findings show that although candidates did use social media extensively, the on-line electoral patterns were found to be mostly normalised. The citizens' use of social media in the campaign was also very low and its impact on their voting decision even smaller. Strandberg's study utilised both candidates and citizens while this study utilises candidates only. The population sample was in a developed country while the population sample in this study is for a developing country, specifically Kenya.

In a study conducted on social media use in 2010, Williams and Gulati report that having better financial resources significantly influenced the decision to campaign on Facebook in the 2006 US midterm elections, and also to campaign on YouTube in the 2008 US elections (Gulati & Williams, 2010). On the other, hand Gibson (2010), reporting on the use of social networking sites in the 2010 British general elections, likewise reveals that there was a clear dominance by major parties and their candidates. Zittel (2009), reporting on the 2005 German federal elections, states that

young candidates and those running in districts with a high share of young voters are the most likely to have an extensive web campaign.

In research conducted by Makinen and Kuira (2008) it is noted that social media played a remarkable role during the postelection crisis in 2008 in Kenya. The study focused on the role of social media, such as Web 2.0 communication tools and services, which enable citizens to interact or share content online. The research found out that during the crisis, social media functioned as an alternative medium for citizen communication or participatory journalism. They noted that the experience had an important implication for the process of democratisation in Kenya. Okolloh (2007) further observes that Kenyan bloggers have continuously worked towards achieving more accessible information and transparency in decision making. Although these researchers establish the prevalence of social media in Kenya, they do not focus on the determinants of social media use among politicians across the levels. This study focused on the determinants of social media use among politicians in Kenya for purposes of political marketing.

Wasswa (2013) conducted a study on the role of social media in the 2013 presidential campaigns in Kenya. The objectives of the study were three-fold: (i) to investigate the integration of social media into the 2013 presidential campaigns (ii) to explore how social media users utilise SNS for political purposes (iii) to explore the impact of social media on the presidential campaign process. The study used a descriptive survey design. The study purposively sampled 216 undergraduate students.

The findings indicate that the 2013 presidential candidates integrated social media into their campaigns. They used the platform to share information on campaign activities, debate on issues, share photos, videos and links, soliciting for funds and countering propaganda. The findings further revealed that presidential candidates are yet to exploit the full potential of social media in campaigns. An analysis of the trends in media usage and reliance revealed that Television and Radio were the most popular source of political information on the presidential campaigns for the respondents. SNS, specifically Facebook and Twitter were the second most popular source of

political information after the Television and Radio. The study also determined that social media had a significant impact on the campaign process in Kenya.

Wasswa's study targeted only the presidential campaigns, yet this study went beyond the presidential tier to include levels such as gubernatorial, senatorial, women representative, and legislative. Wasswa's study targeted the urban youth while this study targeted politicians and their chief campaigners.

Odinga (2013) conducted a study on the use of new media during the Kenya elections. The study investigated the role of social media during the 2007/2008 post-election violence and the general elections of 2013. The theoretical framework employed was Manuel Castells theory of power and counter-power. The study used content analysis to analyse qualitative data.

Findings suggest that new ICT's have been seen to offer political actors direct contact with citizens and thereby an advantage over existing or traditional media. Further, new media increased political participation and dialogue in the Kenyan case that was not present before and in turn empowered Kenyans to take part in political processes. The researcher concludes that there is power in online communication to drive mass action.

Odinga's study investigated the actual use of new media during the Kenya elections while this study investigates the determinants of new media usage. Odinga's study mainly focused on citizens' engagement with new media, while this study focused on politicians' engagement with social media.

2.5 Critique of Existing Literature Relevant to the Study

Literature reviewed singles out determiners of social media adoption. These include material resources, social resources, and cognitive resources (Fuchs & Horak, 2008; Van Dijk, 2005). Other studies point to demographic factors of politicians as important determiners of technology adoption. These demographic factors include a

politician's age, gender, and education level (Adler, Chariti & Cary, 1998; Herrnson et al., 2007). These studies therefore provide a reference point for the construction of the conceptual framework on which this study is hinged.

A majority of the literature reviewed reveals that there is increasing use of social media for political marketing among political candidates (Gibson, Howard & Ward, 2000; Williams & Gulati, 2012; Wyche, Schoenebeck, & Forte, 2013); however, most of these studies are carried out on political candidates in developed countries. Literature reveals that there are studies which have been carried out in Kenya on the use of social networking sites for political communication (Odinga, 2013; Orring 2013; Wasswa, 2013). Although these studies are contextual to Kenya, most of them have examined the use of social media from the voters' perspective.

Most scholarship about online campaigning has focused on Internet use among candidates for presidential level (Bimber & Davis, 2003; Herrnson, 2004; Puopolo, 2001). There are few studies which address the use of social media across the levels of political office and none which addresses the use of social media for political marketing at the devolved levels of office occasioned by the Constitution of Kenya 2010.

The literature also reveals that Kenya has in the last decade showed marked interest in improving ICT access and skills and that access to the Internet has been increasing over the years (Kenya ICT Board, 2010; Msimang, 2011). This is a pointer to a possibility of marked increase in citizen access to the Internet. Literature does not, however, tie this increased access to Internet to social political marketing.

Political marketing through social networking sites is seen to be advantageous from the point of view of parties and candidates (Gueorguieva, 2008). Firstly, it is much more affordable than campaigning through traditional media. Secondly, social networking sites can be used effectively for more purposes such as the recruitment of volunteers, organisation of the campaign, mobilisation and fundraising (Cogburn & Espinoza-Vasques, 2011; Greyes, 2011; Schlozman et al., 2010; Straw, 2010;

Sudulich & Wall, 2010). Although this is the case, there are few studies that draw reference to how political parties in Kenya utilize social media for vote mobilization during general elections.

Studies conducted on politics and social media in Kenya indicate that social media played a role in the postelection crisis in 2008 in Kenya (Makinen & Kuira, 2008; Odinga, 2013). Further research indicates that Kenyan bloggers have continued to work to make political information more accessible to the population (Odinga, 2013; Okolloh, 2007). Although this is the case, little research has been conducted in the area of social media use among politicians across the levels of office in Kenya. This research therefore investigated the variables that influence the use of social media for political marketing among politicians during general elections.

2.6 Research Gaps

There is a paradigm shift in the ways in which politicians express themselves in the political realm ever since the emergence of new media (McKinney & Rill, 2009; Odinga, 2013; Tyron, 2008; Xenos & Moy, 2007). In the past elections in Kenya, politicians have spent vast sums of money on political advertising (Kimani & Mungai, 2012) yet cheaper and more participatory means of political communication are available. Use of social media is one such method that can be used for political marketing and it has the potential of establishing long-term relationships between politicians and voters beyond the electioneering period so that the continued dialogue that ensues deepens democracy. All over the world, social media have been used for political marketing purposes and in recent years, it has become an increasingly prevalent campaign platform (Hindman, 2005; Lennartz, 2008; Stirland, 2008). Studies conducted in Kenya indicate a prevalence of social media use during electioneering periods (Makinen & Kuira, 2008; Odinga, 2013; Okolloh, 2007; Wasswa, 2013) but the studies do not expressly address the issue of determinants of social media use among politicians for political marketing.

In addition, most scholarship about online campaigning has focused on Internet use among candidates for presidential level (Bimber & Davis, 2003; Herrnson, 2004; Puopolo, 2001) but little is known about candidates at lower offices. In Kenya, this is more particular because of the establishment of new devolved offices created by the Constitution of Kenya 2010. A gap exists in researching a multi-level use of social media among politicians in Kenya. The present study addressed this gap by researching on social media use across the devolved levels.

Again, much attention has focused on the effect of social media use on the voters (Odinga, 2013; Wasswa, 2013), but comparatively little consideration has been given to the factors that shape political candidates' use of this medium. In general, there has been little, if any, systematic study of the determinants of social media use for political marketing in Kenya. Essentially then, factors that drive candidates to integrate the Internet into their campaigns remain largely unknown.

2.7 Summary

In sum, literature reviewed provides a focal point for conceptualizing the study. The resources identified to influence adoption of online communication are material resources, social resources, and cognitive resources. Literature has also demonstrated that Kenya has in the last decade improved ICT access although this increased access has not been tied to social political marketing. A majority of the literature reviewed reveals that there is growing use of social media for political communication among political candidates and therefore there is need to carry out contextual studies on the implementation of online campaigns in developing countries. Further, research is needed to ascertain the use of social media for political marketing at the devolved levels of office occasioned by the Constitution of Kenya 2010.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the methodology used in the study. It describes the research design, target population, sample and sampling techniques, instruments of data collection, pilot study, reliability of instruments, and data analysis plan.

3.2 Research Design

Broadly speaking, the study utilised a mixed methods research design, which is a procedure for collecting, analysing, and “mixing” both quantitative and qualitative research and methods in a single study to understand a research problem (Creswell, 2012). More specifically, the study used the mixed methods sequential explanatory design (Creswell & Clark, 2011). This design consists of two distinct phases. The first is the quantitative phase which is then followed by the qualitative phase (Creswell, Clark, Gutmann & Hanson, 2003).

The post positivist philosophical assumptions for developing knowledge were used in the quantitative phase (Creswell, 2012). In quantitative research, an investigator relies on numerical data (Charles & Mertler, 2002). This design enabled the researcher to collect and analyse quantitative (numeric) data on the degree to which the independent variables, namely technological factors, representation level, voting outcome affect the dependent variable which is the use of social media for political marketing. The design also enabled the researcher to assess the moderating effect of demographic characteristics on the use of social media for political marketing.

When the study moved to the qualitative phase, which values multiple perspectives and in-depth description, there was a shift to constructivism philosophical assumptions (Creswell & Clark, 2011). Qualitative research is “an inquiry process of understanding”, where the researcher develops a “complex, holistic picture, analyses words, reports detailed views of informants” (Creswell, 1998, p. 15). Further, data

analysis is based on the values that these participants perceive for their world. Ultimately, it produces an understanding of the problem based on multiple contextual factors (Miller, 2000). Qualitative data from interviews with select politicians and politicians' chief campaigners on their engagement with social media for political marketing were collected and analysed second in sequence so that the analysis helped explain, and elaborate on the quantitative results obtained (Creswell & Clark, 2011).

The first rationale for the choice of the mixed methods design is that the quantitative data and their subsequent analysis will provide a general understanding of the research problem. The qualitative data and their analysis will refine and explain those statistical results by exploring participants' views in more depth (Creswell, 2003; Rossman & Wilson, 1985; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). In this regard then, the use of both quantitative and qualitative data will provide a better understanding of the use of social media for political marketing. The second rationale is that the design will help the researcher to assess trends and relationships with social media use for political marketing as well as explain the reasons behind the resultant trends (Creswell & Clark, 2011). The third rationale is that a mixed method design is used when the researcher is aware of the important variables in the study (Creswell & Clark, 2011). In this study, the researcher knows the important variables which are: technological factors, representation level, voting outcome and demographic characteristics, and therefore the design is appropriate. The fourth rationale for adopting this design is that it shall allow for the corroboration of results from different methods, namely quantitative and qualitative (Creswell & Clark, 2011). Corroboration shall make the findings and recommendation of the study more significant. The fifth rationale that informed this choice is that mixed methods allow for the elaboration, enhancement and clarification of the results from quantitative data analysis with the results of the qualitative data analysis (Greene, Caracelli & Graham, 1989; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). This combination will therefore allow for a more complete analysis of social media use for political marketing.

3.3 Population

Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) define a population as a complete set of individuals with some observable characteristics that differentiate them from other populations. The population for this study includes all politicians who ran for national and county seats in the 2013 general elections in Kenya. According to a list contained in the *Kenya Gazette* Vol. CXV – No. 45 published by the Independent Elections and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), there are 2807 politicians who participated in the 2013 general elections in Kenya, excluding the county assembly ward representatives because their constituency was deemed to overlap with that of members of parliament (see Table 3.1 and Appendix 5). Among these there are 8 presidential candidates, 237 gubernatorial candidates, 274 senatorial candidates, 302 candidates for the women representative position and 1986 parliamentary candidates. Among these, those who won are 431 candidates distributed as follows: 47 Governors, 47 Senators, 47 Women Representatives, and 290 members of the national assembly (see Appendix 6).

Table 3.1: Target Population

Category	Number
President	8
Governor	237
Senate	274
Women representative	302
Member of parliament	1986
Total	2807

Source: IEBC (2013)

3.4 Sampling Frame

A sampling frame is a list of possible respondents from a particular population (Lohr, 2010). A sampling frame is of importance because it defines the survey population. The sampling frame for the study comprised a list of nominated candidates for various positions in the 2013 general elections in Kenya published by the Independent Elections and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) in *The Kenya Gazette* Vol. CXV – No. 14 published on 12 February 2013 (see Appendix 5). The IEBC lists were chosen because the organisation is an authoritative body on Kenyan elections which has the most accurate data on politicians who vied for seats as well as those who won various

elective posts in the 2013 general elections in Kenya. The sampling frame for candidates who won was based on a list published by IEBC in *The Kenya Gazette* of 13 March, 2013, Vol. CXV—No. 45 (see Appendix 6). The sample unit was the candidates who contested for various seats in the 2013 general elections in Kenya and/or their representatives.

3.5 Sample and Sampling Technique

3.5.1 Sample Size

A sample is a subset of the population that is representative of the entire population (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). To get the desired representative sample for quantitative data, the Fisher's Formula for finite population was adopted. Daniel (1999), and Naing, Winn and Rusli (2006) support the use of the Fisher's Formula in studies which have a finite population. Fisher's Formula yielded a sample 338 respondents who participated in the 2013 general elections in Kenya. For qualitative data, a sample of 17 respondents was drawn. Bertaux (1981), Guest, Bunce and Johnson (2006), and Mason (2010) support the use of a similar number of informants in a qualitative sample.

3.5.2 Sampling Technique

For the purpose of obtaining a representative sample for the quantitative phase of the study, the Fisher's Formula for finite population (Naing, Winn & Rusli, 2006) was adopted as follows:

$$n' = \frac{NZ^2P(1-P)}{d^2(N-1) + Z^2P(1-P)}$$

Where

n' = sample size with finite population correction,

N = Population size,

Z = Z statistic for a level of confidence,

P = Expected proportion (in proportion of one), and

d = Precision (in proportion of one).

Fisher's Formula yielded a sample 338 respondents who participated in the 2013 general elections in Kenya. Stratified random sampling was used to get representation from politicians across the different levels. Wimmer and Dominick (2006) support the use of stratifying in cases where respondents belong to identifiable subgroups, in order to give each person in the population an equal chance of being selected. Politicians belong to identifiable subgroups spread across the national and county tiers. These subgroups correspond to the various levels of devolution stipulated in the Kenyan Constitution 2010 which include positions for governors, senators, women representatives, and members of the national assembly. Stratifying politicians according to their level of office guaranteed the desired distribution across the tiers hence improved the representativeness of the sample.

At the presidential level, the entire population of the presidential candidates ($n=8$) was used as a sample. A population census at the presidential level was used since it was a small number. Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) state that when the population is small there is no point of sampling if time and resources allow. Further, a census eliminates

sampling error and provides data on all the individuals in the population (Israel, 2009). To get the desired representative distribution across the remaining levels of office, the following sample was drawn with respect to the actual population ratios in the gubernatorial, senatorial, women representative and parliamentary levels of office: candidates at the gubernatorial level (n=28); candidates at the senatorial level (n=32); candidates at the women representative level (n=36); candidates at the parliamentary level (n=234) (see Table 3.2). The total sampled respondents were 338.

The election outcome was used to further categorise respondents in each stratum. Half of respondents in each stratum comprised of election winners and the other half comprised of those who failed to win in the 2013 general elections in Kenya. A simple random sample was then drawn for each stratum using the sampling frames obtained from the IEBC.

For the purpose of the second qualitative phase of the study, the researcher drew a purposeful sample which implies intentionally selecting individuals who would help in understanding the central phenomenon (McMillan & Schumacher, 1994; Miles & Huberman, 1994). The idea was to purposefully select informants, who would best answer the research questions and who were “information rich” (Patton, 1990, p. 169) persons. Four participants from each stratum were selected for interviewing. Therefore a total of 17 respondents were interviewed.

Table 3.2: Sample Size

Code	Respondents	Population	Sample Size
A	Presidential candidates	8	8
B	Gubernatorial candidates	237	28
C	Senatorial candidates	274	32
D	Women representative candidates	302	36
E	Parliamentary candidates	1986	234
TOTAL		2807	338

3.6 Instruments

Research instruments are useful to researchers because they help in data collection. The researcher used a standardized questionnaire and an interview guide for data collection.

3.6.1 Questionnaires

The primary technique for collecting the quantitative data was a self-developed questionnaire. The questionnaire was guided by the objectives and research questions in order to ascertain the relationships between social media use and political marketing. It contained items of different formats: multiple choice, asking either for one option or all that apply, dichotomous answers like “Yes” and “No”, self-assessment items measured on the 7-point Likert type, and open-ended questions.

The questionnaire translated the research objectives of the study into specific questions and answers to those questions provided the data for testing relationships. In essence, the questionnaire addressed the determinants of social media use for political marketing. The questionnaires were divided into five parts which conform to the research objectives. The first part of the questionnaire sought to establish the demographic information about politicians. The second part sought to determine the level of use of social media. The third part of the questionnaire sought to establish the influence of technological factors on social media use. The fourth part sought to determine the influence of the representational level on social media use. The final part of the questionnaire sought to establish the relationship between social media use and the voting outcome (see Appendix 1 and 2).

The questionnaire was used because all the respondents were literate and therefore could read, interpret the questions, and answer them appropriately. Questionnaires also enable easy and cheap collection of data, save time, ensure confidentiality, are free from bias of the interviewer hence results are made more dependable and reliable (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003).

3.6.2 Interview Guide

The interview guide was used to collect qualitative data in this study. The interview guide was employed to solicit in-depth information from political candidates and social media campaign strategists on the determinants of their candidates social media use for political marketing. The interview guide is considered critical because the political consultants are fully involved in the entire process of political marketing. The interview guide also enabled the researcher to clarify, enhance and verify the information already given in the questionnaires by other respondents.

The interview guide comprised of open-ended type of questions which were based on the objectives of the study (see Appendix 3 and 4). Thus, the information obtained from the questionnaires was easily authenticated and complimented through the interviews. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) the administration of the interview guide makes it possible to obtain required data to meet specific objectives of the study, standardise the interview situation so that the interviewers can ask the same question in the same manner, and allow for clarifications and the elimination of ambiguity in answers. A purposive sample of politicians and politicians' chief campaigners was drawn to make the administration of the interview guide more manageable.

3.7 Data Collection Procedure

The researcher was issued with a research permit by the National Commission of Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) (see Appendix 9). During the first phase, the researcher implemented the quantitative strand that included collecting quantitative data. Questionnaires were issued to candidates who contested the 2013 General Elections and where the candidates were not available, their personal assistants (PA) were interviewed. The researcher administered the instruments and where possible used research assistants to help in the issuing and collection of questionnaires, since they were self-administration tools. Key informants were used to gain access to politicians. Some questionnaires were sent over email in order to

optimize the completion rates. The administration of the questionnaires for the various levels was conducted within a period of four months.

In the second phase, the researcher implemented the qualitative strand. The researcher collected qualitative data using the interview guide on a purposefully selected sample of political candidates and social media campaign strategists. The open-ended data collected helped explain the quantitative results. Interviews with selected respondents were carried out within a period of three months. Documentation of the interview was done in written form using the note-taking technique, as well as in audio form using a tape recorder. The audio messages were transcribed for analysis.

3.8 Pilot Study

A pilot study of the research instruments was carried out on politicians who were not selected in the sample. The purpose of the pilot run was to check for ambiguity, and poorly prepared items. Cronbach (1951) recommends that 5-10 percent of the target sample should be subjected to the reliability test. In line with this, ten percent of the sampled respondents, which translated to 30 respondents, were subjected to the reliability test.

The 30 questionnaires which were obtained from the piloting were subjected to a reliability test. Reliability refers to the accuracy and precision of a measurement procedure (Thorndike, 1997; Sekaran, 2003). Mulusa (1998) observes that a reliable instrument should produce the expected results when used more than once to collect data from two samples drawn from the same population. The Cronbach's alpha was used to establish the reliability of the sample (Cronbach, 1951). Cronbach's tests ranging from zero to one were used to describe the reliability of factors extracted from the questionnaire. This research considered an alpha of .7 as a reasonable goal for the instruments used (George & Mallery, 2003; Kothari, 2007; Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994). Table 3.2 presents the results of the reliability analysis for this study in which all the coefficients for the variables were greater than 0.7. In the social sciences, acceptable reliability estimates range from .70 to .80 (George & Mallery, 2003;

Kothari, 2007; Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994; Sekaran and Bougie, 2009). Therefore, the research instrument was deemed reliable.

Table 3.3 Reliability Analysis

Objective no.	Cronbach's Alpha	No. of Items
Objective 1	.783	28
Objective 2	.827	10
Objective 3	.725	7
Objective 4	.753	4

Source: Research Data (2015)

3.9 Data Processing and Analysis

Kothari (2009) states that data analysis includes all activities concerned with the processing and protection of data in the research. The quantitative data obtained from the administration of questionnaires was analysed using descriptive statistics (means and percentages) and inferential statistics (chi-square and regression analysis) to answer the quantitative research questions. Data analysis was based on the research objectives and research questions. At the end of the data collection, data was coded and analysed using the IBM Statistical Package for Social Sciences 20. Quantitative data was displayed using appropriate tables and graphs that depicted the relationship between the dependent variable and the independent variables.

Qualitative data obtained from the interviews with select politicians and politicians' chief campaigners was transcribed and divided into meaningful analytical units. These units were then grouped into different categories that were coded for content analysis. The steps in qualitative analysis included: (1) preliminary exploration of the data by reading through the transcripts and writing memos; (2) coding the data by segmenting and labelling the text; (3) using codes to develop themes by aggregating similar codes together; (4) connecting and interrelating themes; and (5) constructing a narrative (Creswell, 2002). Qualitative data analysis sought to answer the qualitative research questions (Creswell & Clark, 2011).

After these two steps were undertaken, the researcher proceeded to summarise and interpret quantitative results, as well as qualitative results. The researcher discussed to what extent and in what ways the qualitative results helped to explain the quantitative results (Creswell & Clark, 2011).

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

This chapter presents data analysis, interpretation and discussions. It begins with instrument return rate, followed by an examination of influence of demographic characteristics, technological factors, representation characteristics, and voting outcome on social media use for political marketing in Kenya.

4.1 Instrument Return Rate

Questionnaires were used to collect data among the 2013 presidential, gubernatorial, senatorial, women representatives, and parliamentary candidates. Their response rates were as summarised in Table 4.1. Out of the 338 questionnaires issued, a total of 307 were returned giving a response rate of 91%. The response rate was deemed sufficient for data analysis. Babbie (1990), and Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) state that 60% return rate is good, while 70% very good. Based on these assertions, the response rate of 91% for this study provided a firm basis for making inferences on the whole population.

Table 4.1: Target Population

Category	Population	Sample size	Responses	Response rate
President	8	8	6	75%
Governor	237	28	25	89%
Senate	274	32	31	96%
Women representative	302	36	33	93%
Member of parliament	1986	234	212	91%
Total	2807	338	307	91%

Source: Research Data (2015)

4.2 Demographic Characteristics of Politicians

The first objective of the study was to assess the moderating effect of demographic characteristics on the use of social media by politicians for political marketing in

Kenya. Therefore, this section gives valuable data that helps in the interpretation and inference making on the social media adoption process in Kenyan politics with respect to demographics.

4.2.1 Distribution of Politicians by Gender

The Constitution of Kenya 2010 proposes gender parity in elections. In chapter 6 of the Constitution which deals with the representation of people, one of the general principles expressed is to ensure fair representation of women. It was therefore important to ascertain whether there was a gender gap in the 2013 elections given the prevailing constitutional provisions.

To determine the distribution of politicians by gender, respondents were asked to indicate their gender. Findings in Table 4.2 show that whereas both genders actively participated in the election process, there were more male politicians (75%) participating in the electioneering than females (25%). The proportion of the males in the gubernatorial, senatorial, and parliamentary positions was 96%, 84% and 83%, while that for the females was 4%, 16% and 17% respectively. However, for the position for women representative, women contestants were 100%. The chi-square value for the variations in the participation of both genders in the election was ($X^2=73.101$, $df = 4$, $Sig = .000$) implying that the variation between genders was statistically significant.

The study therefore infers that more males than females vied for the 2013 general elections in Kenya. A possible explanation for the low turnout of women could be the perception from the African cultural perspective that leadership positions are a preserve of men, therefore, whenever political offices fall vacant, men are usually expected to contest. However, for the women representative's position, all contestants were women. The constitutional provision that the seats be reserved exclusively for women, accounts for this. It can therefore be concluded that the gender gap still persists in Kenyan elections despite constitutional provisions aiming at mainstreaming women in politics.

Table 4.2: Politicians' Gender

	President (n=6)	Governor (n=24)	Senator (n=26)	Women Rep (n=33)	MP (n=176)	Chi-square test
Male (%)	100	96	84	0	83	X ² =73.101 df = 4 Sig = .000*
Female (%)	0	4	16	100	17	

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Research Data (2015)

4.2.2 Distribution of Politicians by Age

To determine the distribution of politicians by age, respondents were asked to indicate their age and the results were summarised in Table 4.3. The data indicated that the greater proportion of politicians (49%) were between 36 and 50 years of age, with another 26% aged between 21 and 35 years, and a further 23% aged over 51 years. Only 1.6% of all the politicians were below 20 years of age. Further, a chi-square test conducted showed ($X^2=7.575$, $df = 12$, $Sig = .817$) implying that the age variation across contestants in the various political offices was not statistically significant. The implications of these findings are that generally, politicians who campaigned in the 2013 elections were young in age.

Table 4.3: Politicians' Age

Age (n=307)	Electoral Office (%)					Chi-square test
	President	Governor	Senator	Women Rep	MP	
> 20 years	0	0	3	3	1	X ² =7.575 df = 12 Sig = .817*
21 - 35years	0	20	23	21	29	
36 - 50years	33	36	52	55	50	
51 years and abov	67	44	26	18	20	

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Research Data (2015)

4.2.3 Distribution of Politicians by Education

The distribution of politicians by the level of education was summarised in Table 4.4. Data in Table 4.4 shows that the greater proportion of politicians (56%) held a

bachelor's degree level of education, with another 18.2% holding a master's degree and a further 4.1% holding doctoral degrees. Only 21.3% of all politicians had qualifications lower than the bachelor's degree. To test whether there was any significant variations in the educational experiences of the politicians in the elections, a chi-square test was conducted. The chi square value was ($X^2=14.685$, $df = 12$, $Sig = .259$) implying that the variation in education amongst the contestants in the various political offices was not statistically significant.

It can therefore be inferred that a majority of politicians who vied for various posts in the 2013 general elections had tertiary level educational. In fact, the majority of candidates surpassed the minimum requirements for education level as encapsulated by the Constitution of Kenya 2010. This trend towards having a political class which is better educated can be attributed to a campaign to have a minimum degree level educational threshold for contestants vying for various posts embedded in the Constitution of Kenya 2010. Although not successful, this push has certainly acted as a harbinger of future trends regarding academic credentials for politicians. Additionally, most governors had high qualifications because the position was perceived as managerial as opposed to political. As such, former civil servants and other highly qualified politicians were elected. In general, higher levels of education could account for a higher uptake of social media because as Marriot (2006) posits, higher levels of education make people more comfortable with, and skilled in the use of technology.

Table 4.4: Politicians' Education Levels

		Level of education				Chi-square test
		Diploma	Bachelor's	Master's	Doctorate	
Electoral Office (%)	President (n=6)	.0	100.00	.0	.0	X ² =14.685 df = 12 Sig=.259*
	Governor (n=25)	.0	68.00	24.00	8.00	
	Senator (n=31)	12.90	54.80	22.60	9.70	
	Women Rep (n=33)	33.30	45.50	21.20	.0	
	MP (n=201)	23.90	55.70	16.90	3.50	

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level

Source: Research Data (2015)

4.2.4 Distribution of Politicians by Political Party Affiliation

The distribution of respondents by political party affiliation was as summarised in Table 4.5. At the presidential level, the major parties contributed 16.6% each, while the other smaller parties made a contribution of 50% of the candidature. At the gubernatorial level, The National Alliance Party (TNA) and Orange Democratic Movement Party (ODM) sponsored 25% of the candidates, while United Democratic Forum (UDF) sponsored 12.5%. At the senatorial level, TNA sponsored 34.5%, ODM 27.6%, while UDF sponsored 13.8%. At the women representative level, TNA sponsored 32.4%, ODM 23.5% while UDF sponsored 14.7%. At the parliamentary level, TNA sponsored 32.4%, ODM 39% while UDF sponsored 12.9%. The results indicated that apart from TNA and ODM, UDF also sponsored a significant number of politicians. To test whether there was any significant variations in the political parties' sponsorship, a chi square test was conducted. The chi-square was ($X^2=12.917$, $df = 12$, $Sig = .375$) implying that the variation on political parties amongst the contestants in the various political offices was not statistically significant.

The study therefore infers that the majority of candidates participating in the elections came from the major political parties. This implies that the major parties are still

dominating elections in Kenya and most contestants align themselves with these parties in order to clinch political seats.

Table 4.5: Politicians' Political Party

Electoral Office (%)	The National Alliance (TNA)	Party Affiliation			Chi- square test
		Orange Democratic Movement (ODM)	United Democratic Forum (UDF)	Others	
President (n=6)	16.6	16.6	16.6	50.0	X ² =12.917 df =12
Governor (n=24)	25.0	25.0	12.5	57.5	
Senator (n=29)	34.5	27.6	13.8	44.1	
Women Rep (n=34)	32.4	23.5	14.7	29.4	Sig =.375*
MP (n=210)	32.4	39.0	12.9	15.7	

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level

Source: Research Data (2015)

4.3 Awareness of Social Media

Information was also sought on the politicians' awareness of the use of social media for political marketing. Their responses were summarised in Table 4.6. The data indicated that all the presidential candidates were aware of social media use (100%). At the gubernatorial level, 96% were aware, while at the senatorial level 96.8% were aware. At the women representative level 90.9% were aware, while at the parliamentary level 95.2% were aware. In general, the results show that a majority of politicians were aware of the use of social media for political marketing. The computed chi-square results were ($X^2=1.776$, $df = 4$, $Sig = .777$) indicating that the variation on the awareness of employing social media as a tool for political marketing among the contestants at both the national and county levels was not statistically significant.

One inference that can be made from these findings is that the level of awareness of social media for political marketing for the 2013 elections in Kenya was high (96%). A similar study carried out in Nigeria, which is a developing nation; found that 72% of the politicians were aware of social media as a tool for political advertising (Asemah & Edegoh, 2012). These findings agree with a recent survey conducted by

Consumer Insight which ranks Kenya as the highest in social media use (93%), while Nigeria is the second highest (89%) followed by South Africa (85%) (First Africa News, 2015). The findings show that Kenyan politician's uptake of ICT ranks among the highest in Africa. In comparison with developed countries, studies in the U.S. show that in 2006 elections, 85% of candidates running for Senate and 79% of those running for the House were aware of use of ICT's in political campaigning (Gulati & Williams, 2007). In comparison then, in the initial phases of adoption of new media for political communication, Kenyan politicians posted higher levels of awareness than others in most countries in the world.

Table 4.6: Politicians' Awareness of Social Media Use

		Electoral Office					Chi-square test
		President (n=6)	Governor (n=24)	Senator (n=30)	Women Rep (n=30)	MP (n=198)	
Awareness of social media use (%)	Yes	100	96	96.8	90.9	95.2	X ² =1.776 df = 4 Sig=.777*
	No	0	4	3.2	9.1	4.8	

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level

Source: Research Data (2015)

4.3.1 Relationship between Gender and Awareness

In earlier discussion (4.2.1), it was noted that there was a gender gap in the 2013 elections. To this end, the study investigated how this gender gap impinged on the awareness of social media for political marketing. To determine the distribution of politicians by awareness of social media use, the respondents were asked to indicate their awareness. Their responses were shown in Figure 4.1. The results indicated that more male politicians (96.5%) were aware of social media use than female politicians (90.4%). These results indicated that although both genders posted a high level of awareness, men showed a marginally higher level of awareness.

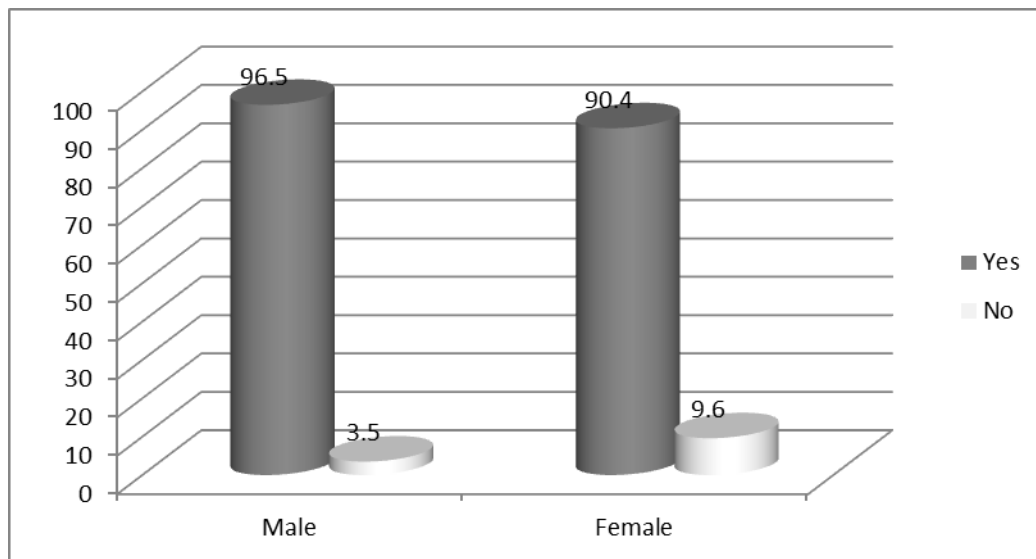


Figure 4.1: Distribution of Gender and Awareness of Social Media

Source: Research Data (2015)

Further, a determination of gender and the level of awareness respective of the office campaigned for was made and is shown in Table 4.7. The results indicated that politicians of both gender exhibited increased levels of awareness at the higher levels of office than at the lower levels of office. For example, at the gubernatorial level, 95.2% of the male candidates and 100% of the female candidates were aware, while at the parliamentary level 96.6% of the male candidates and 88.6% of female candidates were aware.

Women candidates gunning for higher levels of office were more aware than those at the lower levels of office as confirmed by 100% of gubernatorial candidates, 100% senatorial candidates, 90% women representative candidates, and 88% of parliamentary candidates. However, male candidates exhibited relatively similar levels of awareness across the levels of office as confirmed by 100% at the presidential level, 95.2% at the gubernatorial level, 96.2% at the senatorial level and 96.6% at the parliamentary level. As to whether there was a significant difference in the level of awareness of both genders on social media use for political marketing, the results in table 4.7 indicated that that there was no significant difference ($P > 0.05$) between gender and awareness of social media.

Several inferences can be made from the findings above. Firstly, there was a high level of awareness of social media use for political marketing by both genders. Secondly, regardless of gender, politicians at higher levels of office were relatively more aware of social media use for political marketing, than those at lower levels of office. Thirdly, the variation of awareness across gender was not statistically significant. Although traditionally, men are the early adopters of new technologies (Hoffman, 2008), these findings indicated a normalization of adoption rates in the context of political communication.

Table 4.7: Relationship between Gender and Awareness of Social Media

Electoral Office		Gender (%)		Chi-square test
		Male	Female	
President (n=6)	Yes	100.00	0.00	a
	No	0.00	0.00	
Governor (n=23)	Yes	95.20	100.00	X ² =.083 df = 1 Sig = .929*
	No	4.80	0.00	
Senator (n=31)	Yes	96.20	100.00	X ² =.207 df = 1 Sig = .833*
	No	3.80	0.00	
Women Rep (n=33)	Yes	0.00	90.0	X ² =.166 df = 1 Sig = .860*
	No	0.00	10.00	
MP (n=209)	Yes	96.60	88.60	X ² =1.972 df = 1 Sig = .199*
	No	3.40	11.40	

^a No statistics are computed because the variable is a constant.

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Research Data (2015)

4.3.2 Relationship between Age and Awareness

In earlier discussion (4.2.2), it was noted that there were generally young politicians contesting in the 2013 elections. To this end, the study investigated the relationship between age and awareness of social media. To find out the distribution of politicians by age and by awareness of social media use, analyses were made and are presented in Table 4.8. The data showed that at the presidential level, all candidates posted awareness regardless of age (100%). At the gubernatorial level, candidates aged 36-50 years showed 88.9% awareness, while in the rest of the age categories candidates

posted 100% awareness. At the senatorial level, all candidates posted 100% awareness except those with 51 years and above who posted 85.7% awareness level. Women representative candidates on the other hand showed varying levels of awareness with those above 51 years of age posting the least awareness at 71.4%. Parliamentary candidates also posted varying levels of awareness with those aged between 36-50 years showing the least awareness at 92.2%. However, none of the chi-square for awareness of social media use across different ages were significant ($P>0.05$) implying that the variation across age was not statistically significant.

Table 4.8: Distribution of Politicians by Age and Awareness of Social Media

Electoral Office (%)		Age				Chi-square test
		Below 20 years	21 – 35 years	36 - 50 years	51 years and above	
President (n=6)	Yes	.0	.0	100.0	100.0	^a
	No	.0	.0	.0	.0	
Governor (n=23)	Yes	.0	100.0	88.9	100.0	$X^2 = 1.938$ df = 2 Sig = .379*
	No	.0	.0	11.1	.0	
Senator (n=29)	Yes	100.0	100.0	100.0	85.7	$X^2 = 3.111$ df = 3 Sig = .375*
	No	.0	.0	.0	14.3	
Women Rep (n=32)	Yes	100.0	85.7	100.0	71.4	$X^2 = 2.700$ df = 3 Sig = .440*
	No	.0	14.3	.0	28.6	
M.P. (n=207)	Yes	100.0	96.7	92.2	100.0	$X^2 = 2.253$ df = 3 Sig = .521*
	No	.0	3.3	7.8	.0	

^a No statistics are computed because the variable is a constant.

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Research Data (2015)

From the analysis above, several inferences can be made. Firstly, politicians above 51 years of age showed the least awareness of social media use for political marketing. Secondly, women representatives aged 51 years and above were the least aware. Thirdly, the variation in social media awareness between the ages was not statistically significant. These findings agree with diffusion of innovations literature which suggests that age differences account for varying degrees of technology adoption (Adler, Chariti & Cary, 1998; Herrnson et al., 2007). A possible explanation for

heightened awareness among older politicians is that the context of usage is political communication where there is a lot of information available on political communication. Incumbency could also account for higher awareness levels, as well as the fact that some politicians had personnel on their campaign teams managing their social media campaign.

4.3.3 Relationship between Education and Awareness

In earlier discussion (4.2.3), it was noted that there were generally more highly educated politicians contesting in the 2013 elections. To this end, the study investigated the relationship between education and awareness of social media. Data in Table 4.9 indicated the distribution of politicians' educational level and the awareness of social media. The results indicated that 100% of politicians with doctoral degrees at all levels were aware of social media use for political marketing. Among the holders of master's degrees, women representatives were the least aware at 83.3%. Among the holders of bachelor's degree, both gubernatorial and senatorial candidates posted the least awareness at 94.1%. Among the holders of diplomas, women representative candidates were least aware at 81.8%. Chi-square tests indicated that all the p-values were greater than 0.05 ($P > 0.05$) implying that the variation across the education levels was not statistically significant.

Several inferences can be made from the findings. Firstly, a majority of the politicians were well educated. Secondly, candidates with degree qualifications posted higher levels of awareness than candidates with diplomas. These findings are in line with diffusion of innovations literature that state that higher levels of education contribute to greater technology adoption rates (Rogers, 2003).

Table 4.9: Distribution of Politicians by Education and Awareness

Electoral Office (%)		Level of education				Chi-square test
		Diploma	Bachelors	Master's	Doctorate	
President (n=6)	Yes	.0	100.0	.0	.0	^a
	No	.0	.0	.0	.0	
Governor (n=25)	Yes	.0	94.1	100.0	100.0	X ² = .390 df = 2 Sig = .823*
	No	.0	5.9	.0	.0	
Senator (n=31)	Yes	100.0	94.1	100.0	100.0	X ² = .791 df = 3 Sig = .852*
	No	.0	5.9	.0	.0	
Women Rep (n=32)	Yes	81.8	100.0	83.3	.0	X ² = 2.376 df = 2 Sig = .305*
	No	18.2	.0	16.7	.0	
MP (n=199)	Yes	91.7	96.4	94.1	100.0	X ² = 1.017 df = 3 Sig = .797*
	No	8.3	3.6	5.9	.0	

^a No statistics are computed because the variable is a constant.

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Research Data (2015)

4.3.4 Relationship between Political Party and Awareness

In earlier discussion (4.2.4), it was noted that dominant political parties sponsored more candidates than the smaller parties. To this end, the study investigated the relationship between political party and awareness of social media. Data in Table 4.10 indicated the distribution of political party and the awareness of social media use. The findings indicated that at the higher levels of electoral office, politicians from all political parties showed a higher awareness level of social media use, except politicians belonging to the United Democratic Forum (UDF) who posted 66.7% awareness. At the lower levels of office candidates posted marginally lower levels of awareness. For instance, at the parliamentary level, ODM posted an awareness level of 97.6%, followed by TNA posting 90.5% awareness, while contenders from the smaller parties posted a low of 77.8%. Results from chi-square tests indicated that all the p-values were greater than 0.05 ($P > 0.05$) implying that the variation across the political parties was not statistically significant. Several inferences can be made. Firstly, the majority of candidates across parties were aware of social media use.

Secondly, politicians from smaller parties showed the least awareness of social media use. Thirdly, there was no significant variation in awareness across the parties.

Table 4.10: Distribution of Politicians by Party and Awareness of Social Media

Electoral Office (%)		Party affiliation				Chi-square test
		The National Alliance Party (TNA)	Orange Democratic Movement (ODM)	United Democratic Forum (UDF)	Other specify	
President (n=6)	Yes	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	a
Governor (n=24)	Yes	100.0	100.0	66.7	100.0	X ² = 2.400 df = 2 Sig = .301*
	No	.0	.0	33.3	.0	
Senator (n=29)	Yes	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	a
	No	.0	.0	.0	.0	
Women Rep (n=33)	Yes	100.0	100.0	100.0	77.8	X ² = 1.675 df = 2 Sig = .843*
	No	.0	.0	.0	22.2	
MP (n=208)	Yes	90.5	97.6	92.6	93.9	X ² = 1.550 df = 3 Sig = .671*
	No	9.5	2.4	7.4	6.1	

^a No statistics are computed because the variable is a constant.

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Research Data (2015)

4.4 Use of Social Media

Respondents were asked to indicate whether they used any social media platform over the 2013 campaign period. Their responses were shown in Figure 4.2. The findings showed that a majority of politicians (87.3%) used social media during their election campaign in the 2013 general elections. However, 12.7% of them did not use social media. It can therefore be inferred that a majority of politicians used social media, and that Kenyan politicians ranked among the highest in Africa in social media use for political marketing. A similar study carried out in Nigeria, which is a developing nation, found that only 72% of the politicians used social media for political advertising (Asemah & Edegoh, 2012). These findings also agree with a recent survey conducted by Consumer Insight which ranks Kenya as the highest in social media use (93%), while Nigeria is the second highest (89%) followed by South Africa (85%)

(First Africa News, 2015). The findings show that Kenyan politician's uptake of ICT ranks among the highest in Africa.

It is worthy to note, that the use of social media increased from being extremely sporadic in the 2007 elections, to almost 90% usage among all candidates in the 2013 elections. To achieve this level of adoption within a five year period is quite remarkable for a developing nation with a maturing democracy. This indeed shows that there is a paradigm shift in the ways in which politicians express themselves in the political realm ever since the emergence of new media. It can therefore be argued that the Internet is providing political actors with new spaces in which to articulate a variety of political information and subsequently social media marketing is rapidly becoming a significant communications channel for reaching the public.

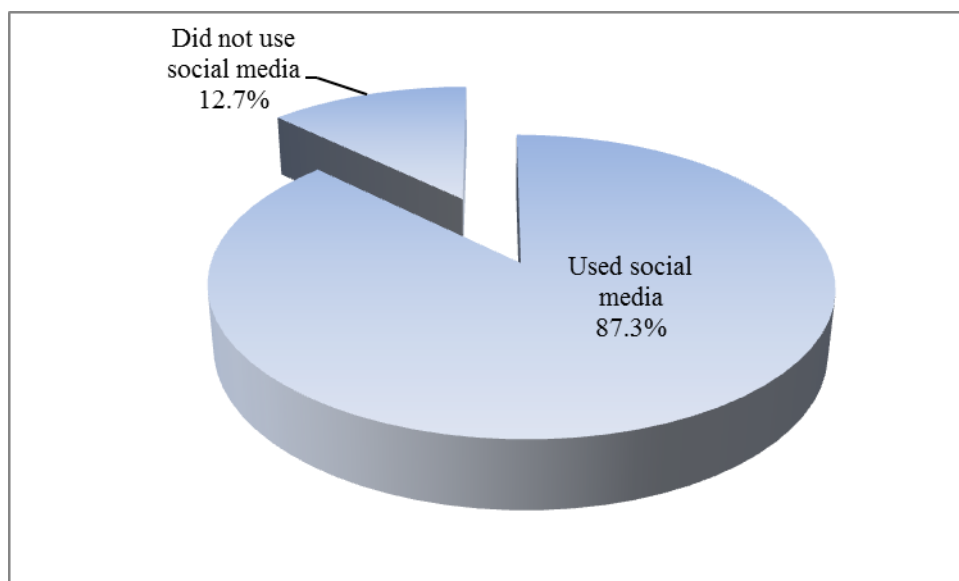


Figure 4.2: Politician's Use of Social Media

Source: Research Data (2015)

Diffusion of innovations theory suggests that technology that is perceived as better than the technology it supersedes by a particular group of users, measured in terms that matter to those users, like cost advantage, social prestige, convenience, or satisfaction is more likely to be adopted (Rogers, 2003). It is possible therefore that

the high adoption incident could be explained by the perceived benefits that social media offered political actors.

Politicians interviewed recognised some clear advantages that social networks hold over traditional campaign tools. They often referenced the importance of Facebook's niche. One presidential candidate observed:

"Our campaign strategy was to target the youth who had a majority of votes. We looked for the easiest way to reach the youth and found social media a vibrant platform to run on."

In addition, a senatorial candidate observed that:

"Social media makes it much easier to communicate because there are voters who may not attend rallies but since most people can access at least a handset which is connected to the Internet, then definitely the message will easily reach the electorate. Though we cannot underrate personal contact, which door to door or meeting in small gatherings like churches give, using social media makes work easier. Using social media also helps to satisfy a class of techno-savvy voters who access almost everything else through social media."

Other campaigns were drawn by low cost of using social media. A parliamentary candidate stated:

"The biggest benefit of Facebook is that it is free. It is one of the cheapest ways to connect with voters."

While other contestants were drawn by the reach of social media, one gubernatorial candidate observed:

"Social media is [sic] able to reach people living in the diaspora, who in turn influence voters back in the home constituency."

Others contestants commented that they adopted social media because of their synchronous quality. One parliamentary candidate stated that:

“Social media reaches [sic] the voters in real time. Once you create a post, it is immediately out there. You also get quick response from the electorate. You can just get a post or a question or a response from a particular person and you follow it through with that person.”

Another social media strategist for a presidential candidate posited that:

“It is easier to reach people through social media. There are people who receive social media post notifications and they are able to follow what is trending in real time.”

Among the studies which support these findings are those by Evans-Cowley & Hollander (2010), Marriot (2006), Römmele (2003), and Tedesco, Miller and Spiker (1999) which conclude that politicians are increasingly incorporating social networking sites in their campaigns. Additionally, studies conducted by Gulati and Williams (2007) and Williams and Gulati (2012) show that a record number of congressional and House candidates maintained a campaign website in U.S. elections in 2006. They further argue that there is increased standardisation of baseline informational web content and features, as well as greater integration of websites into candidates' overall communication strategies.

However, some of the 12.7% of politicians who did not use social media cited constituency characteristics as reasons for not using social media. Some argued that since their constituencies were predominantly rural and poor, voters therefore were most unlikely to use social media. Diffusion of innovations literature suggests that constituency factors account for the difference in adoption of new technologies because potential adopters are mindful of the degree to which an innovation is compatible and incompatible with expectations (existing norms and values), as well as the needs and capacities of its users or customers (Tornatzky & Klein, 1982; Ward &

Gibson, 2009). Interviews with political candidates and staff on their social media campaign team for the 2013 elections seemed to support this view. For example, one parliamentary candidate stated:

“Our campaign did not utilise Facebook or other social networking sites as part of our campaign. Our outreach efforts focused largely on grassroots methods such as door-to-door campaigning, use of posters and other personal interaction with voters.”

4.4.1 Relationship between Gender and Use of Social Media

In earlier discussion (4.2.1), it was noted that there was a gender gap in the 2013 elections. To this end, the study investigated how this gender gap impacted on the adoption of social media for political marketing. Results in Table 4.11 showed the use of social media and gender. The results indicated that more male politicians (88.2%) used social media for political marketing than female politicians (86.1%). Chi-square test results were ($X^2 = 0.224$, $df = 1$, $Sig = 0.385$) implying that the variation across gender and use of social media were not statistically significant. There were higher levels of usage posted by both genders meaning that the adoption of social media for political marketing was high, and that the differences in adoption between both genders were diminishing.

Table 4.11: Distribution of Politicians’ Gender and Social Media Use

		Gender (%)		Chi-square test
		Male (n=229)	Female (n=72)	
Use of social media in 2013 campaign	Yes	88.2	86.1	$X^2 = 0.224$ $df = 1$ $Sig = 0.385^*$
	No	11.8	13.9	

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level

Source: Research Data (2015)

Further, a determination of the politicians’ gender and use of social media respective of the office campaigned for was made, and is shown in Table 4.12. Results showed that 100% of male politicians at the presidential level used social media. At the

gubernatorial level, 100% of female candidates used social media as compared to 92% male candidates. At the senatorial level, 85% of male candidates used social media as compared to 80% of women. At women representative level, 85% of the women used social media. At the parliamentary level, more women than men used social media as indicated by 89% and 84% respectively. None of the chi-square results for social media use for various titles of office varied for were significant ($P>0.05$) implying that the variation across gender was not statistically significant.

Several inferences can be made from these findings. Firstly, there were higher levels of usage of social media for political marketing by both genders. Secondly, politicians of both gender garnering for the higher positions – such as presidential and gubernatorial seats – posted a higher usage incident than those in lower offices. Thirdly, there were no significant differences in the usage of social media between the genders. Although a majority of candidates from both genders used social media, those at the higher levels of office used it more than those at the lower levels of office. A possible explanation for this is that candidates for the presidential, gubernatorial and senatorial levels of office represented larger constituents hence need to reach a greater majority of voters.

Although some studies contend that women feel less comfortable with new information technology (Cooper & Weaver, 2003; Hoffman, 2008; Wasserman & Richmond-Abbot, 2005), this study finds no significant difference in the use of social media for political marketing within gender. This study agrees with findings that indicate that as Internet and computer usage becomes widespread, the gap accounting for usage between gender narrows (DiMaggio, Hargittai, Neuman, & Robinson, 2001; Van Dijk, 2005; Vissers & Hooghe, 2006; Warschauer, 2003). This could indicate a narrowing gender gap in use of social media among politicians in Kenya.

Table 4.12: Relationship between Gender and Use of Social Media

Title of office	Use of social media	Gender				Chi-square test
		Male		Female		
		Freq	% within gender	Freq	% within gender	
President	Yes	6	100	0	0	a
Governor	Yes	22	92	1	100	X ² = .179 df = 1
	No	2	8	0	0	Sig = .857*
Senator	Yes	22	85	4	80	X ² = .048 df = 1
	No	4	15	1	20	Sig =.627*
Women Rep	Yes	0	0	28	85	X ² = 1.616 df = 1
	No	0	0	5	15	Sig =.320*
MP	Yes	148	84	32	89	X ² = .002 df = 1
	No	28	16	4	11	Sig =.616*

^a No statistics are computed because the variable is a constant.

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Research Data (2015)

4.4.2 Relationship between Age and Use of Social Media

In earlier discussion (4.2.2), it was noted that there were generally young politicians contesting in the 2013 elections. In light of these findings, the study investigated the relationship between age and social media adoption. Table 4.13 posts results obtained when investigation into the use of social media for political marketing across the ages was carried out. At the presidential level, all candidates (100%) used social media regardless of their age. At the gubernatorial level, younger candidates (21 – 35 years) posted 100% usage, while older candidates (51 years and above) posted 88.9% usage. For the senatorial position, younger candidates (below 20 years) posted 100% usage, while older candidates (51 years and above) posted 85.7% usage. For the women representative position, younger candidates (below 20 years) did not use social media, while older candidates (51 years and above) showed 71.4% usage. For the parliamentary level, younger candidates (21 – 36 years) posted 93.3% usage, while older candidates (51 years and above) posted 86% usage. The results of the chi-square

for various titles of office vied for show that there was no significant variation ($P>0.05$) implying that the variation across the ages was not statistically significant.

Two inferences can be made. Firstly, politicians younger in age used social media more than older politicians. Secondly, the variation across the ages was not statistically significant. This means that the digital divide occasioned by age continues to diminish in the use of social media for political communication. The results agree with findings from a study conducted by Williams and Gulati (2012) which indicated that age demarcates an important, albeit diminishing, digital divide in social networks more generally, and much more so in the use of Facebook in particular.

Table 4.13: Distribution of Politicians by Age and Social Media Use

Electoral Office (%)		Age				Chi-square test
		Below 20 years	21 – 35 years	36 - 50 years	51 years and above	
President (n=6)	Yes	.0	.0	100.0	100.0	^a
	No	.0	.0	.0	.0	
Governor (n=23)	Yes	.0	100.0	88.9	88.9	$X^2 = .661$ $df = 2$ $Sig = .719^*$
	No	.0	.0	11.1	11.1	
Senator (n=29)	Yes	100.0	83.3	86.7	85.7	$X^2 = .194$ $df = 3$ $Sig = .978^*$
	No	.0	16.7	13.3	14.3	
Women Rep (n=33)	Yes	.0	71.4	94.4	71.4	$X^2 = 6.866$ $df = 3$ $Sig = .076^*$
	No	100.0	28.6	5.6	28.6	
MP (n=205)	Yes	.0	93.3	86.3	86.0	$X^2 = 1.010$ $df = 2$ $Sig = .604^*$
	No	.0	6.7	13.7	14.0	

^a No statistics are computed because the variable is a constant.

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Research Data (2015)

These findings agree with the diffusion of innovations theory which postulates that age, as a characteristic of an adopter, influences technology adoption. Rogers (2003) identifies early adopters as generally younger and willing to take risks. He describes older adopters as pragmatists who hate risk and are uncomfortable with a new idea. A majority of late adopters are risk averse, see a high risk in adopting a new technology. One parliamentary candidate aged above 51 years observed that:

“On social media, there is anonymity which creates an ambiguous context. You are not sure who the person you are engaging with is. The older generation prefers to think it [social media] is neither here nor there.”

Although the age gap persists, and that scholars observe that Internet use declines with each advancing age group (Hernnson, et al., 2007; Williams & Gulati, 2012), the age factor, however, is mitigated by the fact that some politicians (especially older ones) have personnel manning their social media campaigns. In an interview carried on a political candidate running for the position of women representative aged above 51 years stated that she had a university student running her online campaign:

“There was a young man who actually came to me and said, ‘Mama, I think if you use Facebook you will be able to reach more people. So I was encouraged to use Facebook by a student from Moi University.’”

For this particular candidate, it didn’t matter that she had limited knowledge of social media use for political marketing, because she procured an assistant who could help run her online campaign. This observation is supported by findings from a study conducted by Williams and Gulati (2012) which indicated that the importance of age as determinant of social networks usage is diminishing.

4.4.3 Relationship between Education and Use of Social Media

It was noted in earlier discussion (4.2.3) that there were generally more educated politicians contesting in the 2013 elections. With this in mind, the study investigated the relationship between education and social media adoption. The distribution of the politicians’ level of education and the use of social media is shown in Table 4.14. The results indicated that 100% of the presidential candidates, who were holders of bachelor’s degrees, used social media. At the gubernatorial level, 100% of the candidates with doctoral and master’s degrees used social media while 88.2 of those with bachelor’s degrees used them. At the senatorial level, 100% of candidates with doctoral degrees and diplomas used social media, while only 76.5% of those with

bachelor's degrees used them. For the women representative positions, 93.3% of candidates with bachelor's degrees used social media while those with master's degrees had a low of 71.4%. At the parliamentary level, 100% of candidates with doctoral degrees used social media while those with diplomas posted a low of 73.9%. The results of the chi-square tests indicated that all the p-values were greater than 0.05 ($P > 0.05$) implying that the variation across the education levels was not statistically significant.

Table 4.14: Distribution of Politicians by Education and Social Media Use

Electoral Office (%)		Level of Education				Chi-square test
		Diploma	Bachelor's	Master's	Doctorate	
President (n=6)	Yes	-	100.0	-	-	a
	No	-	-	-	-	
Governor (n=25)	Yes	-	88.2	100.0	100.0	$X^2 = .839$ df = 2 Sig = .657*
	No	-	11.8	.0	.0	
Senator (n=31)	Yes	100.0	76.5	85.7	100.0	$X^2 = 1.805$ df = 3 Sig = .614*
	No	.0	23.5	14.3	.0	
Women Rep (n=33)	Yes	72.7	93.3	71.4	-	$X^2 = 2.012$ df = 2 Sig = .366*
	No	27.3	6.7	28.6	-	
MP (n=197)	Yes	73.9	94.5	82.4	100.0%	$X^2 = 7.438$ df = 3 Sig = .059*
	No	26.1	5.5	17.6	.0%	

^a No statistics are computed because the variable is a constant.

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Research Data (2015)

The first inference that can be made from these findings is that political candidates used social media for political marketing regardless of their education levels. However, at the gubernatorial and parliamentary levels, candidates with higher qualifications posted a marginally higher level of usage than those with lower qualification. A possible explanation is that higher levels of education make people more comfortable with, and skilled in the use of technology (Marriott, 2006; Williams & Gulati, 2012). This accounts for the high levels of awareness and usage of social media for political communication among better educated candidates. These findings agree with a study conducted by Williams and Gulati (2012) where they found out

that education could be viewed as corroborating the justifications and interpretations applied to it in the campaign website studies, which tie it to Internet usage behaviour.

4.4.4 Relationship between Political Party and Use of Social Media

It was noted in earlier discussion (4.2.4) that dominant political parties sponsored more candidates than the smaller parties. To this end, the study investigated the relationship between political party and social media adoption. The results obtained are shown in Table 4.15. The data showed that at the presidential level, 100% of all the parties used social media. At the gubernatorial level, 100% of TNA, and ODM used social media, while only 66.7% from UDF used them. At the senatorial level, 100% of ODM and UDF candidates used social media while candidates sponsored by TNA posted a low of 50%. At the women representative level, 100% of candidates sponsored by the TNA used social media, while those from smaller parties posted a low of 70%. At parliamentary level, candidates sponsored by ODM posted 92.7% adoption rate while those from UDF posted a low of 77.8%. Results from chi-square tests conducted indicated that all the p-values were greater than 0.05 ($P > 0.05$) implying that the variation across the political parties was not statistically significant.

Table 4.15: Distribution of Politicians' Party and Social Media Use

Electoral Office (%)		Party affiliation					Chi-square test
		The National Alliance Party (TNA)	Orange Democratic Party (ODM)	United Democratic Forum (UDF)	United Republican Party (URP)	Other specify	
President (n=6)	Yes	100.0	100.0	100.0	.0	100.0	^a
Governor (n=24)	Yes	100.0	100.0	66.7	100.0	88.9	$X^2 = 2.400$
	No	.0	.0	33.3	.0	11.1	df = 2
Senator (n=29)	Yes	50.0	100.0	100.0	83.3	85.7	$X^2 = 9.436$
	No	50.0	.0	.0	16.7	14.3	df = 3
Women Rep (n=34)	Yes	100.0	87.5	80.0	80.0	70.0	$X^2 = 1.306$
	No	.0	12.5	20.0	20.0	30.0	df = 2
MP (n=206)	Yes	90.5	92.7	77.8	91.7	80.6	$X^2 = 2.514$
	No	9.5	7.3	22.2	8.3	19.4	df = 3
							Sig = .473*

^a No statistics are computed because the variable is a constant.

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Research Data (2015)

The first inference about the findings is that, in general, politicians adopted social media usage regardless of their political parties. However, adoption rates for the bigger parties was higher than those from smaller parties at the women representative, and parliamentary levels. These findings are in tandem with findings from studies conducted by Gibson, et al. (2003), Greer and LaPointe (2004), Klotz (2004), Panagopoulos (2005), Gulati and Williams (2006) and Howard (2006) which show major party candidates outpacing those from minor parties, although the gap is shrinking. A possible explanation for this was the high levels of competition between candidates belonging to the bigger parties at these levels. A second explanation is that the contest at these levels was quite competitive given that there were fewer incumbents and hence the contest was more open.

The second inference is that political parties adopted social media regardless of their party strength. This implies that, although Kenya is still in the initial stages of technological adoption in regards to electioneering, all parties exhibited similar behaviour in terms of adoption of social media. Although TNA ran on a digital campaign platform, there was no marked difference in social media adoption between the party and other parties which did not run on a digital campaign platform. These results contrasts with studies conducted in the U.S. that reveal that the political scene at early periods of adoption of Internet-based tools showed that Democratic candidates were more likely to use Facebook than Republicans. In the U.S., therefore, the decision to campaign with Facebook was a reflection of partisan differences in mobilisation strategies that found Democrats more eager than Republicans to use the Internet as a way to communicate with their supporters. For instance, 61% of Democratic candidates for the Senate in 2006 updated their Facebook profile, but only 39% of Republican candidates did the same. In the House races, Democratic candidates also were more likely than Republicans to have updated their Facebook profiles (Williams & Gulati, 2012).

4.5 Technological Factors that Influence Social Media Use

The second objective of the study was to determine the influence of technological factors on use of social media by politicians for political marketing in Kenya. The technological aspects considered include type of social media used, years of Internet experience, factors influencing choice of media, frequency of posts, time spent online, nature of message posted, and attitude towards social media. To achieve this, a number of questions relating to these key areas were posed to contestants in the 2013 general election.

4.5.1 Type of Social Media Used

Information was sought on the type of the social media used by politicians in the 2013 general elections. The results were summarised in Figure 4.3. The findings showed that 78% of politicians used Facebook in their elections campaign, while 5.6% used Twitter, with a further 3.7% using websites. The findings indicated that websites are less popular than social media sites. A possible explanation for the diminishing popularity of websites could be the cost of production and maintenance of a website. On the other hand, the popularity of social media, especially Facebook is on the rise. The popularity of social media may stem from the fact that they are much more affordable. Researches that support this view include Accounting Diary (2010), Evans-Cowley & Hollander (2010), Gueorguieva (2008), and Whitney (2010). Another inference is that Facebook has diffused more rapidly than Twitter. A possible explanation for this is that Facebook is easy to use compared to Twitter. Whereas Facebook is considered as a communication platform for the masses, Twitter is considered an elite platform. Again, Facebook provides more flexibility in terms of type of messages and size while Twitter is concise. Research indicates that Facebook has more reach than Twitter in Kenya (Kemibaro, 2011; Kenya ICT Board, 2010; Synovate, 2009; Wyche, Schoenebeck, & Forte, 2013; Wasswa, 2013). It follows then that politicians will be more inclined to use Facebook so as to reach a wider constituency of voters.

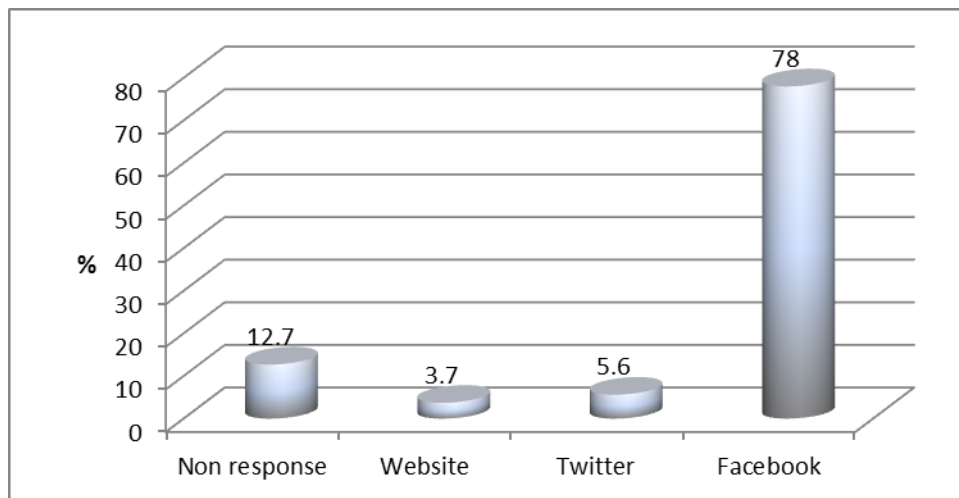


Figure 4.3: Type of Social Media Used by Politicians

Source: Research Data (2015)

A possible account for low adoption rates for Twitter is that it requires technical expertise and specialised knowledge in order to leverage effectively. In addition, the micro-blogging nature as well as the technical skills needed to effectively use Twitter may discourage potential adopters. For instance, Twitter uses a well-defined markup culture and a well-defined markup vocabulary which conveniences users with brevity in expression, but makes it technical for potential adopters to utilise effectively for political marketing.

A further explanation for the rapid diffusion of social media compared to conventional websites is that in Kenya, there is unrestricted access to social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter, and even fewer incidence of censorship on social media (Freedom House, 2013). Seen in this way, then social media essentially provide platforms for alternative spheres of communication between politicians and voters.

4.5.2 Relationship between Electoral Office and Type of Social Media

Results in Table 4.16 indicated the relationship between the electoral office and type of social media used. Among the presidential candidates, 100% used Facebook, while none of those polled used Twitter and the website. At the gubernatorial level, 81% of

the candidates used Facebook while 9.5% used Twitter, with a similar number using a website. At the senatorial level, 67.9% used Facebook while 17.9% used Twitter. 14.3% of parliamentary candidates reported using a website. At the women representative level, 92.6% of the candidates used Facebook while only 7.4% used a website. At the parliamentary level, 95.6% of candidates used Facebook, while 4.4% reported using Twitter. To test if this variation was statistically significant, the chi-square test was conducted and yielded ($X^2=21.034$, $df = 8$, $Sig = .007$) implying that there was a variation in the use of social media across the political offices sought and that the variation was statistically significant. Results in table 4.16 indicated that there was a significance difference ($P<0.05$) between the type of social media used. Facebook was used more (91.3%) compared to the other social media types across all the political offices.

Table 4.16: Relationship between Electoral Office and Social Media Type

	Electoral Office (%)						Chi-square test
	President (n=6)	Governor (n=21)	Senator (n=28)	Women Rep (n=27)	MP (n=183)	Whole Sample (n=262)	
Facebook	100.0	81.0	67.9	92.6	95.6	91.3	$X^2=21.034$
Twitter	.0	9.5	17.9	.0	4.4	5.7	$df = 8$
Website	.0	9.5	14.3	7.4	.0	3.0	$Sig=.007^*$

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Research Data (2015)

The inference that can be made from these findings is that all the candidates irrespective of office preferred Facebook to Twitter. For instance, the presidential candidates used Facebook the most. A possible explanation is that their campaign teams identified the most popular social media platform with Kenyan voters and concentrated their efforts on that medium. On the other hand, the senatorial candidates used Twitter the most while presidential candidates and women representatives didn't use the medium. A possible explanation for this is that senatorial candidates were the most elitist among the contestants. In general, the results indicated that candidates for new offices (gubernatorial, senatorial, and women representative) as well as the pre-existing offices (presidential and parliamentary) equally exploited available technological resources to help them expand their electoral base and maximize voter turnout among their supporters.

4.5.3 Other Types of Media Used by Politicians for Campaigns

Other medium used for the general election campaigns were summarised in Figure 4.4. Findings showed that majority of politicians predominantly used posters (92.1%), and radio (69.1%). This could be attributed to the relatively low cost of advertising associated with these two media.

Other media used included bill boards (40.3%), newspapers (37.2%), and television (32.5%). A possible explanation for this is the creation of counties which in turn birthed more urban centres that had voters with access to Televisions, newspapers and billboards on a regular basis.

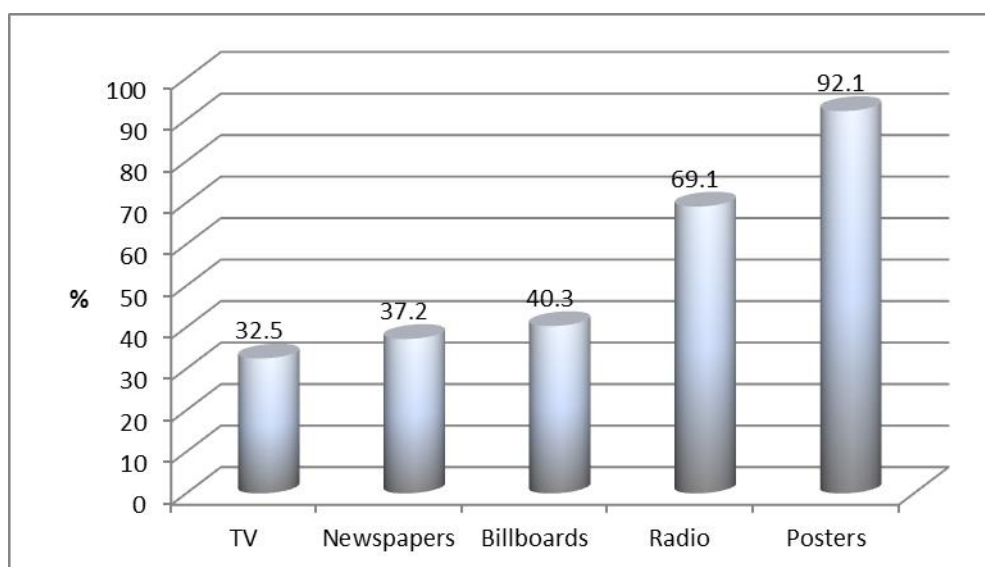


Figure 4.4: Other Media Used by Politicians

Source: Research Data (2015)

In earlier discussion (4.5.1) it was observed that 91.3% of politicians used Facebook. In comparison, findings in Figure 4.4 indicated that Facebook was the next popular medium with campaigners after use of posters. It therefore follows that most politicians are turning to Internet based media in line with the increased penetration of the Internet among Kenyan populations across the social divide (Communications Commission of Kenya, 2013; Freedom House, 2013; Humanipo, 2013; Msimang,

2011). Social networks in particular benefit from a large number of members or from serving a specific niche.

These findings agree with findings from a study conducted in Nigeria which show that political parties recognise and make use of the new media for execution of their political activities (Asemah & Edegoh, 2012). Whereas in Nigeria political parties use social media occasionally (Asemah & Edegoh, 2012), in Kenya there was a high incident of usage.

Some politicians recognised some clear advantages social networks held over traditional campaign tools. They often referenced the importance of Facebook's niche. One parliamentary candidate stated that:

"We are trying to reach younger voters, and most young people use Facebook."

Other campaigns were drawn by low cost. One parliamentary candidate observed that:

"The biggest benefit of Facebook is that it is free. So in terms of value, it is probably one of the best things that we can use to connect to voters."

Other mediums used alongside include T-shirts (9.8%), vehicles mounted with a public address system (9.6%), banners (6.2%), car stickers (5.4%), road shows (4.2%), fliers (3.8%), Mugs (2.1%), Khangas (3.2%), badges (3.4%), and door to door visits (1.6%). These results imply that politicians did not rely on social media only to campaign but they utilised a variety of tools. A parliamentary candidate observed that:

"Social media has [sic] been overrated. We are still very "analogue" so to speak. We still prefer the spoken word, we still prefer the human contact that rallies provide. It is an African issue, we are still orate."

This is in line with the social marketing theory which sees political marketing as a product and utilising the optimum combination of campaign components to attain pragmatic goals (Andreasen, 1995, 2006; Kotler, Roberto, & Lee, 2002; McKenzie-Mohr, 2011).

Further, the study aimed to establish whether there was any preferred mode of campaign across the electoral office, and the results were shown in Figure 4.5.

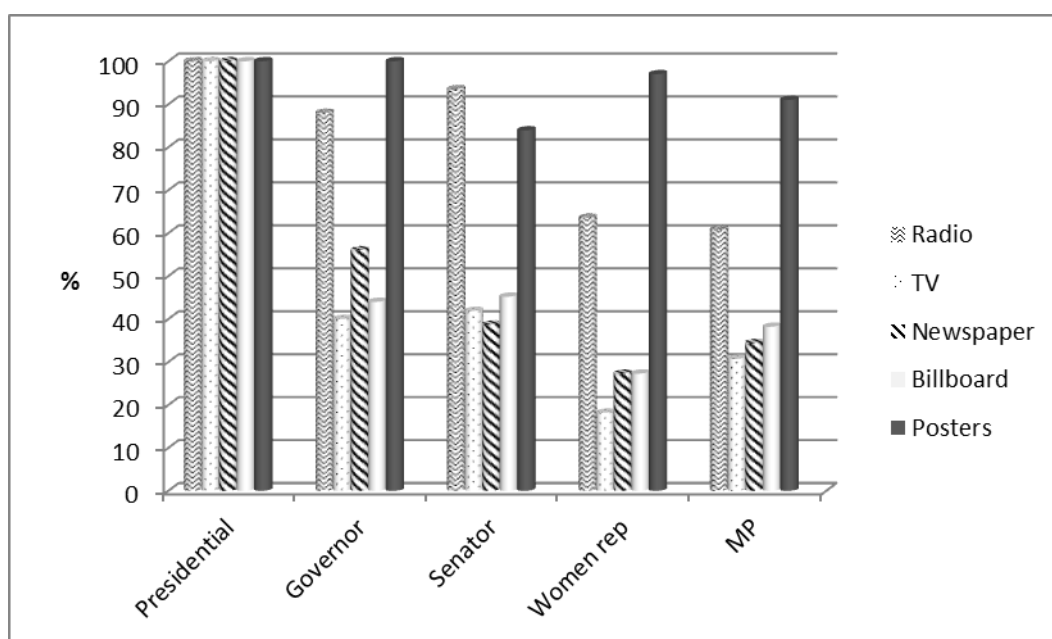


Figure 4.5: Type of Media Used and Electoral Office

Source: Research Data (2015)

The findings in Figure 4.5 indicated that the presidential candidates employed the use of radio, TV, newspapers, billboards and posters as confirmed by 100% usage. At the gubernatorial level, posters and the radio were the most popular as confirmed by 100% and 88% usage respectively, while TV was the least popular at 40%. At the senatorial level, the radio and posters were the most popular mediums as confirmed by 93.5% and 83.9% respectively, while newspapers were the least popular at a low of 38.7%. Among the women representative candidates, posters and the radio were the most popular mediums at 97% and 63.6% respectively, while TV was the least

popular at 18.2%. Among the parliamentary candidates, posters and the radio were most popular at 91% and 60.8% respectively, while the TV was least popular at 30.7%.

Findings showed that all the candidates used traditional media in their political campaigns, confirming that inasmuch as social media use were on the rise in Kenya, the traditional media still played a key role in elections. Interviews with political candidates and staff on their social media campaign teams for the 2013 general elections seemed to support the view that Kenya is still a middle-transition state in terms of social media use. One parliamentary candidate stated that:

“Social media is the marketing platform for the future. Most voters in future will be young people who are well educated and who have access to the Internet. We cannot separate technology from political marketing. The Internet will play a key role in the future especially with the advent of integrated marketing communication (IMC).”

The diffusion of innovations literature suggests an additional reason for variation in usage by stating that constituency factors have a bearing on rates of adoption of new technologies. This implies that politicians in Kenya are mindful of the degree to which an innovation is compatible and incompatible with the needs and capacities of its users or customers and hence adopt it with variations. Variegated adoption in relation to constituency characteristics is a view supported by Tornatzky and Klein (1982), and Ward and Gibson (2009).

Odinga (2013) agrees that social media tools supplement, rather than replace, conventional media in political marketing. This would suggest that candidates who are the most likely to embrace social networking sites are those that see this new communication medium as an additional tool for winning votes (Williams & Gulati, 2012).

This fragmentation of channels is seen as a practical extension of postmodern campaign communication (Norris, 2001a). Additionally, researchers have noted that politicians have increasingly begun to employ long-tail marketing strategies in their campaigns (Anderson, 2006; Koster, 2009; Shaha, 2008). The logic of long-tail marketing is to 'sell more of less', which in a political campaign context entails that candidates spread their efforts across several different channels, each with specific intended target groups and tailored messages. Hence, social media serves as an add-on to other campaign efforts (Sudulich, Wall, Jansen & Cunningham, 2010) geared towards political marketing.

4.5.4 Years of Internet Experience

Information was sought on the respondents' years of Internet experience. Their responses were summarised in Table 4.17. The findings indicated that at the presidential level, 50% of the contestants had between 3 and 10 years of Internet experience while a further 50% had more than ten years' experience. At the gubernatorial level, 68% had between 3 and 10 years' experience, while 8% had no experience at all. At the senatorial level, 45.2% of candidates had between 3 and 10 years' experience, while 9.7% had no experience at all. At the women representative level, 47.1% had between 3 and 10 years' experience, while 11.8% had no experience at all. At the parliamentary level, 64.5% of candidates had between 3 and 10 years' experience, while 2.8% had no experience at all. Results obtained from the Chi-square test were ($X^2=24.293$, $df=12$, $Sig=.019$) indicating that the variation on the years of Internet experience was significant.

It can be inferred that candidates campaigning for higher electoral offices had more Internet experience than those campaigning for lower offices. A further inference is that women representatives had the least Internet experience.

Table 4.17: Politicians' Years of Internet Experience

		Electoral Office (%)					Chi-square test
		President (n=6)	Governor (n=25)	Senator (n=31)	Women Rep (n=34)	MP (n=211)	
Years of Internet use	No experience	.0	8.0	9.7	11.8	2.8	X ² =24.293 df=12 Sig=.019*
	Less than 3 years	.0	.0	25.8	35.3	12.8	
	3 - 10 Years	50.0	68.0	45.2	47.1	64.5	
	More than 10 years	50.0	24.0	19.4	5.9	19.9	

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Research Data (2015)

4.5.4.1 Relationship between Years of Internet Experience and Awareness of Social Media

In earlier discussion (4.5.4), it was found that candidates campaigning for higher electoral offices had more Internet experience than those campaigning for lower offices. To this end, the study investigated how this Internet experience gap impinged on the awareness of social media for political marketing. Data in Table 4.18 indicated that among candidates who had more than 10 years' experience with the Internet, 96.6% of them were aware of social media use. All candidates (100%) with three to ten years' experience with the Internet were aware of social media use. Among candidates who had less than three years' experience with the Internet, 91.1% of them were aware of social media use. Among candidates with no experience with the Internet, 40% of them were aware of social media use. Results obtained from the chi-square test were ($X^2=108.38$, $df=3$, $Sig =0.000$) indicating that the variation between years of Internet experience and awareness of social media use was significant. It can therefore be inferred that candidates who had more than three years Internet experience were more aware of social media use for political marketing than those who had fewer years of Internet experience.

Table 4.18: Years of Internet Experience and Awareness of Social Media

Years of Internet Experience	Awareness of Social Media Use (%)		Chi-square test
	Yes	No	
No experience	40	60	X ² =108.38 df=3 Sig =0.000*
Less than 3 years	91.1	8.9	
3-10 years	100	0	
More than 10 years	96.6	3.4	

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Research Data (2015)

4.5.4.2 Relationship between Years of Internet Experience and Social Media Use

In earlier discussion (4.5.4), it was observed that candidates campaigning for higher electoral offices had more Internet experience than those campaigning for lower offices. To this end, the study investigated how this Internet experience gap impinged on the use of social media for political marketing. Data in Table 4.19 indicated among candidates with more than ten years' Internet experience, 89.8% of them used social media. Among candidates with three to ten years' experience with Internet, 92.5% of them used social media. Among candidates who had less than three years' experience, 83.7% of them used social media. Finally, 33.3% of candidates with no experience with Internet used social media. Results obtained from the chi-square test were (X²=49.194, df=3, Sig =0.000) indicating that the variation between years of Internet experience and social media use was significant. It can be inferred that candidates who had more than three years Internet experience were more likely to use social media than those who had fewer years of Internet experience.

Table 4.19: Years of Internet Experience and Social Media Use

Years of Internet Experience	Social Media Use (%)		Chi-square test
	Yes	No	
No experience	33.3	66.7	X ² =49.194 df=3 Sig =0.000*
Less than 3 years	83.7	16.3	
3-10 years	92.5	7.5	
More than 10 years	89.8	10.2	

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Research Data (2015)

4.5.5 Factors Influencing the Choice of Media

To establish the factors that influenced the choice of social media, several statements on what was thought to influence the choice were presented to the politicians. The frequencies of the responses were summarised in Figure 4.6. Findings showed that indeed, each of the factors posed to the politicians influenced the decision to use social media. However, financial consideration was identified as the most influential factor (69.1%). This was followed by familiarity with technology (50.8%), while level of office had the least influence (37.7%).

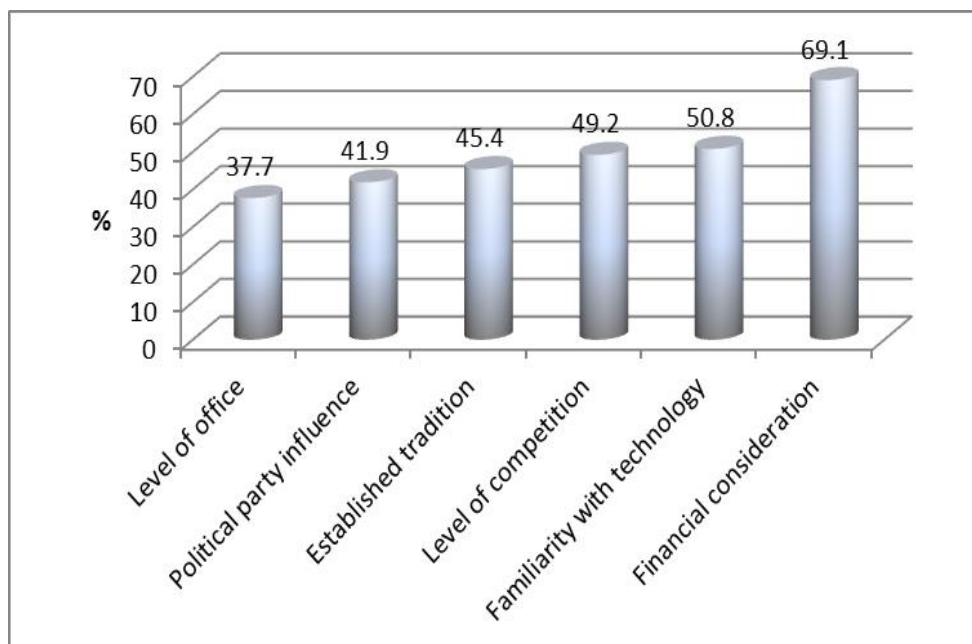


Figure 4.6: Factors Influencing the Choice of Social Media

Source: Research Data (2015)

Several inferences can be made from these findings. First, financial considerations were given the most prominence by campaigners. Secondly, level of office received the least consideration. While some candidates felt that level of office was least influential, other candidates felt that its impact was significant. One senatorial candidate interviewed observed that:

“A member of county assembly might choose not to use social media because the campaign ground to be covered is comparatively small. He can choose to perform a door to door campaign. The same applies to a member of parliament who can hop from one meeting to another, from one church to another and so on. But if you want to campaign in nine or ten constituencies for a governor or senator, you might not reach everyone before the close of campaign time. So, social media becomes really useful. Therefore, the level of office you are vying for is a consideration for engaging social media.”

Most candidates employed social media more because of financial constraints. Results indicated that consideration for the cost of advertising was the major contributor to the choice of media. The strong emphasis put on financial resources could be a motivating factor for candidates to employ social media in their campaigns because they are relatively cheap when compared to traditional media. Financial resources and major party status still differentiate which campaigns incorporate the latest technology and features, however (Kamarck, 2002; Hernnson, et al., 2007). Politicians will spend less when they use new media to carry out their political campaigns, than when they use traditional media. Compared to traditional media, new media offers options that are very inexpensive or in some cases, free. Politicians can create free pages on social networking sites that users can connect to for information about political activities and have conversations with electorates. This view is supported by a study done by Asemah and Edegoh (2012) in Nigeria.

Whereas in the U.S. elections the competitiveness of the race contributed to web campaign (Hernnson, et al., 2007; Kamarck, 2002), in Kenya, the level of competition may not be a very significant determinant. Further, in the early days of Internet use in the U.S. elections, incumbents were less likely than challengers to campaign on the Web, but a competitive race increased its use by incumbents and challengers alike (Hernnson, et al., 2007; Kamarck, 2002).

Although a party like TNA ran on a digital campaign platform, only 41% of politicians felt that party influence made them choose to use social media. This shows that political parties have minimal influence on use of media for political marketing.

4.5.6 Frequency of Social Media Posts

To establish the frequency of social media posts, politicians were required to indicate how regularly they updated their status, and posted content on Facebook and Twitter. The results were shown in Table 4.20. The findings indicated that 57% of the candidates updated their sites almost daily, 27.7% updated them almost weekly, while 3.6% updated them almost monthly and a further 2% posting almost yearly.

One inference that can be made is that fewer candidates updated their sites on a daily basis. In earlier discussion (4.4), it was found that 87.3% of politicians used social media. It then follows that although a high number of politicians had adopted social media; a smaller percentage of them updated their status or posted content on a daily basis.

Table 4.20: Frequency of Social Media Posts

	Frequency	Percent
Often/Almost daily	175	57.0
Sometimes/Almost weekly	85	27.7
Rarely/Almost Monthly	11	3.6
Never/Almost Yearly	6	2.0
I don't know	16	5.2
Non response	14	4.6

Source: Research Data (2015)

The findings imply that the potential of social media for political marketing has not been fully exploited by political candidates. One social media consultant for a senatorial candidate observed that Facebook needs to be updated:

“... every 6 hours or so, so that you can manage anything that is going round. For Twitter every 2 hours if possible. Twitter needs quicker updates so that if there is anything going wrong you can be able to clear the mess...”

Another social media strategist for a presidential candidate stated that:

“Updating social sites depends on the activities that you have. Activities that you have during any particular day will set a certain social media agenda, hence how often you post.”

It is clear therefore that the potential of social media had not been fully exploited by the candidates.

A second inference is that about 2% of political candidates haven't passed the confirmation stage of social media adoption for their campaigns because they are only using it partially. According to Rogers (2003) in this stage the individual uses the innovation to a varying degree as they determine its usefulness, before they make a final decision to use it fully in the confirmation stage.

Further, a determination of frequency of updating posts and status on social media across electoral office was made and the results were shown in Table 4.21. The results indicated that at the presidential level, all candidates posted content on their social media sites on a daily basis as indicated by 100% daily posts. At the gubernatorial level, a majority of 52% posted content daily, while 40% posted weekly. At the senatorial level a majority of 53.6% posted content daily, while 39.3% posted weekly. Some senatorial candidates posted content monthly though. At the women representative position, a majority of the candidates posted content weekly as confirmed by 42.4%, while 39.4% posted daily. However, 3% of women representative candidates posted yearly. At the parliamentary level, a majority of 66.2 candidates posted content daily while 21.9 posted weekly. Some 6% posted monthly while 3% posted yearly. Results in Table 4.23 show the chi-square results as

($X^2=21.355$, $df = 16$, $Sig = .016$) implying that there was no significant variation in the practices of the politicians across the political offices sought.

Table 4.21: Frequency of Updating Posts and Status on Social Media

	Electoral Office (%)					Chi-square test
	President (n=6)	Governor (n=25)	Senator (n=28)	Women Rep (n=33)	MP (n=201)	
Often/Almost daily	100.0	52.0	53.6	39.4	66.2	$X^2=21.355$ $df = 16$ $Sig = .016^*$
Sometimes/Almost weekly	.0	40.0	39.3	42.4	21.9	
Rarely/Almost Monthly	.0	.0	3.6	.0	6.0	
Never/Almost Yearly	.0	.0	.0	3.0	3.0	
I don't know	.0	8.0	3.6	15.2	3.0	

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Research Data (2015)

Several inferences can be made. Firstly, candidates for the presidential seat posted content more regularly than politicians campaigning for other offices. This observation could be explained by the fact that presidential contestants had a team of dedicated staff working on their social media sites.

Secondly, candidates for the parliamentary seat were the second highest to update their social media sites. This could stem from the fact that the race for the parliamentary position was crowded and members utilised every possible avenue to try and reach voters. There were fewer incumbents for those positions as more seats had been created and most of the immediate former members of parliament had sought positions like senator and governor hence levelling the field for new comers. On the other hand, candidates campaigning for existing offices benefited from an established tradition in terms media for political marketing.

4.5.7 Time Spent on Social Media

To establish the amount of time spent on social media sites, politicians were required to indicate the time they spent updating their status and posts on the various social media platforms. The results were shown in Table 4.22. The results indicated that at

the presidential level, a majority of the candidates (50%) spent 31 to 60 minutes on social media sites on each visit. A similar trend was observed with the gubernatorial candidates, a majority of whom (40%) spent 31 to 60 minutes. However, at the senatorial level, a majority of the candidates (50%) spent less than 30 minutes on each visit, with a further 25% spending 31 to 60 minutes. At the women representative level, a majority of the candidates (30.3%) spent 31 to 60 minutes on each visit, while at the parliamentary level a majority of the candidates (40.2%) spent 31 to 60 minutes on each visit. A chi-square test conducted yielded ($X^2=24.878$, $df = 20$, $Sig = .206$) implying that there was no significant variation in the practices of the politicians across the political offices sought.

Table 4.22: Time Spent by Politicians on Social Media Sites

	Electoral Office (%)					Chi-square test
	President (n=6)	Governor (n=25)	Senator (n=28)	Women Rep (n=33)	MP (n=199)	
Less than 30 minutes	33.3	12.0	50.0	21.2	27.1	$X^2=24.878$ $df = 20$ $Sig = .206^*$
31 - 60 minutes	50.0	40.0	25.0	30.3	40.2	
61 - 90 minutes	16.7	24.0	14.3	21.2	14.1	
91 - 120 minutes	.0	8.0	3.6	9.1	8.0	
More than 121 minutes	.0	8.0	7.1	.0	7.5	
I don't know	.0	8.0	.0	18.2	3.0	

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Research Data (2015)

An inference that can be made is that the majority of politicians spent at most an hour every time they visited their social media sites. In addition, there was no significant relationship between the time spent on social media per visit and the electoral office vied for. By contrast, the objective of social media is to provide regular information so that the audience feel connected to you and to events as they happen. Therefore, spending more time on each visit may not have been very useful. Interviews with social media consultants indicated that spending more time on each visit may not have worked in candidates' favour. One social media consultant for a presidential candidate stated:

“It depends on how active you want people to view you, whether you want to be a dormant politician or a leader who is out there, doing something. Updating content regularly can help improve one’s image.”

The network society theory posits that the Internet inspires new routines in the communication landscape, which creates a totally new situation from a relations point of view in the society (Castells, 2007). Social media have prompted the development of horizontal networks of interactive communication that connect local and global in chosen time (Tempere, 2011). Therefore, the enclosure of communication in the space of flexible, interactive, electronic hypertext has a decisive effect on politics.

4.5.8 Nature of Messages Sent

To determine the nature of messages sent, politicians were required to indicate the form of messages they posted on social media platforms. The results were shown in Figure 4.7.

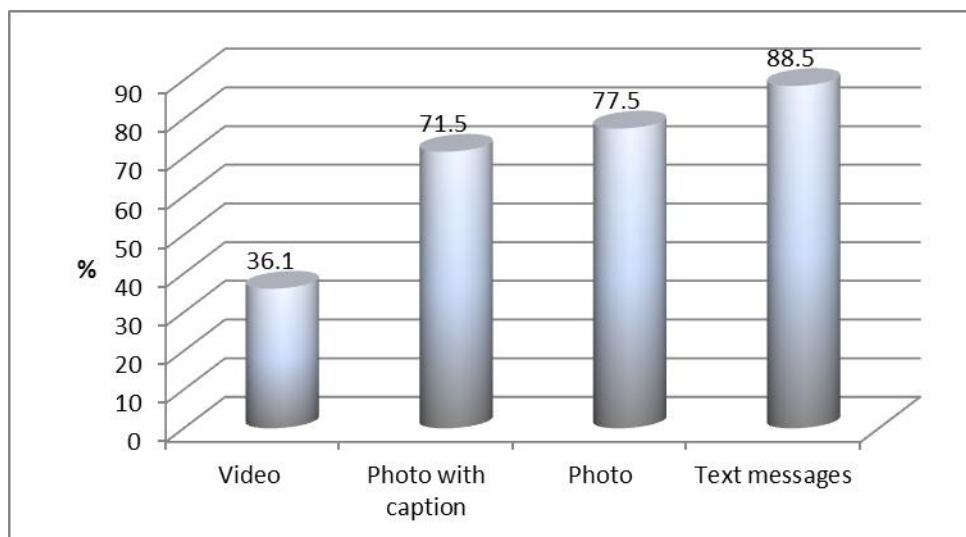


Figure 4.7: Nature of Messages Sent

Source: Research Data (2015)

Findings in Figure 4.7 showed that the majority of the politicians sent text messages every time they updated their timelines as confirmed by 88.5% of the politicians.

Other posts included photos (77.5%) and photos with captions 71.7%. The least utilised form was video messages with only 36.1% of politicians reporting usage. It can be inferred that text and photos are the most deployed forms of messages. Interviews with politicians and staff on social media campaign team supported this position. For example one social media staff on a presidential campaign team stated that:

“Our campaign was structured in such a way that as we moved towards the election, there were different things we were highlighting; from the launches, to the manifestos, to the rallies. If we were doing a launch, we would post the entire speech, if presenting a manifesto, we would post the entire manifesto, if we were conducting a rally, we would post updates about the rally as it went on. In addition, we would update voters on our campaign trail. We would tell them that Jubilee team will be in Bungoma at this time, at this time in Kandui, and at this time Webuye. Our updates would include both text messages and pictures to make them follow us constantly.”

Although text was the most popular message form, some social media strategist challenged the use of text, preferring photos instead. A social media strategist for a gubernatorial candidate stated:

“I would say photos are more important than text because they speak much. Text may fail to go viral but photos can. We have seen photos going viral of development. Also, a single photo with a small caption for example ‘this is where I met several people’ adds a lot of value. Photos are worth a thousand words there is evidence that you were at a particular location. For example if you take a photo at a local market or a bodaboda stop, people can be able to identify with it. It can establish an emotional connection.”

Secondly, most politicians posted photos without captions. It can be concluded that captioning messages would have helped sell their messages even more. Social media experts explain that the best way to capture an audience’s attention is to use a photo

with a caption because pictures speak louder than words. Therefore, social media's full potential as a tool of political marketing has not yet been explored. The level of skill and expertise for the users is brought into sharp focus because of their not fully realising the multi-media potential of social media when making their online posts.

Further, the researcher inquired on the content of the messages posted on social media. The results were shown in Figure 4.8. Findings showed that the majority of the politicians used social media to mobilise supporters to rallies and demos (79.1%), for general communication with supporters (78.0%) and for announcing events (77.5%). Other uses included: sharing party position (74.4%), sharing personal achievements (73.3%), and appealing to undecided voters (69.6%). Least among the uses was soliciting for campaign funds (44.5%), and appealing to voters in diaspora (50.3%).

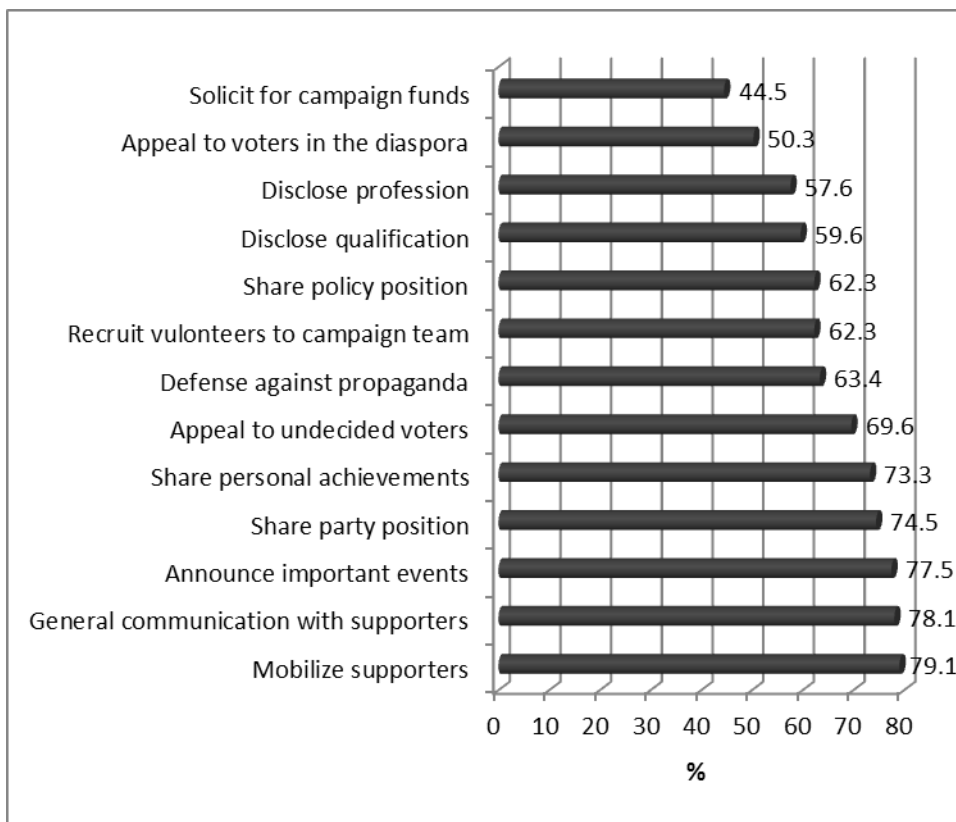


Figure 4.8: Content of Messages Communicated by Politicians

Source: Research Data (2015)

Several inferences can be made from these findings. Firstly, the majority of the politicians used social media to mobilize supporters to rallies and demos (79.1%), for general communication with supporters (78.1%), and for announcing events (77.5%). These strategies, which create awareness about a particular candidature, are in line with observations made by the social marketing theory which states that political candidates use media to induce audience awareness of their candidature during elections (Baran & Davis, 2009).

Secondly, an inference can be made that social media are largely seen as an instrument for identity formation for a candidate. Among the messages communicated that were geared toward identity formation included: sharing party position (74.4%), sharing personal achievements (73.3%), sharing policy position (62.3%), disclosing personal qualifications (59.7%), and disclosing profession (57.6%). Indeed, a parliamentary candidate stated that:

“...campaigns involve identity formation, where a candidate portrays the image he wants others to see.”

This observation is supported by the network society theory which sees the construction of identity as shaped by integrating information and knowledge from a diversity of communication-mediated experiences (Tempere, 2011). Hall (as cited in Castells, et al., 2004) recognises the pluralizing impact of the Internet on the construction of identity by stating:

The Internet is a technology of freedom. It allows the construction of self-directed networks of horizontal communication, bypassing institutional controls. It also allows information to be retrieved, and recombined in applied knowledge at the service of purposive social action (Castells, et al., 2004. p. 244).

Therefore, politicians used this newly found Internet freedom to propagate particular identities for themselves as a way of promoting their candidature.

Thirdly, it is instructive to note that 63.3% of effort on social media was geared towards defence against propaganda. According to the social marketing theory, one of the potent promotional strategies in electoral campaigns is staging negative campaigns, that is, staging a direct or indirect comparative assault against the position of the opponent and/or her personal characteristics (Cwalina, Falkowski, & Newman, 2011; Niffenegger, 1988). The fact that more than half the politicians responded to negative campaign messages shows that a significant number of politicians in Kenya employ propaganda on social media as a marketing strategy. Further, a senatorial candidate observed that:

“If there is propaganda going on via social media, it can negatively affect the politician’s campaign and hence influence the election outcome negatively. This is more so if you have opinion leaders who act as influencers. They could to their networks and state a particular negative view and say “even on social media so many people are saying this is true.”

This means that a significant number of candidates used social media for propaganda purposes.

The fourth inference that can be made is that although only half of the politicians (50.3%) used social media to communicate with voters in the diaspora, this shows a remarkable trend in the recognition of the power of social media to extend across the boundaries of time, space and distance. The network society theory states that we live in a complex world where communication media and cultural flows extend more and more across the boundaries. Concepts like time, space, and distance obtain new meanings because of the proliferation of networks of electronic communication, which as, Castells (1996) has pointed out, represent the new social morphology of our societies. Therefore, politicians saw their campaign efforts transcending the confines of space and time. Interviews with politicians and staff on their social media campaign team revealed that people living in the Diaspora influenced voting patterns

in their home constituency. This shows that the influence of social media transcends physical constituency barriers.

The fifth inference is that there is a stark difference in the ways social media are used for political purposes in developing countries and developed countries. Whereas in developed countries social media sites are used mainly for the recruitment of volunteers, organization of the campaign, mobilisation and fundraising (Cogburn and Espinoza-Vasques, 2011; Davis, Baumgartner, Francia & Morris, 2009; Greyes, 2011; Schlozman et al., 2010; Straw, 2010; Sudulich & Wall, 2010). In Kenya, which is an example of a developing country, social media sites are used majorly to mobilize supporters (79.1%), as a platform for general communication with voters (78.0%), and to announce party events (77.5%). A further observation is that while in developing countries social media are used for fundraising, in Kenya it ranks low in the order of priorities coming in last at 44.5%. A possible explanation for this is that it is not a tradition for politicians to raise funds through their supporters. Another explanation is that there are no established channels for sending money although the mobile platform M-Pesa may soon fill this vacuum. One other factor that impedes the utilisation of the fundraising capability is that there is no legal support for such avenues of fundraising.

Finally, the difference in utilisation of social media between political candidates in the developed countries and those in developing countries can be accounted for by the network society theory. The theory presents an informational paradigm where political actors are seen as having the capacity to act on the communicative network, and thereby presenting a possibility for those actors to reconfigure the network according to their needs, desires, and projects (Castells, 2004). The theory further postulates that the flexibility of new information and communication technologies allows the distribution of processing power in various contexts and applications, such political activity. Therefore, the ways in which Kenyan politicians use social media differs from those of developed countries and it further shows how politicians in the context of developing countries are adapting social media to suit their own unique needs.

4.5.9 Influence of Technological Factors on Use of Social Media

To determine the influence of technological factors on use of social media by politicians for political marketing in Kenya, several statements on what was thought to influence the choice were presented to the politicians. The distribution in terms of percentages was presented in Figure 4.9. The results indicated that 83% of respondents felt that adequate access to the Internet contributes to successful political marketing using social media, 81% felt that having personnel managing a politician's social media site is important, and 80% felt that owning a personal computer connected to the Internet is important to a politician for accessing social media. Other views were expressed as follows: Social media are easy to use (77%), having a social media site makes it easier to communicate with voters (77%), Being competent working online contributes to a politician's successful use of social media for political marketing (75%).

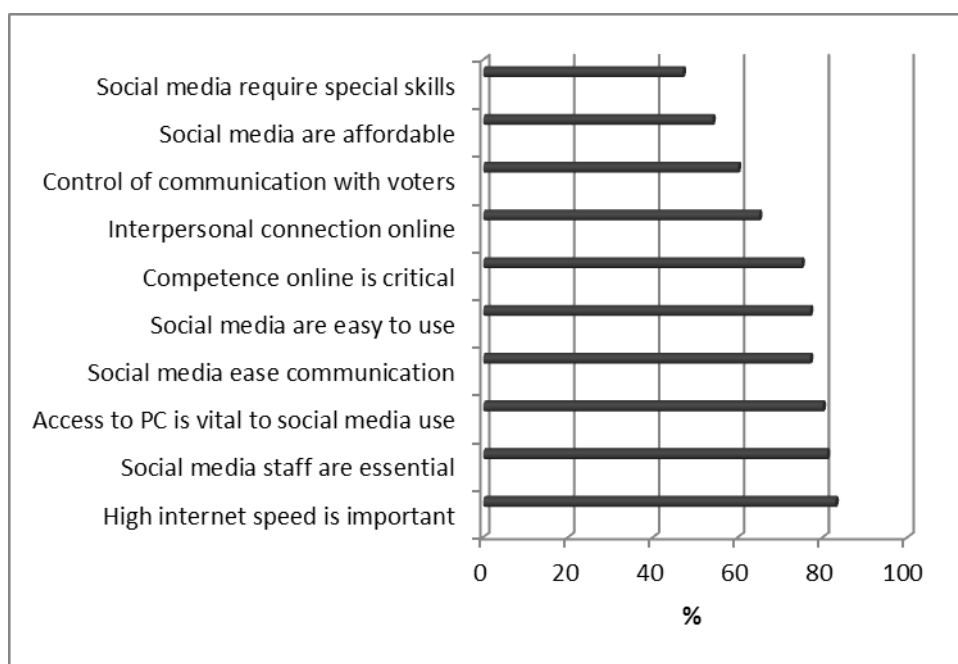


Figure 4.9: Influence of Technological Factors on Social Media Use

Source: Research Data (2015)

The first inference that can be made is that most candidates felt that having personal computers with high Internet speeds were important determiners of successful

political marketing online. This means that the Internet could be available but if the speeds are slow, then perhaps going online to view sites or post content especially photos and videos could pose a challenge.

The second inference that can be made is that a majority of politicians felt that having personnel managing a politician's social media site is important. From interviews with political candidates and staff on their social media campaign teams, it was found that they supported this view. A presidential candidate stated:

“Having a social media team is important. When campaigning on Twitter for example and you attend a rally, there are certain points you want people out there to know. These can include policies, declarations and so on. It is important to have someone who posts the messages on social media as I deliver my speech. I cannot give a speech and tweet at the same time.”

Further, a campaign strategist for a presidential candidate observed:

“...once you decide to use it [social media] as your campaign tool the dynamics change. It is no longer the social media platform you use for just communicating, and sharing on a small scale. It means you will have responses and questions in big numbers because you are targeting a big market. Therefore the candidate cannot handle this alone. They needed input of professional staff that are able to handle the communication. This would mean staff who are both technical, and who are trained in communications or public relations to handle matters.”

One gubernatorial candidate with dissenting views stated:

“Staff can manage your website but not Facebook and Twitter. There are some personal things that you would need to explain. Maybe have a personal conversation with your voters. Some comments maybe so frank as to require your personal input. Your team may be doing public relations work, by sifting

and editing the comments so that you don't see the bigger picture. You need to know if there is growing propaganda against you so that you are able to respond to it. You need to know what is happening on the ground. You need to know who is spreading negative propaganda, you need to put faces to comments so that you respond to them. It is important for politician to get personal on social media."

This view was countered by other political contenders who observed that impersonation on social media is easy. A social media consultant for a presidential candidate stated that:

"...the cool thing with social media is that impersonating someone on social media is so easy. Of course you have to consult on some of the things, so that your comments are not way off."

Further, a senatorial candidate observed that:

"A politician needs people who understand him, who know the policies he is selling so that it is easy to respond to comments in an acceptable manner. The social media team must not contradict a politician's overall strategy. Before they respond, they need to inquire if there is any doubt on their mind."

The third inference that can be made is that 77% of politicians found social media easy to use. The diffusion of innovations theory states that complexity of innovations is negatively correlated with the rate of adoption (Rogers, 2003). Since a majority of politicians perceived social media as easy to use, this view could account for the higher usage incidence reported (87.3%).

Fourthly, it is ironical that 47% of respondents felt that use of social media does not require specialized training yet the use of social media is not optimised by these politicians. One member of a presidential social media campaign team stated that:

“Social media doesn’t require that much training. It is just like a normal email account, but here you have more leeway to upload photos, update statuses....so I think it is not that difficult to use social media. It doesn’t really need training per se so long as you can follow instructions.”

This perhaps captures the attitudes that politicians have about social media that it is accessible and easy. However, to use social media effectively as a marketing strategy one may need specialised training. Scholars observe that social networks in particular benefit from a large number of members or from serving a specific niche, and they require technical expertise and specialised knowledge to be designed and leveraged effectively (Gulati & Williams, 2012).

A social media consultant for a gubernatorial candidate stated:

“I would say training is a must because there are advanced ways of using Facebook. You can use hashtags, @ symbols to make your posts more visible. You have to know how to do catchy headings without spaces in between words but capitalising each new word for visibility purposes. You also have to gather what’s trending so that you can piggy back on it. It is only with training that politicians can become strategic users of social media. Again, if you want to target particular groups and ensure a wider reach, you have to be strategic in your use. You can, for instance, tag a lot of people, you can target already formed groups. For instance, if you are campaigning in Kiambu, you have available neighbourhood groups like “Kiambu Yetu”, “United States of Kiambu” or “Kiambu Ndio Home”. Such groups pool together a community of users, some of who grew up together and therefore have a strong bond. Since you cannot come to them physically, social media become a place where you can connect with them.”

Apart from Facebook, Twitter also requires expertise. Indeed, O’Connor et al. (2010) agree that social media in general and Twitter in particular, for instance, requires technical expertise and specialized knowledge in order to be leveraged effectively.

The micro-blogging nature of Twitter makes it challenging to use. Twitter messages allow a maximum length of 140 characters. The technical skills needed to effectively use Twitter include the use symbols such as ‘#’, and “@” which require learning. Twitter uses a well-defined markup culture such as using RT for retweet, and a well-defined markup vocabulary combined with a strict limit of 140 characters per posting which may be challenging to leverage effectively.

The fifth inference that can be made is that most politicians found social media to be consistent with their needs. 77% of politicians opined that social media eased their communication with voters, while 60% felt that they could control their online communication with voters. The diffusion of innovations theory states that a new technology has a higher chance for rapid adoption if it is compatible with the needs of potential adopters. These findings, therefore could account for the higher adoption rates of social media by Kenyan politicians. The social networking theory posits that the enclosure of communication in the space of flexible, interactive, electronic hypertext has a decisive effect on politics (Croteau & Haynes, 2000; Volkmer, 2003). This flexibility can be seen manifest in the idea that politicians feel they can control their online communications with voters.

The sixth inference is that social media use has low costs (54%). This finding is supported by Enjolras, Steen-Johnsen and Wollebæk (2012) who argue that social media sites have distinct inherent properties conceptualised as affordances and network functionalities. These properties are seen to reduce the cost of civic and political participation. It has been established that the resources required for political participation are usually expressed in terms of time, money and civic skills, which include communication and organizational capacities. With online communication, the cost of information retrieval and communication in general falls and political participation becomes less costly. Since these costs are extremely low, most politicians see the Internet as a fundamental component of any communication and mobilization strategy (Howard, 2006; Williams & Gulati, 2012).

The seventh inference is that, although only 65% of users of social media felt connected interpersonally with voters when they communicated with them online, studies indicate that political actors interacting on social media engage in a relationship. For example, conversation through Facebook and Twitter, can lead to the establishment of a relationship between the electorates and politicians (Williams & Gulati, 2012). This view is supported by the network society theory which states that the Internet is characterised by the ability to connect anything with everything and the potential to create new values from these connections (Castells, 2004). Further, Castells (2004) observes that the media system is characterised by an audience that is equipped with the Internet and has learned the rules of the game – namely, everything that is a collective mental experience is virtual, but this virtuality is a fundamental dimension of everybody's reality. Thus, the relationships between citizens and politicians, between the represented and the representative, depend essentially on what happens in this media-centred communication space. However, the diffusion of innovations theory posits a technology being adopted has the potential of success if its values are consistent with those of the potential users. Politicians want to use campaign methods that make voters feel more connected with them such as rallies. A significant proportion of politicians (35%) do not feel interpersonally connected and this could slow down potential adoption. From interviews with political candidates and staff on their social media campaign teams, the researcher found that this view was supported. Indeed one candidate for the women representative position observed that on social media:

“...I don't know those faces; some of them don't know me. They have never met me. So I may not believe what they are talking about.”

4.6 Influence of Representation Level on the Use of Social Media

The third objective of the study was to examine the influence of representation level on the use of social media for political marketing in Kenya. To achieve this, several statements on representation factors were presented to the politicians.

4.6.1 Categorization of the Electoral Constituencies

Categories of various constituencies are shown in Figure 4.10. The results indicated that 48.7% of constituencies were rural, 31% were peri-urban and 20.3% were urban. The study therefore found that a majority of the constituencies in Kenya were rural.

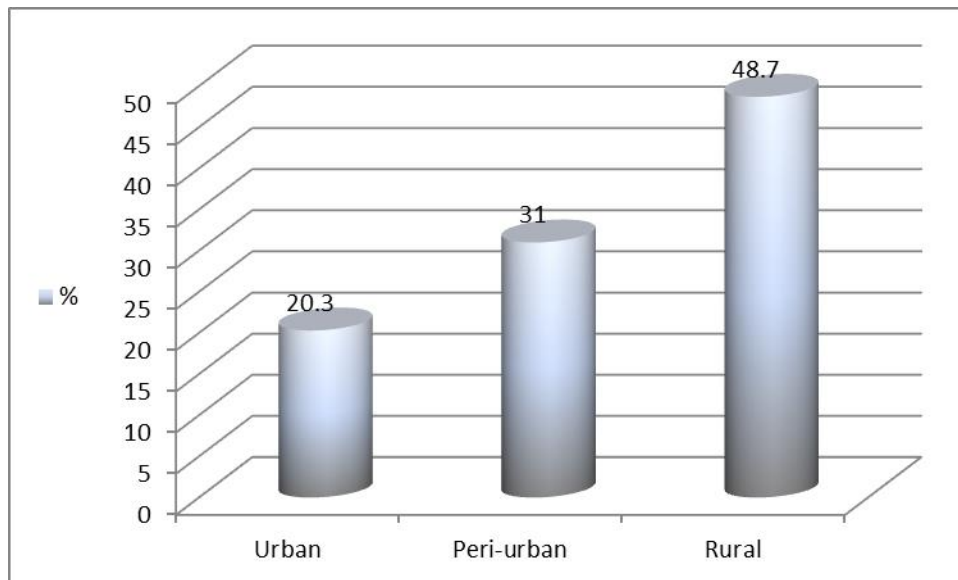


Figure 4.10: Electoral Constituency Types

Source: Research Data (2015)

a) Use of Social Media and Constituency Type

Information was sought on the use of social media across constituency types and the results obtained summarised in Table 4.23. The findings showed that 92.2% of politicians campaigning in peri-urban areas use social media, 85.8% of politicians campaigning in rural areas used social media and 85.1% of politicians campaigning in urban areas used social media. Results from chi-square tests showed that the variation across the constituency types was not statistically significant ($X^2 = 1.375$, $df = 2$, $Sig = .503$). The study infers that there was no major difference in the usage of social media across the constituency types, although politicians targeting peri-urban voters showed a marginally higher usage of social media.

Table 4.23: Distribution of Social Media Use and Constituency Type

		Constituency type (%)			Chi-square test
		Urban (n=67)	Peri-urban (n=90)	Rural (n=141)	
Use of social media in 2013 elections	Yes	85.1	92.2	85.8	X ² = 1.375 df = 2 Sig= .503*
	No	14.9	7.8	14.2	

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Research Data (2015)

b) Politicians' Target Audience

Information was sought on the target audience of the politicians. The distribution of the target audience for social media messages was shown in Table 4.24. The results indicated that 66.1% of politicians targeted voters of aged between 18 and 25 years, while 18.9% of politicians' targeted voters aged between 26 and 35 years. A further 3.6% of politicians' targeted voters aged between 36 and 50 years, while only 1.6% targeted voters above 51 years. This implies that most politicians used social media to target the young adult voters. A possible explanation for this observation can be drawn from the social marketing theory. According to Baran and Davis (2009), the theory highlights the need to target messages at audience segments most receptive or susceptible to those messages. By identifying the most vulnerable segments and then reaching them with the most efficient channel available, targeting strategies reduce promotional costs while increasing efficiency (Baran & Davis, 2009). The target audience for other media like television is a particular media market or the nation, whereas those who visit campaign social media platforms have been shown to be the candidate's supporters, followed by undecided voters, and least often the opponent's supporters (Foot & Schneider, 2006; Cornfield, 2004; Bimber & Davis, 2003). Therefore, the audience for social media sites can be a particular interest area or demographic niche, which may be more likely to include first time, new, and undecided voters. While the audience for other media may not be differentiated by interest in politics or affiliation with particular parties and their candidates. Politicians in Kenya are seen, therefore, as harnessing the power of social media to reach out to

young voters in the most efficient channel available to them. Therefore, campaigns that were most likely to embrace social media were those that viewed social media as an additional tool for winning votes within specific blocs or the general electorate that constitute their user community.

Table 4.24: Target Audience for Social Media Messages

Age of target audience	Frequency	Percent
18 - 25 years	203	66.1
26 - 35 years	58	18.9
36 - 50 years	11	3.6
51 and above	5	1.6
Non response	30	9.8
Total	307	100

Source: Research Data (2015)

c) Politicians' Target Audience Across Constituency Type

Having determined the distribution of the target audience for social media messages, the study sought to find out the distribution of the targeted population across constituency types. The results were shown in Table 4.25. The results indicated that for the urban constituencies, 85.2% of politicians targeted voters aged 18 and 25 years, 11.5% of politicians targeted voters aged 26 and 35 years, while 3.3% targeted politicians aged above 51 years. For the peri-urban constituencies, 70.2% of politicians targeted voters aged 18 and 25 years, 26.2% of politicians targeted voters aged 26 and 35 years, 2.4% of politicians targeted voters aged 36 and 50 years, while 1.2% targeted politicians aged above 51 years. For the rural constituencies, 74.8% of politicians targeted voters aged 18 and 25 years, 19.1% of politicians targeted voters aged 26 and 35 years, 5.3% of politicians targeted voters aged 36 and 50 years, while 0.8% targeted politicians aged above 51 years.

Table 4.25: Distribution of Target Population across Constituency Type

		Target audience (%)			
		18 - 25 years	26 - 35 years	36 - 50 years	51 and above
Constituency type	Urban (n=61)	85.2	11.5	.0	3.3
	Peri-urban (n=84)	70.2	26.2	2.4	1.2
	Rural (n=131)	74.8	19.1	5.3	.8

Source: Research Data (2015)

Further, chi-square results were as shown on Table 4.26. All the p-values were greater than 0.05 ($P > 0.05$) implying that the variation for the target population across the constituency types was not statistically significant. These findings imply that politicians targeted younger voters across all constituency types. However, more politicians targeted young voters in urban areas as compared to those in peri-urban or rural areas. A second inference is that voters aged above 51 years in urban areas were targeted more than voters in either peri-urban or rural areas. This is because those voters are likely to be more informed, educated and likely to have Internet access.

Table 4.26: Chi-square Analysis on Target Population across Constituency

Electoral Office	Chi square	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Presidential	3.000 ^a	2	.223*
Governor	3.298 ^b	4	.509*
Senator	3.912 ^c	4	.418*
Women representative	5.961 ^d	6	.428*
Member of Parliament	2.512 ^e	6	.867*

Source: Research Data (2015)

We can infer that most of the politicians across the levels of office targeted younger voters (18-35 years), regardless of whether the voters were from rural or urban areas. This offered them the advantage of sending targeted messages to this specific group of voters. Scholars posit that social networking sites are well suited for sending tailored campaign messages to specific voter groups (Baumgartner & Morris, 2010; Kushin & Yamamoto, 2010; Strandberg, 2012; Utz, 2009). Further, the social

marketing theory suggests that politicians who use social media combine the multifaceted conceptions of product, costs, and benefits, and audience segmentation to their advantage (Rice & Atkin, 2001). In addition, social media are used by political actors to control voters' behaviours to their advantage (Niffenegger, 1988).

Another inference that can be made is that politicians adopted social media regardless of the constituency type. However, those representing peri-urban type of constituency used social media more (92.2%). Although the diffusion of innovations theory postulates that adoption decisions are depend on characteristics of the environment (Ward & Gibson, 2009), which according to Foot and Schneider (2006) includes the members of a particular community and their level of income, particular constituency types had little influence on social media adoption decisions in Kenya. This could be explained by the fact that voters in rural areas experience increasing access to the Internet through mobile phones. Research indicates that mobile phone penetration rate of 78% (Communications Commission of Kenya, 2013), and that 34% of the Kenyan population access the Internet via mobile phones (Humanipo, 2013). Marriott (2006) notes that although urban areas have greater Internet access than rural areas, the difference has declined substantially.

4.6.2 Representation Factors That Influence Social Media Adoption

To establish the relationship between the level of representation and social media adoption, several statements relating to representation level were posed. These included a) electoral office and adoption of social media, b) politicians' perception on constituents' expectations and adoption of social media, c) income level of constituents and adoption of social media, d) age of constituents and adoption of social media, and e) literacy levels of constituents and adoption of social media. The findings are discussed below.

a) Electoral Office and Social Media Adoption

In regard to the attitude towards level of office as a determinant of social media adoption, the results are shown in table 4.27. Responses on perception of electoral

office as a determinant for social media adoption leaned towards strongly agree and agree across the electoral offices. At the presidential level, 66.7% of candidates agreed while 33.3% strongly agreed. At the gubernatorial level, 32% of candidates agreed while 16% strongly agreed. At the senatorial level, 57.1% of candidates agreed while 10.7% strongly agreed. At the women representative level, 55.9% of candidates agreed while 17.6% strongly agreed. At the parliamentary level, 58.4% of candidates agreed while 9.1% strongly agreed. The chi-square results were ($X^2=21.624$, $df = 16$, $Sig = .156$) suggesting that there was no significant variation on this opinion across the various categories of politicians.

Table 4.27: Electoral Office and Social Media Adoption

	Electoral Office (%)					Chi-square test
	President (n=6)	Governor (n=25)	Senator (n=28)	Women Rep (n=34)	MP (n=209)	
Strongly disagree	.0	20.0	3.6	.0	3.8	$X^2=21.624$ $df = 16$ $Sig = .156^*$
Disagree	.0	8.0	10.7	11.8	10.5	
Neither agree nor disagree	.0	24.0	17.9	14.7	18.2	
Agree	66.7	32.0	57.1	55.9	58.4	
Strongly agree	33.3	16.0	10.7	17.6	9.1	

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Research Data (2015)

The first inference that can be made is that most presidential and parliamentary contenders showed higher levels of agreement that electoral office determined adoption levels. These findings indicated that candidates who showed most agreement were those gunning for pre-existing presidential and parliamentary offices while those that showed least agreement ran for the new gubernatorial, senatorial and women representative offices. These findings agree with studies conducted by Kamarck (2002), and Greer and LaPointe (2004) which analysed campaign website adoption comparing adoption across levels and found that more adopters among candidates for higher offices. However, there is a slight departure in findings of this study which indicate that candidates for the parliamentary level, which is a lower level, showed higher levels of adoption. This could be explained by the fact that since these offices were pre-existing, therefore there were certain precedents created in terms of social

media usage. By contrast, there were no precedents for the new offices of governor, senator and women representative, therefore it was not easy to conclusively ascertain what the expectations of the constituents were.

The second inference is that although the governor's office is a higher office, fewer governors agreed that electoral office is a determinant of social media adoption. This could in part be attributed to the fact that the office of governor is a new office and therefore precedents hadn't been set.

b) Politicians' Perception of Constituents' Expectations and Social Media Adoption

In regard to politicians' perception on constituents' expectations as a determinant for social media adoption, results were presented in Table 4.28. Responses on perception of constituents' expectations as a determinant for social media adoption leaned towards strongly agree and agree across the electoral offices. At the presidential level, 66.7% of candidates agreed. At the gubernatorial level, 48% of candidates agreed while 16% strongly agreed. At the senatorial level, 53.6% of candidates agreed. At the women representative level, 44.1% of candidates agreed while 8.8% strongly agreed. At the parliamentary level, 65.5% of candidates agreed while 5.8% strongly agreed. The chi-square results were ($X^2=28.880$, $df = 16$, $Sig = .025$) suggesting that there was no significant variation on this opinion across the various categories of politicians. One inference that can be made is that a majority of politicians agreed that the expectations of the constituents can influence a politician's decision to use social media for political marketing.

Table 4.28: Perception of Constituents' Expectations and Adoption

	Electoral Office (%)					Chi-square test
	President (n=6)	Governor (n=25)	Senator (n=28)	Women Rep (n=34)	MP (n=206)	
Strongly Disagree	.0	8.0	.0	.0	1.0	X ² =28.880 df = 16 Sig=.025*
Disagree	.0	20.0	3.6	23.5	8.7	
Neither agree nor disagree	33.3	8.0	42.9	23.5	18.9	
Agree	66.7	48.0	53.6	44.1	65.5	
Strongly agree	.0	16.0	.0	8.8	5.8	

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Research Data (2015)

c) Income Level of Constituents and Social Media Adoption

In regard to politicians' attitude towards income level of the constituents as a determinant for social media adoption, results were presented in Table 4.29. Responses on constituents' income levels as a determinant for social media adoption leaned towards strongly agree and agree across the electoral offices. At the presidential level, 100% of candidates agreed while 76% agreed at the gubernatorial level. At the senatorial level, 53.6% of candidates agreed while 10.7% strongly agreed. At the women representative level, 57.6% of candidates agreed while 3% strongly agreed. At the parliamentary level, 63.3% of candidates agreed while 13.5% strongly agreed. The chi-square results were ($X^2=20.26$, $df = 16$, $Sig = .209$) suggesting that there was no significant variation on this opinion across the various categories of politicians. These findings reveal that a majority of politicians agreed that constituents' income levels influence adoption decision. The diffusion of innovations literature suggests that constituency factors, such as income levels, influence adoption rates (Ward & Gibson, 2009).

Table 4.29: Income Level of Constituents and Social Media Adoption

	Electoral Office (%)					Chi-square test
	President (n=6)	Governor (n=25)	Senator (n=28)	Women Rep (n=33)	MP (n=207)	
Strongly Disagree	.0	8.0	.0	.0	2.9	X ² =20.26 df = 16 Sig = .209*
Disagree	.0	4.0	14.3	24.2	7.2	
Neither agree nor disagree	.0	12.0	21.4	15.2	13.0	
Agree	100.0	76.0	53.6	57.6	63.3	
Strongly agree	.0	.0	10.7	3.0	13.5	

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Research Data (2015)

d) Age of Constituents and Social Media Adoption

In regard to attitude towards the constituents' average age as a determinant for social media adoption, results were presented in Table 4.30. Responses on perception of constituents' age as a determinant for social media adoption leaned towards strongly agree and agree across the electoral offices. At the presidential level, 100% of candidates agreed. At the gubernatorial level, 76% of candidates agreed while 20% strongly agreed. At the senatorial level, 78.6% of candidates agreed while 7.1% strongly agreed. At the women representative level, 64.7% of candidates agreed while 14.7% strongly agreed. At the parliamentary level, 75.4% of candidates agreed while 16.9% strongly agreed. The chi-square results were ($X^2=8.376$, $df = 16$, $Sig = .025$) suggesting that there was no significant variation on this opinion across the various categories of politicians.

Table 4.30: Age of Constituents and Social Media Adoption

	Electoral Office (%)					Chi-square test
	President (n=6)	Governor (n=25)	Senator (n=28)	Women Rep (n=34)	MP (n=207)	
Disagree	.0	.0	7.1	5.9	2.9	X ² =8.376 df = 16 Sig=.025*
Neither agree nor disagree	.0	4.0	7.1	14.7	4.8	
Agree	100.0	76.0	78.6	64.7	75.4	
Strongly agree	.0	20.0	7.1	14.7	16.9	

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Research Data (2015)

The findings indicated that although a majority of respondents agreed that the average age of constituents can influence a politician's decision to use social media for political marketing, the women representatives showed least agreement. This view was supported by political candidates and staff on their social media campaign teams. For instance, one presidential campaign staff observed:

“When deciding to use a particular medium for our campaigns, we used media accessible to our target group. For information on youth empowerment, or youth mobilizing and employment, we used social media. But if the piece of information didn't concern the youth, we avoided social media because the impact wouldn't be much. There were voters above 50 years who know about Facebook for instance, but they wouldn't go there to get campaign information. The youth don't even need to go to those sites since they are always there, alerts keep popping up on their devices.”

These observations agree with findings from a study conducted by Xenos and Bennett (2007) which found age to be an important determiner of social media adoption. It can be inferred that political candidates tailor their online campaigns to the characteristics of their constituents, particularly voters' age.

e) Literacy Levels of Constituents and Social Media Adoption

In regard to attitude towards the literacy levels of the constituents as a determinant for social media adoption, results were presented in Table 4.31. Responses on perception of constituents' literacy level as a determinant for social media adoption leaned towards strongly agree and agree across the electoral offices. At the presidential level, 16.7% of candidates agreed while 66.7% strongly agreed. At the gubernatorial level, 60% of candidates agreed while 36% strongly agreed. At the senatorial level, 60.7% of candidates agreed while 21.4% strongly agreed. At the women representative level, 55.9% of candidates agreed while 23.5% strongly agreed. At the parliamentary level, 58.9% of candidates agreed while 28.5% strongly agreed. The chi-square results were ($X^2=6.661$, $df = 12$, $Sig = .879$) suggesting that there was no significant variation on this opinion across the various categories of politicians. These findings implied that a majority of respondents agreed that literacy levels of constituents could influence a politician's decision to use social media for political marketing.

Table 4.31: Literacy Levels of Constituents and Social Media Adoption

	Electoral Office (%)					Chi-square test
	President (n=6)	Governor (n=25)	Senator (n=28)	Women Rep (n=34)	MP (n=207)	
Disagree	.0	.0	10.7	5.9	4.8	$X^2=6.661$ $df = 12$ $Sig=.879^*$
Neither agree nor disagree	16.7	4.0	7.1	14.7	7.7	
Agree	16.7	60.0	60.7	55.9	58.9	
Strongly agree	66.7	36.0	21.4	23.5	28.5	

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Research Data (2015)

Taken together, these results are in tandem with conclusions made by Foot and Schneider (2006) who posited that determiners of adoption in the context of political communication draw upon sets of factors which are divided into constituency factors (the user community) and political system factors (the environment). Constituencies are described demographically by median income, education and median age. The political environment is described by characteristics of the electoral contest and

candidate: level of office, competitiveness of the race, party identification (of the constituency or candidate), party status (major or minor party).

4.7 Perception on Voting Outcome Determines the Use of Social Media

The fourth objective of the study was to establish the extent to which voting outcome determined the adoption of social media for political marketing in Kenya. To achieve this, several statements on factors thought to influence the outcome were presented to the politicians. These included a) use of social media in 2007 and election outcome, b) social media use and election outcome, c) reach of social media compared to conventional media, and d) monitoring and evaluation using social media. The findings are discussed below.

a) Use of Social Media in 2007 and Election Outcome

In regard to attitude towards use of social media in 2007 and election outcome, the results are shown in table 4.32. Responses on use of social media in the 2007 elections contributing to election outcome leaned towards ambivalence. At the presidential level, 50% of candidates neither agreed nor disagreed. At the gubernatorial level, 44% of candidates neither agreed nor disagreed. At the senatorial level, 29% of candidates neither agreed nor disagreed. At the women representative level, 26.5% of candidates neither agreed nor disagreed. At the parliamentary level, 28.9% of candidates neither agreed nor disagreed. The chi-square results were ($X^2=7.785$, $df = 16$, $Sig = .955$) suggesting that there was no significant variation on this opinion across the various categories of politicians. These findings imply that a majority of politicians were of the opinion that there were other factors that contributed to electoral success other than medium used for political campaigns. A possible explanation is that Kenya, being a polarized country, grapples with issues like ethnicity which significantly impact voting decision. Previous elections in Kenya have witnessed ethnic voting blocs which have been famously referred to as “tyranny of numbers”.

Table 4.32: Social Media Use in 2007 and Election Outcome

	Electoral Office (%)					Chi-square test
	President (n=4)	Governor (n=25)	Senator (n=31)	Women Rep (n=34)	MP (n=211)	
Strongly Disagree	.0	8.0	9.7	11.8	6.2	X ² =7.785, df = 16 Sig = .955*
Disagree	.0	28.0	29.0	29.4	29.4	
Neither agree nor disagree	50.0	44.0	29.0	26.5	28.9	
Agree	50.0	20.0	22.6	23.5	30.3	
Strongly agree	.0	.0	9.7	8.8	5.2	

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Research Data (2015)

b) Social Media Use and Election Outcome

In regard to attitude towards use of social media in established democracies and election outcome, results were presented in Table 4.33. Responses on perception of social media success in political marketing in established democracies affecting adoption decision leaned towards strongly agree and agree across the electoral offices. At the presidential level, 75% of candidates agreed, while 25% strongly agreed. At the gubernatorial level, 52% of candidates agreed while 8% strongly agreed. At the senatorial level, 41.9% of candidates agreed, 6.5 strongly agreed. At the women representative level, 58.8% of candidates agreed while 11.8% strongly agreed. At the parliamentary level, 64.5% of candidates agreed while 12.3% strongly agreed. The chi-square results were (X²=19.809, df = 16, Sig = .229) suggesting that there was no significant variation on this opinion across the various categories of politicians. These finding implied that contenders for the new electoral offices (gubernatorial, senatorial and women representative) felt less inclined to use social media as tools for electoral success than politicians gunning for pre-existing electoral offices (presidential and parliamentary). Perhaps because results of social media use for the pre-existing offices were visible, while the efficacy of social media use for new offices were yet to be determined.

Table 4.33: Use of Social Media and Election Outcome

	Electoral Office (%)					Chi-square test
	President (n=4)	Governor (n=25)	Senator (n=31)	Women Rep (n=34)	MP (n=211)	
Strongly Disagree	.0	4.0	6.5	8.8	.9	X ² =19.809 df = 16 Sig=.229*
Disagree	.0	12.0	6.5	11.8	9.0	
Neither agree nor disagree	.0	24.0	38.7	8.8	13.3	
Agree	75.0	52.0	41.9	58.8	64.5	
Strongly agree	25.0	8.0	6.5	11.8	12.3	

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Research Data (2015)

Some candidates interviewed were ambivalent on whether social media could affect the outcome of the elections. For instance, one social media strategist for a gubernatorial candidate argued that:

“A politician who did not use social media can get more votes than the one who used it because there is a phenomenon we call ‘voting on social media’. You can be the darling of Kenyan social media users but that doesn’t necessarily translate into votes.”

This means there were some candidates opposed to the use of social media as a means for winning votes.

However, there were candidates who expressed optimism about social media delivering votes. One parliamentary candidate interviewed opined:

“Social media can affect election outcome by a small margin. It largely depends on the context of the election, whether it is national, urban or rural. If it is in urban where uptake of social media is higher, use of social media will have a wider audience. In rural areas, the reach is minimal because of lack of access. But it has the power and capacity to do that.”

Among studies that support this conclusion are Gibson and McAllister's (2006) analysis of the 2004 Australian national elections that suggested that online campaigning can have a positive impact on a candidate's share of the vote. Even when controlling for financial resources and competition, they found that having a website increased a candidate's share of the vote by an average of 2%. D'Alessio's (1997) analysis of the 1996 U.S. Senate elections found that candidates who launched a campaign website won, on average, 9,300 more votes than candidates who had no web presence. However, D'Alessio's study omitted a number of theoretically important variables, including financial resources and competition. Since these two variables are correlated with both a web presence and votes, the observed relationship between web presence and electoral success was likely spurious. It should be noted, however, that there is very little corroborating evidence from the few other studies that have addressed this same question in the U.S. context. For example, Bimber and Davis' (2003) in-depth case studies of online campaigns in 2000 further called into question a causal connection between website presence and vote choice. They found that citizens' viewing of candidates' websites had no impact on their decisions about whether to vote or their vote preference. These findings were derived from research on only a limited number of races, leaving open the possibility that a positive relationship between website presence and vote shares exists more generally (Williams & Gulati, 2012).

Unless these findings of social media success are specific to the U.S. and Australian context, we expect that candidates who campaigned on social media had a relative vote advantage over those who did not campaign on social media, when controlling for all other variables. Yet, caution should be taken when making judgment about supporters on Facebook and Twitter actual contribution to the candidates' margin of victory, given that 18-to-29 year olds have a lower voter turnout rate than other age groups (Williams & Gulati, 2012). In addition, supporters on social media could support multiple candidates and live outside the candidates' constituencies or counties. Other reasons for exercising caution are that some members of Facebook and Twitter may not be registered to vote or even intending to vote, therefore it is not possible to actualize their support for candidates on social media. With individuals

under 18 comprising 14% of the Facebook community generally (Williams & Gulati, 2012), there is a sizable group of supporters who are not even eligible to vote.

The fact that most politicians felt that social media contributed to success of elections in developed countries offered much needed observability. According to Rogers (2003), observability presents less uncertainty to the individual who is considering a particular innovation. Rogers further states that observability is positively correlated with the rate of adoption. The easier it is for individuals to see the results of an innovation, the more likely they are to adopt it. The presidential and parliamentary candidates were therefore more inclined to adopt social media because they have seen the results of using the platform in previous elections.

c) Reach of Social Media Compared to Conventional Media

In regard to attitude towards the reach of social media as contributing to adoption decision, results were presented in Table 4.34. Responses on perception of reach of social media contributing to adoption decision leaned towards strongly agree and agree across the electoral offices. At the presidential level, 50% of candidates agreed. At the gubernatorial level, 29.2% of candidates agreed while 4.2% strongly agreed. At the senatorial level, 33.3% of candidates agreed, while 23.3 strongly agreed. At the women representative level, 32.4% of candidates agreed while 8.8% strongly agreed. At the parliamentary level, 42.1% of candidates agreed while 8.6% strongly agreed. The chi-square results were ($X^2=15.580$, $df = 16$, $Sig = .483$) suggesting that there was no significant variation on this opinion across the various categories of politicians. These findings imply that more politicians agreed that social media had a greater reach as compared to conventional media. It is also worth noting that most governors were ambivalent as confirmed by 54.2% who neither agreed nor disagreed. These findings corroborate findings from studies conducted by Greyes (2011) and Kushin and Yamamoto (2010) which found that political candidates employing social networking sites in their campaigns had a potentially higher probability of reaching voters.

Table 4.34: Reach of Social Media Compared to Conventional Media

	Electoral Office (%)					Chi-square test
	President (n=4)	Governor (n=24)	Senator (n=30)	Women Rep (n=34)	MP (n=209)	
Strongly Disagree	.0	4.2	6.7	11.8	1.9	X ² =15.580, df = 16, Sig= .483*
Disagree	25.0	8.3	16.7	23.5	22.0	
Neither agree nor disagree	25.0	54.2	20.0	23.5	25.4	
Agree	50.0	29.2	33.3	32.4	42.1	
Strongly agree	.0	4.2	23.3	8.8	8.6	

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Research Data (2015)

d) Monitoring and Evaluation Using Social Media

In regard to attitude towards the use of social media as a tool for monitoring and evaluation of candidature, results were presented in Table 4.35. Responses on perception of social media as a tool for monitoring and evaluation leaned towards strongly agree and agree across the electoral offices. At the presidential level, 25% of candidates agreed, 50% strongly agreed. At the gubernatorial level, 48% of candidates agreed while 16% strongly agreed. At the senatorial level, 36.7% of candidates agreed, while 26.7% strongly agreed. At the women representative level, 44.1% of candidates agreed while 11.8% strongly agreed. At the parliamentary level, 43.1% of candidates agreed while 21.5% strongly agreed. The chi-square results were (X²=8.780, df = 16, Sig = .922) suggesting that there was no significant variation on this opinion across the various categories of politicians.

Table 4.35: Monitoring and Evaluation Using Social Media

	Electoral Office (%)					Chi-square test
	President (n=4)	Governor (n=25)	Senator (n=30)	Women Rep (n=34)	MP (n=209)	
Strongly Disagree	.0	4.0	6.7	8.8	3.8	X ² =8.780 df = 16 Sig = .922*
Disagree	25.0	16.0	13.3	23.5	13.9	
Neither agree nor disagree	.0	16.0	16.7	11.8	17.7	
Agree	25.0	48.0	36.7	44.1	43.1	
Strongly agree	50.0	16.0	26.7	11.8	21.5	

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Research Data (2015)

These findings implied that most politicians held the opinion that it was easier to monitor and evaluate voters' response towards their candidature on social media as compared to conventional media. However, candidates who least agreed were women representatives.

Taken together, the evidence from foregoing analyses provides support that social media play an important role in monitoring and evaluation. Interviews with political candidates and staff on their social media campaign teams supported this view. For instance, one presidential campaign staff stated:

“It [social media] is the best thing that ever happened to people campaigning. In the days past, candidates would use posters, loudspeakers on cars, radio and TV but they never got feedback. For this one [social media] feedback is instant. If you were campaigning in Nairobi County, you would know the response coming from Dagoreti sub county, Makadara Sub County and so on. You would know whom to target and whom not to target, therefore social media was [sic] very effective.”

One senatorial candidate stated that:

“I corrected a few things that had gone wrong on my campaign because of social media. For example, if someone made a comment that said I had never visited their area yet I had promised to visit, I would update my schedule to include a visit to that area. I could go there after one week because I don’t want to lose that one person. I could also head to an area to correct something that someone had said, especially if I had sent an aide there who misrepresented me, just because someone has given me direct feedback. Social media is [sic] good because some people may not be courageous enough to face me directly and tell me this wasn’t done right. However, it is easy for them to go on social media because there they can use pseudo names and bravely tell the truth. They can say, “This is what is happening, this is what could have been done, this is what you need to do if you really need to win.”

In another interview conducted a parliamentary candidate observed that:

“...anybody who is making a comment represents a particular constituency not based on boundaries, but by the particular view they represent. Sometimes they are accurate, other times they are not. Social media can give politician some direction on whether they are doing well or they are not doing well. However, it depends on the context. In urban areas views on social media would have more impact because many people would have a link to that particular post. In rural areas, they would be few.”

In addition, a parliamentary candidate observed that:

“Most politicians get information through other means other than social media. I can tell you they have their people on the ground. Politicians do not heavily rely on social media to know their rating.”

Among studies that support this view are those conducted by Kavanagh (1995, 1996) and Scammell (1995) which see monitoring and evaluation as a key component of political marketing. From the foregoing discussions, it can be inferred that social media provide candidates with tools to trace public opinion during an election campaign and to assess the impact of their campaign.

4.8 Determinants of Social Media Use for Political Marketing in Kenya

Regression techniques were employed to ascertain the variables responsible for the adoption of social media for political marketing in Kenya. The study targeted candidates who used social media during their campaign with a view to determine what influenced their choice of media. The dependent variable therefore was “Did you use any social media for your campaign in the 2013 General Elections?” A number of independent variables thought to influence the adoption of the social media were considered for the modelling. The summary of variables was shown in Table 4.36.

Table 4.36: Model Specification and Definition of Variables

Dependent variable	
Use of social media:	Did you use any social media for your campaign in the 2013 General Elections?” (Dummy variables, 1 for Yes and 0 for No)
Independent variables	
a.	Familiarity with technology measured as whether extremely influential, very influential, somewhat influential, slightly influential, not at all influential.
b.	Familiarity with technology measured as whether extremely influential, very influential, somewhat influential, slightly influential, and not at all influential.
c.	Level of office measured as whether extremely influential, very influential, somewhat influential, slightly influential, and not at all influential.
d.	Level of competition measured as whether extremely influential, very influential, somewhat influential, slightly influential, and not at all influential.

- e. Established tradition measured as whether extremely influential, very influential, somewhat influential, slightly influential, and not at all influential.
- f. Financial consideration measured as whether extremely influential, very influential, somewhat influential, slightly influential, and not at all influential.
- g. Political party influence measured as whether extremely influential, very influential, somewhat influential, slightly influential, and not at all influential.
- h. Gender measured as either male or female.
- i. Age measured as below 20 years, 21 to 35 years, 36 to 50 years, 51 years and above.
- j. Education measured as diploma, degree, masters', doctorate.
- k. Title of office measured as president, governor, senator, women representative, Member of Parliament.
- l. Party affiliation measured as The National Alliance, Orange Democratic Party, and United Democratic Forum.
- m. Awareness of use of social media for political marketing measured as yes or no.
- n. Years of Internet use measured as more than 10 years, 3 to 10 years, less than 3 years, and no experience.
- o. Type of constituency measured as urban, peri-urban, and rural.

Source: Research Data (2015)

To develop the model, binary logistic regression modelling was adopted. This was because the nature of the dependent variable was dichotomous. A correlation test was conducted to test whether there were any independent variables that were highly correlated. This was to ensure that no variable effect was duplicated. The results of the correlations were summarised in Table 4.37. Both positive and negative correlations existed between the variables. The magnitude of the correlations ranged from very weak to average. The highest magnitude was 0.578 confirming that there were no “very strong” correlations between the variables and, as such, all the selected variables were included in the modelling.

Table 4.37: Correlations of the Model Variables

	Constant	Familiarity	Office	Competition	Tradition	Financial	Party influence	Gender	Age	Education	Level of office	Party	Social media use	Years of Internet	Constituency
Constant	1.000	-.023	.101	-.096	-.101	.011	-.454	-.370	-.526	-.028	-.454	-.449	-.316	-.338	.009
Familiarity with technology	-.023	1.000	-.573	.006	.269	.184	-.413	.060	.266	.117	.103	-.390	-.474	.143	.032
Level of office	.101	-.573	1.000	-.268	-.175	-.162	.174	.168	-.131	-.287	-.332	.274	.132	-.166	-.007
Competition level	-.096	.006	-.268	1.000	.044	-.182	-.019	-.021	.103	.221	-.035	-.123	-.040	.095	-.060
Tradition	-.101	.269	-.175	.044	1.000	-.326	-.114	.064	.400	.082	.193	-.303	-.381	.096	-.214
Financial	.011	.184	-.162	-.182	-.326	1.000	-.380	-.085	-.227	-.002	.126	-.198	-.122	-.074	.262
Party influence	-.454	-.413	.174	-.019	-.114	-.380	1.000	.161	.174	-.193	.085	.578	.388	.061	-.115
Gender	-.370	.060	.168	-.021	.064	-.085	.161	1.000	.364	-.228	-.074	.176	-.213	.231	-.052
Age	-.526	.266	-.131	.103	.400	-.227	.174	.364	1.000	-.094	.003	.192	-.130	.364	-.462
Education	-.028	.117	-.287	.221	.082	-.002	-.193	-.228	-.094	1.000	.232	-.245	-.173	-.159	.097
Level of office	-.454	.103	-.332	-.035	.193	.126	.085	-.074	.003	.232	1.000	-.004	-.094	-.227	.104
Party affiliation	-.449	-.390	.274	-.123	-.303	-.198	.578	.176	.192	-.245	-.004	1.000	.422	.168	-.320
Social media use	-.316	-.474	.132	-.040	-.381	-.122	.388	-.213	-.130	-.173	-.094	.422	1.000	.020	.026
Years of Internet use	-.338	.143	-.166	.095	.096	-.074	.061	.231	.364	-.159	-.227	.168	.020	1.000	-.273
Constituency type	.009	.032	-.007	-.060	-.214	.262	-.115	-.052	-.462	.097	.104	-.320	.026	-.273	1.000

Source: Research Data (2015)

The model was then conceptualised as:

$$Y = f(X_1, X_2, X_3, X_4, \dots, X_n)$$

Where:

Y= Determinants of social media use for political marketing in Kenya
(dependent variable, dummy variables, 1 for Yes and 0 for No)

X₁ = Familiarity with technology (independent variable measured as whether extremely influential, very influential, somewhat influential, slightly influential, not at all influential)

X₂ = Level of office (independent variable measured as whether extremely influential, very influential, somewhat influential, slightly influential, not at all influential)

X₃= Level of competition (independent variable measured as whether extremely influential, very influential, somewhat influential, slightly influential, not at all influential)

X₄= Established tradition (independent variable measured as whether extremely influential, very influential, somewhat influential, slightly influential, not at all influential)

X₅= Financial consideration (independent variable measured as whether extremely influential, very influential, somewhat influential, slightly influential, not at all influential)

X₆= Political party influence (independent variable measured as whether extremely influential, very influential, somewhat influential, slightly influential, not at all influential)

X₇= Gender (independent variable measured as either male or female)

X₈= Age (independent variable measured as below 20 years, 21 to 35 years, 36 to 50 years, 51 years and above)

X₉= Education (independent variable measured as diploma, degree, masters', doctorate)

X₁₀= Title of office (independent variable measured as president, governor, senator, women representative, Member of Parliament)

X₁₁= Party affiliation (independent variable measured as major parties and minor parties)

X₁₂= Awareness of use of social media for political marketing (independent variable measured as yes or no)

X₁₃= Years of Internet use (independent variable measured as more than 10 years, 3 to 10 years, less than 3 years, no experience)

X₁₄= Type of constituency (independent variable measured as urban, peri-urban, rural)

B₀ = Constant of regression

é. = Error term

The resultant model was perceived as applied:

$$Y = B_0 + B_1X_1 + B_2X_2 + B_3X_3 + B_4X_4 + \dots + B_{14}X_{14} + \varepsilon$$

The results of the binary logistical regression modelling were shown in Table 4.38.

Table 4.38: Binary Logistical Regression Statistics

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients							
Step 1		Chi-square	df	Sig.			
	Step	80.639	14	.000			
	Block	80.639	14	.000			
	Model	80.639	14	.000			
Model Summary							
Step 1	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square		Nagelkerke R Square			
	91.199 ^a	.273		.754			
a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 8 because parameter estimates changed by less than .001.							
Classification Table ^a							
Step 1	Observed	Predicted			Percentage Correct		
		Did you use any media for your campaign in 2013 general election?					
		No	Yes				
	Did you use any media for your campaign in 2013 general election?	No	10	17	37.0		
		Yes	3	223	98.7		
Overall Percentage		92.1					
a. The cut value is .500							
Variables in the Equation							
Step 1 ^a		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
	familiarity	1.527	.425	12.907	1	.000*	4.602
	office	-.422	.428	.975	1	.323	.655
	competition	.412	.274	2.265	1	.132	1.509
	tradition	.454	.291	2.439	1	.118	1.575
	Financial	.071	.312	.051	1	.821	1.073
	party influence	-.600	.285	4.421	1	.036*	.549
	gender	.352	.754	.218	1	.641	1.422
	age	.233	.508	.211	1	.646	1.263
	education	.603	.450	1.798	1	.180	1.828
	office campaigned	-.243	.427	.324	1	.569	.784
	party affiliation	-.681	.301	5.122	1	.024*	.506
	social media awareness	6.922	1.943	12.684	1	.000*	.001
	years of Internet	.521	.421	1.529	1	.016*	1.683
	constituency rating	.057	.443	.017	1	.897	1.059
constant	4.693	3.965	1.401	1	.237	109.188	

^a Variable(s) entered on step 1: familiarity, office, competition, tradition, financial, party influence, gender, age, education, office campaigned, party, social media awareness, years of Internet, and constituency rating.

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level

Source: Research Data (2015)

At 95% confidence level, the p value was set at 0.05. The variables with p-values <0.05 were then identified from Table 4.39 as: familiarity with technology (p-value = .000), political party influence (p value =.036), party affiliation (p value =.024), years of Internet use (p value =.016), and social media awareness (p value =.000).

The model was therefore formulated as:

$$Y = B_0 + B_1X_1 + B_6X_6 + B_{11}X_{11} + B_{12}X_{12} + B_{13}X_{13} + \varepsilon$$

$$Y = 4.693 + 1.527X_1 - 0.600X_6 - 0.681X_{11} + 6.922X_{12} + 0.521X_{13} + \varepsilon$$

Where:

Y = Determinants of social media use for political marketing in Kenya

B₀ = Constant of regression

X₁ = Familiarity with technology

X₆ = Political party influence

X₁₁ = Party affiliation

X₁₂ = Awareness on the use of social media for political marketing

X₁₃ = Years of Internet use

é. = Error term

The logistic regression model was statistically significant, $\chi^2 = 80.639$, $p < .000$. The model explained 75.4% (Nagelkerke R^2) of the variance in social media use in political marketing in Kenya and correctly classified 92.1% of cases. Familiarity with technology was 4.602 times more likely to influence the adoption of social media use. Increasing familiarity with technology, awareness on the use of social media for political marketing, and years of Internet use, were associated with an increased likelihood of adopting social media use. However, increasing political party influence and party affiliation was associated with a reduction in the likelihood of adopting of social media use.

This is a fairly strong model, because 75.4% of the variations were determined by the variables within the model. The model could therefore be used to predict the politicians' behaviour during political campaigns as far as the use of social media is concerned. When dealing with the model, it should be noted that 24.6% of the variations in social media use for political marketing in Kenya are explained by variables outside the model. Further investigation is necessary to identify these remaining factors since they are being taken care of by the error term.

Political marketing through social media is an emerging concept in Kenya. The Internet is assuming an increasingly large role in contests for public office, and recent research has sought to understand the factors that lead candidates to campaign online. Previous scholarship has suggested a host of different factors that could plausibly explain why some candidates campaign on the Internet and others do not. Although diffusion of innovations theory suggests determinants in general, this research singles out the variables above as positive and significant coefficients in technology innovation adoption decision. These have been hitherto ignored by scholarship in adoption in developing countries which has majorly focused on demographics. This study built on this research by systematically testing these competing explanations. Analysis shows that familiarity with technology, political party influence, party affiliation, years of Internet use, and social media awareness, influence candidates' propensities to adopt social media.

These findings agree with studies that show the political party as a determinant of social media use (Herrnson et al., 2007; Klotz, 2004; Williams & Gulati, 2012). The findings also agree with studies that show that familiarity with the Internet is likely to influence a candidate's decision to use it (Adler, Chariti & Cary, 1998; Herrnson et al., 2007). The findings are supported by studies conducted in the U.S. elections of 2006 and 2008 that indicate that politician's past experience with technology has large, positive impact on adoption rates (Williams & Gulati, 2012). Therefore, the factors that are influential on candidates adopting social media are mostly in line with diffusion of innovations theory.

Most studies of initial technology adoption, identify sets of indicators tied to attributes of constituencies, namely demographic indicators correlated with citizen access to and use of the Internet: income, education, age, ethnicity and urbanization (Chadwick, 2006; Klotz, 2004; Mossberger, Tolbert & Stansbury, 2003). This study goes beyond this and identifies two new independent variables that are important to early adoption: political party influence and party affiliation. This could be attributed to the fact that the 2013 elections in Kenya were run on a digital revolution campaign platform, with some parties declaring that they were 'digital' and others 'analogue'. TNA, which ran

on a digital campaign agenda, may have had an impact on the candidates' overall adoption of social media and other ICT related tools. This campaign strategy could have had a trickle-down effect on the use of digital media by other parties in the election contest.

However, the explanatory power of this model and similar studies of online campaign (Williams & Gulati, 2012) underscores the point that researchers have a long way to go in identifying variables that appropriately and fully specify our extent of usage models. As Fichman (2004) observes, 'Research that goes beyond the dominant paradigm holds more promise to tell us things about the IT innovation phenomenon that we do not already know' (p.54). The model therefore requires more systematic and extensive replication before it can be employed to adequately explain adoption behaviour.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The chapter is a synthesis of what has hitherto been discussed in the study. The chapter presents a comprehensive summary of the study, major findings, and conclusions of the study. It also presents pertinent recommendations as well as areas for further research regarding adoption of social media for political marketing.

5.1 Summary

In light of the global paradigm shift in political expression with the emergence of new media, this study investigated the early adoption and dissemination of social media as emerging technology tools in campaigns by analysing which candidates were the most likely to use Facebook and Twitter in the 2013 general elections in Kenya, and how. The key variables investigated were: i) demographic characteristics and their influence on use of social media by politicians for political marketing in Kenya, ii) technological factors and their influence on use of social media by politicians for political marketing in Kenya, iii) representation level and its influence on the use of social media by politicians for political marketing in Kenya, iv) voting outcome and how its influence on the use of social media for political marketing in Kenya.

The empirical evidence showed that globally, there was a paradigm shift in the ways in which politicians express themselves in the political realm ever since the emergence of new media and in political marketing in particular. Social media have the potential of establishing long-term relationships between politicians and voters beyond the electioneering period so that the continued dialogue that ensues deepens democracy. All over the world, social media have been used for political marketing purposes and in recent years, they have become an increasingly prevalent campaign platform. Studies conducted in Kenya indicate a presence of social media use during electioneering periods but the studies do not expressly address the issue of determinants of social media use among politicians for political marketing in light of an adoption divide.

In addition, most scholarship about online campaigning abroad has focused on Internet use among candidates for presidential level but little is known about candidates at lower offices. In Kenya, few studies on Internet use have focused on presidential candidates and even fewer on candidates for lower offices. The problem is compounded with lack of knowledge about determinants of adoption for candidates running for the new offices created by the Constitution of Kenya 2010. Therefore, a gap exists in researching a multi-level use of social media use among politicians in Kenya. This study addressed this gap by researching on social media use across the devolved levels.

Again much research effort has focused on the effect of social media use among voters, but comparatively little consideration has been given to the factors that shape political candidates' adoption and use of this medium. In general, there has been little, if any, systematic study of the determinants of social media use for political marketing in Kenya. Essentially then, empirical evidence suggests that factors that drive candidates to integrate online communication into their campaigns remain largely unknown.

The research was underpinned by the diffusion of innovations theory, the network society theory and the social marketing theory. These theories were conceptualised in interaction with each other to explain a socially produced space within which political marketing is possible through use of social media platforms.

The study utilised the mixed methods sequential explanatory design. This design consisted of the quantitative phase which was then followed by the qualitative phase. The study population included candidates who contested in the 2013 general elections in Kenya and their representatives. A sample size of 338 politicians was drawn from a total population of 2807 politicians who contested in the 2013 general elections. The sampled candidates were presidential (8), gubernatorial (28), senatorial (32), women representative (36) and parliamentary (234). The sampling frame was obtained from a list published by the Independent Elections and Boundaries Commission in 2013. Data was collected using questionnaires and interview guides. Reliability was tested

by conducting a pilot study of the research tools and subjecting the sample obtained to the Cronbach's alpha.

The response rate was 91% and this was deemed to provide a firm basis for making inferences on the whole population. The integrity of the survey instrument was validated through a pilot from which reliability was established.

The quantitative data obtained was analysed using descriptive statistics and inferential statistics with the help of the IBM Statistical Package for Social Sciences 20 and were summarised into appropriate tables. The qualitative data obtained from the interviews with politicians and social media campaign staff was subjected to content analysis from which relevant data was extracted. Largely, the interpretation of results points to adoption patterns of social media for political marketing.

5.2 Summary of Major Findings

The analysed data revealed the following:

5.2.1 Demographic Characteristics of Politicians

There was a gender gap in elections since more males than females vied for the 2013 general elections in Kenya. There were more male politicians (75%) participating in the elections than females (25%). The proportion of the males in the gubernatorial, senatorial, and parliamentary positions was 96%, 84% and 83%, while that for the females was 4%, 16% and 17% respectively. The chi-square value for the variations in the participation of both genders in the election was ($X^2=73.101$, $df = 4$, $Sig = .000$) implying that the variation between genders was statistically significant. However, for the position of women representative, all contestants were women. The constitutional provision that the seats be reserved exclusively for women, accounts for this. The distribution of the politicians by age indicated that, there were young politicians campaigning in the 2013 elections. A majority of politicians who vied for various posts in the 2013 general elections had tertiary level education. The greater proportion of the politicians (56%) held a bachelor's degree level of education, with another

18.2% holding a master's degree and a further 4.1% holding doctoral degrees. Only 21.3% of all the politicians had qualifications lower than the bachelor's degree. This trend towards having a political class which was better educated can be attributed to the legal requirement for a minimum educational threshold for contestants vying for various posts embedded in the constitution. A majority of candidates in the elections came from the major political parties. Over 78.5% of candidates came from TNA and ODM. This implies that the major parties are still dominating elections in Kenya and it can be inferred that most contestants align themselves with those parties in order to clinch political seats.

5.2.2 Awareness of Social Media

Regarding awareness of social media, there was a high level of awareness of social media use for political marketing by both genders. More male politicians (96.5%) were aware of social media use than female politicians (90.4%). Secondly, regardless of gender, politicians at higher levels of office were relatively more aware of social media use for political marketing, than those at lower levels of office. For example, at the gubernatorial level, 95.2% of the male candidates and 100% of the female candidates showed awareness, while at the parliamentary level 96.6% of the male candidates and 88.6% of female candidates reported awareness. Therefore, there was a normalization of adoption rates in the context of political communication. Younger candidates were more aware of social media use than older candidates (51 years and above). For some older candidates, incumbency as well as presence of social media campaign staff, accounted for their heightened awareness. Candidates with higher educational credentials indicated higher levels of awareness compared to candidates with lower educational qualifications. All the candidates (100%) with doctoral degrees at all levels were aware of social media use for political marketing with candidates with lesser qualifications posting varying levels of awareness. The majority of candidates across parties were aware of social media use, although, politicians from smaller parties showed comparatively lower levels of awareness. For instance, at the parliamentary level, ODM posted an awareness level of 97.6%, followed by TNA posting 90.5% awareness, while contenders from the smaller parties

posted a low of 77.8%. In general, the level of awareness of social media for political marketing for the 2013 elections in Kenya was high. Comparatively then, in the initial phases of adoption of new media for political communication, Kenyan politicians posted higher levels of awareness.

5.2.3. Use of Social Media

A majority of politicians (87.3%) used social media during their election campaign in the 2013 general elections. This level of adoption for a developing nation with a maturing democracy indeed shows that there was a paradigm shift in the ways in which politicians market their candidature in the context of general elections.

Gender was shown to be irrelevant as a determinant of adoption in the context of elections. Among male candidates, 88.2% of them used social media, while 86.1% of female candidates utilised the media. These high levels of usage posted indicated that the gender divide was diminishing. However, candidates' age, education and political party size appeared to influence adoption of social media. Politicians who were younger in age used social media more than older politicians. Analysis shows that 93.5% of politicians aged 35 years and below used social media, while 89% of those aged between 36-50 used social media. Only 83% of those aged 51 and above used social media.

Candidates who were better educated had relatively higher adoption rates at the gubernatorial and parliamentary levels. At the parliamentary level for instance, 100% of candidates with doctoral degrees used social media while those with diplomas posted a low of 73.9%. These findings are in line with diffusion of innovations literature that state that higher levels of education contribute to greater technology adoption rates. Education makes people more comfortable with and skilled in the use of technology. Regarding political party size, adoption rates for candidates from major political parties were marginally higher than those from smaller parties especially at the women representative and parliamentary levels.

5.2.4 Influence of Technological Factors on Use of Social Media

Years of Internet use was shown to have a significant influence in adoption of social media. The study found that candidates who had more than three years Internet experience were more likely to use social media than those who had less than three years of Internet experience. Among candidates with more than ten years' Internet experience, 89.8% of them used social media. Among candidates with three to ten years' experience with Internet, 92.5% of them used social media. Among candidates who had less than three years' experience, 83.7% of them used social media. Only 33.3% of candidates with no experience with Internet used social media. Results obtained from the chi-square test were ($X^2=49.194$, $df=3$, $Sig = 0.000$) indicating that the variation between years of Internet experience and social media use was significant.

Pre-existence of political office (that the presidential and parliamentary offices which existed prior to the 2010 constitutional) was irrelevant to adoption of social media. Results indicated that candidates for pre-existing offices (presidential and parliamentary) as well as candidates for the new offices (gubernatorial, senatorial, and women representative) equally used social media to help them expand their electoral base and maximize voter turnout among their supporters. Chi-square analysis showed no significance across the levels of political office ($P>0.05$). However, type of social media appeared to have a bearing on adoption. Facebook was adopted more rapidly than Twitter. Analysis showed that 91.3% of the politicians used Facebook in their elections campaign, while 5.7% used twitter. Results indicated that there was a significance difference ($P<0.05$) between the type of social media used since all the candidates, irrespective of office, preferred Facebook to Twitter. A possible explanation was that their campaign teams identified the most popular social media platform with Kenyan voters and concentrated their efforts on that medium.

The use of social media did not pre-empt the use of other media such as radio, television, newspapers, billboards and posters. Politicians predominantly used posters (92.1%), radio (69.1%), bill boards (40.3%), newspapers (37.2%), and television

(32.5%). Candidates used traditional media in their political campaigns, confirming that in as much as social media use was on the rise in Kenya, traditional media still played a key role in elections. Therefore, Kenya was still a middle transition state in terms of social media use.

Regarding frequency of the social media posts, fewer candidates updated their sites on a daily basis. Analyses reveal that 57% of the candidates updated their sites almost daily, 27.7% updated them almost weekly, while 3.6% updated them almost monthly and a further 2% posting almost yearly. However, Presidential candidates posted content more regularly than candidates at the other levels of office. This observation could be explained by the fact that presidential contestants had a team of dedicated staff working on their social media sites. Secondly, candidates for the parliamentary seat were the second highest to update their social media sites. With the institution of more offices at the parliamentary level which were occasioned by the Constitution of Kenya 2010, the demand for communication with voters through every possible platform surged. Again, the parliamentary offices were generally open (because of lack of incumbency) and crowded and this stepped up the clamour for voters' attention through media.

Most candidates are at the implementation stage of social media use. Over 38.2% of candidates were posting content infrequently implying that they were using social media to a varying degree as they determined its usefulness. These candidates were at the implementation stage, a stage where an adopter uses an innovation to a varying degree as they determine its usefulness, before they make a final decision to use it fully in the final confirmation stage.

Regarding the nature of messages sent, text messages were quite popular compared to other message types. The majority of candidates updated their sites by posting text messages as confirmed by 88.5%. Other message types included photos (77.5%), photos with captions (71.7%) and video messages (36.1%). Most candidates preferred posting text and photos.

Candidates posted a variety of content on social media. A majority of content was geared towards creating awareness about their candidature. This included content geared towards mobilizing supporters to rallies and demos (79.1%), general communication with supporters (78.1%), and announcing events (77.5%). Part of the content was dedicated towards candidates' identity formation. Such content included sharing party position (74.4%), sharing personal achievements (73.3%), sharing policy position (62.3%), disclosing personal qualifications (59.7%), and disclosing profession (57.6%). Further, 63.3% of effort on social media to counter negative propaganda which included falsehoods spread by opposing candidates. This indicated that propaganda emerged as a strategy for achieving political expediency in Kenyan elections. It can be inferred that politicians not only used this newly found Internet freedom to create awareness about their candidature and to craft particular identities for themselves as a way of promoting their candidature, but also to correct negative images spanned by propagandists.

Half of the politicians sampled (50.3%) used social media to communicate with voters in the diaspora. This shows a remarkable trend in politicians recognizing that their campaign efforts transcended the confines of space and time. Interviews with politicians and staff on their social media campaign team noted that people living in the Diaspora influenced voting patterns in their home constituency hence the need to use social media to target them. Social media, therefore, was seen as transcending physical constituency barriers.

There was a stark difference in the ways social media was used for political purposes in developing countries and developed countries. Whereas in developed countries social media sites are used mainly for the recruitment of volunteers, organization of the campaign, mobilization and fundraising. In Kenya, which is a developing country, social media sites are used majorly to mobilize supporters (79.1%), as a platform for general communication with voters (78.0%), and to announce party events (77.5%). Additionally, while in developing countries social media was used for fundraising, in Kenya fundraising ranks low in the order of functions (44.5%). A possible explanation for this was the lack of tradition regarding fundraising from the

electorate. A lack of laws governing mobile money transfer for political purposes and a lack of legislation on political fundraising further accounts for this trend.

Most candidates felt that having personal computers with high Internet speeds was an important determiner of successful political marketing online (83%). This means that the Internet could be available but if the speeds were low, then perhaps going online to view sites or post content especially photos and videos was challenging.

A majority of politicians felt that having personnel managing a politician's social media site was important (81%). Interviews with political candidates and staff on their social media campaign teams supported this view. The study therefore inferred that political candidates can consider engaging staff knowledgeable in online marketing campaigns to manage their social media sites.

Most politicians found social media easy to use and consequently it didn't require special training (77%). The fact that politicians found social media easy to use accounts for the higher usage incidence reported (87.3%). Diffusion of innovations theory states that complexity of innovations is negatively correlated with the rate of adoption. However, to optimally leverage social media as a political marketing tool, one may need specialized training.

A majority of politicians found social media to be consistent with their needs. 77% of politicians opined that social media eased their communication with voters, while 60% felt that they could control their online communication with voters. The diffusion of innovations theory states that a new technology has a higher chance for rapid adoption if it is compatible with the needs of potential adopters. This could account for the higher adoption rates of social media by Kenyan politicians.

Most politicians reported incurring low costs when they used social media for political marketing (54%). Since the cost of updating profiles and posting content was extremely low, most politicians saw the Internet as a fundamental component of any communication and mobilization strategy.

Over 65% of political candidates who used social media felt connected interpersonally with voters when they communicated with them online. Therefore an inference can be made that 35% of politicians found online communication with voters impersonal. This is inconsistent with the network society theory which posits that actors interacting on online spaces establish and participate in a relationship. This shows that Kenya is still in middle transition in terms of digital communication usage. Kenya is emerging from a predominantly orate culture and therefore digital communication may still present authenticity issues.

5.2.5 Influence of Representation Factors on Use of Social Media

Most candidates agreed that constituency characteristics such as the average age of constituents (88%), literacy levels of constituents (84%), income levels (71%), level of electoral office (64%), the politicians' perception of constituents' expectations regarding online campaign (64%), seemed to influence social media adoption. Candidates representing peri-urban type of constituency were likely to use social media than candidates representing the rural or urban constituencies. The data reveals that percentage of candidates who used social media was 92.2% from peri-urban constituencies, 85.8% from rural constituencies while 85.1% from urban constituencies.

The target audience for social media was skewed towards the younger age demographic. Results indicated that 66.1% of politicians targeted voters aged between 18 and 25 years, while 18.9% of politicians' targeted voters aged between 26 and 35 years. A further 3.6% of politicians' targeted voters aged between 36 and 50 years, while only 1.6% targeted voters above 51 years. Interviews with campaign personnel showed that campaigns view the medium as a means of outreach to the youth vote. Candidates were also more likely to use social media on constituents perceived to have higher literacy levels. It has been demonstrated that constituency characteristics indeed influence social media adoption for political marketing.

5.2.6 Politicians' Perception on Voting Outcome and Use of Social Media

It was useful to examine the contribution of social media to voting outcome since adoption rates are influenced by the success of an innovation. Politicians perceive that social media have the potential to significantly contribute to election outcome (70.2%). This view, however, has to be taken with cautious optimism because the same candidates opined that the contribution of social media to election results in previous elections was low (31.9%). Even then, contenders for the new electoral offices (gubernatorial, senatorial and women representative) felt less inclined to use social media as tool for delivering votes than politicians gunning for pre-existing electoral offices (presidential and parliamentary). Perhaps because there was precedent in use of social media for those pre-existing offices, while the efficacy of social media use for new offices was yet to be established. It can therefore be inferred that most candidates felt there were other factors that contributed to electoral success other than the medium used for political campaigns. A possible explanation was that Kenya, being a polarized country, grapples with issues like negative ethnicity which may impinge on voting decision. Previous elections in Kenya have witnessed ethnic voting blocs which have been famously referred to as “tyranny of numbers”.

Political candidates perceived social media as not having a greater reach compared to conventional media. More than half the candidates (51.8%) held that social media did not have a greater reach than conventional media. This implies that social media ought to be used alongside conventional media for communication with voters.

It was easier to monitor and evaluate voters' response towards their candidature on social media as compared to conventional media. A majority of candidates (62.3%) held the view that monitoring and evaluating voters' response towards their candidature was easier on social media than when using other conventional methods. Monitoring and evaluation was seen as a key component of political marketing. Social media, therefore, provided candidates with tools to trace public opinion during an election campaign and to assess the impact of their campaign.

5.2.7 Determinants of Social Media Use for Political Marketing in Kenya

Binary logistic regression modelling was adopted to identify variables responsible for the use of social media in political marketing in Kenya. At 95% confidence level, the p value was set at 0.05. The variables with p-values <0.05 were then identified from Table 4.20 as: familiarity with technology (p-value = .000), political party influence (p value =.036), party affiliation (p value =.024), years of Internet use (p value =.016), and social media awareness (p value =.000). The logistic regression model was statistically significant, $\chi^2= 80.639$, $p< .000$. The model explained 75.4% (Nagelkerke R^2) of the variance in social media use in political marketing in Kenya and correctly classified 92.1% of cases. Familiarity with technology was 4.602 times more likely to influence the adoption of social media use. Increasing familiarity with technology, awareness on the use of social media for political marketing, and years of Internet use, were associated with an increased likelihood of adopting social media use. However, increasing political party influence and party affiliation was associated with a reduction in the likelihood of adopting of social media use.

This was a fairly strong model, because 75.4% of the variations were determined by the variables within the model. The model could therefore be used to predict politicians' behaviour during political campaigns as far as use of social media is concerned. When dealing with the model it should be noted that 24.6% of the variations in social media use for political marketing in Kenya are explained by variables outside the model. Further investigation is necessary to identify these remaining factors since they are being taken care of by the error term.

5.3 Conclusions

The study sought to establish the determinants of social media use for political marketing in Kenya. Based on the findings of this study, the following conclusions were made:

The study established that social media have created a new and exciting platform for political marketing. These new media sites have provided easily accessible means for politicians to distribute political information. Political candidates and campaign strategists have recognised this potential and therefore utilise these platforms in the campaign process.

The study found that social media use was at 87.3% among all political candidates who participated in the 2013 elections. This level of adoption at the initial phases of social media adoption points to a shift in online political expression. Personal attributes such as higher education levels and relatively younger age could account for the rise in adoption among candidates. Technology attributes such as ease of use may also account for the steeper adoption.

Regarding political party affiliation, adoption rates for the major political parties was higher than adoption rates from smaller parties at certain levels of office like women representative, and parliamentary levels. Candidates who were most likely to embrace social media were those that viewed the new communication media as additional tools for winning votes. In addition, candidates who had more than three years of Internet experience were more likely to use social media than those who had fewer years of the same.

Although political candidates used Facebook and Twitter, they did not abandon traditional media like television, radio, newspapers and posters. Candidates used traditional media in their political campaigns, confirming that inasmuch as social media use was on the rise in Kenya, traditional media still played a key role in elections. Kenya is still a middle transition state in terms of social media use. The study therefore concludes that though mobilisation of voters may be primarily done offline, social media must be utilised together with other media to supplement campaigns in complementarity and mutual dependency.

Slightly more than half the candidates had reached the final implementation stage of social media adoption. In particular, statistics indicated that presidential candidates

posted content more regularly than other candidates. Parliamentary candidates came in second in frequency of posts on social media. This could stem from the fact that the race for the parliamentary position was an open and competitive race and when a race is more competitive, all candidates may try to exploit every available technological resource to help them expand their electoral base and maximise turnout among their supporters.

The content of messages candidates sent was diverse. Candidates used social media to create awareness about their candidature, for identity formation, for defence against propaganda, and to communicate with voters in the diaspora. An inference can be made that social media are effective in political communication and facilitating interaction between candidates and voters, and hence can act as political marketing tools.

There is a stark difference in the ways social media are used for political purposes in developing countries and developed countries. Whereas in developed countries social media sites are used mainly for the recruitment of volunteers, organisation of the campaign, mobilisation and fundraising, in Kenya, which is an example of a developing country, social media sites are used majorly to mobilise supporters, for general communication with voters, and to announce party events. A further observation is that while in developing countries social media are used for fundraising, in Kenya this ranks low in the order of priorities coming in last.

A majority of political candidates found social media easy to use. They also opined that social media did not require specialized training to use. However, social media experts stated that to leverage social media effectively as political marketing strategy, users would require specialised training.

Most politicians reported incurring low costs when they used social media for political marketing. Since the cost of updating profiles and posting content was extremely low, most politicians saw the Internet as a fundamental component of any communication and mobilisation strategy. This implies that the cost of democracy

may come down if social media strategies are affected on a large scale and utilised optimally.

A majority of politicians felt that having personnel managing a politician's social media site is important. From interviews with political candidates and staff on their social media campaign teams, it was found that this view was supported. The study can conclude that online campaign does not have to be personally managed by the political candidate, but it can be executed by staff acting on behalf of the candidate. Additionally, although candidates reported incurring low costs when they used social media for political marketing, it would be interesting to see how this view might change when candidates engaged staff to manage their social media sites. For instance, whether better-financed candidates would be more likely to engage social media staff than less well-endowed candidates.

Most politicians found social media to be consistent with their needs. Candidates opined that social media eased their communication with voters, and that they could control their online communication with voters. The diffusion of innovations theory states that a new technology has a higher chance for rapid adoption if it is compatible with the needs of potential adopters. This therefore could account for the higher adoption rates of social media by Kenyan politicians.

In relation to theory, this study utilised the diffusion of innovations theory. Most studies of initial technology adoption, identify sets of indicators tied to attributes of constituencies, namely demographic indicators correlated with citizens' access to and use of the Internet: income, education, age, ethnicity and urbanisation. This study goes beyond this and specifies five independent variables that are important to early adoption in relation to political communication. These variables: familiarity with technology, political party influence, party affiliation, years of Internet use, and social media awareness, influence candidates' propensities to adopt social media. The variables account for adoption of social media in the context of politics of a developing nation. The predictive power of this model and of models in similar studies on online campaign platforms underscores the point that we have a long way

to go in identifying variables that appropriately and fully specify determinants of adoption. Therefore, more systematic and extensive replication is required before using the model to explain adoption.

The diffusion of innovations literature served to inform the study's conceptual framework, model specification, analysis and interpretation of data obtained on who adopts new campaign technologies and to what extent. Analyses demonstrate the importance of differentiating between the decision to become an early adopter and the extensive implementation and use of the technology once it has been adopted. For instance, 38.2% of candidates are at the implementation stage of social media adoption for political communication because they are only using the media partially. At the implementation stage, adopters use an innovation to a varying degree as they determine its usefulness before they make a final decision to use it fully in the final confirmation stage. Diffusion of innovations theory provided tools to differentiate between the decision to become an early adopter and the extensive implementation and use of the technology once it has been adopted.

The study was also informed by the network society theory. Internet communication is characterised by two-way messages to a mass audience; in effect, social media, which are a form of Internet communication, are conceptualised as a public space. However, 35% of candidates did not feel connected interpersonally with the voters through online communication. It is possible then that the idea of a public space may be an idealisation. This could potentially affect adoption rates and use of social media.

Results from this study give support to the thesis that constituency characteristics indeed influence social media adoption for political marketing. Characteristics such as level of electoral office, the politicians' perception of constituents' expectations regarding online campaign, the average age of constituents and literacy levels of constituents, were found to influence social media adoption levels.

Candidates perceive that social media have the potential to contribute to election outcome. This view, however, has to be taken with cautious optimism because the

same candidates opined that the contribution of social media to election results in previous elections was negligible. Even then, contenders for the new electoral offices (gubernatorial, senatorial and women representative) felt less inclined to use social media as tools for delivering votes than politicians gunning for pre-existing electoral offices (presidential and parliamentary). Perhaps because there was precedent in use of social media for those pre-existing offices, while the efficacy of social media use for new offices was yet to be established. The study infers that most candidates felt there were other factors that contributed to electoral success other than the medium used for political campaigns. A possible explanation is that Kenya, being a polarised country, grapples with issues like negative ethnicity which may impinge on voting decision. Previous elections in Kenya have witnessed ethnic voting blocs infamously referred to as “tyranny of numbers”.

This study adds to the body of literature that ties social marketing theory to political marketing. The use of social marketing theory extended into the political realm. It also adds to studies that continue to see political marketing as a component of political communication. Current thinking posits that political marketing is an integral and vital component of political communication. Political communication encompasses the entire marketing process, from preliminary market study to testing and targeting adding that the main areas of application of political marketing are image-making campaigns and election campaigns.

We can conclude that social media have advantage over traditional media in terms of monitoring and evaluation of candidature during the electoral campaign process. This potential can be harnessed for political marketing during elections.

5.4 Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations were made:

- i) In regard to demographics, higher education qualifications are to be preferred for elective office because they make candidates more comfortable with, and skilled in the use of available technology. Such

candidates would be more aware of alternative forms of communication media for political marketing. This could potentially bring down the cost of elections in developing countries consequently making democracy more affordable.

- ii) In regard to technology, campaign teams ought to continuously identify the most popular social media platforms with Kenyan voters and invest in political marketing through those platforms. It is important for political parties as well as individual politicians to further put in place a social media campaign strategy that will harness the power of social media for campaigns and voter mobilisation, and use social media to supplement offline campaign efforts. These policies ought to cut across all levels of office and not just the higher echelons like the presidential and gubernatorial. This said, campaign teams should use traditional media as well as social media in their political campaigns since findings indicated that traditional media still played a key role in off-line mobilising of voters.
- iii) In regard to use of social media, it is important for candidates to employ social media for a wider variety of purposes. Unexplored social media functions like resource mobilisation may be considered, subsequent to which legislation on political fundraising in general and resource mobilisation through mobile money transfer systems like M-Pesa and Airtel Money in particular ought to be crafted. Campaign teams need to review upwards their frequency of posting on social media. The essence of social media is in its immediacy and any campaign effort on such platforms needs to be in line with this characteristic in order to pull online audiences.
- iv) Political parties need to avail personal computers and other handheld devices with high Internet speeds to candidates in order for them to carry out successful political marketing online. Political parties can device means to make these devices available or recommend specifications for online access tools for candidates running on their parties' platforms. A major concern associated with political marketing

on social media is the level of penetration and access of the Internet in Kenya. Even though Internet penetration has continued to grow steadily, for most people it remains expensive and out of reach. The regulator specifically CAK and the relevant government ministries and departments ought to ensure most voters gain access to the Internet.

- v) Specialised training on political marketing through social media need to be conducted. To effectively leverage social media as a marketing platform, candidates and staff on their campaign teams may need specialised training. These training will help political actors harness the power of social media to diffuse political messages by establishing a heavy social media presence and saturate the sites with targeted messages for consumption by voters. They can take advantage of these sites' ability and amplify political messages. Candidates ought to undergo social media use training to ensure their communication to the masses is not top-down but horizontal, thus enhancing their relationship with supporters and maximising on voter turnout.
- vi) In regard to representation level, there is need to analyse constituency characteristics before employing social media for political campaigns. Political parties can conduct research on the efficacy of using social media for particular constituency types and put recommendations in place that will guide usage. Individual candidates can also research the nature of their campaign environment so that they adapt their online campaign to their various constituencies.
- vii) In regard to election outcome, there is potential for social media to contribute to the outcome of elections. With this in mind, candidates can use social media as means of influencing voter decision. However, there is need to see how these technologies play out over several future elections and further empirical research conducted before designating online social networks as significant determinants of election outcomes.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Study

The study findings point to a need for further research and investigation in the following areas:

Variables which the study found significant to social media adoption for political marketing were: familiarity with technology, political party influence, party affiliation, years of Internet use, and social media awareness. Further research needs to delineate the remaining variables responsible for adoption of social media for political marketing in the context of developing countries.

This study has offered its unique approach through its methodology in providing insight on the adoption of social media for political marketing in Kenya. Specifically, the research was anchored on the diffusion of innovations theory, the network society theory and the social marketing theory. Other researchers could use different approaches, methodologies and theories. They may compare findings of this study to future periods to ascertain whether there are changing trends in adoption and usage of social media with regard to political communication.

There is need for a study evaluating the effectiveness of strategies used for communication on social media platforms for purposes of political marketing, in order to maximise the potential of social media for candidates who are keen to employ such media. Further, content posted on social media can be evaluated on attributes such as content quality, informality of speech and design to ascertain its effectiveness in political marketing.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Questionnaire for Political Candidates

The purpose of this questionnaire is to collect data purely for academic purposes. All information will be treated with strict confidence. Do not put any name or identification on this questionnaire.

Answer all questions as indicated by either ticking the relevant box or writing down your answer in the spaces provided.

PART I: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

This section of the questionnaire refers to background information. Although we are aware of the sensitivity of the questions in this section, the information will allow us to compare groups of respondents. Once again, we assure you that your response will remain anonymous. Your cooperation is appreciated.

1. Please specify your gender 1=Male ☐ 2=Female ☐
2. Please specify your age?
 - 1= Below 20 years ☐
 - 2=21 to 35years ☐
 - 3= 36 to 50 years ☐
 - 4=51 years and above ☐
3. What is your highest level of education?
 - 1= Diploma ☐ 2= Degree ☐ 3= Masters ☐
 - 4=Doctorate ☐
4. Please specify the title of office you campaigned for
 - 1= President ☐
 - 2= Governor ☐
 - 3= Senator ☐
 - 4= Women Representative ☐
 - 5= Member of Parliament ☐
5. Please indicate your county _____

6. What is your party affiliation?

1= The National Alliance (TNA) ☐

2=Orange Democratic Party (ODM) ☐

3= United Democratic Forum (UDF) ☐

4= Other (specify) ☐

PART II: USE OF SOCIAL MEDIA

This section of the questionnaire explores your use of social media with regard to political marketing. Political marketing refers to campaigning with the aim of gaining votes. Social media refer to online social communication sites like Facebook and Twitter.

7. Are you aware about the use of social media for political marketing?

1=Yes ☐

2=No ☐

8. Did you use any social media for your campaign in the 2013 general elections?

1=Yes ☐

2=No ☐

If yes, specify the type(s)

1= Facebook ☐

2= Twitter ☐

3= Website ☐

4= Other (specify) ☐

If no, state reasons

9. Which other media did you use for political marketing in the 2013 general elections? (Tick all that apply)

1= Radio ☐

2= T.V. ☐

3= Newspaper ☐

4= Billboard ☐

5= Posters ☐

6= Other (specify) ☐

10. Please specify years of Internet use

- 1= No experience ☐
2= Less than 3 years ☐
3= 3-10 years ☐
4= More than 10 years ☐

11. To what extent did the following factors influence your choice of media for political marketing in the 2013 general elections?

Factors	Not at all influential	Slightly influential	Somewhat influential	Very influential	Extremely influential
Familiarity with technology					
Level of office					
Level of competition					
Established tradition					
Financial consideration					
Political party influence					

12. How regularly did you post content on your social media site (e.g. updating your Facebook status or posting a tweet on Twitter)?

- 1= Often/ Almost daily ☐
2= Sometimes/ Almost weekly ☐
3= Rarely/ Almost monthly ☐
4= Never/ Almost yearly ☐
5= I don't know ☐

13. How much time did you spend on your social media site on each visit?

- 1= Less than 30 minutes ☐
2= 31 minutes – 60 minutes ☐
3= 61 minutes – 90 minutes ☐

4= 91 minutes – 120 minutes ☐

5= More than 121 minutes ☐

6= I don't know ☐

14. What is the nature of the messages that you send on your social media site? (Tick all that apply)

Nature of message	Never	Almost never	Sometimes	Almost every time	Every time
Text message					
Video					
Photo					
Photo with caption					

15. Please indicate what kind of information you shared on your social media site (Tick all that apply)

1= Qualification (e.g. degree, masters, diploma) ☐

2= Profession (e.g. lawyer, doctor) ☐

3= Personal achievement (e.g. community initiatives, awards, philanthropy) ☐

4= Policy position (e.g. democrat, social) ☐

5= Party position (e.g. ODM, TNA, Independent) ☐

6= Mobilize supporters (e.g. asking members to rallies, meetings, demonstrations) ☐

7= Distribute information (e.g. announcing important events) ☐

8= Communicate with supporters (e.g. get complaints, encouragement, suggestions) ☐

9= Recruit volunteers (e.g. asking voters to join your campaign team) ☐

10= Appeal to undecided voters (e.g. urging voters to vote for you, to like your page) ☐

11= Solicit for campaign funds (e.g. through your M-Pesa pay bill) ☐

12= Posting messages to defend yourself against propaganda by competitors ☐

13= Appeal to voters in the diaspora ☐

14= Any other (specify) ☐

PART III: TECHNOLOGICAL FACTORS

This section explores your perceived ease of use of social media. Please note that *social media* refers to online social communication sites like Facebook and Twitter.

16. Please show the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
1. Social media are easy to use					
2. Being competent working online contributes to a politician's successful use of social media for political marketing					
3. Owning a personal computer connected to the Internet is important to a politician for accessing social media					
4. Use of social media does not require specialized training					
5. Adequate access to the Internet contributes to successful political marketing using social media					
6. Online communication lets me control when I want to communicate to voters					
7. Having a social media site makes it easier to communicate with voters					
8. I feel more connected interpersonally with voters when I communicate with them online					
9. It is not costly to engage with voters online using social media sites					
10. Having personnel managing a politician's social media site is important					

PART IV: REPRESENTATIONAL LEVEL

This section explores your perceptions regarding the representational level and choice of media for political marketing.

17. How do you rate your constituency?

1= Urban ☐

2= Peri-urban ☐

3= Rural ☐

18. Whom did you target with social media messages? (Tick all that apply)

1= 18-25 Years ☐

2= 26-35 years ☐

3= 36-50 years ☐

4= 51 and above ☐

19. Rate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
1. The level of office a politician runs for can influence their decision to use social media for political marketing					
2. The expectations of the constituents can influence a politician's decision to use social media for political marketing					
3. The income levels of constituents can influence a politician's decision to use social media for political marketing					
4. The average age of constituents can influence a politician's decision to use social media for political marketing					
5. The literacy levels of constituents can influence a politician's decision to use social media for political marketing					

PART V: VOTING OUTCOME

This section seeks to find out the perceived usefulness of social media in determining voting outcome. Please note that voting outcome refers to election results.

20. Rate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements

Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
1. Politicians who used social media for campaigning in the 2007 general elections in Kenya fared better than those who did not					
2. Since social media have been used for campaigning by political candidates in established democracies, therefore use of social media can significantly contributes to election outcome					
3. Social media enables me to have a greater reach to voters than conventional media (e.g. T.V., Radio, Newspaper) and therefore can significantly contribute to the election outcome					
4. Monitoring and evaluating voters' response towards my candidature is easier on social media than when using other conventional methods.					

Thank you for your cooperation in completing this questionnaire.

Appendix 2: Questionnaire for Personal Assistants (PAs)

The purpose of this questionnaire is to collect data purely for academic purposes. All information will be treated with strict confidence. Do not put any name or identification on this questionnaire.

Answer all questions as indicated by either ticking the relevant box or writing down your answer in the spaces provided.

PART I: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

This section of the questionnaire refers to background information. Although we are aware of the sensitivity of the questions in this section, the information will allow us to compare groups of respondents. Once again, we assure you that your response will remain anonymous. Your cooperation is appreciated.

1. Please specify your gender 1=Male ☐ 2=Female ☐
2. Please specify your age?
 - 1= Below 20 years ☐
 - 2=21 to 35years ☐
 - 3= 36-50 years ☐
 - 4=51 years and above ☐
3. What is your highest level of education?
 - 1= Diploma ☐ 2= Degree ☐ 3= Masters ☐
 - 4=Doctorate ☐
4. Please specify the title of office you campaigned for
 - 1= Presidential ☐
 - 2= Governor ☐
 - 3= Senator ☐
 - 4= Women Representative ☐
 - 5= Member of Parliament ☐
5. Please indicate your county _____
6. What is your party affiliation?
 - 1= The National Alliance (TNA) ☐
 - 2=Orange Democratic Party (ODM) ☐

3= United Democratic Forum (UDF) ☐

4= Other (specify) ☐

PART II: USE OF SOCIAL MEDIA

This section of the questionnaire explores your use of social media with regard to political marketing. Political marketing refers to campaigning with the aim of gaining votes. Social media refer to online social communication sites like Facebook and Twitter.

7. Are you aware about the use of social media for political marketing?

1=Yes ☐ 2=No ☐

8. Did you use any social media for your campaign in the 2013 general elections?

1=Yes ☐ 2=No ☐

If yes, specify the type(s)

1= Facebook ☐ 2= Twitter ☐ 3= Website ☐

4= Other (specify) ☐

If no, state reasons

9. Which other media did you use for political marketing in the 2013 general elections? (Tick all that apply)

1= Radio ☐

2= T.V. ☐

3= Newspaper ☐

4= Billboard ☐

5= Posters ☐

6= Other (specify) ☐

10. Please specify years of Internet use

- 1= No experience ☐
- 2= Less than 3 years ☐
- 3= 3-10 years ☐
- 4= More than 10 years ☐

11. To what extent did the following factors influence your choice of media for political marketing in the 2013 general elections?

Factors	Not at all influential	Slightly influential	Somewhat influential	Very influential	Extremely influential
Familiarity with technology					
Level of office					
Level of competition					
Established tradition					
Financial consideration					
Political party influence					

12. How regularly did you post content on your social media site (e.g. updating your Facebook status or posting a tweet on Twitter)?

- 1= Often/ Almost daily ☐
- 2= Sometimes/ Almost weekly ☐
- 3= Rarely/ Almost monthly ☐
- 4= Never/ Almost yearly ☐
- 5= I don't know ☐

13. How much time did you spend on your social media site on each visit?

- 1= Less than 30 minutes ☐
- 2= 31 minutes – 60 minutes ☐
- 3= 61 minutes – 90 minutes ☐
- 4= 91 minutes – 120 minutes ☐
- 5= More than 121 minutes ☐
- 6= I don't know ☐

14. What is the nature of the messages that you send on your social media site? (Tick all that apply)

Nature of message	Never	Almost never	Sometimes	Almost every time	Every time
Text message					
Video					
Photo					
Photo with caption					

15. Please indicate what kind of information you shared on your social media site (Tick all that apply)

- 1= Qualification (e.g. degree, masters, diploma) ☐
- 2= Profession (e.g. lawyer, doctor) ☐
- 3= Personal achievement (e.g. community initiatives, awards, philanthropy) ☐
- 4= Policy position (e.g. democrat, social) ☐
- 5= Party position (e.g. ODM, TNA, Independent) ☐
- 6= Mobilize supporters (e.g. asking members to rallies, meetings, demonstrations) ☐
- 7= Distribute information (e.g. announcing important events) ☐
- 8= Communicate with supporters (e.g. get complaints, encouragement, suggestions) ☐
- 9= Recruit volunteers (e.g. asking voters to join your campaign team) ☐
- 10= Appeal to undecided voters (e.g. urging voters to vote for you, to like your page) ☐
- 11= Solicit for campaign funds (e.g. through your M-Pesa pay bill) ☐
- 12= Posting messages to defend yourself against propaganda by competitors ☐
- 13= Appeal to voters in the diaspora ☐
- 14= Any other (specify) ☐

PART III: TECHNOLOGICAL FACTORS

This section explores your perceived ease of use of social media. Please note that *social media* refers to online social communication sites like Facebook and Twitter.

16. Please show the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
1. Social media are easy to use					
2. Being competent working online contributes to a politician's successful use of social media for political marketing					
3. Owning a personal computer connected to the Internet is important to a politician for accessing social media					
4. Use of social media does not require specialized training					
5. Adequate access to the Internet contributes to successful political marketing using social media					
6. Online communication lets me control when I want to communicate to voters					
7. Having a social media site makes it easier to communicate with voters					
8. I feel more connected interpersonally with voters when I communicate with them online					
9. It is not costly to engage with voters online using social media sites					
10. Having personnel managing a politician's social media site is important					

PART IV: REPRESENTATIONAL LEVEL

This section explores your perceptions regarding the representational level and choice of media for political marketing.

17. How do you rate your constituency?

1= Urban ☐

2= Peri-urban ☐

3= Rural ☐

18. Whom did you target with social media messages? (Tick all that apply)

1= 18-25 Years ☐

2= 26-35 years ☐

3= 36-50 years ☐

4= 51 and above ☐

19. Rate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
1. The level of office a politician runs for can influence their decision to use social media for political marketing					
2. The expectations of the constituents can influence a politician's decision to use social media for political marketing					
3. The income levels of constituents can influence a politician's decision to use social media for political marketing					
4. The average age of constituents can influence a politician's decision to use social media for political marketing					
5. The literacy levels of constituents can influence a politician's decision to use social media for political marketing					

PART V: VOTING OUTCOME

This section seeks to find out the perceived usefulness of social media in determining voting outcome. Please note that voting outcome refers to election results.

20. Rate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements

Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
1. Politicians who used social media for campaigning in the 2007 general elections in Kenya fared better than those who did not					
2. Since social media have been used for campaigning by political candidates in established democracies, therefore use of social media can significantly contribute to election outcome					
3. Social media enables me to have a greater reach to voters than conventional media (e.g. T.V., Radio, Newspaper) and therefore can significantly contribute to the election outcome					
4. Monitoring and evaluating voters' response towards my candidature is easier on social media than when using other conventional methods.					

Thank you for your cooperation in completing this questionnaire.

Appendix 3: Interview Guide for Political Candidates

The purpose of this interview is to collect data purely for academic purposes. All information will be treated with strict confidence. The interview seeks to find out the determinants of social media use for political marketing in Kenya.

1. What is your age bracket?
2. What is your highest level of formal education completed?
3. Which office were you contesting for in the 2013 general elections?
4. Did you use any social media site for your campaign in the 2013 general elections? If yes, why?
5. Which other media did you use for political marketing in the 2013 general elections?
6. What factors influenced your choice of media for political marketing in the 2013 general elections?
7. What kind of information did you share on your social media sites?
8. Do you think the use of social media requires specialized training? Kindly elaborate.
9. Does having a social media site make it easier for a candidate to communicate with voters? Kindly elaborate.
10. Do you think it is important to have personnel managing a candidate's social media site? Kindly elaborate.
11. Whom did you target with social media messages?
12. To what extent can the level of office a candidate runs for influence their decision to campaign using social media? Kindly elaborate.
13. Can constituency characteristics (e.g. income level of constituents, average age, literacy levels) influence the decision to campaign on social media? Kindly comment further.
14. Can the use of social media contribute to the election outcome? If yes/no, kindly comment.
15. What is your opinion on monitoring and evaluating voters' response towards your candidature using social media? Kindly elaborate.

Thank you for your cooperation in taking part in this interview.

Appendix 4: Interview Guide for Personal Assistants (PAs)

The purpose of this interview is to collect data purely for academic purposes. All information will be treated with strict confidence. The interview seeks to find out the determinants of social media use for political marketing in Kenya.

1. What is your candidate's age bracket?
2. What is your candidate's highest level of formal education completed?
3. Which office was your candidate contesting for in the 2013 general elections?
4. Did your campaign use any social media site for your campaign in the 2013 general elections? If yes, why?
5. Which other media did your campaign use for political marketing in the 2013 general elections?
6. What factors influenced your campaign's choice of media for political marketing in the 2013 general elections?
7. What kind of information did your campaign share on your social media sites?
8. Do you think the use of social media requires specialized training? Kindly elaborate.
9. Does having a social media site make it easier for candidates to communicate with voters? Kindly elaborate.
10. Do you think it is important to have personnel managing a candidate's social media site? Kindly elaborate.
11. Whom did your campaign target with social media messages?
12. To what extent can the level of office a candidate runs for influence their decision to campaign using social media? Kindly elaborate.
13. Can constituency characteristics (e.g. income level of constituents, average age, literacy levels) influence the decision to campaign on social media? Kindly comment further.
14. Can the use of social media contribute to the election outcome? If yes/no, kindly comment.
15. What is your opinion on monitoring and evaluating voters' response towards your candidature using social media? Kindly elaborate.

Thank you for your cooperation in taking part in this interview.

**Appendix 5: Summary of Nominated Candidates for the 2013 General Election
in Kenya**

County Code	County	Governor	Senator	Women Rep	MP
1	Mombasa	8	5	10	49
2	Kwale	6	4	6	35
3	Kilifi	9	11	11	80
4	Tana River	5	9	7	24
5	Lamu	4	9	4	10
6	Taita Taveta	6	4	5	32
7	Garissa	4	3	6	25
8	Wajir	4	6	7	27
9	Mandera	3	4	3	21
10	Marsabit	2	2	8	18
11	Isiolo	4	4	4	8
12	Meru	5	3	9	67
13	Tharaka-Nithi	3	6	8	12
14	Embu	5	5	11	32
15	Kitui	3	4	5	62
16	Machakos	6	4	4	73
17	Makueni	6	4	6	65
18	Nyandarua	3	2	7	24
19	Nyeri	5	4	5	51
20	Kirinyaga	5	5	7	24
21	Muranga	5	3	3	39
22	Kiambu	6	8	13	102
23	Turkana	5	3	4	31
24	West pokot	4	3	6	17
25	Samburu	4	5	5	13
26	Transnzoia	5	11	12	43
27	Uasin Gishu	2	6	8	31
28	Elgeyo/Marakwet	5	5	5	37
29	Nandi	4	6	4	40
30	Baringo	5	3	4	37
31	Laikipia	4	7	5	22
32	Nakuru	3	13	4	85
33	Narok	7	4	7	30
34	Kajiado	4	3	7	26
35	Kericho	4	4	6	40
36	Bomet	5	6	3	32
37	Kakamega	6	4	6	92
38	Vihiga	6	4	8	44
39	Bungoma	5	6	9	79
40	Busia	5	3	5	66

41	Siaya	6	2	5	32
42	Kisumu	2	4	4	35
43	Homabay	3	4	3	42
44	Migori	3	4	3	39
45	Kisii	6	7	9	104
46	Nyamira	16	9	11	50
47	Nairobi	10	9	12	162

Source: IEBC (2013)

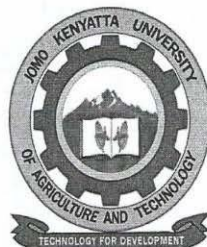
Appendix 6: Summary of Winners of the 2013 General Election in Kenya

County Code	County	Governor	Senator	Women Rep	MP
1	Mombasa	1	1	1	6
2	Kwale	1	1	1	4
3	Kilifi	1	1	1	7
4	Tana River	1	1	1	3
5	Lamu	1	1	1	2
6	Taita Taveta	1	1	1	4
7	Garissa	1	1	1	6
8	Wajir	1	1	1	6
9	Mandera	1	1	1	6
10	Marsabit	1	1	1	4
11	Isiolo	1	1	1	2
12	Meru	1	1	1	9
13	Tharaka- Nithi	1	1	1	3
14	Embu	1	1	1	4
15	Kitui	1	1	1	8
16	Machakos	1	1	1	8
17	Makueni	1	1	1	6
18	Nyandarua	1	1	1	5
19	Nyeri	1	1	1	6
20	Kirinyaga	1	1	1	4
21	Muranga	1	1	1	7
22	Kiambu	1	1	1	12
23	Turkana	1	1	1	6
24	West Pokot	1	1	1	4
25	Samburu	1	1	1	3
26	Trans Nzoia	1	1	1	5
27	Uasin Gishu	1	1	1	6
28	Elgeyo/Marakwet	1	1	1	4
29	Nandi	1	1	1	6
30	Baringo	1	1	1	6
31	Laikipia	1	1	1	3
32	Nakuru	1	1	1	10
33	Narok	1	1	1	6
34	Kajiado	1	1	1	5
35	Kericho	1	1	1	6
36	Bomet	1	1	1	5
37	Kakamega	1	1	1	12
38	Vihiga	1	1	1	5
39	Bungoma	1	1	1	9
40	Busia	1	1	1	7
41	Siaya	1	1	1	6
42	Kisumu	1	1	1	7

43	Homabay	1	1	1	8
44	Migori	1	1	1	8
45	Kisii	1	1	1	9
46	Nyamira	1	1	1	4
47	Nairobi	1	1	1	17

Source: IEBC (2013)

**Appendix 7: Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology (JKUAT)
Letter**



**JOMO KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
OF
AGRICULTURE AND TECHNOLOGY**

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES

Tel: (067) 52257

OFFICE OF THE CHAIR
P.O. BOX 62000-00200
NAIROBI

Ref: JKU/HD421-1321/11

Date: 14TH JULY 2014

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir/Madam

RE: JOHN OBWAVO NDAVULA

This is to confirm that the above named is a bona fide student at Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology in the department of Social Sciences and Humanities pursuing a Ph.D course in Mass Communication.

As a partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree, he is required to collect data to enable him write thesis on *The Determinants of Social Media use for Political Marketing in Kenya*.

All information given will be treated as confidential and will only be used for academic purposes.

Any assistance accorded to him will be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

 **J. K. U. A. T.
Social Sciences & Humanities
CHAIRMAN**

**DR. HELLEN MBERIA
COD, SOCIAL SCIENCES & HUMANITIES**

Appendix 8: Research Authorization Letter



NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: +254-20-2213471,
2241349, 310571, 2219420
Fax: +254-20-318245, 318249
Email: secretary@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote

9th Floor, Utalii House
Uhuru Highway
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref: No.

Date:

22nd July, 2014

NACOSTI/P/14/6556/2378

John Obwavo Ndavula
Jomo Kenyatta University of
Agriculture and Technology
P.O.Box 62000
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on *“Determinants of social media use for political marketing in Kenya,”* I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **all Counties** for a period ending **30th September, 2014.**

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioners and the County Directors of Education, all Counties** before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit **two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf** of the research report/thesis to our office.


DR. S. K. LANGAT, OGW
FOR: SECRETARY/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioners
The County Directors of Education
All Counties.

Appendix 9: Research Permit

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT: MR. JOHN OBWAVO NDAVULA of JOMO KENYATTA UNIVERSITY OF AGRICULTURE AND TECHNOLOGY, 104350-101 NAIROBI, has been permitted to conduct research in All Counties County on the topic: DETERMINANTS OF SOCIAL MEDIA USE FOR POLITICAL MARKETING IN KENYA for the period ending: 30th September, 2014 Applicant's Signature	Permit No. : NACOSTI/P/14/6556/2378 Date Of Issue : 22nd July, 2014 Fee Received : Ksh 2,000 Secretary National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation
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Appendix 10: Letter to the Respondents

John Obwavo Ndavula

P. O. Box 104350 Nairobi 00101

August, 2014

Dear Respondent,

I am a post-graduate student at Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology (JKUAT) currently pursuing a doctorate degree in Mass Communication. To qualify for award of PhD, I am required to carry out a research on a topical issue on communication in Kenya with a view of informing policy and creating knowledge. I write to kindly request you to complete this questionnaire, with the assurance that all information collected will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

You have been selected on the premise that you are better placed to provide information that will lead to establishing the *Determinants of Social Media Use for Political Marketing in Kenya*.

While this research is primarily for academic purposes, the findings will assist in further improvement of the political communication policy framework and providing insights into the communication environment during elections. In particular, this study will provide insights into the use of social media in the context of the general elections in Kenya.

Thank you for your willingness to help in this research effort.



John Obwavo Ndavula